

THE AMERICAN SENTINEL

*"The voice of the watchmen
on the walls of Zion..."*

YEAR
1890
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THE IMPORTANCE OF THE *AMERICAN SENTINEL*

“What is the *Sentinel* for, but to be the voice of the watchmen on the walls of Zion, to sound the danger signal.”

Ellen G. White, *Manuscript 16*, 1890.

“The *Sentinel* is like a trumpet giving a certain sound; and all our people should read it carefully, and then send it to some relative or friend, thus putting to the best use the light that God has given them...”

“The *Sentinel* has been, in God’s order, one of the voices sounding the alarm, that the people might hear, and realize their danger, and do the work required at the present time....”

“Let every worker for God comprehend the situation, and place the *Sentinel* before our churches, explaining its contents, and urging home the warnings and facts it contains. May the Lord help all to redeem the time.”

Ellen G. White, *Review and Herald*, December 18, 1888.

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

VOLUME 5.

NEW YORK, JANUARY 2, 1890.

NUMBER 1.

The American Sentinel.

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

EDITORS,
E. J. WAGGONER, ALONZO T. JONES.

It is in one sense with feelings of considerable regret that the SENTINEL finds it necessary to sever its direct connection with California. Personally our associations there have been of the very pleasantest. Dear friends are there whom we hold in ever grateful remembrance. Professionally our associations have also been of the pleasantest; and it is with the kindest remembrances toward our contemporaries, all, of Oakland and San Francisco, and especially the *Times* and the *Tribune* of Oakland, and the *Examiner* and the *Alta* of San Francisco, that the SENTINEL bids good-bye to the beautiful city by the Western Sea. Yet we all know that it was with the sole object of doing better service in the cause to which it is devoted that the SENTINEL made the change of location which it has made; and although we have been in our new quarters but a few days, we have already seen abundance of evidence of the propriety of the move that has been made. It is therefore with the best of courage that we enter anew upon our work with the beginning of this new year.

It is stated that the new government of Brazil proposes to sever the connection that existed under the monarchy between the State and the Roman Catholic Church. But while Catholicism was the State religion all other sects were tolerated. The only distinction made between that and other sects was that other denominations were restricted to the use of houses of worship. "without the exterior form of tem-

ples." This was construed to forbid simply the erection of steeples and the use of bells. The appropriations for religious purposes in Brazil in 1887-88 amounted to \$454,000. The same budget appropriated \$280,000 for education. Neither of these sums was large, and certainly the Brazilian establishment was not very expensive, but the new government will do well to abolish it and let the churches support themselves, while the government looks after the schools.

The American Sentinel.

WITH this number the AMERICAN SENTINEL enters upon the fifth year of its publication. Started at Oakland, California, January, 1886, as an eight-page monthly, it attained the first year to a total circulation of more than 136,000 copies; the second year of more than 255,000; and the third year of more than 600,000. This rapid growth showed a demand for the paper which seemed to the publishers to call for a more frequent issue. Accordingly, in January, 1889, it was changed to an eight-page weekly; and more than a million copies were printed and circulated within a year. The rapidly multiplying demands for national religious legislation rendered it essential that our place of publication should be nearer the centers of information. We are therefore established at No. 43 Bond Street, New York City, from which place the AMERICAN SENTINEL salutes its old acquaintances and introduces itself to its new ones.

The SENTINEL exists for the purpose of opposing all manner of religious legislation, and every principle, effort, or movement, that tends in any way toward a union of religion and the State; and of maintaining in this opposition the principles announced by Jesus Christ and also embodied in the Declaration of Independence and the United States Constitution.

The SENTINEL is positively Christian. And as positively and decidedly as it is Christian, just so positively does it maintain that Christianity, to remain pure and

powerful, must never be connected, as such, in any way with the State; and that the State, properly to fulfil its functions, must never have anything whatever to do with religion, as such, or with religious observances. With the Supreme Court of Ohio we hold that "united with government, religion never rises above the merest superstition; united with religion, government never rises above the merest despotism; and all history shows us that the more widely and completely they are separated the better it is for both." And with Dr. Philip Schaff we hold that "secular power has proved a Satanic gift to the church, and ecclesiastical power has proved an engine of tyranny in the hands of the State." And the SENTINEL occupies this position because it is Christian, and because its editors and publishers love Jesus Christ and the religion which he brought to the world.

The SENTINEL maintains that civil government is an ordinance of God; that to the citizen it is supreme in civil things, for God has made it so by commanding Christians as well as all others to be subject to it; and that the authority of civil government is over only the civil relations of men, and does not extend at all to religious things.

The Saviour, when asked whether it was lawful to give tribute to Cæsar or not, replied by stating a principle which is for all people and governments unto the end of the world—"Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's; and unto God the things that are God's." He separates forever that which men owe to God from that which they owe to civil government. Religious duties and observances men owe to God; civil duties and obligations they owe to the State. Christ has separated these things; and what God has put asunder let no man join together.

Again, in Romans 13: 1-10, every soul is commanded to be subject unto the higher powers, to pay tribute, to render to all their dues; and then, after citing certain commandments which speak of the relationship of men to their fellowmen, the Word says,

"And if there be any other commandment it is briefly comprehended in this saying, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.'" This word covers all the field in which the duty of any man can be related to civil government. With the men who do the things there named no government can ever find any fault. But in the points named there is not embraced any of the duties which men specifically owe to God. Therefore, within the line of man's relations to his fellowman, God has set the limit to the jurisdiction of civil government. Civil government never can go beyond that limit without trenching upon ground where God has forbidden it to go. God has separated the duties which man owes to himself from those which civil government may require; and what God has put asunder let no man join together.

Therefore the SENTINEL maintains that it is the natural and inalienable right of every man to worship or not to worship according to the dictates of his own conscience; and that he is responsible to God alone for the exercise of that right. With George Washington we hold that "every man who conducts himself as a good citizen is accountable alone to God for his religious faith." Any interference with this right on the part of any person or power is as unwarranted as it is unjust.

The SENTINEL maintains that its principles, as thus set forth, are strictly in harmony with the original intent of the government of the United States under its Constitution. It was plainly declared by the framers of this government that "no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States;" that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof;" and that "the government of the United States of America is not in any sense founded on the Christian religion." It is therefore not only as a Christian publication, but, per consequence, as a loyal American publication, that the AMERICAN SENTINEL proposes to disseminate its principles.

And the SENTINEL cordially invites the co-operation of all lovers of Christianity and of the American Constitution in the work to which it is devoted.

Queer Ideas of Morals.

In the Iowa Sunday-law convention, President Blanchard of Wheaton College, Ill., said: "I would rather swear for half an hour than buy a Sunday paper for half a minute;" and in the annual convention of the National W. C. T. U., one of the representative speakers said: "I am a Christian, yet I would rather tell a lie than to put on a corset." It may be that both these persons are Christians according to their understanding of what Christianity is; but such statements as these certainly betray a serious confusion of ethical ideas.

Yet these are the people who want the State to legislate on the subject of morals and religion, and to give legal force to their ideas of morals! When such people get control of legislation and of law their own narrow views and confused ideas of things become supreme, their will takes precedence of the will of God. Mr. Blanchard is the gentleman who some time ago announced that in this matter of religious legislation they are "the representatives of God!" With this idea the above quotations are consistent, because such has ever been the course of the self-appointed "representatives of God" in government and law.

"Is there not a Cause?"

Is there not a cause for the existence and the work not only of the AMERICAN SENTINEL, but also of many other papers of the same kind? Let us see. We have said the SENTINEL exists for the purpose of opposing all manner of religious legislation and everything that tends toward any union of religion and the State; and of maintaining the principles of the United States Constitution as it stands separated from religion. What now is there being done in favor of religious legislation? What is being done to unite religion and the State? What is being done against the principles of the United States Constitution as it relates to religion?

First, there is the National Reform Association, headquarters in Philadelphia, an association in the twenty-sixth year of its existence, whose one leading purpose is to secure an amendment to the National Constitution declaring this to be a Christian nation, empowering Congress to legislate upon the subject of the Christian religion, and pledging the United States Government to the maintenance of Christian institutions and Christian morality, as such, in all the land.

Second, the American Sabbath Union, headquarters in this city, whose sole purpose of existence is to secure an act of Congress by which the observance of the Lord's day as a day of rest and religious worship shall be enforced by the national power within its jurisdiction, and thus to make effective by its example all such laws already in existence in the States.

These two are one so far as the Sunday legislation goes, and with both these to secure what they both demand, are more or less perfectly allied,—the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union; the third-party Prohibition party; the Evangelical Alliance; and last, but not by any means the least, the Catholic Church. The National Reform Association declares for the establishment of a theocracy in the place of the government of the United States under its present Constitution; the National W. C. T. U. declares for the same; the representatives of the American Sabbath Union and the

Prohibition party declare that in their work for legislation they are the "representatives of God" and "the successors of the prophets;" and everybody knows what the Catholic Church means by the declaration of the Lay Congress lately held, in favor of legislation, to secure which it proposes to seek an alliance with Protestants. Besides this, Pope Leo XIII. has long ago commanded "all Catholics" to "do all in their power to cause the Constitutions of States and legislation to be modeled on the principles of the true church."

Besides the work of these different bodies, as organizations, there are a number of papers which advocate the principles which the organizations seek to have enacted into law. There are two papers—the *Christian Statesman* and the *Christian Nation*—representing the National Reform Association. There is one—the *Mail and Express* of this city—which is the official organ of the American Sabbath Union; besides which the Union possesses the influence of nearly all the religious papers of the country, both Protestant and Catholic, and of some secular ones. The National W. C. T. U. adds the influence of its organ—the *Union Signal*; the Prohibition party likewise joins its *Voice* with all these others demanding religious legislation. And yet in addition to all these there is Joseph Cook's magazine, *Our Day*,—Mr. Cook himself being a vice-president of the National Reform Association.

What have these organizations already accomplished? In the Fiftieth Congress, May 21, 1888, they secured the introduction in the United States Senate of the Blair Sunday-Rest Bill, and worked hard to secure its passage; but that Congress expired, and the bill died without their wish being fulfilled. In the same Congress, May 25, 1888, there was introduced a "Joint Resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States respecting establishments of religion and free public schools," which proposed to enforce by national power the teachings of "the principles of the Christian religion" in all the public schools of the country. This resolution was indorsed by the National Reform Association as embodying the very thing for which that Association had been working for twenty-five years. This also died with the Fiftieth Congress.

Yet all these organizations have continued, by every means which they could employ, to work up public favor for the legislation which they demand. The Fifty-first Congress had been in existence scarcely a week before Senator Blair re-introduced both his Sunday-Rest bill and the Joint Resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States; and the organizations named are pledged to secure, if possible, the adoption of these measures before the present Congress shall expire. Besides the Blair amendment proposed in 1888 and again in 1889, there is

the Edmunds amendment proposed in 1876, which is strongly advocated for re-introduction in the Fifty-first Congress. It only remains to be seen whether these forces shall be able to find enough Senators and Representatives who are willing to play into their hands to the extent of passing their demands into actual law.

From these facts it is seen that there is already formed and in active working order a combination of all the leading religious bodies for the avowed purpose of securing national legislation in the interests of religion, and for the enforcement of religious observances. The United States Senate, sixty years ago this winter, stated an undeniable truth when it said, "Extensive religious combinations to effect a political object are always dangerous." Here, then, is a religious combination which is about as extensive as it would be possible to form in the United States. It is to effect a political purpose, for it is solely to control legislation; and what is worse, though inevitable, is that it seeks to control legislation in its own interests. It is therefore dangerous, and as dangerous as it is extensive.

We ask, therefore, whether there is not a cause for the existence of the AMERICAN SENTINEL? And is there not need that something shall be said to call the attention of the people to these things, which are so utterly subversive of American principles, and which involve the most sacred rights of men?

We know that a great many people pass it by with the remark that there is no danger, and that there is no need of any special discussion of it; and this is particularly so on the part of those who are most active in the demand for the legislation. We know that these things were said four years ago, when the first number of the SENTINEL was printed; and there was not then one-tenth of the forces in existence in this line that there are now. But the SENTINEL knew then as well as it knows now that there is treachery in it. The SENTINEL told the people so then: it tells them so now. It is true. Incredulity will not escape it: unbelief will not disprove it. We do not impugn the motives of the people who are demanding religious legislation. We do not say that all the leaders of the organizations named mean treachery, nor that they are designedly doing that which they know to be fraught with danger to the people. We only say that there is danger in it. It matters not what may be the motives or the intentions of those who are engaged in it, the thing is evil in itself, and danger is inherent in it; and when the thing is accomplished and the discovery made that it is only evil and that continually, it will not be a very great comfort to be assured that those who did it were good people and meant well.

The AMERICAN SENTINEL knows what it is doing, and intends to be true to its name in sounding the alarm and giving warning

of the imminent danger that inheres in the demands that are being made and in a measure granted for legislation in the interests of religion. A. T. J.

That Sunday-Law Petition.

IN every possible place in the country there is now being circulated by the American Sabbath Union, and the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union the following petition to Congress:—

"To the House of Representatives of the United States [duplicate to the Senate]:—

"The undersigned organizations, and adult residents (21 years of age or more) of the United States, hereby petition your Honorable Body to pass a bill, forbidding, in the United States mail and military service, and in interstate commerce, and in the District of Columbia, and in the Territories, all Sunday traffic and work, except works of religion and works of real necessity and mercy, and such private work by those who religiously and regularly observe another day of the week, by abstaining from labor and business, as will neither interfere with the general rest nor with public worship."

This petition has been largely signed, and many times more largely indorsed, but we seriously question whether one of those persons has ever taken the precaution to study the petition to know really what it asks for. We propose to look into it a little, to see what that petition embodies.

It asks Congress, within its jurisdiction, to forbid all Sunday traffic and work with certain exceptions. What are the exceptions?

First, "except works of religion." Suppose then that Congress should pass a bill embodying the very words of the petition so far. Then nobody in the Territories, the District of Columbia, the army, the navy, or in interstate commerce could do any work on Sunday except works of religion. Is that all that would need to be done? Is that the only step that would need to be taken?—Not by any means. The question would at once arise, "What religion is it, whose works only are excepted?" And the question would have to be answered: There are several kinds of religion in the country. There is the Christian religion, the Mormon religion, the Chinese religion, the Buddhist religion, the Agnostic religion, and many others of lesser note. Now there are works that would be perfectly consistent with certain of these religions, and in fact a necessary part of these religions, which would not by any means be consistent with the Christian religion. Such works performed by these on Sunday in perfect conformity with their own religion, would not be considered as being in any sense in harmony with the Christian religion nor according to the Christian idea as to what is proper work on Sunday.

The next thing, therefore, to do, and it would have to be done, would be for Congress or the Supreme Court to define what religion it is whose works only shall be excepted, and just as soon as that definition

should be set forth, there would be an established religion in the United States. For wherever a government selects a particular religion, and bestows favor and protection upon that religion above all others, and at the expense of all others, there is an established religion, and such would be the first and inevitable result if the request of that petition were enacted into law. This is indisputable, because if the phrase "works of religion" be left undefined by the government, and everybody left, each for himself, to decide what works of religion are proper for Sunday, then the law would be of no effect whatever. Besides it is not the right principle of government that the subject shall interpret the law in his own case. The government must interpret its own laws and define its own terms, used in the laws. The government, therefore, having enacted a law in which is found the phrase "works of religion" must define the meaning of the phrase. It must declare what religion is meant; it must define what are the works of that religion; and the moment that is done there is an established religion. And it is needless to say to any well informed person that an established religion is an unmitigated evil in any form whatever. Are all those who have signed or indorsed that petition ready for this thing for which they have asked?

Again, in excepting, with works of "real necessity and mercy," only "works of religion," it is shown to be wholly in the interests of religion that the demand is made. It is clearly religious legislation that is demanded, and they do propose virtually to compel men to religious observances. Of course it does not say in so many words that the people shall do works of religion, but it does say they shall not do anything but that. And, further, if they are willing to go so far at the very first step, having once secured this, how long will it be before they will take the next step and actually demand that the people shall do works of religion on that day which they have got the national Legislature to set apart for that special purpose?

Secondly, it proposes to "except" "private works by those who religiously and regularly observe another day of the week." Whoever, therefore, will come within this exception must "*religiously* and *regularly* observe another day of the week by abstaining from labor and business." Therefore this petition does ask that whoever does not want to keep Sunday shall be compelled to *religiously* observe another day. In other words, the petitioners propose to have Congress enact a law which shall enforce the *religious* observance of another day than Sunday upon those who do not choose to keep Sunday.

But when they propose to compel all who do not keep Sunday, to *religiously* observe another day, that plainly proves that it is also the *religious observance of Sunday* which they ask shall be enforced

by a law of the United States. This is confirmed by that clause of the petition which speaks of those who "religiously" observe another day "by abstaining from labor and business." This shows that in the mind of the one who wrote that petition, to regularly abstain from labor and business on a certain day is to religiously observe that day. Now the petition asks Congress to "forbid," within its jurisdiction, "all Sunday traffic and work," which, by the definition of the petition itself, is to enforce the religious observance of Sunday. In logical formula the matter stands thus:—

To regularly abstain from labor and business on a certain day is to religiously observe that day.

The petition asks Congress to compel all within its jurisdiction to regularly abstain from all labor and business on Sunday.

Therefore the petition does ask Congress to compel all within its jurisdiction to religiously observe Sunday.

The truth is that that petition for a Sunday law does not, and never did, contemplate anything else than that religious observances shall be enforced by such law. But the enforcement of religious observances by law is wicked in every form in which it may be proposed. It was to guard the rights of the people from such interferences as this that the Constitution was made to declare that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." For Congress to compel men in any way whatever to religious observance is to prohibit the free exercise of religion—even in those who already practice the religious observances sought to be enforced. This petition asks Congress to do an unconstitutional thing; and any bill introduced in Congress in harmony with the petition will be an attempt to do an unconstitutional thing.

There is another point in these "exceptions" that is worthy of attention. The petition asks that the law shall "except" "private work by those who religiously and regularly observe another day of the week," &c. And the writer of this article heard the author of the petition say that this means "work in the home."

Now we should like to know how the Sunday-law people are going to be able to tell whether or not anybody is doing any private work in his home on Sunday unless they enter into that person's home to see, or else set spies upon him and his home to detect whether he does such work or not. This petition, therefore, does ask that the private affairs, and the homes of American citizens shall on Sunday be made subject to the invasion and the bigoted surveillance of the Sunday-law meddlers. But our fathers supposed they had enough of that to last them and their children through all time to come, when they threw off the yoke of England; and they, therefore, expressed their mind to that effect

when they declared in Article IV. of the United States Constitution, that "the right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated." That that petition is contrary to this provision of the Constitution, there can be no honest dispute. Under this government every man's house is his castle. He is lord there. And no man, no set of men, on this earth has any right whatever to invade the privacy of that home. The government itself cannot do it, it is forbidden to do it except upon a warrant issued in proper form. "And no warrants shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized."

Therefore it is proved by this count also that the petition for a national Sunday law which is being circulated by the American Sabbath Union does ask Congress to do an unconstitutional thing, and any bill proposed in Congress embodying this part of the petition will be an attempt to do an unconstitutional thing.

The fact is that the whole Sunday-law scheme which is now so extensively worked, is nothing else than an attempt to carry into effect here that same despotic spirit of religious meddling in civil things that has been the bane of all nations but this,—and this one has been free from it only since the formation of the national Constitution and of the national government by it.

As we said at the first, we do not suppose that one person in ten of those who have either signed or indorsed that petition ever looked into it to see what it does really ask. This is not spoken of the leaders however; we are perfectly satisfied that they know precisely what the petition asks for, and that they are ready to enforce all its provisions, just as soon as they can secure the much-coveted power to do it. But are all the people ready to have it done?

For convenience' sake we here insert the following petition to Congress, which we ask the reader to examine and compare with the Sunday-law petition, and then candidly ask himself whether it is not more worthy of the indorsement of American citizens than the other. This petition covers the other one and more; it is against the proposed constitutional amendment also.

"We, the undersigned, adult residents of the United States, 21 years of age or more, hereby respectfully, but earnestly, petition your Honorable Body not to pass any bill in regard to the observance of the Sabbath, or Lord's day, or any other religious or ecclesiastical institution or rite; nor to favor in any way the adoption of any resolution for the amendment of the national Constitution that would in any way give preference to the principles of any one religion above another, or that will in any way sanction legislation upon the subject of religion; but that the total separation between religion and the State, assured by our national Constitution as it now is, may forever remain as our fathers established it."

A. T. J.

What Christ Taught.

Mr. HUGH O. PENTECOST, formerly a minister; now the editor of the *Twentieth Century*, a "liberal" paper, has in a recent issue of his journal this criticism:—

"The Rev. Dr. Greer, of New York, said at the meeting of the Evangelical Alliance, in Boston, that 'sharp antagonisms have arisen between church and State, but since the Declaration of Independence Christ's own idea of a free church in a free State has been winning its way more and more.' What nonsense! Christ never had any idea of 'a free church in a free State.' If he had, the Gospels do not reveal it."

He further avers that Christ was a "communistic-anarchist, like Herr Most." If this last had been omitted, one might suppose that the editor of *Twentieth Century* was honest in saying that Christ had no idea of "a free church in a free State;" but the latter statement marks the whole thing as malicious. Fancy Herr Most instructing one of his followers to pay a tax that he was not legally bound to pay, as did the Saviour, to avoid giving offense. (See Matt. 17: 24-27.) But like too many ministers Mr. Pentecost has evidently been a poor student of the Scriptures. But it is too much to believe that he is ignorant of the fact that Christ plainly taught the total separation of church and State; and as a necessary consequence, a free church at least: for that church, and only that church, is free which is answerable only to God, and whose members recognize no authority, in morals, but the law of God. The words "Render therefore unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's; and unto God the things that are God's," brand forever and in all places as anti-Christian all efforts to unite church and State; and they also give the lie to the assertion that Christ knew nothing of a free church.

Dr. Greer is, however, in error in supposing that Christ's idea of the proper relation of church and State has been gaining ground ever since the Declaration of Independence. For a time it did gain ground, and was at high tide when the first amendment to the Constitution was adopted. No marked change had taken place when, in 1828, a committee of the United States Senate pronounced in unmistakable language against Congressional interference in behalf of any religious institution, and declared extensive religious combinations to effect political objects always dangerous. But for more than a quarter of a century the National Reformers have been making most determined efforts to roll back the car of progress; and in this they are now being so ably seconded by other and more powerful organizations that there is grave cause to fear that the next decade will witness a return to as bad or even a worse state of affairs than existed in the early days of Massachusetts. Did the present generation know the meaning of liberty, as our forefathers knew it, all might be well. But when men everywhere close their eyes

to a thousand times greater danger than that which the Senate Committee on Post-offices and Post-roads saw so plainly over sixty years ago, is there not cause to be alarmed lest we lose the priceless boon of religious liberty through the sheer indifference of the masses, who forget that "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty."

C. P. B.

Pushing the Matter.

THE following from the *Minneapolis Journal* of the 14th ult. is interesting reading. It shows about as plainly as anything we ever saw, the temper of the Sunday-law advocates. They are determined to succeed and will stop at nothing which promises to aid their cause. The *Journal* says:—

Within the past two weeks leading pastors of the city have been in receipt of a paper which outlines a plan whereby it is expected that better Sunday observance will be secured in Minneapolis. The Sunday newspaper, it will be seen from what follows, is the head and front of the offending.

This paper is in the nature of a solemn agreement made very binding, and it has already been signed by a large number of leading ministers of the city. The paper, or agreement, put into concise shape, is as follows:—

"In order to correct the misapprehension that there is any difference of opinion among the pastors of this city with reference to the enforcement of Sunday laws, we pledge ourselves to stand by one another in this:

"1. We believe in using every right endeavor to bring about an abridgement of Sunday work in the public as well as in the private industries.

"2. We are united in demanding persistently and continuously the enforcement of all the laws whatsoever that refer to Sabbath desecration. And this means the closing of Sunday theaters.

"3. We pledge ourselves to withhold all patronage from the Sunday newspaper both in the matter of subscription and advertisement and to persuade our people, in so far as possible, to take the same position. We do this believing that the Sunday newspaper is the head and front of all offending."

The iron-clad agreement has been signed, as noted, by a large number of ministers of the city. But the signing of this manifesto is not all that has been done. The evening of the third Sunday in the month of January next has been selected as an occasion upon which the Sunday observance question is to have the biggest clerical shaking up in the history of the city. An elaborate plan has been prepared which, outlined, is as follows:—

A large number of hacks or carriages will be retained and held for duty. Each minister in the city will have one of these three points above noted assigned to him as a text for a short, pithy address. He will make this address in his own church, for instance, will then be driven rapidly to another church nearest at hand where he will repeat the address, and then he will go to another church and another un-

til he has used up all the evening's time. Another minister will have another topic and will follow the same plan, and still another the last topic. Thus divided up by threes the ministers will keep moving from one church to another all the evening, giving to each congregation as many addresses as possible and all of them red hot. The State organization, which has the matter of Sunday observance in hand, will soon issue the formal call for these meetings. It is the intention of the movers in this affair to attract immense audiences to the churches and to give them the most earnest and powerful talks on the subject that the ministers of Minneapolis can utter. Said a gentleman closely connected with the movement this morning:—

"We mean business. We are going to push this matter. You say that there is a leading orthodox pastor in the city, who, it is reported, likes to read the Sunday paper? All right; just let him refuse to sign this paper then. That's all. Just let him refuse to sign such a paper, and see what effect it would have. I tell you he'll have to come out of the rain."

The Illinois Sunday Convention.

THE Illinois Sabbath Association held its Convention in Chicago, November 20, 21. It was attended mostly by the leaders of that organization in the State. Dr. Crafts was also present. The attendance was not large aside from these leading men in the movement.

The utterances contained nothing specially new in the way of argument. But one could not help being impressed with the thought that as a company of Christian ministers they were calling loudly for civil law to compel Christians to do what it was their duty as *Christians* to do any way.

Dr. Mallernee said much of this work on the Sabbath is performed by *church members*, and the *pastors* do not *dare* to *preach against* it. The logic of this statement would seem to teach that the church members work on Sunday; if the pastors preach against it they will lose their members. Therefore let us have a law to compel everybody to keep Sunday, so our church members may be able to keep it just as well as not, and so save the pastors the disagreeable task of doing their duty. But if ministers do not now do their duty in this line; and if church members are so sadly remiss in Sabbath keeping, would it not be just as well to labor for the conversion of the ministry and church, and not spend so much time trying to make sentiment that will induce the State to compel Christians to do their supposed religious duties?

The railroads and street cars were especially arraigned for their Sunday traffic. And one would be almost led to believe that the railroads especially were a curse rather than a blessing because they made

room for so much Sunday labor. In regard to these, Dr. Crafts said that the railroads are owned by *Christian men*, and what we want is something that will quicken their consciences in regard to the sin of Sunday labor. Dr. Delano said in his address that we have no Sabbath, and *ministers* and *college presidents* are responsible for it. These assertions in regard to Christians, and especially ministers, failing to do their duty were heard from the lips of nearly every man who spoke in the Convention. And we watched closely for the argument that would enable us to see just why it was necessary to ask Congress to compel all to do the duties of a Christian, in order that Christians might do their duty without inconvenience. It must be that they are trying to go in the way of a young man, who in a revival in a small town in Illinois asked the brethren to pray for him that he might "go to heaven on flowery beds of ease."

The arguments that are made against this civil Sunday-law movement were spoken of a time or two and said to be unworthy of notice, but in an evening meeting a leading man spent quite a while in endeavoring to answer these objections. He brought them forward one by one and with all the *vehement energy* of a powerful frame declared them false and really no objections at all. We waited in vain for the argument, but it was not made; to those who can be convinced by assertion his talk was, perhaps, conclusive; but to those wanting facts and arguments his speech would not commend itself. Evidently some of the arguments are troubling them and they want to either pass them by in silence or meet them with simple assertion and appeal to the sympathies or prejudices of the people.

It seemed to us that the most significant statement of the Convention was one made by Dr. Mallernee. He said, "We must rally on the secular side of this question." The secular side he thought would help to carry it through. How unfair for men claiming to be Christians to try to carry a measure in which the real issue is kept in the background, and a subject that can be made popular by appealing to the selfish motives of personal benefit pushed to the front! These men assert with indignant emphasis that they do not want religious legislation. Oh, no! But Sunday observance is a doctrine held by the Christian church, and when the Christian clergy inaugurate a movement to secure civil legislation in its favor, and then that movement is carried on almost solely by the clergy and various societies of Christians, there is room for strong apprehensions as to what will be the result if it succeeds. If their leaders exhort them to keep the "secular" side to the front, the inevitable conclusion is that they have the religious side in the background. This is the charge we make, and the logic of their own utterances is the basis of our charge, and when

once their scheme is carried into effect the mask will be torn aside and religious despotism, with all its retinue of evil and superstition, will be made to appear.

That the men who are pushing this so-called reform do not realize what would be its outcome we most sincerely believe; but a little study of the philosophy of their movement in the light of history ought to convince the most skeptical what could be its only result. And would it not be well for the leaders in this Sunday-law agitation to stop to consider the advisability of returning to the old gospel methods, *pure and simple*, of *persuading* men to come to Christ, and devote *all* their energies to that? And let them first begin their work by laboring for the conversion of the *ministers* and *church members* whose spiritual condition *they* so sadly deplore, and then re-enforced by an awakened ministry and a revived church carry the work into new territory and win those to the Master who know him not. This, and this alone, is the work of the minister and the church, and it will have a better influence on the State and make its politics purer than for them to attempt to secure legislation tending toward a supposed advancement of the kingdom of Christ. A. O. TAIT.

Importance of Right Motives.

THE *Christian Statesman* of December 12, quotes a report of the action of Judge Ridley, of Tennessee, who is said to have declared church raffles illegal, and to have charged a grand jury "to indict all persons buying and selling tickets, and also those who in any way contributed to the management of the raffles." After stating that the judge ordered the enforcement of the law on the ladies of St. Joseph Church of Nashville, the report says:—

"We rejoice at this step. When the professed church of Jesus Christ permits gambling, lottery, raffle, cheating, or swindling—disguised or open—in any shape, we trust that the strong arm of the civil law will fall upon her at once, for it is a shame and disgrace to the Christian name."

The action of the judge was right, because gambling is essentially uncivil. It is a form of robbery. But the report says, "We rejoice at this step"—why?—"for it is a shame and disgrace to the Christian name."

There is danger lurking in that clause. It shows that the writer and those who indorse him rejoice at the enforcement of civil law,—not because it protects the civil rights of citizens, but because they think it will help Christianity by keeping Christians from disgracing the "Christian name." Whenever the church is about to disgrace the Christian name, then these people "trust that the strong arm of the civil law will fall upon her at once." Since it is the duty of the church to not disgrace the Christian name, and since the members are subject to discipline when they do it, therefore the *Christian Statesman* and

its adherents want the civil authorities to see to it that the church does her duty, and to enforce her discipline by "the strong arm of the civil law" when necessary to accomplish this end. And what is this but church and State.

It is not enough that the action be right; it must proceed from correct motives; and every time a law is enforced (no matter how good the law) from religious motives, the false principle is established in the mind that it is right to compel people by law to be religious.

[The principle stated by the writer is correct, and his criticism just as to the *Christian Statesman*, but it is only justice to say that there is in the facts stated nothing to show that the motive of the judge was not a purely civil and proper one.—EDITOR SENTINEL.]

Once established, this principle lays a foundation for the enforcement by the State of everything pertaining to a church creed. To illustrate: If you compel a man to stop drinking because you think it will ruin his soul, you adopt the principle that it is right to prohibit by law anything which in your judgment would be an injury to men's souls. This is the principle of the papacy precisely, and is the open door to all the despotism of the Dark Ages. And there is no principle growing faster in America to-day. Everywhere you will hear it said, that this law and that law, and another ought to be enforced—why? In order that people might be more civil? No, you will seldom hear that; but they will tell you they want laws enforced to keep men from going to perdition, to compel them to show respect for God and Christianity, to stem the tide of immorality and irreligion, that is hurrying men to hell. And these deluded people do not realize that, by failing to comprehend the fact that government has nothing to do with saving souls, or with keeping people from perdition, they are establishing a principle which has caused the ruin of more people than almost anything else in the world.

It is time for Americans to open their eyes and study well the principles upon which their actions are based.

A. DELOS WESTCOTT.

THE *American Standard* remarks that "a good deal is said about hard times in Iowa, yet the State has just paid the last dollar of her debt, and taxes are to be reduced one-third. If prohibition has accomplished this, it's a big feather in the cap of prohibition." Whether prohibition in Iowa has reduced taxation or not, it has done one good thing: it has demonstrated, not only there but in Kansas and the Dakotas, that all hope of prohibition is not bound up in the so-called Prohibition party. It has been demonstrated in those States that when public sentiment is educated up to that point the people will adopt prohibition regardless of parties.

Another Sunday Law Proposed.

WE are advised from Washington that a Sunday-rest bill for the District of Columbia will be introduced by Congressman W. C. P. Breckinridge, of Kentucky, soon after the holidays. The wording of the bill will be about the same as the national bill introduced by Senator Blair; and, like the Blair bill, will contain a clause exempting from its penalties those who "conscientiously believe in and observe any other day than Sunday as the Sabbath, or as a day of religious worship, provided such labor [as they may engage in] be not done to the disturbance of others." This, it is thought by friends of the bill, will silence the opposition of seventh-day people. In fact, referring to this very thing, Mrs. M. E. Catlin, Superintendent of the Sabbath Observance Department of District W. C. T. U., recently said: "I think that we have taken the wind out of their sails by giving them an exemption clause." We trust, however, that in this she is mistaken. Exemption clauses may make Sunday laws less oppressive to the few, but they do not make them right, nor change in the least degree their pernicious influence.

We are also informed that the plan is to urge the passage of the District bill, hoping thereby to make it easier to secure the passage of the national bill. Mrs. Bateham is credited with saying:—

"Do little for the national bill now, but work for the local law. When we secure a law for the District it will be easy to get Congress to pass a similar law for the Nation."

To be forewarned is to be forearmed, and we trust that the friends of liberty of conscience in the District of Columbia—whether seventh-day, first-day, or no-day people—will refuse to be taken in the snare that is being so artfully laid for their feet. The passage of a local Sunday law by Congress may seem a small thing, but it would be a blow directed at religious liberty throughout the length and breadth of our land. A little more than sixty years ago Congress was asked to suspend the carrying of the mails on Sunday. The petition was referred to the Committee on Post-offices and Post-roads, of which Hon. Richard M. Johnson, of Kentucky, was chairman. In their report the committee said:

"This first effort of the kind calls for the establishment of a principle which, in the opinion of the committee, would lay the foundation for dangerous innovations upon the spirit of the Constitution, and upon the religious rights of the citizen. If admitted, it may be justly apprehended that the future measures of the government will be strongly marked, if not eventually controlled, by the same influence."

These words, and the reason set forth in them, are applicable to the present demand for a Sunday law for the District of Columbia; and we trust that they have lost none of their force. They prevailed to defeat a scheme for religious legislation then; may they not be equally potent now?

C. P. B.

THE field secretary of the American Sabbath Union is Rev. W. F. Crafts, of this city. Down at Washington City the other day, in a sermon on the Sunday-law question, he held up a backwards saw which he says he got at Nazareth, in Palestine, and which is emblematic of the course of certain leaders in the Sunday movement, and informed his audience that it was such a saw as that that Christ laid down "Saturday nights" at the close of his week's work, and preparatory to his weekly rest on Sunday. And everybody knows, or ought to know, that Christ never worked on Saturday and never kept Sunday while he was in this world. Everybody knows, or ought to know, that Saturday was the Sabbath in Christ's day; and that he rested instead of worked on that day. Sunday, we are informed by the theologians, is kept in memory of Christ's resurrection; and it is hardly likely that he commemorated his own resurrection before that event occurred. Query: In that statement did Mr. Crafts manifest his own ignorance, or did he presume upon the ignorance of his audience? If the latter, was it honest? If the former, ought he not to learn before he takes it upon himself to teach?

It is announced from Rome that Monseigneur Satolli, who recently returned to Rome from this country, has assured the Pope that "the Washington government looks favorably upon the idea of having a duly accredited diplomatic representative at the Vatican." There is little room for doubt that this is true. The cry of "rum, Romanism, and rebellion" defeated one candidate for the presidency in this country, and forewarned by that circumstance each presidential possibility is now determined that nothing of the kind shall happen in his case. But there is absolutely no reason why this country should have a representative at the papal court. The crafty Leo desires it because it would be an acknowledgment from one of the greatest powers of earth that he is of right a temporal prince, and that he is unjustly deprived of his dominions. But that is something that this country has no right to acknowledge; nor would our officials so much as think of doing so were it not for the political influence exercised

in this country by the minions of a foreign pretender to a usurped throne in Italy.

DECEMBER 9-11, the American Sabbath Union held its first anniversary in this city. The attendance was about fifty. Papers were read, speeches were made, and eighteen resolutions were passed. One paper "prepared expressly for the occasion," but not presented, was entitled "Some Lessons Learned During the Past Year." If that paper was prepared by the field secretary we should like very much to see it or hear it read, especially if he gave an impartial account of certain things which we know that he learned. The Union decided to establish the headquarters of the field secretary in Washington City. This is in order that he may be on the spot to superintend the passing of the Sunday laws which they demand.

THE statement of Dr. Schaff that Sunday laws are a connecting link between church and State is a truth that can be demonstrated by more than one line of argument embodying proofs as strong as Holy Writ. Wherever there are Sunday laws, therefore, there is a union of church and State. This is one great reason why the AMERICAN SENTINEL is so uncompromisingly opposed to Sunday laws. Any union of church and State is only evil, and any laws or governmental forms that comprise any connecting link between the two are wrong.

THE morality as derived from religion which the State needs will be best supplied by the confinement of its agency to things temporal and the entire omission on its part of any attempt to administer things spiritual. The State can do religion no favor so great as to have nothing to do with it, and itself no favor so great as to let religion alone. The moment the two are put in alliance with each other both are injured.—*Samuel T. Spear, D. D.*

"THE law of love being the foundation of the government of God, the happiness of all intelligent beings depends upon their perfect accord with its great principles of righteousness. God desires from all his creatures the service of love,—service that springs from an appreciation of his character. He takes no pleasure in a forced obedience; and to all he grants freedom of will, that they may render him voluntary service."

NOW READY!

THE NATIONAL SUNDAY LAW.

We do not mean that a National Sunday Law is now ready, but that a treatise under this name, prepared by Alonzo T. Jones, is now ready for circulation. This pamphlet contains the arguments in behalf of the rights of American citizens, and in opposition to the Blair Sunday-rest bill, which Mr. Jones presented before the Senate Committee on Education and Labor, Dec. 13, 1888. Mr. Wilbur F. Crafts has pronounced the report as published

"MIGHTY INTERESTING READING,"

And Mr. Jones's comments will make it more so. His argument is enlarged to what it would have been without Senator Blair's interruption, objections, and counter-arguments, and is accompanied with answers to all of his objections and counter-arguments. As the Sunday question is now a living issue, this treatise will be interesting to all classes, especially legislators, lawyers, judges, and other public men. The argument is

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NEW YORK, JANUARY 2, 1890.

NOTE.—Any one receiving the AMERICAN SENTINEL without having ordered it may know that it is sent to him by some friend, unless plainly marked "Sample copy." It is our invariable rule to send out no papers without pay in advance, except by special arrangement, therefore, those who have not ordered the SENTINEL need have no fears that they will be asked to pay for it simply because they take it from the post-office.

No man can ever of right make his religion the basis of any plea for governmental favor, nor the ground of any complaint of governmental discrimination. If there is not enough good in the religion to pay him for professing it then there is not enough to pay the government for taking any legal notice of it in any way whatever.

THE basis of the State is the natural, its province is the temporal; the basis of the church is supernatural, its province is the spiritual. The church can never of right have anything at all to do with the State, and the State can never of right have anything to do with the church except as it has to do with any and all other bodies or corporations.

MR. CRAFTS, it is said, admits that Washington is now the most orderly and quiet city on Sunday of any city in this country. "Its greatest failure is in not having a Sunday law." But why have such a law if without it better order is maintained than is had elsewhere with Sunday laws? Is not the real object to secure from Congress some acknowledgment of Sunday sacredness? So it certainly appears, and so we believe.

WE are indebted to a number of our exchanges for friendly and even complimentary mention upon the occasion of our removal from Oakland, Cal., to this city. We appreciate these notices, not only because they are a substantial benefit, but because they show that our work has not been lost upon our brethren of the press. We are glad to know that our efforts are appreciated, and that in the final "tug of war" very many of the papers of the country will be found on the side of the liberty of conscience now guaranteed by our national Constitution.

DECEMBER 9, 1889, in the United States Senate, Senator Blair of New Hampshire introduced both the measures looking to religious legislation, which he had introduced in the Fiftieth Congress—the Sunday-Rest Bill, and the Joint Resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution by which the "principles of the Christian religion" shall be taught in all the public schools of the country. We have not

space to notice them further this week but in our next we shall notice the Sunday bill in full and as soon as possible the proposed amendment also. It is announced that Congressman W. C. P. Breckinridge will soon introduce a Sunday bill in the House.

THE Sunday-law question is again before Congress. Very early in the present session several petitions were presented on the subject, some praying for the passage of a national Sunday law, and others protesting against any religious legislation whatever. Sunday is a religious institution, and legislation concerning it is religious legislation.

NATIONAL REFORMERS are unhappy because President Harrison's message to Congress contained no recognition of God. In this particular it is said to be unlike the messages of all preceding Presidents. The omission was probably due to an oversight, but it is possible that the President had the good sense to know that the Lord is not pleased with unmeaning complimentary allusions to him, and that he abhors the hollow mockery of official piety.

THE AMERICAN SENTINEL maintains the inalienable right of every man to profess any religion or none just as he chooses; but it denies the right of any association of religious people to compel those who are not religious to act as though they were, or to conform to any religious observance, or to recognize any religious institution. We likewise deny the right of the State to pronounce any religious or ecclesiastical institution a civil thing and by that means compel conformity to it.

IN a recent address before the New York Baptist Pastor's Conference on "The Significance of the Roman Catholic Congress and an outline of the Roman Catholic Movement of to-day," Rev. D. C. Potter, D. D., said:—

"That Catholic centenary congress in Baltimore was a jubilee, a Roman victory. Its first note was a psalm, its last a doxology. Its voice was defiance, its grasp power, its purpose advance, and that, dare I say, irresistible. It evaded nothing, quibbled at nothing, but spoke out in a voice dominant and daring. The Protestant church could stand on its platform with hardly a phrase change."

This is all true, especially the last sentence. But why is the last true? Is it because Rome has changed? Nay, verily; "Rome never changes." It is because the Protestant church, so called, has ceased to be truly Protestant. We live in evil times when a union between Protestants and Romanists for the purpose of moulding legislation in the interests of "religion," as they put it, but really in the interests of the dominant churches, as such, is not only possible but when it is an accomplished fact. All "religious combinations to effect political objects are dangerous," and this one is doubly dangerous because the

Protestant church of to-day can stand on a Romish platform and with Romanists advocate a papal policy.

IN a recent informal talk before the W. C. T. U. of the District of Columbia Mrs. Bateham said that "the outlook for a Sunday law for the District is very hopeful. Everything is in good shape. Mr. Blair thinks that there will be little opposition this year." We believe that the Senator has reckoned without his host. There will probably be more opposition than he imagines. We are not prepared to say that Mr. Blair's Sunday-law schemes may not eventually succeed; but we do feel sure of one thing, namely, that a Sunday-law shall not be foisted upon the American people without their being fully informed concerning the nature and tendency of all such measures. The heritage of civil and religious liberty received from the founders of the republic will not be surrendered without a struggle.

Freethought, a liberal paper published in San Francisco, says:—

"Are not the Mormon Church, the Catholic Church, and all other churches perfectly consistent in claiming supreme power? If God is supreme and if the churches are the custodians of his word, why should they not speak with authority? That is the question."

No church calling itself Christian is consistent in claiming supreme power. God alone has such power and he has never delegated it to any man or to any body of men. The church can of right, as a church, have nothing to do with earthly governments. The great Head of the church himself declared, "My kingdom is not of this world," and his followers cannot go beyond his word without forfeiting the right to call themselves by his name. Christ gave but one commission to his church, namely, to go into all the world and make disciples; this the apostles did by persuading men, and that is as far as the authority of the church extends. Any church which claims more than this is not Christian, though it may be so called, but anti-Christian. God has promised this world to his people, that is, to the meek (Matt. 5:5), but he has not yet made them lords over it, much less has he authorized them to take it for themselves. The true Christian is a missionary, not a politician.

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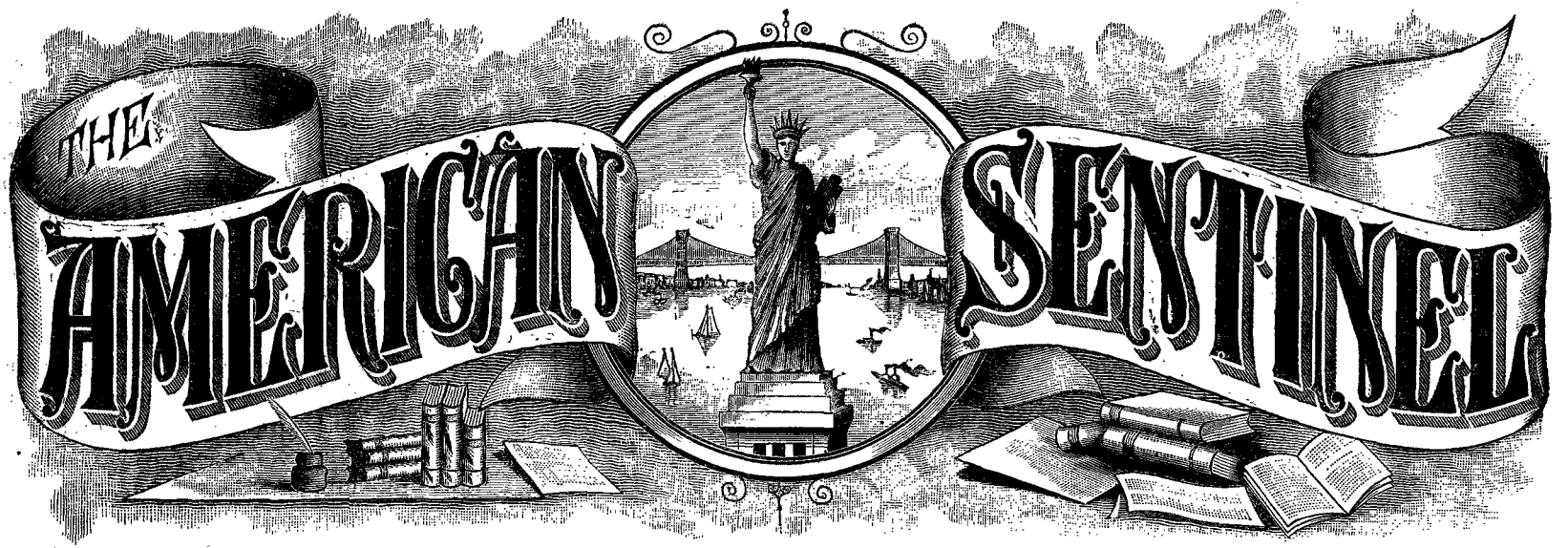
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Equal and exact justice to all men, of whatever state or persuasion, religious or political.—*Thomas Jefferson.*

VOLUME 5.

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EDITORS,
E. J. WAGGONER, ALONZO T. JONES.

THE Sunday-law workers are quite accommodating. If in any of their conventions there are not enough of those who openly favor religious legislation to carry their plans and resolutions on a religious basis, they will very obligingly declare the whole thing to be civil only and secure the indorsement upon that basis. Very accommodating indeed they are; but calling a religious or ecclesiastical thing "civil" does not make it any the less religious. Sunday legislation is religious legislation under whatever name it may be proposed. And religious legislation is forbidden by the Word of God.

WITH the view of raising the "standard of morality of both sexes, and stimulating the fervor of their religious belief," the young emperor of Germany has, it is stated, issued an edict intended to put down dancing among the youth. Under the new order dancing is not to begin until after noon, is not to be kept up after 8 in the evening, and none except school children are to be allowed to join in the giddy round or the solemn square. Young people who are being prepared for confirmation are absolutely forbidden to appear at dances or to dance; and all parents and guardians of the young are called upon to use every means in their power to keep their children or pupils from dancing, and they are advised to substitute games for the popular form of recreation. Bismarck, it is said, opposed the ukase, saying:—

"That policy will be sure to make the young people dance all the harder. Who knows but it may come to pass that dances will be held in secret, like political agitatory exercises, and that the devotees of Terpsichore will have their heads turned with seditious politics as well as with the comparatively harmless dizziness of the waltz?"

Germany, it might be well to remember, is a church and State country. Religion is taught in the public schools, and in various ways God is recognized as the source of all power; yet with the single exception of France, no so-called Christian country equals it in infidelity. It requires something more than imperial edicts, legislative action, and official red-tape to make Christians. We do think that professed Christians should not desire to dance; but if they do, no amount of governmental interference will make the matter one whit better. There is no merit in not doing a thing when there is no opportunity to do it. Hot-house Christians have never been a success.

The New Blair Sunday Bill.

DECEMBER 9, 1889, Senator Blair of New Hampshire, re-introduced his bill for a national Sunday law.

The first thing to be noticed about this bill is the title and the important modification of it as compared with the title of the original bill introduced in the Fiftieth Congress, and as compared with the title proposed by the American Sabbath Union a year ago last December. The title in the original bill read:—

"A bill to secure to the people the enjoyment of the first day of the week, commonly known as the Lord's day, as a day of rest, and to promote its observance as a day of religious worship."

This title threw the bill so open to criticism on account of its religious aspect that the American Sabbath Union asked that it should be made to read as follows:—

"A bill to secure to the people the enjoyment of the Lord's day, commonly known as Sunday, as a day of rest, and to protect its observance as a day of religious worship."

This however was pronounced by Senator Blair as stronger and more interfering than the other.

By the experience of the past summer, the advocates of the Sunday law have themselves learned that this has a stronger religious cast than can well be defended in legislation, and therefore, the title of the

bill as now introduced, is stripped of its religious cast and is made to read simply thus:—

"A bill to secure to the people the privileges of rest and of religious worship, free from disturbance by others, on the first day of the week."

If this title described the real object of the bill it would be a very innocent measure, *provided* it were true that the people have not already secured to them the privileges of rest and religious worship free from the disturbance of others, not only on the first day of the week, but at all other times. It is a fact, however, that there are no people in all this land who have not the privileges of rest and religious worship free from disturbance by anybody on the first day of the week, and all other days and nights of the week. The workers for Sunday law know this full well. The field secretary of the American Sabbath Union made a tour of all the States and Territories the past summer in the interests of Sunday laws. In Portland, Or., and in San Francisco, he complained especially of the loose way in which Sunday was observed. The writer of this article was present at the field secretary's Sunday meeting in Portland and twice in San Francisco, and Mr. Crafts knows that the worship of the congregations to which he preached in those cities, and to whom he complained of the sorry manner of Sunday observance in those cities—were not disturbed in the slightest degree, nor was there any disposition on the part of anybody to disturb them. This he knows as well as we know it, and this they all know.

This being the title of the bill let us inquire how the object of the bill, as declared in the title, is proposed to be accomplished. Section 1 reads as follows:—

"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That no person or corporation, or agent, servant, or employee of any person or corporation, or in the service of the United States in time of peace, except in the necessary enforcement of the laws, shall perform, or authorize to be performed, any secular work, labor, or business to the disturbance of others, works of necessity and

mercy and humanity excepted; nor shall any person engage in any play, game, or amusement, or recreation to the disturbance of others on the first day of the week, commonly known as Sunday, or during any part thereof, in any Territory, district, vessel, or place subject to the exclusive jurisdiction of the United States; nor shall it be lawful for any person or corporation to receive pay for labor or service performed or rendered in violation of this section."

That declares that no person within the jurisdiction of the United States shall perform or authorize to be performed, any *secular* work, labor or business to the disturbance of others upon the first day of the week. Now secular means, "pertaining to this present world, or to things not spiritual or holy; relating to things not immediately or primarily respecting the soul but the body; worldly." Therefore this bill proposes to prohibit all persons within the jurisdiction of the United States from performing or authorizing to be performed on Sunday any work, labor, or business pertaining to this present world or to things not spiritual or holy. It proposes to prohibit them from performing any work, labor, or business relating immediately or primarily to the body, (works of necessity, mercy, and humanity excepted); to prohibit them from doing anything worldly, that is, pertaining to this world or to this life. Consequently, the only kind of works that can properly be done on Sunday under that bill are works that pertain to another world, works that pertain to things spiritual or holy, works respecting the soul, and the life to come.

Now we should like for some of these Sunday-law folks to tell us how the Congress of the United States is going to find out, so as authoritatively to state, what work, labor, or business it is that properly pertains to another world, on Sunday or at any other time. More than this, we should like for them to tell us how Congress is to find out whether there is any other world than this, and especially how it is to find this out and make it to be so clearly discerned that the recognition of it can be enforced by law upon all the people? We should like, also, for some of these to tell how Congress is to discover what work it is that properly pertains to the people's souls on Sunday; or indeed, whether the people have any souls? How is Congress to know whether there is a life to come? And if Congress shall discover all this to its own satisfaction, then will Congress insure to all the people a happy issue in that life to come, upon condition that they will observe the Sunday laws?

These are not captious questions, they are entirely pertinent. For when it is proposed that this nation by legislative acts shall commit itself to the guardianship of the affairs of the world to come, of men's souls, and of another life; and when the people are asked to consent to it; it is strictly proper for the people to inquire,

How shall the State make that thing a success?

The truth is, that the State can never have anything to do with the world to come or with the question as to whether there is one to come at all. The State can never have anything to do with men's souls or with the question as to whether men have any souls. The State can never have anything to do with the life to come or with the question as to whether there is any life to come. No State will ever reach the world to come nor will any State ever, in the least degree, be partaker of the life that is to come. The State is of this world wholly, it has to do only with the affairs of this world, and with men as they are in this world. The State has to do only with men's bodies, and to see that the lives which men lead are civil.

Nor do we raise these questions because we doubt that there is another world or that there is a life to come. We are fully persuaded that there is both another world and a life to come. But the discerning of this is a matter of faith, and that on the part of each individual for himself alone. Nobody on this earth can discern or decide this for anybody else. We thoroughly believe that there is both another world and a life to come, and anybody in this world has an equal right not to believe it if he chooses so to do. We have the right to believe this without the sanction of the government; and any other man has a right not to believe it, and that without any interference by the government. We deny the right of any of the Senators or Representatives in Congress to decide any of these matters for anybody but himself.

SEC. 2. "That no mails or mail matter shall hereafter be transported in time of peace over any land postal-route, nor shall any mail matter be collected, assorted, handled, or delivered during any part of the first day of the week: *Provided*, That whenever any letter shall relate to a work of necessity or mercy, or shall concern the health, life, or decease of any person, and the fact shall be plainly stated upon the face of the envelope containing the same, the Postmaster-General shall provide for the transportation of such letter or letters in packages separate from other mail matter and shall make regulations for the delivery thereof, the same having been received at its place of destination before the said first day of the week, during such limited portion of the day as shall best suit the public convenience and least interfere with the due observance of the day as one of worship and rest: *And provided further*, That when there shall have been an interruption in the due and regular transmission of the mails it shall be lawful to so far examine the same when delivered as to ascertain if there be such matter therein for lawful delivery on the first day of the week."

Upon this, under its first proviso, we would ask: How many letters would be stopped on Sunday after the thing got into good working order? Under this same proviso there is another clause that is of more serious moment, especially to those who observe Sunday. That is the clause which refers to "the due observance of the day as one of worship and rest." Are the people who believe in keeping Sunday

ready to have the government regulate their observance of that day? Are they ready to have the State assume the prerogative of deciding what is the due observance of that day as a day of worship and rest? This is what they do when they consent to the enactment of such a law as the Blair Sunday Bill is. Every man who believes in keeping Sunday, when he consents to this bill, resigns his religious liberty. He resigns his right to worship according to the dictates of his own conscience and yields to the government the right to dictate how he shall observe that day as a day of worship. The fact is, that in this thing the people who desire to keep Sunday and who believe that it should be religiously observed, have more at stake than any other people, and it is a mystery that they cannot see this. It is a mystery that the leaders in the movement cannot see that they are deliberately robbing themselves of the dearest rights known to man. The mystery is solved, however, by the fact that the lust for power has blinded them to the consideration, not only of the rights of other people, but of their own rights. It is in behalf of the rights of those who believe in keeping Sunday and of worshiping according to the dictates of their own consciences, no less than in behalf of the rights of all other people, that the SENTINEL carries on its uncompromising opposition to all manner of governmental sanction or interference in the matter of Sabbath observance.

State regulation of the religious observance or worship, of the day, is the inevitable outcome of the legislation that is proposed, yet it is not intended by the managers of this movement that the State shall do this of itself. They intend that the church shall assume the supremacy and dictate the action and wield the power of the State. Thus a union of church and State, the rule of the despotic tyranny of a hierarchy will be the inevitable outcome of this legislation. It cannot be escaped when once the legislation is begun.

SEC. 3. "That the prosecution of commerce between the States and with the Indian tribes, the same not being work of necessity, mercy, or humanity, by the transportation of persons or property by land or water in such way as to interfere with or disturb the people in the enjoyment of the first day of the week, or any portion thereof, as a day of rest from labor, the same not being labor of necessity, mercy, or humanity, or its observance as a day of religious worship, is hereby prohibited, and any person or corporation, or the agent, servant, or employee of any person or corporation who shall willfully violate this section shall be punished by a fine of not less than ten nor more than one thousand dollars, and no service performed in the prosecution of such prohibited commerce shall be lawful, nor shall any compensation be recoverable or be paid for the same."

With such a penalty upon the exercise of honest occupations and such a premium upon idleness, the government ought to be able soon to create enough evil to ruin itself, which it surely will if the thing should be carried into all the States.

SEC. 4. "That all military and naval drills, musters, and parades, not in the time of active service or immediate preparation therefor, of soldiers, sailors, marines, or cadets of the United States on the first day of the week, except assemblies for the due and orderly observance of religious worship, are hereby prohibited, nor shall any unnecessary labor be performed or permitted in the military or naval service of the United States on the first day of the week."

When everything shall have been forbidden the soldiers, sailors, marines and cadets, as is here proposed, except assemblies for the due and orderly observance of religious worship, suppose that they do not want to assemble for the observance of religious worship, will they then be assembled for that purpose? And how are they to know what is the "due" observance of religious worship in the meaning of the law, except they shall be instructed? Having gone so far in religio-political chicanery after the manner of Constantine, they might take the next and requisite step also, according to the example set by him, and teach them the "due" observance of religious worship, as he did, by having them to assemble and repeat at a given signal a prayer also enacted by Congress and adapted to the governmental authority of the United States.

SEC. 5. "That it shall be unlawful to pay or to receive payment or wages in any manner for service rendered or for labor performed or for the transportation of persons or of property in violation of the provisions of this act, nor shall any action lie for the recovery thereof, and when so paid, whether in advance or otherwise, the same may be recovered back by whoever shall first sue for the same."

This section is identical, word for word, with the one in the original bill. Whenever anybody receives any pay at any time for work done on Sunday, the first man that will sue for the money, is to have it. It makes no difference who he is or where he comes from if he finds out that anybody has received money for work done on Sunday, all he has to do is to enter suit, and the law says he shall have it.

This section aptly befits the cause to which this bill is committed. The only effect the bill as a whole can have upon those who are not really religious is to compel them to be idle, and this section simply proposes to put a further premium upon idleness by compelling the man who chooses to work rather than to be idle, to pay the idler for the exercise of his own honest industry. The lazy loafer who will never do anything if he can help it, can spend his time watching the industrious citizen, and if he can detect him in committing the heinous crime of performing any honest work on Sunday, for which he shall receive any pay, the loafer can recover from the industrious man a sufficient amount to support him in his idleness several days. This is a fine thing indeed, an excellent provision of law, for the loafers.

Government is supposed to be founded in justice. Courts are supposed to be courts of justice. But we should like very much indeed for somebody to show upon

what principle of justice this section is founded, and by what principle of justice any court can be guided in enforcing the provisions of it.

SEC. 6. "That labor or service performed and rendered on the first day of the week in consequence of accident, disaster, or unavoidable delays in making the regular connections upon postal-routes and routes of travel and transportation, the preservation of perishable and exposed property, and the regular and necessary transportation and delivery of articles of food in condition for healthy use, and such transportation for short distances from one State, District, or Territory into another State, District, or Territory as by local laws shall be declared to be necessary for the public good shall not be deemed violations of this act, nor shall the provisions of this act be construed to prohibit or to sanction labor on Sunday by individuals who conscientiously believe in and observe any other day than Sunday as the Sabbath or a day of religious worship, provided such labor be not done to the disturbance of others."

This section is identical with the same section in the original bill down to the directions for the construction of the act. In the original bill the provisions of the act were to be so construed as "to secure to all the people the religious observance of the Sabbath day." But the bill as now presented is to be so construed as neither to prohibit nor to sanction labor on Sunday by those who conscientiously believe in and observe any other day than Sunday as the Sabbath or a day of religious worship. Thus the government proposes to allow labor on Sunday by those who observe another day, yet it carefully refrains from adding to the permission any such sanction as would imply that it is right for such people to work on Sunday.

Yet nobody can be partaker of this permission, unless he *conscientiously* believes in, and observes another day than Sunday as the Sabbath or a day of religious worship. The conscientious belief in and observance of a day, therefore, as a day of religious worship, is required by the government in those who do not want to keep Sunday; and as the other sections of the bill require that Sunday shall be duly observed as a day of religious worship; that nothing shall be done that day except that which pertains to another world; to that which is sacred and holy; to the souls of men; and to the life to come; it is manifest that the object of the Blair Sunday-Rest Bill is the enforcement of THE RELIGIOUS OBSERVANCE OF A DAY.

Consideration of the whole bill makes it plain that the modification of the title, to which we called attention at the beginning of this article, is so utterly disingenuous as to be fairly open to the direct charge of fraud. The object of the bill is *not* to secure to the people the privilege of rest and worship upon the first day of the week. It is to *compel* them to rest and to religiously worship on the first day of the week, or else on some other day if they do not choose to do it on Sunday. The modification in the title is simply to disarm suspicion; and the exemption of those who

conscientiously observe another day as a day of religious worship, is put into the bill for no other purpose than to checkmate the opposition of the seventh-day observers. This would be manifest from the bill itself, even without anything further, but they have not left it to be gathered from the bill only. Mrs. M. E. Catlin, superintendent of Sabbath Observance Department of the W. C. T. U. for the District of Columbia, has distinctly declared it in these words: "I think that we have taken the wind out of their sails by giving them an exemption clause." During the past summer Dr. Crafts has denounced the Seventh-day Adventists as the chiefest opponents of the bill, and they propose now to check this opposition by this provision in the new bill. But from what we know of that people, we hardly think they can be caught by any such chaff as that.

Nor is this the only effort that is made to disarm suspicion and check opposition. In some places the organizations that are formed auxiliary to the American Sabbath Union, take the name of "Civil Sunday" associations. And in conventions where they cannot carry resolutions indorsing the Sabbath as a religious institution, they will modify them so as to carry them in favor of Sunday as a civil institution. By such modifications and compromises, they hope at last to succeed. But whatever turn they may take, now or in the future, will not relieve them from the just charge of desiring the enactment of a national law for the enforcement of the religious observance of a day; because their real intention has been clearly revealed in the first steps taken; and whatever modifications they may afterward adopt, will not in the least change the original intention, but only the appearance, and that simply for policy's sake.

The only safe and consistent position to occupy in relation to Sunday laws is the position maintained by the AMERICAN SENTINEL, that of uncompromising opposition to every form of Sunday law that may be invented. Such legislation means only mischief, and let the opposition be carried on everywhere more vigorously than ever.

A. T. J.

Religion and Law.

[This article from the *American Standard*, San Francisco, Cal., is a good illustration of the beauties of governmental interference in matters of religion, and religious education.]

WHAT will seem to most people a strikingly unjust decision was recently handed down by the judge of a New South Wales court. The case in brief is as follows: A father, professing the Roman Catholic faith, dies and leaves the guardianship of his daughter to his wife, also professing the Roman Catholic faith. For ten years the child is taught the faith embraced by both of its parents. At the end of the ten years the mother became a member of the

Church of England, to the tenets of which she held until her death, which occurred three years later. During these three years the child is a professing member of the Church of England. Upon the demise of her natural parent the child is left to the guardianship of two members of the mother's church. At this point the father's relatives step in and demand that the child—now perhaps fifteen years of age—shall be brought up in the faith of the father. The judge in equity held in favor of the latter.

In making up his decision the justice claimed, unwittingly and unintentionally, no doubt, that the jurisdiction of an English equity judge extends beyond the grave, beyond the confines of earth and to the domain of heaven itself. He asserted, and cited much supporting authority, that religious belief is not the result of conviction, nor developed by the exercise of the reasoning faculties. It is simply the practice in maturity of dogmas instilled in youth. He piled up authority to prove that this child's natural guardian and teacher, its mother, had no more importance in the eyes of British law than the wooden Indian in front of a cigar store. He is, no doubt, a learned judge, and we all know that learned judges, in both Great Britain and the United States, are enabled to find any given quantity of law in support of whatever opinion they may advance. But an intelligent, fair-minded person will find it difficult to free himself of the suspicion that this English judge was influenced by something beside the law in formulating his opinion."

Some Wholesome Suggestions to Ministers.

THE drift of the age is in the direction of "morality" by civil law, and this too often to the exclusion, or at least to the neglect of moral suasion. Instead of seeking to instruct people in moral duties, and thus lead them to practice morality from conscientious motives, even ministers are too often found appealing to the civil law to coerce men. This is a grave mistake, for while men may, and should be required under civil penalties to lead *civil* lives, it is neither proper nor possible to make them moral except by persuasion. This was the method adopted by Christ and his apostles, and it is the one which should be followed by his ministers. Directly in the line of that which we have said is the following from the *Iowa State Register*, of November 24, 1889, which contains some wholesome suggestions not only for ministers but to all who, though meaning well, are committing the grave error of attempting to reform men by making it impossible, or at least difficult, for them to do wrong.

The *Register's* article relates particularly to the temperance question, but the principle is the same as applied to other questions, and it is for this reason that we present it to our readers. The *Register* says:—

"We want to say to the preachers of Iowa at this crisis in public affairs, that in our judgment they are depending too much upon the law, and too little upon moral effort to bring about the condition of things we all desire. We have read with interest their letters and the resolutions they have adopted. We sympathize with them in their desire to banish the saloon and suppress the evils of intemperance. But we want to remind them that it takes more than a State statute to keep men from drinking, and to reform those who are slaves to the drink habit. The law is good so far as it goes, but when a human appetite and passion is the subject, it doesn't go the whole distance. There is something for the churches, something for the preachers, something for every good man and woman who wants to make the world better, to do. We notice in some of the resolutions which have been adopted at preachers' meetings within the last few days, a disposition to look still more to the legislature to suppress or stamp out whatever drinking and violation of the prohibitory law still remain.

"We believe that is a mistake. The law has done, and is doing all that the law can, to close the saloons, and to keep men from drinking. Can the preachers truthfully say that they have done and are doing all that they can? We wouldn't accuse them of willfully neglecting their duty. But have they as ministers done the best and the most they could to keep men sober, to reclaim the drunkard, to save the boys from learning to love liquor, since the prohibitory law went into effect?

"We have been watching the operation of the prohibitory law ever since it was enacted. We have been watching also the general course of the professed temperance workers toward it. We will credit the ministers with helping to enforce the law. They have preached enforcement from the pulpit. They have talked it on the streets, most of them have voted it at the polls. But when we have said that, haven't we said it all? Haven't we summed up the aggregate work of the clergy, and to quite an extent of the temperance organizations of the State? Our good friends, the preachers, have looked to the law to make and keep men sober, and have expected that would do the work which to a greater or less extent must be done in every community by personal effort.

"If the closing of the saloons had stopped drinking, we should have nothing more to say. But every well-informed man knows that it has not. It is true,

there is not as much drinking as there was when the saloons were open; but there is far too much now. It is idle to deny that a great many boys are learning to drink; that a great many men are drinking who would be far better off, and their families be far happier, if they would let liquor entirely alone. These are facts and stubborn ones, too. It will not do to ignore them; for they have a very disagreeable and painful way of forcing attention to themselves. Now what is being done to teach these boys to leave liquor alone? What is being done to show these men the folly and the harm of their course? What is being done to stir up public sentiment against the use of liquor? Not one single thing so far as we know except the single exhortation to enforce the law and keep the saloons closed.

"When was there a temperance meeting held in Des Moines to plead with men to sign the pledge and leave their drinking ways? When have our honored clergy held gospel temperance meetings to bring all the power of Christian influences to bear upon the drinking habit? When did a blue ribbon club or any other organization start out its members to find the old soaks and induce them to sign the pledge and become men again? Was any such personal work done in the last year, or the year before that? All of these good people headed by the ministers have been relying upon the law to do the work which the law never can do. They have preached sermons and held public meetings to demand that the law be enforced, but all this time there were poor fellows sinking lower and lower, and there were young men fastening the chains of appetite about their necks, and hardly a word of public protest or private entreaty has been heard.

"We do not single out Des Moines as exceptional in this respect. We do not believe its honored ministers are any more deserving of reproach or criticism than the ministers of other cities. We mention Des Moines because it is the nearest example of what we have in mind, and because it has more effectually perhaps than any other large city in Iowa, closed the open saloon. In calling attention to this neglect of moral effort, we are not asking for the return of the saloons, or pronouncing prohibition a failure. But we want to say that there is too much tendency to let the law supplant the rightful work of the pulpit and the church. Our friends, the preachers, in some of the resolutions that have been adopted recently, demand that the Legislature shall pass additional laws to enforce prohibition in counties where it is not now enforced. . . . But if the brethren will permit the *Register* to say it, there would be a good deal of work for the preachers in the river counties, even if the next Legislature should devise some scheme for closing the saloons. The saloons there are open because a majority of the people in those

counties believe that it is not a crime to sell liquor and not a sin to drink it. If every saloon were closed to-morrow, they would still think the same, and would seek at once some way to evade the law and satisfy their appetites.

"Now if our friends, the preachers, will allow us, we will tell them a way to close the saloons in every river county without any help from the Legislature. . . . Let them turn a phalanx of their best workers loose in those counties, and start an old-fashioned temperance revival. Preach temperance, sing temperance, talk temperance, reach out the hand of kindness and love to the poor drunkard, teach men that the saloon is the enemy of their homes, show them that the path of sobriety is the way to happiness, and just as quick as a majority of the people have been converted, the saloons will be closed, will stay closed. We would recommend that the district conference that demanded more legislation stop passing resolutions and move over into Scott county and go to work.

"As we believe in short sermons, we will practice what we preach. But we would urge upon the ministers of Iowa that they must not expect the law to make men good, and pure, and noble. . . . Don't expect the Legislature to do what a higher authority than man has laid upon human hearts and hands to do. We are disposed to look to the Legislature too much to reform society. As Francis Murphy says, they have an idea in the East that the people of Iowa are trying to change the Lord's prayer so as to make it read, 'Our Father who art in the Legislature.' That won't do. Don't leave moral work to be done by the law. We don't want to see our ministers acting as searchers and informers. Others can do that. They have a work which others can't do. It is theirs to do the work which their great Example did. He saved men from their sins, but but not with the sword of Cæsar."

No Compromise.

THE *Baltimore American* thinks that progress in religious liberty "has been great during the present century—greater, perhaps, than in all its predecessors combined; and it has logically followed the spread of general knowledge." "But," remarks that journal, "there must be more progress—very much more, too—before men learn to respect those who differ from them in religious matters, and to refrain from damnatory criticism."

This point, it intimates, is to be reached by compromise. But this is a mistake; there can be no compromise in religion, as there can be in politics. Nothing can be hoped for in the direction of greater religious liberty, or even the preservation of the degree of religious liberty which now exists, except as it comes through the recognition of the divinely-established prin-

ciple that in matters of faith men are answerable, not to their fellows, but to God alone. The true doctrine is that all men, no matter what their faith, are entitled to equal rights, both civil and social. 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.

The Province of Law.

[This article which is an abridgement of a sermon on "The Province of Law in Distinction from that of Truth" is from a discourse delivered by Rev. Benjamin F. Clark before the Executive and Legislative Department of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, upon the occasion of the meeting of the Legislature of that State in 1869. It is equally well adapted to the national Legislature and to questions now before that body.]

Gentlemen of the Senate and of the House of Representatives: As agents of the public in this commonwealth, you are called to fill honorable positions and to perform important work. In the capacity of legislators, it is highly important that you have clear and correct views respecting the province of law, that you may avoid the mistakes of others, and make your own legislation effective for good.

Among our citizens there are those who seem to think that most of "the ills that flesh is heir to" can be removed by legislation. These ask for impracticable laws, in conflict with well-established principles in political economy and in human nature. They demand legislation which will regulate the habits of the people. They demand legislation which shall force others to adopt their views and practices, and shall bring them into conformity to their standard of right. By this class of reformers, who are laboring to renovate the world by legislation, you will be approached, as your predecessors have been, with earnest petitions to frame their impracticable views into legal enactments. These impracticable men and women may urge you to pass laws to effect ends which are not within the province of legislation.

In the capacity of legislators, you will find it profitable to keep this province distinctly in view; bearing in mind that, while in a despotic government the habits of the people can be regulated by law, backed by military force, in a free government, like ours, having a sovereign in each of its subjects, this cannot be done. A despot may decide by law, which is the mere expression of his own will, what his subjects shall eat, drink and wear, and how they may talk and act; but such legislation in a republic will always prove a failure and a disaster. Understand, that the law is good if men use it lawfully; if they employ it in a sphere to which it is adapted, and for an end it was designed to accomplish. Guard against the fallacious reasonings of men who demand of law what law, in its weakness, cannot do.

If asked to remove acknowledged moral evils and to effect desired moral improve-

ments by legal enactments, refuse compliance, saying to your petitioners, It is impossible to legislate men into holiness, to force them to cultivate the Christian graces, or even to practice the common virtues. These ends must be effected, if at all, by the potent agency of truth kindly applied to the rational in man. Christ and his apostles, and their immediate successors in the Christian Church, never invoked the aid of law in their reformatory work. They were content to use the truth in their endeavors to reform men; but when the church became corrupt, its members, like some modern reformers, became self-righteous, belligerent, cruel, denying the right to think, much less to speak, in opposition to their standards.

The men trained by the great Teacher were model reformers, and eminently successful in their work. They wrought wonderful changes in the views and habits of the people whom they converted to the belief and practice of Christianity. They erected the standard of the cross, and made it attractive. Multitudes of Jews and Gentiles were effectually drawn to it by the magnetic power of the truth it contained. In proportion as persons, professedly desiring to improve human society, have imitated these model reformers, in spirit and in action, have they been successful.

What is the condition of the temperance reformation in our country to-day? Like the Christian Church, when united to the Roman State, this reformation has yielded to the embrace of politicians and been paralyzed; and the demand is felt for some bold reformer to rescue it from this polluting embrace, and bring it back into the field in which it made such great and glorious conquests, where it may make others still greater and more glorious. Temperance societies *now*, instead of being institutions for moral reform, are political organizations; and temperance lectures and temperance sermons are, in many instances, mere political harangues, which degrade the pulpit and desecrate the Sabbath.

If asked to enact laws to compel men to be virtuous, direct your petitioners to the great Reformer, and bid them imitate him. Let them be told that the law is good if men use it lawfully, in its appropriate province, which is not to reform, but to protect. Let them be told that legal protection in the use of moral means for effecting their objects is all the aid which legislation can properly afford. Let the history of the Pharisees of the Christian Church after its adoption by the Roman Emperor, of Catholic Mary, of Protestant Elizabeth, and of all other persecutors who have cruelly *compelled* persons to adopt their views and practices, influence you to resist importunate demands to frame laws for the regulation of men's habits, remembering that habits have opinions for their basis, and that opinions cannot be rationally changed by law and force.

You may be asked to frame laws to make men virtuous, which may be successfully used in connection with the truth, thereby combining force with persuasion. Our subject proclaims against such legislation, declaring that force and persuasion cannot be equally yoked together, and that law, being good *only* when used lawfully, is out of its province when forcibly employed to regulate either the opinions or the habits of the people. With the Judaizing teachers in mind, you cannot consistently yield to the demand for such legislation, knowing that, constituted as men are, if they attempt to use law and force instead of truth and persuasion in the work of reform, they will rely upon the former two to the exclusion of the latter. Force and persuasion nominally combined will generally constitute *simple force* in its most objectionable form; therefore legislators should resist demands for their combination.

Intent upon employing force in the reformatory department, some of your constituents, with more zeal than knowledge, demand legislation which will afford them *indirect* aid in bringing men to the adoption of their views and practices. It is a principle of law and of morals that men cannot rightfully do indirectly what they have not a right to do directly. This kind of legislation is not only impracticable, but often exceedingly mischievous. It not only fails to accomplish its object, but not unfrequently it increases the evil it was designed to lessen.

Law has an honorable and useful province, and is efficient for good when used lawfully, in accomplishing ends for which it was designed; and efficient for evil when improperly used to force changes in the peculiar province of truth. Keep these two provinces distinctly in view, and let the view influence your legislative action. Let professed reformers in our commonwealth understand that, whether in the capacity of organized churches, or of voluntary societies, formed for specific purposes, they can only receive from you protection in their work, while, in imitation of the great Christian Reformer and those trained by him in person, they may call upon sinners to repent, and persuade the vicious to change their habits and their characters, by proclaiming the terrors of the law, and describing the excellencies of virtue.

If you yield to their demand for legal authority to compel men to adopt their standard of right and propriety, you will make them like Saul of Tarsus, self-righteous, belligerent, and cruel, who breathed out threatenings and slaughter, under such authority, in the capacity of a persecutor. Saul of Tarsus undertook to reform people by force; Paul the apostle persuaded men to abandon sin and practice the Christian virtues. Saul of Tarsus was a self-righteous, cruel Pharisee; Paul the apostle was a bright ornament of the Christian Church. Saul of Tarsus was a destructionist; Paul

the apostle was a true benefactor. If you would have the reformers in our commonwealth resemble the benefactor and Christian, rather than the destructionist and Pharisee, withhold from them legislation, except in the form of protection, bearing in mind that the law is only good when used lawfully.

The National Reform Theory Reduced to Practice.

THE National Reform doctrine as set forth by Rev. J. M. Foster, a secretary of the association, is that—

“According to the Scriptures, the State and its sphere exist for the sake of, and to serve the interests of, the church.” “The true State will have a wise reference to the church’s interests in all its legislative, executive, and judicial proceedings.” “The expenses of the church, in carrying on her public aggressive work, it meets in whole, or in part out of the public treasury. Thus the church is protected and exalted by the State.”

This being the National Reform view, and it must be, for these are Mr. Foster’s own words just as they appeared over his own name in the *Christian Cynosure*, it follows that Trinidad, the “pearl of the Antilles,” is a model National Reform country. It has no established sect, but the State provides the whole church, Protestant and Catholic, “funds out of the public treasury for carrying on her public aggressive work.” A correspondent of a New York paper writing from Port-of-Spain, Trinidad, British West Indies, says:—

“Last year the government gave the Roman Catholics \$13,550 and the Anglicans \$5,815 for the upkeep of their respective scholastic establishments. The government also pays for four exhibitions or scholarships of \$750 each per annum, tenable for three years. And boys from the Roman Catholic College of the Immaculate Conception are permitted to compete for and obtain these scholarships. In addition to this, the government contributes \$5,000 a year toward the support of this Catholic college. We next find that the sum of about \$17,500 a year is paid from the public treasury toward the maintenance of the Church of England in Trinidad, and \$30,000 to the Romanists.”

The same correspondent continues:—

“And what has been the result of all this pampering by the government of the religious bodies? Has it achieved any good? I say, ‘No,’ emphatically. The lower classes are as ruffianly and black-guard a lot as any country was ever afflicted with. Concubinage is general, and only twenty-six per cent. of the births are legitimate. Thrift is almost unknown. Prostitution and vice are rampant, especially among the younger females. Gambling in its worst form is the order of the day. Burglaries have been of late very prevalent. And yet there is not one of these people who is not an adept at making the sign of the cross, and who cannot read off “Hail Mary’s” and “Pater Nosters” by the ell. The young girls, after making what is known as their first communion, lapse into dreadful profligacy.”

And this is the condition of a country in which they have that which the National Reformers propose for this land, namely, to use their own term, “a union of religion and the State.” But does this show that Christianity is a failure! By no means, it simply shows that which has

been demonstrated in much the same way wherever it has been tried, namely, that Christianity fostered and supported by a civil government ceases to be Christianity, and loses its power either to elevate people in the moral scale or to prevent them from sinking to even greater depths of vice than that in which it finds them. Many and dark have been the crimes committed in the name of liberty, but they are no more numerous, nor of deeper dye than are the abominations practiced in the name of the religion of Him in whose mouth was found no guile, and in whose life there was no sin. C. P. B.

A Baseless Basis.

THE second article of the American Sabbath Union declares that,—

“The basis of this Union is the divine authority and universal and perpetual obligation of the Sabbath as manifested in the constitution of nature,” &c.

The Sabbath is not manifested in the constitution of nature. The statement that it is so manifested is false, and the members of the American Sabbath Union know it to be false. Rev. Dr. Herrick Johnson, of Chicago, is a member of the American Sabbath Union, and not by any means an insignificant member. If they have any such thing as representative members, Dr. Johnson certainly may be named as one. In the Congressional Hearing, in behalf of the national Sunday law, December, 1888, held by the American Sabbath Union, Dr. Johnson was one of the speakers, and in his speech he said:—

“This appointment of one day in seven is arbitrary. There is nothing in nature to indicate that division of time. There is the day of twenty-four hours, there is the month, there is the year, all these are natural divisions; but there is nothing in nature to indicate the weekly division—the observance of one day in seven. It is arbitrary, and we regard that as an evidence of its divine origin.”

These statements of Dr. Johnson are evidently true upon their face, and they just as evidently prove that the statement, as to the basis of the American Sabbath Union, is false. The divisions of time into days, months, and years, is natural; there is that in nature that clearly defines these divisions. But there is nothing in nature to mark even the weekly division of time much less is there anything in nature that would mark one of the days in the weekly division as a day to be religiously observed. The State exists and has its basis only upon the plane of the natural. It has to do with things only upon the plane of the natural. The Sabbath is based only in the action of God and is manifested only in the revealed will of God. Both of which are pre-eminently supernatural. Therefore, the State existing only in the plane of the natural, and having to do only with the natural, can never of right have anything to do with the Sabbath, or with the weekly division of time which is caused by the Sabbath. That much of the basis of the American Sabbath Union is a fraud. And as the Sabbath Union exists for the purpose of securing religious legislation in behalf of the Sabbath, it follows that the basis of the American Sabbath Union rests upon nothing more tangible than does the “baseless fabric of a dream.”

The Logic of It.

If a man should ask to be admitted into membership in a Christian church while asserting his unbelief in Christianity there is not one of the ministers of the American Sabbath Union who would admit him to membership. If anyone should ask to be baptized while maintaining an attitude of positive unbelief in Jesus Christ there is not one of these ministers who would administer to him Christian baptism. They would deny his right to have any share whatever in it. It is so also in the matter of the Lord's supper. It is *logically* so also in the matter of the Christian Sabbath. But instead of standing logically to their proposition, they inconsistently demand laws by which men, who glory in infidelity and atheism, and in their hatred to Christianity, shall be compelled to observe the Christian Sabbath as a day of rest. In other words, they demand that the United States Government shall enact laws by which all the people who are not Christians and who do not want to be, shall be compelled to act as though they were Christians. If it be the Christian Sabbath, these people have no right to consent that anybody but Christians shall keep it; and far less have they any right to compel people to keep it who are not Christians.

If the church has the right to use the power of the Government to compel men to observe the Christian Sabbath as a day of rest, has she not an equal right to use the same power to compel the same persons to observe the same institution as a day of worship? And has she not an equal right to use the same power to compel all men to observe Christian baptism, and to belong to the Christian church? In short if she has the right to use the power, where is the limit to the exercise of that right, except in her own arbitrary will? The results here suggested will follow as surely as the power is obtained. For, although the church is always illogical and inconsistent in demanding the use of the civil power, she is always strictly logical and consistent in the use of that power to the utmost limit. The only safety is in not allowing her the use of the civil power to the slightest extent.

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NEW YORK, JANUARY 9, 1890.

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THE *Christian Nation* notices the removal of the AMERICAN SENTINEL to this city, and remarks that "the firing will now be at closer range." Possible the *Nation* will now be able to shoot a little closer to the mark. Hitherto its failures to hit anything have been unparalleled by any journal with which we are acquainted, with the possible exception of the *Christian Statesman*.

THE ministers of Xenia, Ohio, have issued an address to their people, urging them to cease desecrating "the Sabbath" by refraining from burying the dead on that day, going to the post-office, reading secular papers, compelling servants to do household work, and traveling on Sunday, especially by railroad. This is all right; if the ministers of Xenia believe that Sunday should be so strictly observed it is perfectly right for them to persuade their people, or any other people, to keep it; but there the matter should end; they have no right to coerce people in such matters.

A READER asks, "Can the Sunday bill become constitutional without being voted on by the people?" There is no way in which the people can ever have an opportunity to vote directly either for or against the proposed Sunday law. If Congress passes the bill and it is sustained by the Supreme Court, it will then be, for all practical purposes, constitutional. Of course we do not think that a Sunday law would be constitutional in the sense of being in harmony with the intent of the framers of the Constitution, but it is not at all unlikely that the courts would sustain such a law as that proposed by Senator Blair.

IN the late convention of the American Sabbath Union in this city the field secretary denounced certain base-ball leagues as "bands of criminals" because they play ball on Sunday, and the same convention asked Congress to pass a "civil Sabbath law." Now if the Sunday laws are "civil" statutes and forbid only that which is uncivil, then we should like very much for someone to tell what there is in the playing of base-ball on Sunday that is so intensely uncivil as to turn all who play it, into bands of criminals. In California also last summer the field secretary denounced as criminals all members of the legislature of that State who had

voted against a Sunday law, and declared that every one of them "ought to be in the penitentiary." Mr. Crafts is rather too prodigal with his denunciations properly to represent a minister of the gospel of Christ. Christ came not into the world to condemn the world, but that the world through Him might be saved.

LET none be deceived by the plausible cry of "a civil Sabbath." There is no such thing as a "civil Sabbath," and nobody wants such a thing. A "civil Sabbath" could be nothing else than a weekly holiday, when public business would be suspended and the people be left free to do as they please so long as they are civil, just as they are upon any other holiday. But that would be the "Continental Sunday" with a vengeance; and that the Sunday-law advocates do not want. "Take the religion out and you take the rest out," says Mr. Crafts, thus showing that, in his opinion, a Sabbath to be of any value must have a religious basis; and that is the truth. But when that is admitted where is the "civil Sabbath"? The fact is, as before stated, that there is, and in the very nature of the case, can be no such thing as a civil Sabbath. It is simply chaff used to catch sparrows.

THE field secretary of the American Sabbath Union should take the president of that association aside and instruct him in regard to the real object which they have in view. Mr. Crafts has been "swinging around the circle" explaining to the people that the Sunday movement is in the interest of the working men, a sort of sanitary measure as it were. But Mr. Shepard is continually saying something which, to say the least, excites a suspicion that the field secretary has been keeping something back; in short, that the real object of the movement is something else than that which he has represented it to be. One of these unfortunate "breaks" on Mr. Shepard's part was made in the recent meeting of the so-called Union in this city, when that gentleman offered some resolutions to the effect that the day of the inauguration of the president of the United States should be upon the first Wednesday of March, instead of upon the fourth day of that month. The reason for the change, as set forth in the resolutions, is that it would do away with the desecration of Sunday by enabling persons, east of the Mississippi, and those living even farther away, to leave their homes on Monday, attend the inauguration ceremonies, and return home by Saturday of the same week. This, says the resolutions, would prevent their "dishonoring the Lord's day for the purpose of honoring the president of the country."

Now the question naturally arises what possible connection this proposed change in the day of the inauguration has with

a movement in the interests of the working men? It certainly looks very much as though Mr. Shepard's object is to honor Sunday, and to promote its observance as a sacred day. And inasmuch as the American Sabbath Union adopted the resolutions without a dissenting vote, it would seem that the Union is in perfect accord with its president. And thus it appears that unless Mr. Crafts is mistaken as to his real motive, he stands alone in his efforts to preserve the health of that large and respectable class which he professes to serve.

THE object of the American Sabbath Union is declared by article 3 of its constitution to be, "To preserve the Christian Sabbath as a day of rest and worship." This object the Union proposes to effect by legislation. It makes no other effort than by law to do this. And granting just here, for the argument's sake, their claim that they do not propose to compel anybody to worship, they do propose to compel everybody to rest, on what they themselves call "the Christian Sabbath." Now Christian institutions and Christian ordinances belong only to Christians. The Christian church is for Christians only; Christian baptism is for Christians only; the Lord's supper is for Christians only. If Sunday be the Christian Sabbath, it likewise is for Christians only; and they not only have no right to compel those who are not Christians to observe it but those who are not Christians have no right voluntarily to observe it.

THE fathers of our Constitution builded wisely when they inserted the provision that liberty of conscience must remain inviolate. To maintain that bulwark of liberty there must be a continuous and absolute separation of State and church and public schools from all religion. To guide the public-school system to its destiny it is absolutely essential that religious influence be far removed from the schools, and that sectarian doctrines be forever eliminated. The blending of popular education with religion has been fully illustrated by the present condition of Germany, where the fatal effects are now shown. Atheism and infidelity exist there to a larger extent than in any other civilized country.—*Merced (Cal.) Express*.

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The American Sentinel.

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EDITORS,
E. J. WAGGONER, ALONZO T. JONES.

It is time for the National Reformers to cry out for the restoration of papal rule in Italy. They regard Romanism as better than "political atheism," and it seems that with the mass of Italians there is no halfway ground. A writer in a religious journal says that "in swinging away from the Romish Church, comparatively few stop at Protestantism. The majority know little respecting it, and apparently care as little about it." This is not a matter of surprise since they have been religious by law so long that they naturally regard all religion as simply a synonym of tyranny, and as soon as they have the opportunity they very naturally break away from the restraint which has been so galling to them.

AN exchange notes the fact that "a certain amount of religious liberty has been granted in Finland, which, though it does not go very far, is, at all events, a welcome installment. It only at present gives professed Christians of any sect the right to educate their own children, though not those belonging to members of the State Church. Marriages contracted by members of acknowledged sects will in future be legal. Different views of Christianity will no longer make any difference in the privileges and duties of the citizen, and these prerogatives are extended so far as to give Christians of any sect the right of entering Government service.

"Religious demonstrations and processions are, however, prohibited, and as the Salvation Army has gained a footing in the country, no doubt they will soon come into collision with the authorities on that point. The Government has undertaken to examine into the doctrines and beliefs of every

dissenting sect, and also to keep a close account of them; it has cut a nice task out for itself and it remains to be seen how the plan will work. It appears that any members of the community not professing some form of Christianity are still to be debarred the rights of citizenship, nor are they allowed to form organized communities or educate their children."

The Blair Amendment Resolution.

HERE is the Joint Resolution proposing to amend the Constitution of the United States, as re-introduced in the United States Senate by Senator Blair, December 9, 1889:—

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following amendment to the Constitution of the United States be, and hereby is, proposed to the States, to become valid when ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the States as provided in the Constitution:

ARTICLE —.

SECTION 1. No State shall ever make or maintain any law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.

SEC. 2. Each State in this Union shall establish and maintain a system of free public schools adequate for the education of all the children living therein, between the ages of six and sixteen years, inclusive, in the common branches of learning, in virtue and morality, and in knowledge of the fundamental and non-sectarian principles of Christianity. But no money raised by taxation imposed by law or any money or other property or credit belonging to any municipal organization, or to any State, or to the United States, shall ever be appropriated, applied, or given to the use or purposes of any school, institution, corporation, or person, whereby instruction or training shall be given in the doctrines, tenets, beliefs, ceremonials, or observances peculiar to any sect, denomination, organization, or society, being, or claiming to be, religious in its character, nor shall such peculiar doctrines, tenets, belief, ceremonials, or observances, be taught or inculcated in the free public schools.

SEC. 3. To the end that each State, the United States, and all the people thereof, may have and preserve governments republican in form and in substance, the United States shall guaranty to every State, and to the people of every State and of the United States, the support and maintenance of such a system of free public schools as is herein provided.

SEC. 4. That Congress shall enforce this article by legislation when necessary.

This is identical with the original resolution introduced by the same gentleman in 1888, with the exception of the clause relating to the Christian religion. The original resolution said that the children should be taught "in the common branches of knowledge, and in virtue, morality, and in the principles of the Christian religion." Whereas, this one reads, "in the common branches of learning, in virtue and morality, and in knowledge of the fundamental and non-sectarian principles of Christianity." But nothing has been gained by this change. If it was intended to give the resolution less of a religious tone or character, by changing "the principles of the Christian religion" for "principles of Christianity," the change is hardly worth the effort required to make it; because the principles of Christianity are certainly the principles of the Christian religion. Christianity is nothing else than simply the manifestation in life and character of the principles of the Christian religion. The insertion of the word "non-sectarian" as describing the principles of Christianity which should be taught, simply makes tautology in the section because the following part of the section is wholly taken up in the effort to say that no sectarian doctrines, beliefs, or ceremonials shall be taught or inculcated in the public schools.

Which of the principles of Christianity are sectarian and which are non-sectarian? If Christianity, itself alone, is not sectarian, then none of the principles of Christianity can possibly be sectarian. If any of the principles of Christianity be sectarian, then all of them are. Because Christianity as it is, is a definite and positive thing. It is not a wishy-washy mixture of fast-and-loose principles. For this reason alone, to say nothing of any other, every man who has any respect for Christianity ought to oppose this amendment with all his might.

Section 1 as it stands, if it stood alone, is worthy of the hearty support of every person in the United States; because it

declares just what ought to be an inhibition upon all the States. There is a question whether the States are not already forbidden to do this under the Fourteenth Amendment, but if it be not certainly decided there, such an amendment as the first section of this resolution should be adopted as a part of the Constitution of the United States. Then the States would stand upon the same level as the Government of the United States. If this were once done, and then the legislation, both State and National, were kept in harmony with the Constitutional provisions, then religious liberty in this country would be perfect, as it ought to be. But unfortunately for that measure in this resolution, its whole value is nullified by sections 2 and 3 of the same resolution.

Although section 1 distinctly says that no State shall ever make or maintain any law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, yet section 2 just as distinctly says, that each State in this Union shall establish and maintain a system of free public schools, in which there shall be taught the knowledge of the principles of Christianity. Now the only way in which any State can establish and maintain anything, is by law. Therefore, if the matter stops with the second section, each State in the Union would be required, by section 2, to do what, by section 1, it is distinctly forbidden to do. But to prevent this contradiction in the terms of the resolution, section 3 comes in and declares that "the United States shall guaranty to every State, and to the people of every State, and of the United States, the support and maintenance of such a system of free public schools as is herein provided." By this, it appears, that although no State can select for itself any religion that might suit it best and make and maintain laws respecting the establishment of that religion, the United States will select the religion for all the States, and then require that each State shall establish and maintain that religion. None of the people of the States are supposed to be capable of deciding this question for themselves, but a majority of three-fourths of the States are considered capable of deciding it for themselves and for all the others. Education would thus become a national matter, and would no more be subject to State control. This amendment, then, would nullify that part of Article VI of the Constitution which declares that no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office of public trust under this Government. Because, according to this amendment, a religious test would necessarily have to be required as a qualification to the office of public school teacher, everywhere in the United States. But the leading question of all to be decided, if this resolution should be adopted, is, What are the non-sectarian principles of Christianity? Granting the assumption of the resolution that such a distinction

exists, the question then is, How shall the United States Government discover just what they are? Christianity is represented in the United States by probably a hundred different denominations. Each one of these holds to something different from all the others, which makes it the particular denomination it is. No one of these, therefore, can be taken as representing the non-sectarian principles of Christianity. Therefore, the only course to be pursued by which the United States Government can find out what are the non-sectarian principles of Christianity, is, by a general concensus of the principles of Christianity as held by all of the denominations in which Christianity is represented in the United States. This could not be secured by an examination of the creeds of the different denominations, because the leading denominations themselves do not agree upon their own creeds. There would be no remedy, therefore, other than to call a general convention of all the denominations of the United States to discover what principles of the Christian religion are held in common by all and are therefore non-sectarian in this country. This is the idea of the author of the resolution, as stated in a letter to the secretary of the National Reform Association, December, 1888. He said:—

I believe that a text book of instruction, in the principles of virtue, morality, and of the Christian religion, can be prepared for use in the public schools by the joint effort of those who represent every branch of the Christian Church, both Protestant and Catholic, and also those who are not actively associated with either.

Let such a general convention of the representatives of Christianity in the United States be called; let the principles of Christianity which they should agree are non-sectarian, be formulated; that would be a national creed. Then let the United States Government adopt that creed and enforce it as a part of the instruction in all the schools of the nation, and that would be nothing less than the establishment of a national religion. All the children of the country from six to sixteen years of age would then have to receive that as Christianity, and so would have to receive their religion from the State.

Nor would it stop with the children, because the probabilities are that in a national creed there would be some things, if not many, that would not be Christian principles at all. The parents who are Christians and who desire that their children shall be Christians would soon discover this and when their children were taught in the schools those things which are not according to Christianity, the parent would at once tell the child that he had been falsely instructed, that such was not Christianity; and could read directly from the Bible to show that it was not Christianity. This at once would bring on a controversy between the United States Government and the parents of the children. The question then would be, whether the Government

would allow its authority to be directly opposed, and its purpose to be frustrated in its task of inculcating the principles of Christianity on the minds of the youth in this country. If the Government should yield and allow the parents out of school to undo what the Government has done in school, then the Government might as well stop before it begins; for if one parent can do this they can all do it. On the other hand, if the Government insists upon teaching the child religiously, what the parent does not want that child taught, then the parent will take his child out of school and keep him out of school. And if that shall be allowed, the Government will be no better off in the work of securing general education that it is now.

But as section 3 pledges the power of the United States to the support and maintenance of such a system of public schools, and as section 4 empowers Congress to enforce the provisions of the whole resolution by legislation when necessary, it is not to be supposed that in the controversy the Government will yield to the parent. If, therefore, the Government hold on its course, compulsory attendance at the public schools would have to be the next step; and the next step after that would be to prohibit the parents from teaching the children out of school that which is contradictory to what the Government has taught in school. Thus it is clearly seen that to say that under such an amendment as this all the *children* of the country will have to receive their religion from the Government does not fully state the case by any means. The truth is, that under it, all the *people* of the United States will have to receive their religion from the Government. What the Government should say the principles of Christianity are, that would have to be received as Christianity. There could be no appeal. The Government makes itself supreme in all things, steps in between the parent and child, and so lands itself at once into downright paganism under the garb of the Christian name.

Nor is this all. It could not be certainly known for more than two years at a time what the principles of Christianity were that should be received from the Government. Because in the general convention of all the denominations that would have to be called at the first to discover what are the non-sectarian principles of Christianity, it would be to the interest, as well as the bounden duty, of each denomination to get just as many of the principles of that denomination into the creed as possible. No one denomination could get all its principles recognized for that would make the creed sectarian; consequently each one striving to get in all it could, the result would be a compromise, with the hope by some future effort to succeed in getting more of their principles into the creed. With the creed once formulated,

and Congress empowered to enforce it by legislation, it would then be to the interest of each denomination to secure just as large an influence as possible in Congress. This would be necessary to each one of the denominations as a matter of self-preservation if nothing else, in order that if each denomination could not get enough influence in Congress to control legislation positively in its own interests, yet so that it might have sufficient influence to prevent legislation that would be prejudicial to its interests. Thus every church would be turned at once into a political club and every pulpit would become a stump. As a Congressional election occurs every two years, it would so happen that every two years the national creed would be put to the test. And as the majority would decide whether the creed should stand or be revised, it would depend altogether upon how the vote went—whether a man was orthodox or a heretic. The majority might be as narrow as a half dozen or even one, and everyone of that narrow majority might have been drunk when he voted, yet that would make no difference in the result. When the majority had once decided upon the question of orthodoxy or heresy that would be the end of the matter, you would be orthodox or heretic as the vote should stand.

Does anybody who has any acquaintance with history need to be shown that this is only a perfect parallel, in outline, to the formation of that union of Church and State in the fourth century which developed the Papacy and all the religious despotism and intolerance that afflicted Europe for ages? Constantine made Christianity the recognized religion of the Roman Empire. It became at once necessary that there should be an imperial decision as to what form of Christianity it was that should be the religion of the empire.

The emperor said, The Catholic Church. Then as there were two great bodies,—the Arian and the Trinitarian,—each claiming to be the Catholic Church, and as the question turned upon a hair-splitting point in theology, a council had to be called to decide what was the Catholic Church. Accordingly the Council of Nice was convened by imperial command. An imperial creed was established, which was enforced by the imperial power. Whoever would not subscribe to the creed should be banished. All but three in the convention signed the creed. These—Arius and two of his associates—were accordingly banished. Constantine's sister was an Arian. When she came to die she had an Arian bishop to attend her and sent for Constantine to come to see her before she should pass away. He went; she besought him to recall Arius from banishment. He did so, and commanded that he should be received as a member in good and regular standing in the orthodox church. The orthodox bishops refused to receive him.

The emperor declared that he should be received. The bishops persisted in their refusal, and the emperor called out the troops: for was it not an imperial religion that had been established? Was it not established by imperial power, and was it not to be maintained by imperial power? When the orthodox bishops saw things going so far as that, they prayed that Arius might die, rather than that the Church should be polluted by his presence so forced upon it. Accordingly, Arius very conveniently died.

Not long afterward Constantine himself died; the empire fell shortly to two of his sons, Constans and Constantius. Constans had the western part of the empire, Constantius the eastern. Constans was a Trinitarian, Constantius was an Arian. In the dominions of Constans all Arians were heretics under the ban of the law; in the dominions of Constantius all Trinitarians were heretics under the ban of the law. Soon Constans came to his death, and Constantius was sole emperor; then the Trinitarian was a heretic wherever he was. And all the time there was intrigue upon intrigue, and council upon council was called, to revise the creed. And all this to such an extent that the Christian profession was put to an open shame amongst the pagans. It was parodied in the pagan theaters; and one pagan writer said truly enough, that the bishops spent their time in nothing else than in rushing from one part of the empire to another, engaging in council after council to find out what they believed.

This is but a picture, and not in the least overdrawn, of what would occur in the United States should such a measure as Senator Blair's proposed amendment ever be enacted into law. As that was the Papacy, this would be a living likeness to it. As nothing but evil ever came from that imperial recognition of Christianity, so would nothing but evil ever come from this national recognition of Christianity. And yet, as plain as all this is to any man who thinks, or who knows the A B C of history, there are some United States senators and many professed leaders of theological thought who are in favor of it. But are the American people ready to annul their Constitution, and to cast away all their rights under it?

No grander mark of political wisdom ever appeared upon this earth than was displayed when the fathers of this Republic declared that "no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under this Government;" and that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." But the lessons which these mighty men learned are now well-nigh forgotten. Let these noble lessons be newly learned and held forth before all the nations; so shall the principles of liberty indeed enlighten the world.

A. T. J.

A Minister on the Situation.

THE following letter from the pastor of a Christian Church in Kirksville, Mo., will commend itself to the good sense of our readers:—

EDITORS AMERICAN SENTINEL: I am in receipt of two copies of your most excellent paper, and have read them with care. Am in sympathy with the work to be accomplished by the publication of the AMERICAN SENTINEL, because I am convinced that any effort on the part of our law-making powers to unite Church and State would sooner or later prove a fatal blow to the welfare of this Republic.

The mission of the SENTINEL is a noble one, and a copy should be in every family in this whole country.

It is not the province of our Government to unite Church and State, nor even to indicate in the Constitution that this is a Christian nation. If those who are so anxious to unite Church and State would take a little time to read the history of such unions, it would cool their ardor, I am sure. Those blind enthusiasts who would do such a foolish and hurtful thing, certainly exhibit a very great want of knowledge of human nature and the principles of government. The peculiar constitution of man and the character of our Government, forbid the creation of any such relation. The condition of things that obtain in the Republic of Mexico at this time, should admonish every sensible American citizen. Let the good work go on.

The Minneapolis Preachers.

THE proceedings of those Minneapolis preachers, an account of which we published in the SENTINEL of January 2, is of more than passing interest to the people. It reveals some of the spirit that inheres in this Sunday-law movement all over the nation. That iron-clad agreement and the boycotting action of the preachers under it, show how far they have departed from the methods and the spirit of Jesus Christ, whose ministers they profess to be. This, however, is not the beginning of that movement in Minneapolis. It has a history, and the history runs back nearly two years. In the spring of 1888, Dr. Josiah Strong, of this city, secretary of the Evangelical Alliance of the United States, visited Minneapolis and met with a committee of pastors of that place who had been appointed to confer with him upon the matter of organizing a branch of the Evangelical Alliance of that city. Several conferences were held, and plans were formed; but owing to the nearness of the summer vacation, no definite action was taken at that time. Rev. D. D. McLaurin, of the Church of Immanuel, Minneapolis, was given charge of the plans formed, and of organizing the active work according to the plans. The first definite step toward

organized action was taken Monday, October 15, 1888, at a meeting of the Minneapolis ministers in the Y. M. C. A. parlors. There the objects and the plans of the organization were quite fully set forth. One of the objects of the organization, and the one which is of special interest in this connection, is to take "a prominent part in State and municipal politics and government, watching closely all State and city legislation. In its name, and upon its recommendation, bills will be introduced into the Legislature and such legislation as will increase the penalties for the violation of the Sunday laws of Minneapolis will be especially favored and pushed."

The plan of organization, is a central alliance governed by an executive committee, and under the direction of this, ward alliances are formed as auxiliaries. Through the ward alliances a company of visitors is organized to make a thorough house-to-house canvass. To each of these visitors is allotted a division comprising ten families. These are to be visited once a month regularly to ascertain their condition and needs with the special design of getting them to attend church. All the churches, Catholic and Protestant, of the city are united in the alliance.

Upon all this matter of the organization and the work of this alliance we should not have a word to say except in commendation if it were in fact evangelical or if there were any evangelical intent in it. But as its object is political and not evangelical, we can never have anything to say of it except to denounce it as contrary to every principle of the gospel. Evangelical is defined as being "agreeable or consonant to the gospel or the truth taught in the New Testament." The gospel is not political, it never can be furthered, but only hindered and corrupted by political methods such as are embodied in the plan of this Minneapolis political preachers' alliance. It is proper that people should attend church, it is perfectly proper that proper methods should be employed to induce them to attend church; but when political methods are employed to get the people to go to church for the purpose of increasing the political influence of the churches, then such churches are just about the worst places that the people could be induced to go.

About the time of the organization mentioned above, Dr. McLaurin said that "The ministers of the city believe that Christian unity is strong enough now to make itself felt in ways that churches separately have little influence." But, when Christian unity is strong enough to make itself felt politically, as the purpose of this alliance is, then the more of such strength Christian unity feels, the less strength it actually has. The only strength the Christian, individually, of the Christian Church collectively, can ever have to profit is the strength of Jesus Christ. And that strength is never made manifest in a

political way. The only power that Christians ever can possess for good, is the power of godliness which can never be exerted by political means.

The steps taken by the Minneapolis ministers as printed in the SENTINEL of the 2nd are the fitting sequel of the plan and object of the organization of the Evangelical Alliance of that city in October in 1888. Compulsory methods belong to the organization, compulsory religious observance is the object of Sunday laws, and that they should resort to boycotting pressure to compel both their fellow ministers and the people to conform to their wishes is only to be expected. And when such methods are so readily resorted to at the first, what will they not do at the last? The Evangelical Alliance and its secretary both had better stick to their evangelical work or else stop calling it evangelical, and give it its proper name of political at once.

From California.

EDITORS AMERICAN SENTINEL: Sunday-law advocates in California may rejoice on general principles that the SENTINEL has been removed out of the State, but fortunately that class are yet a minority. There is one feature of the removal, however, that even its friends may rejoice at,—it is a forward move, and a long one too, against the efforts of the mis-named National Reform party which it is set to oppose. America, that part of it which is really American, reaches from ocean to ocean, and Californians are happy to know that your journal can remove its publication office from the Pacific to the Atlantic coast and still be American. And now that you are squarely planted in the great commercial metropolis and political center, your old-time neighbors bid you God-speed on your noble mission. When you shall have fairly warned the people of these United States of the full meaning of national Sunday laws, and religious amendments to the Constitution, and all kindred encroachments upon their liberties, your full duty in the matter will have been fulfilled, whether they heed your warning voice or not.

SILENCE ON THE BLAIR BILL.

Notwithstanding Senator Blair's promptness in the introduction of the pet schemes of the National Reform Association and American Sabbath Union; and notwithstanding the text of these measures has reached us by mail in Congressional print; it is noticeable that not a word, at present writing, has appeared in the newspapers of the State. The telegraphic news entirely ignores the bills, and the leading religious journals have likewise kept silent. Whether this is a part of the program of the managers of these measures at Washington, or whether it is an indication of the small interest felt in such matters by the press, is a question which

your correspondent is unable to answer. I am curiously waiting to see how long the silence will continue.

ON THE ALERT FOR FOREIGN FOES.

If some foreign power were to propose restriction upon our privileges as a people, though the portentous cloud should not wear a tinge of the blackness of darkness manifested in these Blair measures, there would be a "clash of resounding arms" along our coast. When Germany put on just a little swagger in presence of our august national dignity at Samoa, the Monroe doctrine suddenly let out a great tuck in its spacious garment, covering about half the Pacific Ocean, and all classes of journals,—big and little, daily and weekly, religious and secular, vied with each other in wails about our defenseless coast.

When a United States revenue cutter seized a couple of Canadian vessels engaged in poaching seals in Behring Strait, and the British lion growled but faintly, there was an imaginary invasion of our western coast in the minds of the editorial fraternity from British Columbia to Mexico, and there was a perfect deluge of military reports and newspaper demands for large appropriations for harbor and coast defenses.

BUT,

When there arises in our midst a spirit of religious intolerance seeking to control the Government, and whose aim is to strike out of our fundamental law the very principle of civil and religious liberty upon which our nation has grown and prospered more than a century, our otherwise alert and enterprising press is mum. Although these same measures were made so prominent in the last Congress, and are thrust in so early at the present session, after persistent canvassing of the country during all the interval, yet our sagacious defenders can see no danger.

In the case of danger of foreign invasion, prevention is the cry upon the appearance of the first speck of threatened hostility; but the reply to such internal menaces often is, "Oh, if the Blair bills should pass, the people would rise in armed resistance to their enforcement." Such is the dependence of many who are opposed to the principles of religious legislation in general. But why not be as precautious concerning the far greater evil, as they are suspicious of the lesser possibility? Organizations in every State in the Union comprising prominent men of every shade of politics and religion, and national organizations of great influence, besides the prestige of like enactments in nearly all the States, merely waiting Congressional action in order to give full force to their intolerant provisions, present a massive front too ominous to be ignored. Ignorance of what such measures mean, in the light of popular history, is impossible on the part of any man who aspires to the rank of enlightened journalism.

Is it possible that the publishers of our great newspapers, as well as our great politicians, who are recognized as leaders in national policy and national thought, are so lost to the interests of the country as to lie dormant in regard to such issues? Can it be that these National Reform measures, championed in Congress by Senator Blair, will be allowed to go by default? Or that having been tacitly encouraged by silence on the part of opponents, they may attain such a degree of apparent popularity that the press and the politicians will feel constrained, if not to openly advocate, at least to offer no opposition? It looks as though such would be the case. And indeed leaders in the movement have expressed hope for success from this very cause. We shall soon see if they have prophesied aright.

W. N. GLENN.

Oakland, Dec. 26, 1889.

State Theology.

[This article taken from Rev. Dr. Spear's "Religion and the State" will be of special interest at this time because of the effort being made by certain misguided religionists to secure an amendment to the national Constitution requiring that the principles of the Christian religion shall be taught in the public schools. It is worthy of a most careful and thorough reading.]

THE term *State* means any distinct and independent body of persons occupying a given territory and united together under some form of civil government. The governmental organization of a State for the purpose of enacting and administering law, is practically the State itself. It is such as the agent of its legal operations. By the term *theology* is meant the science of God, embracing what is assumed to be known in regard to him and consisting subjectively in human beliefs with reference to the Supreme Being. What men thus believe is their theology; and if they believe in the doctrine of God at all, the natural sequel is some form of religious worship. The combination of the ideas indicated by these terms gives a *State theology*, or a government in which the State asserts a legal doctrine or creed in regard to God and stamps the same with its own authority. The State, then, is a theological State. Its opinions, whether in respect to God himself or the duty and mode of religious worship, form a part of its laws: and this distinguishes them from *individual* beliefs or convictions that rest merely on private judgment, and, hence admit of no coercive enforcement.

The natural and, as a most ample experience shows, the sure result of State theology is either such an identification of Church and State that the two are practically the same thing, or such an intimate legal union of the two that they mutually act through each other. In one case the State is the Church and the Church is the State; and in the other, though formally distinct as organisms, they are, nevertheless, blended in a common set of functions

in respect to religion. In both cases we have the union of ecclesiastical and civil powers, and in both we have religion with the sanction of human law impressed upon it.

Every State theology must necessarily have some *specific* character; and as to what it shall be—whether Pagan or Christian, and, if the latter, whether Catholic or Protestant—the State itself must be the judge. Its opinion on this subject it expresses through the edict of a king or the vote of a legislative assembly. It does the work of a theological professor, adding thereto the power of the civil arm. It teaches by command. Its dogmas are laws. All the reasons which demand or justify a State theology at all equally demand that it should be put into effective action. If it be the right and duty of the State to have a theology, then it is its duty to be governed by it and to govern the people by it. The least that it can do is to devise the ways and means of asserting, perpetuating, and enforcing it. If it is worth anything it deserves this tribute. State patronage, State disabilities or penalties for dissenters and State administration are the logical corollaries. To this there can be no just objection, since if the State *ought* to have a theology, then it ought to use the necessary means to maintain and administer it. It should see to it that not only the children in the public schools, but also the adult population—indeed, all the people—enjoy the benefits thereof. That would be a very queer theology which the State first adopts and legalizes and then leaves to shift for itself. We hold it to be the duty of the State to sustain its own theology, provided always that theology comes within its proper sphere.

This, moreover, would be practically an easy task if all the people thought exactly alike and their common thoughts were faithfully represented by the theology of the State. Such, however, does not happen to be the case.

What, then, shall be done with those who dissent from this theology and decline to conform to its requirements? This question the State must answer, and generally does so answer as to involve the principle of proscription or persecution. It is a fact wide as the world and spread all over the records of history that State theologies have with great uniformity been persecuting theologies. Christ and his apostles and their followers were persecuted by the State theology of the Jews. Pagan Rome had such a theology, and for three bloody centuries she wielded its power against the Christians. Constantine established Christianity as a State theology and made it a persecuting power. The State theology of the Roman Catholic and that of the Protestant show the same record. State theology drove the Puritans out of England and murdered the Huguenots in France. It made our Puritan

fathers persecutors. Mohammedanism as a State theology and Paganism as such are marked by the same feature. The missionary efforts of modern times to propagate Christianity among the heathen meet with one of their most formidable obstacles in State theologies, and the same was true of like efforts in the apostolic age. It is a general fact that the moment theology allies itself with the State and commands its powers it becomes persecuting in respect to all who dissent from it, and that, too, whether it be Pagan or Christian, Catholic or Protestant. History paints this fact in lurid colors.

Nor is there anything strange or unnatural in such a fact. It results from the very nature of the case. The theology of the State is a part of its organic or statute law, and, of course, it should be sustained by its authority and power. Heresy is, hence, a *crime* as really as murder, and as such it should be punished. So the State reasons, and that, too, correctly, provided we accept the doctrine of State theology. Catholic States and Protestant States have reasoned in this way. What we call religious persecution State theology calls punishment to prevent crime. What we call religious liberty it calls a dangerous exercise of private judgment. Saul of Tarsus was a conscientious persecutor, regarding himself as doing God service; and it is but just to say that State theologies have generally been conscientious in their deeds of murder and blood. They have not looked upon themselves as ruffians and outlaws, but rather as the conservators of the divine honor and the true interests of souls. The thoughts of an after and a wiser age were not their thoughts when they trampled the religious rights of men into the dust and shocked Heaven, if not earth, with their cruelties. Religious zeal misdirected is a terrible passion: and all State theologies, because administered by men, are apt to have this zeal.

We present, then, the disabilities, the persecutions, and the martyrdoms, which are so conspicuous in the history of State theology, as more than suggesting that there must be some radical mistake in the doctrine itself. A doctrine that can by perversion turn the mild and genial religion of Jesus into a flaming persecutor, and make it a ferocious enemy to religious liberty as vested by God in individual souls; a doctrine that undertakes to adjudicate upon questions lying exclusively between the soul and its Maker; a doctrine that substitutes carnal for spiritual weapons; a doctrine that resorts to the law of force, where nothing is pertinent except the peaceful persuasion of argument and the gentle and loving voice of entreaty; a doctrine that in practical execution becomes an abominable despotism exercised over the bodies and attempted over the souls of men—yes, such a doctrine has written upon its face in letters of light the glaring evidence of be-

ing essentially and fundamentally wrong. Judging it by its fruits, we find it difficult to use terms sufficiently intense to describe the degree of that wrong. Its prevailing principle is hostile alike to God and man, although it professes to be the servant of both.

It is, moreover, a significant fact of history that Christianity has always prospered most in the true sense when it has had least to do with the State and the State has had least to do with it. For the first three centuries it was the theology of individual conviction, resting simply on its own evidence, holding no other relation to the State than that of a persecuted religion, and doing its entire work by the use of spiritual means; and then it was that it spread itself among the nations of the earth with a purity and power that have never since been exceeded. Then it was that venerable and pompous systems of Paganism yielded to the resistless energy of its moral march. Afterward it became a State theology; and then, in the hands of the State, it was not only corrupted and half-paganized, but at once assumed, and for centuries maintained, the character of a persecuting religion. All the persecutions of the Romish Church, and, indeed, all the persecutions that have existed in the name of Christianity, have had their basis in State theology. If God should be pleased to constitute a theocracy on earth, and by inspiring it guarantee its infallibility, then it would be the duty of men to bow to its authority; but until we have this fact established by appropriate evidence the conclusion drawn from history is that the State should confine itself exclusively to things temporal, and leave theology to the individual convictions and private judgments of men. This is certainly the truth in respect to Christianity.

There can be no doubt that a true theology in the heads and hearts of the people is a very important and much-needed influence for good in relation to civil government; yet it does not follow that the State is the proper party to take care of this theology, to define it, to teach it, to support it, or in any way invest it with the sanction of law. Those who set up the proposition that religion is essential to morality, and also the further proposition that morality is essential to good government, and then infer that the State should establish and support religion are guilty of a palpable *non-sequitur* in logic. The truth of their premises does not prove that of their conclusion. It may be true (facts show it to be so) that the State will receive the largest and purest contribution of morality founded on religion when the latter is left entirely to the educational influences of the family and the church; and if so, then State theology is not only a superfluity, but a positive damage to the best interests of the commonwealth.

Those who drew the plan of our national Government built the system upon the

principle that religion and civil government were to be kept entirely distinct; and, for the most part, all the State governments are constructed upon the same theory. The general character of both is that they neither affirm nor deny any doctrine in respect to God and that they command no duty as a religious duty. They deal with the temporal rights and obligations of citizenship, without any reference to the question whether the citizen is a religionist or not. His religious faith is no part of his citizenship and no criterion of his rights. It confers upon him no immunities and imposes no disabilities. It is a matter between himself and his God, and with it the civil authority does not concern itself. He is not forbidden to be an atheist and not commanded to be a Christian. He forfeits no rights by being the one and gains none by being the other; and as between these two extremes of opinion, the State does not undertake to decide which is the true and which is the false opinion. Such is the great American principle in respect to the sphere of civil government. This principle, being the exact antipode of State theology, admits of no reconciliation with it.

We submit this summary of thoughts in regard to State theology for the consideration of those who insist that the public school system of this country shall be made the instrument of religious education. The practical meaning of this demand is that an American State shall in its public school adopt the principle of State theology. Have those who make the demand well considered the fact that they logically ally themselves with all the religious despotisms that have ever existed among men? They in effect accept and advocate a principle which has in all ages been the enemy of religious liberty, against which heroes have fought, on whose cruel altars martyrs have bled, and whose historic enormities are sufficient to startle the world. They assume that an American State has a theology to teach and support; and in this one assumption they pass the Rubicon, and grant what never did anything for Christianity but to corrupt and weaken it as a moral and spiritual power.

They Are Papal Allies.

In commenting upon certain abominations taught by Romanists as Christianity, the *Ironclad Age* has the following which is none the less true or sensible because it was said by an infidel paper:—

“Yet this is the religion that Popery is scheming to have taught at the public expense in our free schools. And the Protestant Church is actively assisting the Papacy in this treason. God in the Constitution, Christ as the supremem ruler, “the principles of the Christian religion” to be inculcated in the free schools—these are the battle cries alike of Popery and Protestantism.

Nor does Protestantism seem to realize that if God is placed in the Constitution, it will be the papal god: if the principles of the Christian religion are to be inculcated in the public schools, it will be the principles of said religion as defined and practiced by Popery.

“Protestantism seems blind to the signs of the times. It doesn't seem to note that the Papacy, that has impoverished and ruined all the old countries, is now cutting loose from those countries and concentrating its strength in the United States. The Papacy, united and possessed of immense wealth, is stronger politically to-day in this country than all the divisions of Protestantism in their disunited condition. Catholics by the hundreds of thousands are flocking to our shores. Their first and last allegiance is to the Pope, yet they are almost immediately on their arrival endowed with citizenship in fifteen of our States. Rome, by its consolidated vote, rules all the great cities in the United States to-day; and either of the great political parties that would dare openly to antagonize the Papacy would be snowed under out of sight in any general election in the United States if that election were to come off next week. Nothing but a unity between Protestantism and all the liberal and non-religious elements of this country will save it from the fate that has befallen every country where the papal beast of blood has been allowed to roam unrestrained. And the sooner this is understood the better for the country.”

An Excellent Thought.

The *Christian Advocate* of this city, has the following item which contains an excellent thought which those who want Congress and our several State Legislatures to remove by legislation all the difficulties in the way of church work would do well to consider. The *Advocate* says:—

An attempt is sometimes made to explain the slow progress of religion in our large cities on the ground that the conditons of society are peculiarly unfavorable to evangelical Christianity. We are told that many of the inhabitants are German infidels and atheists, Italian and Irish Catholics, Jews and pagans, and that these are not easily reached by the gospel, and therefore aggressive movements are not to be expected. Certainly these elements are antagonistic to Protestant Christianity, and present serious obstacles in the way of its progress; but did the gospel ever yet find a field which was free from antagonistic elements? Has the gospel any other aim than to meet and overcome hostile forces and reduce a world of enemies to subjection? Human nature is one the world over, and the gospel is perfectly adapted to the work of saving men without respect to class or nationality. Wisdom to wield the sword of the Spirit is all that is wanting, and this wisdom cometh down from above.

If in harmony with this suggestion, the churches would pay more attention to wielding the “sword of the Spirit” and a little less to invoking the aid of the State, much good might reasonably be expected to result, not only to sinners but to the Church itself.

A WRITER in a religious contemporary says that Italy is a hard soil for the growth of Protestantism. On the one hand are the Romanists, upon whom no impression can be made, and upon the other the Infidels, upon whom still less impression is possible. Unbelief among the Italian men, he says, is general in Rome, and their absence from Church is conspicuous.

This state of affairs is not to be wondered at since it is the legitimate result of the Church and State regime which has so long cursed Italy. Men may be compelled to observe the outward forms of religion, but that does not make them truly pious, and when the compulsion is removed they will surely go farther in the other direction than though they had not been coerced. Coercion in religion breeds hatred, and hatred is the very opposite of Christianity.

A RELIGIOUS paper has the following, which we pass along for the benefit of our religion-by-law friends:—

“The foolishness of legislating on Bible doctrines should be discovered by the comments which such work calls forth from the average newspaper. The following is a case in point. The Presbytery of Cincinnati having voted that all infants dying in infancy are saved, the Cincinnati *Inquirer* of Nov. 20, 1889, comments upon the action as follows:—

“By a vote of twenty-two to eighteen, the Presbytery of Cincinnati concluded that ‘all infants dying in infancy are saved.’ Bless their dear little hearts, how they must rejoice at this declaration! But let them pause a moment and reflect upon the solemn fact that a change of only three votes would have damned them forever.”

The *Christian Advocate* of this city says:—

That idleness is a prolific cause of vice and crime is made clear by facts constantly coming under the observation of those who read the papers and study the condition of society.

This is true, and being true is it not a little strange that so many of those who know that it is true are in favor of laws compelling people to be idle one day each week. There can be no doubt that Sabbath keeping is a good thing; but habitual idleness one day each week is not Sabbath-keeping; only those keep a Sabbath, in any proper sense of the word, who observe the day unto the Lord. The *Advocate* is right, “idleness is a prolific cause of vice,” and therefore all laws that foster idleness foster vice,

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NEW YORK, JANUARY 9, 1890.

NOTE.—Any one receiving the AMERICAN SENTINEL without having ordered it may know that it is sent to him by some friend, unless plainly marked "Sample copy." It is our invariable rule to send out no papers without pay in advance, except by special arrangement, therefore, those who have not ordered the SENTINEL need have no fears that they will be asked to pay for it simply because they take it from the post-office.

OWING to a lack of funds the "publication of documents of the American Sabbath Union for 1890" has been postponed.

THE field secretary of the American Sabbath Union announces that he will make another lecture trip across the continent and back, starting across in April and reaching the Atlantic again in August. Definite dates and places of giving the lectures, are not yet announced.

THE local Sunday bill for the District of Columbia was presented in the House of Representatives by Representative Breckinridge, of Kentucky. The Speaker referred it to the Committee on Education and Labor, but by request it was afterward referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia. We hope to have a copy of the bill for comment in our next issue.

WE have received a circular from the secretary of the American Sabbath Union, announcing that the Union is to hold a convention at Washington, D. C., January 30 and 31. "Everybody" is invited, but "especially the friends of the American Civil Sabbath in Virginia, West Virginia, Maryland, and the District of Columbia." "The leading purpose of the convention" as announced "is to urge upon Congress the request of the commissioners of the District of Columbia" for a Sunday law. The circular announces that "distinguished Senators, Congressmen, pastors and others are expected to speak" besides Mr. Crafts.

COLONEL SHEPARD of the so-called Sabbath Union, is making himself ridiculous and bringing religion, which he is supposed to represent, into contempt by such utterances as the following which is attributed to him in a speech before the recent Dominion Evangelical Alliance:—

The West Shore and Hudson River Railways, which were started for the purpose of running Sunday excursions, were driven into bankruptcy by the Lord. A new management cut off the Sunday traffic as far as possible, and now their finances are in good condition. At one time no Sunday elevated trains were run on the Sabbath, when it was arranged that a train should be asked for by a Christian minister, who, by the way, very soon was called away from earth.

It may do to talk this sort of stuff to people who do not know the facts in the

case, but it will not impress others very much. The truth is that the West Shore Railroad was driven into bankruptcy by a most ruinous competition. Then it passed under the management of the New York Central and Hudson River Railroad. The rates were increased and the number of trains reduced, and the Vanderbilts make money out of it. *And Sunday trains both freight and passenger are run, and have been all the time, both on the West Shore and the New York Central.*

It is stated that the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland has issued a pastoral address on non-church-going and its causes, which it asks to be read over the pulpits in all the churches on a convenient Sabbath. It points out that in Glasgow, the most populous city of Scotland, there are not fewer than one hundred and twenty thousand persons who are alienated from public worship. It is further remarked that there is a similar and alarming proportion of people in other towns, and even in rural parishes, who habitually absent themselves from church.

It may be interesting to remember in this connection that Scotland is probably the most strict Sunday observing country in the world; but it seems that something more than simply refraining from work on Sunday is required to make people pious, or even to insure their attendance at church. Evidently that which Scotland needs (?) is a law requiring every body to attend church who is not excused for some good and sufficient reason. The National Reformers should see what can be done for the country of the Covenanters.

We should like for some of the people who favor the suppression of base ball on Sunday, to point out what there is about a base-ball game that is uncivil on Sunday any more than on any other day. No one pretends that the playing of a game of base-ball is uncivil in any sense. It cannot be shown that it is in any way uncivil on Sunday, and it is not because of any incivility in it that they propose to suppress it on Sunday. Nor is this all; the playing of base-ball is not even irreligious. It is true that men who are not religious play base-ball. It is equally true that men who are religious, and strictly so, can play base-ball and still be religious. Then it is not because the playing of base-ball is either uncivil or irreligious that they propose to suppress it on Sunday; it is solely because Sunday is held by certain people to be a religious day, and that it is to be devoted to religious exercises; and as the playing of base-ball is not a religious exercise, therefore it is not consistent with the religious observance of a day. Consequently the only purpose of the enactment and enforcement of Sunday laws is to enforce the observance of it as a religious day. It is to compel people who are not

religious to pay religious tribute to those who pretend to be religious. But if the Government is to do this in one thing when it is demanded, why not in everything else as it may be demanded, and have a thorough-going union of Church and State at once. That will be the outcome of a national Sunday law.

THERE was lately organized, in the City of New York, a league professedly to maintain American institutions. We have not yet seen a copy of its constitution or any official statement of its objects, but from what we can gather from the newspaper report, it seems to be more than anything else an organization to maintain American Protestant institutions as against Catholic institutions. Like most of the attempts in this line, that have lately been made, this looks too much like an attempt to put Protestantism in the place of legal recognition rather than Catholicism, and no American institution can ever be defended by any such means as that. Protestantism as an established religion, is only the Papacy in principle and under another name. We shall give our readers more particulars in this matter hereafter.

"ONE of the most prominent characteristics of the American Sabbath Union, says its organ, the *Pearl of Days*, is its broad basis of practical Christian union for one national, civil, and religious object. Its only 'shibboleth' is the preservation of 'the Christian Sabbath as a day of rest and worship.' It has no 'shibboleths' no other motto upon its banner. For this supreme end Protestants and Roman Catholics can and do co-operate, even if they are not incorporated in the institution itself. Religion and patriotism combine together to keep and to hand down to succeeding generations the blessing of 'the Lord's Day.'

Certainly the object of the so-called union is "civil and religious;" it is civil in that it demands that the civil power enforce a religious institution; and it is religious in that the great underlying motive of the leaders in the "union" is the exaltation of Sunday because of the sacredness which in their minds attaches to that particular day. The term "civil" which they use is simply sugar used to catch flies that might not relish the odor of Church and State vinegar.

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The American Sentinel.

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PACIFIC PRESS PUBLISHING COMPANY,
No. 43 Bond St., New York.

EDITORS,
E. J. WAGGONER, ALONZO T. JONES.

IN his late speech in New York City, Mr. Crafts said:—

Vermont is the only State in which the Woman's Christian Temperance Union has not a Sabbath Observance Superintendent; the reason being that whatever may be the wrongs in Vermont, Sabbath breaking is not one of them.

Yes, indeed, the American Sabbath Union and the Woman's Christian Temperance Union can boast of Vermont. Vermont is directly in their line of things. The Sunday laws of Vermont are exactly after their own hearts; for we have it upon the authority of Mr. Crafts himself that the Vermont Sunday laws require people to go to church and to religiously observe the day.

THE *Christian Nation* says:—

God, who is the source of all authority, has appointed our Lord Jesus Christ the Ruler of nations. The Bible, God's revealed will, contains law for nations, and is the standard by which all moral issues in political life are to be decided. National acknowledgement of this authority, and obedience to this law, constitute a truly Christian nation.

It is an easy matter to say that this is so, but it would be difficult to prove it by any statement of the Scriptures themselves. God has promised the world to Christ, but it has not yet been given into his hands; nor will it be till the time comes for the destruction of all earthly powers. This is clearly indicated in the second Psalm. Christ himself said that his kingdom is not of this world, and has likened himself to a nobleman going into a far country to receive for himself a kingdom and to return. And it is at the time of his return that he will take the kingdom. But some of his professed followers not content to wait for his return are officiously trying to force the kingdom upon him in his ab-

sence, with the evident purpose of setting themselves up as his representatives, to administer the government in his stead. It is this usurpation of power which we oppose. Christ has his representatives in the world, but the only authority ever given to them is found in Mark 16: 15 and parallel texts. Working under this commission the apostles besought men to be reconciled to God, and that is all anybody has any right to do. To adopt the Bible as the law for the government of the Nation would simply be to provide that the majority should dictate to the minority in all things pertaining to religious faith and practice.

The Breckinridge Sunday Bill.

HERE is a copy of the Breckinridge Sunday Bill for the District of Columbia, which was introduced in the House of Representatives, January 6, 1890:—

A BILL

TO PREVENT PERSONS FROM BEING FORCED TO LABOR ON SUNDAY.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That it shall be unlawful for any person or corporation, or employee of any person or corporation in the District of Columbia, to perform any secular labor or business, or to cause the same to be performed by any person in their employment on Sunday, except works of necessity or mercy; nor shall it be lawful for any person or corporation to receive pay for labor or services performed or rendered in violation of this act.

Any person or corporation, or employee of any person or corporation in the District of Columbia, who shall violate the provisions of this act, shall, upon conviction thereof, be punished by a fine of not more than one hundred dollars for every such offense: *Provided, however,* That the provisions of this act shall not be construed to apply to any person or persons who conscientiously believe in and observe any other day of the week than Sunday as a day of rest.

From the title of this bill it seems that there is enforced labor being carried on in the District of Columbia. It seems that there is involuntary service being required of people there: because it says that this is "a bill to prevent persons from being forced to labor on Sunday." If it be true

that there is in the District of Columbia any forced labor, any involuntary service required on Sunday or any other day, everybody so oppressed, has an ample refuge already supplied.

Article XIII of Amendments to the Constitution of the United States declares that "Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction." Now the District of Columbia is exclusively within the jurisdiction of the United States; therefore, if there is any forced labor or involuntary service anywhere in the District of Columbia, on Sunday or any other day, all that is necessary for any to do who are so oppressed, is to present their plea, under this article, to any court there and the whole power of the United States Government will be exerted, if necessary, to release them from such forced labor or involuntary servitude. There is no such thing going on, however, in the District of Columbia; consequently there is no opportunity for any appeal to the United States under the provisions of this article of the Constitution.

The truth is, that the title to this bill, like that to the national bill by Senator Blair, is a misleading thing. It appears very innocent, and it would be innocent if it were true that anybody was being forced to labor on Sunday. But no such thing exists in the District of Columbia nor anywhere else in the United States. Nor does the bill in fact contemplate any such thing, nor is it in fact a remedy for any such offense. Because the body of the bill, which is supposed to express how the object, as defined in the title, shall be carried into effect, not only prohibits everybody from causing work to be performed on Sunday, but it also prohibits everybody from doing *even voluntarily* any work on Sunday. The *body* of the bill prohibits the people of the District of Columbia from voluntarily laboring on Sunday, while the

title of the bill distinctly says that it is a bill to prevent persons from being *forced to labor* on Sunday. The title of the bill and the body of the bill do not agree. And as the body of the bill expresses the intention of those who want it passed, and as the title of the bill does not agree with the body of it, it is thereby proved that the title is intentionally misleading. It is put there as it is, to cover up the real purpose of the bill itself. We repeat, there is nobody in the District of Columbia that is forced to labor on Sunday. If anybody works there on Sunday it is voluntarily that they do it, and if it is not for themselves but for others that they do the work they are not even asked to do it without pay, much less are they forced to do it.

This is perfectly known by those who have asked that this bill be introduced. They know that anybody in the District of Columbia or anywhere else is at perfect liberty to refuse to work on Sunday. *And they likewise know that such persons are in no danger of losing anything by refusing to work on Sunday.* Mr. Crafts is one of the principal advocates of this measure and yet he has printed, for years, in his book, "The Sabbath for Man," page 428, these words:—

Among other printed questions to which I have collected numerous answers, was this one: "Do you know of any instance where a Christian's refusing to do Sunday work, or Sunday trading has resulted in his financial ruin?" Of the two hundred answers from persons representing all trades and professions, *not one is affirmative.* [And the italics are his own.] A western editor thinks that a Christian whose refusal to do Sunday work has resulted in his financial ruin, would be as great a curiosity as "the missing link." There are instances in which men have lost places by refusing to do Sunday work, but they have usually found other places as good or better.—With some there has been "temporary self-sacrifice but ultimate betterment." . . . I never knew a case, nor can I find one in any quarter of the globe, where even beggary, much less starvation, has resulted from courageous and conscientious fidelity to the Sabbath. Even in India, where most of the business community is heathen, missionaries testify that loyalty to the Sabbath in the end brings no worldly loss. On the other hand, incidents have come to me by the score, of those who have gained, even in their worldly prosperity, by daring to do right in the matter of Sunday work.

Following this extract, Mr. Crafts fills six pages of his book with instances sustaining the statements which we have quoted. Therefore, in the face of their own testimony that no financial loss follows a refusal to do Sunday work, the plea that men are forced to work on Sunday is a fraud; and to pretend that men are so oppressed by being forced to work on Sunday that they must needs be relieved by the national power, is a wicked imposture. This evidence from the chiefest advocate of Sunday laws is further proof that the title of the Breckinridge Bill is intentionally disingenuous.

This bill, also, as Senator Blair's, forbids any person or corporation to perform any *secular* labor or business on Sunday.

As the SENTINEL is constantly going to

thousands of new readers, we reprint here our comments upon this clause in the Blair Bill.

Secular means, "pertaining to this present world, or to things not spiritual or holy; relating to things not immediately or primarily respecting the soul but the body; worldly." Therefore this bill proposes to prohibit all persons within the jurisdiction of the United States from performing or authorizing to be performed on Sunday any work, labor, or business pertaining to this present world or to things not spiritual or holy. It proposes to prohibit them from performing any work, labor, or business relating immediately or primarily to the body, (works of necessity, mercy, and humanity excepted); to prohibit them from doing anything worldly, that is, pertaining to this world or to this life. Consequently, the only kind of works that can properly be done on Sunday under that bill are works that pertain to another world, works that pertain to things spiritual or holy, works respecting the soul, and the life to come.

Now we should like for some of these Sunday-law folks to tell us how the Congress of the United States is going to find out, so as authoritatively to state, what work, labor, or business it is that properly pertains to another world, on Sunday or at any other time. More than this, we should like for them to tell us how Congress is to find out whether there is any other world than this, and especially how it is to find this out and make it to be so clearly discerned that the recognition of it can be enforced by law upon all the people? We should like, also, for some of these to tell how Congress is to discover what work it is that properly pertains to the people's souls on Sunday; or indeed, whether the people have any souls? How is Congress to know whether there is a life to come? And if Congress shall discover all this to its own satisfaction, then will Congress insure to all the people a happy issue in that life to come, upon condition that they will observe the Sunday laws?

These are not captious questions, they are entirely pertinent. For when it is proposed that this Nation by legislative acts shall commit itself to the guardianship of the affairs of the world to come, of men's souls, and of another life; and when the people are asked to consent to it; it is strictly proper for the people to inquire, How shall the State make that thing a success?

The truth is, that the State can never have anything to do with the world to come or with the question as to whether there is one to come at all. The State can never have anything to do with men's souls or with the question as to whether men have any souls. The State can never have anything to do with the life to come or with the question as to whether

there is any life to come. No State will ever reach the world to come nor will any State ever, in the least degree, be partaker of the life that is to come. The State is of this world wholly, it has to do only with the affairs of this world, and with men as they are in this world. The State has to do only with men's bodies, and to see that the lives which men lead are civil. By these considerations it is clearly seen that this Sunday bill at the very first step leads the civil government into a field where it is impossible for it to have any jurisdiction.

Nor do we raise these questions because we doubt that there is another world or that there is a life to come. We are fully persuaded that there is both another world and a life to come. But the discerning of this is a matter of faith, and that on the part of each individual for himself alone. Nobody on this earth can discern or decide this for anybody else. We thoroughly believe that there is both another world and a life to come, and anybody in this world has an equal right not to believe it if he chooses so to do. We have the right to believe this without the sanction of the Government; and any other man has a right not to believe it without any interference by the Government. We deny the right of any of the Senators or Representatives in Congress to decide any of these matters for anybody but himself.

Further than this, it is claimed by the advocates of Sunday laws that they do not propose to compel people, or even try to compel them, by law to be religious or to act as though they were religious. Yet, in both these bills which they have had presented in the present Congress, they intend to have everybody forbidden to perform any labor or business pertaining to this present world or to things not spiritual or holy; to prohibit everybody from performing any work relating immediately or primarily to the body, or to this life. And when all that is done, the only thing that is left, that anybody is allowed to do on Sunday, is work that pertains to another world; work that pertains to things spiritual or holy; work that pertains to the soul; and to the life to come; and *every one of these things is wholly in the realm of the religious.* We have heard of a man who was shut up to a choice between the devil and the deep sea. Those who shut him up there might have claimed that they didn't compel him to go to the devil nor yet to the deep sea, because he was left perfectly free to make his own choice. Yet, so far as the freedom of choice goes, that man was just as well off, as the people of the District of Columbia would be under this bill; because they will be shut up to a choice between doing absolutely nothing and doing works of religion.

Nor are we sure that the people of the District of Columbia will not be actually worse off than was this other man. It is

not certain at all that they will be left free to choose whether they will do nothing or do works of religion; because if men choose to do nothing at all, that will be only idleness, and Mr. Crafts declares in his book, page 373, that "idleness, as well as business is Sabbath breaking." The object of the American Sabbath Union, and the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, is to secure Sabbath keeping, not Sabbath breaking, in the District of Columbia and the Nation; therefore, any man, who, under this bill should exercise his right of choice and do nothing, would be a Sabbath-breaker. And as the object of these people is to secure Sabbath keeping, it is not at all certain that such a person would be left free to proceed freely on his course of Sabbath breaking. But, by the very easiest construction that could be put upon such a law, it is certain that under it, everybody would be forced either to break the Sabbath or to do works of religion; would be forced either to be wicked or to be religious. To compel people by law to do either of these things is wicked. Therefore, the proposed District Sunday law, the proposed national Sunday law, and every other Sunday law that ever was, are evil in themselves. By such laws civil government is forced into a field where it is impossible to do that which it sets about to do. By such laws civil government undertakes to secure that which can be secured by the Lord alone, by his Spirit upon the individual conscience.

As we have proved the effect of such a law upon those who are not religious nor inclined to perform works of religion on Sunday is to compel them to be idle. This is to be enforced by a penalty of "not more than a hundred dollars for every offense." Idleness is the prolific cause of dissipation, vice, and crime. Honest occupation on Sunday or any other time is better than idleness, and to enforce idleness under a penalty of a hundred dollars, as by this bill, or a thousand dollars as by the national bill, is to put just that large a premium upon dissipation, vice and crime. And that society can never afford.

The District bill, as the national, has a proviso also, excepting from the provisions of this act "persons who conscientiously believe and observe any other day of the week than Sunday as a day of rest." This, as said Mrs. Catlin, Superintendent of Sabbath Observance Department of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union for the District of Columbia, is directed at those who keep the seventh day as the Sabbath, and for the purpose of "taking the wind out of their sails" and thus stopping their opposition to Sunday laws. But the opposition of the seventh-day people as we understand it, is not because these are Sunday laws particularly, but because it is religious legislation of itself, whether it be in favor of Sunday or any other day. As we understand it, the Christians who keep the seventh day

would be just as much opposed to such legislation in favor of Saturday as they are to this. They act wholly upon the principle of the thing and not from policy at all. It, therefore, remains to be seen whether the wind can be taken out of their sails by any such device.

This District bill is of more importance to the people at large than many are apt to think. Because, if Congress can legislate upon this subject for the District of Columbia, it can legislate upon the same subject to the full extent of the national jurisdiction. If Congress can legislate upon the subject at all, it can do so to the full extent of the national power. Therefore, if the people at large sit quietly and let the matter be passed without protest for the District of Columbia, they cannot protest when the same power is carried beyond the District of Columbia. The whole Nation is interested in this just as much as though it was a national bill direct. Let the whole Nation speak here! Let it speak promptly and decidedly, against any legislation by Congress touching matters pertaining to another world, to things spiritual or holy, to the soul, to another life or anything pertaining to religion. Let the Constitution be respected both in the District of Columbia and in all the Nation in its declaration that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." And let all the people say, Amen.

A. T. J.

For the Public Health.

THE organ of the American Sabbath Union tells of a cigar dealer in Philadelphia who is in favor of Sunday closing of cigar stands, and attributes to him this language:—

To work every day is an overtax on nature, which is sure to be followed by bad health, disease, and incapacity for any work at all. There is no necessity for the cigar stores keeping open on Sunday. Cigars are not a necessity, and hence come under the provisions of the law of 1794. I do not think the general closing of the stores on Sunday would effect the sale of cigars or diminish the receipts. The cigars which are now sold on Sunday would then be sold on Saturday or Monday. The plan if adopted would result to the mutual benefit of employee and employer alike. I do not take the stand from a religious standpoint, but with a desire to improve the general health of those who now work every day.

There are two or three points in this worthy of notice. First, there is the assumption that to work every day is to overtax nature. This may be true to some extent, but must the law interpose to prevent everybody from thus overtaxing nature? And if so, why confine this governmental interposition for the good of the people to any one day of the week? If to work more than eight or ten hours per day is to overtax nature, why should not the State require all cigar stands to close at 6 P. M. instead of at the late hour at which they

do close? And the same with all other branches of business.

Again, according to the best medical authorities, smoking is a very injurious habit. Nicotine, the poison of tobacco, is one of the most deadly poisons known, and many deaths result every year from its baleful effects. There is absolutely no necessity for smoking; therefore, the State should forbid it on sanitary grounds. Would the Pennsylvania cigar dealer admit this? Certainly not, for it would ruin his business which he thinks would not be effected by Sunday closing. It seems highly probable that this philanthropic dealer in a deadly narcotic is not altogether uninfluenced in his desire for Sunday closing of cigar stands by the fact that if nobody sold cigars on Sunday it would decrease the amount which he pays for clerk hire without making a corresponding reduction in his profits. The idea of a cigar dealer being so much concerned about the public health is too utterly absurd to be amusing.

C. P. BOLLMAN.

Rome and Liberty.

THIS article which we clip from *Present Truth*, a religious paper published in London, shows that even in England the contest now being waged in this country between the principles of Protestantism and the principles of the Papacy, is being watched with no little interest. The fact is also recognized that the principles of the so-called National Reform Association are the principles of Rome. *Present Truth* says:—

In an Encyclical published a few years ago, the Pope said, "All Catholics should do all in their power to cause the Constitutions of States, and legislation, to be modeled on the principles of the true church. All Catholic writers and journalists should never lose, for an instant, from view the above prescriptions." It has been urged officially that this should be specially kept in mind in England and the United States. The activity of Catholics, as Romanists, in the field of politics and journalism in England, is a constant reminder that the advice is being acted upon.

The recent Catholic Congress in America has drawn attention again to the work of Rome in the United States. A suspicious feature of the conference was the repeated and vociferous protestation of loyalty to free institutions. Those who are loyal at heart are content to let their lives and work show it, and do not find it necessary to multiply honeyed words. It was not many years ago that a papal encyclical anathematized "those who assert the liberty of conscience and of religious worship." Speaking of the present position of the controversy in America—and we can see there more fully developed, perhaps, the forces which are at work in

this country—the *Christian Commonwealth* says:—

From across the Atlantic come many ominous warnings of a great struggle soon to come. The great Republic is awaking to the prospect of a battle which can in no way be decided, for it is simply a fact of inevitable destiny that the people of America must pass through a conflict with Rome. Rome! Name of unspeakable portent! The very word calls up a whole panorama of lurid apocalyptic visions. For ages the wave of human energy has rolled westward. And in our day the battle-field where the crowning struggle of liberty is to be fought seems likely to be found in the Western Hemisphere.

But the *Commonwealth* draws inspiration from a recently published work showing the “increase of Protestantism and the decline of Popery.” It says:—

The Protestant peoples are rapidly tending to outnumber the Romish, and this single fact entirely settles the future outlook. As to America, when the Puritan element there is really roused the ambitious and dogmatic Romanism which is seeking to seat itself in a dominant attitude over the grand new prerogative of nations—liberty for all consciences—will quickly be convinced that it is in the minority and must never hope to emerge from such a position.

This faith as to the increase of Protestantism, is based on figures showing the increase of nominally Protestant people. But we do not forget the words of an eminent European who said, “Protestants there are, but Protestantism is dead;” nor the words of the late Dr. Prochnow, “The land of Luther needs again the spirit of Luther;” nor the very recent remarks of Mr. J. A. Froude, “That magnificent intellectual Protestantism is forever dead. The spirit that inspired Cromwell and William of Orange, oh! that spirit has altogether died out.” Were this not the truth, the children of the Reformation would do the works of the Reformation.

Even the “Puritan element” which is expected to become roused in America, has been fawning upon Romanism and begging its co-operation in a powerful movement which is designed to amend a Constitution now guaranteeing freedom of conscience to all, so that it shall be what is called a “Christian Constitution,” which “would disfranchise every logically consistent infidel,” along with whom, it is declared, the Christian observers of the seventh-day Sabbath, and the Jews would have to be placed. To effect this revolution, the aid of the Romanists is necessary, and some time ago an article in the organ of this “reforming” movement, the *Christian Statesman* said, that although they might expect some rebuffs at first, the time had come “to make repeated advances, and gladly to accept co-operation in any form in which they may be willing to exhibit it.” The same programme anticipates the introduction of religious instruction into the public schools. The late Catholic Congress, as might be expected, has declared in favor of both national religious legislation and religious instruction in the schools. Of course the religion Rome will

favor, is what she calls the “true religion.” And when the tiger is unchained by the removal of those Constitutional barriers which have placed matters religious where the religion of Christ places them, outside the jurisdiction of civil government, it will need no prophet to foresee the result. We will let the *Christian Commonwealth* state it:—

The 8,000,000 of Papists in the United States are being drilled day and night to demand supremacy over the civil power in the all-important department of public education. Should the people of the United States yield the control of the schools to the Romish hierarchy, the death-knell of popular liberty would be rung.

Religion and the Public Schools.

THE renewal of the Blair Educational Amendment Resolution, and Sunday-Rest Bill before the Fifty-first Congress is causing many thoughtful men to reflect seriously as to the proper relation of the Church and the State, and religion and the public schools.

The following extract from a sermon preached in Minneapolis, December 22, by Rev. M. D. Shutter, and published in the *Minneapolis Times*, December 23, is very much to the point, and is worthy of a perusal. Mr. Shutter said:—

“I take my stand upon the principle that the State has no right to teach in its public schools, or anywhere else, the Christian religion, or any other, according to any man’s interpretation. The State has absolutely no authority in religion. It can do nothing more than protect the worshiper in his religious rights. It protects him as a citizen and not as a Christian, a Jew, or a Mohammedan. It has no right to favor or advance his views by legislation or appropriations. It has no more right to authorize a teacher in its schools to give religious instruction than it has to send missionaries to the heathen. The State has no more right to appropriate a dollar to religious institutions than it has to compel a man to attend church. The State is simply and solely secular. It is organized to help men to secure their natural and advance their temporal interests. It is as distinctly secular as a railroad corporation, a banking institution, or an insurance company. Its sphere is confined to this world. With the soul’s hereafter it has no concern.

“Are we not a ‘Christian nation?’ Only in the sense that Christianity is the religion adopted by the majority of our citizens for their own personal guidance and comfort; in no other sense. ‘Christian nation’ has a pious sound, and the man who uses it commonly thinks he has rolled an unmovable stone upon the sepulcher of the secular State.

“When we admit the doctrine of a secular State, the doctrine upon which this Nation was founded, the doctrine of a secular school follows. Let us understand that the word ‘godless’ does not necessa-

rily mean, as those who use it would fain have us believe, ‘ungodly.’ The school may not be religious in any formal sense, and yet it need not be, and it is not ‘irreligious.’ A literary society does not formally recognize God and the Bible; but it is not an ungodly or an irreligious organization. It has its own peculiar purpose and aim. Its purpose does not happen to include anything of a religious nature, but to stigmatize it for this reason as irreligious and ungodly, would be the last logic of fanaticism.

“Then let the Church think well of her instrumentalities, her wealth, her power, her influence. Let her quit complaining and go to work. Let her not seek to force the State to do for her that which lies in her own special province. The more the Church relies on the arm of secular power for the promotion of her interests, the more she confesses her weakness. It is a sign of degeneracy and not of strength. When the arm of temporal power becomes in any sense or in any degree a substitute for the spirit of the truth, the blight of death is upon the Church.”

Our Nation, built upon the platform of a total separation between the Church and the State, has enjoyed unparalleled prosperity in both for more than a century. Let the separation continue, and she may hope for continued progress; but let the State be called to support the Church by civil enactments and the Church will lose her power, and the State will stain her judicial ermine. Let every American citizen read the history of the results of such a union in the fourth century and take warning.

R. C. PORTER.

A Correspondent who Sees the Danger.

EDITOR AMERICAN SENTINEL: I must have been very slow to appreciate the work of the SENTINEL though I have seen it occasionally since its start. It seemed to me that its utterances might apply to some branches of the Church, but that my own particular church and pastor were implicated in a wrong movement I was slow to believe. There must be thousands of candid men in our country who, through a settled faith in the integrity of their church, are, like I have been, slow to realize that the original method of preaching the gospel is being departed from.

Perhaps some of the ministers in the departure do not realize the sin of partnership in such business. The Word tells us that the heart of man is deceitful above all things and desperately wicked to the extent that no one can fully know it, and if this is the case we need not be surprised at almost any, yes, any, depth of iniquity in anyone to whom the above scripture will apply. History shows that the most gigantic systems of oppression and wrong through which “man’s inhumanity to man has made countless thousands mourn.”

have been systems of religion which the terribly deceitful heart of man had perverted to destroy instead of to bless mankind. They have all, however, claimed to bless at the time their destroying influence was in operation. To do less would be to admit their own insincerity.

I am sorry to state that I have noticed my own dear minister of late getting a certain strange excited spirit in talking of the victories of the Church. I can compare it to nothing more like than to a man intoxicated with wine who seems to be strangely hopeful and exhilarated, while the grounds for his expectancy are not apparent to the sober observers not under the influence of his drink. By the connections with his remarks upon the coming conquests of the Church it is shown that he has imbibed the wine of National Reform. He no longer seeks to win men by telling what ought to be the welcome news of salvation, but is apparently infatuated with quicker and more wholesale methods which seem to lead a shorter path to glory than the old way of our fathers. All the victories for the Church I see recorded come through faith alone. I see no plan to redeem man from the world of sin except that he shall believe the word of God.

Is it possible that in this land where Bibles are as plenty as bread that people do not have an opportunity to believe? Even without the Bibles there are enough professed Christians in our land to acquaint the remainder of the population with the principles of Christianity in a few days if necessary; and so give all a chance to believe. I know of no other commission ever given to the ambassadors of Christ but that they should give people a chance to believe. I am struck dumb with amazement that his professed ambassadors should go beyond their Lord's commission and do that which only faithless, disbelieving servants would dare do, viz.: devise from their own selfish hearts, plans for the salvation of man and victories for the Church. Such a course can only in the end provoke the wrath of the long-suffering Master and cause him to bring it down on his guilty shepherds.

How much better it would be to wait patiently, entreating and beseeching all men meanwhile "for Christ's sake to be reconciled to God" as did the faithful apostle Paul. Victory for the Church will come when those who, as individuals make up the Church, get the victory over their sinful, unbelieving hearts. How strange, beyond words to express, it is, that any reader of the Scriptures should ever think of it coming in any other way.

From the above quotation about the human heart, we need not be surprised at a new method of uniting Church and State. To be themselves deceived as well as to deceive others, it would be necessary for some more elaborate and acute plan than has heretofore been practiced. America is a land of wonderful inventions and ex-

pedients in human effort, and it would be strange if in a union of Church and State here, the old beaten track should be followed. The accumulated wisdom of centuries will obviously be brought into use in accomplishing it. Here is, I think, the danger of some, with their eyes on what has been the form of union of Church and State, they may let the real iniquitous substance of that very thing pass the bar of their judgment unchallenged, because in another form. Why should we not expect unparalleled acuteness and subtilty in this movement? But is not the question with all men who feel that they must judge rightly, Will an ingenious plan lessen in any degree the guilt?

W. S. RITCHIE.

Reasons against Sunday Laws.

IF Sunday were a divine institution, that is, if its observance were a duty which man owed to God, there are two reasons against compelling observance by civil law: 1. It is an insult to God. It says virtually that the Lord's way is not sufficient to meet the requirements of the case, without man's interference. God requires heart work, free service, freely given, with the source of all good motives, a pure heart, behind the deeds. Anything less than this is not acceptable to him, and law and penalties can never compel love.

2. It is oppressive to those who may not agree with the law makers. The violator of a Sunday law may be just as conscientious, and just as good a husband, father, neighbor, friend, or citizen, in every respect, as the makers of a Sunday law, except in respect of the law under consideration, and in this respect the difference between them is drawn by those who, being in the majority, are able, by the brute maxim, "Might makes right," to lord it over those who are in the minority, and, hence, politically weaker. They really put themselves in the place of God by dictating to men religious duty. They show the most overweening selfishness in saying to others, You must do thus and so, because we wish you to do it. And unrestrained selfishness in political matters always means tyranny. In the first case it is putting man in the place of God, arrogating to him responsibilities and powers belonging only to God: and in the second place it is transgressing the golden rule, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." No Christian would have an infidel compel him to be an infidel; why do professed Christians seek to compel the infidel to observe a religious institution repugnant to his conscience?

If Sunday is not a divine requirement, it is equally wicked to enforce it. Man has no right under the second reason given above to compel his brother to observe any religious institution which he would not be willing his brother should compel him

to observe if circumstances were the reverse. All civil Sunday laws, or Sabbath laws, are wicked and wicked only.—*Signs of the Times.*

That "Bitter Cry."

FROM the *Pearl of Days*, the official organ of the American Sabbath Union, of January 3, we clip the following:—

Some years ago "The Bitter Cry of London" rang through the civilized world, revealing the terrible condition of the neglected, suffering and wretched masses of the world's metropolis. Its echoes have gone out from our American cities. And now another "bitter cry" comes up from the millions of wage workers and their families appealing to governments, to corporations, to employers, to ministers of religion, to friends of the toilers, and to that mightiest of forces in a republic, public opinion, for relief from the grinding oppression of Sunday work, to which they are chained by remorseless competition, by the demand for profits and dividends, by disregard for the rights of citizens and their families to the weekly rest day, by open defiance and non-execution of the laws which are designed for the protection of the people against forbidden and needless Sunday work, and by the prevailing public indifference to the imperiled health, morals and welfare of the laboring classes. These statements can be readily verified by a great multitude and variety of facts and by personal and official testimonies that cannot be seriously disputed. They come from the railways, the public works, the local and general Government services, such as the Post Office Department, from the summer resorts, the Sunday excursion lines on land and water, from theaters and barber shops, from factories and markets and shops, and even from the saloons, whose employees and victims know no Sabbath rest.

This seems to be from the author of "Rhetoric made Racy" but it might appropriately be named rhetoric made ridiculous. The idea that anybody is chained by remorseless competition or anything else to the grinding oppression of Sunday work is nothing short of the ridiculous. This would be bad enough in itself, but when the thing is carried so far as to picture a bitter cry coming up from the saloons for relief from the grinding oppression of Sunday work to which they are chained by remorseless competition, it surpasses the ridiculous and becomes absurd.

More than this, the grounds upon which is based the plea of the American Sabbath Union for the Sunday laws which it demands, is, that the toiling masses may have opportunity to recuperate their wasted energies in order that they may have better health, may live longer, and do better work. Then when the Sabbath Union pretends to bring up a bitter cry from saloon-keepers and bar-tenders for Sabbath rest, by that it argues that the saloon and its managers are entitled to the day of rest in order that they may recuperate their wasted energies and be better qualified to enter Monday morning upon their work of destruction; and that they are so much entitled to this that the State shall step in and guarantee it to them by law.

Than the argument contained in this plea of the American Sabbath Union,

there never has been, and there never can be, presented, a stronger justification of the saloon and its work. Because if the saloon is worthy of having a day of rest assured to it to recuperate its wasted energies better to prepare it for the business of the week that is to follow—so worthy, indeed, that the Government must step in and guarantee this by law—then the saloon business is a worthy work. And those who plead for the Sabbath rest for the saloon-keeper, while he still pursues his traffic, thereby justify the saloon traffic as a worthy business, equally with all other business in the pursuit of which it is proper for a man to keep up his energies to the best state, in order that he may do at all times his very best.

The American Sabbath Union, therefore, justifies the saloon traffic as a worthy business on all days except Sunday; it justifies it as a business which is worthy the support of the State in keeping up its energies to the best state in order that it may do its very best in the work to which it is devoted.

Oh, yes, by all means, let this "bitter cry" of the saloon-keepers and the bar-tenders, and all their worthy associates in dealing out hell to deluded souls—let their "bitter cry" for Sabbath rest be heard by the Government, and answered by a law which shall assure them forever one day in seven to recuperate their wasted energies so that they may enter with renewed vigor each week upon their worthy work!

A. T. J.

Church and State.

THE Bishop of Marseilles, in France, has seen fit to issue to the clergy of his diocese a circular telling them that while the election of deputies is a political matter it is a sin to vote ill. Following this the Minister of Public Worship issued a circular calling the attention of the French bishops to the law, and pointed out to them that priests are forbidden to interfere with political matters or to exercise pressure upon the consciences of their flocks. To the people of the United States, born and educated under a representative form of government, the whole question of Church and State seems a very simple one. The inborn and ingrained sentiment of the American people is that elections are not matters of ethics, but matters of politics, and that if any religious teacher, no matter what he may be called, desires to take any part in them it must be as a citizen, and in no other capacity. The priest of any religion has an undoubted right to denounce a bad man who is a candidate for office, but that right depends upon his being a good citizen, not upon his holding a religious office, and his right is not superior to that of any other good citizen.

France can never be genuinely republican until the divorce between Church and State is made absolute. No matter what may be the prevailing sentiment there,

whether a majority of the people be Catholic or Protestant or Israelite or Agnostic, the teachers of religion, as such, have no right to interfere in any way in the elections, for to do so is to destroy the fundamental idea of popular government.—*San Francisco Chronicle.*

That Sunday-law Tour.

LAST week we had space merely to notice the fact that Mr. Crafts of the American Sabbath Union, intends to make another tour across the continent and back in the interests of a national Sunday law. He announced that those who desire addresses from him "should send early invitations, stating what months and what days of the week are first, second, and third choice. When lectures can be put at dates that will chime with other dates in the same region," the terms are: "A guarantee of at least \$15 for a week-night or afternoon; \$20 for a convention, afternoon and evening; and \$30 for a Sunday." "Local entertainment to be provided" in every case. Three services may be held on Sunday for the thirty dollars; but it is thirty dollars whether there be one service or three.

Where there are three meetings on Sunday, no engagement will be made for Sunday morning "where the church will not either appropriate \$10 or more" "or give the collection." Sunday afternoon meeting is expected to be "in some hall, opera house, or pavilion, and whatever is taken in the collection beyond expenses of rent and advertising" is to go to the cause. Sunday evening meeting is expected to be a union of "at least several churches," and the entire collection is to be devoted "to the work."

It is to be "understood that those sending invitations" for Sunday speeches do "guarantee \$30 as a minimum;" and whatever is raised more than thirty dollars, goes to him anyhow, which, he says, is "for Sabbath-reform literature" which is "unspeakably needed in large quantities to checkmate the literature against the American Sabbath which is being circulated vastly more than our own in all parts of the land." Whenever the collection falls short of the full amount of the guarantee, it must be made up "on the spot." And, "the collection should be taken immediately after the address in all cases, and *at once counted*, so that, if it is insufficient, the balance may be secured before dismissal." The gentleman does not propose to risk even a cent's worth, for a minute.

The "entertainment" for the tourist must also "be engaged in advance at a hotel or a home, and information sent some days before arrival as it is not always possible, even when intended, to meet the speaker at the depot, and it is very embarrassing to drive about town in a hack to get this information." From our ob-

servations, we had not supposed that Mr. Crafts was so easily embarrassed as this would imply; because to most people it certainly is not a "very embarrassing" thing to find a hotel in any town in this country where there is a hotel; except, of course, as in such a case as this, where a man doesn't want to pay his own expenses and wants everything cash down "on the spot." As further particulars are learned of the proposed tour we shall announce them.

A. T. J.

Rome Takes a New Departure.

THE Jesuit leaders, in their recent Baltimore Congress, decided that the Romanists of America are not yet numerous enough to risk an immediate conflict here with heretics, and the rising tide of a patriotic revival must be checked at once by conciliatory measures.

Protestant churches, political leaders, and even the great masses of citizens in the United States and Canada were becoming thoroughly alarmed at the overbearing attitude of the hierarchy of Rome, for ulterior and Satanic purposes; she now puts herself on best behavior. No class in our country will hereafter claim such exalted position because of its devotion to temperance, patriotism, benevolence, liberality, fraternity, and charity, as Rome.

This part must be played out to the end, even if some genuine patriots detect the counterfeit imposition and continue to protest. How wisely this feature has been outlined by the following utterance of the Roman Congress in these words: "We are in favor of Catholics taking greater part than they have hitherto taken in general philanthropic and reformatory movements. There are many Christian issues in which Catholics could come together with non-Catholics, and shape civil legislation for the public weal. In spite of rebuff and injustice, and overlooking jealousy, we should seek alliance with non-Catholics for proper Sunday observance," etc.

What is the English of this? The lion has been abused by the lamb for a long time. The lion is now willing to become magnanimous, and will forgive the spites and rebuffs received from the lamb—for the present.

Rome is now to head the forces of reformation as against the licentious Mormon priesthood. She now poses as the party of reform! The Protestants of America have never been able to adopt radical legislation that would entirely remove the Mormon cancer because of Roman indifference to the Mormon evil. Henceforward legislation in this direction bids fair to be thoroughly drastic in its nature.

In the past Rome has favored the introduction of the irreligious continental Sabbath to take the place of the Christian observance of that day.

Now, we may look for Congressional action that will force the people to keep the first day holy (?) by law, with severest penalties, just as Rome is now intriguing to secure the passage of a law in Japan that shall compel that whole people—men, women, and children—to be baptized into the Roman faith, officially.

Do you see any union of Church and State in these Jesuit schemes?—*The American.*

The Blair Bill.

RELIGIOUS questions are not ordinarily proper subjects of political criticism and discussion, but when embodied in bills and resolutions and introduced into Congress they become political issues that must be met, discussed and decided upon their political merits.

Such measures as the "Sunday Rest Bill," and "Religious Amendment," introduced by Senator Blair in the 50th Congress, and recently re-introduced by him in the present session, drag these religious questions from the domain of theological discussion, where they belong, and thrust them into the arena of politics, where they must be subjected to the criticism, discussion and settlement of political questions. These issues are forced upon the people of the United States by a direct attack upon the fundamental principles of free government. Our Constitution recognizes the absolute equality of all its citizens; equality, not in physical development, mental acumen, nor social standing, but in their rights. Our Government as the conservator of the rights of all its citizens, guarantees to its humblest citizen, and to the weakest minority, all the rights accorded to its most prominent citizens and largest majorities.

No partiality is admissible. Wealth, numbers, physical perfection and social prominence are alike denied standing room upon the scales of justice, and absolute equality of rights is made the bed-rock of all our free institutions.

In recognition of the inherent and indefeasible right of every citizen to be protected in the independent exercise and free expression of his religious convictions, our Constitution wisely withholds from Congress the power to legislate upon religious subjects, and only restrains the liberty of the individual when he seeks to invade the rights of others. The success of the Blair measures involves the subversion of these principles and the removal of the constitutional barrier that now protects the weak from oppression by the strong.

The full text of these proposed measures should be published broadcast and all the avenues of intelligent expression opened wide for their full and free discussion. —*Ira D. Blanchard, in Polk County (Minn.) Journal.*

CIVIL GOVERNMENT AND RELIGION

By A. T. JONES,

One of the Editors of the AMERICAN SENTINEL.

Scriptural, Logical, Plain, and Forcible

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NEW YORK, JANUARY 23, 1890.

NOTE.—Any one receiving the AMERICAN SENTINEL without having ordered it may know that it is sent to him by some friend, unless plainly marked "Sample copy." It is our invariable rule to send out no papers without pay in advance, except by special arrangement, therefore, those who have not ordered the SENTINEL, need have no fears that they will be asked to pay for it simply because they take it from the post-office.

THE American Sabbath Union officially makes the following announcement of what it wants, and it is this:—

What we want in this matter of Sunday work is total abstinence.

MR. CRAFTS reports that he found a conference of ministers in New England that declined to indorse the petition to Congress for a national Sunday law. Good! May such conferences increase in number daily.

THE secretary of Publications and Legislation of the American Sabbath Union, has issued a circular in which he says: "Some churches have appropriated a hundred dollars for the prevention of heathenizing America by Sabbath reform." Well, the AMERICAN SENTINEL appropriates more than twice that amount every week, for the prevention of the heathenizing of America by such Sabbath reform as is represented by the American Sabbath Union. We know of one church that appropriates yet more than this for the same purpose. And let the good work go on.

A lady writes thus from Rockport, Atchison County, Mo.:—

EDITORS AMERICAN SENTINEL: One of your papers came to me a few days ago. I must say I like the spirit of freedom it breathes, for I see you not only wish to preserve the rights and liberties of the minority of Christians, but the free government our fathers bequeathed to us baptized in their own blood. I should consider myself unworthy of a free government or the right to worship God according to the dictates of conscience except I am willing to grant to all, both great and small, the right to worship how, where, and what they please.

THE American Sabbath Union says that its work for Sunday laws is "a real home missionary cause" "of like importance with the Christianizing of heathen lands." But the American Sabbath Union is attempting to do its work by legislation, especially national legislation, therefore the American Sabbath Union in asking State support thereby asks the State to take part in a missionary enterprise and do a missionary work of like importance with the Christianizing of heathen lands. This

argues that the Government of the United States is a missionary society. The work of Christianizing heathen lands was committed by Jesus Christ to his disciples and not to the Roman Empire; to his Church and not to the State; and never since that has he committed that work, nor any part of it, to the State. It is committed, and belongs, to the Church only. If the Church cannot do that work without the help of the State, she cannot do it at all. Therefore the American Sabbath Union, in asking for Sunday laws asks the State to aid the Church. It asks for a union of Church and State in the work of "Christianizing" the people. Deny it as they may, the evil that is in this Sunday-law movement will crop out, unconsciously though it be. Let everybody understand that the Government of the United States is not a missionary society; but that the American Sabbath Union proposes to make it such a thing.

THE American Secular Union makes the following announcement:—

The American Secular Union, a voluntary association having for its object the complete separation of Church and State, in practice as well as in profession, and in no way committed to any system of religious belief or disbelief, acting herein by its President, Richard B. Westbrook, A. M., LL.D., as its special trustee and attorney-in-fact, hereby offer a premium of one thousand dollars (\$1,000), lawful money of the United States, for the best essay, treatise, or manual adapted to aid and assist teachers in our *free public schools* and in the *Girard College* for orphans, and other public and charitable institutions professing to be unsectarian, to thoroughly instruct children and youth in the *purest principles of morality* without inculcating *religious doctrines*.

The papers should all be submitted by April 1, 1890, though more time will be granted if necessary, and the committee is now ready to receive manuscripts. Each manuscript is desired to be in typewriting, or, if written with the hand, must be very clearly written. It should have a special mark or designation, while the real name and post-office address of the author should be sent separately, in a sealed envelope bearing the same mark as the manuscript. Both manuscript and envelope to be addressed to R. B. Westbrook, No. 1707 Oxford St., Philadelphia, Pa., postage or express prepaid.

THE Ridgewood Amusement Company of Queens County, N. Y., leased their grounds for playing base-ball and the clubs played on Sunday. The grand jury indicted the company for maintaining a nuisance in allowing Sunday base-ball. The company made no denial of letting the grounds nor of letting them for the purpose of playing base-ball, nor that base-ball was played there on Sunday. The company denied that it was a nuisance and brought many citizens and some officials, all residents, who testified that it was not a nuisance. Of course, the prosecution failed to convict. The American Sabbath Union is considerably annoyed at this,

and says, "Every lawyer knows that it is a much more difficult matter to convict for maintaining a nuisance than it is to convict for Sabbath-breaking. The indictment should have been for Sabbath-breaking." But Sabbath-breaking is distinctly an offense against God. It is essentially a religious offense and no man is responsible to any soul on this earth for Sabbath breaking; and when the power of the State is employed to deal with the offense of Sabbath breaking that power is carried entirely beyond every limit that properly pertains to the jurisdiction of civil government.

A CORRESPONDENT of the *Central New Jersey Times* says in a recent communication to that paper:—

Rome does not know what liberty of soul, body or conscience is, and she never has since she claimed temporal power. Catholics, however, have rights that should be respected, and it must be a source of regret that efforts, resolutions, and discussions, even of some religious bodies, have savored of compulsion and of legislation against Catholics. That is all wrong. If a Protestant majority can legislate against Catholics, a Catholic majority have just as good right to legislate against Protestants, and as a Baptist I want Catholics to have just the same rights and privileges as myself.

Certainly Catholics have just the same rights that Protestants have, and those rights should be respected. And when Protestants forget this and seek to invade the rights of the Catholic minority they cease to be Protestants, for not all Papists are in the Papal Church. The Protestant principle is that so far as his fellow-men are concerned every man shall be left perfectly free in matters of religion, and only those who act upon this principle are entitled to the Protestant name.

OPPOSITION without being able to show a reason for it is the position of the *San Francisco Chronicle* on the Australian ballot system. The truth is that the Jesuit organ is opposed to this method of voting because the Catholic Church is opposed to it. The system was designed for the purpose of defeating the influence of the priest in politics. In Australia the Papal Church wielded such a powerful influence over voters on election day that the people were compelled in self-defense to devise a means that would defeat the manipulations of the priests on election day. What is known as the Australian system of voting was the means adopted, and it has served the purpose so well that in Australia the priest no longer wields a power at the polls. The *Chronicle* will not acknowledge why it opposes the system.—*American Standard*.

THE home address of Alonzo T. Jones is 75 West 100th Street, New York City.

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PACIFIC PRESS PUBLISHING COMPANY,

No. 43 BOND ST., NEW YORK.

EDITORS,

E. J. WAGGONER, ALONZO T. JONES.

It seems that some effort was made in the last Congress to have some action taken on the Sunday-Rest bill, and that even on Sunday. The secretary of Legislation of the American Sabbath Union in complaining of "the God-defying, law-defying Sabbath desecration by Congress" on the Sunday before inauguration day, says: "The Christian men of Congress did not, as on a former occasion, prevent a Sunday session by denying the right of Congress to require Sunday work of any of its members, and retiring in a body, and so destroying the quorum. Instead of such a protest, there was only a shallow jest, called up by a Sunday motion relating to the Sunday-Rest bill, that it was not proper to work on such legislation on the Sabbath." That was not a shallow jest. That was a very wise and a very pious observation. We suggest that that gentleman be made chairman of the committee that has charge of the Sunday-Rest bill.

THE Chicago News of the 6th inst., has the following item:—

Mr. Joseph W. Morton of Chicago takes issue with the statement of the Rev. Wilbur F. Crafts, of the American Sabbath Union, that the petition for certain Sabbath reforms which was presented to the last Congress was signed by more than ten million adults. "To contain ten million signatures," says Mr. Morton, "would require at least 166,667 sheets, making more than 347 reams, which, at the average rate of twelve and one-half pounds to the ream, would weigh more than two and one-sixth tons. The length of the petition would be a little more than sixty-three miles." Mr. Morton is very confident that no such petition was ever presented to Congress on any subject.

Of course, no such petition was ever presented. The SENTINEL has repeatedly shown how the petitions referred to were

made to represent such a vast number of petitioners, and it is certain that there has never been in any country a greater abuse of the right of petition. Whole denominations were counted on the strength of the vote of a few men not chosen for any such purpose; and even worse than that, the whole Roman Catholic Church was counted as petitioners, simply because Cardinal Gibbons wrote a letter to Mr. Crafts, saying: "I am happy to add my name." It is true that, owing to the strenuous efforts being put forth by the friends of Sunday legislation, there is a growing sentiment in favor of such laws, but it is not true that any such number as they claim have ever petitioned for a Sunday law in any legitimate manner.

No Morality Possible Without Religious Doctrine.

LAST week we printed the offer of the American Secular Union of a \$1,000 prize for the best essay embodying "the purest principles of morality without inculcating religious doctrines." Personally, we are considerably interested in this thing. Our interest, however, is one of curiosity rather than of practice; because such a manual as the Union desires, will be a curiosity in itself, if such a thing can be created at all; and it will also be a curiosity to see how it is done when it is done.

The circular announcing the prize says:—

It is desired that the manual for which this premium is offered shall not be a reading book for schools nor a mere code of morals, much less a system of ethical philosophy, but rather a concise yet comprehensive and suggestive exhibit, with familiar and practical illustrations of those universal foundation principles and axiomatic truths which underlie all sound morality and rightfulness, thus developing and educating that inherent moral sense which is more or less common to all rational beings. In short, to show how to teach children the natural and essential difference between right and wrong, and the reasons therefor.

It is perfectly proper to teach children, as well as older people, the essential difference between right and wrong; and every

reasoning creature, not only desires, but absolutely demands to know the reasons therefor. But in moral things, in inculcating the principles of moral right or wrong, it is impossible to give reasons for it without inculcating a religious doctrine. The reason for that which is right or wrong must be based upon authority. But to leave out of these reasons all idea of any authority, except the authority of man, is to have in fact no basis for morality. The human conscience refuses to recognize the authority of man in the realm of morals. If it rests upon the authority of man, one man has just as much authority as another. Each man's idea of that which is morally right is, to him, more authoritative than any other man's idea of right can be.

Therefore, to carry into effect the intent of this prize offer, there must be established an aristocracy of ideas in regard to what is morally right or wrong. Not only that, this aristocracy of ideas might be established; those ideas might be embodied in a manual; but how shall the children and the people at large be caused to receive them as authoritative? Every person will assert his right to reject the whole thing, reasons and all. If it be said that the State shall adopt this for the public schools, and enforce it, then there is at once established a despotism of ideas in morals, and freedom of thought is no more. It is impossible to escape this if once there is a step taken in that direction. But we understand that the Secular Union recognizes the absolute equality of mankind, and the absolute freedom of thought. These being the principles of the Union, it never can set forth any system of morals with any authority at all, according to the plan suggested in this announcement.

In the realm of morals, the mind and the conscience of man require reasons resting upon authority, and that authority must be superior to man's. That authority is the authority of God; the conscience of man will recognize no other; and the logic of the question will admit of no other. That authority is expressed either

by the Lord, through his word, to the individual conscience, or by man assuming the place of God and by despotic power forcing its dictates upon men, crushing out individuality and freedom of thought.

The authority of man in the place of God, is expressed in two ways and only two. One of these ways is exemplified in the Papacy and its history. With this, the American Secular Union is well acquainted, and justly abhors it. With the other form, we are persuaded the Union is not so well acquainted, or it would never have made the offer it has on the basis upon which it has made it. According to the idea of the Union, and in fact according to the abstract idea, somebody's view of what is right or wrong must be taken as the authority; and as the Union requires that the reasons for right or wrong shall be kept strictly upon the basis of the natural within the realm of the secular, in this case it must be the view of the majority. What the majority shall say is right or wrong, that *is* right or wrong. But while it is only the views of men the mind and conscience of man will refuse to receive it as authoritative in the realm of morals. Therefore, as we have seen, if it is to be made effective, it must be so by the assertion of power, and in this case the power of the State, which, in the government of the people, is simply the power of the majority. But even though it be a majority, when it embodies the views of the majority upon questions of right and wrong, and makes those views authoritative, and compels everybody to accept those views, that is a despotism crushing out freedom of thought, no less than is the other, though it be not under the name of Papacy. And no less than the other also, this is simply man putting himself and his authority in the place of God and his authority. This is paganism.

The proposition of the American Secular Union, in this matter of its \$1,000 prize, is the very philosophy of Roman paganism in particular. In the Roman system, the idea of the State, that is, of the majority, was the highest idea of the science of right and wrong. What "the Senate and people of Rome" said was right, that *was* right. What they said was wrong, that was wrong. The Senate and people expressed their voice and their will, in this matter, in law, therefore, a maxim of the Roman law was, "What the law says is right." But *the Roman State was the supreme deity*; and thus originated the maxim, "*Vox populi vox Dei*—the voice of the people is the voice of God." This is the philosophy of the circular of the American Secular Union calling for a manual of morals based upon the authority of man. It is true, the Union does not, in set terms, propose to make the State openly a deity. Nevertheless the result is the same, and by such a system, the majority is put in the place of God, and asserts the power and authority of

God upon the mind and conscience of man.

These are the two means by which morality, and the reasons and the authority for it, are discovered and asserted by man. One is the Papacy, the other is paganism. Both are false. The truth lies above them both in genuine Christianity. Real Christianity takes the moral code as it came from the hand of God asserting the eternal principles of right and wrong, resting upon the authority of God—Christianity takes these principles and, depending alone upon the power and the gracious influences of the Spirit of God, it seeks by persuasive argument and sound reason to impress them upon the individual conscience, and enables men, through faith in Christ, to attain to the perfect manifestation of "the purest principles of morality." It is both logically and practically impossible to inculcate the purest principles of morality without inculcating religious doctrine, because, as we have seen, in the realm of morals the mind and conscience of man uncompromisingly requires authority above the authority of man—that is, above the natural and the secular. But just as soon as we get above the natural and the secular, we are at once in the realm of religion, in the realm of the recognition of God, and that is religion. Thus it is demonstrated by the experience of man, that, in the very nature of things, it is impossible to give instruction in the purest principles of morality without inculcating the purest religious doctrine, and that the religious doctrine of Christianity. Because in Jesus Christ God is revealed; and in the will of God there is announced, and in the faith of Jesus Christ there is secured the practice of, the purest principles of morality that ever can be known to the mind of man.

The trouble is that the American Secular Union makes a mistake in this and aims at too much. It requires that which it is impossible to secure by the means which the Secular Union is disposed only to employ. The object of the Union, "the complete separation of Church and State in practice as well as in profession," is a laudable object. It is worthy of the sympathy, the support, and the co-operation of every Christian as well as every other man. In this, it has the hearty sympathy and co-operation of the AMERICAN SENTINEL. But in *its* effort to assure this, the Secular Union undertakes too much. In its opposition to the encroachments of the religious upon the civil authority it allows the pendulum to swing too far and would cause the civil authority to encroach upon the realm of the religious. In its attempt to keep separate the spiritual and the secular powers, the Secular Union attempts to do, by the secular power that which can be done only by the spiritual. It attempts to do by the civil power that which can be done only by the religious power. It attempts to inculcate

and secure the practice of the purest principles of morality without inculcating religious doctrine, while it is absolutely impossible to instruct in the principles of morality, whether pure or impure, without inculcating religious doctrine; and while it is absolutely impossible to separate morality from religion.

We say it kindly: Let the Secular Union revise its position. Let it draw its lines more clearly. Let its object be indeed a complete separation of Church and State in practice as well as in profession. Let it confine itself to the secular, to the maintenance of which it is pledged and for which it in fact exists. And while doing this, let it leave to the Church matters pertaining to things spiritual. While opposing the encroachment of the Church upon the power of the State, let the Secular Union see to it that, so far as in it lies, the power of the State shall be kept within its proper jurisdiction, and that it shall not invade the realm of the Church. Let the Union see to it that the State shall have to do only with things civil, while it leaves to the individual conscience that which pertains to religion and morality.

Let the Secular Union draw its lines here and it will be relieved of the heavy burden of trying to do that which it is impossible to do with the means which the Union would only employ. It will also thus be relieved of the inconsistency of contradicting itself by even unintentionally attempting to do the very thing which it exists for the sole purpose of preventing.

What the American Secular Union wants in the prize manual for which it has advertised, is a manual clearly defining the principles in which the State may give instruction without trenching upon the domain of the religious: the principles which the State may inculcate within the proper limits of the civil jurisdiction. And, in fact, we are inclined to believe that this is what the Union intended to secure; but the Union makes the unfortunate mistake of confounding morality with civility, and asking for a manual upon the purest principles of *morality* without inculcating religious doctrine while it means only *civility*. The State is secular and exists in the realm of the natural and has only to do with that which is civil. It can never have anything to do with that which is spiritual, moral, or religious. The Secular Union and its work belong in the realm of the State and cannot, under its title, have anything to do with things spiritual, moral, or religious. Let the Secular Union confine itself within the limits of its proper jurisdiction and it will do well.

We have now favored the Union with printing its announcement, and with our comments upon it, and we sincerely hope that the Union will favor us with the earliest copy of the prize manual that it can possibly send to our table. A. T. J.

Taxing Church Property.

WHETHER we like it or not, the drift of political sentiment is everywhere in the direction of taxing church property the same as any other.

This was expressed in the constitutional convention in Washington Territory by the adoption of a clause forbidding the release of any kind of property from its proportionate share of the public burdens. The object of this was the taxation of churches, private schools, and charitable institutions.

California has had a similar provision for several years in its Constitution. Though at first opposed by a large minority, it has grown in popularity until it is now accepted as a matter of course even by the most thorough-going churchmen. Some of them express the belief that the poorer churches should be exempt, but this simply corresponds to the opinion held by many political thinkers (among them ex-Secretary McCulloch) that all small property holdings should be exempt. So far as the costly city churches are concerned, the sentiment favoring their taxation is almost unanimous.

In the Eastern States the sentiment against exemption is also growing, though in a less marked degree. It is in the main confined to political students, and to the more strenuous supporters of the public school system who oppose the education of a part of the children in parochial schools. Not until all church property is taxed, they maintain, can we make sure that all our children shall have a common education in the principles of American citizenship and be united in sentiment and sympathies.

Curiously enough, England has taken an important step in the same direction. Only a short time since a considerable sum was bequeathed to a foreign missionary society, and the executors under the will claimed that it should be exempt from the tax upon bequests. Lord Chief Justice Coleridge decided that the probable excellence of the charity in no way lessened the claims of the State. The amount of the tax on the bequest was the State's money and not the testator's. To remit it was to increase by just so much the burden upon the remaining taxpayers. Such an increase of the public burdens could not take place except by the direction of the public itself. No exemption could therefore be permitted.

In the same way it might be maintained that in this country, where all private property is held subject to a lien for annual taxes on the part of the State, the value of this lien is in fact public property. To remit the tax when the property is transferred to a religious institution, is therefore to increase the amount of the charity out of the pockets of the remaining taxpayers. Such, at least, is the philosophy of the refusal of California and

Washington to exempt the property of religious and charitable institutions. It is the logical carrying out of two American principles: First, the complete separation of Church and State; second, equality before the laws for property as well as men.—*Commercial Advertiser.*

Let Americans Be Americans.

IN the following editorial from the *Tribune* of this city there is a valuable point, one which we wish there was made much more of throughout the land. The aping of European ways by Americans is a shame and a disgrace to every one who does it.

"At the Holland Society's dinner on Friday night Mr. Theodore Roosevelt made some remarks in an old-fashioned way upon an old-fashioned subject. After recalling the social, political, military, financial and other triumphs of American citizens of Dutch ancestry, Mr. Roosevelt made the point that whatever may have been the strength and virtue of their Holland blood, they wrought as Americans, and could not have won the renown that has rewarded their labors had they remained Hollanders here. He then proceeded to apply this point to existing situations, and to urge the duty of all foreigners to become heartily and sincerely American. This is in no sense a new suggestion, but it needs to be constantly enforced upon the attention, not only of foreigners, but of native-born Americans as well.

"There is a class of Americans, almost confined to the Eastern cities, who have seemed to think it an evidence of culture and of social and intellectual rank to indulge in supercilious reflections upon their country and their countrymen. We have lately feared that this class of people was growing, not merely among the silly creatures who have neither brains nor any use for brains, but among really estimable persons and as the result of a propaganda undertaken primarily in the interest of certain European economic theories. The zeal and industry of those in charge of the propaganda have not seemed to be satisfied with those comparisons which in their eyes show the superior excellence of foreign industrial systems, but they have felt it necessary also to sneer at all things commonly thought to be characteristic of our society.

"They sneer at our politics, declaring in effect that no such thing exists as an honest American politician; that all officeholders in this land, where we teach officeholding to be no man's right, but every man's proper aspiration, are selfish, corrupt slaves of party; that to be prominent in the council or active in the management of a party is to be utterly wicked and unclean—to be, indeed, a "machine politician" is their synonym for "devil."

They sneer at our educational system and methods, and affect to think we have no "real colleges," apparently believing it impossible for an educator to be wise without a wig or efficient as a teacher without a gown. They sneer at our press, and save themselves vast intellectual effort by throwing all their fine scorn into the quotation marks with which they invariably surround the word journalism. They have not yet got ready to attack the public school system or freedom of worship, but they do what they can to prevent the extension of the public school system, and they plainly indicate that they have more faith in the piety of a bishop who is also "my lord" than of one whose character is unaided by civil title. They apparently act upon the belief that it is a sign of broad-mindedness and liberality to take that view of a method or that side of a controversy which is antagonistic to the popular American view.

"These people are not very susceptible to arguments, but they are painfully sensitive as to the impression they produce upon others. They wish to be thought vastly clever. If it could only be got into their heads that, on the contrary, they really excite only pity and ridicule, it would probably do them good."

The Blair Sunday Bill in Secular Dress.

THE Blair Sunday bill has again appeared upon the scene of Congressional action, to seek at the hands of our present national legislators that recognition which it failed to get from the members of the Fiftieth Congress. The better to secure this, and that the public eye may not be turned upon it in suspicion, it has discarded its religious features and assumed a garb which is studiously secular. How this has been done will be evident to the reader from a comparison of the two phases of the bill, as given herewith, the essential points of difference being indicated by the use of italics and small capitals:—

THE BLAIR BILL—1888-9.

A Bill to secure to the people the enjoyment of the first day of the week, commonly known as the Lord's day as a day of rest, AND TO PROMOTE ITS OBSERVANCE AS A DAY OF RELIGIOUS WORSHIP.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That no person, or corporation, or the agent, servant, or employee of any person or corporation, shall perform, or authorize to be performed, any secular work, labor, or business to the disturbance of others, works of necessity, mercy, and humanity excepted; nor shall any person engage in any play, game, or amusement, or recreation, to the disturbance of others, on the first day of the week, commonly known as the Lord's day, or during any part thereof, in any Territory, District, vessel, or place subject to the exclusive jurisdic-

THE BLAIR BILL—1889-90.

A Bill to secure to the people the privileges of rest and of religious worship, free from disturbance by others, on the first day of the week.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That no person, or corporation, or the agent, servant, or employee of any person, or corporation or in the service of the United States in time of peace, except in the necessary enforcement of the laws, shall perform, or authorize to be performed, any secular work, labor, or business to the disturbance of others, works of necessity and mercy and humanity excepted; nor shall any person engage in any play, game, or amusement or recreation to the disturbance of others on the first day of the week, commonly known as Sunday, or during any part

tion of the United States; nor shall it be lawful for any person or corporation to receive pay for labor or service performed or rendered in violation of this section.

Sec. 2. That no mails or mail matter shall hereafter be transported in time of peace over any land postal-route, nor shall any mail matter be collected, assorted, handled, or delivered during any part of the first day of the week: *Provided*, That whenever any letter shall relate to a work of necessity or mercy, or shall concern the health, life, or decrease of any person, and the fact shall be plainly stated upon the face of the envelope containing the same, the Postmaster-General shall provide for the transportation of such letter or letters in packages separate from other mail matter and shall make regulations for the delivery thereof, the same having been received at its place of destination before the said first day of the week, during such limited portion of the day as shall best suit the public convenience and least interfere with the due observance of the day as one of worship and rest: *And provided further*, That when there shall have been an interruption in the due and regular transmission of the mails, it shall be lawful to so far examine the same when delivered as to ascertain if there be such matter therein for lawful delivery on the first day of the week.

Sec. 3. That the prosecution of commerce between the States and with the Indian tribes, the same not being work of necessity, mercy, or humanity, by the transportation of persons or property by land or water in such way as to interfere with or disturb the people in the enjoyment of the first day of the week, or any portion thereof, as a day of rest from labor, the same not being labor of necessity, mercy, or humanity, or its observance as a day of religious worship, is hereby prohibited; and any person or corporation or the agent, servant, or employee of any person or corporation who shall willfully violate this section, shall be punished by a fine of not less than ten or more than one thousand dollars, and no service performed in the prosecution of such prohibited commerce shall be lawful, nor shall any compensation be recoverable or be paid for the same.

Sec. 4. That all military and naval drills, musters, and parades, not in time of active service or immediate preparation therefor, of soldiers, sailors, marines, or cadets of the United States on the first day of the week, except assemblies for the due and orderly observance of religious worship, are hereby prohibited; nor shall any unnecessary labor be performed or permitted in the military or naval service of the United States on the Lord's day.

Sec. 5. That it shall be unlawful to pay or to receive payment or wages in any manner for service rendered, or for labor performed, or for the transportation of persons or of property, in violation of the provisions of this act, nor shall any action lie for the recovery

thereof, in any Territory, District, vessel, or place subject to the exclusive jurisdiction of the United States; nor shall it be lawful for any person or corporation to receive pay for labor or service performed or rendered in violation of this section.

Sec. 2. That no mails or mail matter shall hereafter be transported in time of peace over any land postal-route, nor shall any mail matter be collected, assorted, handled, or delivered during any part of the first day of the week: *Provided*, That whenever any letter shall relate to a work of necessity or mercy, or shall concern the health, life, or decrease of any person, and the fact shall be plainly stated upon the face of the envelope containing the same, the Postmaster-General shall provide for the transportation of such letter or letters in packages separate from other mail matter and shall make regulations for the delivery thereof, the same having been received at its place of destination before the said first day of the week, during such limited portion of the day as shall best suit the public convenience and least interfere with the due observance of the day as one of worship and rest: *And provided further*, That when there shall have been an interruption in the due and regular transmission of the mails it shall be lawful to so far examine the same when delivered as to ascertain if there be such matter therein for lawful delivery on the first day of the week.

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Sec. 5. That it shall be unlawful to pay or to receive payment or wages in any manner for service rendered, or for labor performed, or for the transportation of persons or of property, in violation of the provisions of this act, nor shall any action lie for the recovery

thereof, and when so paid, whether in advance or otherwise, the same may be recovered back by whoever shall first sue for the same.

Sec. 6. That labor or service performed and rendered on the first day of the week in consequence of accident, disaster, or unavoidable delays in making the regular connections upon postal-routes and routes of travel and transportation, the preservation of perishable and exposed property, and the regular and necessary transportation and delivery of articles of food in condition for healthy use, and such transportation for short distances from one State, District, or Territory into another State, District, or Territory as by local laws shall be declared to be necessary for the public good, shall not be deemed violations of this act, *but the same shall be construed so far as possible to secure to the whole people rest from toil during the first day of the week, their mental and moral culture, and the religious observance of the Sabbath day.*

thereof, and when so paid, whether in advance or otherwise, the same may be recovered back by whoever shall first sue for the same.

Sec. 6. That labor or service performed and rendered on the first day of the week in consequence of accident, disaster, or unavoidable delays in making the regular connections upon postal-routes and routes of travel and transportation, the preservation of perishable and exposed property, and the regular and necessary transportation and delivery of articles of food in condition for healthy use, and such transportation for short distances from one State, District, or Territory into another State, District, or Territory as by local laws shall be declared to be necessary for the public good, shall not be deemed violations of this act, *nor shall the provisions of this act be construed to prohibit or to sanction labor on Sunday by individuals who conscientiously believe in and observe any other day than Sunday as the Sabbath or a day of religious worship, provided such labor be not done to the disturbance of others.*

It will be noticed, first, that a conspicuous change has taken place in the introductory clause which defines the purpose of the bill. As originally defined, its purpose was "to secure to the people the enjoyment of the first day of the week, . . . and to promote its observance as a day of religious worship." Now it is merely "to secure to the people the privileges of rest and of religious worship" on that day, "free from disturbance by others." The religious phase of the bill has disappeared entirely. It is now intended only as a mild and beneficent civil regulation, having in view the laudable object of securing to the people the privileges of undisturbed rest and religious worship on the first day of the week, of which it seems they have in some way been deprived!

This great change having been made in the object for which the bill was framed, we naturally look for a corresponding change in the bill itself. But here a strange fact presents itself; there is no change in the body of the bill at all. The same measures which one year ago would accomplish the object of securing to the people the enjoyment of the Lord's day as a day of rest, and promote its observance as a day of religious worship, are now considered necessary merely to give people a chance to rest and worship undisturbed! All those little phrases which upon the first appearance of the bill stamped it as a religious measure, have been pruned off, and it now appears labeled, "civil regulation." But it is the same old bill, imposing the same restrictions and exacting the same penalties. The change of label does not make it more desirable, or any less deserving of universal and uncompromising opposition.

Another strange thing which the above comparison brings out, is the sudden

change which seems to have taken place in the public conception of the first day of the week. Only one year ago this day was as the bill stated, "commonly known as the Lord's day;" now the first day of the week is "commonly known as Sunday." It must be that the secularization of the day is indeed taking place at a rapid rate!

It is further noticeable that the authors of the bill in its present form have provided it with the semblance of an exemption clause for those who observe some other than the first day of the week. In the latter half of the last section it is stated that the bill shall not be construed "to prohibit or to sanction labor on Sunday by individuals who conscientiously believe in and observe any other day than Sunday as the Sabbath or a day of religious worship." There immediately follows, however, the qualifying clause, "provided such labor be not done to the disturbance of others." By referring to the first section, we find that all that the bill requires of any one, observer of Sunday or non-observer, is that he shall not engage in labor on that day to the disturbance of others. The bill when it was before the last Congress, contained the same provision. The propriety of the term "semblance," as used above, is therefore evident. The bill virtually says, with true National Reform generosity, that where persons religiously observe any other day than Sunday, they shall not, on this account, be prohibited from labor and recreation entirely, but shall have the same privilege which all others enjoy of engaging in such labor and recreation on Sunday as will not be to the disturbance of others! This is doubtless in the line of those "concessions" of which we have heard from Mr. Crafts and others, and for which, as he says, observers of the seventh day have never shown any great disposition to be thankful.

It is hardly necessary to say that the thin secular guise in which this bill now makes its appearance, does not make it any less worthy of the strenuous opposition of every patriotic and liberty-loving American citizen than it was before this guise was assumed. The character and intent of the bill were plainly shown when it was introduced as a bill to "promote" the observance of the "Lord's day" as "a day of religious worship;" and the addition which the past year has made to the stock of wisdom of its originators, comes too late to make its secular guise effective. The bill is the same now that it was when first introduced, and in the opposition which we trust will be brought against it from all quarters, its advocates will have to meet this fact, and with it the stigma which must in every candid mind attach to their work, as a result of their manifest hypocrisy.—*Review and Herald.*

"My kingdom is not of this world."

Compelled to be Saved.

IN the Elgin, Illinois, convention of Congregational ministers, November 8, 1887, Dr. W. W. Everts, of Chicago, in speaking of the prevalence of Sabbath desecration and its remedy, said: "This day is set apart for divine worship and a preparation for another life. It is the test of all religion." That is to say, Sabbath-keeping is the test of all religion, and he who will not keep the Sabbath has no religion. But if he will not keep it he must be forced to, and thus act as though he had religion, no matter how corrupt at heart. Such a law would be, only could be, productive of the rankest hypocrisy. God will never accept of such a coerced religion. We admit, with Dr. Everts, that the Sabbath was given to assist in a preparation for another life; but when measures are adopted to compel men to prepare for another life, it is going beyond the jurisdiction of the Church or the State.

Dr. Everts further said: "He who does not keep the Sabbath does not worship God; and he who does not worship God, is lost." Exactly, and a law to compel people to keep the Sabbath is nothing less than a law to compel people to worship God. If they will *not* keep the Sabbath, and thereby worship God, they are lost; therefore, they must be *compelled* to keep the Sabbath, worship God, and be saved.

Obedience to God, voluntarily rendered, is the greatest test of love and the highest form of worship. Said Christ: "If ye love me, keep my commandments:" John 14: 15. But who ever heard of Christ compelling the people to show their love to him by forcing them to keep his commandments? The Scriptures set forth no such principle. The Sabbath belongs to Christ, and when on earth he told the people that he was Lord of it. Mark 2: 28. There were Sabbath breakers all around him, but he did not appeal to Cæsar for a law to compel them to keep it. He used the best means for saving people,—persuasion mingled with the deepest love. If compulsory measures had been a potent agent in saving those for whom he came to die, he might have used them.

It seems to be the design of ambitious clergymen, who are more zealous for an outward display than for inward piety, to transform this Government from a civil to an ecclesiastical power, and have a few men like the Roman pontiff, sit upon ecclesiastical thrones and make their interpretations of the Scriptures the law of the land. As a stepping stone to this they make Sabbath observance a test of personal religion and worship, and then tell the people they are lost if they do not come up to the test, thus trying to frighten them into favoring a Sunday law.

It is a good thing to keep the Sabbath and worship God; but it is a detestable thing to *compel* people to keep it, and deceive them into the idea that obedience

to such a law will save them. If the people cannot see the motive of those engaged in this Sunday-law business, it must be because they will not, or do not, investigate the matter, and reason from cause to effect.

E. HILLIARD.

Christ's Kingdom Not of This World.

THERE was a constant expectancy upon the part of Jesus' followers that he would take to himself regal power, and reign as king. Human power was inseparably connected with their ideas of success; and this expectancy often found expression in queries which plainly show the shape their hopes had taken. But the Saviour did not encourage the idea of associating his work with the kingdoms of the world. Exactly the opposite. He taught the doctrines of brothership instead of lordship; he called his disciples "friends," not servants; he taught meekness instead of "the manly art of self-defence;" humility, instead of pomp and pride. He taught that it was better to suffer wrong than to commit it; that it was better to be aggrieved than to be the aggressor; that mercy and forgiveness should prevail over justice, which was to be committed to him who judgeth righteously.

These characteristics plainly mark both his teachings and his life from beginning to close. When Peter resorted to the sword, he rebuked his spirit, and substituted kindness. When James and John suggested that the argument of fire from heaven be used upon those Samaritans who would not receive him, Jesus said, "Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of. For the Son of man is not come to destroy men's lives, but to save them." Luke 9: 55, 56.

He held at his disposal "more than twelve legions of angels;" but he never invoked the physical constraint of one of them to defend his cause or enforce his creed.

"Learn of me; for I am meek and lowly in heart," exclaims the great Author and Finisher of the Christian faith. It would have been well for the cause, and for its adherents since that time, had they fully comprehended the real spirit of the cause they profess, and possessed more of the spirit of its Master. But from that time until the present, men have sought to place the cause of Christ upon the support of civil power. Legislators and rulers have been petitioned and besought to take the interests and institutions of the Church under the fostering wing of legal protection; and wherever this has been tried, the result has been most disastrous to pure and undefiled religion. The Saviour says, "My kingdom is not of this world." Nor is this world any part of Christ's kingdom.—*Bible Echo, Australia.*

"PUT them in mind to be subject to principalities and powers." Titus 3: 1.

Encouraging Words.

THE Oakland (California) daily *Times* of January 10, notices the removal of the AMERICAN SENTINEL to this city, as follows:—

"DEPARTURE OF A FAITHFUL SENTINEL."

"Oakland has one religious paper the less by the removal of the AMERICAN SENTINEL, published for four years in Oakland, by the Pacific Press Publishing Company, to New York.

"The ability of this paper, under the editorial charge from the first of Elder E. J. Waggoner and Professor A. T. Jones, has been marked, and its deserved success phenomenal. Starting as an eight-page monthly, in January, 1886, it attained the first year to a circulation of over 136,000 copies, and the third year of more than 600,000. Last January it became a weekly and had a circulation during the year of over 1,000,000 copies. Its avowed aim, thus far consistently and energetically carried out, has been to oppose every principle, effort or movement which tends in any way to a union of Church and State, and to preserve inviolable the strictly secular and non-sectarian attitudes adopted by the fathers of our Republic and embodied in the Declaration of Independence and the United States Constitution, as also in the Constitutions of this and all the other States of the Union. An organized, determined and persistent effort is being made to overturn this fundamental principle and introduce a religious amendment which, if adopted by Congress and endorsed by the popular vote, will thoroughly sectarianize the Constitution. Against this movement the AMERICAN SENTINEL is dotting and is bound to do valiant battles. It holds, with Roger Williams, that 'civil government should rule in civil things only,' and, with George Washington, that 'every man who conducts himself as a good citizen is accountable to God alone for his religious faith,' and that any interference with this right in the way of penal Sunday laws or otherwise is a wanton and flagrant usurpation and should be resisted by every loyal American citizen with his utmost power.

"In principles and sentiments the *Morning Times*, with most of its brethren of the secular press, fully agrees, and we are glad to see in the last issue of the AMERICAN SENTINEL a hearty acknowledgement of sympathy and encouragement extended by various representatives of the California secular press, and particular by the Oakland *Morning Times*.

"The change of location to the metropolis of the Nation and the center of the battle on this national question, is undoubtedly a good one, and we believe and predict that the AMERICAN SENTINEL will at least double its last year's circulation of 1,000,000 copies during the current year."

A Lawyer's Opinion.

THE Washington *Post*, of January 12, has the following sensible communication from a prominent lawyer of that city. We commend it to the careful consideration of our readers:—

“The *Post* of January 6, 1890, published a dispatch from London, of the date of January 5, which says:—

The Rome correspondent of the *Pall Mall Gazette* has had a remarkable interview with Monsignor Satelli, which reveals a mental grasp on the part of the prelate, fairly noteworthy. The whole report is a gem, but this is perhaps the best thing: “All our bishops in the United States,” says Satelli, “are treated as sovereign princes, and Archbishop Ireland is the personal friend of Harrison. As a Democrat, he belongs to his party. He told Harrison that unless he would pledge himself to make concessions to the Catholic schools, all the Catholics would withdraw their votes from him. So he was obliged to do so. The public corporations, too, are only too glad to fulfil the wishes of our bishops, even before they are expressed.

“I think there must be some mistake about this; but the charge is one of such grave significance that President Harrison owes it to himself, and to the country at large, to stamp it with a prompt denial.

“Our Government is purely secular in its character and purposes. It is vested with no ecclesiastical power whatever. It has no right, nor any constitutional power, to appropriate a single dollar for the support of Catholic or of Protestant schools, or schools of any religious denomination, nor to legislate, in any way, for or against any religious sect, or on the subject of religion. Every Catholic in the land is entitled to the same consideration, the same protection, the same benefits and advantages as the Protestant, the Jew, the Mohammedan, and the infidel, and no more; all are entitled to the same consideration and the same protection.

“Our Government is not a Christian nor an anti-Christian Government; nor in any sense an ecclesiastical Government, but purely secular; it is designed for the benefit and protection of all classes of men—men of all religions, and men of no religion.

“On the other hand, the Papal Government, so called, is purely an ecclesiastical organization, and is invested with no civil powers. There may be some points of agreement and contact between the Papal hierarchy and the several Governments of Europe, for the reason that in all the Governments of Europe there is, to some extent, a mingling of civil and ecclesiastical powers. But with our Government it is entirely different. Between the Papal hierarchy and the Government of the United States there is no point of contact or agreement; nothing upon which the two can mutually and officially act. The one is spiritual, the other temporal.

“And it is for that reason that there has never been any official representation of either at the court of the other during the

century of our existence as a nation. What would be thought of the Episcopal Church of England, or the Greek Church of Russia sending a minister plenipotentiary or ambassador to represent the interest of either at the Government of the United States? And yet the papal authority is no more dominant in civil affairs in Italy than is the Episcopal Church in England, or the Greek Church in Russia.

“It may be well to note in this connection, the bill recently introduced in the House of Representatives by Mr. Breckinridge, of Kentucky, “To prevent persons [in the District of Columbia] being forced to labor on Sunday.” The title prefixed to this bill is a misnomer. It is not even pretended, either by the provisions of the bill itself, or by its author, that any person in the District of Columbia has been compelled to labor on Sunday, at any time since the abolition of slavery therein.

“This bill, if passed, will be in direct violation of the Constitution of the United States, which declares that ‘Congress shall make no law respecting the establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.’

“It is based upon the false and shabby pretense that mankind are by nature so fond of labor and so ambitious to work as to call for the restraint of law to save them from the consequences of overwork, while, in fact, it is designed by its authors as an entering wedge for a wide system of aggressive laws on religious subjects in derogation of the Constitution and of the civil rights and religious freedom of the citizen.

“It is high time to sound the alarm, when a comparatively small, but influential, and well-organized body of ambitious and unrestful Protestants, and backed by the Jesuits of the Catholic hierarchy, boldly and openly seek to change the character, if not the form of our Government, from a purely secular to an ecclesiastical or priestly rule, which experience has proved to be, of all forms of government, the most tyrannical, the most cruel, and the most oppressive. C. H. B.”

A Correspondent Who Is Anxious.

A reader writes as follows, from Dassel, Minnesota:—

“EDITORS AMERICAN SENTINEL: I have been an interested reader of your valuable little paper for some months, and feel to bid you God speed in your work, and hope you will soon be able to double the size of the *SENTINEL*. I have been so anxious about the Sunday movement, and fear so much to see the Blair Sunday bill become law, that I have determined, God being my helper, to try to warn the people of the impending danger of Sunday and other religious laws. I am not a Seventh-day keeper.”

We sincerely wish that there were thousands of other people in this country who would become as anxious as that and act in this same way to relieve their anxiety.

A New Boycott.

GENERALLY speaking, absolute consistency in any human enterprise that is at all complex in its bearings is impossible; but the efforts of those persons who would compel the cessation of all work on Sunday are rather unusually inconsistent. Consistency, while not essential (in fact it may often be a sign of weakness), is nevertheless held to be a jewel; and inconsistency *in extremis* becomes absurdity.

The attempted coercion of the people of the United States to observe a certain Sabbath in a certain way, is absurd.

The people of this Republic have attained to a certain degree of intellectual independence. Thinkers of great thoughts doubtless are rare, as they have ever been, but thinkers of practical thoughts have become exceedingly numerous; and the habit of social self-reliance, fostered by political freedom, has engendered a corresponding intellectual or mental self-reliance, which is freeing the race from superstition and moral bondage exactly as popular education frees it from literal ignorance.

People no longer believe that kings have divine rights—at least the people of the United States do not. In fact, the Declaration of our Independence teaches us that all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. The Constitution of the United States recognizes no higher source of power than the “consent of the governed.” That idea has permeated the social as well as the political fabric.

The Church is a social institution, with spiritual jurisdiction over its members. That the ministers, pastors, or priests have any powers beyond those delegated by the consent of their congregations or flocks is not now generally believed; yet that assumption seems to be the “head and front” of the so-called Sabbatarian movement.

That a man should rest one day in every seven is not at all unreasonable. But to compel him by law to rest one day in seven, and to designate by law which of the seven shall be the day of rest for him and all other men, is a measure to which the “consent of the governed” can never be gained. It is arbitrary and unreasonable, regarded from any but a sectarian standpoint. True, the commandment enjoins: “Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy,” etc. . . . But when they seek to impose upon unwilling fellow citizens such observance, they must of necessity show a higher source of authority than any named in the Constitution; and it is then that the inconsistencies of divers religious systems and the basic discrepancies of denominational opinions become fatal weaknesses which stamp the acts of the Sabbatarians with the seal of absurdity.—*Peablo (Col.) Sunday Opinion*.

ONE of the recommendations adopted by the Paris International Sunday Congress, upon "The Weekly Rest Day from a Social Point of View," is this:—

The smallest amount of rest which man ought to have is one day in seven; we mean by that, the Sabbath day, for that which is necessary for man is not a day of relief from labor only, but a day for true moral elevation.

If it is a day of rest simply from a social point of view, what matters it which day it is. From a social point of view, one man or a thousand men can rest just as well on one day as another. But that is not what the Congress meant to recommend. The Congress "means" that the Sabbath day is the one which shall be observed for rest and which is the smallest amount of rest that any man ought to take, and that not for physical rest primarily, but for true moral elevation. In this the Congress abandons the social point of view, adopts the religious, and places the day of rest upon the religious basis, and by so doing, it contradicts itself in its recommendation. But this is not an exceptional case by any means. No argument has ever yet been made professedly from a civil or social point of view that did not in fact rest upon the religious. And no such argument ever can be made. The thing is religious in itself. It cannot be made anything else and by no argument can it ever be made consistently to appear anything else.

REFERRING to the Blair Sunday Bill now pending in Congress, the Litchfield (Minn.) *Independent* says:—

We have no hesitancy in giving our opinion that such legislation would be an act of bigotry not worthy this day and age. Let the Government keep its hands off from any interference with the religious conduct of the people so long as the rights of others are not concerned. If the stability of the Christian religion now dominant in this country depends on any bolstering acts like the Blair bill, better let the structure topple at once.

A CORRESPONDENT of the *World-Herald* (Omaha, Nebraska), writing upon the Sabbath question, says:—

"While I am in favor of having one day in seven to be observed as a day of rest, or holiday, I believe with Martin Luther, that it is wholly wrong to have any law compelling anyone to observe it as a holy day, and all who are sincere in believing such a law to be right do so through the prejudice of education, not from truth, reason and facts, for they contradict such a thought."

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NEW YORK, JANUARY 30, 1890.

NOTE.—Any one receiving the AMERICAN SENTINEL without having ordered it may know that it is sent to him by some friend, unless plainly marked "Sample copy." It is our invariable rule to send out no papers without pay in advance, except by special arrangement, therefore, those who have not ordered the SENTINEL need have no fears that they will be asked to pay for it simply because they take it from the post-office.

THE *Christian Nation* criticises the SENTINEL for maintaining that "governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed," and makes an extended argument to prove that this is not true. We know that it is not true according to the National Reform religious-legislation theory; but it is true according to the American theory, and the American theory is true according to the Word of God.

THE American Sabbath Union prints the following inquiry:—

Is it not time to start a righteous crusade, under the laws of God and of man, in abolition of this ruinous system of [Sunday] bondage?

Oh, certainly it is! Let the crusade be started at once. Let this cruel bondage be abolished. And in order that this may be accomplished swiftly and certainly, we suggest that the American Sabbath Union change its name to the American Abolition Union. Let slavery be abolished, say we, forever!

December 29th, Mr. Crafts, of the American Sabbath Union, delivered an address at Association Hall, 86th Street, New York City. In that address he said:—

The national Lay Congress of Roman Catholics after correspondence and conference with the American Sabbath Union, passed its famous resolution in favor of co-operation with Protestants in Sabbath reform of which the following is a full and correct copy: "There are many Christian issues in which Catholics could come together with non-Catholics and shape civil legislation for the public weal. In spite of rebuff and injustice, and overlooking zealotry, we should seek alliance with non-Catholics for proper Sunday observance. Without going over to the Judaic Sabbath, we can bring the masses over to the moderation of the Christian Sunday. To effect this, we must set our faces sternly against the sale of intoxicating beverages on Sunday. The corrupting influences of saloons in politics, the crime and pauperism from excessive drinking, require legislative restriction which we can aid in procuring by joining our influence with that of the other enemies of intemperance. Let us resolve that drunkenness shall be made odious, and give practical encouragement and support to Catholic temperance societies. We favor the passage and enforcement of laws rigidly closing saloons on Sunday and forbidding the sale of liquors to minors and intoxicated persons."

Upon this Mr. Crafts remarks:—

This does not mean that the millenium is to be built in a day. This is only a proposal of courtship, and the parties thus far have approached each other shyly.

When courtship has gotten so far along as the proposal, marriage is not far off,

especially where the parties are so coy as is this species of Protestantism. And when this marriage between Protestantism and Catholicism is accomplished, what will become of the Protestant portion of the union? What kind of Protestantism is that, anyhow, which so willingly, or rather anxiously, carries on a courtship with Roman Catholics to the extent of receiving a proposal of marriage? Yes, that marriage is coming, and like every other great feature of Catholicism, it is contrary to nature—one woman marrying another. And the fruit of it will be, as pictured in the Scripture, a hideous, nondescript monster. Let there be raised up in this land a Protestantism that will assert itself not only against Roman Catholicism as such, but also against this degenerate Protestantism that has forgotten its place and its mission in the world.

The resolution "that drunkenness shall be made odious" by giving it governmental and religious sanction six days in the week, is likewise worthy of the Catholic Church.

THE organ of the American Sabbath Union says that "the opposition to Senator Blair's Sunday-Rest bill, introduced in the United States Senate, December 9, and printed in the *Pearl of Days*, is based upon a false assumption. That bill does not assume, as it is claimed, that civil legislation upon this subject appeals to the divine law for its support. Nothing of this kind appears in the bill, for it has been omitted for the express purpose of disarming opposition to the measure. It is, however, not a false assumption to say that the bill is a religious measure and that the motives of its promoters are purely religious. A careful comparison of the bill as introduced in the Fiftieth Congress and as now pending in the Fifty-first Congress will convince anyone that precisely the same object is to be accomplished by the bill as it now stands, as it was hoped to accomplish by it as originally framed. We print on another page an article from one of our exchanges which shows this so plainly that none can fail to see it.

WE notice that some of our exchanges, as well as a number of our correspondents, make the mistake of confounding the Blair Educational Bill with the Educational Amendment. These are not identical by any means. The Blair Educational Bill is a measure that has been advocated by Senator Blair for several years, and has passed the Senate several times. The object of this bill is to appropriate a certain amount—seventy millions, we think—from the surplus funds in the public treasury to the different States of the Union according to the proportion of illiteracy. But this bill does not propose in itself to have anything to do with religion in the public schools; it simply proposes to take

some of the surplus in the public treasury and divide it amongst the States for the States to use according to their own educational systems.

The Educational Amendment proposed by Senator Blair, is that which we have printed and commented upon in the SENTINEL. This proposes to amend the Constitution of the United States so that the principles of Christianity shall be taught in all the public schools in the Nation.

The Educational Bill would become a law, and of force, merely upon the action of Congress and the approval of the President. The proposed Amendment would be of no force until it was approved by three-fourths of the States. We shall print soon a copy of the Blair Educational Bill that our readers may understand just what the intent of it is. We make these remarks just now, only for the purpose of correcting the mistake that some have made, of confounding the bill with the proposed amendment. Please don't do it any more.

THE American Sabbath Union complains that, "New England is in peril from Sunday work and Sunday dissipation." How can it be otherwise under Sunday laws? The effort of the Sunday-law workers is to preserve Sunday as a religious day. Secular work is not in harmony with the religious idea of the day, therefore, work is forbidden. When work is forbidden to those who are not religious they are compelled to be idle, dissipation is the sure outcome; and that also is out of harmony with the religious idea of the day. As Sunday is held to be the palladium of salvation for the State; whatever State it is that has Sunday laws will always be in peril from Sunday work and Sunday dissipation.

THE Elmira (N. Y.) Telegram says:—

There is no power in the Constitution of the United States to prescribe the modes and time for the religious observance of any day in the week. The people are at liberty, without restriction, or definition of duty, to worship God in their own way, according to the dictates of their own conscience. Laws cannot be built to make a man rest when he isn't tired, or regulate the way he shall get rested when he is.

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The American Sentinel.

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PACIFIC PRESS PUBLISHING COMPANY,
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EDITORS,
E. J. WAGGONER, ALONZO T. JONES.

A BEAUTIFUL illustration of the benefit which the Church derives from an alliance with the State is presented in the case of the English Marquis of Ailesbury, who is the patron of twenty-one church livings in the Established Church, while at the same time he is debarred from all English race-tracks for cheating.—*Review and Herald.*

No intelligent man will condemn our churches as long as they are kept entirely distinct and separate from the State. But every Republican and every Democrat, every American should resent to the bitter end every attempt of any church to mix "things spiritual and things temporal," to join Church and State, or to make laws to compel men to conform to any code of morals.—*Topeka Republican.*

THE *Christian Advocate* of this city notices a recent case at law, in which a verdict was brought into court on Sunday, and says:—

Colonel Ingersoll, for the defendant, rose to move to set aside, or for a new trial. Judge Ingraham declined to transact any business on Sunday, beyond the mere receiving and recording of the verdict, necessary to relieve the jury, and told the anti-Christian to wait till Monday. If the latter and his abettors (some of them nominal Christians) get their way, there will be no rest-day in this country.

The SENTINEL is not an admirer of Mr. Ingersoll, nor are we in sympathy with his views upon religious questions, but we fail to see in the facts stated by the *Advocate*, any justification for the fling made at that gentleman and "his abettors." We have no idea that Mr. Ingersoll wants any judge to do business on Sunday if he doesn't want

to, nor do we know of anybody who wants the laws of the land so changed that courts shall uniformly do business upon that day. If judges and other court officials want to observe Sunday religiously or otherwise, nobody ought to object, and the SENTINEL does not object; but it does object to laws requiring those to observe Sunday who do not wish to observe it, and that whether they religiously observe another day or not.

An Important Discussion.

MONDAY evening, January 13, at the annual meeting of the Presbyterian Union of New York City, there was a discussion upon the question, "To what extent, if any, should religion be taught in the public schools?" Dr. Josiah Strong, secretary of the Evangelical Alliance, and Dr. David G. Wylie, argued in favor of religion in the schools; Doctors D. H. Greer and Howard Crosby argued against it. It was an interesting discussion. Dr. Strong led. He began by criticising the Roman Catholic position. He said that position is to be regretted but not to be wondered at. The object of the public school is to make good citizens; the object of the parochial school is to make good Catholics. The removal, therefore, of the Bible from the public schools as a concession to Catholics would be a needless sacrifice, because the primary object of Roman Catholic teaching is the Roman Catholic religion, and any school in which that is not taught is not acceptable to the Catholic Church. In answer to the Roman Catholic call for the division of the school fund, he said it would probably destroy the public school, and would certainly violate the principle of the entire separation of Church and State. He argued that the public schools are not Protestant because distinctive Protestant doctrines are not taught.

Now it is certainly a distinctive Protestant doctrine that the Bible, without note or comment, is the Word of God. And when Protestants insist that the Bible, without note or comment, shall be read in the

public schools, and the Protestant Bible at that, and then claim that the schools are not Protestant, and that no distinctive Protestant doctrine is taught there, is to be guilty of a casuistry that stultifies every one who makes such an argument.

The speaker next turned his attention to the "secularists." He said: "The secular theory is built on a wrong application of a right principle. The right principle is the entire separation of Church and State, while the wrong application of the principle is a failure to make a distinction between the Church and religion. There must be a separation between Church and State, but there must not be a separation between religion and the State. Our Government is, and always has been, religious. The principle of separation between Church and State forbids sectarian teaching in the public schools; but the principle of the union of religion and the State does not forbid undenominational religious instruction." But he did not tell how the State was to discover what is undenominational.

He said, "Self preservation is the first law of nature. If the State has a right to exist, it has the right to do whatever will perpetuate that existence." This is not a valid argument at all. It bears the blemish of the whole National Reform system; that is, that the State is an intelligence separate from the people who compose it. If the State were an individual, as really as is any individual person, then this argument might be allowed. But the State is no such person. The State has a right to exist simply because it is impossible for it to do otherwise. The State cannot commit suicide; the State exists in the nature of things as the result of the existence of man in society. In the sense in which the words were used by Dr. Strong, the State has not the right to do whatever will perpetuate its existence. Because, especially in religious things, what seems to the State necessary to perpetuate its existence, is often only a cruel, unmitigated tyranny. And even then it is doubtful whether the existence of the State is perpetuated thereby. In the early

days of Christianity, the Roman State considered its existence to be in danger. It decided that as the State had the right to exist, it had the right likewise to do whatever was necessary to perpetuate that existence, and that it was, therefore, necessary to put a stop to Christianity. It therefore punished with many untold torments, even unto death, the profession of Christianity. Without entering upon the question as to whether the existence of the Roman State was perpetuated or not by such proceedings, it is certain that the Roman State had no shadow of right to do to Christianity what it did. This, we are persuaded Dr Strong himself will concede because, assuredly he cannot justify it without condemning Christianity; but in conceding this, his whole argument is gone. The truth and the sum of the whole matter is, that with religion the State can have nothing to do whether professedly to perpetuate its existence or not.

The speaker further argued that "the State must teach fundamental religious truths because it is good for the State. The State cares nothing about another life." But the State cannot teach religious truth, fundamental or otherwise, without having to do with another life. Religion relates primarily to the recognition of God and another life.

Next he argued that it is not so much preceptive instruction that is required as it is practical. He said, "The lying of children in this country is not because of a lack of knowledge of how to tell the truth but because of a lack of will." But he did not attempt to tell how the State is to create in the mind of a child the will to tell the truth when the disposition is there to tell a lie instead.

In answer to the suggestion that the children be taught religion in the home and the Sunday-school, he inquired, "How are all those children to be got into the Sunday-school? And, as they cannot readily be got into the Sunday-school, how are these children to be taught reverence for God, for man, for woman, and for law? There is little reverence and therefore little authority in the American home—except that of children over the parents. In the school is where the State can touch children with a moulding hand, and if reverence is to be taught who shall do it if not the State?"

Throughout his speech, the Doctor seemed to have forgotten entirely that there is such a thing in the world as the Church. Certainly these defects exist which he has named. There is sore need that religion and reverence and authority all should be taught. But so far as his speech went he could discover none but the State to teach these things. But it is impossible for the State to teach them; and the task of teaching these things was never committed to the State by the Source of all authority, religion, and reverence. Is it true that the Church has so fallen

from its place and so far lost the true idea of her mission as not to be worthy of consideration in such a question as this so that the only alternative is to have the State to do it?

He argued that the question as to what, and how much religion should be taught, "should be settled by a local authority;" and "especially in the cities great care must be exercised and a middle course pursued between secularizing and Protestantizing the schools."

Dr. Strong was followed by Dr. Greer, Episcopalian, rector of St. Bartholomew's Church, New York City. No synopsis can do any manner of justice to Dr. Greer's speech, and it was impossible for us to obtain a *verbatim* report. It was an overwhelming rejoinder to Dr. Strong, and at the same time a masterly assertion of immutable principles both Christian and American. In answer to Dr. Strong's attempted distinction between the Church and religion, he said: "Such a distinction is impossible. 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 is 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.

"But it is said that nothing denominational shall be taught, but only those points in which all Christians are agreed. Who will tell us what these points are in which all Christians are agreed? Is it the infallibility of the Pope? Is it the divinity of our blessed Lord? 'The doctrine of God,' you say. What God? And what kind of a God is it in which all Christians are agreed? Is it a God who proposes to save men through the purifying processes of purgatorial fire, or is it a God that proposes to save all men without any fire at all? Is it the God in which the Unitarian believes, or is it the God in which the Trinitarian believes?"

"But it is asked, 'Should not the Bible be read?' The mere reading of a few words from the Bible from day to day is not of such a positive sort of religious instruction as yet to have excited any special conflict. In the event of a conflict, which is easily possible, the State to be consistent would have to prohibit even the reading of the Bible in the public schools. Here also the question arises, What Bible? Is it the Bible that says 'repent,' or is it

the Bible that says 'do penance?' Is it the Bible that says 'immerse' or is it the Bible that says 'baptize?' Is it the Bible that contains the Apocraphy, or is it King James' version?"

"The question of the reading of the Bible in the schools might become a burning question, and the State would then have to decide what Bible should be read. And as soon as the State does that, then some denomination will secure political control in its own interests, as is the case with Mormonism in Utah to-day. But it is said that this makes the schools 'godless.' This cry is more rhetorical than true, and, to many, sounds worse than it is. It might be brought with equal propriety against those schools which teach only business and penmanship, and schools of mechanics, and of arts. These are in the same sense godless. But they are not ungodly. They are godless because they are schools with a definite purpose in view, which purpose is not the teaching of religion. That purpose is followed without reference to religion. Not that those who give instruction there are atheistic or irreligious men, but because those schools do not exist for the purpose of giving instruction about God or about religion.

"The Church can best do its work when it does it without any connection with the State. The State can best do its work without any connection with the Church. This is the theory to which we are committed by the Constitution. Let the Church arise to an apostolic faith; let her be inspired by an apostolic spirit; let her be fired with an apostolic zeal; let her be clothed with apostolic power; then she can face the world as the apostolic church did, and by force of character can influence the State and the school vastly more than it would be possible to do with all the power and machinery in the State at her command. By this means it is possible for Christians to make Christianity so dominant that nothing but Christian personality will influence the public schools. It is not the reading nor the reciting of a set form of words that makes truth effective; it is the character, the living personality that is behind the words. The schools are here for everybody and for every class. The schools must be kept broad and comprehensive, and must not be encroached upon by any religious body upon any pretext whatever."

Dr. Wylie was the next speaker. He is a thorough-going national reformer. After speaking in opposition to the Roman Catholic theory, he denounced the secular theory as "atheistic," and then argued for a religious State at once. A goodly portion of his argument was also an appeal to sentiment and was simply a begging of the question.

Dr. Crosby's speech was rather a summing up than a decided argument and was quite brief. Of this speech we were able to obtain quite a full report. He said:—

"We have been subject of late to an educational craze in which we have forgotten and overrun the limits of American principles, both in the matter of attempting the teaching of religion by the State and of teaching the higher sciences by the State, with both of which, in my opinion, the State has nothing to do. It has no right to be teaching the higher education. The best thing that could be done with the Normal Collège—and I hope President Hunter is here to hear me—would be to turn it into a grand central police station. The best thing that could be done with the Collège of the City of New York—and I wish General Webb was here—would be to turn it into a prison for boodlers. I think we have no more right to instruct freely the children of all citizens in the higher mathematics and the calculus and philosophy than we would have to tax the people to give each child a thousand dollars to set him up in business. And on the same democratic, American principle I think that half of what is done in the public schools could be done away with. The only argument for schools established by the Government at all is to make citizens able to understand what our Government is. In other words, we should only teach children in the public schools to read, to write, to cipher, and to know what the American Constitution is. That should be the entire curriculum in the public schools. Beyond that we have no right to go.

"We have got into an educational craze in this matter, and the way to get out of it is to limit the work of the State to where it belongs. We should no more expect to teach religion in the public schools than to teach it in a mechanics' institute for the learning of a technical trade. We have many excellent organizations for benevolent work that are not concerned with the subject of religion. Are these benevolent institutions atheistic or irreligious? It is not the business of the State to teach religion. It is the business of the Church. The State teach religion? I want the State to get a little religion first. Of course, if we are to have religion taught by the State in this democratic country, we shall have it taught by the local government. We cannot take a single step in the teaching of religion without injury. We have no right in this country, which invites all persons of all creeds, to set up one of our religious notions as against the religious notions that any one else may honestly hold. Just as far as we do it just so far we encroach on the stability which is the basis of our Government.

"The State has no right to go further than to teach the simplest branches of education. The whole curriculum can be gone through with in three years, and when we limit public education to that, we shall solve this problem which has been agitating, and is agitating us, and will continue to agitate us. We must learn

that in our public schools we must recognize the rights of all."

There were about two hundred and fifty or three hundred people present, and although there were quite a number who were in favor of the idea of religion in the schools, it was easy to see that the great majority were decidedly against it; which, we were very glad indeed to see. There is one point, however, that is of considerable importance. Dr. Strong is secretary of the Evangelical Alliance of America. He is fully committed to a union of Church and State, and, as far as in him lies, he commits the Alliance with its influence and its methods, to the same things wherever he can. A. T. J.

National Reform Work in Cincinnati.

January 20, 21, there was held in the city of Cincinnati, a "Christian Convention," to consider "what can and ought to be done to save our land from the rising tide of vice and immorality." While ostensibly held in response to a call signed by eighty-two persons, of whom seventy-three were ministers, the fact that not one in ten of these persons were present, and that the convention was presided over by Rev. J. M. Foster, secretary of the National Reform Association, and attended by such men as Rev. Sylvester Scovel, Rev. D. McAllister, and Rev. W. F. Crafts, shows it to have been held in the interests of the National Reform movement.

The real work of the convention, apart from a two-days' exhibition of oratory and sophistry, is expressed in the following preamble and resolutions which were unanimously adopted and will in due time be presented before the Legislature at Columbus:—

It must be admitted that God, the Supreme law-giver and Judge, is the source of all civil authority and will surely punish all who persistently dispise his authority; as he has declared in his word. 'The Nation and kingdom that will not serve me shall perish; yea, those nations shall be utterly wasted.' A truth time and again recognized by the early statesmen of our Government, by our legislators and by Congress as late as 1863, when the Senate of the United States resolved that devoutly recognizing the authority and just government of Almighty God in all the affairs of men and nations, and sincerely believing that no people, however strong in the justness of their cause, can prosper without his favor.

This convention is fully convinced that vice, morality and crime in any community destroy its happiness and material prosperity, and it is equally true of States and nations, and since a disregard of the Sabbath and other moral laws of God—laws which belong to the State as well as the churches—is one of the factors in promoting these vices, immoralities and crimes, we regard it as of the utmost importance that the States, in the interest of good government and the prosperity of the people, should especially protect the Sabbath as a day of rest; therefore,

Resolved, That our Constitution and laws should be freed from all ambiguities which obscure their meaning and thereby give encouragement to the practice of vice and crime and render it difficult to enforce the penalties of violated laws.

Resolved, That the laws on our statute-books in reference to protecting the Sabbath as a rest day should be faithfully enforced all the more as they are in the interest of the whole people.

Resolved, That this convention hereby petitions the General Assembly of Ohio to amend the laws relating to our police court juries so as to bring them into line with the laws selecting juries for our county courts.

Resolved, That this convention cannot but reprobate in the strongest terms the disregard of the sanctity of the judicial oath and the principles which have heretofore made trial by jury the bulwark of personal liberty, by juries, which, contrary to admitted evidence of guilt, have, nevertheless, acquitted culprits because they did not approve of the laws which they had violated.

A glance at some of the papers read will suffice to show the spirit in which these resolutions were conceived, and the sophistry of the arguments employed.

The paper read by Judge M. B. Hagans was a prominent feature of the first day's programme. He started out to consider the subject of "The Civil Sabbath," but soon branched off into history, carrying his hearers back 2,500 years to the time of Nehemiah, and thereby surprised the thinking portion of his audience, who must have wondered what Nehemiah or anyone else living in his time knew about a "civil" Sabbath. He referred to the action of Nehemiah in closing the gates of Jerusalem on the Sabbath day and threatening to lay hands on Sabbath desecrators,—an argument having no possible bearing upon the subject of a "civil" Sabbath, since Nehemiah did this, not to protect the poor laboring men from the slavery of their Sabbath toil, but to enforce the observance of the Sabbath as a religious institution, lest they bring more wrath upon Israel by profaning the Sabbath. It is to the religious side of the question that the advocates of a "civil" Sabbath always gravitate in their arguments. Judge Hagans needs to be informed that we are not now living under a theocracy, and have no one to stand in the place of Nehemiah, unless we concur with Mr. Crafts in the idea that "the preachers are the successors of the prophets,"—a theory which it would greatly stretch the credulity of most of us to accept.

The idea that the Sabbath should be enforced because it has a place in the common law of the land, was another boomerang which the Judge hurled at the opposers of a "civil Sabbath." Did the Puritans, from whose legislative efforts our Sunday laws have descended, enact those laws in the interests of a "civil Sabbath"? Did the Church of England, from which the Puritans obtained their legislative ideas ever do this? Did the Roman Catholic Church, from which the Church of England sprang, ever demand legislation in regard to a "civil" Sabbath? Everybody knows better. Our Sunday laws are the relics of an age when Church and State were united, and Sunday was enforced as a religious institution, and this stamps them as religious laws, appropriately included in our

statute books under the head of "offenses against God and religion." Such is the genealogy of our present Sunday laws, which Judge Hagans and others of similar bias would like to see enforced under the guise of "civil" regulations. Under the inspiration of his theme the Judge sighed for mayors in our great cities, like Nehemiah who was not troubled with police boards and the jury system, but was himself mayor and chief of police at the same time,—a sigh which will not be extensively echoed among the people of those cities, or the officers of our municipal corporations.

Rev. John Pearson read an able paper on "The Minister and His Responsibility for Public Sentiment," and, unconsciously perhaps, hit the National Reform theory a blow squarely between the eyes. Ministers of the gospel and churches were not, he said, to come down from their high position to take part in the battle of politics, but to stand as watchmen on the walls of Zion, speaking out loud and boldly on all questions which concern public morals. This they ought to do, and the place for them to do it is in the pulpit. But the trouble is that ministers preach smooth things there, and then call on the legislatures to do the work they leave undone, by compelling people to be moral by law. Such preachers would do well to read over and study the great commission under which they profess to be working: "Go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, teaching [not compelling] them to observe all things, whatsoever I have commanded you." This defines the legitimate sphere of the Christian minister, and when he becomes an advocate of compulsory morality, he is engaging in a work which Christ has never commanded or sanctioned.

Rev. G. W. Lasher read a paper on "The Sabbath and the Working Man," repeating the familiar arguments relative to man's physical, mental, and moral need of a Sabbath rest, considering the subject from the standpoint merely of a physical and moral necessity, of which the civil law might properly take cognizance. The effect of his effort was seriously marred at the close when the Rev. Mr. Pearson arose and reminded the assembly that that was a Christian convention, that the good old-fashioned religious Sabbath was what they were principally concerned with, and that the "civil" Sabbath had been dinned in their ears quite as much as was profitable.

"A Legal Argument against Secular Common Schools," was the title of a paper read by Dr. McAllister, editor of the *Christian Statesman*. He ignored the position of parent or guardian as the overseer and inculcator of morals upon the minds of youth, and relegated this duty entirely to the State. The oath which the State demanded of its jurors and public officers furnished, in his view, a convincing reason

why the public schools should instruct the youth concerning the nature of an oath, and concerning that Supreme Being of whom it makes mention. Upon this slim foundation did he build his "legal argument against secular common schools." He even went so far as to assert that secularism, to be consistent, would be compelled to rule out Webster's Dictionary; as if there were no difference between defining the existing conceptions of religious things, and inculcating religious ideas! He would have the principles of Christianity openly taught in the public schools, which would leave to the Jew and the infidel, who did not wish their children thus taught, the happy alternative of withdrawing their children from the institutions they are taxed to support, or of building up schools of their own in that fair country to which the Rev. E. B. Graham, a co-laborer of Dr. McAllister's, referred when he said, "If the opponents of the Bible do not like our Government and its Christian features, let them go to some wild, desolate land, and in the name of the devil, and for the sake of the devil subdue it, and set up a government of their own on infidel and atheistic principles, and then if they can stand it stay there till they die!"

Rev. W. F. Crafts arrived during the concluding part of the session, and spoke on "The National Sabbath." He maintained, among other things, that the rest-day must be a common day for all, ignoring the fact that communities of seventh-day and first-day observers exist together in many places without causing the slightest friction of the wheels of commerce, and said that it was an act of great generosity on the part of the States to exempt Seventh-day observers from the penalties of the Sunday laws. Such an exemption he evidently did not sanction. He would have all Sunday work of every kind stopped, except works of mercy and necessity (which he would want the privilege of defining), in order that the poor laboring men might enjoy their Sunday rest. One cannot help wondering why, if they are so enslaved and oppressed by Sunday work, there has never been a "strike" made by them for that rest. There have been strikes enough for almost everything else, but no strike for Sunday rest has ever been put on record. On the contrary, the laboring men have to be earnestly impertuned by Mr. Crafts before they will in-dorse, and then not unanimously, the movement for a national Sunday law.

Space forbids the mention of other papers and speakers, in some instances able and interesting, but which did not touch so directly upon the subject of a State religion. The convention was thinly attended, about one hundred being present on an average, a large proportion of whom were women. Its effect upon the city and the State remains to be disclosed.

L. A. SMITH.

Questionable Declarations.

THE following extract from a letter to the *New York Voice*, raises a very pertinent question for the consideration of the Prohibition party, if it is indeed prohibition that that party desires. The extract runs thus:—

To the *Voice*.—The letter from a correspondent, W. H. Wilgus, in a late issue of the *Voice*, brings up one of the most important questions the Prohibition party has yet to meet. Is there any better time than the present to meet it frankly and honestly?

Judging from the platforms adopted by various States this fall the Prohibition party now stands for prohibition and religious legislation. The last is an expression that ought to be hateful to every true American. But is it too strong in this case?

These platforms call upon the State to defend the sanctity of the Sabbath in varying phrases, but to the same intent. Now, the Sabbath is purely a religious institution, and it does not alter the case to substitute the word Sunday, or call for a "civil Sabbath."

The expression is self-contradictory. The province of civil government is to prohibit that which is uncivil, but it cannot be shown that honest labor on any day of the week is "uncivil," except by allowing the religious character of the day to be taken into the account, and then the State steps outside of its proper sphere of action. However, this phase of the question needs no discussion now, for there is no effort made to conceal the fact that it is the protection of Sunday as a religious institution which is desired.

But what if we exempt the minority from the operation of such laws? That is simply to tolerate them; and toleration is a word hateful to every true American. It does not make such legislation right; it admits the right of the majority to rule in matters of conscience; and last but not least, it does not work satisfactorily, and will inevitably lead to a repeal of the exemption clause. Our papers are strangely silent in regard to these facts and on this question; but certainly no side issue will cause such division as this, for it involves a matter of conscience.

Already the beginning of this defection is apparent. The recent formation of the National Religious Liberty Association is a straw which shows, too well, what we may expect in the near future. Here is an association, composed of Christian men, heartily in favor of prohibition, loyal to our Constitution, and yet compelled by earnest convictions to unite in defense of religious liberty, and oppose the Prohibition party because of its stand on this question.

It is nonsense to invite to full party fellowship those who are agreed with us on

the main issue while such declarations in favor of religious legislation are found in our party platforms as have recently been made.

HAROLD STEARNS, M.D.
Idaho Springs, Col.

A Sample of Those "Rebuffs."

JANUARY 20 and 21, there was a National Reform convention held in Cincinnati. Rev. J. M. Foster, district secretary of the National Reform Association, had the principal part in getting up the convention. While they were working up the matter, Mr. Foster and Mr. Francis Ferry, "an esteemed elder of the Presbyterian Church," visited Archbishop Elder for the purpose of having him unite with them in the convention. Mr. Foster says, "The Archbishop received us very cordially, and was the soul of courtesy." After the Archbishop had received them so very cordially and so courteously, the following interesting dialogue occurred:—

Mr. Foster—"We have called to ask you if you would be willing to participate in the coming Christian convention."

The Archbishop—"You know we Catholics are very exclusive."

Mr. Foster—"The Baltimore Council advised co-operation in Sabbath Reform movements with Protestants. This led us to hope that you would stand with us in the effort to maintain the Sabbath."

The Archbishop—"It is true the Baltimore Council recommended co-operation, but that is to be done as citizens. We do not recognize Protestant churches or Protestant ministers. There is only one true Catholic Church. These other denominations may teach the truth in a measure, but they are not the Church of Christ. The Catholic Church is the spouse of Christ, and to her has been committed the oracles of God. She has received authority to teach the truth. We will work with Protestants as citizens, but not as churches. During the war Horace Greeley and some others attempted to establish peace between the Northern and Southern States, but Mr. Lincoln said: 'You are good men and have good intentions. But you have no authority to act. I cannot recognize your work.' So we say to Protestants, 'You are good people. Your motives are good. But you have no authority. We cannot recognize you.' I would be compromising myself to go into a Protestant church and unite with Protestant ministers in such a convention."

Mr. Foster—"This convention is not to be held under the auspices of any church. It is called by the National Reform Association—a society made up of representative citizens in all parts of the country. It is a citizens' movement. You observe the conference is called a 'Christian convention.'"

The Archbishop—"At the same time almost all the signers to the call are ministers, and all but one of the speakers are clergymen. My going there would be construed as a concession to Protestantism. If this were a general convention of citizens, originating with the people and carried on by them, I could act as one of them. But a Christian convention carries with it the idea of the Church, and I could not be identified with that."

Mr. Foster—"The preservation of the Christian Sabbath is a matter in which all who love our Lord are interested."

The Archbishop—"That is true. I preach the truth to my people about the Sabbath, temperance, divorce, and all those questions. We have authority from our Lord to do this. You will pardon me for saying that no Protestant church has this authority. And hence I could not act with you even in so good a cause, for, in doing so, I would not be true to the Church."

This is a sample of the rebuffs that the National Reformers have been willing to receive from the Catholics for the last nine years. They have received several before, and undoubtedly they will receive others yet to come. The rebuffs are richly deserved, and these were certainly well applied.

Who can say but that the Archbishop appears to the better advantage in this matter? The Archbishop and the Catholic Church with him have this at least to their credit that what they do believe is held by them to be of sufficient importance to stand up for it without compromise; while this so-called Protestantism, that so anxiously seeks the alliance of the Catholic Church, is willing to make any compromise, and go almost any length to secure that alliance. In short, as they said nine years ago, "We may be subjected to some rebuffs in our first proffers, and the time has not yet come when the Roman Church will consent to strike hands with other churches as such; but the time has come to make repeated advances, and gladly to accept co-operation in any form in which they may be willing to exhibit it. It is one of the necessities of the situation."

And yet, these are the men who require a constitutional amendment under which they may be empowered to teach religion in the public schools! Why, they do not believe the religion which they profess with sufficient confidence to make it of any effect. Religious teaching, to be of any force, must be thoroughly and confidently believed by the one who teaches it. Otherwise the best and the purest religion that ever was, or that could be, would be of no benefit whatever. And when these men hold their religious principles and doctrines at so little value that they are willing to compromise it at all, and fairly to abandon their position in order to secure the co-operation of those who flatly refuse to recognize them, then the religion which they represent is not worthy of recognition by individuals, much less by the Nation. To force the teaching of such religion as that into the public schools would be to do an irreparable injury to the youth of the United States, to say nothing of all the train of other evils that would be inflicted upon the Nation. If they believed their own profession of religion with sufficient confidence to impress it upon the people, they would not need any other power to cause it to be received; but as they do not they demand control of the national power to compel the people to receive it.

A. T. J.

THE principle of persecution, to the extent of burning heretics, is inseparable from the union of Church and State, which makes a crime against the Church, also a crime against the State, to be punished according to human law. If Americans hate anything it is the principle and practice of religious persecution, and if they love anything it is civil and religious liberty.—*Philip Schaff.*

That Sunday Crusade.

THAT Minneapolis Preachers' Sunday crusade didn't pan out quite as well as they proposed to have it. It was proposed in their original compact that on the evening of the third Sunday in January a large number of hacks or carriages would be retained and held for duty. The ministers were to be divided up into sets of threes and one of each set to make a short speech in one church and drive to another and then to a third, being followed in turn by each of the other two of his set, and thus the whole city was to be crusaded. But it didn't all run smoothly. The first hitch in the proceedings was that the managers found that some of the ministers of the city were not as straight-laced in the matter of Sunday observance as they themselves were. The first onslaught was to be made against the Sunday newspaper as "the head of all offending." But the managers found that some of the ministers were in favor of the Sunday newspaper. One of them in fact, Rev. L. G. Powers, openly declared that the Sunday paper "is more of a help than a hindrance to church work."

The second hitch in the proceedings was a consideration of consistency. They proposed to start a crusade against all Sunday work and they found that it would not look very well at the very first step, in such a crusade as that, to use a large number of hacks or carriages; as this would necessitate work on the part of somebody to get the hacks or carriages ready, and further work to do the driving, and yet further work to put the horses and hacks in the stables after the evening's crusade was over, and all this work on Sunday. They concluded that it would never do to preach against Sunday labor and at the same time require so much labor to be done on Sunday. Consequently, their sets of threes all dwindled down to one single set.

The sermons of the liberal ministers offset those of the ones who favored the strict observance of Sunday, while one minister declared that "the Lord and the Sunday newspaper cannot remain in the same house." Another said:—

"The day must include everything that any man can find helpful. The Sunday paper, while it is of no use to the average preacher, is a great benefit to thousands of others. To thousands of toilers Sunday is the only day for reading. The Sunday paper gives them a view of the great world with its true activities. It helps them on one side of their nature as well as the church helps them on the other. The Sunday paper is more of a help than a hindrance to church work. Nine-tenths of all the money for the support of churches and charities in Minneapolis comes from the men who read the Sunday papers. Protestants are powerless to establish self-supporting churches, save among reading people; and the circulation

of the Sunday paper is a fair index of the reading habits of the people. It is easier to convert a man to Christ who reads the Sunday paper than it is to make a Christian of a man who does not read at all. People will read on Sunday. Preachers cannot stop them. In a certain neighborhood in this city where sixteen hundred *Tribunes* were taken, only twenty-two have stopped their Sunday issue, while nearly four hundred have taken the Sunday issue only. Of the twenty-two, two were preachers and twenty were laymen. If opposition, such as has been given, tends thus to add to the Sunday circulation, we need not expect to see the preachers destroy the Sunday papers. The opposition to the Sunday papers is made by good men. But good men are engaged in editing and publishing the Sunday newspapers. These facts should lead the preachers to hesitate a little in their crusade."

Another minister who had spoken the Sunday before in favor of the opening of the public library on Sunday, said:—

"Since my sermon of last Sunday evening in favor of the library opening, I have been the recipient of various tracts upon Sabbath observance from people who deem my soul in danger. For all this interest, thanks! In this severe weather I am grateful to any tract society that will kindly help to keep my fires burning. What do I care for all the councils that ever thundered upon this subject? What do I care how many ministerial associations have pronounced upon it? What do I care for all the Sabbath conventions that have ever been held? So long as I live, so long shall I take these principles regarding the Sabbath and apply them according to my best judgment. My advice to every one of my hearers is to do the same. A grain of common sense is worth a ton of theology."

The Minneapolis ministers will have to get their forces a little better in hand before their crusade will amount to much. Dr. Strong, of the Evangelical Alliance, will have to make at least another visit or two to Minneapolis before he gets those forces sufficiently allied to make their work effective. We wait to see what turn will next be taken, and what form of Sabbath desecration it is against which the Minneapolis preachers will make their next crusade.

A. T. J.

Not a Valid Reason.

THE *Lever* says that "the saloon is to-day a greater hindrance to the cause of Christianity than all others;" and inquires, "What will become of the Republican and Democratic voters for sustaining parties that keep the saloon as a stumblingblock between God and humanity?" We do not know what will become of them. But granting the saloon is the greatest hindrance to the cause of Christianity, it is not the only hindrance; and if the Government

is to abolish the saloon in the interests of Christianity, and *because* it is a hindrance to Christianity, then having done so much, why should it not go on and abolish the next greatest hindrance to Christianity? and the next, and the next, until it has abolished every one that there is in the world? If the Government is to take away one stumblingblock between God and humanity *because* it is such, then why shall it not continue the work and take away every one? If the Government is to do this, what is the Church for? And if government can do this, what was the Church instituted for? If it can be done by law what is the use of the gospel, and what was the use of instituting the gospel? The truth is that the reason which the *Lever* and the third party Prohibitionists, as a whole, present for prohibition, are not valid reasons at all. They are not worthy of recognition by government, nor are they worthy of the support of any man. They mean nothing short of an absolute union of Church and State. Of course they deny it, and we grant that many of them do not see it. It is true, however, whether they see it or not. Prohibition upon a proper basis is a proper thing, and a good thing, but prohibition upon the basis advocated by the *Lever*, the *Voice*, and such papers, would be an unmitigated evil.

Father Enright on the Sunday.

FOR the benefit of those who favor Sunday laws, and especially those who boast of the indorsement of Cardinal Gibbons, and the co-operation of the Catholic Church, we print the following statement of Father Enright, lately made, as to the authority for Sunday laws:—

"My brethren, look about you upon the various wrangling sects and denominations. Show me one that claims, or possesses the power to make laws binding on the conscience. There's but one on the face of the earth—the Catholic Church—that has the power to make laws binding upon the conscience, binding before God, binding under pain of hell fire. Take for instance the day we celebrate—Sunday. What right have the Protestant churches to observe that day? None whatever. You say it is to obey the commandment, 'Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy.' But Sunday is not the Sabbath according to the Bible and the record of time. Every one knows that Sunday is the first day of the week, while Saturday is the seventh day and the Sabbath, the day consecrated as a day of rest. It is so recognized in all civilized nations. I have repeatedly offered \$1000 to any one who will furnish any proof from the Bible that Sunday is the day we are bound to keep, and no one has called for the money. If any person in this town will show me any scripture for it I will, tomorrow evening, publicly acknowledge it and thank him

for it. It was the holy Catholic Church that changed the day of rest from Saturday to Sunday, the first day of the week. And it not only compelled all to keep Sunday, but at the Council of Laodicea, A. D. 364, anathematized those who kept the Sabbath and urged all persons to labor on the seventh day under the penalty of anathema.

"Which church does the whole civilized world obey? Protestants call us every horrible name they can think of—anti-christ, the scarlet-colored beast, Babylon, etc., and at the same time profess great reverence for the Bible, and yet by their solemn act of keeping Sunday they acknowledge the power of the Catholic Church. The Bible says, 'Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy,' but the Catholic Church says, 'No, keep the first day of the week,' and the whole world bows in obedience."—*The Industrial American, Harlan, Iowa, December 19, 1889.*

Sunday Slavery.

THE *Pearl of Days* repeats its dismal wail about "Sunday slavery," and says that "if it is not abolished, it will soon number more millions than the Africans who were emancipated by the civil war, and the Constitution of the United States." Why don't the *Pearl of Days* make a test and carry the case of one of these Sunday slaves to the United States courts under that amendment to the Constitution which abolished slavery in the United States? Or does the *Pearl* understand that it was only African slavery that was abolished in the United States? If that is the way the *Pearl of Days* understands the Thirteenth Amendment, then we would say for its benefit, that neither the word "African" nor any other qualifying phrase is in that amendment. The amendment says that "neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a penalty for crime, shall exist in the United States." And that will cover Sunday slavery as well as any other kind. At least the probability that it does, is worth risking a case upon in the United States courts. Let the case be presented.

A Question.

IN Brooklyn, N. Y., four persons were convicted and fined from \$100 to \$500, for refusing to give to certain children medicine prescribed by physicians, choosing rather to treat the children by other means. They were people who believe in the "faith cure," and the children died, hence, the prosecution and the punishment. This has caused much discussion in the public press, some taking one side and others the other. All that we shall say just at this time is simply to inquire, How would it do to impose such a fine upon those who do not believe in this method of treatment—the doctors for instance—every time they lose a case?

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NEW YORK, FEBRUARY 6, 1890.

NOTE.—Any one receiving the AMERICAN SENTINEL without having ordered it may know that it is sent to him by some friend, unless plainly marked "Sample copy." It is our invariable rule to send out no papers without pay in advance, except by special arrangement, therefore, those who have not ordered the SENTINEL need have no fears that they will be asked to pay for it simply because they take it from the post-office.

WE have received the first number of the *Southern Sentinel*, published at Dallas, Texas. It is devoted to the same cause as the AMERICAN SENTINEL. We heartily wish it success. May such *Sentinels* be posted all along the line.

THE "call" for that National Reform convention, lately held in Cincinnati, was signed by eighty-two persons. Seventy-three of these were preachers, the rest were made of eight laymen and one woman. And yet they try to pass that off as a representative "citizens'" meeting, simply in the interests of the State!

SECTION 11, of Article 1, of the Constitution of the new State of Washington, contains this sentence: "No public money or property shall be appropriated for or applied to any religious worship, exercise or instruction, or to the support of any religious establishment." Yet, as plain as that is, it was attempted when the Legislature met to have a chaplaincy established for the State and the legislative sessions to be opened with prayer. The scheme failed as it was proper that it should. The word "exercise" shut off that relic of the union of Church and State.

ACCORDING to the *Colorado Graphic* of January 18, the people of Denver are losing interest in the Sunday-closing crusade, inaugurated there some months since. At a recent meeting in the interest of the crusade, which the *Denver News* described as "another of those great meetings," it is stated that only one hundred and seventy-two persons were present, by actual count, "including forty-one ladies and ten or more children." This certainly does not look very much like "a great popular uprising," especially in a city of the size of Denver. One great trouble about this movement is, that while its real object is the exaltation of Sunday, it professes to be primarily a temperance movement. A great many temperance people see this, and hence stand aloof from the movement which would otherwise have their support. That sort of prohibition which proposes to compromise with the saloons, allowing them six-seventh of the time in which to carry on their business, is not worthy of the name of temperance, and not a few are beginning to see it.

THE National League for the Protection of American Institutions, by its Law Committee, has reported the form of an amendment to the national Constitution, which it intends to ask shall be adopted. It reads as follows:—

No State shall pass any law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, or use its property, money or credit, or any power of taxation, or authorize either to be used for the purpose founding, maintaining or aiding any church, religious denomination or religious society, or any institution, or undertaking under sectarian or ecclesiastical control.

That might be made a part of the Constitution of the United States, and yet, under the decisions religion could be taught and religious exercises conducted in the public schools in all the States where it is now done. Such, however, is not according to American principles, therefore the League's proposed amendment ought to be amended at once.

The People Awaken.

UNDER the auspices of the National Religious Liberty Association, there was held in Washington City, Tuesday, January 28, a citizens' meeting for the discussion of the Breckinridge Sunday bill for the District of Columbia. A good deal of preliminary work had been done. Nearly 20,000 SENTINELS and 8,000 circulars of announcement had been distributed, and eight hundred personal invitations sent out, besides printed notices in all the city papers. As a result between five hundred and six hundred people assembled. General A. A. Birney presided. The meeting was intended to be an impartial discussion of the bill. The personal invitations which were sent to all the ministers, Woman's Christian Temperance Union workers, and to six hundred lawyers of the city, besides a personal letter to Mr. W. F. Crafts, read as follows, the first being to the lawyers:—

January 24, 1890, City.

DEAR SIR:

Your attention is called to the bill for a District Sunday law now pending in the House. A citizens' meeting will be held in the Rink, on New York Avenue, between Thirteenth and Fourteenth Streets, Tuesday, the 28th, at 7:30 p. m., for the impartial discussion of the merits of this bill. You are asked to be present. If you will speak on the question please notify J. O. Corliss, 217 Fifth, Street, S. E., stating whether you will favor or oppose the bill.

Yours respectfully,

THE COMMITTEE.

To the Woman's Christian Temperance Union:—

January 27, 1890, City.

DEAR MADAM:

A meeting will be held at the Rink, on New York Avenue, between Thirteenth and Fourteenth Streets, the evening of Tuesday, the 28th, to discuss the merits of the local Sunday bill for the District of Columbia, which Mr. Breckinridge of Kentucky, has introduced in the House.

An opportunity will be given at this meeting for an impartial discussion of the question. Both those who favor and those who oppose the passage of Sunday laws have been requested to be present and speak. You, as a resident of the District of Columbia, and a member of that organization which is exerting a greater moral force than any other or-

ganization in the land, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, should take an active and intelligent interest in this question in all its phases.

We are sure you are anxious to know all that can be said upon this matter, both for and against. It is therefore hoped that no previous engagement will preclude your attending this meeting.

Respectfully,

THE COMMITTEE.

Yet with all this effort but one person could be found to speak in favor of the bill. One other gentleman had promised to speak for the bill, but in the meeting turned against it, and openly opposed it. To the invitation Mr. Crafts replied:—

Your letter overtook me after several days. Our side of the case will be sufficiently presented at our convention.

W. F. CRAFTS.

The speeches, which, with the exception noted, were necessarily against the bill, will be given later, as we have time now only to print this hasty notice. At the close of the addresses the following resolutions were enthusiastically adopted:—

Resolved, That the bill (H. R. 3854), entitled "An act to prevent persons from being forced to labor on Sunday," does not meet our approbation, but that we do earnestly protest against its passage, or the passage of any bill of similar import, for the following reasons, to wit:

First. There is no call or occasion for the passage of such a law. No person in the District of Columbia is, or has been forced to labor on Sunday against his will, at any time since the abolition of slavery therein.

Second. Works of necessity or mercy are not defined in the bill, and their meaning and application are left to the arbitrary prejudice or caprice of police magistrates. Under such a law, street cars, railroad trains, steamboats and private carriages might be stopped; and a citizen might be fined for preaching, for shaving himself, or having his dinner cooked on Sunday.

Third. Such a law would be a departure from the fundamental principle of the institutions of this country, which recognizes the right of a citizen to do as he pleases, provided he does not encroach upon the rights of others; and it empowers a police judge to inquire into and decide upon the conscientious beliefs of any citizen charged with doing, or causing to be done, secular work on Sunday.

Fourth. The passage of such a law is designed, and in effect would be an entering wedge for a system of aggressive laws tending to subvert the secular character of our Government in derogation of the Constitution, and the religious freedom of the citizen guaranteed thereby.

Fifth. The proposed law partakes of the most offensive features of the early laws of New England, Maryland, and other colonies of the olden time, known as "Blue laws," and is therefore a long step backward, instead of forward in human progress.

The unanimous sentiment is that it was a most successful meeting.

A. T. J.

Washington, D. C., Jan. 29.

THE AMERICAN SENTINEL.

AN EIGHT-PAGE WEEKLY JOURNAL,

DEVOTED TO

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No. 43 BOND ST., NEW YORK.

EDITORS,
E. J. WAGGONER, ALONZO T. JONES.

THE *Detroit (Mich.) Free Press*, makes the following good point against those preachers who propose to have Monday morning's paper printed Saturday night, before midnight:—

“There is a minister in Minnesota who thinks a Monday paper can just as well be prepared Saturday night. His congregation should keep a sharp lookout on him. A man with a notion of that kind is quite capable of ringing in a 10-year-old sermon on his people for a fresh one.”

MISS WILLARD finds that the non-partisan Woman's Christian Temperance Union movement is proving to be of more importance than she suspected. It seemed to be a very light thing at the time of the National Convention in November last, but now there seems to be some alarm; for she has found it necessary to issue a national address, pleading for the old organization “to be kept up,” and saying that “local branches must be maintained so long as a single white ribboner is left.” We wish success to the non-partisan movement, and hope that that movement may bring the temperance work back to its original intent, and to sound principles.

WHAT the State should do, for reasons of public policy in which all the people have a common interest, is to afford an opportunity for education in secular knowledge which all alike need. Confining itself to this sphere in its common school system, it should have nothing to do with the teaching of any religion, whether Catholic or Protestant, denominational or undenominational, pagan or

Christian. Religious teaching, as such, belongs to the family and the Church, and can be much better managed by these agencies than by any system organized, conducted, and governed by the State. The moment the State passes beyond its legitimate province on this subject, it discriminates between the people on religious grounds, and in effect becomes a religious propagandist at the public expense; and this is sure always to be oppressive to somebody. Let the State mind its own business, and let the Church mind its own business, and then there will be no conflict between the two.—*N. Y. Independent.*

The District of Columbia Has a Sunday-Law.

To justify their effort to secure the enactment of a Sunday law for the District of Columbia, the plea is made that the District has no Sunday law; and that to rescue this part of the United States from heathenism there must be enacted a civil Sunday law compelling people to act as though they were religious, and prohibiting everybody from doing any work on Sunday in order to prevent people from being forced to labor on that day. But this is all a hoax, the District of Columbia has a Sunday law; but for obvious reasons they dare not try to enforce it as it is.

The way it all comes about is this: The colony of Maryland had a Sunday law, enacted in 1723. When the colony became the State of Maryland the same laws continued. Then when that portion of Maryland was set off which became the property of the United States under the title of the District of Columbia, and subject to the jurisdiction of Congress, the following statute was enacted by Congress:—

SEC. 92. The laws of the State of Maryland not inconsistent with this title, as the same existed on the twenty-seventh day of February, eighteen hundred and one, except as since modified or repealed by Congress or by authority thereof, or until so modified or repealed, continue in force within the District.—*Revised Statutes, District of Columbia, p. 9.*

The law of Maryland (October, 1723), relative to Sunday was then as follows:—

AN ACT,

TO PUNISH BLASPHEMERS, SWEARERS, DRUNKARDS, AND SABBATH BREAKERS, AND FOR REPEALING THE LAWS HERETOFORE MADE FOR THE PUNISHING SUCH OFFENDERS.

Be it enacted by the right honorable the lord proprietor, by and with the advice and consent of his lordship's governor, and the upper and lower houses of assembly, and the authority of the same, That if any persons shall hereafter, within this province, wittingly, maliciously, and advisedly, by writing or speaking, blaspheme or curse God, or deny our Saviour Jesus Christ to be the Son of God, or shall deny the Holy Trinity, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, or the Godhead of any of the three persons, or the unity of the Godhead, or shall utter any profane words concerning the Holy Trinity, or any of the persons thereof, and shall be thereof convicted by verdict, or confession, shall, for the first offence, be bored through the tongue and fined twenty pounds sterling to the lord proprietor to be applied to the use of the county where the offence shall be committed, to be levied on the offender's body, goods and chattels, lands or tenements, and in case the said fine cannot be levied, the offender to suffer six months' imprisonment without bail or mainprize; and that for the second offence, the offender being thereof convicted as aforesaid, shall be stigmatized by burning in the forehead with the letter B and fined forty pounds sterling to the lord proprietor, to be applied and levied as aforesaid, and in case the same cannot be levied, the offender shall suffer twelve months' imprisonment without bail or mainprize; and that for the third offence, the offender being convicted as aforesaid, shall suffer death without the benefit of the clergy.

SEC. 2. And be it enacted, that every person that shall hereafter profanely swear or curse in the presence and hearing of any magistrate, minister, the commissary-general, secretary, sheriff, coroner, provincial or county clerk, vestryman, churchwarden, or constable, or be convicted thereof before any magistrate, by the oath of one lawful witness, or confession of the party, shall, for the first oath or curse, be fined two shilling and sixpence current money, and for every oath or curse after the first, five shillings like money, to be applied to the use aforesaid.

Sections 3 to 9 relate to drunkards and the enforcement of the law.

SEC. 10. And be it enacted, That no person whatsoever shall work or do any bodily labor on the Lord's day, commonly called Sunday, and that no person having children, servants or slaves, shall command, or wittingly, or willingly suffer any of them to do any manner of work or labor on the

Lord's day (works of necessity and charity always excepted), nor shall suffer or permit any children, servants, or slaves, to profane the Lord's day by gaming, fishing, fowling, hunting, or unlawful pastimes or recreations; and that every person transgressing this act, and being thereof convicted by the oath of one sufficient witness, or confession of the party before a single magistrate, shall forfeit two hundred pounds of tobacco, to be levied and applied as aforesaid.

SEC. 11. *And be it likewise enacted*, That no housekeeper shall sell any strong liquor on Sunday (except in cases of absolute necessity), or suffer any drunkenness, gaming, or unlawful sports, or recreations, in his or her house, on pain of forfeiting two thousand pounds of tobacco to his lordship, one half to the use aforesaid, and the other half to him that will sue for the same, to be recovered by action of debt, bill, plaint, or information, wherein no essoin, protection or wager of law shall be allowed.

SEC. 12. *And be it enacted*, That every parish clerk within this province shall procure a copy of this act, which the county clerks are hereby required to suffer the parish clerks to take without fee or reward, for which he shall be allowed in the parish fifty pounds of tobacco, and that the same shall be read four times in a year, viz., on some Sunday in March, in June, in September, and in December, by every minister within this province, in their respective parish churches, between divine service and sermon, on pain of forfeiting one thousand pounds of tobacco for every omission, one half to the lord proprietor, for the use aforesaid, and the other half to him that will sue for the same, to be recovered by action of debt, bill, plaint, or information, wherein no essoin, protection, or wager of law shall be allowed.—*Laws of the District of Columbia.* pp. 136-138.

These statutes have never been either repealed or modified by any act of Congress. On the contrary, provision has been made for their strict enforcement. The Revised Statutes of the District of Columbia says:—

SEC. 335. It shall be the duty of the board of police at all times of the day or night within the boundaries of said police district.

* * * * *

Ninth, To see that all laws relating to the observance of Sunday . . . are promptly enforced; and

Tenth, To enforce and obey all laws and ordinances in force in the District, or any part thereof, which are properly applicable to police or health, and not inconsistent with the provisions of this chapter.—*Revised Statutes District of Columbia* p. 40.

It therefore stands conclusively proved that the District of Columbia has a full and sufficient Sunday law. But there is a serious difficulty about its enforcement. Although according to the act of Congress all these laws are of force, they cannot be enforced. The first one—the one relating to blaspheming is clearly and doubly unconstitutional, in that (1) in forbidding a denial of the Trinity it prohibits the free exercise of religion, and (2) it inflicts cruel and unusual punishments.

Then the Sunday statute being an inseparable part of the act, bears upon its very face the distinct religious features of all such legislation. The Sunday law advocates therefore have not the courage to undertake the enforcement of a Sunday law that stands so distinctly and inseparably connected with the barbarisms of a

religious despotism. Consequently they hope to get the provisions of this Sunday section separated from its original and proper connection, by advocating the civil Sunday, and securing the passage by Congress of an act to prevent persons being forced to labor on Sunday.

By comparing the Blair and the Breckinridge Sunday bills with the foregoing Sunday section, it is easy to see the family likeness. The Blair bill, Section 5, reproduces that feature of the old law, Section 11, which proposes to hire people to sue the man who works on Sunday; with this difference, however, that whereas the old law gave *half the fine* imposed for Sunday work, the Blair bill gives *all the earnings*, of the man who receives pay for Sunday work. There is another point in this reproduction of the old law that is worthy of notice: if it is not an intentional reproduction, it is to say the least

A MOST REMARKABLE COINCIDENCE.

Section 10, of the existing law imposes a fine of "two hundred pounds of tobacco," and the Breckinridge bill imposes a fine of "one hundred dollars;" Section 11, of the existing law imposes a fine of "two thousand pounds of tobacco," and Section 3, of the Blair bill allows a fine of "one thousand dollars." Now we find by inquiry of large dealers in tobacco in this city, that the average retail price of average tobacco is *fifty cents a pound*. Thus the two hundred pounds of tobacco of Section 10, of the existing law, at fifty cents a pound make the one hundred dollars of the Breckinridge bill; and the two thousand pounds of tobacco of Section 11, of the existing law, at fifty cents a pound make the one thousand dollars of the Blair bill! We say again that if this point in the two Sunday bills, now before Congress, was not intentional, it is certainly a most remarkable coincidence; while the other points of resemblance between the old and the new bear strongly, almost irresistibly, to the conclusion that the old law was before the eyes and in the minds of those who originated the two Sunday bills that are now pending in Congress.

What is the use of the Sunday-law advocates any longer talking about "civil" Sunday laws? Sunday observance is religious and nothing else. It never was anything else and it never can be made anything else. Sunday laws are religious laws. They are laws enforcing the observance of a religious institution. They belong with an established religion. When, in the face of the evidence here presented, the advocates of Sunday laws, either State or national, make the plea that it is only civil Sunday laws that they want, the people will know just what to think of the plea. And, in view of the evidence here presented, when men advocate a Sunday law, either State or national, upon any plea whatever, the people

may know just what estimate to put upon the plea, and also upon the men who make it.

A. T. J.

General Birney's Speech.

WE here present the speech of General A. A. Birney, of Washington City, on taking the chair to preside at the citizens' meeting, held in that city, Tuesday evening, January 28, 1890. General Birney is a son of Hon. J. G. Birney, who ran for president on the Abolition ticket, in 1840 and 1844. He fought through the war, in which he honorably won distinction; and, as his excellent speech shows, still stands for the rights and liberties of all men under the Constitution. The General's comments are all the more valuable as he is one of the leading lawyers of the Capital City. On taking the chair the General said:—

I have been requested to open the meeting, by stating its object. This meeting is called by citizens who are opposed to a bill offered to the House of Representatives, on the 6th inst., by Mr. Breckinridge, entitled, "A Bill to prevent persons from being forced to labor on Sunday." It was intended by those who called the meeting, to give a fair hearing for the friends of the bill, and, for that purpose, the invitation was extended to any one, who desired to do so, to speak in its favor.

I believe it is customary for the chairman to announce whether he is in favor of or opposed to the position and object of the meeting. As I have not already given in my adhesion, and have not had time, since receiving notice, to prepare myself, I have written a little memorandum which I hope will be instructive and suggestive. On an analysis of this bill, I find the following to be its prominent features. It prohibits all secular work with two exceptions—"Works of necessity or mercy," and "Any person or persons who shall conscientiously believe in and observe any other day of the week than Sunday, as a day of rest."

Now, a plain interpretation of this law, would render unlawful, the running of street-cars, railroad-cars and steamboats on Sunday; also the delivery of letters or telegrams on Sunday, or even driving carriages to church on Sunday. All these and similar questions, would be referred to a police judge to decide. The services of a paid janitor or salaried organist of a church, or a third party Prohibitionist meeting would need to be passed upon, as to whether secular or religious, as such meetings are frequently held, and such labor performed upon Sunday. The intervention of policemen might also be called in. In the second place, could a professional surgeon receive pay for his Sunday labor? Would a professional physician

and surgeon attend upon a patient with very great alacrity on Sunday, if he had no expectation of being paid for it?

Where do you draw the line between what is necessary, and what is not necessary? If I get my cook to prepare me a warm meal on Sunday, shall my cook and I be fined a hundred dollars for that?

Again, who is to decide as to whether a person's belief is "conscientious" or not? This would be akin to the work of the Inquisition. And thus, any one would have the means of gratifying malice, private spite and personal revenge.

What is the necessity for such a law in the District of Columbia? The people of this District have their faults, but laboring on Sunday cannot be considered one of them. We have some 200 churches in this city, large, and well filled, on Sunday; and there is not a better church-going people in the United States than the people of Washington City. The sound of the trowel is not heard, and building is suspended on Sunday, and the rights of church-going people are respected here in Washington, equally with those of any city in the Union.

This sort of legislation belongs to days which are passed. In the early days of Maryland and New England, there was a good deal of it. There is now, on the statute books of this District, an old Maryland law which has never been repealed, under which, a person convicted of "blasphemy" received the mark "B" in his forehead, signifying "blasphemer" (reading statute of date, October 26, 1723). I see some here, who would stand a bad chance under that law,—for instance, my friend Dr. Shippen, pastor of the Unitarian Church. I have read this law *verbatim*, because the present bill of Mr. Breckinridge seems to have been taken from it.

Now, are we ready to go back 167 years in our legislation, to revive a law that has been rejected by the common sense of our ancestors? Such a law may be in place in countries where there is a union of Church and State, but it is out of place in this country, where no attempts upon the liberties of the citizen should be tolerated.

Now, the only principle upon which a line of this bill could be justified, would be a "sanitary" principle: that is, assuming that it is necessary for health, that a man should rest one day out of seven, assuming also that it is the duty of Congress to see that he does not labor more than the six days, and to prescribe a certain day on which he should not work. But that theory has not been sustained by the courts, besides, a great many men don't need that restraint. They have plenty of rest, and a council of physicians would hardly say that it was necessary for them to rest on a certain day out of the seven.

But the bill is sought to be justified, by the principle that religious congregations should not be disturbed; but such con-

gregations are already amply protected by law.

I now introduce the first speaker of the evening.

The District of Columbia Sunday-Law Convention.

THE Sunday-law convention for the District of Columbia, met January 30 and 31, in the Foundry Methodist Episcopal Church, Washington, D. C.—the same church that was festooned December 11-13, 1888, with the names of fourteen million petitioners which they didn't have. It was not festooned at all this time.

There were two lines of discussion that were made so conspicuous from the beginning to the end of the convention, as to take precedence of everything else. These two were, the strong favor to the religious Sunday, and the strong denunciations of the Seventh-day Adventists.

The convention, as advertised, was held in the interests of "the American Civil Sabbath," but as often as anything was said in favor of a civil day, it was promptly met and contradicted by strong arguments for a religious day and for legislation in the interests of religion and the Church.

The very first speech made in the convention distinctly named the Seventh-day Adventists, and denounced them as the strongest opponents of Sunday laws, who are spreading literature everywhere, and who are holding conventions and sending speakers throughout the country; and from that moment to the end of the convention there was not one meeting, and but very few speeches, in which the same thing was not kept up, and at times most bitterly. This was so manifest as to create in the minds of many an inquiry to know who are the Seventh-day Adventists? and why it should be that a people who were declared to be so few as to be "less than seven-tenths of one per cent." could be of so much importance as to occupy so much of the attention of the convention.

The first meeting, Thursday evening at 7:30, was opened with the reading of Deuteronomy 5:6, and prayer by Rev. A. W. Pitzer. In the prayer he said to the Lord, "Thou hast commanded that one-seventh of man's time shall be cut off to be devoted to God." "Bless this Association in its endeavor to bring all to the recognition of God." And thus the convention was launched in the interests of the "civil Sabbath."

The first speech was by Mr. Crafts, who gave what he said were facts as to the origin of the movement to secure a Sunday law for the District of Columbia. He said that the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, in the endeavor to prevent further scandal in the matter of digging in the streets on Sunday, learned that there was no law to prevent servile labor on the Sabbath. This is partially true

of the city of Washington, but as the foregoing columns show, it is not true of the District of Columbia; and the District law is of force in the city. He next entered a complaint of dishonorable warfare, against the citizens' meeting which had been held in the city to discuss the Breckinridge bill. He laid all this to the blame of the Seventh-day Adventists, and said that the exception in their favor in the Breckinridge bill is "generous to a fault. If there is any fault in the bill it is in being *too* generous" to those who observe another day than Sunday. He then declared that he spoke "for honorable warfare;" but when requested by a Lutheran pastor of the city to allow him to say a few words upon the bill, Mr. Crafts promptly and decidedly informed him that "This is not a debating club," and that he could not speak in the convention. And when the editor of the AMERICAN SENTINEL had been denounced personally by name by one of the speakers, and he calmly requested, merely as a matter of privilege, to be allowed to reply to the personality, he was threatened with arrest. And that is the kind of honorable warfare that is characteristic of the American Sabbath Union.

The next speech was by Hon. Nelson R. Dingley, M. C., from Maine. His was a religious speech throughout. It was for "the Sabbath as God gave it." It was for the enforced observance of the "Christian Sabbath." He declared that "the Christian Sabbath is made for man;" and that "where you find a young man who disregards worship and the Sabbath, you find the moral fibre of the young man is weakened"; and that this "is a question that will grow until the whole Nation shall realize that the Christian Sabbath and free government stand or fall together."

The next speech was by Hon. James Buchanan, M. C., of New Jersey. He began with a little passage between himself and Mr. Crafts involving certain points in the game of whist, which we do not understand. He then said he believed most thoroughly in the separation of Church and State, but not of *morals* and the State. He said he is a Baptist, and remembers the evils inflicted upon the Baptists in Colonial days, and consequently he "cannot vote for the Sunday bill for the observance of the *Christian Sabbath* but can vote for such a bill compelling one day of rest in seven; I cannot vote for it as the law of God, but can vote for it for the good of my fellowmen." Mr. Buchanan seems to think that the effect of such a bill will depend altogether upon the sense in which he votes for it. But when the bill is religious in itself, and those who framed it and who work most for it do so because it is religious, and because it is the law of God, his voting for it "for the good of men," will not in the least deprive it of its religious character. And when the legislation works only

for evil and for oppression, the oppression will not be relieved a particle, nor can Mr. Buchanan relieve himself of the responsibility, by any such plea as that he voted for it for another purpose. It is a thing that pleases the leaders in this cause, as much as anything else can, that such men as Mr. Buchanan, and anybody else who can be induced to support it, will work for it and vote for it, for other reasons and for another object than those for which the promoters of it intend to use it. This only makes so much the more certain the passage of the bill. The enactment of the law which puts power into their hands is what they want, and whatever will help to accomplish that is pleasing to them, it matters not what the reason is for which it is done. If Mr. Buchanan really remembers the oppression of the Baptists in Colonial days, he can easily remember that this oppression was visited on them for the same reason precisely that he proposes to vote for Sunday laws—"for humanity's sake!"

The next speaker was Rev. J. H. Elliott, D. D. of Washington City. He spoke on "Civil Sunday Laws" from the text, "Sundays Excepted," as it stands in the Constitution of the United States. He argued for the constitutionality of national Sunday laws, from the precedents of the State Constitutions, statutes and decisions; but betrayed the nature of such laws by saying that the Constitution of Massachusetts omitted the phrase "Sundays excepted," but atoned for the omission by requiring that the governor *shall be a Christian*: and further by arguing that when Congress adopted the laws of Maryland, as the laws of the District of Columbia, it adopted the Sunday laws of Maryland. (Yes it did, and see what else was adopted in company with Sunday laws, which fully shows the certain religious nature of Sunday laws.) He closed his speech on *civil* Sunday laws by the following peroration, "When our ships furl their sails in the harbors of the islands of the sea, we want the Sabbath stillness to tell of the day of rest and of the Nation's God."

The next speaker was Rev. George Elliot, author of "The Abiding Sabbath," and pastor of the church where the convention was held. The important part of his speech was his denunciation of the chief opponents of Sunday laws as "a little sect of narrow-minded bigots, who have joined hands with atheists, secularists, and foul-mouthed socialists, to strike down the institution which we are asking the people to preserve, by the vilest methods of Jesuitism and falsehood, by barefaced misrepresentation and by the deepest intrigue." This he explained was "only prophetic fury," and regretted that the time would not allow of his pouring out much more of the same kind, of which he was evidently brim full. With this gentle display of "prophetic fury" the first meeting adjourned.

The meeting Thursday forenoon was opened by Chaplain Butler, of the United States Senate, with the reading of Ps. 97, and Matt. 12:1-12; and with prayer in which he asked the Lord to "Bless all this work that we may have the God-appointed day, and that the Sabbath may be kept holy. May the President and Cabinet, and both houses of Congress be of one heart with us in bringing about the observance of the day." And so the work in behalf of the *civil* Sabbath was taken up again.

The subject for discussion at this meeting was "The Best Methods of Sabbath Reform Work." It was opened by Mrs. Catlin, of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, who spoke very briefly. The next was by Mr. L. C. Inglis, of the Maryland Sunday Association. His also was a religious speech and argument throughout. He said that "to distinguish between the commandment of God and the welfare of man was only to make a distinction without a difference." He said, that first, the work must begin with the Church and that "the gospel is the panacea for all these ills;" and second, must have also the aid of "the restraining power of law, and even this is to be viewed as educative." He closed with the reading of Isaiah 58:13, 14.

The next speech was by Mr. Crafts, who began by saying that they were, "trying to meet the Seventh-day Adventists by two methods," the first of which is "a syndicate of contributors," through what is known among printers as the patent inside. This is matter written, set up and stereotyped, and then sent out to the newspapers that print that kind of matter. That is a most excellent place to put the productions of the American Sunday Law Union, because hardly one person in a dozen who understands that process ever reads a patent inside. The other "method" is by the publication of quarterly documents by the Union itself. The question was then asked him, "Is it proposed in the minds of those who favor this law, to stop at once all street cars? And is it to run out into and cover all those things which are now done under what is known as secular work. And how is it to be enforced?" The answer was that "the enforcement of the law will be for the commissioners and police. And if they fail to enforce it then citizens will form law and order leagues. Street cars, etc., will fall under the phrase secular or else mercy and necessity;" but the running of street cars is not necessary "because they take more people away from church than they bring to it."

The next thing in order was the election of seven additional members of the District Committee and the officers of the District Union. The seven additional members were elected by two, and the officers by three, unanimous votes, and that is all the votes that were given.

The afternoon meeting was begun with a speech by Mr. Crafts on "The Two War Measures—Sunday mails and Sunday trains." This was followed by an address—the only real fair-minded, consistent address of the whole convention—by Rev. T. S. Hamlin, D.D., of Washington City. He said, "The law ought not to control the resting of one seventh part of time. But to have an unbroken Sabbath if we want it, and how we shall use it when we have it, these are matters for individual decision. The chief danger to the observance of the Lord's day is not from the breaking of law, nor from the lack of law, but from the social customs of society. There is growing up a social movement that chooses to spend the morning at worship, and that much in a perfunctory way; and then spend the afternoon in social pleasure. Dinners are given, receptions are held. This cannot be reached by law. It is a matter of individual concern. The law cannot say that I shall not give a dinner or accept an invitation. I do not agree with the constitution of the Sabbath Union. In the freedom of Christianity we are left each one to use the day for his own good. There is nothing said as to whether we shall go to church, or read the Bible, or what we shall do." "In this District, without law, there is a remarkable observance of the day of rest. People who have traveled much tell me that Washington is phenomenal in its observance of the Lord's day."

The next speech was by Rev. James Stacey, D.D., of Newman, Georgia. This speech was wholly religious. He said, "These are two war measures indeed! Warring against the Church. The Sunday train and the Sunday newspaper are the worst instruments of the powers of darkness." He likened these to "The kangaroo leaping from his lair, and without any signs of satiety sucks its [the Sunday's] life-blood." This was exceedingly apt, especially as the kangaroo is a ruminant—eats herbage and chews the cud! He declared that "the commandment was not primarily to rest, but to worship. And as the Constitution guarantees the *right* to worship, we demand that it also guarantee the *time*. For what use is the right to worship without the time?"

The next speech was by Rev. Sylvanus Stall, of Baltimore. His, also, was wholly religious. He declared that "God on Sinai said 'Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy,' and there is no necessity now that there was not then. From Saturday night at 12 to Sunday night at 12, let the day be so observed." "If corporations have neither souls nor characters, individuals have both; and if corporations cannot appear at the throne of God, the men who hold the stock must." "Back of this question lies the voice of the Almighty. It cannot be decided by argument. God has not left this question to human reason. God has declared 'Remember the Sabbath day to

keep it holy,' and there it stands, because God has declared it. Right shall prevail. The civil Sabbath shall be preserved. Let those in the Senate and House, who are afraid, stand aside. Let those who stand for God and right and humanity stand, and God will give the victory. It is God's cause, and it must prevail."

The next speech was by Mr. Dewey, of the Knights of Labor, who declared that they "want two days,—one for worship and one for rest"; and (he did not say here but he has said it before) they want full pay for both days—seven days' pay for five days' work.

The next speaker was Rev. L. W. Bates, of Georgetown, D. C. His speech was also entirely religious, based the Sunday on religious grounds, and demanded it for religious reasons. He calls for the Sunday law because, "Thus saith the Lord. God has told us how to keep the Sabbath. It is as binding on us as it was on Moses. I would deprecate the duty of attending the funeral of one of the members of my church who had met his death while engaged in Sunday pleasure."

The evening meeting was addressed by the Rev. F. D. Power, D.D., of Washington; Rev. W. A. Bartlett, D.D.; Hon. C. P. Wickham, M. C., of Ohio; and Hon. Elijah A. Morse, M. C., of Massachusetts. Dr. Power argued strongly for the governmental enforcement of the Christian Sabbath, in return for the good the Church does, and the help it is to the State. He said, "God will not hold that man nor that nation guiltless which despises his grace."

Dr. Bartlett urged the Sabbath as a Christian institution, and laws for its enforcement, "because it is the conservator good government."

Mr. Wickham declared that "what day shall be observed has nothing at all to do with this question or this convention. We must keep within the civil bounds. This is a civil act. If we put this in human law, it must be on human ground. It comes within the police power. It has no relation to the religious observance of a day." He then read from a decision written by Allen G. Thurman, when a member of the Supreme Court of Ohio, to the effect that Sunday laws do not rest on a religious basis; and which, to sustain its statements, cites decisions of Pennsylvania and South Carolina which do rest on a religious basis wholly.

The last speech of the convention was by Mr. Morse, who traced the Puritan Sunday back through the Dark Ages to Constantine, and declared that it in common with the commands "Thou shalt not kill," and "Thou shalt not steal," is "of divine origin." He declared that to reform the wicked city of Nineveh, Jonah preached to them to "Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy. Six days shalt thou labor and do all thy work, but the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God." And

to reform the city of Babylon, Daniel did the same thing. He then said, "Behold, I set before you this day a blessing and a curse: A blessing, if ye obey the commandments of the Lord your God, which I command you this day; and a curse, if ye will not obey the commandments of the Lord your God.

"When the street railroad compelled men to break the fourth commandment, they had next to invent bell-punches to keep them from breaking the eighth. Who knows but what if the car-wheels and locomotives had rested on the preceding Sunday that terrible accident would not have happened?" "When, in my grandfather's day, in Midland, Massachusetts, they begun the Sabbath at sundown Saturday night, the people could go to sleep without fear. Now we have to buy locks for our doors." And then in a Puritan sing-song tone, he said, "I will stand in my place and vote for any law to prevent the desecration of the holy Sabbath.

'Day of all the week the best,
Emblem of eternal rest.'

'If thou turn away thy foot from the Sabbath, from doing thy pleasure on my holy day; and call the Sabbath a delight, the holy of the Lord, honorable; and shalt honor him, not doing thine own ways, nor finding thine own pleasure, nor speaking thine own words: then shalt thou delight thyself in the Lord; and I will cause thee to ride upon the high places of the earth, and feed thee with the heritage of Jacob thy father: for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it.'

A vote was then taken on instructing the officers of the convention to indorse the Breckinridge bill for the assembly. The noes were as loud and about as numerous as were the ayes; but the chairman got clear of that by coolly deciding that those who voted against it were not members of the convention; and therefore their report in the paper was that the bill "was indorsed unanimously by a rising vote."

Thus was conducted and thus was closed the convention held in the interests of "the American civil Sabbath." A. T. J.

For Policy's Sake.

THE Freethinkers profess to be decidedly opposed to Sunday laws everywhere. Yet the *Truth Seeker* reports from "a friend" in the Washington Legislature, the following words:—

A majority of both houses are really Freethinkers but many of them are also politicians, and would make no break that would hurt their politics; but yet I am in hopes, and encouraged to think that I can get through a Sunday law that will be quite liberal. I am convinced that the majority of the members would prefer none, but for policy's sake, we will have to have something.

The politician takes precedence of the *free thinker* there. The Freethinkers are much like many other folk with whom they find so much fault. The *Truth Seeker* very properly remarks, that "comment on that state of things is almost superfluous." The American Secular Union needs to

hurry along with its one thousand-dollar prize manual of "the purest principles of morality." It is much needed in the Washington Legislature right now.

Was it "Orthodox?"

AT Marshalltown, Iowa, there is a Soldiers' Home for the veterans of the late war. The ministers of the different denominations in that town hold Sunday services at the Home, in rotation. At least this has been so until lately; but it happens that there is a Universalist minister in that place, and the other ministers, considering themselves to be "orthodox," and recognizing one another as orthodox, not long since so revised the constitution of the Ministerial Association as to exclude the Universalist minister from membership, and then by a rearrangement in which only themselves were included, and by which they occupied all the time, they excluded the Universalist minister from preaching at the Soldiers' Home. In this transaction they had the consent of the commandant of the Home.

As soon as the veterans discovered this trick there was a vigorous protest. Although a majority sanctioned the arrangement of the orthodox ministers, a large minority were decidedly outspoken against it, and announced through the press, serving notice also to the orthodox ministers, that they "would march *en masse* to town on Sunday to attend the services of the Universalist minister, taking care to file past all the other churches, just as the worshipers were gathering." This they declared they would do if the weather would permit. Unfortunately the following Sunday was so very rainy that it was impossible for them to carry out their protest against what they termed "evangelical dictation."

Besides this, the State convention of Universalists at Waterloo, Iowa, took up the matter, and expressed their sentiments in the following preamble and resolutions:—

WHEREAS, It has been published abroad that the Ministerial Association of the city of Marshalltown, Iowa, has, with the consent of the superintendent of the Soldiers' Home, located at that city, deprived the Rev. T. W. Woodrow, a Universalist minister in good standing and a settled pastor in said city of Marshalltown, from preaching at said Soldiers' Home at the usual hour of holding divine service there in regular rotation with the clergy of that city termed orthodox, thus practically excluding him from holding any religious services at said Soldiers' Home; and

WHEREAS, The veterans domiciled in said Soldiers' Home have in large numbers requested the services of Mr. Woodrow at said Soldiers' Home at the usual hour and in regular order with the other clergymen, which request has been refused, therefore be it

Resolved, By the Executive Board of Universalist Convention of Iowa, in session at Waterloo, January 8, 1890, that we condemn the action of said superintendent of the Soldiers' Home and the Ministerial Association of Marshalltown as subversive of religious liberty, contrary to the spirit of the age, and

as a violation of the right of loyal citizens of Iowa to worship God after the dictates of their own consciences; and we request the Governor of the State and the State Legislature, soon to convene, to inquire into this act of religious proscription; and we ask that they take the necessary action to secure to all Christian ministers equal privileges in the various public institutions of the State.

That the president of the convention, F. A. Borner; Rev. J. H. Palmer, of Cedar Rapids; Rev. M. H. Houghton, of Dubuque; and O. M. Barrows, of Marshalltown, be a committee to investigate this whole matter; and if necessary to the securing of our rights, to carry the matter to the Governor of the State, to the State Legislature, or into the courts, to the end that no citizen of our great State shall be defrauded of his religious liberty; and that equality before the law in all matters of faith and worship shall be in Iowa not only a theory, but an entrenched and irrefragable fact.

This is an illustration in miniature of what would follow the adoption of such an amendment to the United States Constitution as Senator Blair has proposed, to secure the teaching of principles of Christianity in the public schools. And if the "orthodox" would do such a thing as this, where so little a thing is at stake as one preaching service a week in only one Soldiers' Home, what would they not do when national power and influence were the prizes to be contended for? A. T. J.

Some Good Advice.

THE Woman's Christian Temperance Union convention is made up of women of high character and lofty aspiration; of women who do not hesitate to point to themselves as models of Christian conduct and charity. They cannot afford to descend to the methods or to manifest the spirit of the low-grade and bitterly partisan ward meetings. Neither Miss Willard nor any of her associates can afford to speak with the recklessness or the heat of the stump-speaker, aiming only at present effect. . . . There is a special call for honesty on their part in their dealing with men and women. They must remember that liquor-selling and liquor-drinking are not the only sins in the world. According to St. Augustine "all selfishness is sin, and all sin is selfishness."

The women of the convention who profess to speak for 140,000 other women can not afford to adopt the narrow policy of looking only at the welfare or the reputation of their own members. They are on trial, like other people. They will stand or fall as they are honest or dishonest, just or unjust, charitable or uncharitable. They must remember that they are not a mutual admiration society, to be fed on self-praise, and with license to judge and punish all who differ with them. Self-praise is well enough in its way, but it will not make a record before the public. To announce a good purpose is commendable, but a mere announcement is but a step toward accomplishment.

The people expect a good deal of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. They have been grievously disappointed.

If they lose faith in the high purpose and Christian spirit of the organization the tide will soon turn. We desire, we strongly desire, that the people keep their faith in the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, and that the organization have long life to accomplish great good. Hence this plain speech.—*Inter-Ocean.*

A Question of Law and Conscience.

ON Fifth Avenue, New York City, a line of stages run instead of street-cars. Col. Elliott F. Shepard is one of the principal stockholders of this stage company, and has been able to control sufficient of the stock to stop the running of the stages on the Avenue on Sunday; but a move has lately been made to have the commissioners of the Sinking Fund to force the company to run its stages on Sunday on the Avenue. Mr. Shepard is also owner of the *Mail and Express*, a daily evening paper of this city. January 8th, in an editorial, he plead for the Commissioners of the Sinking Fund not to "attempt to force the Fifth Avenue Transportation Company to run their stages on Sunday." From the editorial it seems that those who are trying to get the stages to run on Sunday are Hebrew stockholders in the company; because the plea is specially directed to Hebrews. One of his arguments, directed to the Hebrew stockholders, is this:—

To compel the working of two hundred or three hundred men would not only be a direct violation of the fourth commandment, which both Hebrews and Christians agree is binding upon human conscience, etc.

When we read this we were led to think thus: Mr. Elliott F. Shepard cites the fourth commandment, and says that it is binding upon the human conscience. When that commandment was given by the Lord on the tables of stone, it was given to the Hebrew people; and the Lord, by three special acts weekly, continued for nearly forty years, kept before the minds of the Hebrew people the day that he would have observed in obedience to that commandment. From that time till this, the Hebrew people have been known as the observers of that day. Now most Christians observe a different day from that named in the commandment: a different day from the one which the Lord himself taught the Hebrew people to observe in obedience to the commandment. These Christians do not pretend that God has changed the commandment; because they print and quote it still as it was written when given to the Hebrew people. Now the question is, Does that commandment, as the Lord gave it, bind the conscience of the Hebrew to one thing and the conscience of the Christian to another thing? Do the same words bind the conscience of the Hebrew to the observance of the seventh day, and the conscience of the Christian to the observance of the first day? Is it a characteristic of law, whether human or divine,

in the same words precisely, to bind one person to one thing and another person to a different thing?

Nor did the Hebrews have any choice in the matter. They were shut up under the penalty of death to the observance of the day which they did observe and which they yet observe. The observance of that particular day was made distinctly binding upon the conscience of the Hebrews. Now, as Colonel Shepard admits that that same commandment, in the same words, is binding upon the conscience of the Christian, how is it that it does not bind the conscience of the Christian to the observance of the same day that it bound the conscience of the Hebrew? Is it true that God is a respecter of persons, and is easier upon the conscience of a Christian than he is upon the conscience of a Hebrew? Does that commandment in the same words bind the conscience of the Christian to do on a certain day the very things which the conscience of the Hebrew was bound not to do? Is the divine law so fast and loose a thing as that? Is the Lord of law and of conscience so loose in his requirements as to conscientious obedience, as Mr. Shepard's view would make him to be?

Another argument that Mr. Shepard uses is this:—

Hebrews will see that if the company were compelled to run their stages on Sunday then a large force of the drivers and other workmen would lose the rest of one-seventh part of their time; for it would be an impossibility in a community where such a preponderating majority are Christians for the stages to be stopped running on Saturday.

But if the Christians cannot stop the stages running on Saturday why do they insist that the Hebrews shall stop them on Sunday? Is the conscience of the Christian more sacred than the conscience of a Hebrew? And is it true that the majority is to rule in matters of conscience? Is the majority not only to do according to the dictates of its conscience, but shall it compel the minority to conform to the dictates of the majority conscience? This is anti-Christian, as all the principles and the work of the American Sabbath Union are. A. T. J.

Keep the Constitution Intact.

REFERRING to the Blair Sunday bill, the Cokato (Minn.) *Observer* says:—

"In view of the work that is being done to accomplish the passage of this bill it is time that its opponents should take the matter in hand and speak with no uncertain voice against its passage. There is one thing that the American citizen feels especial pride in, and that is the religious freedom vouchsafed to us in the Constitution. Let us keep this intact and not entrust our representatives in Congress with questions concerning our spiritual welfare but leave that matter to ourselves and our God."

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NEW YORK, FEBRUARY 13, 1890.

NOTE.—Any one receiving the AMERICAN SENTINEL without having ordered it may know that it is sent to him by some friend, unless plainly marked "Sample copy." It is our invariable rule to send out no papers without pay in advance, except by special arrangement, therefore, those who have not ordered the SENTINEL need have no fears that they will be asked to pay for it simply because they take it from the post-office.

THE Secretary of the Philadelphia Sunday-law Association, Rev. T. A. Fernley, reports that there are in that city "283 Personal Liberty Leagues, representing 35,000 men, who will next autumn show their hand in politics" in opposition to Sunday laws. Can the Church carry on a political contest with such an element as that and keep herself pure? Merely to contemplate such a prospect ought to convince the Church instantly and once for all that such is not the field where she is to put forth her efforts.

WE have full *verbatim* reports of all the speeches made in the Washington City Sunday Law Convention. As soon as we can get them turned from shorthand into type-written copy, we hope to print them with comments, in the SENTINEL if possible. The speeches are so thoroughly representative of the movement we want all our readers to have them. They may, however, prove to be too long to print in the SENTINEL with the necessary comments. If that should be the case we hope to be able to issue them as a number of the *Sentinel Library*.

ONE of the chiefest sophistries of the Sunday-law advocates is couched in the would-be innocent inquiry, "If Congress has the right to say that eight hours shall be a day's work, why has it not the right also to say that six days shall be a week's work?" To this there are several answers:

1. In making eight hours a day's work, Congress does not attempt to define what particular hours shall compose the day, as it is asked to do in the enactment of a Sunday law.

2. Congress does not declare that if anybody works more than eight hours for a day he shall be fined one hundred or a thousand dollars, as it is asked to do in the enactment of a Sunday law.

3. These men have never asked, nor has it ever been proposed by anybody, that Congress shall say that six days shall be a week's work.

Let Congress, in order to make eight hours a day's work, undertake to enact a law declaring that no person or corporation shall perform, or authorize to be performed, any secular work, labor, or business, except works of necessity or mercy; nor shall any person engage in any play,

game, or amusement or recreation; nor shall any mails or mail matter be handled or transported in time of peace; nor shall there be any military or naval drills, musters or parades, except assemblies for the due and orderly observance of religious worship; before eight o'clock A. M.; between twelve o'clock M. and one o'clock P. M.; or after five o'clock P. M.; of any day—let Congress attempt to enact such a law as that, and we think the people could readily see the difference whether the preachers would or not.

IT will be of interest to those who have supposed from the representations of Mr. Crafts and his co-workers that the working men were everywhere clamoring for a national Sunday law to know that instead of shouting themselves hoarse for the Blair Sunday bill, the Trades Union of Syracuse, New York, at a meeting held in that city, on the 28th ult., adopted resolutions against that measure.

We derive our information from the Syracuse *Evening Herald*, of January 29, which also states that the City Hall had been named as the place for a mass meeting in opposition to Sunday and other religious legislation, but it has been decided that a larger auditorium must be procured. The American Sabbath Union should at once send some one to Syracuse to look after their fences and instruct the laboring men more perfectly in the way of National Reform. They are evidently laboring under the impression that they can rest when tired without a law of Congress to tell them when to rest and how they shall rest.

AT Ottawa, Canada, a great stir has been created among the ones who want to be religious for others as well as themselves, because of the playing of the game of "hockey" within the grounds of the Governor-General. This is a game of ball, played with a club having a curved end. One of the prominent ones of the opposition put their case in the following statement:—

As a member of the Christian religion in this city, I must enter my protest against the practice lately introduced of hockey at Rideau Hall on Sunday. The fact that young men are asked seems so like a command that it requires some fortitude to refuse, and when clergymen's sons and bald-headed old men are both seen there desecrating the Lord's day the public ought to take steps towards discountenancing such proceedings.

The other side, by one of the Governor-General's staff, state their side of the case thus:—

I do not understand why the people of Canada should interfere in what is purely a private matter. If Lord Stanley sees no harm in hockey playing on Sunday I cannot see that Canadians have any right to say what day shall be set apart for recreation at the Government House. His Excellency has English precedent that the people at home do not regard a game of hockey on Sunday as so very criminal.

We should say to the opposition there,

if it requires more fortitude than your young men have to refuse to play ball on Sunday the best thing you can do is to cultivate in them sufficient fortitude to enable them to refuse.

THE delegates to the World's Sunday School Convention, held in London last summer, addressed a communication to all the crowned heads of Europe, in which they "earnestly petitioned their majesties, by the use of their personal influence and constitutional power, to 'secure for the day of weekly rest the place given it in that decalogue which all Christian lands recognize, and for the good of the people, and for the glory of God, promote its recognition as a delight, holy unto the Lord.'" The Czar of Russia has his constitutional machinery in quite good working order for complying with the petition. But how will it work with the Sultan of Turkey? Is he considered a crowned head or did they leave him out?

JANUARY 27, the directors of the Young Men's Christian Association of Milwaukee, Wis., gave formal notice to the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, of that place, that the Union could no longer have the use of the Association building. The reason is that "having allied themselves with the Prohibition party," the women must be treated as other political organizations are and therefore must be excluded from occupying the rooms of the Association. We think that a very proper action on the part of the Young Men's Christian Association. The Woman's Christian Temperance Union has ceased to be anything but a political club, and its work anything less than a continuous political campaign. We hope that by some means the Union may be enabled to discover this, and turn once more to its proper, legitimate, and chartered object—the promotion of Christian temperance, and that by Christian methods. The management of the Young Men's Christian Association, which through all the ups and downs of the day has kept it straight on its Christian course clear of all entanglements, is worthy of the highest admiration on the part of everybody, as it has it on the part of the AMERICAN SENTINEL.

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EDITORS,
E. J. WAGGONER, ALONZO T. JONES.

THE Merrick County (Nebraska) *Republican*, of February 7, has the following item:—

“On Sunday evening Rev. Mitchmore, of the Central Baptist Church, preached on the subject, ‘Why prohibition does not prohibit.’ As a chief reason he found that the Church had failed in its duty of reforming men by the power of Christian teaching. The Church has crippled its efficacy in moral and religious work by seeking an alliance with civil power. In other words Mr. Mitchmore holds that the religion of Jesus Christ is the power of God unto salvation to all men, whether slaves to appetite, or money, or in whatever condition of immorality or sin. He believes the Church admits the inefficacy of Christianity when it converts itself into a political engine to accomplish the reformation of man. This view is logical and worthy of more consideration than is given it in Central City. It is certain that either Christianity has lost its saving power or many priests of God are woefully misled in their ministrations.”

THE *Christian Statesman* remarks of Colonel Ingersoll’s recent article on “God in the Constitution” that “the bold Atheism which it inculcates, and on which the writer rests his opposition to religious acknowledgment in political constitutions, will create a powerful revulsion of feeling in favor of the National Reform movement.” It ought to do nothing of the kind. It is true that Mr. Ingersoll’s hatred of Christianity is plainly shown in everything which he says, but it does not follow that because he is unreasonable and intolerant that Christians should be so too.

Proper opposition to so-called National Reform rests not upon any real or supposed demerit in Christianity, but upon the fact that National Reform would, if carried out, set up men in the place of God, and thus overthrow the very religion which it is designed to maintain. The truth or falsity of the Christian religion cuts no figure whatever in the case, and the sooner both Christians and infidels come to see this fact the better, and the more hope there will be of maintaining the religious liberty enjoyed under the national Constitution as it is.

The Kind of a Religion.

IN view of the demand that the State shall teach religion in the public schools, it is a pertinent question to ask, What kind of a religion? This question is not always fairly answered by those who make the proposition. It is generally answered in a vague indeterminate way that leaves the question as much unanswered as before. It is sometimes answered “The Christian Religion.” But then the question still recurs, What kind of Christian religion? Shall it be the Presbyterian Christian religion? or the Methodist Christian religion? or the Lutheran Christian religion? or the Roman Catholic Christian religion? Which of these is it that shall be taught in the public schools?

Occasionally, however, there are those who undertake to define what they mean by religion, and what kind of religion it is that shall be adopted and inculcated by the State. Joseph Cook is one of these. His course of Monday Lectures last year dealt largely with this question, especially antagonizing the Roman Catholic view of religion and the public schools. In Lecture III, course of 1889, he said:—

It is very generally conceded that common morals, natural religion, the principles of ordinary utilitarian prudence may be taught without sectarianism in the public schools.

Here are three distinct phrases used to define what kind of religion it is which shall be taught in the public

schools. To understand these phrases is to understand what is proposed to be taught as religion to the children of the United States.

1. “*Common morals.*” Common morals can be nothing else than that grade of morals which is common to the general mass of the people of the United States. And to teach that in the public schools, as the standard of right doing, would be only to teach the children that it is right to do as the mass of the people do. This is very properly defined by Mr. Cook as

2. “*Natural religion.*” Natural religion, in the abstract, is that which is discoverable from nature. With respect to individual character, natural religion is that which it is natural for each one to manifest—his natural disposition. With regard to the general mass of the people therefore, natural religion is the sum of those natural traits which are most manifest in the general character of a given people, or of all mankind; and is therefore synonymous with “common morals.”

But what in the world is the use of teaching such things as these in the public schools or anywhere else? It is easy enough for any person that ever was born to do without any particular instruction, that which it is natural for him to do. It is easy enough for the general mass of the people to manifest in character that which is natural to them. In other words, it is easy enough for every man to be just what he is. And to make such strenuous efforts as these men do, to have the State make of special moment this line of instruction, will hardly pay those who make the demand that it shall be done; and it is certain it would never pay the people of the United States.

Nevertheless Mr. Joseph Cook, and, if we may judge from the frequency of the “applause” that is carefully interspersed throughout the printed lecture, a large number of “the usual great audience” of Boston people who attend this lecture-course, actually propose that this shall be the “religion” that shall be taught in the public schools of this nation. In all

teaching touching upon religion or morals, it is essential that a *motive* be presented. In all instruction some *principle* or principles must be recognized, morals must have a sanction: religion, an incentive. What then are the principles which are to sustain, and what the motive which is to re-enforce this teaching of common morals, this teaching of natural religion? The distinguished lecturer leaves us not in the dark upon this important question. He declares it to be

3. "*The principles of ordinary utilitarian prudence.*" The briefest and easiest understood definition of utilitarianism is selfishness. In making this the sanction of common morals, and the incentive to natural religion, it must be confessed that Mr. Cook is strictly logical. As we have seen, common morals is that standard of morality which is common to the great mass of the people: and it being easier to do that which it is natural to do, the great mass of people will always be found to be doing thus. Therefore, it is perfectly proper to present the principles of ordinary selfishness as the sanction of common morals and the incentive to natural religion. For that is precisely what selfishness is. It is the root and the offspring of every grade of common morals or natural religion.

And all this Mr. Cook and his "usual great" and applauding Boston audience, would have taught in the public schools! And to make sure that it shall be forever taught they demand that an amendment to the United States Constitution shall be adopted making it an essential part of the curriculum of the public schools throughout the Nation. This they insist must be a part of the public school system of the United States. At the same time they loudly complain of the Roman Catholic opposition to the public school system, and severely condemn them for not sending their children to the public schools! We do not assent to any Roman Catholic doctrine, nor do we agree with the Roman Catholic view of the public school question; but we are perfectly free to say that if the doctrine set forth by Joseph Cook on this question were a part of the public school system in any State, then not only the Roman Catholic but everybody else who has any respect for true religion or any care for his child, would not only be justified in keeping his child away from such schools, but would be also justified in denouncing the system everywhere as essentially evil and utterly unworthy of any recognition whatever. The only effect such teaching could ever have upon youth would be only for worse and worse. Whatever may be said of the Roman Catholic system, or the Roman Catholic practice, Roman Catholicism certainly has yet this to its credit, that at least in the theory it holds to a higher idea of morals and religion than

that which is so confidently set forth by the Boston Monday lectureship.

That such views should be set forth as representing the Christian religion, is not by any means the least of the evils of Mr. Cook's theory. Let it become generally understood, as Mr. Cook distinctly teaches, that the Christian religion is a "natural" production; that Christian morals is "purely natural;" that "the character of Christ" "contains the organizing principles" only of a "scheme of natural morals;" and nature worship and naturalism will come in, in such a flood as to sweep away the last vestige of genuine morals and true religion.

No avowed enemy of Christianity ever attributed to it a baser character than that which the Boston Monday lecturer gives it in the lectures of 1889.

Yet, says Mr. Cook, "it is very generally conceded," that this view of morals and religion may be taught in the public schools. It is probably true that this is conceded to a much greater extent than is generally supposed; but that it is "very generally" so outside of Boston, is more than we are yet prepared to believe. However, to whatever extent it is conceded, it is only a startling evidence of the low level to which the popular idea of religion is descending.

It is but natural that those who hold such views of religion should expect to propagate it by the natural power—the State.

A. T. J.

Queer Christians.

The *Mail and Express* insists that the late political campaign, in Salt Lake City, for the power of the city government, was a contest between Mormons and Christians. It calls the successful ticket "the Christian ticket." The result it magnifies as a "Christian victory." And in its pean, it says:—

It is as remarkable as creditable that the disturbances of the peace were so few and slight; but the leaders on both sides were determined to control their own forces and keep them from violence, and on the side of the Christians there was ample provision of deputy marshals, detectives and special police for the prevention of any considerable amount of either fraud or disturbance.

That doesn't look as though these "Christians" were much better than other people. When it comes about that "provision of deputy marshals, detectives, and special police" must be made to prevent Christians from committing "any considerable amount of either fraud or disturbance," then the fewer of such Christians as that there are in the world the better. And even then, it seems that the intention was only to prevent any *considerable amount* of fraud or disturbance! as though small or an inconsiderable amount of either were perfectly compatible with the Christian profession!

We do not for a moment suppose that those who ran the anti-Mormon Cam-

paign considered that they were doing so as Christians or that Christianity entered to any extent into the contest. We only notice the facility with which Col. Elliot F. Shepard manufactures Christians. This is perfectly consistent with the theory and methods of the American Sunday Law Union, of which he is president. It is another strong reminder of the times of the fourth century when fraud and violence were commendable if only committed in defence of orthodoxy.

The Puritan Idea.

In Dr. Herrick Johnson's address on "Sunday newspapers," which has been circulated widely as a campaign document by the abettors of religious legislation, occurred the words, "Oh, for a breath of the old Puritan," meaning that what the speaker wanted was a return to Puritan habits and customs. In the recent annual meeting of the Iowa Sabbath Convention, Mr. Gault said that what was wanted in Iowa was a wave of Puritanism. From these and other expressions we learn that the Puritan idea of government is the model for National Reformers of whatever stripe. A few quotations from a standard work may enable those who are interested to know just what kind of government a Puritan government would be. In a late work by Professor Fisk, of Harvard College, entitled, "The Beginnings of New England," is the following in connection with the account of the exodus of the Puritans from Holland:—

All persons who came to Holland and led decorous lives there, were protected in their opinions and customs. By contemporary writers in other countries this eccentric behavior of the Dutch Government was treated with unspeakable scorn. "All strange religions flock thither," says one: "It is a common harbor of all heresies, a cage of unclean birds," says another; "The great mangle of all religions," says a third. In spite of the relief from persecution, however, the Pilgrims were not fully satisfied with their new home. The expiration of the truce with Spain might prove that this relief was only temporary, and, at any rate, complete toleration did not fill the measure of their wants. Had they come to Holland as scattered bands of refugees, they might have been absorbed into the Dutch population, as Huguenot refugees have been absorbed in Germany, England, and America. But they had come as an organized community, and absorption into a foreign nation was something to be dreaded. They wished to preserve their English speech and English traditions, keep up their organization and find some favored spot where they could lay the corner-stone of a great Christian State.

This language is not written in any spirit of captious criticism. The author manifests a spirit of fairness, and writes in an impartial manner, simply giving historical facts. That he did not charge the Puritans with inconsistency is seen from the following, which very clearly sets forth the Puritan idea:—

It is worth while to inquire what were the real aims of the settlers of New England. What was the common purpose which brought these men together in their resolve to create for themselves a new home in the wilderness? This is a point con-

cerning which there has been a great deal of popular misapprehension, and there has been no end of nonsense talked about it. It has been customary first to assume that the Puritan migration was undertaken in the interests of religious liberty, and then to upbraid the Puritans for forgetting all about religious liberty as soon as people came among them who disagreed with their opinions. But this view of the case is not supported by history. It is quite true that the Puritans were chargeable with gross intolerance, but it is not true that in this they were guilty of inconsistency. The notion that they came to New England for the purpose of establishing religious liberty, in any sense in which we should understand such a phrase, is entirely incorrect. It is neither more nor less than a bit of popular legend. If we mean by the phrase "religious liberty" a state of things in which opposite or contradictory opinions on questions of religion shall exist side by side in the same community, and in which everybody shall decide for himself how far he will conform to the customary religious observances, nothing could have been farther from their thoughts. There is nothing they would have regarded with more genuine abhorrence. If they could have been forewarned by a prophetic voice of the general freedom—or as they would have termed it, license—of thought and behavior which prevails in this country to-day, they would very likely have abandoned their enterprise in despair. The philosophic student of history often has occasion to see how God is wiser than man. In other words, he is often brought to realize how fortunate it is that the leaders in great historic events cannot foresee the remote results of the labors to which they have zealously consecrated their lives. It is a part of the irony of human destiny that the end we really accomplish by striving with might and main is apt to be something quite different from the end we dreamed of as we started on our arduous labor. It was so with the Puritan settlers of New England. The religious liberty that we enjoy to-day is largely the consequence of their work, but it is a consequence that was unforeseen, while the direct and conscious aim of their labors was something that has never been realized, and probably never will be.

The aim of Winthrop and his friends in coming to Massachusetts was a construction of a theocratic State which should be to Christians, under the New Testament dispensation, all that the theocracy of Moses, and Joshua, and Samuel had been to the Jews in Old Testament days. They should be to all intents and purposes freed from the jurisdiction of the Stuart king, and so far as possible the texts of the Holy Scriptures should be their guide, both in weighty matters of general legislation, and in the shaping of the smallest details of daily life. In such a scheme there was no room for religious liberty, as we understand it. No doubt the text of the Scriptures may be interpreted in many ways, but among these men there was a substantial agreement as to the important points, and nothing could have been farther from their thoughts than to found a colony which should afford a field for new experiments in the art of right living. The State they were to found was to consist of a united body of believers; citizenship itself was to be co-extensive with church membership; and in such a State there was apparently no more room for heretics than there was in Rome or Madrid. This was the idea which drew Winthrop and his followers from England at a time when—as events were soon to show—they might have staid there and defied persecution with less trouble than it cost them to cross the ocean and found a new State.

The Puritans simply followed the customs of their time. Religious liberty was a thing unknown. Roman Catholicism and intolerance have been synonymous from the beginning. The Church of England was as intolerant as the Roman Church. The Puritans had not advanced

far enough to perceive the error of the principle of religious intolerance, only they did not want the intolerance extended to themselves. They did not think that the Church of England ought to be intolerant, because they could see her errors, but, feeling sure that they themselves were right, they were equally sure that their opinions ought to prevail, and ought to be imposed upon others. In all New England, in the days of the Puritans, there was only one man who was far enough ahead to perceive that religion was a matter that rests with the individual, and not with the civil government, and that man was Roger Williams.

Although the Puritans were intolerant, and persecuted others even as they themselves had been persecuted, they are not to be stigmatized as bad men. They thought they were right. They were but little removed from the darkest period of Roman superstition and oppression, and they had before them no example of perfect religious freedom. In consideration of their circumstances we can make allowance for the ideas of government which they had, and honor them for that spirit of independence which was perpetuated in their children, and which resulted in the complete religious liberty which was finally established in this country. But while we may make allowance for those men, considering their time, what allowance can be made for men who have before them the history of one hundred years of religious liberty in the United States? and who can compare its glorious work with the work of the religious despotism of the Old World? Those who in this age would institute the Puritan idea of government, must be either deplorably blind or else wickedly selfish.

E. J. W.

"Justice."

THIS was the subject of a lecture in the Jewish synagogue of Oakland, Sunday evening, January 12, by Justice Charles N. Fox, of the supreme court. The peculiarity of the appearance of this lecturer before a Jewish audience, with such a subject, is emphasized by the fact that the judge is an ardent Sunday-law advocate; and when that subject was a campaign issue before the people a few years ago, he was one of the prominent orators opposed to the repeal of the California Sunday law.

The lecturer said, "The law of all civilized countries is but an elaboration of that given to the children of Israel, amid the thunders of Sinai," and then he repeated the ten commandments. The hard part of it is, reverting to his perorations of seven years ago, to see how a Sunday law could be an elaboration of the ten commandments, which very plainly indicate that the first day of the week is one of secular labor.

Speaking of the injustice to which the Israelites have been subjected in various ages, the judge remarked that "even to-day in some countries they are feeling bitter injustice." But he did not allude, as he might have done, to the injustice awaiting them in the United States when the Sunday law scheme, which he and his National Reform American Sabbath Union *confreres* are endeavoring to fasten upon the country, shall have been accomplished.

Again, the lecturer, "Possibly in the name of religion, alone, more injustice has been done than in any other name known among the children of men." But he did not refer to the fact that the entailing of intolerant Sunday laws on the country is the opening wedge for a return to the injustice of the Dark Ages. Nor did he seem to realize the fact that when the gates to civil and religious liberty are closed in this great country whose boast is liberty of conscience, that would be the precursor of more intolerance in other countries, which have been impelled to a degree of liberality because of our asylum for their refugees from oppression.

Another sentiment which, coming from a Sunday-law enthusiast, may be considered as an admission, was this: "Nations at times are not moved by the final judgment of the aggregate of men; they are moved by emotion, and not awaiting the final judgment. Hence, injustice often occurs." If the judge fully appreciated the truth he uttered in that expression, he would never again raise his voice in favor of a Sunday law. All religious legislation is the result of emotion, and it begets its kind with terrible rapidity and in excessive degree, rushing on to fanaticism, intolerance, persecution.

Said the lecturer: "Tolerance, however, is constantly growing, so that we may expect the adoption of the eleventh commandment, 'Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so unto them.' *Tolerance* has no legitimate place in the vocabulary of a free people. The person or principle that is merely *tolerated*, is always at the mercy of the power that tolerates. Equality of rights leaves tolerance in the background. Tolerance will never admit the principle of, 'Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so unto them.' If *tolerance* is growing, good-by to liberty of conscience.

On the theory that "we cannot hope to live to see pure, unadulterated justice administered by man, one toward another, or under men's laws," the lecturer indulged the hope that progress "may so develop the intellects of our children that they will attain nearer and nearer that justice that sits enthroned at the feet of God." On the strength of this hope, the lecturer closed with the following picture:—

When the church of the Christian and the synagogue of the Hebrew will be alike the place for the

worship of the one God, Father of men—then a man may enter either and make his devotions, knowing he is in a tabernacle of the one ever-living God. Then peace will wave her wand over the world.

Shall we suppose that he was contemplating the benign effects of a national Sunday law, or a National Reformed Constitution, when he portrayed that beautiful image of the unanimity of Hebrew and Christian worship under the progress of "men's laws?" It used to be a settled theory on the Western plains that the rattlesnake and the prairie-dog dwelt harmoniously in the same burrow; but when the writer killed a rattler with a whole prairie dog inside of it, the cause of the harmony was explained. It was a clear case of coercion. Just so it will be when the Hebrew worship, as such, will so perfectly assimilate to the then "Christian" that there will be no perceptible difference.

W. N. GLENN.

Oakland, California.

An Example to the World.

WITHOUT doubt the government of the United States has stood as a beacon-light to the whole world. It has done more for civil and religious liberty than any other nation. At one time it stood alone in representing the right relation of civil government and religion. This grand example has not been without fruit. Its influence has been felt throughout the world. One by one the other colonies of Great Britain have slowly followed in its wake.

The following proclamation of Queen Victoria, issued in 1858, to the natives of India, shows on the face of it the gentle influence of the United States Constitution:—

Firmly relying ourselves on the truth of Christianity, and acknowledging with gratitude the solace of religion, we disclaim alike the right and the desire to impose our convictions on any of our subjects. We declare it to be our Royal will and pleasure that none be in any wise favored, none molested or disquieted by reason of their religious faith or observances, but that all shall alike enjoy the equal and impartial protection of the law; and we do strictly charge and enjoin all those who may be in authority under us, that they abstain from all interference with the religious belief or worship of any of our subjects, on pain of our highest displeasure.

And it is our further will that, so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability, and integrity duly to discharge.

The same desire for religious liberty is seen in the other colonies. In 1868 the union of Church and State was abolished in parts of the West Indies. In 1869 the Irish Church was disestablished. In 1870 the State Church was done away with in Jamaica and in Victoria. In 1871 civil government and religion were rent asunder in St. Kitts, Antigua, and Granada. In 1875 State aid was abolished in the Cape of Good Hope. In 1881 the same was done in Ceylon. In our own country (England) the tide towards religious equality is no less steadily setting. In 1812 the Convent-

icle and Five Mile Acts were repealed. In 1828 the Test and Corporation Acts likewise went. In 1855 an act for securing "Liberty of Religious Worship" was passed. In 1858 Jews were admitted into Parliament. In 1860 an act for opening of Grammar Schools for Dissenters passed. In 1867 all the Queen's subjects, without reference to their religious belief, were declared eligible for office as Lord Chancellor of Ireland. In 1870 the University Tests abolition acts passed. And at the present time strenuous efforts are being made to abolish the union of Church and State.

Yes, the influence of the Constitution still lives, and is to be seen outside of the United States. The eyes of Europe and of the world are fixed with intense interest on that country. The question to be solved is, are the people going to stay by the glorious principles set forth by the framers of the Constitution, or are they going to go back on them? Are they going to allow a few ambitious clerics to drag that country back to a mediæval standard? God forbid! And for the cause of religious liberty may the United States Constitution forever remain as it is.

FRANK HOPE.

London, England.

Government and the Sermon on the Mount.

SOME weeks ago we printed a brief speech by the Bishop of Peterborough, England, in which the Bishop took the ground that civil government could not enforce the Sermon on the Mount. The speech was quite brief, but yet it was of sufficient length to stir up a "hornets' nest," and the Bishop was attacked on many sides. This brought the Bishop again to the front with a good lengthy discussion of the question. The article was printed in the *Fortnightly Review*, and we are glad that we can reproduce it for our readers. It will make about three installments for the SENTINEL columns, the first of which is printed herewith. The Bishop makes one slip, however, which will be noticed in its place. With this exception the argument is sound, and is excellently stated. The argument is of interest in this country, as well as in England, because of the persistent effort being made to secure legislation committed to the principles of Christianity. The Bishop says:—

"In the course of a discussion on Christian Socialism, at a Diocesan Conference, in commenting on a recent definition of it, as being 'an attempt on the part of the State to compel all men to live according to the precepts of Christ,' I ventured to make two assertions.

"1. That it is not possible for the State to carry out, in all its relations, literally, all the precepts of Christ, and that a State which attempted this could not exist for a week.

"2. That if it were possible to do this

the result would be a perfectly intolerable tyranny.

"For saying this I have been assailed in language which proves nothing. Now I propose to discuss whether what I said is or is not true.

"Is it, then, possible for the State to carry out those precepts of his which inculcate non-resistance, inexhaustible forgiveness, and unlimited benevolence? Can the State, that is to say, disband its army, burn its ships of war, abolish its courts of justice, pull down its jails, dismiss its policemen, bestow its revenues upon all and sundry who ask for them, and yet still continue to exist as a State? If there really be any person who maintains this I cannot argue with him. His proper place is in a lunatic asylum.

"I am, however, taken to task by others of my critics on quite an opposite ground. Of course—these say—the State cannot literally obey all the precepts in the Sermon on the Mount; but neither can the individual. Those precepts can be obeyed by the individual in the spirit only, and not in the letter. Why may not the State do the same? I must confess to a firm belief that neither in the spirit nor in the letter can the entire of that sermon be carried out by the State, and that whenever it attempts to do this it is tending to its own destruction.

"What is a State? Speaking loosely this term is used as signifying the entire population of any country. The State, when we are speaking of its social or political obligations, can only mean that part of the nation which is empowered to speak and act on behalf of the rest. It is briefly, as it has been well defined to be, 'the sovereign body having supreme power.' The essential idea of a State always is that of sovereignty held on trust for the commonweal; and to this trust, for the sake of which it exists, it is morally bound to be faithful.

"It is clear, therefore, that a State, in order that it may be a faithful trustee, is bound—first, to preserve its own existence; and secondly, to resist, restrain, and even, if needs be, to destroy whatever and whomsoever assails its authority or attacks the interests committed to its charge. Self-preservation, therefore, and the preservation of all that is intrusted to it, are the moral obligations of every State.

TWO IRRECONCILABLE IDEAS.

"Now, is this idea of protection of interests, of maintenance of rights, and of resistance to all assaults on these, the idea of the Sermon on the Mount? Distinctly it is not. The idea, the spirit, of that discourse is the diametrically opposite one of sacrifice of rights, surrender of interests, and non-resistance to assaults on these. It is, in a word, from beginning to end the idea of self-sacrifice as opposed to that of self-preservation. Is it not clear, therefore, that the State, if it is to be true to its own idea, if it is not to abdicate or betray

its trust, cannot carry out, in spirit even, the directly antagonistic idea of the Sermon on the Mount? Nay, is it not true that under analogous circumstances—namely, when acting as a trustee for the rights and interests of others—the precepts of the Sermon on the Mount do not apply and were not intended to apply to the private individual? Take the case of A. B., who is trustee or guardian for C. D. and E. F. Is he morally justified in giving away or in allowing any one to take away their possessions? Assuredly he is not. So long as he continues to be their trustee he is morally bound to maintain and defend these against all comers. He may allow the taking away of his own cloak and his own coat, but he has no right to allow the taking away of theirs. He may bestow all his own goods to feed the poor, but he has no right thus to bestow their goods, simply because they are theirs and not his. Quite apart, therefore, from the question, yet to be considered, as to how the individual is required by the Sermon on the Mount to deal with his own rights and possessions, it is clear that it gives him no directions as to how he is to deal with the rights and possessions of others.

“A State is something else and something more than a collection of individuals; and a Christian State, whatever that may mean (and that is a very large question), though bound by all those precepts of Christ which may be addressed to it as a State, is not therefore bound to obey all those which are addressed to its members in their several and diverse relations and capacities. A State is not morally justified in refusing to resist or prevent invasion—*i. e.*, to wage defensive war—because it would thereby be betraying to destruction the lives and properties of its subjects; it is not morally justified in expending all its revenues in pure benevolence, because it would thereby be applying those revenues to purposes for which they were not intrusted to it; it would not be morally justified in forgiving out of mere compassion all or any of its criminals, because it would thereby be weakening or even destroying those sanctions of order and of law which it is its duty to maintain and to enforce. In all these respects—and they might be largely multiplied—the State, if it were to act in the spirit of the Sermon on the Mount, would be failing to discharge functions which are given it, as we believe, of God himself, who, we Christians hold, has ‘ordained the powers that be,’ and so would be breaking a law which God assuredly has given it in the vain attempt at obeying laws which Christ has never given it. I venture, therefore, not only to repeat but to enlarge upon my first ‘odious’ and ‘immoral’ utterance, and to affirm not only that the State cannot but that it ought not to carry out in all its relations—either in the letter or in the spirit—all the precepts in the Sermon on the Mount, inasmuch as these were not all of them addressed to it by him who gave them.”

(To be continued.)

Religious Liberty in Rhode Island, 1636.

UNLIKE the other American Colonies, Rhode Island enjoyed the privileges of entire liberty of conscience from the time of the foundation of the commonwealth. Roger Williams, its founder, believed that God alone had to do with the heart of man, and that it was “unlawful for the magistrate to meddle with the breaches of the first table” (*i. e.*, with violations of the four first commandments, which have only to do with our relation to God). Accordingly, he founded the first commonwealth the world had ever known on the principles of individual right of conscience; and may be justly called The First American, which title does him more honor than if he had held the highest office the Colonies could afford.

From the publications of the Narragansett Historical Society, I take the following:—

Roger Williams, says Professor Gervinus, in his recent “Introduction to the History of the Nineteenth Century,”* 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.

The founder of Rhode Island not only believed in every individual having the right of conscience, but he believed in every individual (the Indian as well as the white man) having *all* his inalienable rights. Consequently, he contended that the patent from the king, depriving the Indian of his land without his consent thereto, was sinful; and hence, like Penn, he purchased his land from the native inhabitants. His study of the teachings of Christ (for he was a devoted Christian and close Bible student) gave him a clear understanding of the inherent rights of mankind and the proper sphere of government. It was Christ himself who said, “My kingdom is not of this world”; and “Render, therefore, unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar’s, and unto God the things that are God’s.”

George Bancroft, justly meriting the eminence which he has gained for his critical and diligent research, as well as graphical description, truly says:—

The annals of Rhode Island, if written in the spirit of philosophy, would exhibit the forms of society under a peculiar aspect. Had the territory of the State corresponded to the importance and sin-

* Translated from the German. H. G. Bohn, London, 1853, page 65.

gularity of the principles of its early existence, the world would have been filled with wonder at the phenomena of its history.†

Again, the historian says:—

The land which was now [1636] occupied by Williams, was within the territory of the Narragansett Indians; it was not long before an Indian deed [dated March 24, 1638] made him the undisputed possessor of an extensive domain. Nothing displays more clearly the character of Roger Williams than the use which he made of his acquisition of territory. The soil he could claim as his own, as truly as any man’s coat upon his back; and he reserved to himself not one foot of land, not one tittle of political power, more than he granted to servants and strangers. He gave away his lands and other estate to them that he thought were most in want, until he gave away all.‡ He chose to found a commonwealth in the unmixed forms of a pure democracy, where the will of the majority should govern the State, yet “only in civil things.” God alone was respected as the ruler of conscience.

Thus it was that the grand institutions of the great American Republic had their birth. These principles were afterward fostered and encouraged by various commonwealths, and by such men as Washington, Jefferson, Madison, and their fellow-statesmen; and, finally found a place in the Constitution of the United States of America.

Well may the American people feel proud of their country. And every freeman should watch with a jealous eye, lest these principles, which have raised this nation above any other nation on the face of the globe, should be set aside, and our national Government, even yet, legislate upon the subject of religion.

W. A. BLAKELY.

Poor California—No Sunday Law.

REV. ASELM H. BROWN, writing from San Francisco to the *Christian Intelligencer*, on the “Moral Conflicts on the Pacific Coast,” says of the Sunday:—

From careful observation and study of the churches, I believe the Sabbath [Sunday] is observed here by the resident Americans as faithfully as it is observed in other States by the same class of people. California has no Sabbath law, but such a law where it exists is not generally enforced. Christian people would like to have one, and mean to secure it and enforce it. But, although without it, the Sabbath [Sunday] is by no means obliterated as a day of rest,—tourists from the East, among whom are many professing Christians, are not as careful as they should be in observing it.

And then he mentions the example set by a distinguished clergyman and minister who was connected with a board of missions. Of the latter, one person said that “Mr. Ingersoll would not probably have set a worse example in breaking the Sabbath day.”

With reference to this testimony, we would note the following points: 1. It is in harmony with others which have been borne (Mr. Crafts to the contrary, notwithstanding) that Sunday is as well observed by Americans in no-Sunday-law California as other Sunday-law States.

† Bancroft’s “History of the United States,” vol. i., pp. 380, 381.

‡ From a letter of Daniel Williams,

2. The worst influences as regards Sunday violation come from professed Christians, some of these being ministers in the Church. 3. Christians want laws to compel Sunday observance, evidently to compel these church members to live as they believe.

What a travesty is all this on the religion of Christ, when Sunday-keeping has so little support from the Scriptures, when church members set the worst example as regards its observance, then for Christians to clamor for a civil law to compel recreant brethren among others to observe it! It is a confession that it has no basis in God's word, and that they have no faith in the power of Christ to impress it upon the conscience. Sunday is a papal institution, and it takes papal means to "induce" the people, some of whom are Sunday Christians, to observe it. May it be long before California greets the Dark Ages in another Sunday law.

But our genial townsman, N. R. Johnston, member of the State Executive Committee of the California branch of the American Sabbath Association, is becoming discouraged over the prospects of a Sunday law, at least his letter of December 3, to the *Christian Statesman* so indicates. He says:—

At my last writing I hoped to be able ere this to communicate something very encouraging as to the progress of our Sabbath cause in this State, but in common with others I have been disappointed. Even since the State convention, held while Dr. Wilbur Crafts was here, when a large Executive Committee was appointed, the interest in the cause has seemed to be growing less.

We only hope that it is true, and wish Mr. Crafts would come again and a committee twice as large be appointed: The cause, in part, of this decline our friend thinks is because of the agreement to leave out of view the divine authority and the religious feature of the reform—to work only for a "civil Sunday law, . . . to ignore the claims of the moral law of God." And Mr. Johnston concludes that "unless there can be awakened more earnestness and a heartier cooperation on the part of church members, it will be a long time before California will have any Sabbath law or any better Sabbath observance." He "thinks it doubtful whether they will ever again have any kind of a law in favor of any kind of a Sabbath."

It is a mournful wail. If we may be allowed to suggest to these preachers, we would say, turn from man and put your trust in God. If Sunday is supported by the Bible, preach it, practice it, press it home by the aid of the Spirit of truth upon the conscience of men, and observance of the day will improve. You will not need the support of the civil arm. But if Sunday is not supported by the Bible, it is not worthy of this effort. If these ministers would only preach the

gospel, what a blessing it would be. They ought to be discouraged.—*Signs of the Times, Oakland, California.*

An Opinion on the Blair Bill.

Truths of Nature, a monthly journal of natural science, published in Boston, has the following concerning the Blair Sunday Bill and its supporters:—

"He has a very powerful, but a very unchristian minority in the sponsors of his bill, seeking in this way to strengthen their waning power. The bill may be passed, for the American people are patient and long-suffering in such cases; but there is such a thing as the 'last feather,' and when the reaction takes place in the minds of the American people the tribe of Blairs will be swept into obscurity, and the religious freedom of the people of the United States will be doubly assured. The very fact that Senator Blair, in his 'Sunday Rest bill' invokes the aid of statute law to compel the people to rest according to his programme robs the Sabbath of its holiness. . . . Each man should be allowed to spend the day according to the 'dictates of his own conscience,' so long as he does not interfere with the natural rights of others. If the churches are not filled there is something wrong in the churches. When Senator Blair's followers are prepared to discard purple and fine linen, distribute the proceeds among the poor, and then preach as did the lowly Nazarene, without price; when they are willing to follow those they desire to save, as did Jesus, they will rob their present action of its selfish aspect. The time has gone by when we could take a club and compel men to go down on their knees and pray. We can no longer put a man in the stocks for being an absentee from church on Sunday. The very power that Senator Blair seeks in his 'Sunday Rest bill,' if granted, would defeat the object sought."

A Pointed Item.

A religious paper of Oakland, California, has the following pointed item:—

"The field secretary of the American Sabbath Union, who has so much to say about the unfortunate and fearful condition of California with no Sunday law, says of his investigation in New York City on the first Sunday 'of the year, and since,' 'I started to write down a list of the places open, but found it would be much easier to make a record of the places closed.' Dear Mr. Crafts, San Francisco and Oakland are not so bad as that, with no Sunday law. And if there had been such a law as you desire, how would you have escaped arrest? Under which head, 'mercy' or 'necessity,' would your work have come?"

Pertinent Questions.

In the Sunday issue of the *Tribune* of this city there is a department entitled "In the Church Porch," in which much sound doctrine is dispensed,—the following, for instance, which we commend to Joseph Cook and others who in the attempt to justify their demand that the State shall teach religion, so innocently exclaim that so many of the people "never see the inside of a church":—

"Did Jesus preach his gospel in a big and well-appointed church in High Street, Jerusalem? Did he announce that those who desired to hear him must go there; or did he rather go where the sinners were and there preach to them? Preach to them? I recall the word. He did better than preach; he entered into the lives of sinners; he learned what their burden of sorrow or trouble was and tried to lighten it. He came to them not as a professional preacher, but as a friend and brother. And if the modern church would succeed it must go and do likewise.

"Take an illustration. Here is a great physician, and here are a multitude of sick folk needing his skill. But instead of going to the homes of these sick folk and trying to cure them by suggesting remedies appropriate to their special cases, he erects a big hall, and gives a course of learned and brilliant weekly lectures on the importance of believing in, and supporting the State Medical Society. Do you think the sick people would go to these lectures to be cured of their sickness? But maybe the physician would describe in his lectures the true nature of disease and the manifold resources of medical science. Maybe he would show how frequently people brought sickness on themselves by their vices or their ignorance. Would that help the sick people? Not at all. No matter how comfortable his lecture-hall might be, no matter how beautiful the music of his choir might be, no matter how eloquent his lecture might be, those who were sick in their wretched homes, or on the streets, would still remain sick, until he went to them individually, and gave them medicine to heal their sickness.

"What say you to this, brother preachers, who expect sin-sick souls to be cured by listening to your eloquent sermons on the importance of joining the church, or on some abstruse scheme of theology? Would it not be wiser to go to these men and women and personally give them the medicine which will cure their special sickness? Not that preaching is to be ignored. Oh, no. It is one of the greatest functions of Christianity. But it cannot take the place of sympathetic ministrations to individual souls, which, more than anything else, is needed to-day in our great cities. To vast multitudes of men and women, parochialism, with its cast-iron methods, is an utter and complete failure. Would it not, therefore, be wiser for the Church to try some other more simple and direct plan?"

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FATHERS

OF THE

CATHOLIC CHURCH

BY ELDER E. J. WAGGONER.

History repeats itself, because human nature is
the same in all ages of the world. Hence, he who
would know how to avoid error in the future must
know how errors have developed in the past. The
"Fathers of the Catholic Church" shows the con-
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briefly states the principles of ancient heathen
philosophy, and shows how the adoption of these
principles by prominent men in the church, and
the incautious lowering of the standard of pure
Christianity, developed the Papacy, which was
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PACIFIC PRESS PUBLISHING CO.,
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NEW YORK, FEBRUARY 20, 1890.

NOTE.—Any one receiving the AMERICAN SENTINEL without having ordered it may know that it is sent to him by some friend, unless plainly marked "Sample copy." It is our invariable rule to send out no papers without pay in advance, except by special arrangement, therefore, those who have not ordered the SENTINEL need have no fears that they will be asked to pay for it simply because they take it from the post-office.

THE *Pearl of Days*, in giving "Reasons for Sabbath Laws," says:—

"The powers that be are ordained of God." If "of God," why not for God?

The answer is, Because God has forbidden it by his word.

IN the Washington City Sunday Law Convention, it was again stated, and the statement was let go without a sign of contradiction, that Rev. W. F. Crafts "is the American Sabbath Union." This same statement was officially made last summer by one of the District Secretaries of the Union. We knew it before, but it is well to have authoritative statements in confirmation of the fact.

WE have before explained in these columns that Colonel Elliott F. Shepard, president of the American Sabbath Union, owns the *Mail and Express*, a daily evening newspaper of this city; and that that paper, through its "Pearl of Days" columns, is the official organ of the American Sabbath Union. Colonel Shepard is quite a pious man. So pious is he, indeed, that he prints a verse of Scripture every day at the head of the editorial columns of his newspaper; and occasionally, perhaps as evidence of an extra quantity, he embellishes this by printing an advertisement of an intoxicating drink at the foot of the same columns, to say nothing of the same thing in other parts of the paper. For instance, in the issue of February 10 (and this is not the first time that it has been done), at the head of the editorial columns, he printed this text:—

For he was crucified through weakness, yet he liveth through the power of God. For we also are weak in him, but we shall live with him through the power of God toward you.

And the same day, at the foot of the editorial columns, stood this other thing thus:—

Piper Heidsieck Sec—The favorite everywhere.—Adv.

Now "Piper Heidsieck Sec" is a popular brand of champagne, possessing all the intoxicating qualities of champagne generally.

The *Christian Advocate* suggested, a short time ago, that the printing of texts of Scripture at the head of a daily newspaper "is a matter of taste." Yes, no doubt. And it is altogether likely that

the printing of "Piper Heidsieck Sec—the favorite everywhere"—at the foot of the same columns is also a matter of taste.

Since this was put in type we have received the *Mail and Express* of February 12. 1 Peter 2:7, 8, is printed at the head, and "A popular sparkling wine—Piper Heidsieck Sec," at the foot of the editorial columns.

SPEAKING of the Chinese, the *Mail and Express* says:—

Those who are willing to become American citizens, adopting our ways, customs, religion, and language, ought to be admitted to all the rights of American citizenship.

Is "our religion," then, to be made a test of citizenship? By the way, Mr. Shepard, what is "our religion"? Is it the religion of the New Testament or of the saloon? Is it expressed in 2 Corinthians, 13:4, or in "Piper Heidsieck Sec"? The president of the American Sabbath Union ought to be able to tell, and we hope he will.

A CONVENTION of the liberal thought women of the country will be held in Willard Hall, Washington, D. C., February 24 and 25, 1890. The object of the Convention is to form a national organization for the purpose of opposing the demands for religious legislation that are already so loud, so frequent, and so persistent. The call for the Convention says: "In order to help preserve the very life of the Republic by rousing public attention to the constantly increased danger of a union of Church and State, it is necessary that liberal thought women should unite in a national society for combined work."

This is a worthy object by whomsoever it may be desired, therefore we wish the coming Convention abundant success both in the organization and in the work proposed.

All persons in harmony with this are invited to correspond with Matilda Joslyn Gage, Willard Hotel, Washington, D. C., Willard Hotel will be the headquarters of the Convention; and speakers, delegates, and visitors are requested to report there, to Mrs. Gage, on their arrival in the city.

It is not alone on the question of Sunday observance that Congress is being asked to legislate in matters pertaining to religion. Representative Compton, of Maryland, has introduced a bill—Fifty-first Congress, H. R. 423—authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury "to refund the duties paid upon a clock and a chime of bells, imported into the port of Baltimore for the use of Saint Timothy's Episcopal church, of Catonsville, in Baltimore County, Maryland." Why should the duty on this clock and those bells be refunded any more than on every other clock and every other bell or bells? The answer,

of course is, that these are for a church. Then upon what principle is it that this money shall be given from the public treasury to this church, and not an equal amount of money be paid from the same source to every other church in the land? And if the national treasury is to pay for the support of the playing of the tunes and the keeping of the time, of the church, why shall it not also help support the singing and the preaching carried on by the church? If this can be granted, why should not the whole of the public funds be placed at once at the service of the church? That bill is a sneaking, unprincipled thing. Let it be killed so dead that it may never be heard of again.

THE *Christian at Work* notices the fact that Pittsburg, like Boston, is stirred up over the proposition made by the Catholics that they be given a proportionate share of public taxes for the support of parochial schools, and says:—

At a public meeting just held in that city a series of resolutions was adopted protesting against any concessions to Roman Catholics by the public school authorities, and against appropriation of any money to schools which advocated principles so directly in opposition to the fundamental ideas of American Government. This is the right ground. The public schools for all, and no public moneys devoted to sectarian purposes should be the American war-cry the country over.

But if this is to be the war cry of Americans, what will become of the Blair Educational Amendment? The only way to keep sectarianism out of the public schools is to keep religion out; but that is just what both Catholics and Protestants are determined shall not be done. They both want religious instruction, the only question between them being what religion shall be taught. Religious instruction belongs not to the State, nor to State schools, but to the home, the Church and the Church school.

MRS. MARY H. HUNT may be regarded as a leading authority in temperance matters, and she speaks from experience, and puts a good deal of wisdom in a small space when she says: "The recent unsuccessful prohibitory temperance campaigns have been attempts to focalize into law against alcohol a popular sentiment that does not exist. If we will seek first the temperance education of the people, all other temperance blessings will, in due time, be added unto us."—*New York Observer*.

THE AMERICAN SENTINEL.

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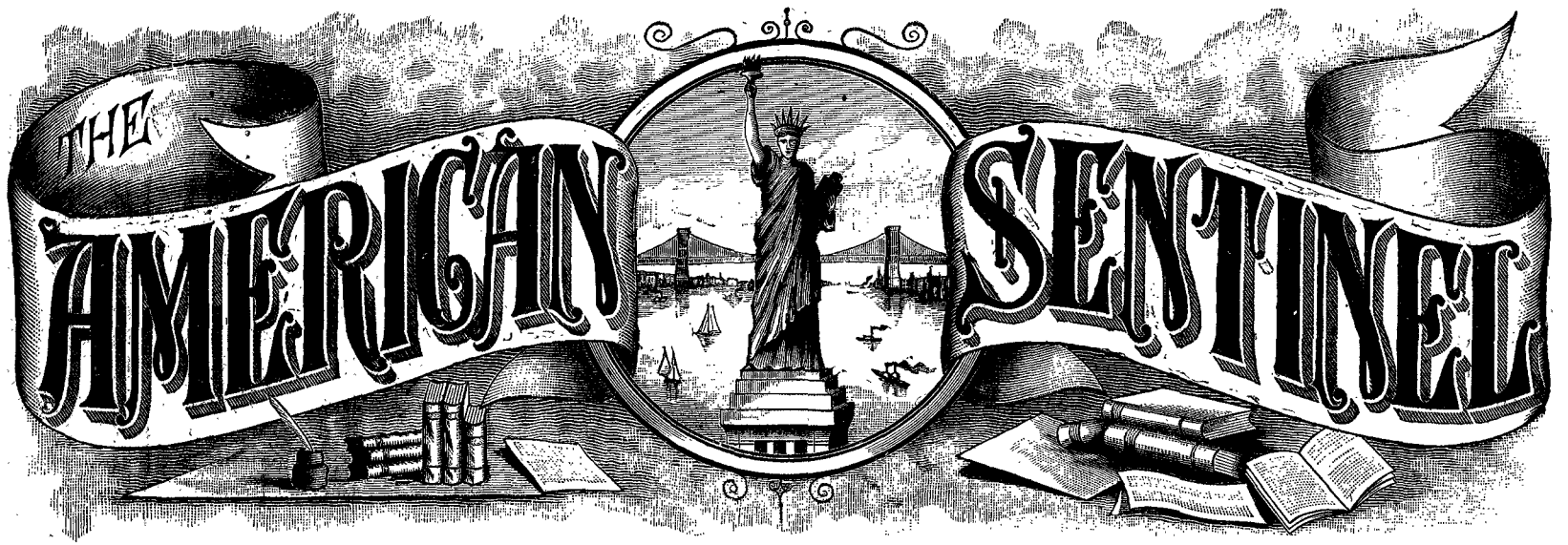
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Equal and exact justice to all men, of whatever state or persuasion, religious or political.—*Thomas Jefferson.*

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PACIFIC PRESS PUBLISHING COMPANY,

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EDITORS,

E. J. WAGGONER, ALONZO T. JONES.

IN the Cincinnati National Reform Convention Judge M. B. Hagans said:—

The people of this city are tired of being tied to a beer barrel seven days in the week.

Therefore, that they may be loosed forever from the beer barrel, they want the saloon shut *on Sunday*. Certainly; they are tired of being tied to the beer barrel seven days in the week; tie them only six, and let them loose on Sunday, and they will all be happy. For our part we will have nothing to do with the wicked thing at all; and we will not compromise with it by asking that it be shut on Sunday only. The power that can shut the saloon on Sunday can shut it all the time. Therefore if they shut the saloon on Sunday and not all the time it shows that they do not want to shut it any of the time but Sunday. And the shutting of the saloon on Sunday only, is positive proof that it is not hatred of the saloon but love for Sunday which is expressed.

POOR Mrs. Mary Jones, of One Hundred and Fourth Street, was found yesterday (February 8), with a dose of laudanum in her stomach. Being a dejected and distressed creature, it was assumed that she had attempted suicide. She was seized by a policeman, dragged out of her home, sent to Bellevue Hospital, where she was pumped out, and where she is to-day a prisoner under the idiotic law which assumes to punish people for trying and failing to dispose of their lives. Mrs. Jones says that she was ill and meant to take a dose of ginger, but got hold of the wrong bottle. Perhaps the poor, unfortunate woman is fibbing, but what a ridiculous law is that which makes an attempted

suicide a misdemeanor, and thereby sets a premium upon successful self-destruction! —*New York World.*

True enough. And another ridiculous feature about such a law is, that it inflicts a heavier punishment upon the attempt to do a thing than upon the actual doing of it. That is, if a person attempts to kill himself and fails, he is fined and imprisoned; whereas if he actually kills himself, and even mangles himself all to pieces, he is let go scot free, with not the slightest attempt made to punish him in the least degree.

A Hearing on the Breckinridge Sunday Bill.

TUESDAY, February 18, there was held a hearing by the House Committee on the District of Columbia, in the committee-room in the capitol, on the Breckinridge Sunday bill.

In favor of the bill there appeared and spoke, Rev. George Elliot, Rev. J. H. Elliott, Mr. H. J. Schulteis,—Knight of Labor—Mr. Inglis, and Rev. W. F. Crafts.

Against the bill there appeared and spoke, Elder J. O. Corliss, of Washington City, Mr. Millard F. Hobbs—District Master Workman Knights of Labor, and Alonzo T. Jones of the SENTINEL; and Prof. H. W. McKee, Secretary of the Religious Liberty Association, submitted a brief.

Rev. George Elliot said he appeared as the representative of the Ministers' Alliance of the city of Washington, and the the American Sabbath Union. The Alliance is composed of fifty-six evangelical ministers, whose pastorates comprise nearly all Protestant Christians of the city of Washington. He said: "We rely on the extreme simplicity of our case. The District of Columbia is practically without Sunday legislation. The Ministers' Alliance became aware of this by attempting some prosecutions. In this attempt we found ourselves without available law, and we stopped suddenly. We kept still about it because we did not want it to

become known. Although we represent churches, we do not come as churches. We believe God commands the rest of the seventh day. That is a matter of conscience with each individual. We also believe that the day is needed for rest, for the general good, without reference to the religious aspects of the question. It is true religion enters into this question in a measure, because the day named in the bill is the one already observed by the great majority of the religious people of the country.

"We ask this with the more confidence, because, with the exception of the gentlemen from California, all the representatives of this House come from States which have Sunday laws. Here are gentlemen of the Committee from Vermont, New York, New Hampshire, all of which have excellent Sunday laws. It is therefore a very little thing which we ask. In the early history of the District it had a Sunday law—the old Maryland law; but this, without any will of the people, has been allowed to become obsolete. We ask that that which has become obsolete, without any expressed will of the people, shall be restored. Sunday laws are almost immemorial. Beginning with Constantine, carried on by Theodosius, and in England by Alfred, Athelstan, Edward, and their successors, down to our own colonial times, and from these by our States. The observance of Sunday is already enforced by the consciences of the largest portion of the people."

Mrs. Catlin told the committee how the question of a District Sunday bill originated, saying that their feelings had been shocked at work on Sunday—"gangs of men at work in our beautiful streets on the Sabbath." She then said that she had over 27,000 petitions to present, but she had taken them out of the safe the night before and left them lying on a lounge near a window, and that in the night they had been stolen. The thief had hoisted the window and reached in and got the bundle. She did not suppose that he had any idea of what it was that he was taking; but

took it as he would have taken anything else that he had got his hands on, as another roll of petitions lying near was not taken. She had found a few of the petitions scattered about the yard in the morning, but the most of them were gone. They were not names from the District of Columbia, but from the country at large.

Next Mr. George Elliot, with the manner of one having forgotten something, said that there was a class of Christians whom he had neglected to mention, but who ought to be named in favor of the bill—the Roman Catholics. That when the matter was up in the preceding Congress, Cardinal Gibbons had sent a letter in which he added his name to the number of petitioners; that the Cardinal represented the Catholics at large in asking for the adoption of the Senate Sunday bill.—At this point Mr. Crafts prompted him with the words “which includes this.” That is, the Senate or Blair Sunday bill includes the House or Breckinridge Sunday bill,—each is the complement of the other.

Each is but part of one stupendous whole,
Of which the *State* the *body* is, the *Church* the *soul*.

Next spoke Mr. Schulteis. He said that he represented local assembly No. 2,672 of the Knights of Labor. He said his assembly had indorsed the Breckinridge bill. He referred to the indorsement of the Blair Sunday bill by the National Assembly at Indianapolis, in 1888, and said that every Knight of Labor was represented in that indorsement. He said he had no special instruction to appear before the committee on this particular question, but was a member of a committee on legislation, and had credentials which empowered him to speak before legislative committees on matters pertaining to labor.

The next speaker was Rev. J. H. Elliott, D.D., of Washington City, who spoke on the phrase “Sunday excepted” in the Constitution, and argued from that that a Sunday law such as this bill embodies would be constitutional. The fallacy of this argument is that in the phrase “Sunday excepted” in the Constitution there is simply a recognition of the non-legal aspect of Sunday, to which nobody objects, and there is not in it in any sense any attempt to say what the President shall, or shall not, do on Sunday. Under that phrase the President may do anything he pleases on Sunday. And this mere legal *no-day* is to be stretched to the extent of sanctioning an act that will prohibit everybody in the nation from doing any manner of work, labor, or business, pertaining to this world, on Sunday! If these men are willing to go so far as that with a mere non-committal phrase, what would they not do with the specific words of a sweeping statute?

Mr. Crafts was the next speaker, and spent the whole of his time, as usual, in a bitter personal attack upon the Seventh-day Adventists. He declared the greatest

opposition is carried on by the Seventh-day Adventists; the counter-petition to this legislation an Advent petition; the AMERICAN SENTINEL an *Advent Sentinel*, etc., etc. He made no argument but this in behalf of the bill.

The next speaker was Elder J. O. Corliss, pastor of the Seventh-day Adventist Church of Washington City. We shall not attempt a synopsis of Mr. Corliss's speech. As there were some valuable references produced in the argument, we have asked for a copy of the speech entire, and shall print it as soon as it is received.

My turn came next to speak. I had risen from my chair and was waiting to be recognized by the chairman, when a slip of paper was handed to him with a request to be allowed three minutes. The Chair said, if I would yield, the three minutes should not be deducted from my time. I willingly granted the gentleman the time asked. The gentleman proved to be

Mr. Millard F. Hobbs, Master Workman of the whole federation of the Knights of Labor in the District of Columbia, who said: “No one has been authorized by the Knights of Labor to speak in favor of this bill. Mr. Schulteis is not authorized to speak for the Knights of Labor. It is true Mr. Schulteis is a member of a committee having charge of certain matters, but that committee has nothing to do with this question. The Knights of Labor are virtually opposed to this bill. Some are in favor of some parts of it; some are in favor of all of it; and some are entirely opposed to all of it. For this reason the Knights of Labor of the District, as an organization, have refused to have anything to do with it. We are all in favor of a day of rest, some of *two* days; but we are afraid of the *religious* side of this question. What benefits the Knights of Labor wish to obtain, we think can be better secured by our own efforts through our own organizations than by the efforts of others, through the Church.”

This speech, coming as it did, was more or less of a surprise to all; but to Mr. Crafts and his party it was “a stunner.” It instantly crushed to atoms the whole pet theory which they had so nicely framed and so pathetically presented in behalf of “the poor workingmen who are so cruelly oppressed by being forced to labor on Sunday;” and of the Church's gallant effort to liberate them from “the Egyptian bondage of Sunday slavery.” Nothing could have happened that would more clearly expose the perfect hollowness of the plea that is made by the American Sabbath Union, that this Sunday movement is in the interests of the workingmen, than did this unpremeditated and wholly unsolicited speech.

When Mr. Hobbs had taken his seat, I was recognized by the chairman, and made a half-hour's speech which we hope

to present in full in another issue. However to prevent any misapprehension on the part of my old friends, or the new readers of the SENTINEL, I would take occasion here to repeat that my speech was in *opposition* to the Breckinridge Sunday bill.

The members of the Congressional Committee who were present were Mr. Grout, Vermont; Mr. DeLano, New York; Mr. Moore, New Hampshire; Mr. Ellis, Kentucky; Mr. Campbell, New York; Mr. Heard, Missouri. They gave a most careful and courteous hearing to all the speakers, and we rest assured that the subject will receive from them a candid consideration.

A. T. J.

The Wickedness of Church and State Union.

In the Senate document containing the hearing (December 13, 1888) before the Committee on Education and Labor, on the Sunday-rest bill, we find on pages 65 and 66 certain statements made by Senator Blair, the chairman of the committee, and the author of the bill. He first asked Dr. Lewis the following questions:—

Suppose that human beings trying to live in accordance with the will of God, re-enact his law and write it in their statute-books; is it wrong for society to put in their public law the requirement of obedience to God and his law?

And then after a few words he proceeded to answer his own question in the following manner:—

The will of God exists. He requires the observance of the seventh day just as he prohibits murder; and as we re-enact his law, in making a law and enforcing it against murder, so all the States have enacted laws against the desecration of the Sabbath, going further or not so far, according to the ideas of the various Legislatures.

Let the reader give particular attention to the idea advanced by Senator Blair, that human beings may re-enact the law of God. The same idea was advanced by Mr. Crafts in the *Christian Statesman* of May 30, 1889. Said he:—

The laws of our statute-books that re-enact the seventh commandment are as distinctly biblical in their origin as the laws that re-enact a part of the fourth commandment.

In what position does this place civil government? The only answer that can be given is that it puts it in the place of God, and makes it at least equal with God. Nay, more, in putting it in the place of God, it puts it above God; for if the State re-enacts and enforces the law of God, supposing such a thing to be possible, it takes the law out of his hands, leaving him nothing to do, and requires man to give supreme allegiance to the State. This will be more apparent when we quote another statement made by Senator Blair, in the connection before referred to. Said he:—

Now the question comes right to this point: God having ordained the Sabbath, as you concede with all religious organizations, here is the national government, which alone can make that law of God operative in this sphere of national action. Why

shall not the civil government, then, re-enact that conceded law of the Almighty and make it effective?

Do we not say truly that the National Reform idea, as voiced here by Senator Blair, puts the State in the place of God? He ignores God and his spirit entirely, in the statement that the national Government alone can make the law of God operative. We say, with as much reverence as the subject will allow, that we cannot see what use those who hold such an idea can have for God. They have usurped his prerogative.

In the second chapter of 2 Thessalonians the apostle Paul describes a certain power known as the "man of sin," the result of the working of the "mystery of iniquity." This power is described as opposing and exalting itself above all that is called God or that is worshiped, and claiming really to be God. It has generally been considered that this language is a description of the Papacy, and we believe that that interpretation is correct; but surely it describes nothing more accurately than a government which attempts to do just what Senator Blair says this government ought to do. Therefore, everyone who believes this language of Paul to refer to the Papacy must admit that a government according to the National Reform idea would be nothing more than an image to the Papacy.

But there is another point to be noticed in this connection, and that is the inevitable result of putting such ideas into practice. If it were universally conceded that the civil government has the power and the right to re-enact and enforce the law of God, that would involve the conclusion that there is no more to the moral law than civil government can enforce. The result would be the universal prevalence of immorality, and immorality of the worst kind, inasmuch as the individuals would suppose themselves to be acting in harmony with divine law.

For example, take Mr. Blair's statement to the effect that as we re-enact the law of God in making a law and enforcing it against murder, so all the States have enacted laws against the desecration of the Sabbath. Suppose the National Reform scheme had become triumphant, and it were understood that the Government takes the place of God, and enforces the divine law against murder, the result would be that any individual who did not in his envy and hatred toward his fellows go to the extreme of depriving them of life, would consider himself a moral man, although he might be full of hatred, malice, and envy. Take Mr. Craft's idea that the State re-enacts the seventh commandment. It needs no argument to show that the State cannot punish man for vicious thoughts, or evil desires, or for any grade of licentiousness short of the overt act of adultery. But ministers and law-makers teach that the State enforces the seventh commandment; therefore the conclusion

which the libertine would be warranted in making would be that he is a moral man if he abstains from violence. And so, when this National Reform idea shall be carried into effect, we shall have the State actually teaching vice and immorality.

Such a condition of things would be a union of Church and State in its fullest extent. The Dark Ages stand as the great example of the effects of the union of Church and State, yet all that was done then was the enforcement by civil government of what the Church claimed was the law of God. We think that our friends can readily see from this that when the United States or any other government, legislates concerning any one or the whole of the commandments, it effects just to that extent a union of Church and State; and the argument already given shows how dangerous to morality and pure religion is such a union. The state of morality will be just as much below the true morality as the power that presumes to enforce the law of God is below God. Are there any of our Christian readers who wish to see such a condition of things in the United States, or who will lend their influence to bring it about?

E. J. W.

A Representative Decision.

In support of his advocacy of the Bible and "natural religion" in the public schools, Joseph Cook has cited the decision of Circuit Judge John R. Bennett of Wisconsin. That our readers may see how it is that the Bible and religious exercises are maintained in the schools by the decisions of courts, we propose to notice Judge Bennett's decision. This is important, not only, nor so much, for what he himself says, but also for what is said in other decisions from which he obtains the sanction of his action.

This decision was rendered in November 1888. The cause which called it out was this: The preamble to the Constitution of the State of Wisconsin says:—

We, the people of Wisconsin, grateful to Almighty God for our freedom, in order to secure its blessings, form a more perfect government, insure domestic tranquillity, and promote the general welfare, do establish this Constitution.

The Declaration of Rights says:—

The right of every man to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of his own conscience shall never be infringed, nor shall any man be compelled to attend, erect, or support any place of worship, or to maintain any ministry, against his consent. Nor shall any control or interference with the rights of conscience be permitted, or any preference be given by law to any religious establishment or mode of worship.

And Article 10, Section 3, says:—

The Legislature shall provide by law for the establishment of district schools, which shall be as nearly uniform as practicable, and such schools shall be free and without charge for tuition to all children between the ages of four and twenty years, and no sectarian instruction shall be allowed therein.

In the city of Edgerton, Wisconsin, there were "many" Roman Catholics who were sending and desired still to send their children to the public schools. They were residents and tax-payers for the support of the schools, and were equally entitled with all others to have their children instructed in these schools under the Constitution. Frederick Weiss and others, plaintiffs, presented a petition to the court respectfully setting forth—

That certain of the teachers employed by the District Board, having charge of the schools to conduct the same and instruct the pupils attending the same, including the children of the plaintiffs, read to said pupils each and every day the schools are in session, and during school hours, certain portions of the *Book*, commonly known as the BIBLE, the teacher selecting the portions so read and using the translation known as the *King James Version*.

That the plaintiffs, and many others of the resident tax-payers of said school district, whose children attend said schools, and are under the control and instruction of said teachers, are, together with their children, members of the Roman Catholic Church, and conscientiously believe its doctrines, faith, and forms of worship, and that by said church, the said version is taught and believed to be an *incorrect and incomplete* translation by reason of the *omission* of a certain part of the books held by such church to be an integral portion of the inspired Canon: and it is further taught by said Roman Catholic Church and believed by its members that the scriptures ought not to be read *indiscriminately*, inasmuch as said church has *Divine Authority* as the *only infallible teacher and interpreter* of the same, and that the reading of the same without note or comment, and without being expounded by *the only authorized teachers and interpreters* thereof, is not only not beneficial to the children in said schools, and especially the children of the plaintiffs who are members of said church, but likely to lead to the adoption of dangerous errors, irreligious faith, practice and worship, and that by reason thereof the practice of reading King James version of the Bible commonly and only received as inspired and true by the Protestant religious sects, is regarded by the members of said Roman Catholic Church, including the plaintiffs, as contrary to the rights of conscience, and as wholly contrary to, and in violation of the law, and that they believe such exercises as above set forth, and each and all of them to be sectarian instruction, in violation of SECTION 3 ARTICLE 10, of the Constitution of the State of Wisconsin.

The District School Board, in its answer admitted that the Bible was read in the department where these Catholic children were; *but*

"The answer avers that such children were not required to remain in the school-room during such reading, but were at liberty to withdraw during such reading if they so desire."

The District Board in further answering the petition, upon information and belief deny that the Roman Catholic Church is the only infallible teacher or interpreter of the Bible, but on the contrary aver upon information and belief, that every person has the right to read and interpret it for himself, and the claim of the relators in that regard is sectarian and that an enforcement thereof would be a violation of the Constitution of this State, and deny, that the reading of King James version of the Bible, is contrary to the rights of conscience, or in violation of law, or that the same is sectarian, or in violation of Section 3 of Article 10 of the Constitution of this State or the Statutes or Common Law of this State.

That part of the answer which says that

the children were not required to remain in the room, but were at liberty to retire during the reading of the Bible, the Judge justly disposed of by saying that, "It might be very inconvenient for the children of the plaintiffs to leave the school-rooms during this exercise, which I must regard as a part of the school exercise; and especially so, in the more inclement seasons of the year. And I am not aware that any room is mentioned in the pleading to which they could conveniently retire. And it would seem to be an unquestioned right of every taxable inhabitant and patron of the school, to have his children remain in the rooms appropriated to their use for the time being, during all school hours, and to be present at all school exercises; and that these exercises should not be sectarian in character, nor improperly interfere with their religious convictions or conscientious scruples. I may here state that I place very little stress upon the fact that the children of the plaintiffs were not required to be present when the Bible was read. Because if the mere reading of the King James version of the Bible in the public schools of the State constitutes 'sectarian instruction' within the meaning of the Constitution, then it cannot be read."

Thus the main questions to be decided were, 1. Is the reading of the King James version of the Bible sectarian instruction? and, 2. What constitutes an improper and unconstitutional interference with the rights of conscience? And it is sincerely to be regretted that the Judge was not so fortunately clear in his decision of these two questions as he was in his disposal of the pitiful plea that the Catholic children were not required to remain in the rooms while the Protestant Bible was being read.

On both points he cites decisions of the Supreme Courts of Maine, Massachusetts, Vermont, Illinois, and Iowa, and gives his decision accordingly: these decisions will be noticed separately, as there is matter in them of vast importance to the American people, in view of the use that has been made of them in Wisconsin. Judge Bennett presents very little opinion of his own in this decision, but what he does present is worthy of particular notice.

As to whether the reading of the King James version of the Bible in the public schools is sectarian or not, the Judge says:—

If this belief of the members of the Roman Catholic Church is sufficient to exclude the Bible from the public schools, it would exclude any and all versions from being read except the Douay version, and this also unless read and expounded by an authorized teacher and interpreter of the same.

The logical result of this claim of the plaintiffs is that the Douay version is the only version that could be read in the public schools, and this only when read and expounded by a duly ordained priest, who undoubtedly would expound and interpret the same in accordance with the teachings and beliefs of such church. This it would seem,

would amount to "sectarian instruction" within the meaning of the Constitution; and the same wrong would be inflicted upon others of which the plaintiffs complain.

It is wholly a gratuitous assumption on the part of the Judge that the plaintiffs desired to have the Douay version read in the place of the King James version; there is nothing in the case anywhere that shows anything of the kind. They simply asked to be relieved from being compelled to hear the reading of the King James version. But let it be granted that the logic of the case would demand that the Douay version only should be read. Is it not just as proper that the Roman Catholics shall demand that the Douay version be read, as it is for the Protestants to insist that the King James version shall be read? Oh no! says the Judge, that "would amount to sectarian instruction within the meaning of the Constitution." Well then, if the reading of the Douay version, according to the Roman Catholic idea, would amount to sectarian instruction, how is it that the reading of the King James version, according to the Protestant idea, would *not* amount to sectarian instruction? How is it that this would be to inflict upon others "the same wrong" as that of which the plaintiffs themselves now complain, when the whole course of this judicial argument and decision is to make it appear that no wrong is inflicted upon the plaintiffs?

If this decision is correct, then no wrong could be inflicted by the Roman Catholics in so doing, and the Judge contradicts himself and his decision when he says it would be to inflict a wrong. *And in this self-contradiction he has lost his case.* In saying that the reading of the Douay version, according to the Roman Catholic formula, would be sectarian instruction within the meaning of the Constitution, in all justice the Judge just as certainly says that the reading of the King James version, according to the Protestant formula, is also sectarian instruction within the meaning of the Constitution. In saying that the doing of that by the Roman Catholics would be to inflict a wrong on others, in all justice the Judge as certainly says that the doing of this by the Protestants is likewise to inflict a wrong upon others. This wrong, within the meaning of the Constitution was inflicted upon the Roman Catholics of the city of Edgerton. They petitioned the Court for relief. Their petition was refused. Therefore it is clearly demonstrated that the Circuit Court of Wisconsin, Judge Bennett presiding, does judicially sanction the infliction, upon the Roman Catholics, of a wrong within the meaning of the Constitution of that State.

We shall say some more on this subject next week; but in closing we would respectfully submit to all friends of the Golden Rule, and lovers of justice, Have not the Roman Catholics some cause for opposition to the public school system, at least in Wisconsin?

A. T. J.

Government and the Sermon on the Mount.

(By the Bishop of Peterborough, England.)

(Continued.)

WHEN we have seen, however, that a Christian State is bound only by those precepts of Christ which are addressed to it as such, does it therefore follow that it is freed from all moral obligations whatsoever, or that its morality is something different in its nature from that of the individual? Nothing of the kind. The State is bound by precisely the same morality that binds the individual; for morality is not a duty of positive, but of natural obligation, and is binding therefore on all men under all possible circumstances. The State may not, any more than the individual may, act immorally in the discharge of its trust. As he may not lie nor steal for his wards, so neither may the State. It may not, for instance, in the interests of its citizens, plunder the property of other States, or lie to them; or take unfair advantage of them in any way. Similarly in all its dealings with its own subjects it must be scrupulously and equally just. But this is a natural and not a distinctively Christian obligation. Morality and justice were not created, nor even revealed, by Christ; they existed, and were known to exist, before the giving of the Sermon on the Mount, and would have continued to exist had that discourse never been spoken, or had He who spoke it never appeared among men.

[Here the Bishop makes a singular slip. The State is a person only by a legal fiction, as a railroad company or any other corporation is a person. But to say that the State is a *moral* person, is to speak beyond all manner of propriety. "The State, as separated from the individuals who compose it, has no existence except in a figure." "The State is the people organized into a political body." "The State owes to its own citizens all that it is." The State as an acting thing is, and can be, represented only in the persons who hold the power of the government or the administration. The State, of itself, can do no wrong. When wrong is done the moral guilt attaches only to the persons who are the administration or the Government. The State cannot steal. If any of the officers of the United States Government to-day should steal, the person who stole would bear the guilt of the theft, even though he should have stolen for the benefit of the State. Queen Victoria or Lord Salisbury could not do a dishonest thing, and pass over the moral guilt to the account of the British Empire. The Parliament of England cannot pass a cruel or oppressive act and then expect the guilt to fall upon the State. The individual members of the Parliament, as *individuals*, would each be guilty, as he participated in the wrong. When Clive employed the trick of changing documents, and committed forgery to

obtain possessions in India for the British State, it was *he* and not the State who was guilty of the forgery.—*Editor.*]

We have yet to consider how far the State is justified in enforcing the precepts of Christ upon its subjects. Of such an attempt I have said that it would result in the establishing of an intolerable tyranny. His great law, as we have seen, is that of self-sacrifice entire and absolute, even to the giving up of life itself when he demands it. Now self-sacrifice, being opposed to the natural instinct of self-preservation, can only become possible by the help of some strong, deep passion, which overmasters this natural instinct. That passion in Christ's kingdom is love. Now this constraining motive is precisely that thing which the State cannot supply. It has no power to kindle in men's hearts that consuming fire of divine love which burns out the selfishness of human nature. Nor has it "treasure in heaven" wherewith to reward those who sacrifice for it treasures upon earth. The State, therefore, if it is to be just, must not demand in the name of law what can only be demanded or conceded in the name of love. To demand them, apart from that condition which can alone make them endurable, would be to act unjustly and tyrannically.

THE STATE CANNOT ENFORCE CHRIST'S PRECEPTS.

In the next place, however, it is to be observed that the attempt to enforce Christian precepts by the State can never prove successful. It is not possible for the State really to enforce any precept of Christ. As a proof of this let us take this very question of Christian socialism. Christianity, as it seems to me, is manifestly neither socialistic nor communistic, inasmuch as it does not require as a condition of membership in the Christian society either the abolition of property, which is communism, or any form of compulsory redistribution of it, which is socialism. It would be communistic if it had said that no Christian shall possess property. It would be socialistic if it had said that every Christian shall submit to a certain redistribution of his property by the rulers of the Church. It says, however, neither of these things. In the impulsive attempt at communism, recorded in the Acts of the Apostles, the right of each individual to give away or to retain his property as he might think fit is distinctly recognized. "Whilst it remained was it not thine own? After it was sold was it not in thine own power?" This is not communism. In all its many precepts of benevolence and charity, the amount and the manner of distribution by the rich to the poor is left to the judgment and conscience of the individual. This is not socialism. Let us suppose, however, the State proceeding to enforce some one of these Christian precepts of benevolence,—such, for instance,

as this: "Charge them who are rich in this world that they be ready to give and glad to distribute;" and that it does this by taking forcibly from the rich and distributing to the poor. Is it not clear that the moment the State has done this it has made it impossible to obey this precept? For how can a man "give" that which the State has taken from him, or "distribute" that which the State is distributing in his stead? And as for the gladness and the readiness in such a case, we all know what is the gladness and the readiness with which we greet the visits of the rate-collector. The State would, in that case, have substituted for a charitable gift a legal impost, and would thereby have destroyed the freewillingsness which is of the very essence of all Christian charity.

If socialism then means—what I suppose most persons would understand it to mean—the forcible redistribution of wealth by the State, Christian socialism is a contradiction in terms; for Christianity knows nothing of force; its motive power is love, and where force begins love ends. And this is the real meaning of the saying that we cannot make men virtuous by act of Parliament. We cannot do so because freewillingsness is of the essence of all virtue. We can, therefore, no more have State Christian benevolence than we can have State Christian temperance, or State Christian chastity, or State Christian virtue of any kind whatsoever. To talk, therefore, of the State, in this matter of socialism, "compelling men to obey the precepts of Christ" is to talk undiluted and mischievous nonsense.

THE STATE CANNOT BECOME THE CHURCH.

The conclusion from all that I have said seems to me then to be briefly this: The Church is not and cannot become the State; the State is not and cannot become the Church. These words stand for two wholly distinct and different societies, having different aims, different laws, and different methods of government. The State exists for the preservation of men's bodies; the Church for the salvation of their souls. The aim of the State, even put at its highest, is the welfare of its citizens in this world; the aim of the Church is their holiness here in order to their welfare hereafter. The duty of the Church is to eradicate sin; the duty of the State is to prevent or to punish crime.

When we hear pious men clamoring for the State to "put down" this because it is "so wrong," or to enforce that because it is "so right," insisting, that is to say, that the State shall constitute itself the guardian of men's souls as it is the guardian of their bodies, and as such that it should repress all vice and all irreligion as it is bound to repress all crime—we are amazed that they do not see what results would follow from their principles if logically carried out. Once, and once only, in our history were they so carried out. It was

during the brief but terrible reign of the saints in England; and those who know what a sour, sullen, and dreary tyranny that reign established, what hypocrisy it fostered, and what a wildly licentious reaction it produced, may well view with anxiety symptoms of an attempt to revive such a government among us now, believing that it would result in a fussy, prying, omnipresent, and utterly unendurable rule of faddists and of fanatics, to be followed after a time by just such an outburst of licentiousness as marked the period of our Restoration. It is for this reason that I, for one, do not care to see the sanction of Christianity invoked in behalf of any schemes of political change. Christianity is no more a "judge and divider" of men's "inheritance" now than was her Master long ago. Men may not now any more than they might then "take him by force to make him a king."

(Concluded next week.)

"Sunday Shaving"

THE local barbers' union of Detroit, Michigan, have made an appeal to all Christian pastors and people, asking them to lend their assistance in the effort the union is now making to close the barber-shops of the city on Sunday. The appeal sets forth that the journeymen barbers are now compelled to labor three hundred and sixty-five days in the year, keeping such unreasonable hours that they are wholly unable to enjoy any social or religious privileges.

It is no doubt a great grievance for the barbers, or anybody else for that matter, to be compelled to work seven days in the week. But we are not aware that there is a law in existence requiring any such amount of labor; and we do know that there is a law which requires them to rest on Sunday. Why, then, do they not take their rest? The fact that these men work seven days in the week shows that they have no regard for the Sabbath commandment, and consequently they are not religious. The query at once arises, Why was this appeal made to the preachers? They are not the law-making power in the nation. Why should they make an appeal to those who profess to be religious to help them in securing that for which they have no regard, and which they already possess? That is like the boy picking up stones in the meadow. He said that he was looking for something he didn't want to find.

These barbers claim that they want social and religious privileges. But there is a law which grants them all the religious privileges they could reasonably ask for, and there is another law which if enforced, would absolutely require them to take their Sunday rest. But as they pay no regard whatever to the right which they have to rest on Sunday, nor to the law which requires them to rest on that

day, it is clear that this appeal is made with an altogether different object in view than that of securing *religious* privileges. Isn't this about it: they want to enjoy the privileges of a weekly holiday without the annoyance of thinking that their customers are being shaved by their neighbor barbers. In other words, they want to enjoy what they are pleased to call social and religious privileges at some one's else expense. They would have us to understand that it is impossible for them to enjoy their co-called social and religious privileges, unless those who forego these privileges, for a business profit, are required to enjoy them too. How would it be if our barber friends should desire to attend a religious meeting, or go on an excursion on some other day of the week than Sunday? Must they needs make an appeal to the preachers to help them in securing a right which they already possess?

Again, should they take a day out of the week for recreation or religion, they expect to be at the expense of that day's work; and whatever profit would accrue to them from the business of the day, were they at their places of business, they expect to go into the hands of their competitors. Why, then, are they not willing to grant to their competitors the same privileges on Sunday that they grant to them on other days of the week under similar circumstances?

The plea is often made that the workman cannot retain his place without working on Sunday. But if he thinks his eternal salvation depends on his keeping Sunday, and yet he labors on that day for fear of losing his situation, it shows that he thinks more of his situation than he does of his salvation. So far as this world's goods are concerned, religion is the most expensive thing in the world; for it requires all that a man has, and any man who is not willing to give all that he possesses for his religion, even to his life if necessary, ought to be ashamed to ask assistance in securing what he calls religious privileges at some one's else expense. And further, the preacher who would render any such assistance is unworthy of his calling.

But how do the preachers regard the appeal? Rev. C. R. Henderson of the Woodward, Avenue Baptist Church, on Sunday evening, December 22, took a very strong stand in favor of assisting the barbers to secure the object of their appeal. He said the law of the State very properly prohibited it (Sunday shaving), and he believed that the glory and advancement of our people was due more "to the legal recognition of the Sabbath than to anything else." The State does indeed prohibit Sunday shaving, but very *improperly* as we think. We had supposed that the one object of the State was to protect men in their belief, whatever that belief may be, even if it consists in

unbelief of some of the practices of the Christian religion. And there is no good reason why they should not be protected in the honorable discharge of their business on any day of the week. But when the State takes upon itself to say that one day of the week is more sacred than the rest, and to dictate which day of the seven that is, and how it shall be observed, it has taken upon itself a work that does not belong to it.

Dr. Henderson says he believes the glory and advancement of our people is due more to legal recognition of the Sabbath than to anything else. We had supposed that glory and advancement in an individual or a nation, so far as this world is concerned, are seen in the stand which they take in defense of human rights. But any State that requires the recognition of Sunday, or of any other religious institution, is performing an inglorious action and is taking a long step backward toward the superstition of the Dark Ages. It is taking its stand in defense of human wrongs.

If these barbers think that the observance of Sunday is essential to their salvation, what an opportunity is here presented for them to gain glory and honor by voluntarily refusing to labor on that day even at the risk of losing their situation! What an opportunity is presented for rebuking "those who lay claim to a certain amount of goodness," as Mr. Henderson expresses it. He says: "If those who lay claim to a certain amount of goodness would do this (cease to patronize the shop on Sunday), Sunday work would be made unprofitable, and when that condition is reached the evil will be corrected." It would seem from this that the profits arising from keeping the shops open on Sunday, comes from "those who lay claim to a certain amount of goodness;" because if their patronage is withdrawn, the business will "be made unprofitable." The sin then of keeping the barber shops open seven days in the week, lies at the door of those who lay claim to a certain amount of goodness (whoever may be meant by that term), for they are the ones who create the demand. In suggesting how the object of the barbers might be secured, Mr. Henderson proposes not to preach to them the exceeding sinfulness of the thing, but instead, to make their business unprofitable, and so compel them to be righteous by making it unprofitable to sin. But the only reason why they keep their shops open on any day of the week is because it is profitable. No doubt they would close them altogether if it did n't pay to keep them open; consequently if the barber shops should all be closed on Sunday the only conclusion we can draw would be that it does n't pay to keep it open, and not that the owner is a Christian.

A. E. LELAND.

"Extensive religious combinations to effect a political object are alwas dangerous."—*United States Senate.*

Sunday Rest Leagues.

THE *Pearl of Days*, official organ of the American Sabbath Union, makes the following announcement in its issue of February 7, 1890:—

The Sunday Closing Association, of Chicago, acting upon the Roman military principle of "carrying the war into Africa," has prepared "a plan for the organization of the Sunday-rest people in each ward" into Sunday-rest leagues. The constitution thus defines the purposes and terms of membership:—

ART. 2.—The object of this league shall be to cooperate with the Chicago Sunday Closing Association in securing, by all proper means, freedom from unnecessary Sunday labor, and especially the closing of factories, shops, stores, and saloons on Sunday.

ART. 3.—This league shall be composed of representatives of the whole population of the — ward, independent of sectarian control or party dictation. Any citizen who is in favor of the object of this association and desires to aid in the furtherance of the same may become a member by signing this constitution.

Ward organizers will be appointed to carry out these provisions. Efforts will be made to secure the selection of aldermen at the coming city election who favor the closing of saloons on Sundays and the cessation of all unnecessary work on that day. No sect, faction, or special influence will control the ward leagues. The men who want to rest on Sunday will control the ward organizations, and they will have the opportunity of making their influence felt at the ballot-box, whether of independent candidates or for nominees of either political party who will favor Sunday rest. By this method of working the city, which is substantially after the long-established ways of the old political organizations, the Sunday Closing Association expects to develop, direct, and establish public opinion for practical advances upon the enemy's works. It is "bearding the lion in his den." The idea is novel, inspiring, and bold. Its results will be watched with interest, and the example, if even partially successful in the great city of the West, will be followed in more favorable localities. It means much more than mass meetings and strings of resolutions.

The *Colorado Graphic* remarks that "the renewal of the Blair Educational Amendment Resolution and Sunday-rest Bill before the Fifty-first Congress is causing many thoughtful men to reflect seriously as to the proper relation of the Church and the State, and religion and the public schools."

The *Graphic* also says that "Sunday special laws are religious laws and unconstitutional. To ask for religious legislation is to degrade religion and weaken its influence. Christ taught this. The word of God teaches it from Genesis to the Revelation."

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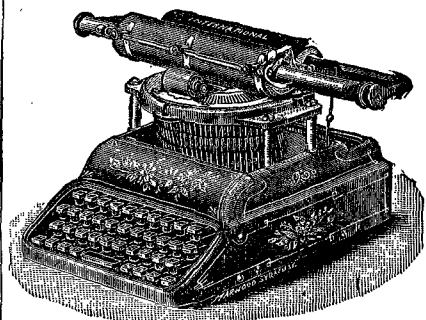
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NEW YORK, FEBRUARY 27, 1890.

NOTE.—Any one receiving the AMERICAN SENTINEL without having ordered it may know that it is sent to him by some friend, unless plainly marked "Sample copy." It is our invariable rule to send out no papers without pay in advance, except by special arrangement, therefore, those who have not ordered the SENTINEL, need have no fears that they will be asked to pay for it simply because they take it from the post-office.

THE idea of "one-seventh part of time" being necessary for physical rest is a fraud, and is based on a fraud.

It is liberty that mankind wants, not gracious coddling. It is the right to make the most of powers and opportunities, every man in his own fashion, and not such regulations as the stable proprietor gives to his horses in order that they shall not be overworked or underfed.—*New York World.*

THE Nashville *Christian Advocate* says:

The Church needs more power rather than more machinery. It is a malign paradox of ecclesiastical history that as power declines machinery increases.

True enough. And the power of the churches in the United States has declined, and the machinery has increased to that extent that nothing short of the machinery of the national Government is counted of any worth. And in the enactment and enforcement of the National Sunday-law, they demand that this machinery shall be set in motion.

A FEDERATION of the churches of the United States is earnestly advocated by Dr. McCosh, ex-president of Princeton College, somewhat after the mode of the Federal Government of the United States. We should not be surprised if some such scheme as that would yet be entered into by the churches. The organization of the Church upon the political model of the Empire in the fourth century was the one grand step in the organization of the Papal hierarchy. "Say ye not, A confederacy, to all them to whom this people shall say A confederacy." Isa. 8:12.

UNDER the leadership of the so-called Woman's Christian Temperance Union, of Rhode Island, the friends of prohibition in that State, are being organized into a sort of fourth-party called the "Prohibitory League," with the object of getting a prohibition amendment to the State Constitution adopted again. A prohibition amendment was adopted in 1886, and was repealed in 1889. And now the prohibition Woman's Christian Temperance Union propose to have it again enacted. At this rate the Constitution of Rhode Island becomes practically of no more weight than is any act of the legislature.

It is the just pride of the American people, that their liberties are guarded by written Constitutions. When Constitutional provisions are reduced to the level of Statute law, to be enacted or repealed at the caprice of parties, then constitutional government is gone and liberty with it; and nothing remains but an unchecked and therefore unmitigated despotism. In this way the Woman's Christian Temperance Union and the Third and Fourth party Prohibition parties are doing far-reaching and untold evil.

NATIONAL Reform principles are gaining ground in other countries as well as in our own. The *Christian Statesman* of February 13 makes the following announcement:—

A Hindoo gentleman has called a congress of Brahmin priests and learned men for the purpose of incorporating the Bible among the sacred books of India, and officially recognizing Christ as the last spiritual Avatar, or incarnation of Brahma, the supreme deity.

When they shall have officially recognized Christ, and incorporated the Bible, India will be a Christian nation of course, just as officially to recognize Christ and the Bible in our national constitution will make this a Christian nation.

THROUGH contentions in the Legislature New York City stood in much danger of losing the World's Fair for 1892. Mass meetings were held this week, on Tuesday, to create such a public sentiment as might bring the Legislature to concerted action. In the preliminary meeting that was held to organize for the mass meetings, the principal speech was made by Colonel Shepard of the *Mail and Express*, and one point on which he laid special stress was this:—

Ask the ministers to pray for pleasant weather on that day, and do not do any of your preparatory work on Sunday.

But Hon. Chauncey M. Depew said that he read in the Bible "Blessed are the peacemakers for they shall be called the children of God," and on the strength of that text he spent all day Sunday in the endeavor to bring the warring factions to an agreement, and he was successful. The mass meeting was a splendid success; but it was evident to everybody that that success was vastly more owing to Mr. Depew's Sunday work than to Mr. Shepard's Sunday rest.

ANOTHER step by Congress toward legislating in behalf of religion appears in a bill—Fifty-first Congress, S. 1748—introduced by Senator Vance, of North Carolina, "For the Relief of the Sisters of the Holy Cross in the City of Washington, District of Columbia," which provides that—

From and after the passage of this act a certain piece of land in the city of Washington, District of Columbia, known as lot sixteen, in square two hundred and forty-seven of the plan of that city, and

owned and occupied by the Sisters of the Holy Cross, and all the buildings and grounds or property appurtenant thereto and used in connection therewith, in the District of Columbia, shall be exempt from any and all taxes and assessments, national, municipal, or county; and all taxes or assessments, together with the interest and penalties now due and unpaid upon said property shall be, and they are hereby remitted.

Why should the property of "the Sisters of the Holy Cross" be exempt from all taxes and assessments, any more than the property of everybody else? What is the particular benefit of the Sisters of the Holy Cross, over everybody else, to the nation, the city, and the county, that their property should be exempt from all taxes and assessments at the expense of everybody else in the nation, the city, and the county? It will doubtless be answered that this is church property, and that all church property is exempt. Then we would ask the same questions in regard to all the church property in the nation. Why should the people be required thus to pay tribute to the churches? If Congress can require that this measure of tribute shall be paid by the public to the churches, why can it not also require that all the revenues required by the churches shall likewise be paid by the public? If so much shall be done when it is asked, what is to hinder the doing of all the rest as it shall be asked? Our comments upon the bill concerning the clock and bells are to be applied to this bill also; and of this, too, we say, Let it be killed. And let every other like it be annihilated throughout the Union.

THE Fresno (Cal.) *Inquirer*, a live newspaper published in the metropolis of the San Joaquin Valley, has a "Department of Church and State and Temperance," ably edited by N. J. Bowers, a former contributor to the columns of the AMERICAN SENTINEL. We are glad that the secular press not only in California, but very generally throughout the country, is waking up to the importance of this question; and this is the more encouraging from the fact that a large majority of the secular papers are opposed to so-called National Reform, and to the schemes of the American Sabbath Union. We bid the *Inquirer* Godspeed in its new departure, and trust that it will add greatly both to its popularity and to its influence.

THE AMERICAN SENTINEL.

AN EIGHT-PAGE WEEKLY JOURNAL,

DEVOTED TO

The defense of American Institutions, the preservation of the United States Constitution as it is, so far as regards religion or religious tests, and the maintenance of human rights both civil and religious.

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

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THE AMERICAN SENTINEL.

PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE
PACIFIC PRESS PUBLISHING COMPANY.
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EDITORS, E. J. WAGGONER AND A. T. JONES.

WE present herewith a *fac-simile* of page 26 of the latest document issued by the American Sabbath Union. The document as a whole comprises 126 pages, and is entitled "Addresses on the Civil Sabbath, from a Patriotic and Humanitarian Standpoint," by Wilbur F. Crafts. It is not at all difficult to discern the handicraft of the author in the matter of which this is a *fac-simile*.

Please observe that the impression which is plainly conveyed is, not that it should be or that it ought to be, but that it is "To be hung on the breast of every person who buys postage stamps, provisions, cigars, clothing, or what not," on Sunday.

At this rate how long will it be before they will be proposing to paint hobgoblins and devils upon the hats and garments, and to brand with the letter **S** the foreheads, of those who do not keep Sunday?

Neither the spirit nor the principle of this proposal is removed a single degree from that which did paint such devices upon the garments, and brand the foreheads, of people in times past.

And we should like for the author of this production to point out where in this proposal there is a particle of either patriotism or humanity.

And the libelous thing is for sale by the hundred!! And why for sale unless it is expected that they will be used? And how can it be expected that they will be used, unless it is first presumed that the American people are of so loathsome a disposition as willingly to engage in such an infamous undertaking?

Such a presumption is an open insult to the civilization, and a cruel outrage upon the Christian sentiment, of the American people.

And the effect of it ought to be to arouse such a degree of righteous indignation as to consign the Sunday-law movement to the everlasting infamy which this badge shows that it deserves.

Fac-Simile of Page 26 of the Latest Sunday-law Document Issued by the American Sabbath Union.

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[To be hung on the breast of every one who buys postage stamps, provisions, cigars, clothing, or what not, on the Sabbath.]

"That thy manservant and thy maidservant may rest, as well as thou."

"No burden on the Sabbath Day."

**I AM
 BLIND
 Selfish
 Shiftless
 REST AND LET REST ON
 THE REST DAY.**

[OVER.]

That Representative Decision.

WHAT ARE THE RIGHTS OF CONSCIENCE?

THE decision of Judge Bennett, as noticed last week, was that the reading of the Douay version of the Bible, according to Roman Catholic views, in the public schools, would be "sectarian instruction" within the meaning of the Constitution, and would be to inflict a wrong upon those who are not Roman Catholics. We say again, that if the reading of the Douay version, according to the Roman Catholic forms, in the public schools, would be sectarian instruction, then it is as certainly true that the reading of the King James version, according to Protestant forms, is also sectarian instruction.

It is a distinctively Protestant doctrine that the Bible, without note or comment, is the word of God. It is a distinctively Roman Catholic doctrine that the Bible as explained by the Church is the word of God. The latter is no more distinctively Catholic doctrine than the former is distinctively Protestant. The Roman Catholic doctrine on this point is not one *iota* more sectarian than is the Protestant doctrine. As is well known the Protestant position is defined in the motto, "The Bible, and the Bible only, is the religion of Protestants." This is virtually confessed by Judge Bennett when he says:—

It is a matter of history that from the time the King James version of the Bible was printed and published it has always been read by all Protestant denominations without hindrance, and that it has been used as a reading-book in the schools of England as well as in the common schools of this country.

Certainly it has been read by all Protestant denominations, and that because they are Protestant. Certainly it has been read in the schools of England, because England is distinctively a Protestant country; Protestantism is there established by law; none but a Protestant sovereign can ever sit upon the throne; the schools of England are Protestant schools; and the King James version is read in those schools because they are Protestant and because it is intended to keep them Protestant by inculcating Protestant doctrine. And when Judge Bennett presents this reason for sanctioning the reading of the King James version in the public schools of Wisconsin or any other State, he thereby argues that those are Protestant schools, and that it is proper to endeavor to keep them so by Protestant influence and the inculcation of Protestant doctrine; and this, too, at the expense of the Roman Catholics, by compelling them to pay taxes for the same. And that is sectarian as certainly as the like would be sectarian if done by Roman Catholics.

The School Board in their answer further,—

Upon information and belief, deny that the Roman Catholic Church is the only infallible teacher or interpreter of the Bible; but, on the contrary,

aver upon information and belief, that every person has the right to read and interpret it for himself.

This raises an issue that is doubly false. (1) The plaintiffs did not attempt to assert, as this answer assumed, that they wished to oblige the School Board or anybody else to receive or to acknowledge the Roman Catholic Church as the only infallible teacher and interpreter of the Bible. They only asserted that this was their conscientious belief, and asserted *their right not to be compelled to receive instruction in the Bible from any other source*; and that when they were so compelled their rights of conscience were invaded. (2) It avers that every person has the right to read and interpret the Bible *for himself*, when the whole issue at bar was whether a person has the right to read it *for another*, and to another, *against his will*; and whether a set of persons can *compel* others to *hear it read*.

Although upon both these points a false issue was raised in the answer, it yet remains that on both points the Catholics were right. Has not any man an inalienable right—civil, constitutional right—to believe that the Roman Catholic is the only infallible teacher or interpreter of the Bible? Has not any man an inalienable right to believe that when the Bible is read or interpreted by another, there is danger that those who hear will receive erroneous impressions, and that such impressions will be dangerous to their spiritual welfare? Has not any person an inalienable right to believe these things? Is it not true that these things have a proper place in the realm of conscience? Is it not true, then, that these things may be conscientiously believed? Is it not a fact that the Roman Catholics do conscientiously believe thus?

On the other hand, it is not necessary to ask whether every person has not the right to read and interpret the Bible for himself, because the school board "aver" this. Very well, then. Does not the right of every man to read and interpret it for himself carry with it also the equal right not to read or interpret it at all? And does not the right not to read or interpret it likewise carry with it the right not to be compelled to hear it read? When, therefore, the Roman Catholics were compelled to hear the Bible read in the public school buildings of the city of Edgerton, Wisconsin, was not that a direct interference with the rights of conscience?

It is impossible for us to conceive how any fair-minded person can answer any of these questions in any other way than in the affirmative. Therefore, when the Constitution of Wisconsin declares "nor shall any control of, or interference with, the rights of conscience be permitted," and the Roman Catholics appealed for protection in this their constitutional as well as inalienable right, ought not their appeal to have been heard? Yet instead of their appeal being heard, they were twitted

from the judicial bench with seeking to "control the conscientious beliefs and actions of others," and with "creating discord."

The Court held that such was not in any way any interference with the rights of conscience, and justified itself in the following form: The Constitution of Wisconsin says, "The right of every man to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of his own conscience shall never be infringed," and the Court said:—

But what are those rights [the rights of conscience]? Simply a right to worship the Supreme Being according to the dictates of the heart. Can it be justly said in this case that the children of the plaintiffs or the plaintiffs themselves, are in any way prohibited from worshipping God according to the dictates of their own conscience? Does the simple reading of the King James version of the Bible interfere with or take away this great right of the plaintiffs or their children?

That is to say that, although the Roman Catholics are compelled to hear read the Protestant Bible according to Protestant form in the public school-house, they are not prohibited from reading it, or hearing it read, according to Roman Catholic forms, wherever else they may choose: that although they are compelled, in the public school, to conform to the dictates of the Protestant conscience, and to pay for it at the same time, they are not prohibited from worshipping God according to the dictates of their own conscience wherever else they please. In other words, although every Roman Catholic has the "great right," the constitutional right, "to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of his own conscience," he must at the same time conform to the dictates of the Protestant conscience when required to do so. Such are the rights of conscience in Wisconsin. A. T. J.

(Concluded next week.)

Nothing but a Hoax.

THE eight-hour movement is just now attracting considerable attention; but here is a bit of attention that it does not yet seem to have attracted: One of the great objects proposed to be accomplished by it is to furnish employment to those who now have no work. That is to say, there is such a vast number of men unemployed that the workday must be shortened, thus making it necessary to employ more men to do the work that there is to do, and so secure work for the army of the now unemployed. But here are the American Sabbath Union, and the Woman's Christian Temperance Union carrying on a campaign to secure laws "to prevent people from being forced to labor." If now there is such an immense number of people who have no work; and if it is necessary to make such an effort as is the eight-hour movement to give them work; then how can it be that so many are being forced to labor as to make it necessary to

enact laws to prevent it? and how can it be that there is such an Egyptian bondage of enslaved toil as the Sunday-law advocates so lamentingly describe? In the proposed efforts in behalf of the workingman, these two movements do not fit together at all. And the reason is that one of them—the Sunday-law effort—is a fraud. It is true they claim that those are “forced to labor” only on Sunday. But, in view of the vast army of the unemployed, is it not true that there are a multitude of men who would be only too glad to have the opportunity to work on Sunday for proper wages? The fact is, that poor plea in behalf of forced labor on Sunday has not a solitary item of merit to support it. It is nothing but a sheer hoax.

That Fraud of a Fraud.

WE stated last week that the theory that a seventh part of time, is necessary for physical rest is a fraud and is based upon a fraud. The authority for this seventh-part-of-time theory is “the Rev. Nicholas Bound, D.D., of Norton, in the county of Suffolk,” England. He was a Puritan and promulgated this doctrine of the Sabbath, in a book which he published about the year 1595 A. D.

The way it came about was this: It was in the height of the controversy between the Church of England and the Puritans about “habits and ceremonies, and church discipline.” The Church of England maintained,

That though the holy Scriptures are a perfect standard of doctrine, they are not a rule of discipline and government: nor is the practice of the apostles an invariable rule or law to the Church in succeeding ages, because they acted according to the circumstances of the Church in its infant and persecuted state: neither are the Scriptures a rule of human actions, so far as that whatsoever we do in matters of religion without their express direction or warrant is sin, but many things are left indifferent. The Church is a society like others, invested with powers to make what laws she apprehends reasonable, decent, or necessary for her well-being and government, provided they do not interfere with or contradict the laws and commandments of holy Scripture: Where the Scripture is silent, human authority may interpose; we must then have recourse to the reason of things and the rights of society. It follows from thence that the Church is at liberty to appoint ceremonies, and establish order within the limits above mentioned; and her authority ought to determine what is fit and convenient.

All this the Puritans denied, and asserted that the Scriptures are a rule of discipline and government as well as a perfect standard of doctrine. The position of the Church of England, summarily stated, was, that, whatever the Scriptures do not forbid, in matters of church discipline and church government, may be done without sin. While the Puritan position was, that, whatever is not commanded in the Scriptures, in these things, cannot be done without sin. The Puritans therefore dropped all church festivals and feast days, surplices, habits, and ceremonies, and

charged the Episcopalians with “popish leaven and superstition, and subjection to the ordinances of men” because they retained these. As proof that ought to convince the Puritans that the Church had liberty in such things as these, the Episcopalians produced the fact that the observance of Sunday is only an ordinance of the Church and rests only upon the authority of the Church; and that the Puritans therefore, contradicted themselves in observing Sunday while denouncing the authority of the Church the only authority upon which that observance rests.

This put the Puritans in a box; and they had to cast about for some way to get themselves out. They would not admit the authority of the Church; because if they did that would involve the obligation to observe all the other festivals. Directions of Scripture to observe Sunday they found none, and yet they would not give it up. There was great perplexity. What could be done? Then it was that the inventive genius of Dr. Bound found play. He came to the rescue with the theory that, It is not the definite seventh day, but “a seventh part of time” that is required by the fourth commandment to be kept for the Sabbath: that it is “not the seventh day from creation; but the day of Christ’s resurrection, and the seventh day from that:” that “the seventh day is *genus*” in the fourth commandment, so that “the seventh day from creation, and the day of Christ’s resurrection and the seventh from that” are “both of them at several times comprehended in the commandment, even as *genus* comprehendeth both his species.” Thus the fourth commandment was made to enforce the seventh day from creation until the resurrection of Christ and then the first day from that time onward.

This brought joy to the Puritans, for it relieved them from the dilemma into which the answer of the Episcopalians had cast them. “This book had a wonderful spread among the people.” “All the Puritans fell in with this doctrine, and distinguished themselves by spending that part of sacred time in public, family, and private acts of devotion.” Says Heylin:—

This doctrine, carrying such a fair show of piety, at least in the opinion of the common people, and such as did not examine the true grounds of it, induced many to embrace and defend it; and in a very little time it became the most bewitching error and the most popular infatuation that ever was embraced by the people of England.

But for what purpose was this “seventh part of time” appointed? for what was it to be used when it had been discovered?

“This year [1594] Dr. Bound published his treatise on the Sabbath, wherein he maintains the morality of a seventh part of time for the worship of God.—Neal, *History of the Puritans, Part I Chapter VIII paragraph, 120.*

There was not in it the remotest idea that this time was for physical rest. It was solely for worship and religious exercises. The suggestion of such a thought as that this time was intended or might be devoted to physical rest would have been spurned as only the suggestion of the arch enemy of all righteousness, by the founder of the theory and by every other Puritan that ever lived in Puritan times. The theory therefore that a seventh part of time is necessary for physical rest is a positive fraud upon the original.

And that the original invention that a seventh part of time is what is commanded and required, by the fourth commandment, is a positive fraud, is clearly proved not only by the circumstances of its invention but also by every test of Scripture and every rule of law.

But this theory of a seventh part of time for physical rest is not only a fraud upon the original Puritan theory of a seventh part of time for the worship of God, it is also a fraud upon the commandment of God which enjoins the day of rest. That commandment says: “Remember the Sabbath-day to keep it holy. Six days shalt thou labor, and do all thy work; but the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God; in it thou shalt not do any work, thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, thy man-servant, nor thy maid-servant, nor thy cattle, nor thy stranger that is within thy gates; for in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is, and rested the seventh day; wherefore the Lord blessed the Sabbath day, and hallowed it.”

Here are the reasons: first, he rested on the seventh day; second, he blessed it and made it holy. That you may become tired is not given as a reason for doing no work on the seventh day. God does not say that on the seventh day you shall do no work because if you should you would overdo or break down your physical system. Nothing of the kind. Man’s physical wants are not referred to in the commandment. It says, Work six days because *the Lord* worked six days; rest on the seventh because *the Lord* rested on the seventh day; keep that day holy, because the Lord blessed it and made it holy. It is the Lord who is to be held in view. It is the Lord who is to be exalted. Therefore the fourth commandment and its obligations have solely to do with man’s relationship to God. It is not man’s physical but his spiritual, needs that are held in view in the Sabbath commandment.

This is further proved by referring again to the reason given in the commandment for the resting. It is to rest the seventh day because *the Lord rested that day.* Now did the Lord rest because he was weary from what he had done on the six days? Did he rest because if he should work longer there was danger of overdoing or breaking down his physical system? Not at all. “Hast thou not

known? hast thou not heard, that the everlasting God, the Lord, the Creator of the ends of the earth, fainteth not, neither is weary?" Isa. 40:28. This is what the Scripture says of it; and what one of the chief Sunday-law workers says of it is this:—

If he is never weary how can we say of him that he rests? . . . God is a spirit, and the only rest which he can know is the supreme repose which only the Spirit can know—in the fulfillment of his purpose and the completeness as well as the completion of his work. Just as in the solemn pauses between the creative days, he pronounced his creatures "good," so did he rejoice over the finishing of his work, resting in perfect satisfaction of an accomplished plan; not to restore his wasted energy."—*Rev. Geo. Elliott, Abiding Sabbath, Chap. I.*

The rest with which the Lord rested was spiritual rest, spiritual refreshing, and delight in the accomplished work of the creation. As the Lord's Sabbath rest was spiritual; and as his so resting is the reason for man's Sabbath rest, so man's Sabbath is likewise to be one of spiritual rest, spiritual refreshing, and delight in the works and ways of God. This is proved by that psalm for the Sabbath day, "Thou Lord hast made me glad through thy work; I will triumph in the works of thy hands." Ps. 92:4. And by another Scripture, "If thou turn away thy foot from the Sabbath, from doing thy pleasure on my holy day; and call the Sabbath a delight, the holy of the Lord, honorable; and shalt honor him, not doing thine own ways, nor finding thine own pleasure, nor speaking thine own words; then shalt thou delight thyself in the Lord." Isa. 58:13, 14.

A day of weekly rest is *in itself* an institution of God. Its basis is the rest of God, which was wholly spiritual. Its purpose is to cultivate the spiritual in man. Its authority is the commandment of God which is spiritual and religious, and which must be religiously and spiritually observed to be observed at all. As says the seer of Patmos "I was *in the Spirit* on the Lord's day." The whole subject, therefore, in all its bearings, is entirely beyond the jurisdiction and even the reach of the power of civil government or of man. It rests wholly in the power and jurisdiction of God, and remains solely between the individual and God.

Thus, we repeat, it is not man's physical, but his spiritual needs that are to be held in view in the Sabbath commandment. The Sabbath is intended to be a day in which to worship God—a day of holy remembrance of him and of meditation upon his works. The day is to be kept *holy*, not civilly nor physically. If it is not kept holy it is not kept at all in the purview of the commandment and the Author of the day of weekly rest.

ANALYSIS.

1. The Puritan theory of one-seventh part of time for the Sabbath is and in its

inception was, a fraud upon the commandment of God.

2. The theory of one-seventh part of time for *physical rest* is a fraud upon the original Puritan theory.

3. The seventh part of time for physical rest is therefore *a fraud upon a fraud*.

SYNTHESIS.

1. In addition to its being a fraud upon the Puritan theory the seventh part of time for physical rest is also a fraud upon the commandment of God.

2. The Puritan theory of a seventh part of time for the Sabbath is itself a fraud upon the commandment of God.

3. The two together therefore—the Puritan Sabbath and the weekly physical rest day—interlocked as they are, form a HEAPED UP FRAUD.

A. T. J.

The Sanitary Blessings of a Sunday Rest.

THE writer had the privilege December 1, 1889, of hearing Rev. W. F. Crafts speak twice upon the reasons why this nation should make and enforce a National Sunday Law. Among the chief considerations urged by the speaker was the great benefit it would be healthwise to the American people. He argued that their greed for gain or the fear of losing their places of labor prevented them from taking proper rest. This want of rest was breaking down the health of the laboring men of America and therefore the Government is in duty bound to interfere from a sanitary consideration. He referred to the suggestions that had been made by some that "rest" could be obtained on other days of the week besides Sunday. To this proposition he would not agree. The rest must be on Sunday so as to give the working man the benefit of a quiet day in which he could attend church with his family. He would have people understand that Sunday work is uncivil because it disturbs those who desire a quiet rest on that day. The law is absolutely necessary in order that the people may reap the healthful benefit of a Sunday rest. Breaking the Sabbath he said is a crime against man because it deprives him of his rest. That is the man who works on Sunday is uncivil because other people want to rest and this constitutes it a crime. If the speaker occupied a tenable position, then labor on Sunday not only injures the health of the man who works on that day but his labor also makes his neighbors unhealthy. For these reasons the Government ought to prevent Sunday labor.

He stated in his speech in the afternoon of the day that I heard him, that he had been doing police duty during a part of the forenoon, and that he had discovered some very bad things, indeed, going on in the city (Indianapolis). He thought most of the saloons were closed yet he found

that in a few of them, clerks were deprived of their rest by having to do duty at the bar. He did not seem to condemn the saloon business only so far as it caused work to be done on Sunday. He expressed much sympathy for saloon clerks, lamenting because they were so badly overworked that they were becoming unhealthy because of so much Sunday work! The other item of Sunday work that he discovered was so much worse than the labor of the saloon clerks that he was moved exceedingly. It was even horrid to think of. The thing that was so wonderfully bad was the labor of some mechanics laying a marble floor in the post-office building. He said that the excuse the postal department had to offer for having the work done on Sunday was that on that day the building was comparatively clear of the people who on other days came for their mail and this consideration made it necessary to do the work on Sunday. He stated that it was not at all necessary, however, to do the work on that day as the work could be done during the night. It seemed rather strange that a speaker who was arguing that the Government should make a law for the protection of the health of the laboring man, to advise in the same speech that the Government ought to hire men to work in the night in order to protect the sacredness of Sunday. At this juncture every careful listener could see the wolf clearly expose himself as he turned under his sheep-skin.

Logic demands that we accept all the conclusions that can be logically drawn from the premises which we occupy. The speaker took his stand squarely on the premises that it is the duty of the Government to enact laws compelling people to take care of their health, enforcing rest upon them from a sanitary consideration. Not only must the Government tell men how much they must rest but when they must rest. This rest must be on the time that the majority want to rest. But they choose this particular time to rest because of their "religious convictions."

Conclusion First: The *time* of the rest will be enforced altogether from a religious standpoint. Therefore it is a religious law.

Conclusion Second: If it is the duty of the Government to let the preachers dictate concerning the particular time to rest because of a sanitary consideration, then the Government is also under obligation to have the preachers decide which is the most healthful mode of baptism because of a sanitary (?) consideration. Further, when they have decided, then the Government must compel everybody to be baptized in that particular manner. This is necessary in order that there may be uniformity in the matter and that the people may not be allowed to injure their health by being baptized contrary to sanitary laws. This of course would only be

enforcing the "civil aspect" of baptism. Of course the "religious aspect" would be left entirely to the liberties of the persons being baptized. This would not in the least interfere with the freedom of any body's conscience. They would be left free to be baptized as they choose. This would not be State religion at all. It would simply be "the State and religion."

Conclusion Third: As the Government must decide how much a man may work and when he shall not work on account of his health; therefore the Government ought to say how much a man may sleep and when he shall not sleep. This is demanded by a sanitary necessity. Also there should be a national law regulating the quantity and the quality of the laboring man's food, with an appendix setting forth the time of day in which he must take his meals lest he should eat too much or too little, or dine at an improper time and thereby injure his health. This is necessary from the nature of the case.

The Government must also of necessity make out a national medical prescription for its citizens and make them take their medicine whether they are willing or not. The public good demands all this and much more upon the same hypothesis that Mr. Crafts argues his sanitary Sabbath-law. But as there appears to be no end to the ridiculous things that are logically included in his premises, we will close, believing that the reader who has noted the inconsistencies and self-contradictions of National Reformers will not be surprised at anything from them.

WM. COVERT.

That Orthodoxy in Iowa.

THE following letter we cheerfully publish. It is self-explanatory:—

Marshalltown, Iowa, February 17, 1890.

Editor "AMERICAN SENTINEL."

Dear Sir: Your article in the SENTINEL of January 3, "Was it Orthodox?"—has just come to my notice and I thank you for publishing the facts. But you have been misinformed in one particular. The following is a mistake: "Although a majority [of the veterans at the Soldiers' Home] sanctioned the arrangement of the orthodox ministers [to exclude me from preaching at the Home], a large minority were decidedly outspoken against it," etc. The fact is that the protest against the arrangement was almost unanimous, not only among the veterans located there but also among the people at large.

The number of veterans located in the Home is three hundred and twenty-five, and when the arrangement with the "Ministerial Expulsion Association," as it is called here, became known at the Home before the arrangement was completed, a petition was circulated among them asking that the Universalist minister should not be debarred from his appointment, which was signed by over two hundred of the veterans and more would have signed it but the commandant gave them the assurance that the proposition of the so-called "orthodox" ministers would not be accepted and I would not be excluded. Receiving this promise they ceased circulating the petition.

In justice to the noble veterans of the late war, removing from them the slanderous implication that a majority of them would be in favor of any arrangement so much opposed to the spirit of our country's Constitution, I have written this letter.

Hoping you will receive this in the same kind spirit in which it is written,

I am truly,

T. W. WOODROW,
Pastor Universalist Church.

The source of our information was a leading, if not the leading, Sioux City paper (the name of which has slipped our memory) and we simply reported the case as it was stated there. Our attention was attracted more particularly to the "orthodox" injustice, than to any other feature of the case. That seemed to us to be bad enough in all conscience, even though a much smaller minority than was reported had protested. Now that our attention is directed more fully to the other side, we are happy to do justice to the manly spirit of the veterans, and of "the people at large." And as this noble defense of Mr. Woodrow's rights redounds the more to the credit of the veterans, the action of that ministers' association is caused to approach the more nearly to organized meanness.

A. T. J.

Government and the Sermon on the Mount.

(Concluded.)

CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIALISM.

SPEAKING as a Christian then and not as a politician, I would venture to say to the Socialist: Deal with all these questions of redistribution of wealth with which you are busying yourself as you may deem right and expedient. Adopt for your guidance in dealing with them any one of the current political or social maxims that may commend itself to you. Start, if you please, with the maxim that all property is robbery; or that all men have an equal right to an equal share in all things; or that property should pay ransom for its safety; or that the State should own not only all land but all goods and chattels whatsoever; or that it should regulate the hours and price of all labor, and, therefore, by just and necessary consequence, ultimately the price of all other commodities; that it should, in short, convert itself into a sort of magical "universal provider," giving to everyone everything that he wants and yet to no one more than to any one else. Adopt even, if any one has the courage now to adopt it, the preposterous and immoral maxim of "the greatest happiness of the greatest number"—a maxim which would justify a tribe of red Indians in torturing, or a tribe of cannibals in killing and eating their prisoners. Take as your political creed any one of these or any other that you may prefer; all that we ask of you is not to dignify any one of these beliefs with the name of Christian. Stamp your political coinage, whether of pure or of base metal, with the image and superscription of the political Cæsar, mob or monarch, to whom you give your allegiance; buy with it in the vote market power and place for yourself or your party; but do not forge upon it the "image and superscription" of our King.

Two things only, as it seems to me, has Christianity to say to you. One is, in all

your dealings with wealth and property be just; just to the rich as well as to the poor, to the employer as well as to the laborer, to the minority as well as to the majority, to the classes as well as to the masses. And in the next place—pleading as Christianity is ever bound to plead, the cause of the poor—we pray of you, for their sakes, to take heed lest you make any economic mistakes in constructing your new *couches sociales*, for if you do it will not be the rich but the poor who will be the chief sufferers.

One word more, and it is a word that I am very desirous of saying. When I assert, as I do, that the laws of Christ's Church cannot safely or justly be all of them transferred to the statute book of the State, I am as far as possible from asserting that Christianity has nothing to do with politics. On the contrary, I maintain that it has everything to do with them: not, however, directly but indirectly: not by way of compelling men by law to observe its precepts, but by way of inspiring men with its spirit. Justice, which is the primary and main obligation of the State, is, as I have said, no invention of Christianity; nevertheless Christianity has greatly enlarged and ennobled our ideas of justice while giving us also new and most powerful motives for being just.

CHRISTIANITY IN POLITICS.

It has done so mainly by its revelation of the great idea of the brotherhood of all men in Christ. This idea at once enlarges the area over which justice is obligatory. There was a time, when no State held itself bound to be just to any save its own subjects. The stranger had absolutely no claim in its eyes to justice; he might be plundered, captured, enslaved, slain, and no one so much as dreamed that any injustice was being done to him. Christianity has proclaimed that this stranger is a brother, and has therefore against all men the claims and the rights of brotherhood. Such teaching at once revolutionizes the relations of State to State, proclaiming as it does that whatever of justice any State owes to its own subjects, the same is owed by it to those of other States.

Take one instance more—the influence of Christianity upon legislation as regards the poor. Christianity has not said that there shall be no poor, nor has it in any way enlarged the poor man's rights as a citizen. But in telling us that he is our brother, it bids us be willing, and even eager, to recognize whatever rights he may possess. Christianity acts, not by filling the statute books with Christian precepts, but by filling the hearts of legislators with Christian feelings and motives. If we want, however, to check, or even to destroy, this beneficent work of Christianity, we shall do so effectually by attempting to force all its teachings upon all men in the shape of positive enact-

ments. The clumsy hands of the State are incapable of administering those Divine laws which deal with the conscience and the soul. If it meddles with these it will either perilously relax them least they prove too severe, or, in attempting to enforce them, it will excite against them a dangerous revolt.

All along the stream of living water which, issuing from beneath the cross of Christ, follows us through the world's wilderness, grow the fresher leaf and riper fruit of Christian life; but, if touched by the freezing breath of force it hardens into a cold, lifeless, and yet fragile mass, which chills and withers even unto death all that it once cherished and sustained.

THE DUTY OF THE CHURCH IN THE STATE.

When, however, we have thus defined the spheres of Church and State—when we have seen that these lie in different planes and are acted on by different forces and to different ends—we have not thereby diminished, we have, on the contrary, enhanced the obligations of the Church. Precisely because Christian virtues do not lie within the province of the State to enforce, all the more is it the duty of the Church to enforce them by every means within her power. What she may not ask the State to do for her, all the more earnestly should she for that very reason strive to do for herself. If she had always done this fully, fearlessly, faithfully, self-denyingly, as she should have done; if all professing Christians had lived up, or even tried to live up to the teachings of Christ, we should have heard less than we now hear of these wild theories of State socialism, which, in their very wildness, often show us how hot and bitter the hearts of men may grow at the sight of suffering which Christianity might largely have relieved, and of sins and shame and sorrows which it might largely have diminished. This assuredly is true, and this, as it seems to me, is the one great lesson which the Church in our day has to learn—which she is, I believe, learning more and more—from this demand for the new socialism, whether it comes from those who love or from those who hate her and her Master.

And now I have said my say, very probably once more to my own hurt and to the great satisfaction of sundry critics, who I have no doubt will find in what I have said plenty to criticise. The subject of social and political ethics is a thorny one, in which many greater and better men than myself have entangled and thereby severely lacerated themselves ere now, and I am quite ready to accept this as my fate likewise. All that I really care for is to vindicate myself as one who, however unworthily, holds the office of a ruler and a teacher in the Christian Church, from the charges of "immorality" and "horrible" atheism which have so freely been brought against me in this matter. If, after this explanation, it should give any pleasure to my accusers, reverend and non-reverend, to repeat these accusations, they are perfectly welcome to do so. I venture to anticipate that if they are only commonly honest and do not once more willfully misquote and distort my words, the verdict of those at least who may have read this article will be one of acquittal.—*W. C. Peterborough.*

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.

Object of the Association.

THIS Association exists for the purpose of advocating the principles of genuine religious liberty as declared in the words of Jesus Christ; and of maintaining the total separation of religion and the State according to the provisions of our National Constitution as it now stands.

It is an association of Christians who maintain that Christianity, to remain pure and powerful, must never be connected as such in any way with the State; and that the State, properly to fulfill its functions, must never have anything whatever to do with religion as such, or with religious observances.

United with government, religion never rises above the merest superstition; united with religion, government never rises above the merest despotism; and all history shows us that the more widely and completely they are separated, the better it is for both.—*Supreme Court of Ohio.*

Secular power has proved a Satanic gift to the Church, and ecclesiastical power has proved an engine of tyranny in the hands of the State.—*Phillip Schaff.*

Accordingly we set forth the above declaration of principles.

Membership is confined to Christians, not because we think none others are entitled to religious liberty—for, as our principles declare, all men are absolutely free and equal in this,—but solely because we desire *as Christians* to work for these principles, and we cannot therefore be joined with those who have no respect for Christ, whom we supremely love and honor.

Membership is confined to temperance people, because temperance is a Christian principle, and as Christians, therefore, we cannot be joined with those who practice intemperance, or engage in the liquor traffic.

Membership is confined to those who believe in civil government and in submitting to its authority, because this is according to the words of Jesus Christ. Civil government is an ordinance of God, and is supreme in civil things; for God has made it so in commanding Christians as well as all others to be subject to it. Its authority, however, is over the civil relations of men; and does not at all extend to religious things. (Matt. 21:15-21; Rom. 13:1-10.) As Christians, therefore,

we cannot be joined with those who despise government and reject civil authority.

This Association maintains that it is the natural and inalienable right of every man to worship, or not to worship, according to the dictates of his own conscience, and that he is responsible to God alone for the exercise of that right. With George Washington we hold that "every man who conducts himself as a good citizen is accountable alone to God for his religious faith." Any interference with this right, on the part of any person or power, is as unwarranted as it is unjust.

The aim of this Association is strictly in harmony with the intent of the Government of the United States under its Constitution. It was plainly declared by the framers of this Government that "no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States;" that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof;" and that "the Government of the United States of America is not in any sense founded on the Christian religion." It is therefore not only as Christians but as loyal American citizens that this Association proposes to disseminate its principles.

There are already in existence three powerful organizations, two of which exist for the sole purpose of securing national religious legislation, and the third of which stands distinctly pledged to it. These three are the National Reform Association, the American Sabbath Union, and the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union.

The sole purpose—the reason of existence—of the National Reform Association is to secure such an amendment to the United States Constitution as will make this what they choose to call a Christian nation, and by which Christian principles may be enforced by law.

The sole purpose of the American Sabbath Union is to secure the enactment of laws both State and national, to strictly enforce upon all the observance of the first day of the week as a day of rest and religious worship.

The Woman's Christian Temperance Union stands in complete alliance with both of the above organizations, with all its methods and its influence to help secure the religious legislation which they both demand.

Measures looking to the accomplishment of both these objects were introduced in the Fiftieth Congress, and have been introduced, and are now pending, in the Fifty-first Congress; and the intent is to carry both to a successful issue, if possible, before this Congress shall close.

To oppose such measures by every fair, honorable, and lawful means, and to educate the public mind on the true relations of Church and State, are the leading objects of the National Religious Liberty Association; and it cordially invites all lovers of Christianity and the American Constitution to unite with it in the work to which the Association is devoted.

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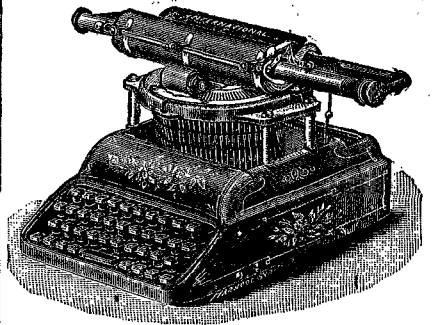
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NEW YORK, MARCH 6, 1890.

NOTE.—Any one receiving the AMERICAN SENTINEL without having ordered it may know that it is sent to him by some friend, unless plainly marked "Sample copy." It is our invariable rule to send out no papers without pay in advance, except by special arrangement, therefore, those who have not ordered the SENTINEL need have no fears that they will be asked to pay for it simply because they take it from the post-office.

SUNDAY, February 16, Rev. Heber Newton considerably surprised his congregation by delivering a sermon in glorification of the Roman Catholic Church.

THE *Colorado Graphic* is a live paper which is dealing out sturdy blows and sensible matter against Sunday laws and religious legislation generally.

THERE is a bill pending in the Legislature of this State which actually proposes to prohibit parents from teaching their own children in their own homes without State supervision.

THE University of Pennsylvania is about to erect a \$75,000 theater. The University of the immediate future will embody in its plant a ball-room, an athletic field, an opera-house, a billiard-room, a few lecture-rooms, a race-track for horses, and possibly a roulette table. Then the boys will be educated.—*New York World*.

To those of our new subscribers whose papers seem to be slow in coming, we would beg to say, Please be patient with us. You will all surely get your papers. Our business has increased so far beyond our expectations in so short a time, since coming to New York, that for two or three weeks we have been fairly overwhelmed. We are now getting things straightened out, however, and shall soon be able to fill all orders promptly.

IN the Washington City Sunday-law Convention, Congressman Wickham, of Ohio, strongly denounced the counter-petition to the Sunday laws and the religious amendment to the Constitution. He declared the counter-petition to be false and misleading, because there was nothing at all proposed in Congress of the kind that the petition mentions. He said no amendment had ever been proposed touching upon the question of religion, and exclaimed, "Let them send in as many such petitions as they please; they can do no harm; they are aimed at nothing." All this, and more to the same effect, in the face of the fact that there are now pending in Congress two bills and one amendment resolution relating directly to religion and religious observances. We give Mr. Wick-

ham credit for having spoken to the best of his knowledge; but his knowledge upon a most important subject is certainly deplorably limited for one in his position. It is painful to see a member of Congress display such lack of information upon a subject upon which all the people are informed,—and that a subject with which he is specially and officially connected.

ARGUE as you will, Sunday legislation is religious legislation, whether it be to restrict the sale of liquors, dry goods, cigars, soda-water, food or peanuts on Sunday, "commonly known as the Lord's day." It is true that those who desire to worship God on that day should not be interfered with, but our statute books are well provided with laws which secure to the religious observer all the privileges and protection he needs.—*Colorado Graphic*.

IT is probable that that bill at Albany, which proposes to obtrude the State between the parent and his child, and to have the State usurp the functions of the parent, is aimed at the parochial school and Roman Catholic teaching. But whatever it is aimed at, it embodies the principle of the most horrid despotism that ever disgraced a government. It is essentially Pagan. And the principle of this bill is identical with that of the Blair Resolution to amend the Constitution of the United States.

A DISPATCH to the *World*, February 24, from Ashland, Wisconsin, says:—

This morning Edward Ells, W. W. Groves, and James Kane, Salvation Army officers, were committed to jail for one week for marching on Sunday to the music of a cornet and flute. On the same day a Young Men's Christian Association meeting in a suburb was looted by toughs and no arrests have been made.

This illustrates what we have several times pointed out, that where there are strict Sunday laws existing reverence for Sunday takes precedence of everything else, and actions which are in themselves innocent, are severely punished while crimes of open violence are passed by.

SEVERAL times lately mention has been made of the National Religious Liberty Association. We are happy to announce that the AMERICAN SENTINEL has been chosen as one of the channels through which the Association will communicate with the public. We therefore open in this number of the SENTINEL a department for the Association. Our sixth page, or so much of it as the Association may require each week, will be devoted to the principles and the work of the Association as such. Of course the work of the Association is in the same line as that of the SENTINEL, but in this department the Association will speak for itself. The principles and object of the Association are fully set forth in its department in

this issue, which we heartily commend to our readers. The Association has a membership of thousands scattered all over the country, and is doing noble work for the cause of civil as well as religious liberty. The Secretary, Prof. W. H. McKee, is stationed at Washington City, and will thus be enabled to furnish prompt and important information in regard to the efforts made there to secure religious legislation.

WE referred a short time ago to the attempt to force into the Legislature of Washington a chaplain, despite the language of the Constitution declaring that no public money shall ever be paid for any religious "exercise." The House went so far as actually to select a chaplain, and set him to praying at the public expense. A protest was made and the question was referred to the Attorney-General. He rendered an opinion stating that he had made a thorough examination of the subject and had come to the conclusion that "a school board would be as much justified in employing a chaplain to open the schools with prayer as the House in electing a salaried chaplain. Therefore no money can be lawfully appropriated for any religious worship, exercise or instruction."

SUNDAY, February 16, in Washington City, Mr. Crafts delivered his speech in favor of Sunday laws and against the counter-petition, which he says is so treacherously written as to have deceived even the elect into signing it. There was present to hear him a certain good Presbyterian. This Presbyterian gentleman heard Mr. Crafts through his whole speech—his "counterblast" to the "Advent petition," the "Advent Sentinel," and all: he then went home and picked up one of the counter-petitions that had been left at his house, signed it himself, and then got his wife and another lady to sign it also. Many thanks, friend Wilbur. We hope you will continue to cause that counter-petition thus to "deceive the elect."

THE *Kaleidoscope*, a bright 8-page college paper, comes to us from South Lancaster, Massachusetts. It is conducted by the students of South Lancaster Academy, and is an excellent paper. We wish both the *Kaleidoscope* and the institution which it represents abundant success. For terms of subscription, etc., see advertisement on another page.

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

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EDITORS,

E. J. WAGGONER, ALONZO T. JONES.

WE learn from the *London (Ontario) Advertiser* that a bill is about to be introduced in the Canadian Parliament with this title: "An Act to Secure the Better Observance of the Lord's Day." By the term Lord's Day is meant Sunday. What tottering support that Sunday institution must have, when all the Governments in Europe and North America are so urgently besought to hold it up.

REMARKING upon the phrase "secular," used in the two Sunday bills pending in Congress forbidding on Sunday all "secular work, labor, or business," a Baptist minister aptly says:—

When it finds difficulty in deciding whether one hundred and fifty men are absent or present, although they can be seen and heard, as in the recent debate concerning the quorum, how is Congress to render decisions concerning the unseen things of the world to come? Theological matters might better be left to the theologians who are so eminently successful in agreeing among themselves.

At the opening of the Woman's Suffrage Convention, held in Washington, February 18, Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, who has been for many years an able and respected leader in the cause which that convention represented, said the part which so many women were taking in the Sunday-law movement, and the effort to "put the name of God in the Constitution," was calling into question what woman's influence might be in government. "I do hope," said Mrs. Stanton, "that this Association will declare that the Woman's

Suffrage Association is opposed to all union of Church and State."

Such a declaration as this, from such a source, should lead the women of the country to give individual thought and study to these questions, and trust the formation of their views and opinions upon them, to their own good sense, instructed by the Bible alone.

That Representative Decision.

WHAT ARE THE RIGHTS OF CONSCIENCE?

JUDGE BENNETT'S answer to the question as to what are the rights of conscience is only an assertion of the doctrine of the majority conscience, in support of which he argues thus:—

The plaintiffs and their children must not forget that other people have consciences, and are protected in those rights of conscience as well as themselves. Suppose the Board of Education in this school district, and the great body of the patrons of the school, conscientiously believe that the Bible should be read in the public school, as strongly and fully as the plaintiffs believe it should not be? Whose conscientious scruples must yield?

Without hesitation and without qualification we say the conscience of the majority must give way. Otherwise there is no such thing as rights of conscience. If the majority is to rule in matters of conscience, then the constitutional provisions guarding the rights of conscience are "a mere parchment barrier," a tantalizing delusion. It is solely to protect the conscientious convictions of the few, or even the solitary individual, that these provisions are made a part of the Constitution. There is no danger that the majority, "the great body," of the people will infringe or interfere with their *own* conscientious convictions. "The Constitution did not mean to inquire how many or how few would profess or not profess this or that particular religion. If there be but a single individual in the State who professes a particular faith, he is as much within the sacred protection of the Constitution as if he agreed with the great majority of his fellow-citizens."—9 Cal. p. 514.

But not altogether to set up our own view alone in answer to Judge Bennett's question, we present the following words of Hon. Stanley Matthews: "If it be said that the Protestant conscience requires that the Bible be read by and to Protestant children, and that it is a denial of a right of conscience to forbid it, waiving at present the obvious and conclusive answer that *no such right of conscience can require that the State shall provide out of the common taxes for its gratification*, it is enough to say that Catholics then, too, have the same right to have their children taught religion according to their views—not out of the Douay Bible if they do not consider that sufficient, but—by catechism and in the celebration of the mass, if they choose to insist; that the Jews have the same right to have their religion taught in the common schools—not from the English version of the Old Testament, but—according to the practice of their synagogues; and infidels have the same right to have their children taught deism, or pantheism, or positivism.

"They have no right to insist upon Protestant practices at the public expense, or in public buildings, or to turn public schools into seminaries for the dissemination of Protestant ideas. They can claim nothing on the score of conscience which they cannot equally concede to all others. It is not a question of majorities or minorities; for if the conscience of the majority is to be the standard, then there is no such thing as a right of conscience at all. It is against the predominance and power of majorities that the rights of conscience are protected, and have need to be."

It is most likely that the people of the United States think they have the rights of conscience guaranteed to them—and in fact they have by their Constitution—but they seem not to realize how easy it is for a court by a few words to sweep away all constitutional guaranties. It is likely that the people of Wisconsin think their rights of conscience are secure; but if Judge Bennett's decision expresses the law in that State they have no rights of conscience

at all. It may be indeed that the Protestants of the city of Edgerton feel that they are secure, even under this decision, because they are the majority, and the decision says the majority conscience must rule. But if this were made a State question, these same Protestants would probably be surprised to know that the Roman Catholics are more than one and a half times as numerous as the Protestants in that State; and if the Roman Catholics should assert the majority-conscience doctrine it is certain that the Protestants would very soon discover that the constitutional safeguards themselves, rather than Protestant dogmas, need to be guarded by the courts. Let the Protestants of Wisconsin protest against this sweeping away of these rights of conscience.

One of the arguments made by counsel for the plaintiffs was, that the Constitution was adopted to "insure domestic tranquillity," and that the reading of the Bible in the public schools "tends to create discord," and that therefore the reading of the Bible in the public schools is unconstitutional! It must be confessed that this argument is more ingenious than profound; but the Judge's answer to it is far worse than the argument. The answer does not possess even the merit of ingenuity. The Court's reply was this:—

It is claimed by both parties to this litigation, that the New Testament at least contains the gospel of peace. This was declared by the angel of the Lord at the birth of the Saviour. We read in Luke, ch. 2, . . . verses 13, 14, "And suddenly there was with the angel a multitude of the heavenly host praising God, and saying, Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will toward men." . . . If the reading of the Bible concerning the words and wonderful works of the Divine Being whose advent into the world was so beautifully, grandly, and sublimely announced by the angel of the Lord, would produce dissension and discontent, and not peace on earth and good will toward men, then it would follow that the "angel of the Lord" was mistaken.

Indeed, and indeed!! And therefore that the reputation of the angel of the Lord for truth and veracity may not suffer in the community about Edgerton, Wisconsin, the State Circuit Court, Judge Bennet presiding, must needs come to the rescue and give him a certificate of good character!

Let us carry the Judge's argument a little further. Let us put it to the test of the Scripture, and see how it will work. Thus: "The New Testament at least contains the gospel of peace. This was declared by the angel of the Lord at the birth of the Saviour. We read in Luke ch. 2, verses 13, 14, 'And suddenly there was with the angel a multitude of the heavenly host praising God, and saying, Glory to God in the highest and on earth peace, good will toward men.'" Now in the same book of Luke we read ch. 12, verses 51-53, the words of the Saviour himself whose advent was so grandly announced, saying: "Suppose ye that I am come to give peace on earth? I tell you, Nay; but rather division: for from henceforth there shall be five in one house divided, three against two, and two against three. The father shall be divided against

the son, and the son against the father; the mother against the daughter, and the daughter against the mother; the mother-in-law against her daughter-in-law and the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law."

Now the rest of the Judge's argument comes in: If the coming of the Divine Being whose advent into the world was so beautifully, grandly, and sublimely announced by the angel of the Lord, would produce dissension "and division" and not peace, then it would follow that the "angel of the Lord was mistaken."

Well, Judge, really now how is it? Was the angel of the Lord mistaken or was he not? Was the angel of the Lord mistaken or was the Lord himself mistaken?

Again: the plaintiffs might have appealed the case to the Supreme Court, and upon the strength of Judge Bennett's argument might have pleaded thus: The Circuit Court has decided that we have "created discord, and ought not to be heard" (page 54). Now the Saviour said he came to send division and discord on the earth. If, then, there be not division and discord, it will follow that the Saviour was mistaken. Therefore the decision must be in our favor, or else the Supreme Court will be involved in the serious matter of sanctioning a grave reflection upon the character of the Lord.

If Judge Bennett's argument in defense of the angel is good, this argument would be much better in defense of the Lord, as he is "so much better than the angels," as to have "obtained a more excellent name than they." Hebrews 1:4.

We do not present this seeming conflict in the Scriptures to sanction for a moment any such idea as that either the angel or the Lord was mistaken, for they both told the truth: we simply present this the more fully to show what is already apparent, that in assuming the *role* of defender of the angels, and attempting to expound Scripture from the bench, Judge Bennett entered into a field where he had no business to go. The character of the angels of the Lord needs no defense from the Circuit Court of Wisconsin.

In closing his decision the Judge said:—

The Bible remains and it would seem like turning a good, true, and ever faithful friend and counselor out of doors, to exclude it from the public schools of the State.

This observation confirms what is apparent throughout the whole decision, that Judge Bennett assumed the position of an advocate instead of retaining that of a judge. He sat there as an advocate to plead for his "ever faithful friend," and at all hazards to keep him where he was, instead of sitting as a just judge to decide fairly whether, in the first place that "faithful friend" ought to have been where he was.

To us the Bible is as much of an ever faithful friend and counselor, as it can be we think to Judge Bennett or anybody

else; and we want to see it become the same to everybody else as far as possible. But we know that friendship is not very readily formed nor very firmly cemented, nor are the admonitions of a counselor very respectfully received, by being forced upon people at their expense and against their will, as has been done with the Bible in the public schools of Wisconsin.

A. T. J.

The Blair Legislation.

To the Editor of the Courant:—Perhaps I had better state at the outset, that although my business interests are largely centered in Connecticut, my place of residence is in New Hampshire and I am now a member of the Legislature of that State. As the Hon. Senator, Mr. Blair, of New Hampshire, seems to be doing all in his power in national legislation to pull down the bulwark of religious liberty in this country, I cannot refrain from calling the attention of the citizens of the State of "steady habits" to some of the more salient facts in the case. Mr. Blair's Sunday-rest-day bill and also his Educational Amendment, are both of a religious nature, making necessary a resolution to amend and eliminate from the national Constitution, the first amendment, which reads:—

Congress shall make no laws respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.

For more than a hundred years our Constitution has been sufficient, and it has made us a free, in fact the only free Government that has ever graced the pages of history. It is the pure metal whose clear ring has sounded the note of freedom and religious liberty to the oppressed of all nations. It is the heritage of a noble ancestry of good and tried men, themselves fresh from the fires of religious persecution. Let it remain. If we have the illiterate to educate let it be done within the Constitution.

I have personally consulted hundreds of all classes of our people and have yet to find one intelligent citizen willing to sacrifice the clause referred to. The nature of these bills seems to be little understood by the masses. They are so subtle and hidden in their purposes, changing the fundamental principle of our institutions, that it seems like treason. The Constitution stands to-day against the union of Church and State, and Congress cannot legislate in regard to our religious belief.

Our duty to God is not at the behest of Government. Let the following, introduced by Mr. Blair, "Congress shall establish a system of free public schools to teach the non-sectarian principles of Christianity," become a law, and we have a new sect whose wisdom shall decide what these principles must be. The Government would then become a religious machine, wholly in the power of the igno-

rant and illiterate voter. Do the people of Connecticut want their public schools under such control?

I am aware of the fact that many good citizens have, at the solicitation of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union and in the interest of temperance, signed memorials to Congress, praying for the advancement of Mr. Blair's pet measure. I would not impute dishonest motives to the women of America, who, at great sacrifice and heroism, have attacked the most gigantic evil of our times; but must protest against their noble impulses being put to so base a purpose as that of robbing a nation of its right of conscience and religious liberty. It is evidently not the intention of the good women of this country to bring about so deplorable a result. The latter scheme must have originated in the fertile brain of some demagogic political wire puller.—*D. M. S., in Hartford, Connecticut, Courant.*

Questions and Answers.

THE American Sunday-law Union is evidently affrighted at the influence of the counter-petition to their work. This we gather from the fact that the secretary is sending out a circular letter to some of those who have signed the counter-petition. There is no danger of his sending out this letter to each individual who has signed it, because there are more than six hundred thousand of them, and the one-cent postage alone amounting to over six-thousand dollars, would bankrupt the Union in a little while. And if the Union should be able indeed to send it to each individual, there would then be no danger; because the signers of this petition are signers indeed—they signed it with their own hands—and the signatures are not names of people who never saw the petition, never heard it read, and in some cases, never heard of it. It is possible of course that there may be a few out of the whole number—one in ten thousand perhaps—who might have signed without reading carefully enough; but there are not enough of them to pay the Union for its efforts to find them out.

We have received one of the circulars. It asks a number of questions to those who signed the counter-petition. We signed the counter-petition. Therefore we are entitled to answer the questions which we now proceed to do.

Washington, D. C., December 31, 1889.

Your name appears on a petition to Congress opposing legislation on "Sabbath observance," which is as follows:—

We, the undersigned, adult residents of the United States 21 years of age or more, hereby respectfully but earnestly petition your honorable body not to pass any bill in regard to the observance of the Sabbath or Lord's Day, or any other religious or ecclesiastical institution or rite; nor to favor in any way the adoption of any resolution for the amendment of the national Constitution that would in any way give preference to the principles of any one religion above another, or that will in any way sanction legislation upon the subject of religion, but that the total separation between religion and the State, assured by our national Constitution as it now is, may forever remain as our fathers established it.

This petition is verbally claimed to be in opposition to another petition (given below), some of whose signers declare they could also sign the petition you have indorsed if it is to be understood exactly as it reads. The petition which you have signed refers to a "bill" and also to an "amendment," two distinct measures that were before the last Congress, each of which has many subordinate propositions, and to some other matters not included in either measure. We are, therefore, in doubt whether you are against some one of the many things named in the petition, or against them all. Hence these inquiries:

First. You ask Congress "not to pass any bill in regard to the observance of the Sabbath or Lord's day, or any other religious or ecclesiastical institution or rite." Do you wish to be considered as also opposed to the following petition for a civil Sunday law, which only asks Congress to give those under its jurisdiction the same protection against Sunday toil and traffic and turmoil as is generally enjoyed by those who are under the jurisdiction of State Legislatures?

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States: The undersigned, adult residents of the United States, twenty-one years of age or more, hereby earnestly petition your honorable body to pass a bill, forbidding, in the United States Mail and Military service, and in Interstate commerce, and in the District of Columbia and the Territories, all Sunday traffic and work, except works of real necessity and mercy, and such private work by those who observe another day as will neither interfere with the general rest nor with public worship.

Are you opposed to this petition for a civil rest day for those under the jurisdiction of Congress?

ANSWER; Yes, decidedly, and for several reasons.

(1.) It is not "a civil rest day" that is wanted by the framers and circulators of the petition; it is a falsehood to say that it is; and we will not sanction any falsehood by our signature nor any other way if we know it.

(2) "This petition" is not the one upon which the legislation was framed which is now pending in Congress, and which we are asked to indorse by this change of signature. Here is the petition upon which and to satisfy which, were framed the two Sunday bills now before Congress: words left out of the above petition are in italics:—

The undersigned organizations and adult residents (21 years of age or more,) of the United States, hereby earnestly petition your honorable body to pass a bill, forbidding in the United States Mail and Military service, and in Interstate commerce, and in the District of Columbia and the Territories, all Sunday traffic and work except *works of religion and works of real necessity and mercy, and such private work by those who religiously and regularly observe another day of the week by abstaining from labor and business as will neither interfere with the general rest nor with public worship.*

This being the petition upon which the pending Sunday legislation was framed it is a deception and a snare for you to try to get indorsements of that legislation by sending out for signatures a petition which is most materially different from the one upon which that legislation was framed. It is likewise a deception to call that a "civil rest day" which is to be enforced by laws framed in accordance with petitions for a *religious* rest day, and which do in themselves propose to enforce a religious rest day.

Therefore being opposed both to Sunday laws and to deception, we are doubly opposed to "this petition for a civil rest day."

Second. The above petition, you will observe, makes no reference to the original Blair Sunday-

rest bill, which may be what you wished to oppose. If so, do you object also to the new Blair Sunday-rest bill of the present Congress?

ANSWER: Yes, we do "observe" it. And, yes we *do* "object also to the new Blair Sunday-rest bill of the present Congress," and to every other Sunday-rest bill that ever has been or that ever may be framed.

Third. Do you object to giving Sunday rest to the Soldiers and Marines in the United States Army and Navy—thus completing and making permanent by law what the President has done in this matter by proclamation?

ANSWER: We *do not* object to giving Sunday rest, or any other rest, to the soldiers and marines in the United States Army and Navy. We do decidedly object to "completing and making permanent by law what the President has done in this matter by proclamation." Such is not needed by law. The President being Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy, his command is law there; and this plea for law to complete that which is already law, is only another deceitful trick in the great scheme by which it is hoped to have Sunday sacredness recognized and established by national law.

Fourth. Do you object to giving post-office employees the same protection against needless Sunday work that is given to other Government employees and to employees generally, thus completing and making permanent by law what the Postmaster-General has done in this matter?

ANSWER: The same answer, in effect, as to question three.

Fifth. Do you object to making permanent by law, the reductions of Sunday work recently made by many railroad corporations, and completing these reforms by removing what railroad presidents declare to be the chief obstacle to complete suspension of Sunday trains, namely, competition, by stopping all Sunday work in interstate commerce that is not work of necessity or mercy?

ANSWER: Yes, (1) for the same reason as given in answer to questions three and four; and (2) because we are opposed to the Government's establishing a monopoly in Sunday observance by "removing competition" or by any other means.

Sixth. Do you object to giving a rest day to the people of the District of Columbia, whose Commissioners have recently said that it has no valid Sunday law, not even enough to stop servile labor on that day; which is, therefore, to be classified with France and California as the only parts of the civilized world having no Sunday law? Do you object to the enactment by Congress of as good a Sunday-rest law for the Capital as can be found in the statutes of any State, in accordance with the desire of the Commissioners, approved by the President?

ANSWER: Yes to the first question, because the people of the District of Columbia have a rest day, and they observe it so well that the American Sabbath Union himself says that of all the cities in the United States, in Washington city there is the best Sunday observance. The District of Columbia is appropriately "classified" with California, because, by the same authority we know that in California without Sunday laws there is better observance of Sunday than in states which have

Sunday laws, and better observance of it than there was in the same State when it had Sunday laws. And neither the District of Columbia nor California need any laws to "give" them that which they already have.

To, the second because "as good a Sunday-rest law as can be found in the statutes of any State" is simply good for nothing, or worse. And neither "the desire of the Commissioners" nor the approval of the President can make that good which is in itself bad. We say this out of the full respect which every citizen of the United States owes to the chief magistrate of the greatest nation the world has ever seen.

Seventh. Or is it the enforcement by law of a religious observance of Sunday that you oppose?

ANSWER: Yes, it is that and more. It is the enforcement by law of any kind of observance of Sunday as such that ever could be named under the *sun*—to the worship of which Sunday observance owes its origin.

Eighth. Are you opposed to a purely civil law stopping toil and traffic and turmoil on the first day of the week, that all the people may have OPPORTUNITY for rest and home fellowships, and those who choose, for moral culture?

ANSWER: All the people freely have all that already. And when it is proposed to enact a law to give to people that which they already freely have, that is the first step toward taking away from them the free exercise and enjoyment of that which they already freely have.

The circular closes with a "memorial" to Congress to be "undersigned by those who indorsed the petition referred to in the first paragraph"—the counter-petition. But as not a solitary soul ever indorsed the counter-petition, but all signed it upon its face with their own hands, this memorial is *null and void*—as every Sunday law by right is and always was.

A. T. J.

Religious Liberty in Virginia, 1776.

WHEN the American colonies were just on the verge of war, conventions of the leading statesmen were held in every colony. The minds of all were agitated, and it was with intense interest that the early Americans watched for the results of the proceedings of the representatives that they had sent to these conventions at the various capitals.

Among these colonies, one of the foremost in agitating absolute civil and religious liberty, one of the foremost in the production of great statesmen, and one of the foremost in working for all that was for the well-being of America, was the Colony of Virginia. It was in her halls that the inimitable eloquence of Patrick Henry found utterance; it was in her legislative assemblies that Monroe and Madison gave vent to their ideas on the formation of a Government for the peo-

ple; it was in this grand old Colony that Jefferson, who drafted the immortal Declaration of Independence, first gave evidence of his statesmanship; and it was Virginia that gave birth to Washington, the father of his country. Among such minds as these liberty of conscience received an impetus, which for more than a century, its opponents have tried to counteract.

In the great Convention of Virginia, in May, June, and July, 1776, it was—

Resolved unanimously, That a committee be appointed to prepare a Declaration of Rights, and such a plan of Government as will be most likely to maintain peace and order in this Colony, and secure substantial and equal liberty to the people.*

The committee was appointed. It drafted a declaration of rights which, after being amended, was read a third time and passed, without a single dissenting voice. The title and first and last paragraphs read as follows:—

A Declaration of Rights, made by the representatives of the good people of Virginia, assembled in full and free convention; which rights do pertain to them and their posterity, as the basis and foundation of Government.

1. That all men are by nature equally free and independent, and have certain inherent rights, of which, when they enter into a state of society, they cannot, by any compact, deprive or divest their posterity; namely, the enjoyment of life and liberty, with the means of acquiring and possessing property, and pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety.†

16. That religion, or the duty that 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 and that it is the mutual duty of all to practice Christian forbearance, love, and charity towards each other.‡

When the words "liberty" and "rights" were used in early times, American statesmen understood those words in their true sense; and held individual liberty of conscience and freedom of religious worship as the inalienable right of every man.

The paragraph, respecting religion, in the Declaration of Rights as originally reported from the committee, read, after the word "violence," "all men should enjoy the fullest toleration in the exercise of religion;" and, consequently, on account of the term "toleration" objection was made. The Convention of Virginia held the same position (and that is the American position) as that expressed in a report adopted by the United States Senate, January 19 1829, from which the following is an extract:—

What other nations call religious toleration, we call *religious rights*. They are not exercised in virtue of governmental indulgence; *but as rights*; of which Government cannot deprive any portion of of citizens, *however small*. Despotism may invade those rights, but justice still confirms them.§

Of Madison, who was a member of this Convention, history says:—

Religious liberty was a matter that strongly enlisted his feelings. When it was proposed that,

* American Archives, Fourth Series, Vol. 4, Col. 1524.

†Ibid. Col. 1561.

‡Ibid. Col. 1562.

§ Niles's Register, January 24, 1829.

under the new Constitution, all men should enjoy the fullest toleration in the exercise of religion, according to the dictates of conscience, Madison pointed out that this provision did not go to the root of the matter. The free exercise of religion, according to the dictates of conscience, is something which every man may demand as a right, not something for which he must ask as a privilege. To grant to the State the power of tolerating is implicitly to grant to it the power of prohibiting; whereas Madison would deny to it any jurisdiction whatever in the matter of religion. The clause in the Bill of Rights, as finally adopted, at his suggestion, accordingly declares that "all men are equally entitled to the free exercise of religion, according to the dictates of conscience." The incident not only illustrates Madison's liberality of spirit, but also his precision and forethought in so drawing up an instrument as to make it mean all that it was intended to mean.||

It was in this form—in a form that it would declare that absolute religious liberty was an inherent right of which no earthly power could of right deprive a single individual that it passed the memorable Convention of Virginia, on the 12th day of June, 1776, without a dissenting voice.

W. A. BLAKELY.

Sunday-Law Meeting in Brooklyn.

SUNDAY evening, March 2, there was a meeting held in the Washington Avenue Baptist Church, Brooklyn, N. Y., in the interest of the Kings County Sunday Association. After the opening exercises, which were conducted by the pastor—Rev. Dr. Braislin—Col. A. S. Bacon, vice-president of the association, took the chair and presided throughout the meeting. The chief speaker of the occasion was Rev. Dr. T. A. Fernly, corresponding secretary of the Philadelphia Sabbath Association.

After a chant by the choir the pastor read the second chapter of Colossians, putting special emphasis on the sixteenth and seventeenth verses, which I was at a loss to understand at the time; subsequently, however, it was plain enough; for in the course of the meeting it transpired that while the Doctor is in favor of Sunday keeping, and of Sunday laws too, for that matter, he is much more liberal in his views than Dr. Fernly; and this scripture was evidently designed to fortify his people against some of the views to be presented by the representative of the Philadelphia Sabbath Association. But just how this was will appear in its proper place.

In stating the object of the meeting the chairman dwelt long and ably, and indeed almost entirely, upon the so-called "civil Sabbath;" and it was evidently his wish, if not his expectation, that in his remarks which were to follow, Dr. Fernly would confine himself for the most part to the "civil" phase of the question. But the gentleman from the city of brotherly love proved to be too much of a National Reformer to take the course so gently suggested for him to follow, and dwelt almost entirely upon the religious side of the

|| Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography, Vol. 4, page 165.

question. He based the movement squarely upon the binding obligation of the fourth commandment which he maintains has never been repealed. Though what that fact has to do with the Sunday institution or with civil law he did not so much as attempt to show.

The Doctor likened "the American Sunday" to the dykes of Holland, and said that there were leaks which must be stopped or the country would be ruined. One of these leaks is the foreign element which is coming into the country so rapidly. He said if they come and conform to our laws and our religion they are welcome, but if they reject our faith we must do just as any citizen would do should a stranger come to his house and refuse to conform to the rules of the house. Such an one would, he said, be told to go; and if he refused to do so would be put out by physical force. He thought that in such a case a little "muscular Christianity" would not be out of place. In this respect at least the Doctor's idea of Christianity differs materially from that of the great Founder of Christianity, and is substantially the National Reform doctrine that infidels should be disfranchised or else banished to some wild desolate land, there for the sake of the devil, and in the name of the devil to set up a Government of their own.

After Dr. Fernly had concluded his speech the chairman called upon the pastor of the church for some remarks, which were made very briefly, but right to the point, though not the point desired by the corresponding secretary of the Philadelphia Sabbath Association unless his looks belied his feelings in the matter.

Dr. Braislin said that he would like to have some definition of what was meant by "Sabbath observance." He thought that before asking very much of others, Christians should themselves be agreed as to what constituted proper Sunday observance. He utterly repudiated the idea that the keeping of Sunday is enjoined by the fourth commandment, because, said he, "we do not keep the seventh day, but the first." Nobody, he thought, who rides in his own carriage on Sunday, should object to the running of street cars on that day; and the rich should not be allowed to enjoy privileges on Sunday which the law denies to the poor.

It was very evident that though the Doctor favored some Sunday regulation he was not prepared to go to the lengths advocated by the principal speaker of the evening, and we doubt if the brother from Philadelphia was much comforted by the remark made by the Brooklyn pastor that he would not prolong the meeting, as he was sure of most of the audience at another time. All things considered, the meeting was not what an ardent National Reformer and Sunday-law advocate would be likely to regard as a brilliant success.

C. P. BOLLMAN.

A Dangerous and Vicious Bill.

WE mentioned last week the fact that a bill had been introduced in the New York Legislature containing provisions which prohibit parents from teaching their own children in their own homes without State supervision. The Union League Club of this city took up the consideration of this bill. A committee of eight was appointed to draw up a report, which it did in the following pointed and well chosen sentences:—

The Committee on Political Reform have had under consideration Assembly bill No. 106, entitled "An Act to secure to children the benefits of an elementary education, and making an appropriation therefor," and submit the following report and resolution and recommend their adoption:—

This bill purports to be in favor of compulsory education and in support of the common schools. Nothing is more important or desirable to the preservation of our institutions than the universal dissemination of knowledge, and, as a means to that end, the most vigorous support of the public schools is needed, consistent with individual liberty. It is believed that every member of this club is a staunch supporter of the common school system, in common with the great body of the citizens, and would do nothing to weaken their hold upon public affection, or impair in any way their usefulness.

The proposed bill is so extraordinary in its provisions as to require a careful and critical examination. It incorporates within it certain principles and methods of action that are entirely inconsistent with individual liberty and the sacred rights of the family. The bill seems to be, in some measure, a substitute for the act passed in 1874, but with additional powers and limitations that make it a dangerous and vicious bill.

The first section provides that every parent and guardian shall cause all children between the ages of seven and eleven to attend some public school in the city or school district in which such child shall reside, or some school other than a public school in which at least certain common school branches are taught.

The second section provides that for every neglect of the duty thus imposed in the first section, the guilty person commits a misdemeanor and is subject to fine and imprisonment therefor.

The third section does provide that a child may be taught at home, but such teaching must be by a "teacher duly qualified under the laws of this State or approved by a school commissioner or by a superintendent of schools, by whatever name known, in a city of the State."

Section fifteen authorizes the employment of town constables to aid in executing the provisions of the act and provides for payment of their fees.

The seventeenth section provides that the school authorities may appoint special officers to discharge the duties provided in certain sections of this act, and may fix fees or salary for the payment of the same.

There are various other sections of the bill that would be open to criticism, but the limits of this paper render their consideration impossible.

THE PRIVACY OF THE DOMESTIC CIRCLE.

The bill invades the privacy of the domestic circle and supersedes the authority of the parent in the education of children of tender age, and substitutes therefor persons authorized by act of the Legislature to discharge these delicate and important duties.

Although section three tolerates education in the family circle, it does not leave that to the choice and discretion of the parent, but provides that that teaching shall be under the supervision and control of a "School Commissioner or a Superintendent of schools, by whatever name known in a city of the State." The same section also gra-

ciously provides that in case a child is taught at home, the instruction in the branches specified in the bill shall be at least equivalent to that given in the public schools.

There is also a provision that, in case of the physical or mental condition of a child being such as to render its attendance at school inexpedient or impracticable, a physician's certificate may remit the penalty.

The general effect of the bill is to bring all matters of education, whether in the family circle or in public or private schools, under the supervision of school superintendents or school commissioners. The neglect of the duty of educating children according to these public officials is made a misdemeanor.

LIKELY TO LEAD TO VIOLENCE.

This bill proceeds upon the theory that the artificial and intangible body known as "the Government" is a better guardian of children than those to whom they owe their existence, and that the most ignorant and incompetent public school teacher in the State is qualified to train any young child, while the most refined, intelligent, virtuous and loving mother of that child, if for any reason she fails to obtain the consent of the school authorities, is not competent for that purpose. It calls for interference between parent and child at precisely that tender age when the character of the latter is unformed, and when it is in the most need of parental guidance and teaching. An attempt to enforce the provisions of this bill will be likely to lead to violence and breaches of the peace.

However desirable general education may be, it never can be desirable to invade the rights of parents and the sanctity of the family in the manner proposed by this act, under the guise of public instruction.

The bill specifies certain fundamental subjects of education as essential to fit a child as a member of the State. True education consists in the harmonious and symmetrical development of mind and character, and both should proceed together as far as practicable. In most cases no one is as likely to know the character of children as well as parents, and only in exceptional cases should be taken from them the absolute right to determine what and what kind of education they shall receive. The object of the public school system is to aid parents in the education of their children and not to override the parental control or usurp its place. The bill reduces parents to the humiliating position of being obliged to obtain the consent of the school authorities before they can teach their own children, or select a teacher for them at home, and to the risk of fine and imprisonment if they act without such consent. Such legislation as this tends to destroy individuality and substitutes therefor State control in matters that should always belong to the individual. It is a long step in the direction of Socialism, where all property and all individuals are placed under the direction of Government.

TO WEAKEN PARENTAL AUTHORITY.

Dr. Kittridge, of this city, recently said: "The home is the grandest university in the world, and to its wise and religious education we owe, more than to any educating influence, the scholars and patriots and benefactors of our race." This we believe to be a true statement of the value of the home, and home influence; and whatever evils may exist touching the education of certain classes of our citizens, those evils cannot by any possibility justify the subversion of the homes, and home control of children, which serve to lay the foundation for all that is best and holiest in our lives and our country.

The tendency of this bill, if enforced, will be to weaken parental authority over the children, and divide responsibility between the parents and the State authorities for their education. It is in the line of the most vicious class of legislation with which we are afflicted—that of State interference and control in matters with which the State of right ought not to interfere. However paternal

the Government may be, in this field it should keep its hands off. Whatever may be said in favor of enforced education of those whose education is entirely and grossly neglected, nothing can justify the public scrutiny and control of family education as contemplated by this act.

We therefore submit the following:—

Resolved, That the Union League Club deems this bill in the particulars mentioned in this report a menacing invasion of the sacred rights of the family, in the matter of the education of children, and we request the members of the Legislature so to vote as to defeat the passage of the bill.

Signed, by E. B. Hinsdale, chairman; Edward H. Ammidown, R. M. Galloway, Cephas Brainerd, Clarence C. Buel, John Jay Knox, D. B. St. John Roosa.

M. M. BUDLONG, Secretary.

Union League Club House, January 28, 1890.

Amen. And let all the people of the State act promptly and also request the members of the Legislature so to vote as to defeat the bill.

The Nation has no Creed.

THE argument still made, occasionally, is; that this is a Christian country and as a Christian country, whose Christianity is founded on the Bible, it is right and proper to read the Bible in the public schools.

I deny the validity of that argument. As individuals the vast majority of us may be theologically Christian, but as a nation we are not Christian; we are nothing theologically. The nation has no creed. It distinctly professes that it has none. It agrees to protect all creeds. It is just as much bound to protect the Mohammedan as the Christian, the atheist as the Methodist. It can only protect all by insisting upon the silence of all through every department of its work.

There are cases in which the majority have no right to rule. Your State or your city, because the majority happens to be Protestant and Evangelical, has, therefore, no right to force Bible reading into the public school, if there be one single Jew, one single atheist, one single Catholic who objects to it.

The Bible is not in the curriculum; it is not studied as history or literature; it is read as religious authority, and its reading is made a religious exercise. If the parent of one single child in all the State objects, then your Bible reading in the public school, becomes a tyranny.

Theology should be absolutely debarred. If a Catholic deems the Bible a Protestant book, if any Unitarian deems it an orthodox book, if any materialist deems it a superstitious book, he has the right to demand that his religious or anti-religious rights shall not be infringed upon. The Jew, who accepts the Old Testament as divine writing, but rejects the New, has a right to demand that his children shall not be compelled to listen to the reading of the New Testament as scripture. The atheist has the same right to demand that his child shall not be submitted in the public schools to a style of teaching which at home is denied.

Suppose it came to pass that the great majority in this city or State were atheists or materialists; what would we call it if they forced into the public school the daily reading of a book which distinctly taught atheism and materialism? Would not Baptists and Presbyterians cry out against the awful tyranny?

It is not in the slightest degree a question of who is right and who is wrong in this matter. Under our form of government a man has the same liberty to believe an error that he has to believe a truth. The Government dare not become censor or pronounce judgment upon any form of theological belief or disbelief. It has no right to allow the public school to become the vehicle of any religious or anti-religious doctrine.

I say, therefore, that if there be one single objector, it is tyranny to keep the Bible in the public school. You say it is read without comment. It is read, and it carries its essential doctrines without the need of comment. Would you allow the Koran to be read as a religious exercise without comment?

The time has come when, if we are true Americans, we must not only allow religious liberty to all sects, we must demand religious liberty for all sects. We have passed the limit of simple tolerance. We must secure to the least and poorest his equality and fraternity.

The people of this nation may be overwhelmingly Protestant. Of course I can only rejoice, as an individual, in that fact; but the Nation is not Protestant, the State is not Protestant, the city or town is not Protestant. Every form of our Government must be absolutely non-committal, without favor or prejudice in this matter.—*Rev. Dr. Crowe, Jersey City.*

SENATOR BLAIR has since the present session of Congress opened, re-introduced his famous Sunday-rest bill. He has changed the title and made other modifications in the bill to disarm opposition. One of the most important is a sop thrown to the Seventh-day Adventists in a proviso exempting them from the operations of the bill. Notwithstanding these disguises and concessions the spirit of the bill remains the same. The principle is wholly radically and fundamentally wrong, and it matters little how the act is doctored and tinkered to satisfy this or that element of opposition. We hope Congress will sit squarely down on it. It matters not what pleas are urged in favor of the bill—that it is the interest of the laboring man to secure to him a day of rest, etc. There may be some truth in this, but the fact still remains that the real object of the bill is coercion of those who differ from the prevailing religious observance of this nation.—*Litchfield Minnesota, Independent.*

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.

C. ELDREDGE, - - - - - President.
W. H. MCKEE, - - - - - Secretary.

"Not True as Stated."

THE following extracts from the Congressional Record, of February 19, are suggestive of the methods employed in accumulating signatures to petitions for a national Sunday-rest law:—

Mr. Sherman: I present a petition of citizens of Ohio, collected by the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union, praying for the passage of a National Sunday-rest law. I notice the printed indorsement on the back of the petition states that it contains 701 individual signatures. This is evidently not true; but I suppose the statement ought to be that it contains the signatures of clergymen or otherwise representing 701 individual persons. It seems to me that the person who made the indorsement, ought not to state it in the way it is, for it is not true, as stated.

Mr. Spooner: I find on my desk, doubtless intended to be presented to the Senate, a petition said to contain 2,000 individual signatures from Wisconsin, praying for the passage of a Sunday-rest law. In the envelope I find, and I present to the Senate, three printed slips with a printed form of petition, and the following indorsement:—

Indorsed by Madison Convention of Congregational churches, representing churches of five counties, with membership of 1,400.

Attest, JAMES M. CAMPBELL, President.
Sun Prairie, Wis., June 10, 1889.

Which accounts, as I understand it, for the 1,400 individual signatures stated on the envelope.

Here is another indorsed by a meeting of citizens of Milwaukee, June 9, 1889, number of petitioners, 450; and still a third, indorsed by a mass meeting of citizens in Milwaukee, June 9, 1889, number of petitioners, 150.

When it is understood, that what was said in these individual cases, is just as applicable to millions of ostensible signatures, counted and presented in favor of this movement, then it can be understood how unanswerable an argument against the passage of this bill, is bound up in these same petitions. W. H. M.

HERE is a petition which all are asked really to sign, so that when it is presented in Congress it will be "true as stated":—

We, the undersigned, adult residents of the United States, twenty-one years of age or more, hereby respectfully but earnestly petition your honorable body not to pass any bill in regard to the observance of the Sabbath or Lord's Day, or any other religious or ecclesiastical institution or rite; nor to favor in any way the adoption of any resolution for the amendment of the national Constitution that would in any way give preference to the principles of any one religion above another, or that will in any way sanction legislation upon the subject of religion, but that the total separation between religion and the State, assured by our national Constitution as it now is, may forever remain as our fathers established it.

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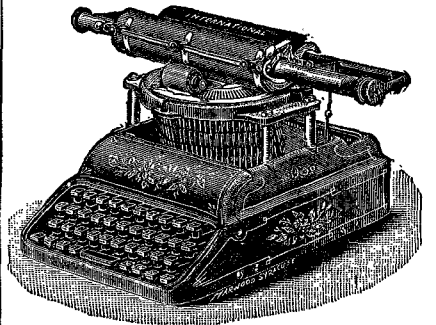
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NEW YORK, MARCH 13, 1890.

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OUR thanks are due to Hon. H. W. Baker, Superintendent of the State Documents, Albany, N. Y., for official documents furnished.

If you are interested in Arizona curiosities, subscribe for the *Moral and Scientific Companion*, published by Mr. Eugene Browne, of Florence, Arizona.

Now that the United States Senators begin to say on the floor of the Senate Chamber, that the Sunday-law petitions are "not true as stated," perhaps those who are running the Sunday-law business will discover that it would be better to be honest and state the truth as it is. See page 86 of this paper.

MARCH 5, there was presented to the Senate of the United States a petition carrying 308,377 names in opposition to the Blair Sunday bill and the Blair resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution respecting establishments of religion and free public schools. This makes more than 658,000 *bona fide* signatures that have been presented to the Senate in opposition to these measures. Let the good work go on.

THE Young People's Christian Endeavor societies of Poughkeepsie, N. Y., have started a boycott on Sunday trade. They are endeavoring to get people to sign an agreement not to patronize any stores that do not close on Sundays, only excepting drug stores. These societies would do better to spend their efforts in an honest endeavor to be Christians, than to lay themselves out in such "Christian endeavor" as this amounts to.

A GENTLEMAN who holds a proper estimate of human nature has stated to us that, though we are so strongly opposed to the work and aims of those who are seeking to secure religious legislation, we ourselves would be just as bad as they are if we had the power which they are asking for. Of course we would. And for the very good reason that we would have to be as bad as they are before we could ask for that power; and being as bad as they in asking for it we certainly would be as bad as they in the use of the power when

obtained. Our constant purpose is, that by the grace of God we may be kept so good, that we will *never ask for any such power.*

WE are indebted to Prof. W. H. McKee, Secretary of the National Religious Liberty Association, for a copy of the Brief submitted by him to the Congressional Committee on the proposed District Sunday law. We shall print it next week. Professor McKee is a graduate of Michigan University Law School, and a practical lawyer besides—having been regularly admitted to the bar in three different States—and we can assure our readers that in this Brief there is a treat in store for them.

OUR esteemed Republican contemporary, the *Tribune*, reports that the experiment in State socialism which the State of New York entered upon when it determined to pay the laborers it employs higher wages than the market rate, is to be continued, and that the Legislature will have to appropriate \$600,000 to bear the expense of keeping it up during 1890.

It is a bad experiment. State socialism ought not to be encouraged or tolerated in this country. The State should pay the same wages as are paid by other employers of labor, and no more.—*New York Sun.*

IN the *North American Review*, for March, there is a fine discussion of "The Limitations of the Speakership," by Speaker Reed and Ex-Speaker Carlisle. The editor of the *Review* graciously informs the public that "of all others" these two gentlemen could discuss this question "with adequacy in point of practical experience and contrasted principles." "Others" indeed! We had supposed that of all men in the country these two gentlemen were *themselves*. And if Mr. Bryce had only been in the gallery of the House of Representatives, January 29 last, we believe that he would be inclined to think so too. Assuredly, Mr. Editor, these two gentlemen are *themselves*, not "others."

THE organ of the French Evangelical Publishing Society, *Semewr* (Springfield Mass.), the publication of which was suspended last fall, has again made its appearance under a new name. It is now known as *Le Citoyen Franco-American*, which means "The Franco-American Citizen." It is printed principally in French but has an English department, and has a thoroughly Protestant ring which is decidedly refreshing. The object of the paper is the promulgation of Protestantism among French-speaking people in America, and while its publishers do not wish their countrymen to forget that they are French, they do desire that they shall become thoroughly loyal American citizens, owing allegiance, not to the Pope of Rome but to the Government under

which they live, and to the God who gives them their being. We trust that *Le Citoyen Franco-American* will be always and in every part thoroughly and consistently Protestant.

REFERRING to the Blair bills, a Nebraska paper (the *Bertrand Herald*) says:—

It is lucky for the country that Senator Blair does not possess the power to formulate a national bill of fare for every American citizen. It is fortunate for both Church and State that he has not the power to direct just what shall be taught in our public schools and just how each individual shall regard Sunday, whether he be Christian, infidel, agnostic or Jew. If Senator Blair could secure the position of chief dictator to this nation, the American people would soon find themselves shorn of every individual right. Religious liberty and freedom of conscience would be destroyed, and Church and State would be as firmly united as in the days of the rack and the Inquisition.

THE temperance crusades of the women are changing color as the Woman's Christian Temperance Union have more to do with politics. When they first began, through the power of prayer to God and persuasion to men, saloons were closed, men were converted, and whisky was poured into the gutter. But in Lathrop, Missouri, lately, the women entered on another kind of crusade. They did not pray or weep, but became indignant, smashed the doors of two law-breaking saloonists, poured whisky and brandy into the gutter and set it on fire. Something like \$1,000 worth was destroyed. The change illustrates the changing spirit of the age. We believe, however, that the praying crusade was the better one.—*Signs of the Times.*

THE Archbishop of Canterbury has taken out a license to sell beer and wine for the entertainment of the clergy of his diocese. An English bishop said in a public address not long ago that one of his ambitions was to keep a public house. His Grace of Canterbury will now have an opportunity to show his talents as the keeper of a "pub," and doubtless his stock of refreshments will be pure.—*New York Sun.*

THE AMERICAN SENTINEL.

AN EIGHT-PAGE WEEKLY JOURNAL,

DEVOTED TO

The defense of American Institutions, the preservation of the United States Constitution as it is, so far as regards religion or religious tests, and the maintenance of human rights both civil and religious.

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

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EDITORS,

E. J. WAGGONER, ALONZO T. JONES.

THE German emperor has no small idea of his position. Nothing but his own exposition of Scripture will express it to his satisfaction. As thus set forth it is described as follows:—

I see in the people and the land intrusted to me by God, a talent which, as the Bible says, it is my duty to increase. I mean with all my strength to so trade with my talent that I will be enabled to add many another thereto. Those who help me I heartily welcome; those who oppose me I dash to pieces.

He is not the only one who holds such a view of the "talent" of government and governing. It is common to those who hold that governmental authority is of divine right. National Reformers and the American Sabbath Union in this country hold it in common with the German emperor and the Papacy in Europe.

The Kangaroo and Other Stories.

IN our report of the Washington City Sunday-law Convention a few weeks ago, we mentioned the reference of Rev. James Stacy, D. D., of Newman, Georgia, to the kangaroo. We could not, however, give the exact words. We have them now.

His address was written when it was delivered in the Convention, and it has since been printed in the *Christian Statesman* of February 20 and 27. In that of the 20th is the zoological specimen, in these words:—

The infidel cry, "Down with the Sabbath," like the bounding kangaroo springing from his lair, has fastened itself upon an unsuspecting people, and with unyielding pertinacity and without any evidence of satiety continues to draw its life blood.

That the reader may see how perfectly exact is Mr. Stacy's figure we quote:—

The kangaroos are all vegetable feeders, browsing on grass and various kinds of herbage, the smaller species also eating roots. They are naturally timid, inoffensive creatures, but the larger ones when hard pressed will turn and defend themselves.—*Encyclopedia Britannica.*

The Sunday-law folks are as badly mixed in their zoology as they are in their Sabbath theology. And their characterization of the "infidel cry, Down with the Sabbath," is just as wide of the mark as is their zoological idea of the kangaroo. No better description was ever given of the nature of the opposition to Sunday legislation than is given in the above true statement of the disposition of the kangaroo. Yes, sir, the kangaroo is an innocent creature if you let him alone, and so are we.

That Revolutionary Resolution.

THERE is a point in that religious amendment to the Constitution that has not been made as much of as it ought to be. The title of the proposition is this:—

Joint resolution proposing, an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, respecting establishments of religion and free public schools.

Now set that alongside of this clause of the Constitution *as it is*, and consider them together.

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion.

If the purpose of this proposed Amendment is not to annul that clause of the Constitution as it is, and so open the way for a national establishment of religion, then what can possibly be the purpose of it?

This being, logically, the purpose of the resolution as defined in the title, a further question is, Does the body of the resolution bear out the logic of the title? Let us see. Section 2 says:—

Each State in this Union shall *establish* and maintain a system of free public schools adequate for the education of all the children living therein, between the ages of six and sixteen years, inclusive, in the common branches of learning, in virtue and morality, and in knowledge of the *fundamental* and non-sectarian principles of *Christianity*.

And section 3 says:—

The United States shall guarantee to every State and to the people of every State, and of the United

States, *the support and maintenance of such a system* of free public schools as is herein provided.

The analysis of these sections is this:—

A system shall be *established* which shall embody "the principles of Christianity."

The United States shall guarantee the maintenance of such a system.

Therefore this resolution does propose that the United States Government shall maintain an establishment of Christianity.

Now Christianity is the expression and embodiment of a religion.

This resolution proposes to pledge the United States Government to the maintenance of an establishment of Christianity.

Therefore this resolution does propose to pledge the United States Government to the maintenance of an establishment of religion.

Again: Section 4 of the resolution says:—

Congress *shall enforce* this article by appropriate legislation when necessary.

As the preceding sections of the article provide for and guarantee an establishment of religion—of Christianity; and as this section provides that Congress shall enforce the article by appropriate legislation; therefore the resolution does provide that Congress *shall make laws* respecting an establishment of religion.

The analysis of the whole resolution, therefore, is this:—

It proposes that the United States Government shall establish a religion; and that Congress *shall make laws* respecting that establishment of religion.

But the Constitution as it is says, "Congress shall *make no law* respecting an establishment of religion."

Therefore, both in its title and its provisions the Blair resolution to amend the Constitution of the United States is distinctly a proposition to annul that clause of the Constitution *as it is* which forbids an establishment of religion.

That clause of the Constitution is, and was intended to be, the declaration of one of the fundamental and distinctive principles of our form of government.

The Blair resolution being a proposition

to annul that clause, is a proposition to destroy one of the distinctive features of our form of government, and is therefore REVOLUTIONARY.

And let all the people know it.

A. T. J.

Another Sunday-law Meeting.

Tuesday evening, March 11, there was held in Association Hall, this city, a Sunday-law meeting. It was under the management of Rev. J. H. Knowles, Corresponding Secretary of the American Sabbath Union. The speakers were Rev. R. S. MacArthur, of Calvary Baptist Church, this city; and Bishop Andrews, of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Besides these, the management rung in "a workingman" as a figurehead.

As usual, the whole meeting—speeches and all—was one straight ahead religious effort in behalf of the religious Sunday, with the word "civil" thrown in occasionally to save appearances.

The chairman, in opening the meeting, said there were many important questions being discussed, but "the one question above all others, is the one to be discussed here to-night. What shall we do to preserve and protect the Christian Sabbath?"

Dr. MacArthur said, "This is confessedly a difficult subject." Yes, it is, for those who are on the wrong side of it.

He said the difficulty would be relieved if there was uniformity of views in regard to it, and "if all men would take the word of God as the rule of their faith and practice we might expect uniformity." Assuredly; especially when everybody has the example of such delightful uniformity among the churches, all of which *profess* faithfully to take the word of God as their only rule of faith and practice.

He said, "It is only to be expected that the Lord's people will observe the Lord's day, and observe it as the Lord's day. And all American citizens ought to observe the American Sunday. And we have the right to oblige them to do it. If the American Sunday becomes a *holiday* and not a *holy* day, then the right of the workingman to any day will be destroyed." But a civil rest-day is only a holiday, nothing more nor less: while a *holy* day is religious, and nothing else.

He said, "I would make the observance of the day one of joy." But that cannot be done by law: That is what it must be to be Sabbath observance at all, but that can be secured only by the love of God as manifested in the grace of Jesus Christ. Nothing can be plainer than that the Sunday-law movement is directly contrary to the eternal counsels of God.

He said that in the observance of Sunday "much must be made of the public worship of God. And here is where the excursion and the Sunday paper are most objectionable. Little good will worship do to that man who comes with his pockets

stuffed with papers, the reading of which he has just dropped to go in to say his prayers." The Doctor had just before referred to the work that is done on Sunday in making and distributing the Sunday papers. He said the work done on Sunday in *making* the papers was not so much to be objected to as the work made necessary in distributing it. But, as above, all this work is almost as nothing compared to the enormous iniquity of the interference with the worship. Yet it is the civil Sunday they want all the time.

Then, in addition to all this, and more in the same line, he strongly and impressively declared: "The man who lifts his hand against the American Sunday is an enemy of the *Republic*. He is an enemy of the *RACE*. He is an enemy of *GOD*."

Rev. W. J. R. Taylor said that "it is wonderful how near the spiritual and the material run together in parallel lines, and they sometimes cross." Yes, it is.

Then he said that "Sunday is an institution,—a religious, a civil, a social, a national, a Christian, and a personal institution."

The next speaker was Mr. Kenneth McKenzie, a book-binder. He said: "In this city the people seem to be getting worse. They run down because they have their own way. Sabbath-breaking leads to depravity. A little child in one of the low parts of the city wandered away, and was hunted high and low for three weeks, when finally one day it was seen sitting on the steps in one of the worst regions of the city, with a number of other children, in front of a place where drinking and carousing were going on. The child was perfectly contented, and considered itself at home because it seemed so like the home where it belonged. A man said to me that for ten months he had not seen daylight: he had not seen the sun. He was a gambler, and had to carry on his business in secret. A man said to me the other day, 'These women are curious creatures, ain't they? I stayed home last Sunday, and it was jaw, jaw, jaw. I said, 'Mag, what's the matter with you? It's nothing but jaw, jaw, jaw, all the time, and I haven't said a word.' Said she, 'Well, why *don't* you say something? You sit round here and don't say anything. If you was n't here you would be off with your cronies.'" In my regular mission work, I have been a kind of prison chaplain, where there are thousands of prisoners, and I have had a chance to know something of what comes of people having their own way. If we talk to the workingmen they say, 'Oh, we don't want any of your ghost-stories.'" But as to how a Sunday law was to help the gamblers to see the sun; or the workingmen to hear "ghost-stories;" or those "curious creatures" to be less curious, he did not in any way explain.

And that was the workingman's part of the meeting. We have not stretched the story a particle. We do not blame Mr.

McKenzie: he did the best he could. What seems queer to us is that men with the intelligence that the Sunday-law managers are supposed to have, will so presume upon the stupidity of the public as to think that, to save their pretense of anxious care for the "enslaved toilers," they can stick up a figurehead "workingman" at every one of their meetings without the transparent trick being detected.

Bishop Andrews, dealt the civil and physical rest day a heavy blow in saying that "in China (from which he had lately returned) they have no septennial division of time, no weekly rest-day, merely annual festivals.—They work right along all the time with no day of rest as such; yet they live to a very advanced age. This fact has lead one of the most careful thinkers who has ever been sent as missionary to China, to raise a serious question, whether the great purpose of the Sabbath is not for worship and communion with the other world."

It would seem that people who read the Bible ought to have been able to find that out, without having to go to China for the discovery. Yet, it is good that they do find it out, even by such means. And we shall not complain.

Next the Bishop said there are two limitations to legislation on this subject. (1) Men cannot be compelled to religion, and (2) there must be no union of Church and State. But both of these he said they utterly disavow. And having made the disavowal, he proceeded to justify legislation that pass both the limitations. He said: "If it be made to appear that the stability of Government depends upon the conscientiousness and sobriety of life as inculcated in the religion of Jesus Christ, then the majority may assert its will in this and compel respect to it." That argument will justify every form of oppression, and of the union of Church and State, that has ever been inflicted upon a people.

He said: "We must insist that the Government shall absolutely refrain from work on the Sabbath. That six days shall be for the six day's work and the Sabbath for worship. It is the conviction of a large number of us that upon religious bases rests our public welfare. Over the whole land there should be enforced the quiet peace of God's holy day."

The Doxology was then sung, and so passed this, another meeting, in behalf of the *civil* Sunday.

A. T. J.

THE observance of Sunday should be a question of conscience and not of law. There is one thing the American citizen feels especial pride in, and that is the religious freedom vouchsafed to us in the Constitution. Let us keep this intact and not entrust our representatives of State or Nation with questions concerning our spiritual welfare, but leave that matter to ourselves and our God.—*Colorado Graphic*.

National Righteousness.

THERE is no theory so unsound, no argument so utterly baseless, as the one which declares that national righteousness can be acquired by a State religion, either in name or in fact. Whether it is "putting God into the Constitution," or putting the Church into the State, or in any way connecting the two, it is equally false. Yet such a theory is advanced, under various guises, by many well-meaning persons. They say that by connecting religion with the State it tends to make the State more Christian; that is, more just and gentle, more merciful and peaceful. Now we wish to show how entirely condemned is this false principle by its own actual experience.

For instance, in England we unfortunately have a direct union of Church and State. By this union religion is represented in the Government. The bishops of the Established Church have a seat in the House of Lords. It is fair to assume that these men are—most certainly should be—the most learned of all the clerical order, and are esteemed as the most devout and the most Christian. Being thus in the Legislature they are in a position of vast influence; and we might expect, if the underlying principle were true, that this influence would do much in making the State more righteous. But, alas, what do we actually find? We find that this vast influence has invariably been used on the side of wrong; and that the Church, instead of making the State better, has by the union been the means of making it more barbarous and devilish. We find by examining the votes of these unfortunate bishops that they have steadily opposed those reforms which to-day are looked upon as most necessary and Christian.

For example, about a century ago our criminal code was most wicked and cruel. Men and boys were hanged for such petty larcenies as are now punished by a few days' imprisonment. During the reigns of the Georges there were added 156 new crimes to which the death penalty was attached. In 1810 a bill was introduced into the House of Lords to the effect that persons should not be killed "for the crime of stealing property to the amount of five shillings" (\$1.25). This bill was rejected, and an archbishop and six bishops voted it down. Then we find the Church against the abolition of the slave trade. It was opposed to the education of the poor when that question was first agitated. It was against Parliamentary Reform; against Catholic Emancipation; and when the British and Foreign Bible Society was formed, it was against that. In fact, it is hard to find any salutary reform which it did not oppose by its representatives in the House of Lords.

Then, again, on the other hand, when the State has done wrong the Church has either been dumb or else egged it on.

Going back to the last century, we find it was these bishops and clergy who, in the words of a leading statesman, "hounded on George III. and Lord North in their stupid and unrighteous resistance to the claim of our American colonies to honest representation and fair taxation." The bishops earnestly supported every measure for carrying on the American war. When Europe was horrified at the wanton greed of gain and at the hypocrisy shown by Christian England in forcing opium on China at the cannon's mouth, no word of remonstrance—not a grunt of disapproval—came from this bench of bishops. And in all our dreadful foreign policy, in all the incessant and unnecessary wars that England has waged in all parts of the world, this great influence of the Church has not been used to check or to condemn a policy so fearful. The bishops have too often fanned the fierce desire for bloodshed instead of pointing to a more excellent way.

Thus we see that by actual test the Church has failed—most miserably failed to make the State more righteous by being united to it. When it has used its influence, it has invariably done so on the side of wrong. When the State has endeavored to reform, the Church has opposed it; but when the State has done wrong then the Church has either remained dumb or else most valiantly cheered it on. And wherein lies the fault, not that the bishops were sinners above all other men, but the fault lies in the principle which declares that the Church can make the State more righteous by being united to it when as a matter of fact the Church, by such a union, becomes the bond-slave of the State.

"History repeats itself." The moral of this is; let the clergy of any country insinuate themselves into Government affairs and their influence will prove a curse to that Government. Allow certain religionists to shape the Government and Constitution of America to their liking, a condition of things will then be produced similar to the palmy days of the Papacy.

FRANK HOPE.

London, England.

Letter from Salt Lake City.

EDITORS AMERICAN SENTINEL: There is such a general interest in the recent "Liberal" or "Gentile" victory in this city, that it may not be out of place to address a few words to your valuable paper on that subject. The writer had the privilege of seeing the entire campaign and attending the ward meetings, grand rallies, and parades of both parties, and he faithfully improved the opportunity.

In this campaign, so long and fiercely contested, all old party lines were laid aside and the two factions assumed the names of the "People's Party" and the "Liberals." The former embraced the *faithful* of the Mormon Church, irrespective of race, edu-

cation, or previous political persuasion. The latter embraced *all dissenting* classes. The wealthy merchant and the poor boot-black trudged side by side through the mud and rain; the Democrat and the Republican helped to bear the "Liberal" banner; the native-born but apostate son of Utah, and the adventurer, had but one emblem—the carpet-bag. The East, the West, the North, the South, all aided in the fight and rejoiced in the victory. The naturalized citizens seemed to be moved by the same spirit, and as the vast procession passed one would often see the German carrying a torch, and the Scandinavian bearing the motto.

The political speakers were characteristic of the two parties. The "People's Party" meetings were addressed by the "apostles," "prophets," and "elders," only they were always introduced as *Mr.* These meetings were not *religious*; they were *civil* and *political*, but it was often hard to see the distinction between "Apostle" A's sermon in the Tabernacle on Sunday, and "Mr." A's political speech on Monday. Yet, like the National Reform Sunday, you must *call* it civil because that is its name. The "Liberal" speakers, on the other hand, were from all classes except the "Saints." To say that they were *all* good men and actuated by noble motives is to affirm more than could be expected.

The tickets presented by the parties will bear the closest study. While the "Liberal" ticket, like the party, was of all classes, good, bad, and indifferent, irrespective of race, nativity, or religious belief, the "People's" ticket contained only the names of those who were members of the "Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints." True, the tickets were formed in open convention by delegates from the various precincts. Yet the careful observer noted the fact that although no one pretended to know who would be nominated by the "Liberals," a daily paper published the "People's" ticket *twenty-four hours before the caucus convened*. It was no mere guess-work. Every man was named for his respective office, and when the delegates assembled to form the tickets the nominations were tendered to the very men named. One gentleman, however, declined and another name was put in his place.

It is not just to say that these delegates intentionally betrayed their sacred trust. The fault is in the *system*. These men, many of them of unquestioned integrity, believed, with the National Reformers, that "the kingdom of Christ must enter the realm of law through the gate-way of politics," and they embraced the opportunity of carrying their belief into practice. The result is, they have a theocracy with an infallible (?) man at its head, and the Church dictates every political move even while she denies any connection with the State.

The "Liberal" victory means a Government of the people, by the people, for the people. In many respects the Mormon rule was good. It is safe to say that the officials were as honest as the average politician; yet their administration can never be called republican government. The Church ruled the State, and her favorites and interests received the first attention.

There were loud cries of fraud on both sides, but the election passed off very quietly and every candid man must admit that the victory was honestly won. Undoubtedly there were unscrupulous men in both parties and on both tickets, but there were also men whom even their political enemies acknowledge as worthy of the highest trust and confidence. It is very probable that this defeat of the Mormon hierarchy will be lasting. The effort was not to overthrow the religion but to break the union of Church and State which was enslaving minds and blighting the Government. Let us not censure the men who have been educated to believe they are doing God service in following the dictates of an ambitious and unscrupulous priesthood. Let us pity their condition; condemn their religio-political system, and try to avoid repeating their mistakes.

D. G. HENRY

Salt Lake City, February 28.

Logic and Law.

WE here present to our readers the matter contained in the Brief upon the subject of the District of Columbia Sunday Bill, submitted by Prof. W. H. McKee, secretary of the National Religious Liberty Association, Washington, D. C., to the Congressional Committee at a hearing February 19, 1890. It is worthy of careful study; and it will bear the most critical scrutiny.

To the Honorable Committee on the District of Columbia:—

GENTLEMEN: In submitting to you this Brief, as a statement of some of the considerations why you are asked to report unfavorably upon House Bill 3854, entitled, "A bill to prevent persons from being forced to labor on Sunday," your attention is called to these propositions:—

1. The legislation asked, is unconstitutional, and contrary to the spirit of American institutions.

2. Waiving the question of unconstitutionality, Sunday laws already exist in force and enforceable, in the District of Columbia, and the measure is one of cumulative legislation.

Article First, of the amendments to the Constitution, declares that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion."

House Bill 3854 embodies a measure which Congress is asked to adopt, as a law

governing the District of Columbia, over which Congress has sole jurisdiction. Therefore, if this measure has in view the establishment of the observance of a religious dogma, or the enforcement of religious reverence for a particular day, because of the supposed divine origin of the observance required, or because a larger or smaller proportion of citizens observe the day religiously, it is a religious measure, outside the pale of civil legislation, and Congress is incompetent to entertain it.

Three points of internal evidence prove the bill to be religious in its inception, and in its intent.

First, the word "secular," in the phrase "to perform any secular labor or business," betrays the reverential spirit in which the bill is framed. The incongruity of the word, in such a connection, in a purely civil statute, will be perfectly patent, if applied to a supposed measure "to prevent persons from being forced to labor on the 4th of July," or "to prevent persons from being forced to labor on the 22d of February." The various antonyms—regular, religious, monastic, spiritual, clerical—of the word "secular," show the character which this term gives to the bill, and unavoidably. No stronger circumstantial evidence could possibly be required than the unconscious testimony of this expression.

Second: The words "except works of necessity or mercy," are subject, in a lesser degree, to the same construction. The character of phrases, as well as of human beings, may be determined by the company they keep, and this phrase is one which carries the mind immediately to the consideration of religious and Biblical exceptions, made to the strict application of the divine law for the Sabbath. That is the source of the expression, and its course may be followed through all the religious laws for "Sabbath observance," and the judicial interpretation of them, which have been had. The effect of this phrase, in connection with the preceding word "secular," is cumulative.

Third: The exemption clause contains the language, "Who conscientiously believe in and observe any other day." What has a purely civil statute to do with the conscience of man, as regards his conscientious belief in, and observance of, a day of rest? The moment the domain of conscience is touched, as such, from that instant the measure is no longer civil. And if, as this exemption shows, there be a class to whose conscience this bill would work a hardship, and to whose religious convictions it would stand opposed, then *per contra*, there is another class, the consciences of whom the measure is intended to favor. It is, therefore, not only legislation on matters of conscience, but class-legislation as well.

More than this: What does an exemption clause presuppose? Is it not a civil

or legal incapacity to meet the requirements of the law? If the incapacity arise within the domain of conscience, it is without the civil sphere, and the necessary conclusion is, that the legislation is outside the jurisdiction of human law.

These three points might be elaborated further, but this statement of them is sufficient to show that the bill bears within itself conclusive evidence of its religious character, and, if religious, it is not within the purview of Congressional legislation, as contemplated by the Constitution.

In measures, as in men, there is an ancestral spirit by which we may know them. What is the heredity of this bill?—Its progenitor in the Senate, is the Blair Sunday-rest bill, which, on its first introduction in the Senate of the Fiftieth Congress, was plainly entitled, "A bill to secure to the people the enjoyment of the first day of the week, commonly known as *the Lord's day*, as a day of rest, and to promote its observance as a day of religious worship;" and in the Fifty-first Congress, it is called, "A bill to secure to the people *the privileges* of rest and of *religious worship*, free from disturbance by others, on the first day of the week." The body of the two bills is the same, except that the incongruous nomenclature in the first has been harmonized in the second, and "First day," "Lord's day," and "Sabbath," made to read, "First day" and "Sunday." Although in the last section of the former bill, the expression "religious observance of the Sabbath day" is omitted, in the second, a neutrality clause, for it is nothing else, is inserted which declares, that "this act shall not be construed to prohibit or sanction labor on Sunday, by individuals who *conscientiously* believe in and keep any other day, as *the Sabbath*," etc. It is the same bill resurrected, and attempts the mingling of incongruous elements, which cannot be assimilated—the Sabbath which is Divine, and the Sunday which is human; Sabbath of the moral law, Sunday of the civil law; Sabbath of the Lord thy God, Sunday a religious day by the enactment of Constantine, and a *dies non*, in the statutory nomenclature of the civil law.

The very next branch of this family tree is entitled, "An act to punish blasphemers, swearers, drunkards and Sabbath-breakers," which is openly a religious law. See laws of the District of Columbia, 1868, pp. 136-7-8. The family likeness of these three measures, the old Maryland law, adopted into the statutes of the District, the Blair Sunday-rest bill, and the Breckinridge local Sunday bill, is unmistakable, and, if the original from which the latter two are derived, is a religious law, the two descendants certainly must be.

But, in the bill before this committee, there has been an attempt to separate the civil from the religious, and the claim is made that this measure is consistently for a "civil Sunday." In making good this

claim, what is it necessary to show?—It is necessary to show that the legislative and public mind has been entirely divested of the popular idea that Sunday is a day to which a due religious observance is to be paid. Both those who make the law, and those who are subject to it, must be shown to have placed themselves exactly in the mental position of the civilian whose mind has never harbored the thought of the sacredness of one day above another. Then, no other legislative restrictions would be attempted to be placed upon Sunday, than could be enacted for Monday or Tuesday, or any succeeding day of the week. But, read this bill, 3854, and insert for the word Sunday the name of a different day of the week, and consider how quickly the sense of the people would reject it. Its propriety as a civil measure, would be instantly denied. What should give it a different complexion when it contains the word Sunday? What is the magic “presto change” in that name?—It is the religious association; the fact that the consciences of many men for many generations have been trained to reverence Sunday as the holy day of God.

Sunday was first a holiday, dedicated as such to the sun and its worship. So that, in its inception, it was a day, the observance of which was based upon a religious idea; in the accommodation of the forms and observances of the pagan and Christian churches which, for the sake of temporal power and success, was brought about in the reign of Constantine, the Church found it politic, from the point of view which then prevailed, to adopt the pagan holiday and did so, consecrating it anew, with all the sacredness of the religious forms and beliefs of the Church, transferring to it the awful sanctity involved in the commandment of God, “Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy,” and adding to that all the holy sentiment which can be invoked for a day commemorative of the resurrection of our Saviour.

Thus cumulatively religious is the history of this day. The religious idea has never been separated from it. No enforcement of its observance, distinctively from other days, can be divorced from that inbred religious idea, any more than the physical and moral characteristics of the father and mother can be eliminated from the child. This child of the Church and a religious holiday (“the Venerable Day of the Sun”) is, by birth, by inheritance, and by unbroken habit throughout its existence, a religious day,—nothing else.

(To be continued next week.)

BARRY County [Michigan] points with pride to the fact that her court house can be freely used for any purpose other than for a meeting of the opponents of the Blair bill.—*Hastings, Michigan, Plain-dealer.*

Sunday in the California State Prisons.

THERE is considerable discussion in California on the question of Sunday work in the State prisons, especially of the running of the jute mills at San Quentin. There is, indeed, opposition to operating these mills at all, as they enter into strong competition with private enterprises of the same nature. But the fact that they are worked seven days in the week, while their competitors work but six, is an additional cause of complaint. It is not my purpose to discuss the merits of the question as to the propriety of the State working its prisoners in competition with its law-abiding citizens; but the assumed religious phase of the subject having been mooted, it comes legitimately within the SENTINEL'S purview.

I have never known anyone, speaker or writer, who undertook to sustain the theory of the State's duty to support Sunday, who did not stultify his argument before he got through. And there was no exception to the rule when, on Sunday evening, March 2, Rev. Dr. Horton, of this city, undertook to condemn the State's jute mill policy from a religious standpoint. Here is one specimen extract from the “prelude:”—

Punishment is intended to make better men and women of the convicts. Now in order to reform a man two things are necessary. He must first be inspired with a sense of manliness. He must then be encouraged to cultivate a good conscience. But how can men be inspired with manliness when we treat them like whipped slaves, and drive them to toil upon seven days in each week? How can we develop conscience in these men when the great majority of them believe with the vast majority of the general public, and believe rightly, that the enforcement of work on the Sabbath-day is an open defiance of the God of conscience, as well as of all humanitarian and physiological teachings?

This is one of the Doctor's characteristic extravaganzas. It is entirely aside from the real issue between the State's jute mill and those of private enterprise. It is on a par with his utterance in 1885, when preaching on the Sunday question, that “the workingmen of California are in a State of worse slavery than ever existed in the Southern States.” Mark, it is not the character of the work, or the fact that they have to work, or the competition with other institutions, that is drawn into the odious comparison; but it is the seven days' work, that is, the Sunday work, that makes their labor like that of “whipped slaves.”

But the alleged general belief in the Sunday institution, not only of the prisoners but of the public, is indeed astonishing. Such exaggeration sounds strangely odd coming from the pulpit. That a majority of these prisoners were averse to work on *any day*, before they got into prison, and are so yet, is probably true; but that their opposition to labor on Sunday arises from a belief that it is an “open defiance of the God of conscience,” is too absurd for utterance before intelligent people.

And as to the majority of the general public believing that work on Sunday is “open defiance of the God of conscience,” every one knows that nothing like a majority have any conscience in the matter at all.

The last question quoted above implies an impossibility of developing conscience in men who believe that Sunday work is open defiance of the God of conscience. This is a pretty hard thrust at the Doctor's co-believers, but it is one of the characteristic muddles in which Sunday-law preachers invariably become entangled. As he perhaps unwittingly assumes that obtuse condition for himself and them, he must not call other folks hard names if they concede the proposition.

Another extract contains a like piece of logic:—

In order to reform a man you must get him off one side alone, and give him time to think. In order to get such collected thought, men's hands should rest, the ordinary course of activity should be interrupted. This is the very heart of God's ordinance for us all, and this, in the form of solitary confinement one day out of seven, broken only by attendance upon the chaplain, and by meals, is the most hopeful part of prison discipline. Many a man had rather take his chances in a tiger's cage than be left alone for a whole day with himself.

Here is a wonderful idea of improvement in the poor prisoner's condition. It is an awful thing to make him do ordinary work on Sunday,—it is “treating him like a whipped slave.” But alas! the terrible alternative, “solitary confinement,” to “give him a chance to think.” And this, “the most hopeful part of the prison discipline,” is acknowledged to be worse to many of them than being placed in a “tiger's cage.” This is prison reformation with a vengeance! If that would not “inspire a man with a sense of manliness,” his case must indeed be hopeless. And this is not the worst of it. If this Sunday proposition only affected the State prison convicts, those outside might rest comparatively easy. But, says the Doctor, “this is the very heart of God's ordinance of the Sabbath *for us all.*”

It seems to me that I have before read somewhere of persons in past centuries who were placed in solitary confinement, shut off from every one but the chaplain; and it was said to be for the purpose of “encouraging them to cultivate a good conscience” toward certain church dogmas. And there is no doubt that many of them would rather have taken their chances in a tiger's cage.

The preacher made a slight reference to “another side of this question,”—to the “outrage on free labor that convicts should be employed in the San Quentin jute mill any day of the week;” but his main lament was in behalf of Sunday. That was the beginning and the end of the prelude. Here is another piece:—

When shall we cease standing out against the wisdom, piety, and experience of the entire sisterhood of States and enact suitable Sabbath laws, giving every man emancipation from toil one day

in seven, making him a free man one-seventh of his time, as much his own master as is the millionaire upon that day. He may wisely choose to go to church thereon, or he may prefer to go to the groves, or to the sea, or into some quiet nook for reading and meditation; he is a free agent and may do as he chooses with his time, always knowing that having chosen his way, he must meet its outcome at the end.

This mild admission that every man "is a free agent and may do as he chooses with his time," does not accord very well with the general appeals for Sunday laws, which nearly all advocates, including the Doctor himself, base upon the custom of men doing as they please on Sunday. That is just what Sunday laws are designed to prevent,—in fact it is their prime object. But there are times in the discussion of the question when it is expedient to put a mild phase on this ideal reform. It will not do to keep the "solitary confinement" idea too exclusively in view.

W. N. GLENN.

Oakland, California.

The Blair Sunday Bill.

THERE are several semi-religious organizations and numerous newspapers devoted to the work of procuring legislation, State and national, in the interest of religious dogma and ecclesiasticism. The entering wedge is whittled down to a very fine point and presented as the Blair Sunday-rest bill. This measure proposes absolute restriction upon all manner of secular work upon Sunday in the Territories, the District of Columbia, interstate commerce, the mail service, and such other places and branches of service as are under Government jurisdiction.

The Blair bill is the mildest form yet proposed for religious legislation; but its true significance lies in its being an introduction for a system of statutory religion that would neutralize our free institutions and substitute therefor an ecclesiasticism that would re-inaugurate a reign of bigotry and persecution. Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty; and we had better put up with some inconvenience than to encourage a policy that is in its nature and all its developments inimical to the religious freedom that we now enjoy at such a vast expenditure of life and treasure. There are two enemies to free government; one is despotism, and another is anarchy, but an equally fatal tendency is that of bigotry and intolerance, and the latter shows out prominently in the spirit and management of those who are pressing the Sunday laws upon Congress.—*Osborne, Kansas, News.*

A CHURCH which has not enterprise enough to teach its own religion, in its own way, in its own hours, on Sunday, and in its own households, and through its own missions, does not deserve to be allowed to tack itself on the State.—*New York Independent.*

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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Petitions Presented in Congress.

ON Monday, March 3, and Wednesday, March 5, monster petitions were presented in the House and Senate against the passage of the Blair Sunday-rest bill for the District of Columbia, the Blair amendment to the Constitution, embodying the enforcement of the principles of the Christian religion in the public schools or any other measure of religious legislation.

In the House the petitions were presented by Representative O'Donnell, and in the Senate by Senator Stockbridge. The number of individual signatures to the House petition amounted to 253,227, and to the Senate 308,377.

Individual signatures of residents of the District of Columbia, numbering 7,945, were presented in the House against the Breckinridge local Sunday bill for the District.

Experience in the Field.

W. C. WALSTON, of Vermont, writes, in the *Review and Herald*: "My work consists in circulating the petition, circulating subscriptions for the AMERICAN SENTINEL, selling Civil Government and Religion, and the National Sunday Law, and circulating other literature in opposition to religious legislation. I have a variety of experiences, as I meet persons of different minds and views; but it is most astonishing how few there are, who are informed in regard to the Blair bills. * * *

"The first field I canvassed was my old home town. I took nearly every leading person's subscription for the SENTINEL, and sold several copies of Civil Government and Religion. I have sold this pamphlet to every clergyman I have visited, with one exception, and to nearly every lawyer. I first visited a man of large influence, who said his attention had not been called particularly to the Blair bills, and he should want to consider the matter fully, before making any move. I left him Civil Government and Religion,

and the National Sunday Law to read, and again visited him. He received me cordially, and stated that he had read them with interest and profit. He said he was himself opposed to all forms of State religion, and should be strongly opposed to the Blair bills. He also said he corresponded with one of our State Senators, and would write him his views in regard to the bills in full.

"I realize that this is an important work, and it needs much wisdom and the help of God, to conduct it aright."

Such an expression of their experience, and the result of their work, as this, is desired by the Secretary of the Association, from the workers throughout the field generally.

WHILE the Blair Sunday-observance bill now before Congress is drawing the attention of church people that way, the Legislature of South Dakota is kicking up a rumpus with the prohibition bill it is considering. The objectionable feature of the latter bill is that it prohibits the use of fermented wine for sacramental purposes. The writer is one of a large class that believes that the Bible does not require that fermented wine be used at the communion table. We understand, however, that the rules of the Catholic Church require fermented wine, and the clergymen of the Episcopal Church are divided on the subject. This being the case, it seems as though the bill if passed, would be declared unconstitutional, on the ground that it interfered "with the religious rights and privileges of the Church and individual." These words were taken from an interview of Bishop M. N. Gilbert, of the Episcopal Church, a pronounced temperance man. It seems to us that the Dakota prohibitionists are carrying things too far. Every temperance man, with the exception of extremists, is satisfied to confine his opposition to the liquor business to the *abuse* of liquor, and does not care to interfere with its *legitimate use*. So long as the use of fermented wine for sacramental purposes is at least an open question, it does not seem like quite the proper thing to decide with such positiveness. When the abuses of liquor are among the things of the past, it will be time enough to so regulate its use.—*Litchfield, Minnesota, Review.*

THE friends of liberty must not for one moment forget that the advocates of National Sunday legislation are working night and day to secure the enactment of the Blair Sunday-rest bill. This bill is really in the interest of the Church and of the Church only, but the crafty schemers engineering it have done all they could to deceive the people into the belief that its object is "to secure to the people the privileges of rest and of religious worship" on Sunday, "free from disturbance by others," just as though existing laws did not guarantee this freedom from disturbance on all days of the week! Beware of the Protestant Jesuits!—*Fair Play.*

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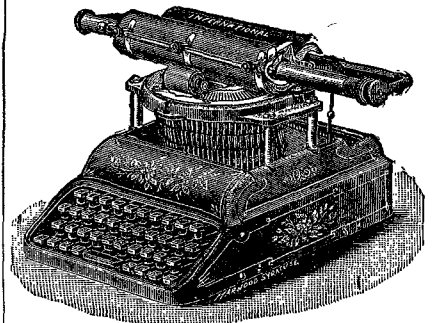
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FOR a living illustration of the influence of ecclesiastics in legislation, please read and inwardly digest the article by our London correspondent, page 91.

A NEW edition of the pamphlet "Civil Government and Religion" is now ready. It contains the new Amendment resolution and the new National Sunday bill, with discussions of them which brings the pamphlet up to date. Let it have the widest possible circulation.

THERE was laid on our table this week a copy of a German edition, illustrated, of the pamphlet "Civil Government and Religion." We are glad to see it. It supplies a need that has been seriously felt for some time. We hope the friends of truth and good government will bring this to the notice of the German people as promptly and as widely as possible. 229 pages. Price, 35 cents.

SUNDAY evening, March 9, there was a Sunday-law meeting held in Bedford Street Methodist Episcopal Church, this city, Colonel Elliott F. Shepard was one of the speakers, and his speech was characteristic of himself and of the body of which he is president, as the following extract will show. This is all of his speech that needs to be reported:—

England and the United States are the greatest Nations in the world because they keep the fourth commandment. Germany conquered France because she was a better Sabbath-keeping Nation, and by this standard a Nation's greatness may be judged.

AT the annual meeting of the alumni and alumnae of Michigan University, resident in Washington, which was recently held at Willard's, Representative Allen, of Michigan, made a ringing after-dinner speech. He declared that the University owed much of the marvelous progress which it has made to the fact that it has always maintained the proper distinctions between religion and the State.

This great institution of learning has kept an even course, in respect to these questions, through much adverse criticism. But, by the character of the men whom it has sent out to participate in the public councils of the States and of the Nation, it has proved most conclusively that a noble and intelligent Christianity can be

developed without a distinctive theological training. It is a fact that, in these days of increasing subserviency to man-made theology, and of dangerous tendency to centralization in Church and in State, with a view to future coalition, the broadly educated men and women of such institutions as the Michigan University are needed to maintain the social, political, and moral equilibrium of national affairs.

THE annual Convention of the National Reform Association is to meet in Lincoln Music Hall, Washington City, April 1, and continue three days. Rev. Jonathan Edwards is announced as one of the speakers, and he is to speak on the same subject that he did in the Convention of 1873. Hon. W. C. P. Breckinridge, who framed the Sunday bill for the District of Columbia is to preside at one of the sessions and make a speech.

Of all days in the year, the first day of April is the only one on which that Association can with perfect consistency meet.

IN a speech in the United States Senate, March 5, in opposition to the Blair Educational bill, Senator Plumb, of Kansas, gave expression to an immense truth, and as important just now as it is immense, when he spoke the two following sentences:—

Whatever domain Government invades it dominates. The jurisdiction which it takes it keeps.

Let the people attach these two sentences to the Sunday Bills that are now before Congress, then carefully study the whole, and they will get a view of what the result would be if they became laws. By this too, those who favor these measures can see what they ask when they petition for the passage of such bills

IN the United States Senate March 3, Senator Spooner, of Wisconsin, very justly remarked that "the tendency of this day is too much to paternalism in government." This is too true. The evil tendency seems to be in the very air. It crops out here and there and everywhere. It cannot be too carefully watched nor too strictly guarded against. Mr. Spooner further said that "no man can sit in Congress without being conscious of the fact that very often petitions come here for legislation on topics which are not justly the subject of legislation." Sunday legislation is a sample of this, therefore let the petitions be rolled up by the thousands of names against such legislation.

IN a Sunday-law meeting in this city, Tuesday evening, March 11, Rev. R. S. MacArthur, pastor of Calvary Baptist Church, said, as to the keeping of the Sabbath, that if he were in a Mohammedan country he could observe Friday; if in a country where Seventh-day Baptists pre-

dominated he could observe Saturday, though he would prefer Sunday; and that in this country, as Sunday is the day observed, people ought not to object when required to observe it. Yet he insisted that the Sabbath is of divine and everlasting obligation.

The same day, in the City Court, a Chinaman, about to be sworn as a witness, when asked what form of oath he would consider most binding, replied:—

Here in America I believe in the Bible, but in China I would believe in idols and my ancestors.

Dr. MacArthur's views of moral obligation match quite well with those of that Chinaman.

THE attempt to shut all places on Sunday except those which are run in the interests of religion and the Church, has led an enterprising proprietor in Boston to label his dime museum on Sunday as follows:—

Scientific Church. Grand concert and lecture on old maids and prize-fighters. Collection, 10 cents.

The genuine churches ought to be ashamed of such company as that. It may be replied that they are ashamed of it. Hardly; if they were ashamed of such company they would be ashamed to create it, as they do by the laws which they demand shall be enacted and enforced. So long as they are not ashamed to create such company, it cannot be said that they are ashamed of it after they have created it.

The Gospel in All Lands for March is one of the best numbers of that monthly which has ever been issued. Mexico is the subject of the "Monthly Missionary Concert," which is especially interesting and cannot fail to increase the interest now felt in this country in Christian missions in that republic. "The Jesuit Campaign and Our Danger," by Charles J. Little, LL. D., should be read by everybody, and the warning which it contains should be heeded. The author truthfully remarks that "the real danger lies not so much in the Jesuitism of Catholicism as in the Jesuitism of Protestantism," by which he means the adoption by Protestants of Jesuitical practices, traditions, and methods.

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

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“AMONG all the religious persecutions with which almost every page of modern history is stained, no victim ever suffered except for the violation of what Government denominated the law of God.”

It is not the Roman Catholics alone who are complaining of the religious history that is taught in the public schools. The Presbyterians in Tennessee are at it too. They have petitioned the Legislature protesting against the introduction into the schools of the State, of a State history written by the Hon. James Phelan. They assert that in his chapter on “Churches” he has sadly “misrepresented the Presbyterian Church, and the reasons for the origin of the Cumberland Presbyterians,” and that moreover, he shows too strong Methodist proclivities. We wonder if there would be any protest if he had shown strong Presbyterian proclivities. We hope so.

UPON the subject of progress in the Washington Legislature, the *Spokane Falls Review* of February 20, 1890, says:—

“One would quite naturally imagine, judging from the stew that some people have worked themselves into, over the matter of prayers in the Legislature, that one element within that august body would consider life a burden, a dreary desert unrelieved by a single oasis, unless for a few moments of each legislative day they were insured the pleasing privilege of sitting within the sound of the soothing voice of a ‘court chaplain.’”

“The fact that a man is opposed to prayers in the Legislature does not signify

that he is a foe to Christianity. It seems to the *Review* that he might be a prominent member of a church and still consistently object to religious services being blended with law-making, precisely as he might frown upon any attempt to notify a preacher to appear with his Bible and prayer-book on the occasion of a gathering of citizens for the purpose of working a county road!

“If Christianity cannot stand without a State prop it is not the religion we take it to be. As a matter of fact, every effort to give it State support has had a reactionary effect that wrought more injury than benefit.”

The Blair Educational Bill.

WE do not mean by this title the Blair Educational *amendment*, but the Educational *bill*,—though, as will be seen, there is not, in fact, a great deal of difference in the distinction.

The features of this bill are—

1. For eight years from the year of its passage, there shall be appropriated \$77,000,000: the first year \$7,000,000, the second year \$10,000,000, the third year \$15,000,000, the fourth year \$13,000,000, the fifth year \$11,000,000, the sixth year \$9,000,000, the seventh year \$7,000,000, the eighth year \$5,000,000,—to the States, Territories, and the District of Columbia, according to the proportion “of persons in each, who, being of the age of ten years and over, cannot write.”

2. In order to be a sharer of the money, each State, through its governor, shall report to the Secretary of the Interior a full account of the common-school system of that State; how much money was spent on schools in the last year preceding the report; how the money was raised; the number of children attending school; the length of the school term; and the average pay of teachers.

3. The Secretary of the Interior shall certify this to the Secretary of the Treasury, with “monthly estimates and requisitions,” of amount due to each, and the

Secretary of the Treasury shall pay the said amount to such persons as shall be designated by the States to receive it. But no amount shall be paid in any one year to any State or Territory greater than the amount of school funds expended from its own revenues. Nor shall any of the \$77,000,000 from the national treasury be used for building or renting school-houses; but \$2,000,000 extra shall be devoted to this purpose in the same proportion as the regular fund.

4. The money “shall be used only for common schools not sectarian in character” in the States, and for common or industrial schools in the Territories.

5. “The Secretary of the Interior is charged with the proper administration of this law, through the Commissioner of Education; and they are authorized and directed, under the approval of the President, to make all needful rules and regulations, not inconsistent with its provisions, to carry this law into effect.” “Copies of all school-books authorized by the School Board or other authorities of the respective States and Territories, and used in the schools of the same, shall be filed with the Secretary of the Interior.”

If any State or Territory misapplies or loses any part of this money, or fails to report as directed in the act, or fails to comply with any of the conditions of the act, “such State or Territory shall forfeit its right to any subsequent apportionment” “until the full amount so misapplied, lost, or misappropriated, shall have been replaced,” “and until such report shall have been made.” “If it shall appear to the Secretary of the Interior that the funds received under this act for the preceding year by the State or Territory have been faithfully applied to the purposes contemplated by this act, and that the conditions thereof have been observed, then, and not otherwise, the Secretary of the Interior shall distribute the next year’s appropriation as is herein before provided. And it shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Interior to promptly investigate all complaints lodged with him of any misappropriation

by or in any State or Territory of any moneys received by such State or Territory under the provisions of this act, or of any discrimination in the use of such moneys; and the said complaints, and all communications received concerning the same, and the evidence taken upon such investigations, shall be preserved by the Secretary of the Interior, and shall be open to public inspection and annually reported to Congress."

Such, briefly stated, are the provisions of the Blair Educational bill. It will be seen at once that it is simply a scheme to make the public-school system a national affair; and that the money involved is only a huge bribe offered to the States to surrender their school systems to the dictation of the national power. The direction of the whole affair is given to the Secretary of the Interior. He is to be the arbiter of all complaints or disputes that may arise about the application of the funds or any of the provisions of the act.

What, then, is the object of making the public-school system a national affair only? Why is it that this shall be taken from the control and management of the several States and merged in a federal head and controlled by national power? There is a purpose in this. This purpose does not appear as distinctly in the bill as in the speech of the author of it, which he made in support of it. *That purpose is to destroy all parochial or denominational schools, and have the national power supplant the family and the Church.* This we shall now prove.

According to Senator Blair's estimate, everybody who believes in the efficacy of the parochial or denominational school is an opponent of the public school and is a "Jesuit." On page 1542 of the *Congressional Record* of the Fifty-first Congress (page 91 of Mr. Blair's published speech), we find these words under the sub-head—

"THE OPPONENTS OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS."

I have several times felt the necessity of alluding to the opposition which this bill has encountered from the friends of the antagonistic system of education, known as the parochial or denominational system of schools. That opposition has been of so inveterate and influential a character that it has done more than any other cause, in my judgment, to endanger its enactment into law, and I have felt, very much against my personal inclination, that it was a duty to say here and at this time that the developments of the last few years, more particularly those immediately preceding the present time, have satisfied me that around this measure is concentrated now a great struggle, the result of which will bear strongly upon the fate of the public-school system of our Republic.

I do not complain that those who believe in the opposing system are insincere, that they are not able and upright men, conscientiously believing that the system which they advocate is more for the public good than is the common-school system itself. But that is a question upon which the people of the country must make up their minds; and I feel as as though it was my duty to state what I believe to be the fact, that the issue on this bill in this country at the present time is mainly an issue between the public-school system and the opposing system of education for the children of our people.

I have recently, in another connection, stated my views on this subject, and will incorporate them as part of this address to the Senate.

The Jesuits who have undertaken the overthrow of the public-school system of this country are already far advanced in their work. And I desire to say that by "Jesuits" I do not mean simply and

alone those who may belong to that order, but I refer to them and to those who sympathize with them in their views of public education and of the proper system for the use of the children of the people at large.

I am aware that some who belong in what are known as Protestant denominations share in the belief that the denominational school is the right school, the better school for the education of the rising generation, and to them all, to this aggregate, I have applied this term, which I think is a proper one, not in any sense offensively, because the Jesuit is, as I understand it, the representative order of education in the Catholic Church. To it more than to any other is committed the charge of education in general, and they specially represent and execute the policy of the Vatican in regard to the training of youth and in political affairs.

Having thus made all to be Jesuits who believe in denominational schools, he holds all to be but parts of one grand system of "opposition" to the public school, and further says:—

I do assert that the issue between these two systems of instruction is a national issue, that it is already joined, and that the public-school system is getting the worst of it so far.—Page 1543 (93 of printed speech).

Therefore he proposes to rally the power of the national Government to crush out the parochial and the denominational school. And the right of the national power to do this is thus asserted:—

I do believe that what I said was then true, and is true now, that the Nation has the right and the power of self-defense, and that it may go to any lengths, the State and the parent failing, to secure the education of the children of the country; that it is injudicious to do so unless there be a necessity, but if the necessity was complete and total, then the Nation might assume complete and total charge of the education of the children who are to be the Nation; if the necessity was partial and the remedy does not come, it is the duty of the Nation to find and apply the remainder of it as a matter of self-defense, but to wait long, patiently, and urgently upon the parent and the State, and to aid the parent and the State through their own exertions to accomplish this end to the uttermost before falling back upon its own agencies, its own control. And I believe further that the obligation of the Nation, the constitutional obligation, to guaranty to the States governments republican in form, also imposes the obligation to guaranty needful education, by which alone the guaranty of republican government can be best made good. That affirmative guaranty which the Nation must make good to the State can be best redeemed by insuring to the State the means of educating its children; for a republican form of government can be maintained in no way but as it is based upon universal intelligence.

This bill was first framed and introduced eight years ago. It has passed the Senate three times already, and is now up for the fourth. Eight years ago, therefore, the necessity of national control was partial, and this bill was intended as the remedy for that partial necessity. But, he says, in the issue that "is already joined" between "these two systems of instruction," the public-school system "is getting the worst of it so far." We do not believe a word of this that the public school is getting the worst of it, but it is all the same so far as the intention of this legislation is concerned.

Now the denominational school is established and conducted above everything else to teach religion, a thing which the public school cannot properly teach. As, according to Mr. Blair's idea, the public-school system is getting the worst of the contest; as the necessity for national interference was partial eight years ago, and as the public-school system has continued all this time to get the worst of it,

the necessity, according to the same measure, is fast becoming "complete and total;" and therefore the time has come for the Nation to "assume complete and total charge of the education of the children." But, as it is the specific work of the denominational school to teach religion, and as the Nation must assume complete and total charge of the education of the children, it therefore becomes necessary for the Nation to assume complete and total charge of the teaching of religion. And Mr. Blair is prepared for this, and has proposed that the Nation shall prepare for it in the following amendment to the national Constitution:—

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following amendment to the Constitution of the United States be, and hereby is, proposed to the States, to become valid when ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the States, as provided in the Constitution:—

ARTICLE —.

SECTION 1. No State shall ever make or maintain any law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.

SEC. 2. Each State in this Union shall establish and maintain a system of free public schools adequate for the education of all the children living therein, between the ages of six and sixteen years, inclusive, in the common branches of learning, in virtue and morality, and in knowledge of the fundamental and non-sectarian principles of Christianity. But no money raised by taxation imposed by law or any money or other property or credit belonging to any municipal organization, or to any State, or to the United States, shall ever be appropriated, applied, or given to the use or purposes of any school, institution, corporation, or person, whereby instruction or training shall be given in the doctrines, tenets, beliefs, ceremonials, or observances peculiar to any sect, denomination, organization, or society, being, or claiming to be, religious in its character, nor shall such peculiar doctrines, tenets, beliefs, ceremonials, or observances, be taught or inculcated in the free public schools.

SEC. 3. To the end that each State, the United States, and all the people thereof, may have and preserve governments republican in form and in substance, the United States shall guaranty to every State, and to the people of every State and of the United States, the support and maintenance of such a system of free public schools as is herein provided.

SEC. 4. That Congress shall enforce this article by legislation when necessary.

That is the object of the Blair Educational bill. And that is why we said at the beginning of this article that between the bill and the proposed amendment there is not a great deal of difference in the distinction. The bill is but a step to the amendment. The bill is but an immense bribe offered to the States to allow the thin edge of the wedge to be entered, to be followed by the whole body of the wedge sent home by the crushing blows of the national power. The bill pretending to be but an expression of tender solicitude for the educational interests of the States, is in reality the expression of a purpose to "assume complete and total charge of the education of the children," usurping the place of the parent and the Church as well as of the individual States.

And the author of that bill, the inventor of such an ulterior and far-reaching scheme, will stand on the floor of the United States Senate, in the presence of the Nation, and denounce as "opponents of the public schools" and as

"Jesuits" the opponents of this infamous scheme!

If ever there was framed a more Jesuitical document than the Blair Educational bill, we should like to see it. And to realize that the United States Senate has passed it three times, is more astonishing still.

In the words of Stanley Matthews upon a like subject we close this article: "I protest against this doctrine. Its application would be a monstrous tyranny. Its idea is pagan, not Christian."

A. T. J.

The National Gods.

THE *Christian Statesman* and the National Reform workers are making a great deal out of the afflictions that have come upon certain members of the national administration.

Secretary Blaine lost a son and a daughter in quick succession, and Secretary Tracy's house was burned, with fearful consequences—the death of his wife and daughter. There is no one in the land who does not sympathize deeply with both of these families in their affliction, and it is not the surest sign of Christian sympathy to turn this into a national thing, and thus charge the afflicted ones with such heaven-daring sins as to exhaust the divine mercy.

This is just what the National Reformers are doing. Dr. McAllister started it with a sermon in Pittsburg, entitled "The Washington Calamity; God's Call to a national repentance." He attacked the present administration with being "un-Christian," and said that the afflictions which had befallen Secretary Blaine and Secretary Tracy are "acts of a displeased and warning Providence." He declared that the first and chiefest reason for these afflictions is that President Harrison, in his Thanksgiving proclamation last year, made no reference to Jesus Christ, and the more fully to prove that this is a great reason, he says:—

The question now arises, where is the reason for the singular train of calamities which has of late attended the course of those who hold the reins of our Government? The question can be answered. It can be answered when the course of the present administration is pointed out; when we observe how its actions correspond with the tone of a Christian people. Take, for the first, the last Thanksgiving proclamation issued by President Harrison. In it thanks were directed to be offered by this Christian Nation, but there was not even a reference to Jesus Christ. Had the omission of this sacred name been accidental, or caused by lack of forethought, the case would not be so glaring.

But President Harrison was waited on by a committee and was earnestly solicited to insert in the proclamation the name of Jesus Christ. In the face of this, Mr. Harrison refused to make the insertion.

Thus the National Reformers already assume the place and the prerogative of the interpreters of the will of God in the movements of Providence, and make themselves judges both to name the sin and measure the guilt of the national authority.

How do these men know that that was a divine punishment for sins? And even

though they knew that it were such, how do they know what and how many the sins were? The truth is they know not one solitary thing about it. The God of providence *alone* knows the purpose of these afflictions, and why they fell as they did. And it is more human, and much more Christian, tenderly to sympathize with the afflicted—to "weep with them that weep"—than it is to stand off and point the finger, and exclaim, "Ah, ha! that is what you got for your wickedness." It is neither Christian nor wise for men to usurp the throne of Providence, and presume to run the universe according to their narrow views, and in the line of their unsympathetic and wicked ideas.

Balls and festivities at which wine was used are also named as associate sins for which this punishment came; and, taken altogether, Dr. McAllister pronounces the present administration a disappointing one. He says:—

In many other ways the present administration has been a *disappointing one to the Christian people of this land*. It was expected that with so many men in high and responsible positions who were staunch members of the Christian church, many long-looked-for reforms would be made. To-day in this great Christian country we are in many respects behind some of Europe's dynasty-stricken Governments. *The name of God is not mentioned in the Constitution*. Although the land is filled with societies covering every line of moral work and trying to help on the great cause, yet in many instances they fail because they have *not the proper backing*.

So they expected great things of the administration because there was so many men connected with it who were staunch members of the Christian church; and because of this they expected their long-looked-for reforms to be made. But men cannot be reformed by law; and even if they could, these men cannot make law where they are. President Harrison has no law-making power in his hands. He is not the chief legislator, he is the chief *executive*; he is there to execute laws that are made by the law-making power—Congress. But Congress cannot make laws that will reform people. The legislators are only representatives of those who send them to Congress; they can only represent the sentiment of those who send them. Then to the people is the place to look; the people are the ones to be labored with,—they themselves are the ones to be reformed. But even then law is powerless. No man can make a law by which to reform himself. The incentive to reform must come to him from without himself; and when that incentive has been applied by the people, the reform is accomplished without the need of any State or national laws, and without any effort of the administration.

The surest, the most lasting, and the most blessed incentive to reform, is the love of God as manifested to the world in the grace of Jesus Christ. The gospel of Christ, in the true demonstration of the power and spirit of Christ, is the surest, in fact, it is the only, means of real reform. If the churches and the societies

which are endeavoring so persistently to reform the Nation by human statutes, would only take up the blessed work of inculcating the genuine gospel of Jesus Christ, there would readily and easily come such a reform as would do the people good.

It is true those societies fail because "they have not the proper backing;" but the proper backing is the gospel of Christ, and not a law of Congress, or official incorporation of the name of God in national documents. If these societies have not the proper backing, it is because they have not the gospel of Jesus Christ; and if they have not that, it is their own fault and not the fault of the administration. And it is not fair, much less is it Christian, for them to visit guilt and condemnation and supreme punishments upon the national administration for faults which are their own.

A. T. J.

A Movement to Unite Church and State.

In the SENTINEL of January 16, there appeared the text of the joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, "respecting establishments of religion and free public schools."

The resolution calls for the instruction of children in the "fundamental and non-sectarian principles of Christianity." Now what are the fundamental principles of Christianity? It is self-evident that Christianity pertains to Christ, and that nothing can be taught in regard to Christianity without teaching about Christ. Where do we learn about Christ? and what shall we teach about him?—We learn of Christ in the Bible, and nowhere else. All we know of Christ is contained in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, and therefore that which is taught of Christ, in teaching the fundamental principles of Christianity, must be what the Bible reveals concerning him. So the very first thing in teaching Christianity is the consideration of who Christ is. And what about him? What does he do for us? What is the nature of his work? The simple answer to these points, according to the Bible, would be that Christ is the Son of God; the divine word who was in the beginning with God, by whom all things were created; who was made flesh and dwelt among men; who died and rose again to redeem men and to save them from sin. And this brings up the fact that men have sinned against God; they have broken his law. And so, to teach the fundamental principles of Christianity is to teach the law of God, which points out sin, and to teach Christ as the Saviour from sin; to teach his power and majesty as the one who is able to save from sin; in short, the fundamental principles of Christianity is all there is of it. You cannot teach anything

about Christianity without teaching these very things. For Christianity may be summed up in a word as the way of salvation from sin, through Christ.

Suppose now the State enters upon the work of giving this instruction to all children within its borders. What is it doing?—It is doing the very work for which the Church of Christ exists. Christ instituted a church here upon earth that it might be the light of the world, that it might spread abroad in the earth a knowledge of him and of his truth. This is all the church is for. Now when we have the entire Government doing this work in every school district, we have simply the State organizing itself into a universal church. That would be a State Church, a union of Church and State. Nothing less than this can be made of it.

Again, the bill says "the fundamental and non-sectarian principles of Christianity." By that is meant those principles which are not peculiar to any sect, but which all denominations can unite upon. Please consider the fundamental principles of Christianity, as we have referred to them, and see upon which one all denominations are agreed. Christianity means the doctrine of Christ. Who is Christ? Some say he is the divine Son of God, and others deny this. Some say that his work was vicarious, others that he simply lived and died as an example. There has been disagreement upon the very first principles of Christianity ever since the Church existed. So that if the public schools are to teach the principles of Christianity, they must teach principles that are held by some denominations and disbelieved by others.

In his book, "Romanism versus the Public-School System," page 170, Dr. Daniel Dorchester says:—

It is plain that if all classes are to use the public school, there must be no specific religious instruction. It cannot be imparted consistently with the American system of government; if religious instruction is given, it will be almost certain to savor of some particular sect.

The same thing is put more forcibly by the Honorable Stanley Matthews, in a speech in reference to the Bible in the schools of Cincinnati. Said he:—

The gentlemen on the other side say they limit the religious instruction demanded to what they call a "broad Christianity." I have already once or twice adverted to the term. I do not know that I understand it. If I do, it is a "broad" humbug. The Christian religion is not a vain and unmeaning generality. It is a definite and positive thing. It means something, or it means nothing. In my view it is a supernatural scheme of redemption—a revelation from God of his gracious purpose and plan of salvation to a race "dead in trespasses and sins," through the mediation and atonement of Jesus Christ, who, being God from eternity, became incarnate, and by his death upon the cross became a sacrifice for sin, made expiation for it, and, having risen from the grave, ascended into heaven, and there sitteth on the right hand of the Father to make intercession for his people. The whole character and value of such a religion consists altogether in being, as it claims to be, a supernatural plan of salvation from sin. Otherwise it is irredeemable. Strike out from the Bible the parts which disclose, reveal, and teach that scheme, and the rest is insignificant. And any instruction or education in religion which does not teach the facts which constitute that scheme, and which cannot be stated even, except as conveying dogma, is no instruction in the Christian religion whatever.

This is the truth clearly and forcibly stated. If the principles of Christianity are to be taught at all, the whole must be taught. Christianity is a unit, and the whole of it is contained in the fundamental principles. If the State is going into the business of teaching this, then we ask, How will the work of the school-teacher differ from that of the Sunday-school teacher and the minister of the gospel? And the only answer is that their work will be a little more comprehensive. They will be doing the work of the minister and the Sunday-school teacher, and, together with that, will be giving instruction in the sciences. So that, as we said before, for the public schools of the United States to teach the fundamental principles of Christianity would be to establish a State Church, to effect a union of Church and State in the most complete manner possible.

We have already shown that non-sectarian instruction in religion cannot be given. Such instruction will necessarily savor of some particular sect, as Dr. Dorchester says. And this, it is admitted, would be to effect a union of Church and State. Thus, in the book before referred to, on page 65, Dr. Dorchester, in referring to an appropriation by the State of New York to certain Catholic schools, says:—

The people thus found themselves taxed for the support of sectarian education, the Roman Catholic faith being taught in the schools thus supported. The State and the Church were then virtually united.

It is plainly evident that whatever way we consider this proposed amendment, it is really an amendment to effect a union of Church and State. We have not in this article touched upon some of the pernicious results that would necessarily grow out of the adoption of the amendment, except as the readers may infer for themselves some of the evils that would result from a Church and State union. In another article we shall show some of the wickedness that would follow its adoption.

E. J. W.

Recreation and Religion.

A SCOTCH parish minister has been discussing the rival claims of football and religious worship. He finds that some of the athletic youth in his congregation have been so wearied by their exertions at the football matches on the Saturday, that they could not come out to church on Sunday morning. The remedy he proposes for this state of matters sounds very like revolution in Scotch religious ideas. He proposes that the football match should be postponed till the Sunday afternoon, and that his young people should have their worship first and their enjoyment afterwards. He defends his proposal by the observation that, etymologically, religion and recreation mean the same thing. We are not so sure about that, but the fact that such a suggestion

is made by a minister in Scotland proves that Scotland is moving forward perhaps, fast enough. Twenty-five years ago another Scotch minister was the subject of universal reprobation in Scotland because he suggested that a quiet walk on Sunday might be a good thing. Now we have football on Sunday recommended. Scotland is advancing.—*London Daily Graphic.*

Logic and Law.

(Concluded.)

CONGRESSMEN are here to crystallize into law the highest expression of the will of the people. The expression of the civilian will, must result in civil law. You are here to make civil law then, are you not? Not moral law. Why can you not make moral law for the people?—Because you cannot exceed the powers which the people had to give you, who constituted you legislators. And as they had no power to make a rule of moral action, one for the other, or for themselves, therefore they had no authority to delegate such power to you.

If, then, you cannot, in your own minds, and in the minds of the people, both in theory and in fact, divorce completely—as utterly as though it had never existed—the religious idea from the concept Sunday, you have no right to legislate upon the use of that day, as distinguished from any other day.

Those who are asking for the passage of this bill, are urging the members to commit themselves to an unconstitutional act.

Sunday laws, and the whole line of religious legislation which goes in the same category, are alien to the letter of American fundamental law, and to the spirit of American institutions. They are a survival of the English Church Establishment, and should have existed, after the Declaration of Independence and the adoption of the Constitution, no more than the laws governing the control of livings, and the maintenance of the Church of England. They have rightly no more place in our statutes, than law for the regulation of the royal succession.

But the legal and judicial indolence of bar and bench has permitted this alien brood an entrance into our statute books, through *precedent* and not principle. And the precedent can be relied upon, in every case, to prove its principle wrong.

A clause of Article Fourteen, of the amendments to the Constitution, says, that "No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States;" but, when "legislating for the District of Columbia, Congress is bound by the prohibitions of the Constitution," and as otherwise expressed, it is the purpose of this Government to defend the personal rights and privileges of all its citizens, that, as the preamble states, the blessings of liberty may be secured to ourselves and to

our posterity. Yet, suppose for a moment that you are able to divest yourselves of the religious heredity acquired since your ancestors first heard Sunday preached, and you proceed upon a civil basis entirely; how far may you, as legislators, proceed in this special legislation, without trenching upon individual and absolute rights? To determine that, let us go back again to the source from which legislative authority is derived,—the people.

A citizen holds the right and title to his life in fee simple. Of what is a man's life composed?—Three score years and ten, or more, if by reason of strength he may attain to it. In other words, it is *time*,—that is the stuff of which the web of his life is woven. That time is his, possessed by him in indefeasible right. May he take, civilly, one-seventh of his neighbor's time, ten years of his life; may his neighbor take one-seventh of his life, ten years of his time, and devote it to any purpose whatever? If not, then have they the right to delegate to you the power to take away one-seventh of the lifetime of all the people? For, if it be true that they have that right, and may therefore give it to you, then the representative of the Knights of Labor, who spoke at the late Sunday Convention at Washington, was on the right track, when he said, "We go farther than you, and demand two days in the week, Saturday for play and Sunday for rest," and it may properly be made a penal offense to labor on Saturday and Sunday, and if for two days, then for three, four, five, six, seven; and the State may properly dictate what shall be the works of necessity and mercy permissible for any and all days of the week. Then a man's *lifetime* is not *his*; but has been absorbed into the being of a vampire of his own creation. If this can be so, what then becomes of the "inalienable rights" of "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," which the Declaration of Independence asserts?

It is therefore by the inexorable logic of their position, that those who are promoting the passage of Sunday laws, are compelled to deny the soundness of the foundation principles of our Government, "All men are created equal," and "Government derives its just powers from the consent of the governed," declaring them to be untrue and dangerous doctrines. At a joint Convention of the Sabbath Union and National Reform Association, held at Sedalia, Missouri, last summer, Rev. W. D. Gray said, in open convention, "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 of our fundamental law." The assent of the convention to these views was shown by the election of Mr. Gray to the secretaryship of the permanent State organization. Colonel Elliott F. Shepard, Presi-

dent of the American Sabbath Union, in a speech made at Chautauqua last summer, said, "Governments do *not* derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. God is the only law-giver. His laws are made clear and plain in his word, so that all nations may know what are the laws which God ordained to be kept."

These open statements show that the Sabbath Union and National Reform Association are, by the utterances of their representative men, traitors at heart. They unblushingly declare their disrespect for the principles of the Declaration of Independence, as a preliminary to the request to Congress, for the passage of laws in violation of the Constitution. They are at enmity with the Declaration and Constitution, because they desire to ignore rights which the one specifies, and the other secures to the people.

In this nation every individual is subject to the Government, and this Government derives its authority from no foreign power. The just powers of this Government then, if not from the governed, must be derived directly from God. We can understand how that the people express their highest civil conceptions in voicing human law; but if there be no human law, and all law is the expression of the perfection of God, what medium shall give voice to it? Upon this point, hear Rev. W. F. Crafts, Secretary of the Sabbath Union, in the convention lately held in the city of Washington. The following is *verbatim*:—

Mr. Hamlin: Is it proposed that an end should be put to the running of the street cars on Sunday?

Mr. Crafts: Well, whatever the law may be, I suppose the consciences of the people, and the officers, will carry out the law; otherwise, I suppose the citizens will form a *law-and-order league*, to aid in the enforcement of the law; for, even independent of police, local influence, a law-and-order league is useful in connection with the officers. As to newspapers and street-cars, these would come either under "secular work" or "works of necessity and mercy," and that is a matter of interpretation by the courts. . . . But the question of horse-cars and newspapers will undoubtedly be discussed by the courts, and something will either be put into the law, or decided by the courts shortly after the law is passed.

See also "Notes of Hearing," before the Senate Committee (of the Fiftieth Congress) on Education and Labor, on the joint resolution (S. R. 86) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, respecting establishments of religion and free public schools, p. 90.

Senator Payne: Let me inquire whether Unitarianism is within the principles of the Christian religion? . . . Is not Unitarianism a direct denial of the Divinity of Christ, and the Christian Church, and is that to be prohibited, or is it to be allowed?

The Chairman: The Court would have to settle that wherever the question was raised.

There is, then, no controversy but what these questions raised by this line of legislation, must come before the courts for adjudication. If this is to be, "The American Sabbath," and these the necessary measures for its "preservation," who will be the "American god?"—Jehovah? the courts? or the theological instructors behind the bench?

This is not a new subject in the com-

mittee-rooms of Congress. The Twentieth Congress was largely petitioned for the stoppage of Sunday mails, and it was then said that "these petitions did in fact call upon Congress to settle what was the law of God." The measure was reported upon adversely, the Senate concurring. See Register of Debates in Congress, Vol. 5, p. 43; and abridgments of Debates of Congress, Vol. 10, p. 232. The report of Mr. Johnson, of Kentucky, from the Senate Committee on post-offices and post-roads, to whom these petitions had been referred, is germane to the present issue. It is submitted that the Committee of the District of Columbia would, in this instance, be justified in presenting a similar report on H. R. 3,854, on similar ground.

As to the point that the District of Columbia already has Sunday laws in force, and enforceable, see laws of the District of Columbia, 1868, p. 137, Sections 10 and 11 (re-adopted in 1874). Section 92, p. 9 of the Revised Statutes of the District of Columbia, says: "The laws of the State of Maryland, not inconsistent with this title, as the same existed on the twenty-seventh day of February, 1801, except as since modified or repealed, continue in force within the District." The authority so to legislate, is shown in laws of Maryland, 1791, 1. Dorsey, p. 269, chapter 45, section 2, in connection with the clause in section 8, Article 1, of the Constitution of the United States, where, in citing the powers of Congress, it says, "To exercise exclusive legislation, in all cases whatsoever, over such District (not exceeding ten miles square) as may by cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of government of the United States," etc.

The District being thus under the jurisdiction of Congress, and the Maryland law adopted the Revised Statutes of the District of Columbia (section 1049, p. 122) determines what court has jurisdiction of cases coming under this law. It is there found to be the Police Court, and section 1,054 same page, provides that "The court may enforce any of its judgments or sentences, by fine or imprisonment, or both." Therefore, although the penalty affixed to the Maryland law may have become obsolete or difficult of determination, authority is lodged in the court having jurisdiction to affix its penalty by "fine or imprisonment, or both;" and in evidence of the fact that the law survives, although the penalty may become obsolete, see *United States vs. Royall*, 3 Cranch, Circuit Court Reports, pp. 620-25.

If Congress ever had the power to adopt such a law, the Maryland Sunday law of 1723 is still in force, and enforceable in the District of Columbia, and to adopt another would be simply cumulative legislation.

But, on the other hand, if it be true that, when "legislating for the District of Columbia, Congress is bound by the

prohibitions of the Constitution," see *United States vs. More*, 3 Cranch 160, and Congress never rightfully adopted this law into the statutes of the District, then Congress would be guilty of cumulative unconstitutionality, in passing the law contemplated in House Resolution 3,854.

Respectfully submitted,
W. H. MCKEE,

For the Nat'l Religious Liberty Ass'n.

Paganism and Christianity.

BISHOP ANDREWS, who has recently returned from a tour of inspection of the Methodist missions in Asia, reports that he found evidences in Japan of what he regards as a drift toward Christianity. The whole nation, he says is permeated with the fundamental principles of Christian civilization.

The same tendency has been discerned by other observers, and the advisability of formally adopting Christianity has every been discussed seriously by some of the Japanese statesmen and philosophers on the ground that the nation would profit by establishing the religion of the West. But this disposition toward Christianity is rather an indication of the absence of religious ideas and convictions than of the kindling of any new and genuine faith among the Japanese. The whole number of actual Christian converts there is put by Bishop Andrews at 25,000 only, while the population of the islands is about 35,000,000; and the educated people are described by him and other travelers as doubting or utterly rejecting all supernatural religion whatsoever. Such vital religious faith as there is remains among the common people; but the skeptical philosophers argue that so long as they have a religion of some sort it would not make much difference whether it were Christianity or Buddhism. The change, as the philosophers would make it, would be in name only.

Thus the state of mind among the educated Japanese is analogous to what it now is among many educated Europeans and Americans. They reject the old religious faith for themselves, but they regard its acceptance by the mass of the people as valuable for the preservation of the social order and system. The colleges and universities of Japan propagate religious doubt and scientific and philosophic theories subversive of all theology; and yet the temples are kept up to stimulate the faith of the humble faithful. Is not the same very much the case here? Our chief colleges exert an influence hostile to theological dogma and theory, but the churches continue to preach and uphold as much of the old belief as ministers will consent to inculcate and the attendants to receive. [The *Sun* might justly have added, and it ought to, that they are also seeking to have the State formally adopt it here as is proposed in Japan.—EDITOR SENTINEL.] This

substantial agreement with their own sentiment and practice leads the Japanese philosophers to question whether they might not adopt Christianity as they see it manifested in the West, without any violent shock to popular prejudices and with material gain in their relations with the western civilization. That seems to be the explanation of such drift toward Christianity as there really is in Japan.

Nor can it be denied that they have some reason for so thinking, and that it has been strengthened by recent theological discussions in this country. The best of the candidates offering themselves as missionaries for the American Board are young men who have acquired in the theological seminaries of the Congregationalists, views whose logical tendency is toward the Japanese position. They doubt, or absolutely reject, the old and fundamental doctrine of everlasting punishment, and would govern God by rules and under limitations which satisfy the requirements of human reason. In other words, reason has become their God. So, also, the Presbyterians are demanding that their standard of faith shall be made consistent with reason, though in order to accomplish the change the whole system of theology, as held by all orthodox churches, must be destroyed. They would make man's reason and sentiment rather than God's will to rule in the world. They are on the road to an agnosticism as complete as that of the Japanese. The Presbyterian minister who asserted in the New York Presbytery that his church was taking Colonel Ingersoll as its guide and leader, was not far wrong. The movement for a revision of the Westminster Confession is a movement in that direction.

It seems to us, therefore, that instead of attempting to encourage a tendency toward indifferent Christianity in Japan, Bishop Andrews and all Christian Bishops and ministers should rather bind themselves together to revive genuine Christianity at home. New York to-day is a pagan city. The majority of the people, and more especially the educated people, are as much pagans as the inhabitants of Tokio.—*New York Sun*, February 25, 1890.

In the Baltimore Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, March 15, the Rev. P. H. Whisner asked for the appointment of a committee of five on Sabbath observance, saying that "there is a great struggle going on between those who wish to see the Christian Sabbath kept sacred and those who wish to do as they please on that day." Well, if a man is not a Christian, has he not the right to do as he pleases on the Christian Sabbath? Why is it that those who profess to be Christians, persist in the effort to compel those who are not Christians to act as though they were? Such a proceeding is a reproach and only causes reproach to Christianity.

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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Religious Intolerance.

As a representative of the National Religious Liberty Association, the writer attended the March term of the Circuit Court, at Troy, Tennessee, to witness the trial of one R. M. King, indicted for working on Sunday. Mr. King is a member of the Seventh-day Adventist Church, a sect which, like the Seventh-day Baptists, observes the seventh day (Saturday) as the Sabbath, instead of Sunday, believing the seventh, and not the first day of the week, to be the day of divine appointment.

The indictment against Mr. King reads as follows:—

Indictment vs. R. M. KING.

State of Tennessee, } July Term, A. D. 1889.
Obion County. }

The Grand Jurors of the State of Tennessee, elected, empanelled, sworn and charged to inquire in and for the body of the County of Obion, in the State aforesaid, upon their oath present that R. M. King, late of said County, laborer, heretofore, to wit: on the 23rd day of June, A. D. 1889, and on divers other Sundays before and after that date, and up to the taking of this requisition, in the County of Obion aforesaid, then and there did unlawfully and unnecessarily engage in his secular business, and performed his common avocation of life, to wit: plowing on Sunday, and did various other kinds of work on that day and on Sundays before that day, without regard to said Sabbath days. Said work was not necessary, nor done as a matter of charity; and the doing of said work on said day was and is a disturbance to the community in which done, was offensive to the moral sense of the public, and was and is a common nuisance. So the Grand Jurors aforesaid present and say that said R. M. King was in manner and form aforesaid guilty of a public nuisance by such work on Sunday in a public place, prejudicial to public morals, contrary to the statute, and against the peace and dignity of the State.

J. R. BOND,
Att'y-Gen.

Five witnesses were called for the State, and one for the defense. The first witness examined was J. L. Cole, who was also the prosecutor in the case. He testified that he had seen Mr. King plowing in his field on Sunday on one occasion. There was a public neighborhood road on two sides of the field in which the plowing was done, but the field was not in sight of any place of public worship. He did not see the defendant plowing for more than five minutes. On cross-examination the following questions were put to the witness by

Colonel Richardson, the defendant's counsel, and drew from the witness the answers as given:—

Col. R.—Did you see the defendant, Mr. King, working on Sunday?

Mr. Cole.—Yes, sir; I saw him plowing in his field on Sunday, the twenty-third day of June last.

Col. R.—Did it disturb you in any way?

Mr. Cole.—Yes, sir, of course it did; it was very annoying to my feelings.

Col. R.—On what grounds?

Mr. Cole.—On the ground that it was a violation of laws both sacred and civil.

Col. R.—Then it was an excitement of your religious feelings, and repulsive to your views of Christianity?

Mr. Cole.—Yes, sir.

Col. R.—How long have you known Mr. King?

Mr. Cole.—For about twenty or twenty-five years.

Col. R.—What was the general character of the defendant as a peaceable, quiet, law-abiding citizen, up to the time of this indictment?

Mr. Cole.—It was good.

Col. R.—Is he a pious, Christian gentleman?

To this question the prosecuting attorney, J. R. Bond, objected, and his objection was sustained by Judge Swiggart, on the ground that it was irrelevant. Whereupon Colonel Richardson made the following plea:—

Your Honor, I think it is relevant, and I submit to your Honor that I propose to prove that he is a member of a church which holds that Saturday, the seventh day, is the Sabbath, and that he observes it. I think I have a right to do this for two purposes: first, I think I have a right to do it to show that he did not intentionally violate the law; second, I think I have a right to do it to show the intent and purpose for which he did it, as a matter of mitigation. If this action can be sustained at all, and if this jury can find any verdict at all, it is within the discretion and power of the jury to impose any fine above \$50 that they may see proper. And I think that as a matter of mitigation I have a right to show to the jury that this man belongs to a church that professes certain tenets of religious faith,—amongst which is that the seventh day is the Sabbath; and that he observed that day as the Sabbath. I think I have a right to prove this,—not, I grant you, as a defense to the action, or as a decision of it, but in mitigation of any fine.

The Court.—I do not think his religious belief or religious connection with any church or sect has anything to do with this lawsuit, and sustain all objections tending to prove anything of that sort.

Col. R.—And your Honor declines to allow me to prove it, even as a matter of mitigation?

The Court.—Yes, sir.

Col. R. (to the witness).—Are you prejudiced against the defendant because of his religious views?

Mr. Cole.—I can say this, that I do not favor his religious views.

Here the Court objected to any further questions on this point from the defense.

Further examination drew from this witness and the one which followed, the fact that the witnesses and certain others had bound themselves by a written pledge or agreement to prosecute every violation of the Sunday law. The defendant offered to prove that others who made no pretensions to observe any other day than Sunday cut wheat with a self-binder, rafted logs, and did other work on Sunday, and that no attempt had been made to prosecute them; but the Court would not allow him to do so.

The cross-examination showed that the third witness, Alexander Wright, was going down to his field to examine his crops the first time he saw Mr. King at work; and on another occasion he and the fourth witness, William Oaks, were on their way to another part of the neighbor-

hood after a cow. The fifth witness was looking up harvest-hands when he saw the defendant at work on Sunday.

The defendant also offered to prove that he had been tried before a Justice of the Peace, and fined for the identical work which was made the principal offense in the indictment, viz.: plowing corn on Sunday, the twenty-third day of June last, and that he had paid his fine and the costs; and introduced for the purpose the Justice before whom he was tried; but the Court would not permit him to prove these facts.

The speech of the prosecuting attorney was a tirade against the religious sect of which the defendant was a member, and a reflection upon northern men, although Mr. King is not a northern man, all of which was well calculated to arouse the prejudices of the jury. It was so saturated with blackguardism that it cannot be repeated. The main effort of the speaker was to confound the defendant and those of his religious faith with the Mormons, and he even charged them with offering human sacrifices. I will give a few extracts from the speech, which are very much modified; for no respectable pen could write the words as spoken, and no respectable ear would want to hear them.

There were a lot of fellows in the olden time—some Adventists, or Seventh-day Advents, or Mormons, or Mayflower fellows, I do not care which you call them—that believed in human sacrifices, carrying them to the altar and burning them up as an incense. Suppose they should come from the same section of that country, Colonel Richardson would say, "You have no right to interfere with the rights of conscience of this people; and you can't interfere with them, because the Bill of Rights says that every man in this country has a right to worship God according to the dictates of his conscience." Burn children, practice polygamy, and everything else of that sort! No, sir; away with all such foolishness, and everything of that sort! I do not care anything about the Adventists, or Mormons, whether they are right or not. But when they come here they must walk up to the rack and eat the same fodder that our folks eat. Not satisfied with worshipping God! Oh no; but with your shorthand reporters, your Mormons, and your Adventists, you want to corrupt not only the whole morals of the country, but you want to control the courts of the country. I wish to God we had more Methodist Churches, and more Baptist Churches, and more Presbyterian Churches, and more Episcopal Churches, and more Catholic Churches, until every man was brought under the benign influences of these churches; but, in the name of God, I do not want any of these Advent Churches, or Mormon Churches. Guiteau, when he had a revelation from God (and I expect he had a Seventh-day Adventist lawyer to defend him), took a pistol and shot down the ruler of this Nation, and they hung him; and that is what they ought to do with all these fellows. I have no respect for men like that. These fellows never heard from God, and I think they never will. They are not satisfied with working on Sunday and practicing polygamy themselves, they come down here and want to save us, and have us practice polygamy.

The obscene and filthy utterances of the attorney, which we have not quoted, evoked considerable merriment among the visitors in the court-room, the jury, and especially among the leading witnesses for the prosecution, who were devout church members.

The jury was only out about half an hour, when they returned a verdict of guilty, and assessed the fine at \$75. The counsel for the defendant took exception to the charge given to the jury, and moved

a new trial. In refusing to grant a new trial, the Judge said:—

The law is clear. I charged it properly. The fine is a reasonable one, and one well warranted. The laws are made to be obeyed; and Mr. King and all other men should and must obey them, or leave the country. I make these remarks that they may know that I intend to have the laws strictly enforced in the future. Mr. King and his brethren have a right to keep another day if they choose, but as Christian men it is their duty to obey the laws of the State, and they must do it.

An appeal was taken to the Supreme Court of the State, and will probably be heard at the April term.

The results of this case prove more clearly than ever the danger of removing a single provision that our fathers wisely put in the Constitution to protect the rights of conscience, and to secure to all perfect religious liberty. And it is not enough to have these safeguards in the Constitution; The statute-books must also be kept clear of laws touching matters that are purely religious. The Bill of Rights of Tennessee is clear and strong as to the rights of conscience; but the statutes are enforced regardless of the Bill of Rights. In matters of so much importance we cannot trust to the good will and indulgence of our fellow-citizens. The rights of every citizen in matters of conscience should be recognized fully and distinctly in all constitutions and statute-books, both State and national. Nor can any creed or sect be safe when it is otherwise. No matter how numerous or well protected they may be at the present time, let the precedent once be established of coercing the conscience under the sanction and protection of law, and none can tell what the end will be. In the case above referred to, the witnesses testified that their moral and religious senses and their sense of propriety were shocked. Another citizen of Tennessee, in talking with the writer, said that it would shock his moral sense, and sense of propriety, more to see persons led down into the water and immersed than to see a man quietly plowing in his field on Sunday. Who can say, if the laws would permit it, that there would not be men whose religious senses would be shocked by immersion, by communion in both kinds, or by the opposite of these, till their pent-up religious enthusiasm would seek vent in prosecutions and persecutions. The only tenable ground for a remedy against the evils of religious legislation is to keep the State and the Church forever separate.

DAN. T. JONES.

THE act of those riotous women at Lathrop, Missouri, the *Union Signal* approves as "a temperance crusade with practical features and speedy results." We do not believe in intemperance nor in rioting. Riotous "temperance" is intemperance none the less dangerous than saloon intemperance. These women ought to have been more both womanly and more temperate. They should not have allowed their zeal to get the better of their judgment.

NEW YORK, MARCH 27, 1890.



NOTE.—Any one receiving the AMERICAN SENTINEL without having ordered it may know that it is sent to him by some friend, unless plainly marked "Sample copy." It is our invariable rule to send out no papers without pay in advance, except by special arrangement, therefore, those who have not ordered the SENTINEL need have no fears that they will be asked to pay for it simply because they take it from the post-office.

THE Supreme Court of Wisconsin has decided that the reading of the Bible in the public schools is sectarian teaching, and therefore unconstitutional. Judge Bennett's "representative" decision is therefore reversed.

THE Blair Educational bill was defeated in the Senate March 20, by a vote of thirty-one to thirty-seven. Senator Blair changed his affirmative vote to no and gave notice of a motion to reconsider.

The article in this paper on the bill was in type and "made up" before the bill was defeated; and it will help more to show how richly the bill deserved the everlasting death which we hope has been dealt to it by this vote.

OUR readers will remember that two weeks ago we published a letter from our California correspondent criticising a sermon on Sunday work in one of the California prisons. Referring to this same sermon the San Francisco *Alta* says:—

A good many interior journals are commenting admiringly on the energetic and righteous indignation with which Rev. Dr. F. A. Horton, of Oakland, recently denounced the practice of working the San Quentin convicts on Sunday. Only one fault can be found with Dr. Horton's denunciation. The convicts in San Quentin are not worked on Sunday.

This is indeed a serious fault, but we think that our correspondent showed very plainly that it was not the only fault in that sermon.

WE learn from the *Territory Enterprise* that a large and enthusiastic meeting of the citizens of Virginia City, Nevada, was held in the Opera House at that place on the 10th inst., to protest against the passage of the Blair Sunday-rest bill, the Breckinridge Sunday bill, and the proposed Educational amendment to the Constitution of the United States. A part of the resolutions were as follows:—

Resolved, That . . . it is not and never should be within the province of the national Congress, or the Legislature of any State in the Union to prescribe for the free public schools what are and what are not the "fundamental and non-sectarian principles of Christianity."

Resolved, That religion is beyond the purview of human government, and from it is essentially distinct and exempt from its cognizance. That any connection between them is not only injurious to both, but is destructive of personal liberty, freedom of conscience, and the public welfare; and with the patriot soldier, Grant, we affirm that all religions should, for all time, be left to the family altar, the church, and

the private school, supported entirely by private contribution, and that the State and the Church should remain forever separate.

The senators and representatives from that State were requested to oppose the adoption of the Blair and Breckinridge measures. The work of the National Religious Liberty Association was heartily approved.

DR. GOSSLER, Minister of Ecclesiastical Affairs and Public Instruction of the German Empire, has, it is said, expressed his approval of the views of Dr. Windhorst, the Catholic leader, that the Church, school, and State ought to work together. Radical changes, he declares, are impending in the field of education. In view of the fact that the late elections in Germany have given the Papists a strong hold upon the Government, enabling them to dictate their own terms to the emperor, the world need be surprised at nothing which may happen in Germany in the way of a return to the methods of the middle ages.

REV. JOSEPH COOK is quoted by the *Christian Statesman* of Feb. 27, as criticising Edward Bellamy's Nationalism, in his first Boston lecture for 1890, and saying: "It has elements in it that are very Christian; but the Christianity is in the voluntary co-operation, and not in the compulsory Nationalism." Very true Mr. Cook! The principle of voluntary co-operation, and not of national compulsion, is at the root of all Christianity. In that expression, you have stated a truth of universal application, and one which bears just as hard upon the methods and purposes of the National Reform Association, and Sabbath Union, as upon the doctrines of Mr. Bellamy. Why, then, do you affiliate with these advocates of nationalism in religion?

THE *Christian Statesman*, of March 6, contains the following: "We regret to note that Sabbath, the 23d inst., was openly devoted to lobbying among the members of Congress in favor of the rival cities. The amended Fair bill, imperilled by a shameful struggle for political advantage, passed the New York Legislature on Wednesday, the 19th. Until this was done, New York's representatives at Washington could do nothing. The Sabbath was one of the four days left before the vote was to be taken. Chauncy M. Depew, Ex-Senator Warner Miller, Elliott F. Shepard and others, hastened to Washington. We cannot say to what extent the Christian men in this delegation were responsible for the fact, or were implicated in it, but the newspapers of Monday bore evidence that no other day of the four was more diligently employed in pushing the claims of New York, than was the Sabbath. On the evening of that day, a dinner was given by Representative Flower, where the plans for the week were carefully looked over again, and close calculations made, as to the result of the vote."

Already it seems the religious press has begun its censorship, and among those who fall under its displeasure, is the unfortunate president of the Sabbath Union itself. Elliott F. Shepard has been in bad company, and the *Christian Statesman* throws the first stone. He has soiled the immaculate dignity of his office by coming to Washington on the same train with Chauncy Depew and others, who, according to the newspapers, must have talked about the World's Fair on Sunday. A New York Representative gave a dinner too, and these bad men all ate together on Sunday, and planned how to get the World's Fair. If only the Breckinridge Sunday bill had been a law, the *Statesman* might have had legal redress for the "disturbance" of its Sunday rest in Philadelphia, by these New York Sunday-breakers in Washington.

A GENTLEMAN in Florence, Ontario, sends us a postal card, from which we make the following extract:—

You seem to think that God requires some help from some of his creatures to maintain his kingdom upon earth. I pray that the United States may be so fortunate as to get a civil statute to protect the first day of the week as the Christian Sabbath.

We cannot see why the gentleman should imagine that we think that God needs some help "to maintain his kingdom upon earth." That is the position occupied by those who are endeavoring to give him the help of the civil law. The Sabbath is a divine institution, and it belongs to God. If Sunday is the Sabbath, it certainly needs no other law than the law of God to maintain it. God needs no aid from the civil power to maintain the dignity of his government. But the National Reformers are insisting that he does, and that this Government shall give it to him.

THE member of Congress who presented the local Sunday bill for the District of Columbia, in the House of Representatives, said, in an address in New York, as quoted in "Sabbath Reform Document" of January 9:—

The State owes it to itself and to its present citizens, and to the generations that are yet to come, to protect this day, on precisely the same grounds that they protect the martial relation.

This member proposes to protect the day, by a law "to prevent persons from being forced to labor on Sunday." At the next session of Congress, then, we may expect him to introduce a bill "to prevent persons from being forced to violate the marital relation."

THE AMERICAN SENTINEL.

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EDITORS,
E. J. WAGGONER, ALONZO T. JONES.

At a meeting of the school teachers of Douglas County, Kansas, lately, there was "an animated debate" upon the following question:—

In the provision made in the Constitution for the separation of Church and State, does the word Church mean or include Christianity?

This seems to imply that the Constitution which they had in mind makes use of the word Church; but neither the United States Constitution nor the Constitution of Kansas uses the word in any such connection. But whatever the teachers meant it was finally concluded by them that "the word Church does not mean or include Christianity." We should like those teachers to tell us what Christianity is, or amounts to in this world, without the Church of Christ. There may be a church without Christianity, but it is impossible to have Christianity without a church. Those teachers need to be taught before they discuss such a question again.

THE *Christian Nation* wants a "Protestant university" at Washington, and what is more, it wants the Government to build it, or at least contribute liberally toward the enterprise. In its issue of March 19 that paper says:—

Since the Catholics made a successful venture in founding a University at Washington, various projects for a great national university under Protestant auspices have been suggested and discussed. Every one seems ready to admit that the national capital is an ideal strategic point for the location of such an institution, and every one is in favor of it. But it requires something more than good wishes to endow a university, and while Uncle Sam has millions of surplus stored away in his great money vaults, it is not an easy matter to get their doors opened by those who have the power to do so, namely, our legislators.

"Straws," it is said, "show which way the wind blows," and this item shows just as plainly the direction which the National Reform mind is taking. It would require only the adoption of the Blair Educational amendment to make a "Protestant university" at Washington, endowed with Uncle Sam's surplus millions a possibility. But desirable as a great university may be at the national capital, we hope never to see a dollar of Government money appropriated either to a Protestant university or to a Catholic university. The revenues of the country are for quite another purpose than that of endowing denominational institutions of learning, whether Protestant or Papal. The Government should know no Protestants and no Catholics, but only citizens.

The Temporal Against the Spiritual.

THE Blair Educational bill is dead, and we are glad; yet its spirit, intensified, still survives in his proposed amendment to the Constitution. And as the principles and the object which it was designed to further are embodied in the joint resolution to amend the Constitution, the discussion of the question is still of living importance. But even though the principles were not still pending in another measure, the fact that a bill to such an intent should pass the Senate three times and fail to pass the fourth time by so close a vote as thirty-seven to thirty-one, adds a twofold weight to justify further discussion of it, because this shows that the principles are indorsed in high places, and that they have a place in the public estimation. The facts given last week prove that the object of the bill was to open the way for the national power to abolish all denominational schools, and to take total control of all the children of the Nation in religious as well as in the common branches of knowledge.

In his speech Mr. Blair enunciated doctrines that are entirely subversive of every form of recognition of any power higher than that of the national Government. For convenience we again quote, as follows,

his statement branding as "Jesuits" the opponents of his educational measure:—

The Jesuits who have undertaken the overthrow of the public-school system of this country are already far advanced in their work. And I desire to say that by "Jesuits" I do not mean simply and alone those who may belong to that order, but I refer to them and to those who sympathize with them in their views of public education, and of the proper system for the use of the children of the people at large.

I am aware that some who belong in what are known as Protestant denominations share in the belief that the denominational school is the right school, the better school for the education of the rising generation, and to them all, to this aggregate, I have applied this term which I think is a proper one.

There are a great many people in the United States who believe in denominational schools who are not Jesuits, nor even Roman Catholics, nor are they in any way in sympathy with the Roman Catholic opposition to the public-school system. They have not a word to say against the public schools, but they do say that the public school cannot give instruction in religion at all, much less can it give instruction in the religion which they believe. And believing with all their hearts the religion which they profess, it is more precious to them than life, and they must teach it to their children. And that it may be taught to their children in a way to do them the most good, they establish denominational schools and support them themselves, and at the same time cheerfully pay their taxes for the support of the public schools. We say that these people have a right to maintain these schools as they please. We say further that the Roman Catholics have the right to establish and maintain parochial schools, in which distinctive Roman Catholic doctrines shall be taught, to the satisfaction of Roman Catholic people. They have the right to do this without any interference whatever on the part of the Government. As long as that is the religion that they believe, and they pay for the teaching of it, it is nobody's business but their own; and when the State undertakes to interfere with it, it is going out of its place, and in-

terfering with that with which it has no business to have anything to do.

All, then, being "Jesuits," according to Mr. Blair's theory, who believe in denominational schools, the following statement shows what is intended by the legislation:—

The Educational bill [now the amendment] will decide the great school controversy against the Jesuits, and in favor of the present public system of education for all.

Thus it is shown that the object of that legislation is the abolition of every form of denominational school, and have the public school only, or the private school exactly corresponding to the public school. Next he says:—

Two great institutions in our society undertake to control the education of the child. The public-school system undertakes to give universal education, and aims to impart that training and to convey that kind and degree of knowledge which shall insure absolute freedom of action to the individual in all the affairs of public and private life which are the subject of voluntary control, and to secure right action by the influence of intelligence and upright motives.

There are many private schools founded upon the same principles as the public-school system, and for the purposes of this discussion should be included with that system.

It is not true that the public-school system undertakes to give universal education. It cannot possibly give universal education. It has no right to undertake to give education in religion; but this paragraph shows that the proposed amendment to the Constitution is the genuine expression of his thoughts on this question. But now for the other system. He describes that as follows:—

The other great system of education seeks to control the whole course of the subsequent life of the individual by the imposition of an extraneous authority upon the will or deciding power of the soul in that period of life when it is easy to fashion the fate [faith] of the child.

It is the very office of Christianity to seek to control the whole course of the subsequent life of the individual, by the imposing of an extraneous authority upon the will or deciding power of the soul, just as soon as it possibly can. If it can be done while the individual is a child, so much the better; but whenever it may be done, this is the one grand object of the Christian religion. It seeks so to control the whole course of the subsequent life of the individual, that the will or deciding power of the soul will recognize the authority of Jesus Christ as absolutely supreme over every other form of authority that may be imagined; and in the above statement Senator Blair thus distinctly proposes to set the United States Government, through his public-school system, above Christianity, and to set the authority of the State above the authority of Jesus Christ.

This last statement leads him to the consideration of the spiritual power and authority as compared with the temporal, and he says:—

Think of the tremendous superiority of the spirit-

ual over the temporal power when once the former has obtained dominion of the soul, as measured by their great test—a comparison of the penalties which each one may inflict upon him who violates their respective commands. The one can kill the body, and that is all. The other can burn both body and soul forever. Now, it is this latter proposition which is the secret of the Church's power over the child taught in the parochial schools.

It is true that there is a tremendous superiority of spiritual things over temporal things, and of spiritual power over temporal power, and this very superiority Christianity inculcates. Christianity says: "What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?" "Fear not, therefore, them which destroy the body, and after that have no more that they can do; but fear him who is able to destroy both soul and body in hell; yea, I say to you, fear him." And again: "Our light affliction which is but for a moment, worketh for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory; while we look not at the things which are seen but at the things which are not seen; for the things which are seen are temporal, but the things which are not seen are eternal." This is the voice of Christianity. It is the very purpose of Christianity to introduce men to the realm of spirituality, and to make spiritual things supreme, and to put temporal things into a wholly subordinate place; and if necessity demands, give them no place at all. The spiritual authority, therefore, is, in the realm of conscience, supreme over the individual soul. This doctrine and the inculcation of the sense of this authority upon the souls of men, is committed to the Church. It belongs to the Church; the Church is commanded by Jesus Christ to teach it. She must teach it, and she will teach it. She will teach in spite of all the power that earth can possibly oppose to it. Nor is it victorious over the opposition of earthly power only, for Jesus Christ has declared of this Church that even the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. The very work of the Church, and the very reason of its existence in the world, is to spread abroad the knowledge of spirituality; and to make known the immense value and superiority of the spiritual over temporal things.

Next says Mr. Blair:—

If this idea of church authority should come to permeate the public-school system, the parochial school would disappear.

Assuredly it would, and the Church itself would disappear, because there would be neither earthly nor heavenly use for it. The public-school system is the State system; the public school's authority and methods are the State's authority and methods. If, therefore, the State could exert the authority, do the work, and perform the office of the Church, then there would be no place for the Church. But the State can never do this; it does not belong to the State at all. Christ never committed it in any sense, nor in any degree, to the State. He committed it to the

Church. He established the Church solely that this work might be performed, and this authority be made known. This last quotation, therefore, plainly shows that the idea of the proposed religious amendment to the Constitution, the idea of the legislation of which Senator Blair is the originator, is to destroy all Church authority, all Church teachings, and supplant them by the State; and then to destroy all idea, all sense, all teaching, of the superiority of spiritual things over temporal, and make temporal things only supreme, and temporal power absolute, in the dominion of the soul.

Since Roman pagan times there has never been asserted more plainly the supremacy of temporal power over all things, human or divine, over all things spiritual. And aside from the laws of Roman paganism, it would be difficult to find in any nation statutes embodying so fully and clearly the divinity of the temporal power as do these measures originated and advocated by Mr. Blair in the United States Senate.

But though the Church be all that we have here stated, as there belongs to it all that we have here named, it does not follow that there is, or that there should be, any conflict whatever between the Church and the State, or between church authority and the authority of the State. The Church has its sphere, the State has its sphere also. These are totally separate and distinct from each other. The sphere of the Church is spiritual, and has to do with spiritual things; and with spiritual authority, not with temporal. The sphere of the State is temporal; it has to do only with temporal things, and never with things spiritual. While the Church keeps its proper place, and the State keeps its proper place, there can never be any conflict. By the assertion of the authority of the State in spiritual things and in matters which belong to the Church, this assertion which is made by the Blair legislation is just as bad as would be or ever was an assertion of the authority of the Church over that of the State. It is evil, only evil, and that continually, and continually increasing.

A. T. J.

A Pointed Question by a Presbyterian.

If I am a Presbyterian, plowing in my own field along side of the public highway on Saturday, and a Seventh-day Adventist, or Baptist, should pass by on his way to church, and if I should bid him a civil good morning and go on with my work, and then he should complain to the magistrate and ask for my arrest for disturbing his devotions, would I not discover that he was a hypocritical pretender?

On the other hand, if I should pass his field on my way to church on Sunday, and find him at work and prosecute him for it, would he not see that my religion did not bear the impress of the Cross?

WILL. M. GLENN.

Coultersville, Penn.

Religion and the Church.

WHEN so much is said *pro* and *con* about a union of Church and State, it is fitting that we know exactly what is meant by "the Church." Many people erroneously suppose that the term refers to some particular denomination, as the Methodist, Baptist, or Presbyterian. But this is not the case. To use the term in that sense would be manifestly unfair. If, in speaking of "the Church," we should refer to some special denomination, we would thereby imply that no other denomination could be a part of "the Church." With the exception of the Catholic, nobody uses the term "the Church" with reference to any particular sect.

In the Bible "the Church" is declared to be the body of Christ. In one place Paul says of Christ that "he is the head of the body, the Church" (Col. 1: 18); and again he says that God "hath put all things under his feet, and gave him to be the head over all things to the Church, which is his body" (Eph. 1: 22, 23). Baptism is universally recognized as the entrance to the Church, as Paul says, "By one Spirit are we all baptized into one body," and that this body is Christ, is shown by the words, "As many of you as have been baptized into Christ have put on Christ."

"The Church," then, in the strict sense of the word, is composed of those who are "in Christ," who have been converted, "born again," and are consequently "new creatures." From this it is very evident that, strictly speaking, no one religious sect, nor all of them together, can be called "the Church." Everybody is willing to admit that in every denomination there are those who are really members of "the Church," because they are united to Christ; but nobody will claim that all of any denomination are truly Christian.

Since we cannot always distinguish the true professor from the false one, it is evident that the extent of the Church is known only to him who can read the heart; but it is not convenient always to make this fine distinction in our conversation, neither is it possible; and therefore we speak of all who profess the religion of Jesus as members of his Church. Thus we *assume*, since we cannot *decide*, that each individual's profession is an honest one.

Now mark this fact: the religion of Jesus, or the profession of that religion, is the distinguishing characteristic of the Church. It is that which makes the Church, and without that there is no Church.

With this matter clearly in mind, we are prepared to decide for ourselves whether or not the Religious Amendment party is in favor of a union of Church and State. And this decision shall be made from the published statements of that party. In the New York Convention of the National Reform Association, held in 1873, Dr. Jonathan Edwards, of Peoria, Ill., said:—

It is just possible that the outcry against Church and State may spring rather from hatred to revealed religion than from an intelligent patriotism. But where is the sign, the omen, of such Church and State mischief coming upon us? Who will begin and who will finish this union of Church and State? If you think the Roman Catholic can do it in spite of the watchfulness of the Protestant, or that one Protestant sect can do it amid the jealousy of all other sects, or that all these sects would combine to effect a joint union with the State, you have a notion of human nature and of church nature different from what I have. Church and State in union, then, are forever impossible here; and, were it never so easy, we all repudiate it on principle. There are enduring and ever valid reasons against it. But religion and State is another thing. That is possible. That is a good thing; and that is what we aim to make a feature in our institutions.

Exactly; and right here do we see the omen of a union of Church and State. We do not expect that in this country the Catholic Church will be the State Church, nor that any one of the Protestant sects will be honored by an alliance with the State. Neither do we look for all the sects to combine and sink their individual names and thus form a union with the State. But we do look for a desperate effort to unite Church and State; and we claim that this effort will be made by the so-called National Reform party. And further, we claim that Dr. Edwards has admitted, even while denying it, that such union is the avowed object of that party. We leave it to the candid reader if the short argument at the beginning of this article, defining "the Church," taken in connection with Dr. Edwards' positive declaration, does not prove that a union of Church and State is the grand object sought by the Amendmentists.

"But," says one, "do you not teach that a man should carry his religion into his business? Why, then, should you object to religion in the State?" We do believe that if a man *has* religion he should manifest it in his business transactions as well as in church; but if he has it not, we would not have him simulate it. So likewise we believe in religion among individuals everywhere, for only individuals can be religious. No man can be religious for another, neither can one man or any number of men make any man religious. And therefore we are not in favor of upholding religion by the laws of the State.

Perhaps it may be made a little plainer that religion in the State, is Church and State united. We say that the possession of true religion marks one as a real Christian—a member of the Church of Christ. The association together of a body of people professing religion constitutes, outwardly at least, a branch of the Church of Christ. And so, likewise, the profession of religion by the State constitutes a State church. This is all the union of Church and State that has ever existed. And when such a union shall have been effected, what will be the result? Just this: religion and patriotism will be identical. No matter how pure some of the principles upheld by the laws may be, they can have

no vitalizing, spiritual effect on the hearts of the people, because they will stand on the same level as the law defining who are eligible to office, and regulating the length of the presidential term. In short, the incorporation of religion into the laws of the State, marks the decline of religion in the hearts of the people. And this is what the Religious Amendment party is pledged to bring about.

Ought not all lovers of pure Christianity to enter a hearty and continued protest against such a proceeding? E. J. W.

The Wisconsin Decision.

THE *Mail and Express* of this city has a good deal to say against the Wisconsin Supreme Court decision excluding the Bible from the public schools of that State, but it has not given any good reason why the Protestant version of the Scriptures should be read rather than the Catholic version, nor why the Christian Scriptures should have a place in schools supported by the State, to the exclusion of the sacred books of other religions. How would those who insist upon the reading of the Bible in the public schools enjoy living in a Mormon community, and have a Mormon school-board and a Mormon teacher make the reading of the "Book of Mormon" or the "Book of Doctrines and Covenants" a part of each day's programme of school work? They would have just the same right to do it that Protestants have to compel the children of Catholic parents to listen to the reading of the Bible as translated by authority of King James.

But it will probably be said that the Protestant Scriptures ought to be read in the schools because they are the word of God. But that is only to say that the State has the right, not only to decide what is the word of God, but to require everybody to acquiesce in that decision. The position is utterly untenable, in the light of the history of the past. The State, being composed of individuals of many and varied beliefs, must of necessity leave religion and religious teaching entirely alone. A Christian majority has no more right to force the Bible upon the infidel minority than an infidel majority would have to force the "Age of Reason" upon a Christian minority. And we marvel that all Christians cannot see that in insisting upon the right of the State to give any kind of religious instruction whatever, they are placing themselves in a position where, were the majority to change, they would by their own course be estopped from denying the right of infidels, Mormons, or Romanists, to teach their religion in the schools where they have the necessary number of votes to sustain such a course. The man who concedes the right of the State to dictate to the individual in matters of religion, simply confesses that he is ready to surrender his conscientious convictions should the Government command him so to do.

C. P. BOLLMAN.

An Appeal to a Congressman.

UNDER the above heading the Rev. H. B. Maurer, a Baptist pastor in this State, has written a pointed communication, from which we make the following extract:—

Respected Sir:—As a Baptist, I have additional reasons to those that I am a Republican and one of your constituents, for asking you to use your influence to prevent the passage of the Breckinridge bill, now pending at Washington. By arts, unworthy of religious men, that bill is made to appear non-religious, and therefore constitutional; and before proving that it is neither, pray let me remind you that from religious legislation we Baptists, as history shows, have in times past been the greatest sufferers; that the union of Church and State having proved a curse to Europe, our ancestors wisely formed a national Constitution on the principle of rendering to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's.

As for the "civil Sabbath," there can be no such thing. Sabbath observance is a duty we owe to God and not to man; it is a subjective matter entirely; while things civil have to do only with the State, and our relations man to man. In God's law it finds a place where the duties toward him are defined, and in no other relation can it be placed, while things which we call civil are in that part of the law where man's relations to man, society, and the State, are defined. The laws of our land rightly may have to do with stealing, adultery, murder, false witness, etc., as these are civil matters, but I deny, sir, that they can have anything to do with idolatry, blasphemy, or Sabbath observance, as these are not civil matters, and have to do only with the relations between man and his Maker.

As for the sanitary Sabbath, another piece of sophism to secure religious legislation, I deny the right of the law of the land to define how much, or just when, a man shall rest. I deny that it should say I shall and must rest one day in seven because it is good for me, as I would deny its right to say that I must bathe once a day, or once in every seven days; or that I should refrain from eating pork, or mixing pickles with my ice-cream, because thus to bathe or thus to refrain is good for me. I prefer to receive such instruction from my physician and not from Congress nor the American Sabbath Union.

Sabbath observance can and must be secured through education and persuasion only, and not by coercion. The gospel persuades men to reverence sacred things from motives of love, and not to compel them by force; therefore to do by law what ought to be done by the gospel is anti-Christian. Let the church members and ministers refuse to patronize Sunday cars and Sunday newspapers if they believe

that day sacred; let the former in their homes, and the latter from their pulpits, educate the people to reverence what they believe sacred, but let these ministers not be allowed to put upon Congress and the courts the work for which they are paid. Their position is practically saying, "We are a failure, we cannot do what we are commissioned to do; help us to earn our salaries." Such work belongs to the churches, and to them only, and it would be taking a long step backward if more laws were added to the iniquitous laws now found among our State statutes, which have never helped the Sabbath anywhere; for what Sabbath observance there is results not from civil statutes but from religious training.

Now, sir, the question may arise why I, a resident of New York, should be so opposed to a proposed law affecting the District of Columbia only. Simply because I see in this, another scheme to secure more extended legislation. It is like the camel which got his nose first into the tent. Let this bill pass, and Congress will have established a precedent; and as surely as day follows night, a national bill will follow, and it will be the Blair bill, already awaiting its turn.

Why Can They Not See It?

WE here present an extract from the speech of Mr. J. O. Corliss, made at the late hearing before the Committee on District of Columbia, on the Breckinridge Sunday-bill. It contains good points:—

This bill, instead of having a civil character, is a purely religious document, as you will notice by an examination of it. A civil bill can make provision for only civil matters; but this one enjoins the observance of a day, the non-observance of which is no incivility to any one. Sunday observance originated in religious worship, and has ever been regarded as a purely religious rite. Civil offenses are those which invade the rights of property or person; but if one labors on Sunday, he invades the rights of no human being. He robs no one of any property or of a single personal right. His neighbor may observe the day if he chooses, just the same as if the other man were doing so.

It is not the day on which the act is performed which makes it civil or uncivil. It is just as wrong to strike a man in the face on Monday, as to do it on Sunday. It is just as wrong to drink whisky on Monday, as to drink it on Sunday. If it were true that the day itself could constitute an act a civil offense, then it might be argued that labor on Sunday is a civil offense. But just as soon as the position is assumed that labor is a civil offense (no matter on what day it is performed), then labor is made a crime. Therefore, by the terms of this bill, honest labor becomes a crime, for it expressly forbids any one to perform honest labor.

It may be said that labor becomes a crime *by being performed on Sunday*. But if labor is a crime when done on one day of the week, it is a crime on every day of the week, since it is not the day on which a deed is done that constitutes a crime, but the deed itself must be the crime (if crime it is) on whatever day it is performed. So then, if the courts of the country recognize the principle that labor done on one day is a crime, when on all other days of the week the same labor would be lawful, then they really legalize crime on every day of the week except that one. This shows the falsity of the claim that this bill is a civil one.

But it may be said that it is the disturbance to others, by the performance of Sunday labor, that constitutes it a crime. But why should Sunday labor disturb another any more than that which is done on any other day of the week? Manifestly, only because it is thought to be religiously wrong. In other words, such disturbance can only be of a mental character. For instance, when I go out into my garden and quietly work, or even go out on the street and work on Sunday, I have taken nothing from any man. I do not deprive him of his right to keep the day. Then wherein is the disturbance? Certainly not in the deprivation of rights. It must then only be a mental disturbance. Upon this point, allow me to cite the decision of Judge Walton, of Lewiston, Maine, in a case where a man was prosecuted for drawing cordwood through the streets on Sunday. In his charge to the jury the Judge said that his impression was that the complaint could not be maintained, for the defendant had quietly and in an unobtrusive manner hauled his wood, without coming into the immediate neighborhood of a meeting. The prosecuting attorney suggested that it might have been where people were returning home from church. But the Judge decided that that would be but a mental operation, a matter of the mind, of conscience, because they *thought* it wrong, that it did not look right. "For my part," he says, "I do not see why any one driving quietly along with his load on one day of the week should cause any more disturbance than on any other day of the week. It only disturbs people because they think it wrong." And this is the basis of all Sunday legislation. People think Sunday work to be wrong, and are therefore disturbed because some one else does not believe just the same as they do in the matter.

But if mental disturbance constitutes a civil offense, then the preaching of opinions diverse from those of the majority of people is also a civil offense, and is indictable in the courts of the country; for, as you have seen to-day by the personalities indulged in, there are men who are more or less disturbed by such work. It is thus easy to see that such reasoning would quickly deprive the minority of all their

religious rights. Let such a bill as this pass, and it would be but another step to make all *mental disturbance on Sunday a crime*. Then woe betide the man who dared publicly to proclaim any religious views on that day not in harmony with his neighbor! There is danger in taking the first step in religious legislation. It is every one's privilege to keep the Sabbath, —not as a civil duty, but as a religious duty. That is, however, a matter belonging wholly to individuals as a right of conscience, with which the courts have nothing to do, except to protect each one from disturbance in his devotions. But this bill is not necessary for that purpose, for every State and Territory in this Union has already a law providing that religious meetings, held on any day of the week, shall be protected from disturbance.

I wish here to reiterate the statement, that Sunday was set apart only for a religious reason; and I will submit, on this point, an extract from the argument of Rufus King, made before the Superior Court of Cincinnati, in the well known case which was tried to decide the question as to whether or not the Bible should be taught in the public schools of that city. Mr. King was attempting to show, in support of having the Bible taught as part of the public education, that it was the province of the State to enforce religion. And to prove his position true he cited the Sunday law of that State, saying:—

The proviso of the Sunday law exempts those only who conscientiously observe the seventh day of the week as the Sabbath. Why are they exempted? Why, but because they religiously observe another Sabbath? Why, then, does the law of Ohio enforce the observance of Sunday?—Manifestly because it is religious.

Then he says, upon the same point: "The same law makes it a penal offense to profanely swear by the name of God, Jesus Christ, or the Holy Ghost." This last statement of his is to show that the Sunday law of Ohio is wholly religious.

In this connection let me say, gentlemen, that the District of Columbia has just the same kind of Sunday law as that of Ohio. This law of the District of Columbia was in force when this book was issued which I hold in my hand, which was April 1, 1868; and I am told that this law (which I will read) was re-enacted in 1874. I quote from the law. Section 1 provides that—

If any person shall deny the Trinity, he shall, for the first offense, be bored through the tongue, and fined twenty pounds, . . . and for the second offense, the offender being thereof convict as aforesaid, shall be stigmatized by burning on the forehead with the letter B, and fined forty pounds, . . . and for the third offense, the offender being thereof convict as aforesaid, shall suffer death, without the benefit of the clergy.

Section 10 of the same law has this:—

No person whatever shall do any bodily labor on the Lord's day, commonly called Sunday, . . . and that every person transgressing this act, and being thereof convict by the evidence of one sufficient witness, or confession of the party, before a civil magistrate, shall forfeit two hundred pounds of tobacco.

Now, gentlemen, that law has never been repealed.

Mr. GROUT: Don't you think it ought to be repealed?

Mr. CORLISS: I think all Sunday laws are unconstitutional, and should not exist. But I was about to say that this law does still exist; and by reference to the statutes of the District of Columbia it will be seen that the police of the city of Washington are obliged to enforce that law. I read:—

It shall be the duty of the Board of Police, at all times of the day or night, within the boundary of said Police District, to see that all laws relative to the observance of Sunday are promptly enforced.

Now, why has not this law been enforced? Certainly not because there is no such law, but because it is part of a statute savoring so strongly of the Dark Ages as to make every one ashamed of it. But it is this kind of company in which Sunday laws were originally found; and that is where they belong, for they are but a relic of the old system of Church and State. Indeed, this law now in force in the District is as near to representing a Church and State power as it could well be.

Again: if this bill contemplates only a civil law, what right has it to exempt from its penalty a person, simply because he may hold a certain *religious faith*? According to the provisions of this bill, a man who has a certain religious faith may do what another man without such a religious faith cannot do. This shows that it is religious, and not civil. It matters not what a man's religious faith is, it cannot exempt him from the penalties provided by law against civil offenses, for the reason that a man's religious faith cannot determine his innocence in such a case. It is just as wrong for a professed Christian to be found fighting in the street as for an avowed infidel; and it is no greater offense for an infidel to be thus engaged than for a Christian. These things are recognized by the courts.

Take, for example, the law against polygamy. It does not exempt a man who happens to have a peculiar religious faith in relation thereto. Not by any means. One who believes it right, religiously, to violate that law, finds no favor because of his religious belief. Why is this?—Simply because the law against polygamy is held to be purely a civil law. In fact, a civil law can do nothing else than to hold every offender guilty, whoever he may be, or whatever may be his religious faith. Any exemption in a law in favor of a certain religious belief immediately stamps the law as religious. But according to this bill, a law may be enacted which will recognize one man as a criminal because he lacks certain elements in his religious belief, while another man having these elements may be considered a good citizen, even though he has done the very same act by which the other man was adjudged guilty; and the framers of this bill must be marvelously dull of comprehension not to be able to see it.

Opposition Leagues.

WE mentioned a week or two ago, the plan adopted by the Sunday-law managers in Chicago, of organizing a Sunday-rest League in each ward which is to work for Sunday laws and their enforcement; and for the election of candidates pledged to their enactment and enforcement. But this matter does not stop there; the other side of the question have also taken up the work of organizing leagues in opposition to this. This is called the Personal Rights League; and it numbers already in Chicago 25,000 voters. One of the purposes of this league, is directly to antagonize the other.

We do not take sides with this league as such, no more than with the other; but it is worth while for professed Christians who form the Sunday-rest Leagues, to run ward politics, seriously to consider that matter and count the cost. Are they ready to carry that contest clear through when they enter ward politics? Entering upon it as Christians are they going to continue to be Christians, and to do in all things according to real Christian ethics? If so, how do they expect successfully to meet the political opposition which is bound by no such considerations? If they expect to conduct their ward politics in all respects upon sound Christian principles, and be successful,—they might just as well stop before they begin. And if they are not going to do this, they had better stop before they begin. In truth the latter will be their only alternative. They will have to meet political methods in a political way, and with like methods, all the time if they are going to win.

Therefore they had better stop before they begin, because religious politics is ever so much worse than civil politics; and corrupt religious politics is infinitely worse than corrupt civil politics. Every league that is formed by those political-religious bodies, will be met by an opposition league, and then the question of winning is simply a question of which shall be most successful in political scheming. Professed Christians ought to learn that it is not through politics that Christianity makes its true influence felt, nor is it by political campaigns that it wins its victories. A. T. J.

"SENATOR BLAIR," says the New York *World*, "writes to a city newspaper that the failure of his Educational bill was due in great measure to the neglect of the metropolitan press to report his speeches. What does he mean? The newspapers of this city have no vote in the Senate. The men who heard his speeches voted against his measure."

WE believe the Church is stronger on its own foundation than when it leans on something else. Whenever the Church reaches out to the State for help it places God below the civil Government, or at least on an equality with it.—*Colorado Graphic*.

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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Doing Good Work.

THE International Tract Society, as agent for the distribution of the literature of the National Religious Liberty Association in the territory covered by the Society, is doing a great work. The president writes: "There is no limit to what the Society might accomplish; the only hindrance being the lack of money necessary to pay for the literature that we find so many excellent openings for." He has appealed to his Society, to increase its membership, and donate means for this purpose.

A secretary has been appointed to have especial charge of this department. The different offices report thousands of pages of matter sent out weekly.

The publications issued by the National Religious Liberty Association, are such as all patriotic, thinking citizens should read and ponder.

Petitions and Leaflets.

BLANK petitions against religious legislation are now published in two sizes. The smaller size, is intended more especially for the use of lecturers, and is ruled for four signatures.

The larger blank is prepared in the English, French, Swedish, German, and Dutch language.

The leaflet intended to be used in the solicitation of signatures, is entitled, "My reasons for signing the petition against religious legislation," and contains sixteen cogent reasons for so doing, expressed in plain and simple language. This is furnished free to workers. All should have it, and so use it, that every signer can have no possible excuse for not knowing fully what he is signing, and why he signs. It should not be forgotten, for a moment, that the object of this canvass, is not so much to gather the largest number of signatures possible as to bring to the minds of the people, a knowledge of the course of religious legis-

lation which is being attempted, and arouse them to a study of the principles involved. Those truths which are at the foundation of Christianity pure and undefiled, are at stake in this question. They who canvass intelligently for signatures to these petitions, are teaching the alphabet of true religion. It is only by the acquirement of this alphabet, that it becomes possible to read the word of God understandingly, in its application to the events of this age, and comprehend the philosophy of history, in its true relation to the gospel. The one who rises to the opportunity which the Religious Liberty Association offers, of preaching the word of truth, in a language which all men *must* understand, and making a practical application of its principles to the rules of the civil policy, which are to govern their daily life and actions, will be he who realizes most fully, that "the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom;" and, being well grounded in that, "then shalt thou understand righteousness and judgment and equity, yea, every good path." W. H. M.

"Is This a Christian Nation?"

IN a Sunday lecture* delivered in Philadelphia, March 2, Rabbi Joseph Krauskopf gives a forcible and logical reply to the question, "Is this a Christian Nation?" He cites the rapid increase of a heterogeneous population as varied in religious belief or unbelief, as in nationality,—the millions of those who do not believe in Christianity at all, unbelievers, Agnostics, ethical culturists, free religionists, Jews, Mohammedans, Confucianists, Buddhists, etc.,—and shows that their presence precludes the possibility of this being either technically or theoretically a Christian Nation, in the National Reform sense of the expression.

In opening his discourse the Rabbi speaks as follows: "In view of the strenuous efforts now being made by some religious organizations, to secure the passage by Congress, of the three religious measures now before it—the Blair Sunday bill, the Breckinridge Sunday bill for the District of Columbia, and the Blair Educational amendment, which provides for the teaching of the principles of Christianity in the public schools—the National Religious Liberty Association, an organization effected to oppose all religious legislation by the civil Government, is exerting its utmost to effect the defeat of these bills. To attain this end, it enlists the support of every liberal preacher, and speaker, and editor. It is represented at Washington by men whose duty it is to oppose the three religious measures now before Congress. It gathers signatures in nearly every State and

Territory in the Union, to a petition to the Senate and to the House of Representatives 'Not to pass any bill in regard to the observance of the Sabbath or Lord's day, or any other religious or ecclesiastical institution of right,' etc. By means of such systematic and energetic opposition, the friends of liberty of conscience were enabled to defeat, last year, what was commonly known as the Blair Sunday-rest bill, and the Blair amendment of the Constitution of the United States respecting establishments of religion and free schools, which were, excepting a few slight modifications, the same bills that Senator Blair has again introduced this year.

"Not content with last year's defeat the Senator from New Hampshire is again exerting his utmost, with the aid of hundreds of preachers, and millions of signatures, to foist a Puritanic Sabbath upon the people of the United States, a Sunday law that shall make labor, amusement, the collection and transmission of mail, railway traffic on the 'Lord's day' punishable as crime, and an amendment to the constitution of the United States, which shall make the teaching of the 'fundamental and non-sectarian principles of Christianity' obligatory in every free public school. To enable the friends of Conscience to achieve another victory, and again to protect the Constitution of the United States from dangerous tamperings, aid is solicited." . . . "I believe that it is high time that every American should understand fully, that here in our country, Church and State are totally separated, that this separation is ineradicably engraven upon our Constitution, is interwoven with every fibre of every American freeman, and that, whoever attempts to form, by means of legislation, a link between them, aims at extinguishing the brightest star in the diadem of our glory, he is a traitor to his country, an enemy to his fellow citizens, a violator of the most sacred and the most cherished of all our possessions."

He arraigns the Blair measures before Congress and says: "We know the subterfuge to which the Honorable Mr. Blair has resorted, this year. Last year's bill demanded the teaching of the 'principles of the Christian religion' in the public schools. In this year's bill, he has somewhat altered the phraseology: he demands the teaching 'of the fundamental and non-sectarian principles of Christianity.' The alteration is an ingenious blind, but as illogical as ingenious. 'Fundamental non-sectarian principles of Christianity,' are contradictory terms. The fundamental principles of Christianity, must necessarily involve the divinity of Christ, and this involves a mass of specifically Christian beliefs and doctrines."

The address closes with this paragraph: "I am glad that a National Religious Liberty Association has been organized,

* Our Pulpit Sunday March 2, 1890, published by Oscar Klonower, 647, North Seventh St., Philadelphia. Single copies, 6 cents.

and that it is preparing for an active opposition. Let us give them whatever aid we can. Let us gather all the signatures we can for their petition to Congress. Let us show that we can oppose the Church and yet be friends of education and religion. Let us show that we can be loyal to the Constitution, without being hostile to the Bible; that we can separate the two, without making either the one or the other the loser by the severance. Let us insist upon our religious liberties. Let us insist that ecclesiastical property shall not be exempt from just taxation; that chaplains shall not be employed by the Government; that neither the President of the United States, nor the Governors of the various States shall appoint religious festivals or fasts; that Puritanic Sabbath laws shall be repealed; that the Bible shall be excluded from the public schools; that no exclusive privilege shall be conceded, in any department of the National or State Government to Christianity or any other special religion; that this is not a Christian Government, nor a Government of any other denomination, but a Government of all the people, and for all the people, and by all the people."

W. H. M.

STATE SECRETARY E. T. RUSSELL, of Ohio, writes that he has met with a most favorable reception in his lecturing, throughout the State. He finds villages and medium-sized towns to be the most satisfactory fields of labor. It is his custom to give three lectures in a place, and he frequently finds those who assist him materially in the circulation of the petition, and in other ways.

The editor of a prominent paper in a western city writes: "Having read, in this week's issue of the AMERICAN SENTINEL, the Declaration of Principles and objects of your Association, I am in hearty sympathy with them. . . . The advocates of the different forms of religious legislation are many, and prompt and effective work should be done to educate as to the true scope of civil government, and the duty and the right of the individual to worship according to the dictates of his conscience. I wish your Association Godspeed in its worthy work."

GOOD FOR ALL TIME!
THE NATIONAL SUNDAY LAW

THIS PAMPHLET CONTAINS THE ARGUMENTS IN BEHALF OF THE RIGHTS OF AMERICAN CITIZENS, AND IN OPPOSITION TO THE BLAIR SUNDAY-REST BILL, WHICH MR. JONES PRESENTED BEFORE THE SENATE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR DECEMBER 13, 1888.

Mr. Crafts has pronounced the report as published

"MIGHTY INTERESTING READING."

And Mr. Jones' comments make it more so. His argument is enlarged to what it would have been without Senator Blair's interruptions, objections, and counter-arguments, and is accompanied with answers to all of his objections and counter-arguments. As the Sunday question is now a living issue, this treatise will be interesting to all classes, especially Legislators, lawyers, judges, and other public men. The argument is based on Scripture and history, constitution and law, showing the limits of the civil power, the unconstitutionality of the Sunday bill, an analysis of the Sunday laws and other religious legislation of the different States, the

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CHAP. V unmasks "Religious Legislation," calling special attention to the Blair Sunday Bill now pending in Congress.
CHAP. VI is devoted to the "Sunday-Law Movement in the Fourth Century, and its Parallel in the Nineteenth."
Chap. VII shows The Workings of Sunday Laws when they are enforced.

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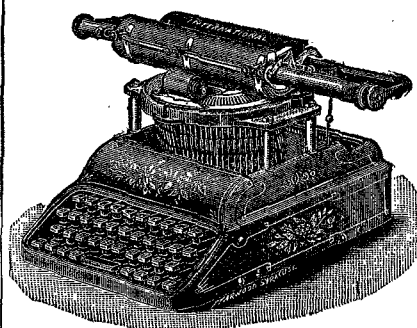
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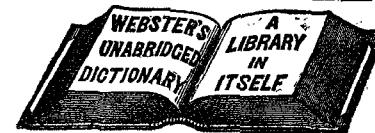
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NEW YORK, APRIL 3, 1890.

NOTE.—Any one receiving the AMERICAN SENTINEL without having ordered it may know that it is sent to him by some friend, unless plainly marked "Sample copy." It is our invariable rule to send out no papers without pay in advance, except by special arrangement, therefore, those who have not ordered the SENTINEL need have no fears that they will be asked to pay for it simply because they take it from the post-office.

THE day following the defeat of his Educational bill, Senator Blair moved a reconsideration. His motion was promptly tabled. The next day Mr. Blair re-introduced the bill, and it is again on the calendar as a portentous piece of unfinished business for next year.

In a recent article in the *Christian Nation*, Rev. J. M. Foster gives a new version of the fable of the goose which laid the golden egg. He says: "To take the Sabbath for popular temperance meetings is killing the hen which lays the golden egg, as the foolish woman did in the fable story." We presume that he must have read the "fable story" of this remarkable hen and of the foolish woman, in the same book out of which Dr. Stacy obtained his information regarding the "bounding kangaroo," which he described as "springing from his lair" and drawing the life-blood from his victim.

THE statement is made in the *Pearl of Days* of March 21, that a man has just been fined twenty dollars in Washington City for violation of the Sunday law. How does this correspond with the statement so confidently made only a few weeks since by the friends of the Breckinridge Sunday bill that the District of Columbia had no Sunday law? As was plainly shown in the SENTINEL recently, the District has a very rigid Sunday law, and the purpose of the Breckinridge bill is not to supply such a law where none now exists but to get Congress to take the first step in religious legislation.

A CONFERENCE is called to meet in Dayton, Ohio, May 21, 22. The call is to those "who sincerely desire a real and visible union of all true followers of Christ;" and the object is to express "the growing conviction that the existing divisions into sects and denominations is contrary to the spirit and letter of the Gospel, the primitive order of the Church, and the prayer of Christ himself, and is a great hindrance to the world's conversion." The union here desired can never be effected by conventions, conferences, or comparisons of errors. It can be accomplished only by the genuine influence of the Spirit of Christ calling together those that are his. And when it is done the world will not be con-

verted. "The world's conversion" is a will-o'-the-wisp that deludes most of the churches and distracts them from the real sober work of God, to the mechanism of conventions, legislative enactments, and constitutional amendments. This world will never be converted.

A GENTLEMAN wishes space in this paper to prove that Jehovah, the God of the Jews, is not the same Being whom Jesus worshiped. We know that such a proposition cannot be maintained from the Scriptures; and as we recognize no other authority on such questions we cannot consent that our columns shall be used in any such way. The Bible, by which we mean the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, reveals but one God, the Creator of the heavens and the earth, the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob, and "the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ." To attempt to make it teach anything else would be worse than useless.

SENATOR BLAIR feels considerably put out about the failure of his Educational bill. He blames the Republican party for its defeat, and therefore serves the following notice:—

I place it on record that there is an end of its political supremacy in this country, and there ought to be. I owe no allegiance to a party that lies in its platform to a Nation, and which chooses to go now and henceforth to its doom as a falsifier.

We do not know whether the Republican party is thus responsible or not; but accepting it as true, the defeat of that bill was one of the most meritorious acts that a party ever performed. It is to the honor of every senator who voted against it that he did so vote; and it may be spoken to his honor by his children and his children's children.

SECRETARY CRAFTS, of the American Sabbath Union, so-called, is about to start upon another transcontinental lecture tour in the interests of compulsory Sunday observance. The dates are not positively fixed, but are proposed as follows:—

April 6, Annapolis or Frederick, Md.; April 7, Hagerstown or Cumberland, Md.; April 8, Parkersburg, W. Va.; April 9, Portsmouth, or some other city in southern Ohio; April 10, Evansville, or some other town in southern Indiana; April 11, Cairo, or some city in southern Illinois; April 13-16, Arkansas, (Little Rock, Fort Smith, etc.); April 17, Vinita, Ind. Ter.; April 18, Carthage, Mo., or Parsons, Kan.; April 20, 21, two of the following Kansas cities—Lawrence, Leavenworth, Atchison, Topeka, Emporia; April 22, Salina, Kan.; April 23, Newton or Winfield, or Arkansas City or Anthony, all in Kan.; April 24, Hutchinson or Great Bend, both in Kan.; April 25, Trinidad or La Junta, both Col.; April 27, Los Vegas, N. M.; April 28, Santa Fe, N. M.; April 29, Albuquerque, N. M.; Los Angeles, Cal. The return from California will be in June, through Nevada, Utah, Colorado, Nebraska, Iowa, the two Dakotas, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, and northern Ohio.

We will as soon as possible publish the definite appointments.

THE Houston *Post* asks: "When will these good Sabbatharians learn that in attacking the Sunday paper they are barking up the wrong tree; that it is

the Monday paper which [it is supposed] collides with the decalogue?" And the *Galveston News* responds: "Just as soon as they discover that it is the Monday paper which causes people to stay at home and read all day instead of going to Church." This answer is undoubtedly the truth, for it has more than once been publicly stated in Sunday-law meetings and conventions that the greatest evil of the Sunday paper is not the work which it causes to be done upon that day, but the fact that it keeps people away from church and destroys their interest in spiritual things. This may be true, but it does not follow that the State ought to abolish the Sunday paper any more than it should abolish infidel papers and prohibit all men from speaking against the religion of the majority.

WE have received from the author, Mr. Francis Hope, London, England, a copy of "Bible Principles and the Union of Church and State." The book contains one hundred and thirty pages, bound in flexible covers, is very neat and attractive in appearance and sells for one shilling (twenty-five cents). It is devoted to a discussion of the relation which should exist between Church and State, and is an excellent book. The work contains eight chapters, as follows:—

Introduction, The Religion of Jesus, The Powers that Be, The Theocracy of Israel, The State in Particular, A Practical Test, A Brief Notice of The History of the Union Theory, and The Union in England.

We trust the book will have a large sale, for it ought to be read by everybody.

THE latest number of the *Sentinel Library* which has reached our table is "Arguments on the Breckinridge Sunday bill. The Object and Price of Exemption Clauses." This number which is just out is one of the most valuable yet issued, and should have a prompt and extensive circulation. It gives the arguments presented to the Committee on the District of Columbia against the Breckinridge Sunday-rest bill at the hearing had February 18. It should be read by everybody. Price, ten cents. The usual discount given to the trade and for large orders. It will be sent to any address, post-paid, upon receipt of price. Orders may be addressed to Pacific Press, Oakland, California, or to the same house at 43 Bond Street, New York.

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VOLUME 5.

NEW YORK, APRIL 10, 1890.

NUMBER 15.

The American Sentinel.

PUBLISHED WEEKLY, BY THE

PACIFIC PRESS PUBLISHING COMPANY,

No. 43 BOND ST., NEW YORK.

EDITORS,

E. J. WAGGONER, ALONZO T. JONES.

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

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

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

Absolutism Against Government of the People.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Here is what the Senator said:—

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mr. Blair rose.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

A. T. J.

Some Pertinent Questions.

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

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

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

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

Good Words in a Sunday Convention.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

E. J. W.

A Shaky Foundation.

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

In its invitation to the contest for an Agnostic Manual of Morality, the Secular Union leaves us in the dark as to whether Agnosticism is meant in its narrow sense, as merely rejecting the religious belief, or that it applies also to the scientific field, in the sense of its purity from prejudices and obscurantism. Science, namely, is apt to produce objectionable consequences the same as religion, if it is not purified from superstitions, servility, and the worshiping of spurious authorities. Without such a purification it may bring about very deplorable results, particularly in such a delicate and entangled question as that of morality, which, while losing its transcendental foundation in religion, is bound to look for a basis elsewhere, and may obtain from the science such a shaky one that the whole structure would not be able to stand on it for a moment.

The principal points at issue are: 1. Shall the manual adopt the unscientific hypothesis of a separate soul, existing *par se*, and, under certain aspects, completely independent of the body? Those who may think that it is a question of psychology and not of morals, and that therefore it can be easily avoided, will soon change their mind about it if they try to write upon ethics. This or that hypothesis will, against their wish, transpire through the wording of every sentence. The author will find himself under the necessity of speaking about some sort of immaterial entity underlying moral actions, their righteousness or viciousness.

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

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

Sunday Legislation in Canada.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The penalties are defined as follows:—

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

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

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

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

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

Liberty of Conscience Must Be Preserved.

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

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

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

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

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

Sunday Laws for the Capital of our Country.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

J. MULLER,

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

Mr. Comegys is Right.

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

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

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

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

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

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

S. H. CARNAHAN.

Walla Walla, Washington.

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C. ELDRIDGE, - - - - - President.
W. H. MCKEE, - - - - - Secretary.

Tried by the Record.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

MARY E. CATLIN.

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

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

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

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

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

Mrs. Catlin: They were largely signatures.

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

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

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

Mrs. Catlin: Yes, sir.

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

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

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

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

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

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

W. H. M.

Effect of the Definite Article.

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

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

W. H. M.

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

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

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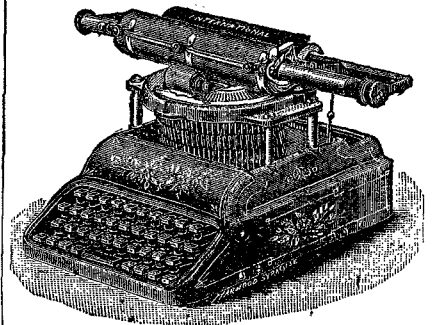
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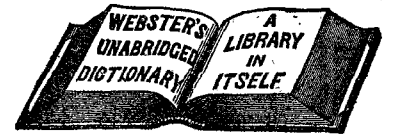
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WE will in our next number give our readers some account of the late National Reform Convention in Washington City.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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We are most happy that a paper of this kind has been started. Such a publication is much needed, and if properly conducted ought to command a good support. We wish *The Better Day* success in its educational temperance work. And we trust that it will succeed in avoiding the fate of all other so-called temperance papers, namely, that of becoming the mere adjunct of a political party, or the organ of an association or society.

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

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EDITORS,
E. J. WAGGONER, ALONZO T. JONES.

THE proposed amendment to the Constitution of the United States, offered in Congress by Senator Blair, is one of the most important and perilous propositions ever before the American people. It has been most adroitly worded and worked thus far. . . . It is a most outrageous attempt to despoil the arduous yet glorious work of our forefathers in forming a Government under which men could "serve God according to the dictates of their own consciences." It proposes the union of Church and State, and that the schools of each State shall teach a religion in conformity with this amendment to the Federal Constitution. This would not only open the gateway to the barren fields of atheism and infidelity but would cause millions to enter. The fittest place for religion is in the human heart, and not in a written Constitution. Its alliance with political power for despotic legislation will never make men religious; it may thus make cringing cowards, hypocrites, and superstitious slaves of men, but never a grateful and grand Christian.—*Welcome Tidings, Elizabethtown, Ky.*

THE organ of the American Sabbath Union says:—

Judge Hutchins, acting police magistrate, Cleveland, Ohio, recently discharged Barber Charles Schuler, one of the Weddell House men arrested in January for violating the State law against common labor on Sunday, on the ground that Sunday shaving is a work of necessity. It is expected that all the hotel barber shops, and most of the others whose proprietors do not favor Sunday closing, will be thrown open Sunday, as the barbers are satisfied that no convictions can follow their arrest for violating either the State law or city ordinance upon the sub-

This is a little more liberal than the de-

isions of some of the southern courts. In Tennessee and several other southern States quiet, inoffensive men have been fined and imprisoned for no other offense than that of working upon Sunday for the support of their families, and that after having conscientiously kept the seventh day according to the strict letter of the divine law. If shaving is a work of necessity in Ohio, certainly the cutting of wood ought to be a work of necessity in Georgia, and plowing corn ought not to be a punishable offense in Tennessee. The whole thing goes to show the injustice of treating as a crime on Sunday that which would be considered perfectly proper and even commendable upon any other day.

An Interesting Letter.

HERE is a letter that explains itself. The California whence it is written is not the State of California, but the post-office of that name in Michigan. The ladies of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union are ever welcome to a hearing in our columns.

California, March 11, 1890.

EDITOR AMERICAN SENTINEL:—

Your paper has become of late a regular visitor in my home, coming from some unknown source, and I cannot refrain from expressing my astonishment and righteous indignation at the misleading statements and false charges made against the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, in your issue of Feb. 13. In your statement that "the directors of the Young Men's Christian Association of Milwaukee gave formal notice to the W. C. T. U. that they could no longer have the use of their building for the reason that having allied themselves with the Prohibition party they must be treated as other political organizations are," you have purposely or otherwise omitted the most important fact concerning that action of which I cannot think you were ignorant.

Why did you not, like an honest man, give the real true reason for such action. Which was that they (the directors) were instigated to this deed by brewers who contributed to the building fund?

You could not have done this and then added as you did, "The management of the Y. M. C. A. which through all the ups and downs of the day has kept it straight on its Christian course clear of all

entanglements, is worthy of the highest admiration on the part of everybody, as it has it on the part of the AMERICAN SENTINEL." It is only an evidence of receiving bad dollars for a good object, and that never yet won the approval of God or the admiration of good men, your statement to the contrary nevertheless, and I am grieved to see a professedly Christian paper express their "admiration" of a deed that was instigated and accomplished by the saloon element. You say further, "The W. C. T. U. has ceased to be anything but a political club, and its work anything less than a continuous political campaign." It is certainly the duty of people who make such grave charges, either to prove them or in honor cease to slander the brave organization that stands by the work of temperance reform unstamped. This charge you cannot substantiate by any word or act upon record. The W. C. T. U. is organized mother love seeking to promote the interests of home and all that a Christian wife and mother holds sacred and dear—working with a determination that yields to no discouragement for the suppression of all that is impure and unholy, and for the advancement of all that is pure and true and good. In calmly reflecting upon your statement, from a personal knowledge of, and a long identification with, the work of the W. C. T. U. I am forced to one of these conclusions—that you are totally ignorant regarding the work of the W. C. T. U. or you are wholly in sympathy with the saloon.

Was it the work of a "political campaign" or was it divine love that nerved the heart and brain of Mrs. Mary Hunt to labor and cease not until she had brought State and National protection to the aid of 12,000,000 of the children of our public schools, in securing in twenty-six States and Territories a Scientific Temperance Instruction law? Is the suppression of impure literature and the laws forbidding the sale of tobacco and cigarettes, to minors, the work of a "political campaign?"

Look at the record of the work of the W. C. T. U. among the railroad employes, the soldiers and sailors, the lumbermen; the work of the Flower Mission; ask the men in the jails and prisons of its influence upon them and then answer! We do not claim anything to boast of in our work, but very much to thank God for. In our own State during the past year, we have supported two missionaries in the lumber camps. The men have become acquainted with the name and work of our organization. One fellow said to the missionary, who asked him to sign the pledge, "Yes, I'll sign it and keep it too, for the W. C. T. U. is the only organization that thinks we poor fellows have souls." Is this and kindred work among the inmates of our jails, and prisons, and almshouses, that has been blessed of God to hundreds of souls the work of a "political campaign?" If you so regard it, your ideas of a political campaign must be vastly different from those of the majority of politicians.

Will you, as an honest man and a *Christian*, withdraw the base and false accusation, or will you stand with those who foster and protect the saloon with all its attendant misery and crime? Your statement is nothing less than a wicked and malicious slander of the W. C. T. U.—an organization which has for its chief object, the education of the whole people in the principles of *Bible temperance* and total abstinence and the ultimate overthrow of the saloon upon which the curse of God rests.

I ask you now, will you look at the record of work done by any one of all of the *forty* different departments of the Union in the *past year*, or *any* year of, their existence which by the blessing of God has resulted in the conversion of many souls in *this and foreign* lands, and then say *wherein* it has been of the nature of a political campaign?

If you can say *one word* in defense of or proof of your statement, I shall be glad to hear from you. If you *cannot*, your Christian integrity is at stake and demands a retraction of your statement which is *wholly devoid of truth as regards the work of the W. C. T. U.* I ask only what is *just and right*.

Refusal or failure to do this will be sufficient evidence that you cannot, or will not, and that your influence and sympathy are given to perpetuate the saloon.

Respectfully,

S. L. JEFFERS.

This letter we willingly print. It is plain and to the point. We have not space to reply in detail, to all the statements made, but the principal ones we will notice.

First, in regard to the Milwaukee affair, this letter contains the first and only intimation that we have had that the Young Men's Christian Association, of Milwaukee, was instigated in that matter by the brewers. And this statement should be supported by proofs. As it stands we say plainly that we do not believe it.

There are two reasons why we do not believe it. First, we are not ready to believe such a statement as that concerning the Young Men's Christian Association upon *ex parte* statements, unsupported by any proofs whatever. Secondly, because the thing is improbable in itself, from the simple fact that a party contributing to the building fund of an association does not secure a shadow of authority or right to control the actions of that association. I may contribute to the building of a church or hall, as many people do, yet that gives me no right ever to have any voice in the control or use of such building. In such cases, contributors, as such, have no moral right to any control in the matter, and it is certain that they have no legal right. And therefore to believe that the directors of the Young Men's Christian Association "were instigated to this deed by the brewers who contributed to the building fund," is to go directly in the face of all moral and legal probability.

For this reason we say to the writer of this letter,—and we say it respectfully,—that we do not believe that the statement given is the "true reason" for this action. If she has *proofs* to show that it is so, we will gladly print them, if she will send them to us.

We do not believe that the saloon ele-

ment controls, or can control, the Young Men's Christian Association in any matter. And although this lady may be "grieved" to have us say so, and to express our admiration of the Young Men's Christian Association, it seems to us that she ought to be no less grieved to give her authority to a charge which involves the Young Men's Christian Association in the control of the saloon element. To us that seems to be a much more serious charge than to say that the Woman's Christian Temperance Union is a political club.

This brings us to the second, and in fact the main point. And that is, that the Woman's Christian Temperance Union is political. We agree with the writer of this letter that it is the duty of those who make charges to prove them. And it is the settled policy of the SENTINEL to make no charges which it is not able to prove to the satisfaction of all fair minded people.

But says the writer, "This charge you cannot substantiate by any word or act upon record." Well that depends. We have some records, and we shall quote from them statements that show that there is at least some basis for the statement which we made. In the minutes of the New York convention printed in the *Union Signal* of November 8, 1888, there is this statement:—

Chairman Dickey appeared before the convention, and asked that Miss Willard be permitted or instructed to sit as a counseling member of the Prohibition Executive Committee. She was so instructed by the convention.

Now the Prohibition party is political and nothing else. Its executive committee is a political body only. That body exists only for political purposes, and its members are such only for political purposes. Their counsels are nothing but political counsels. Therefore when the convention instructed its President to sit as a counseling member of the Prohibition executive committee, that convention did by that action distinctly commit itself to political action and alliance; and it did thereby make itself political.

Notice, the convention was asked that Miss Willard "be permitted or instructed," etc., and "she was *instructed*." If she had been but permitted, no one could justly attach any more weight to it than to any other individual and voluntary action; but when the choice between these two steps was open to the convention, and the convention chose the stronger action and distinctly *instructed* its president to sit as a counseling member of the executive committee of the Prohibition party, that action became the action of the convention, and as certainly made the National Union political as any action could possibly do.

Again, in the minutes of the same convention, we find that an important delegation so fully understood that the national body is political, that it presented a me-

morial asking the National Convention to compel the State Unions to conform to the national body in this.

The Illinois Union, by its president, Mrs. Louise S. Rounds, presented a memorial in which is the following statement:—

We further believe that the pledge you gave the Prohibition party . . . by such an overwhelming majority, gave to you as a logical sequence, a *political policy*, which no member of your honorable body has the right to antagonize.

We believe precisely with the Illinois Union. We believe that the pledge which the National Union gave to the Prohibition party, and the alliance with that party which the National Union still holds, did give to the National Union as a logical sequence a political policy, and thereby made it a political organization. We believe that the Illinois Union was then considered loyal, and that it is still so to the National Union. Why then, should we be so harshly reprovved for believing and saying the same thing that the Illinois Union itself believed and said.

Again, in that same convention, Mrs. Lathrap said in her speech that the Woman's Christian Temperance Union "is political." Again, we ask why should we be so chastised for saying of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union what so prominent a representative, in open convention, said of it?

Once more, in the National Convention of the National Union held in Nashville, Tennessee, 1887, of which we have also an official copy of the minutes, the following words were spoken in the President's annual address:—

The Woman's Christian Temperance Union, local, State, National, and world-wide, has one vital, organic thought, one all-absorbing purpose, one undying enthusiasm, and it is that Christ shall be *this world's king*. Yea, verily, THIS WORLD'S king in its realm of cause and effect; king of its courts, its camps, its commerce; king of its colleges and cloisters; king of its customs and its constitutions. Not a king who hears the Nation praising him far off from the lips outward but one who, dwelling in their hearts, radiates his presence into their daily doings, and make his word as much the text-book of their daily lives, as the multiplication table is of their business transactions. The kingdom of Christ is no poetic fancy with us white ribboners; no mystic dream. It is a solid sphere of fact. . . . The kingdom of Christ must enter the realm of law through the gateway of politics; as one of our own has said.

Now as the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, local, State, National, and world-wide has but the one purpose, the one thought, and that an "all-absorbing one," of making Christ this world's king; as that kingdom is "a solid sphere of fact," and must enter the realm of law through the gateway of politics; then there is no other conclusion, than that the one organic thought and all-absorbing purpose of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, local, State, National, and world-wide, *is political*. This is the truth, it is political.

We know that the Union "through its forty departments" does much good. We

never thought of denying that. By this it has gained its power and influence. And upon this in strictness of truth we are compelled to make a statement that cannot be successfully denied, that is, that the influence which the National Union has gained by all these different lines of work, is used only for a political purpose. Instead of that influence being used to glorify Jesus Christ in a Christian way, it is used to glorify the Union and especially its leadership in a worldly, ambitious, and political way.

We believe that the evidence here given is sufficient to convince fair-minded people that our statement that the Woman's Christian Temperance Union is political, was not wicked, nor malicious, nor slanderous. We merely stated what the records of the Union state; we only said what they say. Yet we are somewhat in doubt whether it will convince the writer of this letter or perhaps other members of the Union; because their ideas of what is political are different from those which are commonly supposed to be conveyed by that word. It seems as though every thing that they do is counted *religious*. That which to others is political, to them is religious. For instance, Mrs. Gougar was once making a regular campaign Prohibition speech. In the speech she personally called the name of a certain person. That person demanded to be heard in reply. He was prosecuted for disturbing a *religious* meeting. When such things as this are held to be religious, then it is hard to convince those who so hold, that anything is political. But even this refuge cannot protect them from the force of truth, because such a "religion" as that is political, and that only. Not only this, but wherever and whenever religion is connected with politics, that religion is political. Any religion which claims or uses political influence or political power, is political, and that only.

All this is spoken of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union as a body. We believe that there are connected with that body many individual humble Christian women, who do their Christian work in a Christian way, are content with that, and are grieved with the ways of the leadership and the body of the Union, who so persistently continue their political course. We know a number of such women who have separated themselves from the Union for this very reason.

We have not said any of these things out of enmity to the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, and no fair-minded reader of the SENTINEL can justly accuse us of being a friend of the saloon. We have said these things simply in criticism of the *political course* of the Union.

Let the Woman's Christian Temperance Union honestly be what its name demands that it shall be, that is, *Christian*. Let it work for Christian temperance, in a Chris-

tian way. The influence which it may gain by such Christian conduct let it use for the glory of Jesus Christ, and the honor of the Christian name. Let it do this and it will find no better friend in this world than the AMERICAN SENTINEL: but so long as it calls itself political and acts accordingly; so long as it seeks by alliance with the National Reform Association, the American Sabbath Union, and other religio-political organizations, in the effort to secure control of the civil power to enforce religious observances; so long as it works for Sunday laws; so long as it endorses, and calls for the adoption of, a religious amendment to the Constitution of the United States; so long as it holds that Jesus Christ shall be "this world's king;" so long as it holds the kingdom of Christ to be political and attempts to establish it by political means; just so long, and in all these things, will the AMERICAN SENTINEL criticise its methods, and oppose its workings, and denounce its aims. A. T. J.

The Washington National Reform Convention.

APRIL 1 to 3, there was held in Lincoln Music Hall, in Washington City, a session of the National Reform Association, and in connection with it a "National Conference on the Christian Principles of Civil Government." This meeting was called for the purpose of creating a sentiment in Washington which it was hoped might influence legislation in the direction of so-called National Reform. The plans laid for the Convention were broad, and neither labor nor money was spared to make it a success. Fifteen thousand personal invitations to attend the meeting were issued, seven thousand being to residents of the city; and an appeal was published in the *Christian Statesman* asking the various churches, Sunday schools, and Christian Endeavor Societies throughout the country to send delegates, and a large attendance was expected. But much to the chagrin of the managers their expectations were not realized. Few delegates came, and the attendance throughout was small, the largest evening audience falling below four hundred, while the number at the forenoon and afternoon meetings was generally as low as forty; and never, I feel sure, reached one hundred.

At the first meeting nearly four hundred seats were reserved for delegates, and ushers were in attendance to see that they were not occupied by mere visitors. But there was no danger of this, for not to exceed forty persons were present, including four reporters and the officers of the Association. The result was that after waiting thirty minutes for the expected delegates the chairman invited all present to occupy the front seats. It was much the same the first evening. Visitors were again told that the same seats were re-

served for delegates, but as the entire audience would have filled but little more than half the reserved seats, the effort to seat four hundred imaginary delegates was abandoned, and nothing more was said about any seats being reserved.

The disappointment of the managers at the meager attendance was plainly manifest, and in making an appeal for money to aid in paying the rent of the large hall secured, Dr. McAllister took occasion to explain that it is exceedingly difficult to get people out to such meetings in Washington, and that in Pittsburgh and Philadelphia they had no difficulty in filling large halls with interested audiences. In private conversation Rev. M. A. Gault told the writer that the meeting had not been properly advertised, and when reminded that seven thousand invitations had been issued in the city alone, he said, "Yes, but the ministers did not announce it from their pulpits." It is true that the ministers of the city took no part in the convention; and so far as I was able to learn only one of them was present, and he at only one meeting.

The usual line of argument was followed in the various papers read, and in the speeches made. The National Reformers have, however, learned wisdom from experience, and in this meeting they carefully avoided utterances which could be easily turned against them. Nothing was said about the effect the proposed amendment would have upon those who should refuse to recognize Christ as king, or bow to the National Reform interpretation of the law of God. No hint of banishment or disfranchisement for any class was given, as in past meetings, and moderation, quiet assurance, and dignity ruled throughout.

As before stated there was a "National Conference on the Christian Principles of Civil Government" held in connection with the session of the National Reform Association. This it seemed was for the two-fold object of calling in many who have not hitherto been identified with the Association, and of avoiding responsibility for the utterances of those who had been invited to deliver addresses. Indeed it was publicly stated that the Association would hold itself responsible only for such utterances as it saw fit to indorse by resolutions. But this separation of the Association and the Convention was a distinction without much difference. The same men managed both, and while there was a technical distinction there was practically *no difference*.

By far the most able addresses delivered were those of Rev. David McAllister, D.D., LL.D., and Mrs. Mary T. Lathrap, president of the Michigan Woman's Christian Temperance Union. Dr. McAllister's subject was, "The Secular Theory of the State." His argument was fallacious, as all such arguments must of necessity be, but was well calculated to deceive those who

have never given the subject careful consideration. In only one particular did he overreach and present an argument which did not appear as a candid statement of his real convictions. This was an attempt to show that it is the secular theory rather than the National Reform theory which would lead to a union of Church and State. To prove this he stated that "the secular papers are beginning to publish editorials demanding State aid for Sabbath schools." This he insisted is but the legitimate result of denying the right of the State to give religious instruction. "It must be given," he said, "for the preservation of the Nation; and since the State is, according to the secular theory, incompetent to give it, the Church must do it; and the State must give financial aid in order that it may be done." This remarkable doctrine he gave his hearers to understand had been advocated by "secularists in secular papers." The fact is that the only suggestion of the kind made was by the *Mail and Express* of New York, a paper which is in sympathy with everything looking in the direction of State interference in matters of religion. It is hard therefore to believe that in this thing the doctor was entirely honest either with himself or with his audience.

Mrs. Lathrap's address was on the subject of "Christian Politics," and was, from her standpoint, a scathing arraignment of the ministry and church membership of this country for want of Christian consistency in politics. Of course much that she said was excellent. Nobody denies that it is the duty of Christians to act conscientiously in every department of life; but the conclusion that Christians ought to insist that the Government, which belongs to the whole people, shall be moulded according to their ideas, and that certain things ought to be forbidden because they are not Christian, and certain other things required because they are Christian, is most mischievous. The writer believes that the traffic in intoxicating liquors to be used as beverages ought to be abolished; but not because it is morally wrong. It is morally wrong; but so are many other things which the civil law could not possibly reach, and with which nobody pretends to say that it should deal.

But it is a very easy thing to show that the liquor traffic is a menace to the peace and good order of the State, a constant danger to the citizen, the cause of most of the crime, that it fills our hospitals, poor-houses, and prisons, and that it indirectly levies tribute upon every tax-payer. These facts constitute a sufficient reason why the traffic should be prohibited; and they are the reasons which should govern the State in dealing with it. The State cannot undertake to prohibit and punish sin against God; it can of right take cognizance only of those acts which injure in person, property, or reputation those

whom the State is bound to protect. This is the secular, the American theory of government, and to abandon it in the supposed interest of prohibition is a grievous mistake; it both hinders prohibition and threatens the religious liberty of every citizen. It is at this point that the women of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union go astray. The original purpose of that organization was to accomplish a Christian work by Christian means, to inculcate and encourage Christian temperance in the individual, to reform men and women by bringing them to Christ. But all this is now changed. While much was accomplished by Christian effort the rising tide of iniquity was not stayed, and so appeal has been made to the State to aid them, not in protecting the civil rights of citizens, not to prevent the husband and father from begging his wife and children, not to say that the saloon keeper shall not drug and rob his victim, not to say that men shall not ruin their fellows mentally and physically, to then cast them out as paupers or criminals to be supported by the State, not to protect life and property, but to prevent sin against the moral Ruler of the universe and to punish infractions of the law of God. It is thus that a most excellent Christian organization has become the annex of a political party to be manipulated by politicians for the accomplishment of party ends.

One feature of the Convention which should not be forgotten was its repudiation of the "civil Sabbath." It was plainly declared in a resolution adopted that the Sabbath is not a civil but a religious institution, "and that the only proper basis for Sabbath legislation is the requirement of the divine law." This declaration was emphasized by Dr. McAllister who said that to admit the civil basis for Sabbath laws was to admit the right of the State to fix a day independent of the law of God. "This," said he, "we cannot do, for should the majority change they might change the day and we can observe only the first day, for we believe that it is the day that God requires us to keep." This shows the Doctor's utter disregard of the rights of conscience for those who differ from him in regard to the day required in the divine law. He demands of the seventh-day keeper a surrender which he himself would not make were the State to choose a day other than Sunday and require its observance as a Sabbath, either "civil" or otherwise.

But this article is already too long, and further particulars concerning this meeting must be given at another time.

C. P. BOLLMAN.

SAID the apostle Paul to the Corinthians: "Not that we have dominion [lordship] over your faith, but are helpers of your joy; for by faith ye stand." 2 Cor. 1:24.

"Shall Christ Be King of the Nation?"

THIS is the title of a production by Jenny Bland Beauchamp, which we find in the *Union Signal* of February 6, 1890. It is rich in sense and in nonsense, and the two are about equally divided, with a third portion which strongly bears toward that which is worse than nonsense. It begins by saying that "every loyal Christian heart must answer this question in the affirmative," which is not true. Christ never will be king of this Nation, nor of any other nation except that "holy nation" which he will redeem from among the unholy nations of which this is one. Then she inquires, "But in what sense will Christ be king of the Nation? and proceeds to answer her question thus:—

The proud, world-renowned city of Florence, at one time, moved by the eloquence of Savonarola, actually elected Jesus Christ king of Florence. They did it by a fair count and a free vote, just as a nation would declare its allegiance to a foreign prince. They had dethroned the perfidious Medici, and, removing the shields of the King of France and the Pope of Rome, placed the name of Jesus on a tablet over the entrance into the palace. Did that make him king of Florence?

Would it make Jesus king of America to put his name on the tablet of our Constitution? Jesus himself rejects such hypocrisy, saying, "Why call ye me Lord! Lord! and do not the things I command?" We could not make him king of America by making the distinctively New Testament laws civil laws. The distinctively New Testament laws are baptism, and the Lord's Supper, and laws in regard to church order and church officers. The laws primarily founded upon the decalogue are not distinctively New Testament laws; nor is the new commandment, "ye shall love one another," for the Saviour tells us this is a brief compendium of the moral law. Nor can we make him king of this Nation by incorporating the morality of the gospel into our civil code. For instance, how could we convict and punish a man for what the Saviour defines the crime of adultery? The laws of Christ were made for a spiritual kingdom, and could not possibly be executed by a civil magistrate. Jesus was an obedient subject of the Hebrew commonwealth, paid his taxes, fled when the Jews would have made him a king, and refused to support his authority by the secular sword.

We do not worship a dead Christ. Jesus lives and is to-day more intimately connected with the affairs of the nations than when he walked the hills of Judea. He is not here in person, but the Church is here to represent his body. He has not changed his idea in regard to secular matters, so the Church should not accept any civil authority. We are all agreed on that point. All nations are to be given to Christ; Jesus is going to reign over the hearts of his people through the gospel.

Now this is sense, and it is good sense too. There is more good, sound, genuine sense in that than we have seen from National Reform or *Union Signal* sources since—well, we don't know when.

Next we print the portion which immediately follows the above and it runs thus:—

The gospel will supersede the law, *i. e.* the moral law, and our civil code is primarily based upon this. The gospel will so permeate the masses as to be a controlling factor in government. The gospel contains all the morality of the decalogue. If the law compels one to go a mile, a free man in Christ Jesus will go two. If it takes away his coat he will let it have his cloak too. He will do this

because of the abounding love in his heart. So far from injuring his neighbor he will seek in all possible ways to bless and benefit mankind. The gospel will bring in the universal reign of love. Love not only fulfills the law but in its beneficence goes far beyond it.

Now this is worse than nonsense. The idea that the gospel shall supersede the moral law is destructive of the moral law, of morality, and even of the gospel itself. The gospel is ordained to maintain the integrity of the moral law, and yet enable God to save the transgressor of the law. The gospel is ordained that God may be just and yet the justifier of the unjust who believe in Jesus Christ, who is the embodiment of the gospel. The gospel is declared to be "the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth." That salvation is salvation from sin but sin is defined by the word of God to be "the transgression of the law." The gospel, being ordained to save men from the transgression of the law, would be robbed of all its force if the law be superseded which points out the sin. Again it is written, "By the law is the knowledge of sin." The gospel, being the power of God to save from sin, would be robbed of all its force if the law be superseded by which alone is the knowledge of sin. Once more, it is written, "Where no law is there is no transgression," and "sin is not imputed when there is no law." Now, by any means to supersede or take away the law is to take away all transgression or imputation of sin, which at once nullifies the gospel; because it is alone the remedy for sin, and is the power of God unto salvation from sin. If there be no sin there can be no gospel. To offer pardon to the innocent, is an imposition and an insult; and therefore any proposition to supersede the law by the gospel, or by any other means, is worse than nonsense, because it strikes at the foundation of God's throne which is justice and judgment, and so uproots all morality. God is the source of morality, the foundation of his throne is justice and judgment, and the gospel is ordained in order that he might be just and yet the justifier of him who believeth in Jesus.

The last sentence, "Love not only fulfills the law, but in its beneficence goes far beyond it," is worse than nonsense because it is an insult to the law of God and to its Author. It is written, "Love is the fulfilling of the law." That law being supreme, and love being the fulfillment of it, it is impossible for love to go beyond it to any degree whatever; for wherever genuine love is, it is nothing less than the expression of the law, the fulfillment of which is love. More than this, the law of God is but the expression of his will. It is only the reflection of his character. And "God is love." To say, then, that love goes far beyond the law which is but the reflection of the mind and will of him who is love, is to say that love goes far beyond God, and that

is to deny God, and is not far removed from blasphemy, even though we wot that through ignorance she said it.

The next portion of this production is as follows:—

When men are holy, wars will cease, litigations will cease. The criminal officers will lose their occupation, for there will be no civil offenses. The secular sword will rust in its sheath. Jails and penitentiaries will stand open for want of an inmate. The judge will convene the court only to find nothing on the docket. The State, rid of the depredations of evildoers, will be free to work out her mission on a higher plane. She will expend her wealth and her energies in directing and ennobling her people—in educating the young, in improving and beautifying the public domain, in fulfilling her beneficent mission among the nations. Then our temples of justice will be converted into temples of love. The reign of love will actually supersede the reign of law. Then will Christ be the king of this Nation and the civil power, acknowledging his allegiance, will exclaim with the apostate Julian, "Oh, Galilean, thou hast conquered!"

That is considerably mixed. It is true that when men, if it be all men, are holy, wars will cease and litigation will cease. But the time will never come in this world when that will be so. The Scriptures declare that when this world ends, multitudes of men will yet be wicked, and will then be destroyed because they are wicked. When all the holy people shall be gathered unto the kingdom of God there will be neither criminal officers nor civil offenses. There will be no secular sword to rust in its sheath even if there were a sheath. There will be neither jails nor penitentiaries to stand open. There will be neither earthly judge nor earthly court. There will be no State to have a mission, nor to have money, nor to educate the young, nor will there be a "public domain." The reign of love will never supersede the reign of the law, because the expression of the supreme law is love itself. Christ will never be king of this Nation; and though the civil power should acknowledge such allegiance and make such an exclamation, it would not be true in any such sense as is here conveyed.

Besides this, Julian was no more of an apostate than were Constantine and his "pious sons" and many others of that ilk whom we might name. And more than this, Julian never exclaimed, "Oh, Galilean, thou hast conquered!"

The last of the article is as follows:—

So Christ will become king of this Nation, not by putting his name in the Constitution, nor by making New Testament laws the fundamental laws of the land, nor by turning court-houses into churches, nor magistrates into bishops. His reign will not come in by civil commotion. It will come silently as the dew, and gently as the blessed sunlight.

"He shall come down like rain upon the mown grass; as showers that water the earth."

"In his days shall the righteous flourish; and abundance of peace so long as the moon endureth."

In the councils of eternity the Father and the Son entered into a covenant called the covenant of redemption. By virtue of this covenant the Son was to make an atonement for sin by the death on the cross, in consideration of which the Father was to give him all the nations of the earth. "Ask of

me and I will give thee the heathen for thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession."

So the nation that finally rejects his authority is doomed to destruction. "Be wise now therefore, oh ye kings; be instructed, ye judges of the earth. Kiss the Son, lest he be angry and ye perish from the way, when his wrath is kindled but a little.

The scriptures that are quoted there are good, and sound, and true. But all of it that is not actual Scripture is actual nonsense. And how any one could start out with so clear a statement of sound sense, as this writer does, and then close up with such a medley of bad sense and worse doctrine, interlarded with good scripture, is a mystery.

A. T. J.

Catholics and Public Schools.

HUMAN history establishes the fact that the civil Government, armed with force, cannot be entrusted with the culture of conscience. Any attempt on the part of the State to coerce the religious convictions of men has ended disastrously, both to the State and to religion. Because of the growing recognition of this fact the divorce of Church and State is becoming more nearly universal. America first embodied this principle in a political Constitution, and it has more and more found expression in our laws and institutions. Any movement, then, that would make an alliance between Church and State is repugnant.

If we define education in its broadest sense, the respective functions of the Church and State in connection with it at once becomes clear. Education is the development and cultivation of the physical, intellectual, and religious faculties of man. The State must see to the first two, the Church to the last. Their spheres are distinct.

The effort of the State, then, is for the sake of civil unity, to perfect the State on the basis of civil rights and science, treating all religious forms and faiths with strict impartiality. This at once rolls the whole responsibility of religious culture back upon the churches and the family, precisely where it justly belongs. Religion has been, and should be, entirely disregarded in our public schools. The State cannot attempt religious training. The Church must do that, and she must do it alone.

When the Catholic prelates ask a share *pro rata* of the school fund, they are asking the State to raise money by taxation for their parochial schools, that is, for the religious education of the young. But this is a thing the State cannot do without surrendering the well-established basal principle of the entire separation of Church and State. And if this principle be surrendered, and an alliance formed between the Church and State at this point, there is no telling where the end may be of State appropriations to religious objects, or how soon the whole foundation of our form of government would be weakened or de-

stroyed. The true safety of the State resides in adhering to the principle of separation, and therein also lies the true prosperity of religion.

But, as a matter of policy, the State must not yield an iota in the direction desired by our Catholic friends. For if Catholics may have their share of public money for religious uses, why not the Episcopalians? Why not the Baptists? Why not each of the two hundred different sects and factions? Thus the whole school fund might be frittered away. And then what would become of the infidels, the atheists, the non-church-goers? In short, what would be left of our free-school system? Instead of yielding a single step already gained toward the absolute separation of Church and State, it would be infinitely better for both civil government and religion to advance a step onward and tax all church properties.

In the plea made by our Catholic friends then that it is "unfair" and "unjust" that they should be taxed to support the public schools, while they tax themselves to maintain their parochial schools, the fallacy is apparent. The parochial schools are for religious purposes. That settles the whole question, for the State has nothing to do with religion, except to protect every one in the free exercise thereof. If the Catholic Church feels that she cannot preserve her youth in the faith, except by seven days' teaching in the week, she is perfectly free thus to teach. No one can criticise her action in the matter. But she cannot justly invoke the aid of the State to help her. When the State taxes people for the support of religion then the Catholic Church may claim her full share. When the State employs religious teachers in her penal institutions then the Catholics in them are justly entitled to ministers of their own faith. They ought not, in justice, to be compelled to attend Protestant services. But when the State does not attempt religious education it would be gross injustice for her to discriminate in favor of Catholic schools, or of those of any other religious body. Every objectionable text book or teacher in the schools should be removed, and the schools put upon an absolutely unsectarian basis. Thus when the State treats all alike there can be no just cry of a lack of fairness toward any.—*Rev. W. W. Boyd (Baptist), Newark, N. J.*

Statutory Orthography.

Not only has Mr. Lawler, of Chicago, introduced a bill providing for the adoption of ignorant spelling in the printing of public documents, but the House Committee on Printing is actually to give a hearing on the proposition. Congress is going into the business of overlooking American citizens with a vengeance.

What with Blair, Lawler and others like them, we are in a fair way of being brought up by hand, and in a session or two we shall doubtless have bills introduced regulating the corned-beef hash of the breakfast table, as to whether it shall be browned or moist; the composition of

our bean soup, the amusements in which we shall indulge and the religious exercises in which we shall engage. Bringing up by hand is an ancient rite usually very disagreeable to the brought-up.

There was once a young gentleman named Pip, whose sister brought him up by hand, and the result was that the victim became heir to a convict. There are hands and hands, and on the whole we think that the Congressional hand is worse than Pip's sister's. We want none of it, and especially we want the Anglo-Saxon tongue left to itself, untouched by Lawler or his colleagues.

We want to be permitted to spell in the old, hard way, when spelling must be either right or wrong. We do not want Congress to make every man his own speller, even if the device should cover up a good deal of legislative ignorance.—*New York World.*

A Blow at Free Institutions.

ANOTHER move has been made upon Congress to secure the passage of what is euphemistically styled the "Sunday-rest bill." Petitions are being cooked up in many portions of the country with the same fatal facility that has characterized such deceptive devices recently in this city, and a number of them have already reached the capital, which purport to voice public sentiment. This is the most insidious and dangerous attempt yet made to entangle the Government with religion, and should meet the prompt condemnation of patriotic citizens, be they Christians or the reverse. The fathers of the republic knew very well what they were doing when they framed the Constitution. Their decision upon this matter was the result of the ripest wisdom, based not only upon the bitterest experience the world has ever known, but upon the express words of Christ—"Render, therefore, unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's." They saw stretching out behind them a long line of uninterrupted precedents establishing incontestably the fact that the union of Church and State, or the interference of either with the other, was ruinous to both, and that the zealot or the hair-brained politician needed but the frailest foundation upon which to build a calamitous superstructure of interference, so they omitted all reference to religion.

The two things are in their nature distinct, and their separation should be rigidly maintained for the good of both. Civil government is instituted for man's convenience on earth, while religion provides for his needs in another sphere of existence. The one is intended to facilitate man's intercourse with his fellow-men, the other to teach him his relations to the Almighty. The advocates of this innovation say that the better Christian

a man is the better citizen he will be. This proves nothing. On the same plea the Government should regulate a man's food and his wearing apparel, his domestic relations and his business affairs, for all contribute to good or bad citizenship. So far as is known at present, the best government is that which insures the greatest freedom of action to the individual, consistent with the rights and comfort of all, and as the Government of the United States does that it is the best on the face of the earth—nay, it is the model to which the oppressed peoples of the world look with hope and hasten to adopt as the shackles are stricken from them. No single feature of it is so admirable or has been such a power for good as this rigid separation of Church and State, which gives to every citizen the absolute control of his own conscience and the right to worship God as he pleases, and on whatever day of the week he believes to be the proper one. Considered from a secular standpoint, the mingling of Church and State, of which the Sunday-rest bill would inevitably be the entering wedge, is objectionable—first, because it is an unwarrantable interference with the liberty of the citizen, and secondly, because in every country and in every age where the foundation has been laid the church has encroached upon its privileges until the State has been forced to take steps for its preservation.

From a religious point of view, the union of the two in any form is, if possible, still more objectionable. Religion exhibits to-day a more vigorous and healthy growth in the United States than in any other country on the civilized globe, obviously because here it is free as the air we breathe, untrammelled by statutes or the coercive and life-crushing power of civil authority. There is really no comparison between the religious vitality of our own people and that of the most advanced nation in Europe. So palpable is this that it has compelled acknowledgement from the highest ecclesiastical dignitaries, and the most progressive countries are imitating our example by severing as fast as possible the links which bind Church and State together. Competition, so far from being disastrous, has been a healthy stimulus to all sects and denominations, and has given that impetus to free and full discussion of religious subjects, without which nine-tenths of those who clung to the Church in the past did so in name only, without clear ideas of their duties to their Maker, or any sincere inclination to perform them. Nothing could be more detrimental to the cause of religion than the passage of the Sunday-rest bill. Many thousands of Christians are opposed to it on purely religious grounds, and millions of sincerely pious men oppose it because of the blow it aims at American institutions.—*Baltimore American.*

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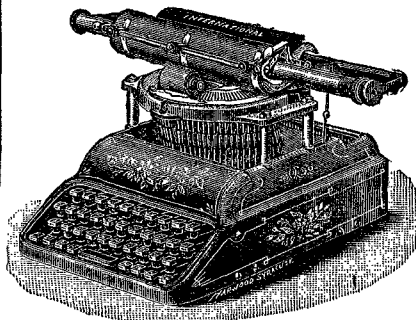
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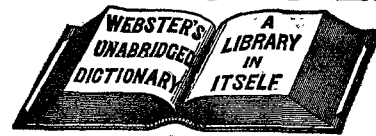
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THE *Colorado Graphic* remarks that "fortunately for the dignity, intelligence, and discretion of Denver's Christian clerical force, only a minority has taken active part in the Sunday-legislation movement."

THE report is being circulated to some extent that some of the judges on the Supreme Bench of Wisconsin are Roman Catholics, and hence the late decision on the question of the Bible in the schools. We have it upon good authority, and direct, that not one of the members of that court is a Roman Catholic. The decision would be just and right, however, even if every one of them were a Roman Catholic.

THE report of the Treasurer of the National Reform Association, at its recent annual meeting, shows that the receipts of the society for the past year were \$7,179.13. Of this amount \$5,374.61 had been expended, mostly in salaries to District Secretaries. The work of the society is not however represented by this sum, for a good deal has been accomplished by special secretaries who work without remuneration. Secretary Weir reported that he had preached one hundred sermons on National Reform topics to audiences aggregating twenty-one thousand persons.

THE following paragraph, in a private letter from Baltimore, Maryland, is evidence of the rapid tendency toward strict formality in Sunday observance, and the readiness of municipal authorities to undertake its enforcement by city ordinances:—

The ringing of milkmen's bells, and street-car bells has not been stopped in the city of Baltimore, on Sunday, as yet. But there is a city ordinance pending (introduced at the last sitting of the city council) which does call for the bells on horses attached to street-cars, to be removed on Sunday. Also, that milkmen's bells are not to be rung on Sunday. This ordinance has had its first reading, and been referred to a committee.

The city Comptroller furnishes this information, and gives it as his opinion, that the ordinance will pass, in due time. He also informed me, that this was in accordance with the best wishes of the Protestant ministers and their congregations of the city of Baltimore. By request of the ministers of the city in the form of a petition to street-car managers, nearly all the street-car bells have been left off the horses on Sunday, voluntarily, but not by city ordinances, as yet.

It seems, at first thought, peculiarly inapt, that Baltimore, the earliest home of knightly aristocracy, should be the first, in this millennial dawn of the new era of municipal religion, to undertake the enforcement of a Puritan Sunday. That such should be the case, is food for thought.

Had the "wise man" lived in this age, he might have added to the four things which were too wonderful for him, a fifth,—“the way of a politician with the Church.”

REV. R. M. SOMERVILLE, of New York, an ardent National Reformer, likens Christ when excluded from civil government to a captain at sea, having a vessel and a crew, but being prohibited from entering any harbor. He does not explain wherein the likeness consists, but as a vessel in such a condition would be liable to be wrecked, Mr. Somerville must regard the Lord as in imminent danger of losing his craft (the Church) because civil governments deny him the aid of their puny strength. This is only to say that without the aid of the civil power, Christ's mission must fail.

IN a speech in Congress a few days since, Representative Dorsey, of Nebraska, said that the only opposition to the admission of Idaho was on the part of Mormons, who objected to the provision in the Constitution disfranchising them. This is not strictly correct. The National Reformers also object to the admission of Idaho, but for a different reason, namely: because the Constitution under which the State is seeking admission forbids religious instruction in the schools. The hope was expressed in the Washington convention that Congress would not admit Idaho with such a constitutional provision.

THE *Weekly Witness*, a religious paper of this city, remarks that—

As a meddler in politics the Church of Rome is always and everywhere an unmitigated curse; just as any Protestant church would be which should insist on being reckoned with, as a church, in all matters of administration, and especially in the dispensing of public moneys. We are very decidedly opposed to the religious teachings of the Church of Rome, but in so far as it limits its teaching and claims to matters of religion we are prepared to treat it with respect as an institution which has as good a right to exist as any Protestant Church. When it steps out of its proper sphere, however, to make money out of politics, then it is time for Protestants of all denominations and of all parties to unite in opposition to it. If any Protestant Church should take a similar position it should meet with the same condemnation. But no Protestant Church would dare to do so, or could obtain the support of its own members if it did. The Roman Catholic Church is different from all others in this country, except the Mormon Church, in that it is essentially a political institution; always has been so and always must be, because it claims absolute and universal sovereignty as the authorized representative of Christ the true King and Ruler of the world.

This criticism is certainly just, as applied to the Romish Church. Any political church is a curse whether it be Rome

everywhere or the Mormon Church in Utah. And yet this is just the position the National Reformers and their allies are determined that the Protestant Church as a whole shall assume. They demand that the several Protestant bodies shall make common cause and insist on being reckoned with as churches in all matters of administration. If the Protestant churches shall do this, as they seem inclined to do, will they not then be just as much of a curse as the Papal Church, and for the very same reason? The question admits of but one answer. Does it not follow that the real friends of Protestantism are those who desire that the Protestant churches shall as churches have nothing to do with politics?

THE true spirit of National Reform, though carefully concealed in the Washington Convention by most of the speakers, cropped out in President Sylvester S. Scovel's address on the "Limitations of Liberty." Referring to our foreign population he said that if necessary they should "be educated with the bludgeon, and if the offense was repeated, with the blunderbuss." It was formerly considered necessary to kill people in order to save them, but that method of preaching the gospel has not been much in vogue for some time. It is evident however that the National Reformers hope to be able to revive it.

The *Associated Press of Reforms* is the name of a new quarterly publication which the "Reform Syndicate" of this city has just launched upon the treacherous sea of polemic journalism. The whilom field secretary of the American Sabbath Union is the manager of the syndicate, and as the new paper is a "special publication for publishers and editors of periodicals," and as the matter which it contains is secured by copyright, and as the copyright articles are to be released for re-publication for twelve dollars per year, or furnished in plates at very reasonable rates, it seems that the principle object of the syndicate is to get their "reform" matter into country papers which are printed largely from plates. Mr. Crafts is, it must be admitted, fertile in expedients.

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EDITORS,

E. J. WAGGONER, ALONZO T. JONES.

THE decision of the Wisconsin Supreme Court against the Bible in the public schools is called a victory for the Catholics. Strictly speaking this is not true. It is a victory for everybody who loves justice and the rights of men. Yet in a certain sense it is a victory for the Catholics, that is, in the sense that they are the ones who had the courage to fight the battle by which the victory was won. In this sense it is a victory for the Catholics. It is an honorable one too and they are justly entitled to the credit of it. But it is a shame to the Protestantism of Wisconsin, that the fighting of such a battle and the winning of such a victory had to be by Roman Catholics.

THE Emperor of Germany, when getting up his labor conference, appointed a Roman Catholic Bishop as one of the German delegates and at the same time announced to the Pope that he relied upon the support of the Catholic clergy in settling the questions involved, and the Pope, in reply said that this question "would be best solved by the application of Sunday rest and religious education." Thus, as the Sunday-rest movement spreads, the Pope comes more and more into prominence in the matter; and when that movement becomes universal, as these international efforts will make it, the Pope will be, in that matter, again the recognized universal head. This is very becoming. Universal Sunday laws before were synonymous with the Papal headship of the world, and when they become universal again, the same thing will be again. The two belong together.

A Fair Proposition.

To those people who are making such strenuous efforts to have a general religion "a broad Christianity," adopted by the United States Government, we have a proposition to make, which, if accepted and carried out, will demonstrate the virtue of their professions.

There is just now considerable talk about the establishing of a National University. The Roman Catholics have established a university at the national capital. Now it would do no good, even if it could be accomplished, for each one of the different Protestant denominations to establish a university also at Washington; therefore, what we propose is this: Let all the Protestant denominations, those broad Christians, those who think that religion and sectarianism are distinct and separate things,—let these unite in that blessed harmony which they advocate, and go to Cardinal Gibbons, and his associate authorities in this country, and, by a general consensus of opinion, reach a harmonious view of God and religion and morals. Then by generous contributions let them secure proportionate shares in the property of the university already established; and make it indeed a national one, in which they can set before the Nation a living actual illustration of that all-absorbing charity and unity in Christian graces, principles, and methods, which they profess.

This is a fair proposition. The way is open for them to show that their professions are genuine; that their views of the relations between State and religion are sound, and that it is the easy task which they profess, to make it a success.

Or, if it be too great a task for Protestants thus to unite with Roman Cath-

olics at the very first effort, then we submit this proposition—that they establish for themselves, a national Protestant university at Washington city. Let them decide just what principles shall be taught there, as the principles of genuine Christianity. Let them agree upon the true basis of morals; let them choose a board, settle the faculty, and illustrate upon a national plane the virtues of that broad Christianity, that unsectarian religion, and that standard of general morality which they profess and advocate, and which they claim it would be so easy for the State to adopt and enforce. If they will do this to their own satisfaction, and to the satisfaction of the people of the Nation, then their movement to have the State do likewise would have so much, at least, in its favor, that they could point to the actual facts in the case, and show that agreement in these things were possible. But until some such effort as this shall have been made, some attempt at least to do or show that that can be done, which they demand the State shall do, their professions and their pretensions that such a thing can be done will lack that force by which alone arguments can ever be made to carry conviction. Will they try it?

Sectarianism and Religion.

THE object of the appointment of the Committee on Religion and Public Education by the Presbyterian Synod of New York is "to emphasize the distinction between sectarianism and religion; to insist that sectarianism should be rigidly excluded from our public schools, and with equal emphasis to insist that the State, for its own sake, must instruct all its wards in reverence for God, as the basis for good morals." Before these folks attempt to emphasize so very much the distinction between sectarianism and

religion, it would be well for them clearly to define it. Not only that, it is *necessary* that they should define it; and, more than this, it is necessary that they should so define it that the definition will be universally accepted. But that, we will venture, will never be done. For the Presbyterians to announce such a definition, would be simply to announce a definition that would be disputed by many, if not all, the other religious bodies of the country and of the world, which would make it at once a sectarian definition. Therefore until a definition has been made of what sectarianism is, and what religion is, which will clearly show the distinction between them, and be universally accepted, all the efforts of this committee, or of Presbyterianism itself, will be simply movements in the dark.

Yet this form of working is characteristic of the scheme of religious legislation and to force religion into the public schools. Those who are in favor of it make statements and formulate propositions which they themselves do not understand, and expect everybody unquestioningly to accept. And then they go to work to get a piece of generalized mysticism in regard to religion recognized by the State with the purpose of enforcing it; then, when they have succeeded in that, all the definitions, explanations, and distinctions are expected to follow and to be brought out by the decisions of courts or councils, and the result, at the last, could not possibly be anything else than the establishment of some one school of thought, or phase of religion which would be, in a word, nothing but sectarianism.

As to the next point in this object, that the State must, for its own sake instruct the children in reverence for God as the basis for good morals, the first question to be asked is, What God shall it be whom the children shall be instructed to reverence? for unless this be clearly defined and well settled so that the children may understand what the character of the God is whom they are to reverence, good morals never can come from any such instruction. As Dr. Greer aptly inquired, last winter, in a Presbyterian meeting in this city, Is it the God of the Trinitarian, or the God of the Unitarian? Is it a god who proposes to save some people through the purifying process of purgatorial fire? or is it a god who proposes to save all people without the agency of any fire at all? Is it a god of such a bitter vengeful spirit that his wrath can spare but a very few of the human race? or is it the God of love, whose love embraces all mankind, and who is pained that there should be one who would choose any other than a righteous course of conduct?

Upon the decision of this question rests all the merit of any teaching on the question of morals that ever might be given. For if those to whom is given the place

of instructors to the children, have false ideas of what the true God is, the ideas of morals which they will inculcate will be false, and false ideas of morals never can develop good morals. And such a question would certainly have to be decided. If it is not decided before the step is taken, which the Synod demands shall be taken by the State, then it will have to be decided afterward, and just as soon as it is decided, the decision will not be concurred in by a vast number of people, and will, therefore, inevitably involve the whole question again in the same result as the other point, that is sectarianism.

The sum of it all therefore is, that it is impossible to define any positive decided statement of religious belief without sectarianism; but as all these people with one voice deny the right of the State to teach sectarianism, the logic of the whole thing is that they, in that, deny what ought to be denied by every soul—the right, or even the ability of the State to give religious instruction to any extent whatever. The inculcation of religious views and moral ideas belongs to the Church only, and must be accomplished by moral suasion, by spiritual influences and spiritual power. It never can be done by State authority sustained by physical force, the only power at the command of the State.

Such a wide-spread demand by that which professes to be the popular religion of the country, that the State shall assume the place and functions of the instructor in religion and morals, is an open confession that those who make the profession have forgotten the true relation and foundation of religion and morals, as well as the proper means and power by which alone, these can be made effective in education.

The professed representatives of God and religion in this country need to find out who God really is, and what genuine religion really is.

A. T. J.

Modern Inquisitors.

AND now comes the report of the trial and conviction of an American citizen in the State of Tennessee for the monstrous crime of religious convictions. Mr. R. M. King, a reputable citizen of Obion County in that State, but with the misfortune of belonging to the small sect of Seventh-day Adventists, having observed Saturday as his Sabbath, was recently seized and indicted on the charge of plowing on the next day, "without regard" to the orthodox Sabbath. All the witnesses in the case testified to the good character of the accused as a law-abiding citizen. They all confessed on cross-examination that they were not disturbed in any way, except that their "moral and religious feelings" were shocked. Their examination showed that two of them—Christian (?) gentlemen—were members of an

organization pledged to prosecute every violation of Sabbath laws. The defendant's counsel offered to prove that men in the same neighborhood—but not holding unorthodox religious views—had cut wheat, rafted logs and performed other work on Sunday for which they had not been legally disturbed; but the court would not permit him to submit his proof. The State's attorney made an inflammatory speech against the crime of the defendant. The judge overruled a motion for a new trial, and Mr. King was heavily fined for his criminal audacity in entertaining the religious belief that the "Christian Sabbath" was a secular day, on which he could conscientiously perform secular duties.

Such are the first fruits of the heralded "Sabbath laws" in the land of alleged religious liberty! So much for the adoption of the methods of the mediæval Inquisition by nineteenth century republican governments!

These are the laws and these are the methods, Californians, that *we* are demanded by religious fanaticism to make for the government of the citizens of this free State! These Christian gentlemen of Tennessee are not persecutors. Oh, no! They are only Christians, working for the temporal good of their fellow men! It were a shame to call them inquisitors! Religious men have never been known to persecute. They only "uphold the laws!"—*The Dial, Oakland, California.*

Sunday Closing.

THE *Colorado Graphic* declares that Sunday closing in Denver is a failure. "Sunday drinking," it says, "goes on as merrily as though the law did not exist." And this without violation of the statute. "The greedy consumer," says the *Graphic*, "has found legal loopholes through which to crawl, and drinks more now in private than he did when bar-room doors were wide open. The police are as powerless to suppress this Sunday drinking as they are to interfere with the Mayor's or Sheriff's claret at dinner if they choose to serve it. Private clubs have been organized and chartered all over the city. . . . One dollar pays a member's initiation fee and buys a key to a club-room door—usually an annex to a licensed saloon. Twenty-five cents a month pays expenses, and he is provided with all his thirst demands from Sunday morning until Sunday night at regular rates."

And this is much the way Sunday closing works everywhere. If it closes the saloons, it does not keep people from getting liquor, as has been many times demonstrated; and as a temperance measure it is just about as effective as high license, which is now so generally repudiated by temperance people. Those who desire prohibition should demand it pure

and simple, and not waste their time with Sunday closing. If, however, that which is desired is State recognition of Sunday as being for some reason better than other days, Sunday-closing laws are certainly a step in the right direction.

This city has Sunday-closing laws, but it is notorious that it does not lessen the amount of drunkenness for the reason that people get and drink their liquor just the same as they used to before the saloons were closed on Sunday. Many buy it on Saturday evening. And again many saloons close only the front door while the side door remains open. It is openly charged that for this privilege they pay a regular monthly allowance to the police. Those who pay are not arrested; those who refuse are hurried off to prison and are fined, till driven out of the business. The only way to prohibit the liquor traffic is to prohibit it, not one day in the week but every day. To make criminal upon one day in the week that which is perfectly legal at all other times, is simply to place a premium upon official corruption; to make possible persecution, as in Tennessee; and to educate people to disregard and despise the law.

C. P. BOLLMAN.

The National Reform Star.

REV. J. M. FOSTER, district secretary of the National Reform Association, says: "The whole machinery of government," in the United States, "is adjusted as perfectly, and works as harmoniously, as any Corliss engine. Under it we have grown to be a great, and prosperous, and happy people." If this is true, what more could be asked? If, under our present form of government, we have grown to be great, and prosperous, and happy, why is it that Mr. Foster and his National Reform friends are laboring so diligently to change the very foundations upon which that government rests? Do they desire to exchange greatness for insignificance? prosperity for adversity? and happiness for misery? How can they expect to change the cause without changing the effect? And if the results which follow the practical workings of our Government are good, why should the cause be changed? Yet Mr. Foster says in his next sentence, "But there is one fatal defect." How can that be? How can a system of government produce such excellent results while it has a "fatal defect"? When a man receives a fatal wound, he dies. If he does not die, then the wound is not fatal. The fact that under this Government "we have grown to be a great, and prosperous, and happy people," proves that what Mr. Foster regards as a fatal defect has not been fatal at all. If instead of growing "great and prosperous, and happy," we had been growing in the opposite direction, then it would seem that the defects were about to prove fatal, but prosperity and happiness

are certainly very poor evidences of fatality.

But what does Mr. Foster regard as the fatal defect in our system of government? He says: "The sovereign people have not acknowledged the Source of their authority and law, their dependence upon God and their obligation to him." Yet Mr. Foster acknowledges that notwithstanding this "we have grown to be a great, and prosperous, and happy people." This shows that a nation can be blessed of God without making any such acknowledgement in their civil constitution as Mr. Foster requires. Undoubtedly the people of every nation should acknowledge God and Christianity, but only such persons should make the acknowledgement as can do so from the heart. And the acknowledgement should be made through the medium of the Church and not through the medium of the State. It should be optional with the people whether they shall belong to the church or not; but it cannot be optional whether they shall belong to the State. Every one has to belong to some State while he is in the world. Therefore if the State is the proper organization through which to make a profession of Christianity, all would be compelled to make the profession whether they believed in it or not. Blasphemy and hypocrisy would be the inevitable result. Christ says, "Let him that is athirst come." If any one is thirsting for Christianity, he should be permitted to have it; nay he can not be hindered from having it; but if he is not thirsting, and does not want it, no power on earth has any right to force it, or any part of it, upon him.

Mr. Foster continues: "Astronomers tell us that some of the fixed stars are so far away that were they blotted out they would still continue visible for many generations. We have blotted out of our Constitution the star of our national life."

How can that be? By the star of our national life, Mr. Foster means an acknowledgement of God and his authority in the national Constitution. But he has already stated that the people have never yet made any such acknowledgement; that is, they have never had any such star in their political Constitution. Now the question arises, How could we blot out of our Constitution a star that was never there? And when was this done? Still he says "The light of prosperity has continued to pour down upon us." Does he mean the light of that star which he himself claims has not yet had an existence? It would seem appropriate that the light of national prosperity should emanate from "the star of our national life," and we believe that it does. We believe that "the light of prosperity" which has been pouring down upon us all these years comes from a star that actually exists, and that it has existed all the time, or else we should not have had the light. Mr. Foster acknowledges the existence of the

light, and its beneficial results, but denies the existence of its source; so he wants the Nation to set up his National Reform "star," that he may have something to which he can attribute this wonderful light. But would it be honest to attribute the light to a star which was not brought into existence until the light had been shining for one hundred years? However, Mr. Foster thinks this "light of prosperity" has been shining without any source about as long as it can, and that unless a source is provided, it will certainly go out. He says, "but soon that light will be exhausted." We should think so, too, if it has been shining all this time without any source. But we do not believe any such nonsense. We believe that the light of our national prosperity has an adequate source, and that so long as the source is left undisturbed the light will continue to shine. And this is why we object to the whole National Reform scheme. They want to tear down what has been our source of light in the past; and since under the influence of this light "we have grown to be a great, and prosperous and happy people," we think that it ought to be left undisturbed.

Although this National Reform star has never had a position above our political horizon, yet it has shone in many skies during the ages of the past. In the time of Constantine, there were those who hoped to illuminate the entire world with this star. They succeeded in making it the ruling star, but the time of its supremacy is always referred to as the "Dark Ages." If it be acknowledged that we now have light, we shall be wise not to exchange it for that which has caused the darkness of the awful past.

A. DELOS WESCOTT.

The Sunday-Rest League in Chicago.

FOR some time an organization known as the Chicago Sunday Closing Association has been in existence in Chicago. This has been augmented, or in part supplanted by the Sunday-rest League.

This league states that its object "shall be to co-operate with the Chicago Sunday Closing Association in securing, by all proper means, freedom from unnecessary Sunday labor, and especially the closing of factories, shops, stores and saloons on Sunday." They employ a secretary who spends all his time in the city in the interests of the league, his work being largely among the foreign element in Chicago.

Article three of their constitution states that the league shall be composed of the representatives of the whole population, independent of sectarian control or party dictation." The *Chicago News* has indorsed the league quite fully and seems to be its special organ of communication.

The above will give some idea of the

organization. It will be seen at once that it is formed on a basis to gather in all who can be led to believe in Sunday legislation. And their plan, of course, is to get the best class of citizens worked into it.

Their *intentions* may be good, but their *object is too narrow*, and will, in the end, lead to bad results. To simply close saloons on Sunday would give a sanction to the accursed traffic in rum by virtually saying to men, "If you only keep from the saloon on Sunday, it is all right to go there on other days." And the closing of factories, shops, stores, etc., on Sunday, has more to it for Chicago than one might, at first glance, see. Our large cities are considered to be the rendezvous for anarchists, and other discontented persons that are ever watching for an opportunity to do mischief. Chicago surely has its share of this element. These persons have no regard at all for Sunday as a day of sacred rest. And in fact the *News*, in reporting a speech recently delivered in Chicago stated that the *anarchists are atheists almost to a man*. It is also true of a great majority of the wage earners, that they are skeptical in regard to the Bible and also the claims of Sunday sanctity. And if these persons should all be turned loose on Sunday without any reverence for the day they would plunge into debauchery that would hurt them worse physically, and far worse morally, than for them to engage in honest toil. And the simple act of closing the saloons on Sunday would not stop them from having a supply of strong drink. For a man with any sense at all will be sharp enough to get his liquor the day before, when he knows the saloons are going to be closed on Sunday.

Then the problem before us is like this: We see hundreds of men toiling every day in the week, and we know from actual contact with them that the great majority of them have no convictions of the sacredness of any day. Then if we compel them by law to rest, we simply compel them to be idle and they are sure to be led into some kind of dissipation. For if a man takes no pleasure in the *religious* phase of the day, he will seek *some means of enjoyment* and that is sure to be in the line of sensual gratification and will always injure him more than it would to work. But, say the Sunday-law advocates, if we would turn them loose on Sundays, so they would not have to work, would they not attend church and thus become better? It might be well to reply by asking, Why do they not attend church now on the Sundays that they are idle? But in place of going to church, some of them meet for anarchist Sunday-school, where, in the place of the precepts of Christ being taught, the children are fired with the doctrines of anarchists. Then the more this class of people are compelled to be idle on Sunday the worse it is for all concerned. Would it not, then, be a wise plan

to spend the labor that is being used to secure Sunday laws, in the line of *inculcating some principles* into this class which will lead them to love that which is right and good rather than to force them to be idle when they will use their idle time only for that which is bad? The outcome of it would be, if a strict Sunday law should be enforced, that the class they are trying to help would only be rendered more free to do evil, and then the National Reformers would come to the rescue and ask for another law to compel them to go to church where they could get at them to teach them National Reform morality.

This idea of Sunday closing and Sunday legislation seems to be striking all parts of the country as the great panacea for all our social ills, and the work of the AMERICAN SENTINEL is much needed to expose the danger of such would-be philanthropy.

A. O. TAIT.

Chicago, Illinois, April 8, 1890.

Sunday Slaves in a Quandary.

THE local Sunday bill for the District of Columbia now before Congress, and referred to the District Committee of the House, is entitled, "A bill to prevent persons from being forced to labor on Sunday." If this is a consistent title, then the different sections of Chapter 36, on Crimes and Offenses, in the Revised Statutes of the District of Columbia, should have been variously entitled:—

An act to prevent persons from being forced to commit manslaughter, or assault with intent to kill, etc.

An act to prevent persons from being forced to maliciously, willfully or fraudulently burn any dwelling house, etc.

An act to prevent persons from being forced to commit burglary, etc.

An act to prevent persons from being forced to feloniously steal, take and carry away any goods or chattels, or other personal property, etc.

This would indeed be a statutory acknowledgement of the power of secondary causes, such as we have not yet seen; unless it should be referred to the ancient theory that the "king can do no wrong," and his prime minister therefore should be punished; so, as in this country each voter is an individual sovereign, therefore their prime ministers should suffer for the crime which the sovereign people have been forced to commit.

This is a very fine course of antique reasoning, but, unfortunately for the consistency of the Sunday measure, the conclusion in the body of the bill is very different from the result which these premises would warrant. The provisions of the bill itself, fix a penalty of not more than one hundred dollars fine upon any person, or corporation, or employe of any person or corporation, who shall perform any secu-

lar labor or business on Sunday, as well as upon the one who shall cause them to perform such labor. Hence it follows, that the sovereign people are not only dethroned, but enslaved, and are to be fined one hundred dollars, because of their enslavement.

This inconsistency, no doubt, was simply an oversight on the part of Mr. Breckinridge. He did not notice that he was framing his bill in such a manner as to fine the wrong man. He, of course, intended that the idea of the prevention of compulsory labor should be followed throughout, and the bill to read like this:—

"A bill to prevent persons from being forced to labor on Sunday.

"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That it shall be unlawful for any person, or corporation, or employe of any person or corporation in the District of Columbia, to force any person or corporation, or employe of any corporation, in the District of Columbia, to perform any secular labor or business on Sunday; nor shall it be lawful for any person or corporation, to receive pay for the compulsory services of their employes, rendered in violation of this act."

Whoever those persons are, who are being forced to work seven days in a week, in the District of Columbia, they must be looking with some interest, to learn if this be the true form of the measure which Mr. Breckinridge intended to present.

W. H. McKEE.

Refused State Aid.

REV. J. G. LEMEN is the founder and manager of an orphanage in Council Bluffs, Iowa, known as the Christian Home. Early in March Hon. J. K. McGavren, member of the Iowa Legislature from Harrison County, introduced a bill appropriating for this Home the sum of \$5,000. This action was taken without consulting Mr. Lemen, who as soon as he was fully informed in regard to the bill wrote to its author as follows:—

HON. J. K. MCGAVREN,—

Dear Sir: Yours of the 10th at hand. I heartily thank you, in the name of Christ and his helpless little ones, for what you did, considering the heart-motive that prompted you in the act.

But, the more I have prayed and thought over the matter, the more I am convinced that it is not a matter that I desire pushed, for the following reasons:—

1. This is a work of faith. We desire to look to God and to him alone.

2. If we accept this aid, we help to set a precedent for all sorts of private and sectarian charities making a raid on the public treasury. This I believe to be a bad precedent. If then, so believing, I lend my sanction to this, I do evil that good may come, which is wrong.

I thank you again for the kindness of heart that prompted you to introduce the bill in question, and I will always remember you with a grateful heart. I hope to meet you at the Home, and to ever have

your earnest co-operation. But here and now, allow me to declare that I am opposed to this measure and all like measures. I do not believe that the State should aid any institutions other than regular State institutions, which are under the supervision and full control of the State. Any other course is a virtual union of Church and State; it is virtually taxing those who are opposed to Christianity, or given forms of it to support institutions under the control of those advocating and teaching that to which the tax-payers, or a portion of them, are conscientiously opposed. This is contrary to the spirit of our free institutions.

With kind regards of all at the Home, I am yours in Christ.

This letter must commend itself to every unprejudiced person as being thoroughly sensible and Christian. This gentleman is engaged in a Christian work which he is doing in a Christian way and which he desires to see supported by Christian benevolence.

Mr. Lemen also publishes a paper for the orphanage called the *Christian Home*, and in an article in that paper of March 20, he says:—

We had every reason to believe that we could secure the \$5,000 in question. . . . We frankly admit, therefore, that when we first heard of the matter, we were greatly elated, as it was natural that we should be. But as soon as we had time to calmly consider the matter, taking it to the Lord in prayer, we felt impressed by the Spirit that it would be a very wicked thing for us to accept of the proffered aid, for the accepting of State aid by institutions of the character of the Home is a virtual union of Church and State, as all must admit who calmly consider the matter. The Home, of course, does not pretend to be a church; but, in its aims and work, it is so akin to the Church that, as far as the principle involved in this matter is concerned, no line of distinction can be drawn. Shall we, then, dear Christian fellow-laborers, simply for the sake of Mammon, doubting God our Father, help to encourage the union of Church and State? Had we, dear fellow-workers, accepted this aid, our voice would have been silenced; and we could never, henceforth, have uttered a protest against the growing tendency of State Legislatures granting away the people's money by hundreds of thousands to all sorts of private and sectarian charities that chance to have influence enough to secure appropriations, thus doing indirectly what they dare not do directly—legislating in favor of the union of Church and State. In short, by accepting this aid we would have permitted Satan to have bought us with a price, so that we could never henceforth, with any show of consistency, have uttered a word against the union of Church and State.

All honor, say we to one who thus stands for Christian principle! We feel assured that the Council Bluffs, Iowa, Christian Home is in good hands, and that the orphans who find a refuge there will be instructed in a manner that will tend to make them substantial Christian men and women that will not need the aid of the State or of the civil law to enable them to live out their Christian convictions. There is power in a religion that is not afraid to stand alone, and that will boldly say, Our trust is in God. The ministers of the National Reform Association and the American Sabbath Union should profit by the example of Mr. Lemen and learn to put their trust in God rather than in the State.

The Blair Sunday Bill.

THE bill in its present form is objectionable and should, and probably will be, summarily rejected by Congress. It is objectionable because it contemplates a union of religion with the Government through legislation, and the experience of history proves that such a union is adulterous in character and defiling alike to religious and secular affairs. What is more to the point, it is contrary to the fundamental principles of our system and to the national Constitution, which has guaranteed—not toleration, but absolute religious freedom, so far as Congress has power to legislate.

The United States republic made several distinct departures from previous experiences in government, but none exceeded in its vital consequence to humanity and in its relation to our national progress the severance of priestcraft and every shade of theocracy from our civil system. We have demonstrated that the absolute severance of organic religion from the State produces the greatest prosperity and the best results for both interests. The churches of no country have equal vitality with those of the United States, and in proportion to the influence that the Church has on the State affairs of any nation its religion will be found to be debased and stupefied, vice among its people rampant, and morality at a low ebb. The reader who will apply this statement to the nations in detail will conclude that nothing is so blighting to a nation's morality, or so demoralizing to its religion, as an alliance of its ecclesiastical power with the State. The absolute severance of so corrupting a connection is the most vital characteristic of our Government.

No higher authority is recognized by the United States, as such, than the will of the people; as the fathers declared, "Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed." Lincoln expressed the American idea when he said this is "a Government of the people, by the people and for the people." Our Government was formed and exists for the purposes of this world, and the affairs of the supernatural world were left to the individual conscience. Obviously under such a system there can be no legislation affecting religious belief or controlling action in the interest of any religion. Such legislation would imply force and to secure effect would require force, which would be persecution. Who wants to go back to that? Has not history been blackened enough in that way? Is not the record made by the Church in its ages of power mainly responsible for the present severance of a large proportion of the Christian world from Christianity?

It is true that in practice the principles of this Government have in certain particulars been violated, but the violations have been without warrant and cannot be de-

fended as matters of right. We have reached a period when it will be wise to check farther advance in the wrong direction. The secular character of the Government cannot be too clearly recognized or too emphatically maintained. The founders of the Nation left the management of temporal things to the temporal power, and gave freedom of religion to all—not to Christians only, but to all whose form of belief does not conflict with the moral instincts of our civilization, a test of which may be had by a comparison with an authoritative criminal code. In 1796 a treaty made by the United States with Tripoli and drawn up by a Congregational clergyman declared that "the Government of the United States is not in any sense founded on the Christian religion," and it was signed by President Washington. The incident forcibly illustrates the sentiment of the time as to the secular nature of the Government; nor does it indicate an unfriendly feeling but on the contrary respect for religion and a desire to avoid an association that had always been defiling to both Church and State. "The American Constitution, in harmony with the people of the several States," says Mr. Bancroft, in his History of the Constitution of the United States, "withheld from the Federal Government the power to invade the home of reason, the citadel of conscience, the sanctuary of the soul; and not from indifference, but that the infinite spirit of eternal truth might move in its freedom and purity of power."

The Blair Sunday bill should be killed, because the good points it embraces would not justify the risk of such a precedent in legislation even were its defects removed, being confessedly a religious movement and to serve religious purposes.—*Rocky Mountain News, February 9.*

Some Good Resolutions.

WE wish the Woman's National Liberal Union were as sound in all its statements and all its principles, as it is in the following resolutions which were adopted at its Washington Convention. These resolutions are good. We wish we could say as much of everything that was said in the Convention, but we are glad that there is so much that is so good. May these principles permeate the organization until all shall be alike good:—

Resolved, That it is essential to the life of the Republic that the purely civil character of the Government be maintained and that Church and State be forever kept separate; that the legal foundation of our Government is not any creed of Christendom, nor any authority of the Church, nor a divine revelation, but it is simply the consent of the governed; that the State has not grown out of the Church, but should outgrow the need of any Church and be henceforth and forever independent of the Church.

Resolved, That the efforts now made by the Christian party to bring religion into politics in order to place a religious amendment in the Constitution of the United States, must be resisted, because the

success of such efforts would make the Church the arbiter of the legislative functions of the Government and place dangerous irresponsible power in the hands of the priesthood.

Resolved, That according to the principles of the Government of the United States of America, the Church and State are and must be forever kept separate. The State should govern its civil affairs, give its protection to every form of religious belief and secure freedom from molestation to every sect in the exercise of its religious sentiments, and therefore any amendment to the Constitution proposed by the so-called Christian party in politics is destructive of existing civil liberty and should be energetically opposed.

Resolved, That the real endeavor of the Christian party in politics is to establish a Papacy in place of the present secular form of government of the United States; that a Papacy does not alone mean a Pope's one-man power in the Church, nor a claim of Papal infallibility; nor an immoral pretense of power to bind or loose sins, nor the celebration of mass, nor use of holy water, nor the making of marriage a sacrament, nor the doctrine of extreme unction, nor consecrated ground for burial, nor the claim of any number of sacraments, nor the establishment of parochial schools to teach children what they cannot understand, nor a celibate priesthood, nor any form of theological doctrine regarding heaven, hell, or purgatory; but that a Papacy is any Church asserting divine authority for its teachings and therefore claiming the right to exercise civil power,—whether that Church calls itself Roman, Greek, Anglican, or Protestant.

Resolved, That the centralization of power, whether in the Church or in the State, is dangerous to civil liberty and to individual rights, and therefore all attempts towards such centralization, either in Church or State, must be constantly and firmly opposed.

Resolved, That as our Nation is composed of people holding various and conflicting religious views, Roman Catholics disagreeing with Protestant forms, both disagreeing with Jewish rites, and the Agnostic holding to no defined system, therefore it is wrong and unjust to impose religious instruction of any kind upon the pupils of our common schools, and in simple justice to all people we denounce and oppose every kind of religious instruction in our public schools.

THE newspapers that attack the Supreme Court of Wisconsin for its decision that the reading of the Bible in the public schools of that State is in violation of the Constitution, are more enthusiastic than wise. The matter is one of law purely. The judges, as we are advised, are Christian men; and while no doubt they would like to see the Bible read in all the public schools of the State, that is no reason why they should put the Constitution aside. Besides, the question relates to a particular version which the Catholics do not accept.

The starting point of the whole matter is the constantly recurring one of sectarianism in the public schools, in which religion cannot be introduced free from sectarianism. The Wisconsin court is undoubtedly right in its position, some well meaning newspapers to the contrary notwithstanding. Certain it is that the reading in the public schools of the Douay, or Roman Catholic, version of the Bible would be denounced by the Protestant world as secular instruction prohibited by the Constitution. The reading of the King James version is no less so. Let us have peace.—*Christian at Work.*

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

Encouraging Words from Michigan Lawyers.

OVER seventy letters have been received, the past week, from members of the legal profession, resident in the State of Michigan, indorsing the work of the Religious Liberty Association, and expressing sympathy with the position taken by the AMERICAN SENTINEL, in reference to legislation upon religious questions. A few extracts are quoted below:—

That a sentiment has been, and is, growing—slowly yet quite well rooted—in our free America, to connect Church and State in minor matters, cannot longer be denied. This is evidenced by certain acts of the Legislatures of different States, certain bills in the National Congress, and recent decisions of the Judiciary of some States. I am heartily in sympathy with the mission of the National Religious Liberty Association, and the SENTINEL. We know of no other America to which we may migrate, to escape this evil, and we have only to submit, or meet it and if possible, crush it while in embryo.

I have noted the tendency of our Government toward paternalism, centralization, and the union of Church and State, during the past few years. . . . Every right minded man will welcome the AMERICAN SENTINEL, as a champion of the rights of free men. . . . And it seems to me that lawyers, generally, will be found in line with the principles it advocates.

I most earnestly commend the mission which you and your paper have undertaken and very ably advocate, and I most unqualifiedly approve of the principles of religious liberty which you defend, and without which civil liberty cannot long remain. To me, it seems marvelous, that in this enlightened country which has for a century boasted of its civil and religious freedom as basic principles of its Government, there should seem to be any occasion to defend them, or to endeavor to convince any, of the dangers which must result from any interference by the Government, with religious matter—except to protect every citizen in the full enjoyment of his opinions relating thereto, and in all such religious observances as any may see fit to adopt, which do not interfere with the like enjoyment by others of their rights. But strange, as it seems to those who stand free from the bigotry and superstition of the past ages, there does appear to be a necessity that such papers as the SENTINEL shall exist, and that active and energetic measures should be adopted to counteract the efforts to place our country under the rule of ecclesiasticism, which all history has proven to be the most cruel and relentless despotism the world has ever known.

Yours of March 21 received this morning, and in reply will say; that I fully believe in the principles of your Association, and believe absolutely in the sentiment, as expressed in the SENTINEL, against any union whatever of Church and State. Every phase of such a condition of things, will always meet my most decided disapproval.

I do not approve of Senator Blair's bill, nor his views; but I never knew of any nation suffering from too much religion—if genuine; nor did I ever read of any people too well educated, or too highly cultivated. But these are matters which do not come by legislation

I have not only received, but read with much interest, the matter sent me. It meets my views exactly. No meddling with the Constitution. It is as it should be, as the fathers left it; and to him or them who would change it to favor any sect or society, I say "hands off!" I like the tone of the SENTINEL. It is engaged in a good work.

We can assure you, that the members of this firm are each fully in accord with the sentiments of the SENTINEL, so far as its advocacy of perfect religious liberty and absolute independence of Church and State is concerned.

I like the tone and sentiments of the SENTINEL and Association, inasmuch as I am for religious liberty pure and simple as guaranteed by the Constitution.

I heartily indorse the principles and mission of the SENTINEL, having been a subscriber for the same for some time past. . . . I wish there was a branch of the Religious Liberty Association organized in every city, village, and hamlet, in the United States, and that the SENTINEL could be read by every family in the land. Hoping you will succeed in this good work, I remain, Yours for the Right.

As was to be expected, Senator Blair disapproves the Wisconsin decision.

Those who wish to do so and who have not already had the opportunity of so doing, or who have neglected it, are requested to sign BOTH of the following petitions and send them to W. H. MCKEE, 225 A Street, N. E., Washington, D. C. If room for more names is desired the petition may be cut out and pasted onto a sheet of legal cap.

To the Honorable, the House of Representatives of the United States:—
 We, the undersigned, adult residents of the United States, 21 years of age or more, hereby respectfully, but earnestly, petition your Honorable Body not to pass any bill in regard to the observance of the Sabbath, or Lord's day, or any other religious or ecclesiastical institution or rite; nor to favor in any way the adoption of any resolution for the amendment of the National Constitution that would in any way give preference to the principles of any one religion above another, or that will in any way sanction legislation upon the subject of religion; but that the total separation between religion and the State, assured by our National Constitution as it now is, may forever remain as our fathers established it.

To the Honorable, the Senate of the United States:—
 We, the undersigned, adult residents of the United States, 21 years of age or more, hereby respectfully, but earnestly, petition your Honorable Body not to pass any bill in regard to the observance of the Sabbath, or Lord's day, or any other religious or ecclesiastical institution or rite; nor to favor in any way the adoption of any resolution for the amendment of the National Constitution that would in any way give preference to the principles of any one religion above another, or that will in any way sanction legislation upon the subject of religion; but that the total separation between religion and the State, assured by our National Constitution as it now is, may forever remain as our fathers established it.

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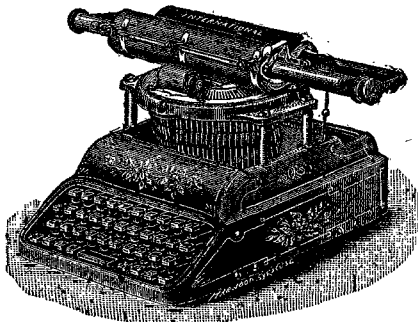
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ON THE

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NEW YORK, APRIL 24, 1890.

NOTE.—Any one receiving the AMERICAN SENTINEL without having ordered it may know that it is sent to him by some friend, unless plainly marked "Sample copy." It is our invariable rule to send out no papers without pay in advance, except by special arrangement, therefore, those who have not ordered the SENTINEL need have no fears that they will be asked to pay for it simply because they take it from the post-office.

It is a standing reproach to the sober sense of the American people that there have been found amongst them 330,000 persons who would buy Edward Bellamy's nonsensical book "Looking Backward."

Says the *Union Signal*: "Time was when a large proportion of the Christian world would have looked upon any marked observance of Lent as a relic of Popery, and while we gazed with interest upon Easter ceremonies, we nevertheless regarded them as spectacular and unnecessary." Yes, that is so. It would be a good thing if that time would come again and continue indefinitely.

MISS WILLARD announces that "there is to be a party that will combine the farmer and the wage earner, that will make its force felt in the next campaign, and the Prohibition Party will form the nucleus. When that time comes, we will side with it and will take the consequences." If she means indeed "the consequences," then if that party wins, we pity her. It would be worse consequences than we should ever wish to see befall a human being.

OF the Nationalistic theories set forth by Edward Bellamy the *Voice* says: "The millennium lies somewhere in the direction this movement is heading." As to whereabouts in this direction the millennium probably lies, the *Voice* allows that "it may be ten thousand years distant." That is a very safe estimate. It is certainly not any nearer than that, and how much further off it is does not materially concern either the present or the rising generation.

THE Presbyterian Synod of New York has, for several years, been working in behalf of religion in the public schools. A committee is appointed each year to have charge of the matter. This year again this committee on religion and public education has been appointed to confer with other denominations and seek their co-operation in the effort to introduce in the public schools some positive religious teaching as an essential part of the curriculum. Amongst the members appointed to confer with the several conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church, we find the

name of Dr. Howard Crosby. That is a very appropriate appointment. We hope all the others are of the same kind, because Dr. Crosby is openly and decidedly opposed to any religious instruction whatever in the public schools. We are not acquainted with the position of any of the other persons named, but we hope they are all of the same mould of thought and opinion on this subject as is Dr. Crosby.

IF the Sunday newspaper is such an outrageously wicked, such an all-polluting thing, and if it is such a heinous sin to read it, it is a query with us how in the world all the Sunday-law preachers know so much about it? Although they warn everybody against it under penalty of the imputation of a great sin, yet they themselves seem to know all about it; they can tell exactly how many columns of gossip, how much scandal, etc., different editions of the Sunday paper contain. How can these things be?

A STATEMENT that is quite often made, and which seems to be considered of much weight, by the workers for religious legislation is that "your rights end where mine begin." This statement has not a particle of truth in it. It is simply another form of expressing their arrogant assumption of all rights. For if your rights end where mine begin, then it is for me to decide where mine do begin, and wherever that may be, there your rights must end. Don't you see? In other words, all the rights that you have are just such as I choose to allow. The truth of the matter is that rights are perfectly equal. Your rights begin where mine begin; and end only where mine end.

THAT Wisconsin decision has caused wide-spread discussion, but none too wide. It is interesting to see the course that the discussion takes. The great majority of the secular papers indorse it. In fact, we have found but one that does not indorse it, and that is the *Inter-Ocean*. On the other hand, the religious papers and preachers, especially the Methodist, strongly disapprove. The *New York Independent* unqualifiedly indorses it. The *Christian Advocate* is the representative journal of all Methodism in the United States. It decidedly disapproves of the decision. It says:—

It seems very odd that the Bible should be gravely pronounced a sectarian book by the chief tribunal of one of the States of this eminently Christian country and so does the argument by which the court sustains that pronouncement.

This position of the Protestant preachers and religious papers only goes further to show what the wide-spread demand for religious legislation had already made manifest, that in what passes for Protestantism, there is no disposition to recognize any such principle as equality of rights before the law. And just as surely as that Prot-

estantism should ever secure control of the civil power, it would be as cruel and unrelenting as ever a religious despotism was. That which professes to-day to be representative Protestantism has forgotten both what Protestantism is and what Christianity is.

THE *Union Signal* of April 3, announces Senator Blair's re-introduction of his Educational bill, and says:—

Now let every white ribboner bestir herself writing letters on behalf of our local unions to the Senators of the respective States, urging the adoption of this bill, and let us set at work, and in this difficult emergency, having done all, stand. Mrs. Mary H. Hunt is in Washington to forward the new movement, and will wisely direct our forces as heretofore. Mrs. Bittenbender will also work unceasingly for the measure.

Yes, Senator Blair's theory of government and the purposes of his legislation are directly in the line of things of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. As we have shown in the SENTINEL, the theory of government contemplated in that legislation is directly the reverse of that of the United States Government, and it is directly opposed to Christian principles, and, in short, aims at the subversion of Christianity itself.

THERE is opposition also in Canada against the Dominion Sunday Law that is proposed for enactment. A correspondent of the *Moncton Times* says:—

A reaction has set in against Charlton's Sabbath observance bill and petitions against its passage headed, "A Plea for Religious Liberty," and praying the Commons not to pass any bill in regard to the observance of Sabbath or any other religious or ecclesiastical institution, or to favor the adoption of any legislation to conflict with the rights of conscience, were presented to-day from Westmoreland, Scots' Bay, Tiverton, Digby, French Village, Halifax, Dartmouth, Indian Harbor, Moncton and Truro.

That is right. Let the good work go on. Call the attention of legislators to the essential evil that belongs with such legislation. Our friends in Canada have not the constitutional basis for their opposition that we have in this country, but they have all the basis of inalienable civil and religious rights that we have in this country, or that people have anywhere else, and that is the strongest basis that any argument can have. This proposed legislation gives to the friends of liberty of conscience an excellent opportunity to make known to the people of Canada what are the sound principles of Christianity upon the separation between religion and the State. We hope they will employ the opportunity for all that it is worth.

THE AMERICAN SENTINEL.

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VOLUME 5.

NEW YORK, MAY 1, 1890.

NUMBER 18.

The American Sentinel.

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

EDITORS,
E. J. WAGGONER, ALONZO T. JONES.

It is said that the Catholics of Manitoba have a grievance, the Legislature of that Province having passed an act forbidding the Catholics to have separate schools, and requiring all classes to patronize the national secular schools. This is certainly an infringement of religious liberty. People of any religion, or no religion, certainly have a right to educate their children in their own faith, and in their own schools, if they see fit to do so. It seems clear that the State should make it possible for all children to obtain an education, the same as it provides means whereby they may, if other sources fail, obtain food and clothing, but it would be just as consistent for the State to insist that all children shall eat certain things and be clothed in a certain way, as to insist that they shall be educated in a certain way. The Catholic opposition to public schools is certainly unwise and wrong, but Protestants should not go to the other extreme and deprive Catholics of their right to maintain their own schools. Catholics have rights as citizens, as well as Protestants.

In the *Christian Nation*, of March 26, Rev. John A. Dodds discusses the Wisconsin Supreme Court decision on the Bible in the schools. He declares that according to this decision "Wisconsin is well on the way toward the religion and morality of the Hottentots and of the French revolutionists;" and that, "if the Supreme Court of Wisconsin has interpreted the Constitution aright in this respect, it is certainly a covenant with death and an agreement with hell." He says, "It is un-American, unchristian, and in the light of our past history, it is a falsehood." He an-

nounces that the "condition of things in that State will bring the wrath of Almighty God on the whole Nation if it be allowed to continue," and quotes "Shall not my soul be avenged on such a Nation as this?" He calls it "The surrender of the *magna charla* of our American Protestant Christian liberty." He supports his statement by the following piece of logic:—

Bible morality and Bible religion is the parentage of every State in the Union, therefore the command to honor thy father and thy mother is binding on all the States individually and unitedly. "He that wasteth his father and chaseth away his mother, is a son that bringeth reproach." Prov. 19:26. Reproach in this case attaches to all the members of the family.

And upon this he calls loudly for the removal of this reproach, by having the Constitution of the United States "so amended as to give an undeniable legal basis" to Christianity, or rather to what the theological instructors shall declare is Christianity.

What Is a Sect?

We have before stated that the New York *Christian Advocate*, the representative journal of all Methodism in the United States, disapproves of the Wisconsin decision. It gives considerable space to the discussion of it in its issue of April 3, under the heading, "The Bible Not Sectarian," in the attempt to prove that the Bible is not sectarian. In proof it argues thus:—

The court contends that the Bible is a "sectarian" book. Sectarian means that which pertains to a sect. A sect is something cut off, a division. The Jews are not a sect; but there are sects among them. The Mohammedans are not a sect; but there are sects among them. Christianity is simply a religion not a sect; but it embraces sects, plenty of them. The Roman Catholic Church is a sect, so is the Presbyterian, the Protestant Episcopal and other churches. All these Christian sects accept the Bible, not all the same version precisely, but substantially the same book.

It was not the Bible in any such sense as the *Advocate* uses, that the Wisconsin Court pronounced sectarian. No such question as that was involved in the case.

The question before the court was not the abstract question of what the Bible is, without any reference to version, or anything of that kind. The question before the court was, Whether the reading of *King James's version* of the Bible in the public schools is sectarian instruction within the meaning of the Constitution? The court decided that it is. And this, even the *Christian Advocate's* argument here given will justify. It says: "The Roman Catholic Church is a sect." Then is not the Roman Catholic version of the Scriptures—that version which is accepted alone by Catholics, and which is rejected and denounced by Protestants—is not that version then a sectarian version? If the Roman Catholic Church is a sect, then assuredly that version of the Scripture is sectarian which is according to their views and is accepted only by them, and is renounced and denounced by all other sects. And, by parity of reasoning, Protestantism is a sect, and that version which is accepted only by Protestants, which is called the Protestant version, and which is disagreed to and is denounced by Roman Catholics and others, is *sectarian*. And, in deciding the question which came before the court, as it arose, as it was tried, and as it was argued throughout, that court could not have come to any other just conclusion than that King James's version of the Bible, the Protestant version, is sectarian.

But the *Advocate's* argument upon what is a sect is a queer thing. Mark, it says: "A sect is something cut off, a division;" then it says, "The Jews are not a sect, and the Mohammedans are not a sect and that Christianity is not a sect." It is proper before going further, to give the full definition of the word sect. It is this:—

SECT, from Latin *secare*, *sectum* to cut off, to separate. Hence, a body of persons who have separated from others in virtue of some special doctrine, or set of doctrines, which they hold in common; a school or denomination; especially, a religious denomination.

Now when Mohammedanism began, when Mohammed and Abubeker, with their few

followers, separated themselves from all their former associations and were hunted for their lives; when they fled to Medina, and raised a greater following that presently brought on war,—was not that a division? And was not Mohammed, with his followers there separated, cut off, from the great body of the nation because of their religious faith? There was certainly a division. Mohammed by his teachings and influence caused that division. That division was the origin of the Mohammedans and therefore the Mohammedans in their origin were a sect, and if the Mohammedans were then a sect, they are a sect still. The Mohammedans therefore certainly do form a sect. There may be indeed, as the *Advocate* says, sects among them, but the sects among them would come in much the same way as the sect itself came in the beginning—by separating, dividing, on some points of doctrine.

It is the same way with the Jews. We presume that the *Advocate* uses the term "Jews" to define Israel as a people, and not simply the descendants of Judah. Take them in their origin, beginning with Abraham, did not Abraham separate himself from his own people in religious things, and did he not separate himself from his own people actually, because of his religious faith? Was there not a division, and was not Abraham's descendants always separated from the peoples and the nations round? Did not the Lord make them separate? As surely as they were divided from their own kindred as well as from all the other people around about on account of their religious faith, so surely were they a sect, and so surely are they still a sect.

And Christians are a sect. At the origin of Christianity there was a separation, a marked division. The first Christians were Jews, separated, cut off, from the great body of the people with whom they belonged. They were separated from their own parents, their own brothers and sisters, in virtue of a special doctrine which they held. There was a marked division at the day of Pentecost, and forward. We might go farther back, but from that time the distinction was clear and the division absolute. Christians then certainly formed a sect; in the very nature of things it was so. Christianity therefore was at that time, and in the true sober sense of the word, sectarian. Christianity pertained to those who were Christians, and these formed a sect.

More than this, there is not a single definite form of religion in the world whose professors do not form a sect, and which is not, consequently, sectarian. The only thing in this respect that is not sectarian, is the religious faculty itself. Men are born with the religious faculty, and if this faculty always manifested itself in every individual on the earth in exactly the same way, and through the same forms of worship, there would be no such thing

as a sect, and there would be no sectarianism therefore in the world. But this faculty is developed, and manifests itself, in many different ways. And in as many different ways as it does manifest itself, so many divisions there are, consequently so many sects.

The Mohammedans are therefore a sect; the Jews are a sect; the Brahmins are a sect; the Buddhists are a sect; Christians are a sect; and the religion, therefore, professed by each one of these is sectarian. Christianity is sectarian as certainly as Mohammedanism is. Christianity forms a division of earth's people in religion as certainly as does Mohammedanism. Christianity is cut off, separated, from the great majority of the world's people, and from all fellowship with their religious forms and faiths, as certainly as any profession could be. Then as the word sect means something cut off, to separate, a division, it is only a plain, fair use of the word to say that Christians form a sect. And it is no title of reproach at all therefore to accept the true, fair meaning of the word and say that Christianity is sectarian.

The trouble is that the bigotry of sects has attached to the word a meaning of reproach, and it is almost invariably used in that sense and to convey that idea. And from this all the different denominations, the different sects, that is, have become so afraid of the sentiment of reproach that has been instilled into the word, that they dare not preach that which has made them the distinct denominations, the sects, that they are; but must needs confine themselves to mere generalizations, and so have robbed themselves of the strength which attaches to definite truth firmly believed, definitely stated and insisted upon. If there was more love for truth, even the truth in regard to the word sect or sectarian, and less fear of reproach, it would be much better for all the sects. But so long as people fear the reproach, more than they love the truth, of what they profess to believe, so long will there be such a dread of anything sectarian as will rob them of all the virtue of the truths which they hold.

Undoubtedly Moses was held to be intensely sectarian when he chose the reproach of Christ more than the honors of Egypt. Paul we know, with all his fellow Christians, was held to be sectarian. They were distinctly called a sect, and rightly so, according to the definition of the word. The Saviour distinctly says that he came to send *division*. Paul definitely commands, "Come out from among them, and be ye *separate*." That is sectarianism; it is the right kind of sectarianism too. If there were more of it in this land which boasts so much Christianity, those who profess the Christianity would not need to be calling upon the United States Government for help in causing Christianity to be received, and its institutions observed.

A. T. J.

A Baptist Doctor on Sunday Laws.

A BAPTIST Bible Conference was held in the First Baptist Church, at Oakland, April 2, 3, 4. Several subjects were considered, among them being the "Lord's day," Rev. Daniel Read, LL. D., instructor. This gentleman is a thorough scholar, having been president of an Illinois college for some years, and withal a strict observer of Sunday, so much so, that when he came to California he paid one hundred dollars extra for his conscience, so that he and his family could stop over on Sunday instead of travelling on that day.

His subject in the regular program of the conference dealt only with the religious phase of the question, he of course, holding that Sunday was of divine authority. At the close of the lesson the question was asked, "Doctor, do you believe in a Sunday law?" The answer came at once, "No, sir." "But do you not believe in a Sunday law for the protection of workingmen?" The reply was that workingmen are already protected. But, it was urged, "Here is a railway which runs on Sunday and employs on that day one hundred men; ought not those men to be protected?" The Doctor's reply was "They are protected. No one can compel them to work. You have no right to say the railroad may not run on that day, or that people shall not go to picnics on that day, or work on that day. It is a sin for men to break the Sabbath, but with that matter we have nothing to do. They have a right to employ men on the Sabbath, if men wish to work."

The doctor said that his brethren seemed to have wrong ideas about protection. Men are now protected against working on Sunday. The railroad could not compel a man to work if the man did not wish to labor. No man could be compelled to sin. The railroad men simply give men their choice, work or quit. They could quit and seek work elsewhere. But, the question was further urged, "Supposing it was work or starve?" "Then," said the Doctor, "let them starve. Men have endured greater things than that for conscience' sake. You would not have Christians a lot of children would you?"

The doctor went on to show that Sunday law would make men worse, for if they desired now to cease labor to worship God on Sunday, they could do so; and if they did not wish to spend the time in that way, all that a law would result in would be compulsory idleness; and Satan always finds something for idle hands to do. And then when would we stop this legislation? We do not believe that the laboring man would get any good at the Roman Catholic Church. The Unitarian Church dishonors Christ. Men had better be at work. To be logical we would not only have to compel people to attend church, but would have to compel

them to attend the Baptist Church. He said it would be better for the drunkard if he worked all the time.

It was said, "Suppose that a German band should stop before a church door on Sunday during service, and there play and sing, what would you do?" "Arrest them for a nuisance," was the reply. "They have no right to disturb a religious meeting at any time."

Then a lady made a pathetic appeal for the boys against the Sunday saloons, which seduced and led away the guileless youth. What would the doctor do with these wolves which are devouring the lambs? He replied that he would go much farther than the sister; he believed in the absolute prohibition of the liquor traffic for all the time, and as regards the wolves, did not Christ say to his disciples, "Behold, I send you forth as sheep in the midst of wolves"? We are not to escape the temptations of this life. While we should not be of the world yet are we in the world. But in whatever path we go, we may know that the great Shepherd is near. Sheep have little power to defend, but the Shepherd who is ever watching will care for the sheep. Teach the boys the evils of the saloon and to shun those evils.

But the question between classes was not yet over. One member asked, "Supposing that our Adventist friends were worshipping down here in their church on Twelfth Street, and the next door to them were a number of carpenters at work on a building; ought the carpenters to stop?" "They ought," replied the doctor. "The Adventists have vested rights and they have a right to worship and ought to be protected." This, however did not satisfy. Another asked, "What if the carpenters outnumbered the Adventists; what then, ought they to stop work?"

"Brethren," said the doctor, and the venerable man grew eloquent, "this is not a question of numbers but of rights. If there is but one man and the millions of this country are against him, he has his rights, equal to theirs; no matter whether he is an Adventist, or a Jew, or a miserable Chinaman, whom everybody thinks he has the privilege of kicking, who desires to worship Joss in a Joss house, no one has a right to interfere with him."

"When," the doctor asked, "did the church of God gain her greatest victories? Was it when all the pomp and power of the world was given her? Or was it otherwise?—She gained her greatest victories when all the world was against her, when all law was against her, and when her children laid down their lives for the word of God." Sunday laws were contrary to all Baptist tradition, and what is more, they were contrary to the teachings of Christ.

This is but a mild abstract of the doctor's reasons and answers so admirably and forcibly put. May Baptists and Christians everywhere read, ponder, and notice.

M. C. WILCOX.

Opposed to the Blair Measures.

THE Constitution of the United States declares that Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.

Senator Blair introduced a joint resolution in the United States Senate, December 9, 1889, proposing to amend the Constitution of the United States so that "no State" shall ever make or maintain any law respecting an "establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." This is the first section of the article containing the proposed amendment. The second section proposes the establishment of "a system of free public schools" in which is to be included instruction "in the common branches of learning, in virtue and morality, and in knowledge of the fundamental and non-sectarian principles of Christianity."

The first section of this article is in accordance with the provision of the Constitution of the United States in regard to religious establishments, and is not particularly objectionable, but the second section is right in the teeth of the first, and in violation of the provision of the Constitution already existing. It is practically, a plain step in the direction of a religious establishment, organized and maintained by the federal Government.

The Blair Educational bill now pending in the United States Senate, and on which the author has been speaking for a week, is but a bait set upon a federal hook, to catch the unwary, and to lead them into the support of the joint resolution proposing the amendment alluded to above. Baptists are utterly opposed to everything that squints at union of Church and State. Let them speak out in no uncertain tones, in regard to these measures which promise nothing but evil to both.—*The Christian Index and Southern Baptist, Atlanta, Georgia, February 27, 1890.*

History Repeats Itself.

THE *Union Signal* of February 13, has the following:—

From one of the foremost Quakers of this country comes this prophetic declaration: "There has lately come to me quite an 'opening' as we Friends sometimes say, on the sort of agency the Lord intended our Woman's Christian Temperance Union to be, and the reason he chose the women for this work. I cannot just say that the Lord anointed the women to be his prophets to this Government, but I believe it as truly as that Elijah was sent to reprove Ahab, or Jeremiah to rebuke and warn the king of Judah. God did not take office holders in that day, or persons in any way dependent upon government favor to use as a 'voice.' He took those who had, practically, nothing to lose, and I really believe that the Christian women of this land were the only element of our population that God could trust to deliver his reproofs and warnings faithfully."

All that is necessary to say of the above is that if the Woman's Christian Temperance Union are prophets to this government, they are prophets of evil, prophesying out of their own heart, saying, The

Lord saith, when the Lord hath not spoken. See Jer. 23:16-29; Eze. 13:3-13. The kingdom of Christ will not come through the gate-way of politics as Miss Willard and others have declared; the good time is not coming which they predict. But perhaps this Friend's prophecy may be, in a sense, from the Lord. History sometimes repeats itself. "And the Lord said, Who shall persuade Ahab, that he may go up and fall at Ramoth-gilead? And one said on this manner, and another said on that manner. And there came forth a spirit, and stood before the Lord, and said I will persuade him. And the Lord said unto him, Wherewith? And he said, I will go forth, and I will be a lying spirit in the mouth of all his prophets. And he said, Thou shalt persuade him, and prevail also; go forth, and do so. Now therefore, behold, the Lord hath put a lying spirit into the mouth of all these thy prophets, and the Lord hath spoken evil concerning thee." 1 Kings 22:20-23. —*Signs of the Times.*

Union of Church and State.

THE *Christian Statesman* of April 10, has an article by Rev. W. J. Coleman, Professor of Political Science in Geneva College, Pennsylvania, the object of which is to show the impossibility of a union of Church and State in this country and that outside the ranks of Mormons and Romanists nobody desires such a union. In stating the matter Mr. Coleman says:—

In the phrase "union of Church and State," there can be no doubt as to the sense in which the word "State" is used. . . . The State means the Nation, or whole body of people. . . . The word "Church" may mean, (1) A building where worshipers meet; (2) Those who gather in such building, or a congregation; (3) A body of believers acknowledging the same ecclesiastical authority, or denomination; (4) The collective body of believers in the world. These acknowledge no central authority and are not combined in any human organization; (5) The aggregate of religious principles and ideas in a community.

The professor then asks, "When we speak of a union of Church and State which of these is meant?" and continues:—

The union of the State with the Church taken in the first, second, or fourth sense would be impossible. . . . When, however, we turn to the third and fifth meanings we reach the heart of the whole difficulty.

Referring then to the claim that the adoption of this "aggregate of religious principles and ideas" would be a union of Church and State, Mr. Coleman says:—

We deny this *in toto* and declare that when the State adopts an idea or principle, it does not constitute such a union.

But a denial is not proof, and so we must examine the proofs before we can feel warranted in accepting this denial, explicit though it be. Mr. Coleman's first argument is that "a principle and a State not being of the same species cannot be united." But this is merely technical and

deserves but brief notice. The whole body of believers, he says, may properly be called the Church. But he assumes that they recognize no central authority. This is, however, a mistake as he himself shows later on in his own article. The Church, in this broad sense, does recognize a common authority. All denominations more or less fully recognize God as the great moral Governor and his law as that by which all men will be judged; in short the revealed will of God is the authority recognized by the Church in its broadest sense, and it is this same authority that the National Reformers demand shall be recognized as the supreme law of the United States, thus making the law of the Church and the law of the land one and the same. If this would not be a union of Church and State in all essential particulars it would be hard to say what would constitute such a union.

Mr. Coleman's second argument deserves more attention for while it is no stronger it is more likely to deceive the unwary. He says:—

The American objection to a union of Church and State is founded on the evils which such a union has produced in the nations of the old world. The phrase, therefore, has an historical sense, and to take it from that sense is to give it a new meaning with which to deceive people who suppose that we are talking of the same kind of a union of Church and State that produced the evil results. The union of Church and State found in history has always been the union of an organized State with an organized Church. In England the State is united with the Episcopal Church, in Scotland with the Presbyterian Church, in Prussia with the Lutheran Church, in Spain with the Roman Catholic Church. . . . This is the kind of union of Church and State that the American people are opposed to.

It is noticeable that Mr. Coleman goes back only a few hundred years for all his examples of a union of Church and State. Why does he not go at once to the fountain head of all corrupt church establishments, namely, Rome in the fourth century?—Simply because he could not do so without destroying his own argument. Every one who is familiar with the history of the first four centuries of the Christian era knows that the first union of Church and State was nothing more and nothing less than that which Mr. Coleman insists would not now constitute such a union. Constantine did only that which the National Reformers demand that this Nation shall do, namely, he made the Nation Christian by adopting the Christian religion as the national religion. Then the bishops of the Christian Church, that is of the whole body of believers, came together and decided what was the Christian religion, and thus was formed the nucleus of what has for centuries been known as the Roman Catholic Church.

To say that only a union of religion and the State is desired and not a union of Church and State, is to say that the Church and religion can be separated. But this is impossible. Constantine only adopted the Christian religion; he did

not make any denomination the State Church. He had no thought of such a thing. Neander testifies that it had become Constantine's "favorite plan to unite together all his subjects in the worship of one God." That is he wished all to become Christians; not necessarily to come together in one organic union but in one faith so broad that all could assent to it. The emperor "represented the questions in dispute as being nothing but rash, speculative questions, standing in no connection whatever with the essence of Christianity." He reasoned no doubt as men do to-day, that even if all could not see alike on all points they ought to upon essential doctrines, and therefore he wanted some authority to decide what were the essentials. And that is just what is said now about the differences which separate the various denominations. These we are told are minor differences; and that which they demand that the Government shall recognize, is what they term the fundamental, non-sectarian principles of Christianity, those things upon which all can unite, not in the sense of forming one organic whole, a single denomination, but in the sense of giving united moral support to those principles. And this is just what they did in the time of Constantine; they simply agreed that Christianity, in the abstract, should be the recognized religion. But as soon as the bishops had decided what was Christianity, a church began to crystallize around the creed which contained their definition of Christianity. And it was inevitable that it should be so. It could not have been otherwise. And it would be the same now. Before Christianity can have practically, as the National Reformers demand that it shall have, "an undeniable legal basis" in this country, it must be defined, that is it must be decided what constitutes Christianity, and that definition will be the national creed just as the Nicene creed was the creed of Rome.

Of course nobody intends that this shall result as it did in Rome. Nobody wants to make any denomination the State Church, but it is none the less the truth that the adoption of "national Christianity" which the Declaration of Principles of the recent National Reform Convention at Washington demands, would constitute a union of Church and State just as truly as such a union was formed in the time of Constantine the Great. It is true as Mr. Coleman says, that "the phrase union of Church and State has an historical sense," but it is also true that that historical sense is just as inseparably connected with the history of the Church in the fourth century as in the fifteenth or at any other time.

Of the relation of the Church to the State during the early part of the fourth century Neander says:—

With the commencement of this period the Church entered into an entirely different relation to the

State. It did not merely become a whole, recognized as legal, and tolerated by the State,—which it had been already from the reign of Gallien down to the Diocletian persecution,—but the State itself declared its principles to be those to which everything must be subordinated. Christianity became, by degrees, the dominant State religion, though not entirely in the same sense as paganism had been before. Church and State constituted, henceforth, two wholes, one interpenetrating the other, and standing in a relation of mutual action and reaction. The advantageous influence of this was, that the Church could now exert its transforming power also on the relations of the State; but the measure and the character of this power depended on the state of the inner life in the Church itself. The healthful influence of the Church is indeed to be perceived in many particular cases; though it was very far from being so mighty as it must have been, had everything proceeded from the spirit of genuine Christianity, and had the State *actually* subordinated itself to this spirit. But, on the other hand, the Church had now to struggle under a great disadvantage; for instead of being left *free*, as it was before, to pursue its own course of development, it was subjected to the influence of a foreign, secular power, which in various ways, would operate to check and disturb it; and the danger, in this case, increased in the same proportion as the political life with which the Church came in contact was corrupt.

And this is exactly the relation which National Reformers insist shall exist between the State and the Church in this country; and this is the nature of the temptation to which they would expose the Church. They demand that the Christian principles, the principles of the Church, shall be those to which everything shall be subordinated; and that the Church, as such, shall participate in political matters, but that for their mutual good the Church and the State shall be separate.

But being under one law, governed by one principle, what was the result anciently? Let Neander answer: "The supreme magistrates now considered themselves as members of the Church, and took a personal share in its concerns; but it was no easy matter for them to fix the proper limits to this participation." And who can doubt that it would be the same again? Once let the civil authorities be called upon to decide church questions, or to pass upon the meaning and scope of the moral law, the law which governs the Church, even though it be called civil law, and they can nevermore be separated from the administration of that law. "Whatever domain Government invades it dominates. The jurisdiction which it takes it keeps."

The National Reform movement of the nineteenth century is the National Reform movement of the fourth century over again. Then under stress of so-called Christian influence the State declared the principles of the Church to be those to which everything must be subordinated, and the demand is made now that the State shall do the same thing. Can we hope that the result would be different? The demand as now formulated is that "Christian morality shall be taken as the ultimate standard of right and that all

our laws shall conform to this standard." This simply means to make the divine law, or rather that which the courts may hold or the Church decide to be the divine law, the fundamental law of the land. It would then be superior to the Constitution, and human judges would administer the divine law and decree punishment for its infraction! As before stated, the Church and the State would both be governed by the same law; in the Church it would be known as ecclesiastical law, in the State as civil law; but it would be the same law. This is simply what was done in the Dark Ages, and the evils of a union of Church and State are inseparable from such a system whether it be called a union of Church and State or only a union of religion and the State. A skunk by any other name would smell as rank, and it is just as true that the evils of Church and State are not dependent upon the name by which that union may be called.

C. P. BOLLMAN.

A National Reformer's Plea for Saloon-Keepers.

A NOTABLE effort to secure the passage of an ordinance closing saloons on Sunday has been defeated by our City Council. The Judiciary Committee have reported against its passage, with but one dissenting voice. The measure was the pet scheme of Rev. N. R. Johnston, the Pacific Coast apostle of National Reform, and it was supported by the Woman's Christian Temperance Union and several ministers, who have labored zealously to palm it off as a temperance measure. But the more they talked about it, the more it became evident that it was designed to further the Sunday-sacredness dogma rather than temperance reform.

Mr. Camron, of the council, was very outspoken against the passage of all such ordinances, and his remarks called out Mr. Johnston, who took the councilman to task through the columns of the *Morning Times*. Replying to the remark, "The liquor men have a right to do business, and we have given it to them," Mr. Johnston says:—

But who gave the saloonists the right to sell strong drink to common drinkers? The divine Lawgiver from whom alone rights are derived, did not. He is a kind, as well as a just Ruler.

Conceding the truth of this assertion, it is equally true that the divine Lawgiver never gave Mr. Johnston or his party the right to impose Sunday observance upon any of his fellow-citizens. It is also true that the divine Lawgiver never gave any man the right to change his law in respect to the Sabbath-day; but the Government recognizes the right of Sunday advocates to believe and act individually as they please in the matter. We do not hear Mr. Johnston censuring the Government for giving them the right to violate God's law in this respect. He knows

very well that the divine law says "The seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God," and no Sunday adherent has ever dared to print it any other way; yet he declines to observe that day, and advocates the substitution of another day in its stead, and also the enforcement of that observance upon others. Should the city, or the State, or general Government undertake to abridge his civil right to ignore the divine law in this respect, would he admit the validity of his argument in the case under consideration? This inquisitorial principle of men assuming to be the executors of the divine law, is the principle which lies back of all religious domineering in civil affairs, from whatever source.

But the crowning argument for this attempted Sunday-sacredness boom, under the thin guise of temperance, is found in the patronizing plea for the saloonists' opportunity to go to church, or to the picnic. In view of the success of the movement, he says:—

The saloonist would have an opportunity to go to church, or to the picnic, or to rest at home, on our rest-day.

Poor fellows! Certainly nobody will ever again censure them for not going to church since one of their worst enemies is ready to plead that they have no opportunity. But how do those other merchants and owners of mechanical shops along the same street get to church? There is no law to compel them to close. However, that logic might be explained in some ingenious way were it not for that incongruous plea in behalf of "saloonists" for an opportunity to go to picnics. At other times the Sunday-law preachers have complained because picnics are allowed on that day at all. But worst of all seems to be their lack of opportunity to "rest at home on our rest-day," and a city ordinance is therefore necessary for their relief.

But why all this beating round the bush to get a start on a Sunday-law campaign? Everybody knows the argument is absurd. The truth is, a great effort is to be made this summer to secure the election of a State Legislature that will enact a Sunday law next winter. Mrs. Bateham is in the State already; Mr. Crafts is announced for a tour of the State in May; the Prohibition party has just held its State convention, and has inserted a Sunday-law plank (encased in a "civil" screen) in its platform, and every available agency is being prepared for a vigorous campaign.

We may expect all manner of "clashing voices" arguments on the part of the Sunday-law speakers and writers, and some people are curious to know how much of a figure will be cut in the campaign by the plea of Mr. Johnston for the saloonists' opportunity to go to picnics on that day.

W. N. GLENN.

Oakland, Cal., April 13, 1890.

Follies of the Wise.

It seems from a Washington dispatch printed in the *Boston Advertiser*, that Mr. Edmunds is still meditating upon his proposed national university at Washington, and is even thinking of making the establishment of such an institution a memorial and celebration of the discovery of America:—

Senator Edmunds, in speaking about the Chicago World's Fair bill to-day, said that he did not intend to antagonize that measure when it comes up for consideration, but that he did propose to bring forward at as early a day as possible his National University bill.

He said he intended to have had the measure matured some time ago, but owing to a severe illness from which he had not entirely recovered, he had been unable to give the subject the attention it required.

That it would carry with it a large sum of money to be appropriated from the treasury of the United States; and whether it should be a commemoration of the discovery of America by Christopher Columbus, was for the Senate to determine.

It is very kind of Mr. Edmunds to think of Christopher Columbus, but it would be still kinder of him to think of the American people. Leaving out of question the absurdity and impropriety of a national university, the absence of constitutional warrant for the establishment and maintenance of such an institution by the Government, the political squabbles and scandals and the educational anomalies which would inevitably result, and the difficulty of organizing a faculty, and, in certain branches of knowledge, of providing instructors who would not be objectionable to large sections of public opinion; leaving out of sight all these tough questions, there is still one question which should be enough to gravel Mr. Edmunds or any other fine old Federalist-Republican. What right has the Government to tax everybody for the benefit of the few students who would have the time and the means to resort to a national university?

There are colleges enough and universities enough, and to spare, in the United States already. The only truly national university possible to this country is the primary school. There can't be too much of that. There can't be too little of such a national humbug as Mr. Edmunds proposes.

We entreat Mr. Edmunds not to associate the name of Columbus with a humbug.—*New York Sun*.

EDWARD BELLAMY, the author of "Looking Backward," and "The Fool's Paradise," sagely observes that the hardest workers and the chiefest producers are the poorest paid and worst treated. And of the truth of this we seem to find proof in the fact that Mr. Bellamy has made a pile of money and won heaps of admiration out of that book of his, while the compositors who set up the type, the men who run the presses, the operatives who made the paper, and others haven't made more than ordinary wages out of it, and are not quite so well treated as Mr. Bellamy is by the admirers of that kind of rubbish.—*Chicago Times*.

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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C. ELDRIDGE, - - - - - President.
W. H. McKEE, - - - - - Secretary.

Its Mission.

THE mission of the Religious Liberty Association is to present to the world, the principles of civil and religious liberty as taught by Christ. Those who do that acceptably, must be animated by his spirit. The following from the pen of A. F. Ballenger, Ass't Secretary of the Association, in the February *Home Missionary*, is worthy of the thoughtful attention of every solicitor, colporter, writer and lecturer of the Association.

It must be borne in mind that the work of the National Religious Liberty Association is a labor of love. It is a missionary work, and those engaged in it should be actuated by the same spirit which impelled the great Missionary to give its principles to the world eighteen hundred years ago.

Agitators of political principles expect to be victorious, and as a result of their labors, receive worldly positions of honor and profit. Not so with us; our victory, though sure, will not be celebrated until those who have "gotten the victory over the beast, and over his image, and over his mark, and over the number of his name, stand on the sea of glass, having the harps of God." With the result of the work reaching into eternity, how careful we should be not to wound the feelings of those for whom we work, by harsh and unkind expressions. The most of those engaged in securing religious legislation are honest, and should be so regarded. This is proved from the fact that many who have signed the petition favoring religious legislation, have, when the matter was clearly and kindly presented to them, signed the counter-petition, and worked in its favor. These cases are not confined to the less intelligent, but ministers and members of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union are among them. The president of the Association recently stated the truth, when he said, "Were it not for the special light received, many of us

would be on the side of error in this conflict."

Workers will meet, at times, with bitter opposition, but instead of being harsh or becoming discouraged, "consider Him that endured such contradiction of sinners against himself, lest ye be wearied and faint in your minds." W. H. M.

THE case of R. M. King, in which he was fined seventy-five dollars for Sunday labor, by Judge Swiggart, in the Circuit Court of Obion County, Tennessee, and appealed to the Supreme Court, will be argued on appeal during the present term of court. The case will be reached some time in May. The similar case against L. A. Callicott in the Circuit Court of Dyer County, has been continued to await the action of the Supreme Court, in the appealed case of Mr. King.

C. McREYNOLDS, State Secretary for Kansas, sends an interesting account of his work in that State. He finds it possible to accomplish more in the towns and villages, than in the large cities. The inhabitants of the cities are so preoccupied with business and pleasure, that it is more difficult to gain their attention upon abstract subjects.

In regard to the method to be followed in the lecture field, Secretary McReynolds says: "I would go only as fast as I could secure others to continue the work of circulating the petitions, and also, when it is possible, enlist one or more in handling the tracts, SENTINELS, and pamphlets."

THE *Nevada Tribune*, of March 20, published at Carson City, Nevada, contains an account of a mass-meeting held in the opera house of that city on the evening of March 19. The *Tribune* says:—

There was an enthusiastic meeting at the Carson Opera House last evening, and it was clearly shown that the sentiment of the people of the capital of Nevada, was practically unanimous, against the passage of the proposed Blair Sunday-rest bill, as well as intended legislation leading to the establishment of religion in the public schools of the land.

Resolutions were adopted, condemning the measures of religious legislation, involved in the Blair Sunday-rest bill, the Breckinridge Sunday bill for the District of Columbia, and the Blair amendments to the Constitution to provide for the teaching of the principles of religion in the schools.

THE *Daily Imprint*, of Petaluma, California, appropriately remarks:—

Senator Blair has re-introduced his bill providing for a National Sabbath. Senator Blair has fathered many objectionable measures in his day and generation, and this is probably the least meritorious. It is contrary to the very genius and spirit of our institutions. If the generality of mankind cannot agree by

unanimous consent upon the observance of a certain day, no attempt should be made to legislate them into the observance of any day.

Its Character.

THE *Arkansas Democrat* publishes a sermon delivered by Rev. Thos. M. C. Birmingham, in Argenta, Arkansas, in which the reverend gentleman takes up in course, and advocates, the different measures championed by the National Reform Association. When he reached the Sunday question, he acknowledged unblushingly his active furtherance of the iniquitous measure which the Legislature of Arkansas was asked to pass at its last session, and with which it might have tarnished its statute books, had not the earnest opposition of the National Religious Liberty Association led the members of the House to realize the character of the legislation which was being asked of them.

Mr. Birmingham says: "The Arkansas Conference requested that I present a remonstrance to the Legislature of this State, on the need and benefit of Sabbath laws, and the present lack of efficient ones on our statute books, and I did so, at its last session. . . . However, while urging this, also pleading with the General Assembly, the greater reason of man's moral need of the day, and that his hope of immortality might be clear and luminous, I doubt if there were over a dozen members of the lower house of the last Legislature that had anything like clear views of the importance of the Sabbath, to the welfare of society. And when a very weak Sabbath bill passed the Senate (and it was so weak that it was hardly worth having) it was killed in the House. And this was done by men who were there, not as individuals but as representatives of every voter and elector in this commonwealth."

While an unqualified Sunday law appeared in the statutes of Arkansas, the State made itself an unenviable notoriety for its legalized crimes of religious persecution, directed against a class of people who kept the seventh day, and who were, as their persecutors have themselves declared, good citizens.

An exemption clause was inserted in the law, for the benefit of this class; but at the last session of the Legislature a determined attempt was made to strike it out, and re-establish the wholesale persecution for conscience sake, which had been previously enacted. Those who presented the measure did not hesitate to avow that the purpose of the bill was to cause the seventh-day keepers of a certain district, to yield their conscientious convictions, or leave the State.

This is the character of the legislation on which the Arkansas Methodist Episcopal Conference requested one of its ministers to advocate before the Legislature of its State.

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Who Are Making it."
CHAP. V unmasks "Religious Legislation," calling special attention to the Blair Sunday Bill now
pending in Congress.
CHAP. VI is devoted to the "Sunday-Law Movement in the Fourth Century, and its Parallel in the
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Chap. VII shows the Workings of Sunday Laws when they are enforced.
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the Sunday laws and other religious legislation of the different States, the

Sunday-Law Movement of the Fourth Century,

AND THE

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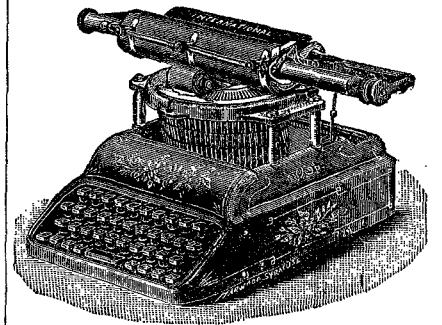
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NEW YORK, MAY, 1, 1890.

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A NEW ORLEANS paper states that the Mayor of that city regards the Louisiana Sunday law as objectionable, and a hardship upon poor people. He favors its strict enforcement, however, as the best means for securing its repeal.

CHINA ought to be the ideal National Reform country. A Chinese mandarin can order a man's head to be cut off at any moment. But within three months he must forward to the Emperor an affidavit from two persons declaring that the execution was in the interest of religion and morals. He has no difficulty in getting such affidavits, as he can cut off the heads of any who refuse to make them.

REV. DR. HOWARD CROSBY has recently published a volume of lectures on the book of Revelation, in which he says that the spiritual ruin noticeable in so many countries where Christianity was once the prevailing creed, or where a nominal adherence to it is still the rule of the majority, is due to the admission of the world into the Church—"of joining the Church to the State; of forming alliances and friendships with the world; of compromising and thus letting down the standard of holiness and separation between Christ and Belial."

By means of a "decoy" letter the *Voice* obtained an interview with the manager of last year's anti-Prohibition campaign in Pennsylvania; and in the interview it got a great host of matter that with great delight it published to the world. In the interview certain prominent and responsible men of Philadelphia were named, and certain things were said about them; but these men unanimously declare the statements to be without a particle of foundation in fact. Now the question presents itself, Who was it that was decoyed, the *Voice* or the other man? The *Voice* confessedly worked a deceitful trick to obtain information. How does the *Voice* know but what the other party did the same in giving the information? We confess that on reading the *Voice's* account, there was a certain air of open innocence amounting almost to verdancy, which is very seldom found amongst men of such political experience as the gentleman who was interviewed. It is certain that names were

given, and statements were made, with such an air of recklessness as to cast doubt upon the whole thing by reason of its very extravagance.

Taking the whole case as it stands, so far, we cannot help wondering whether the *Voice's* decoy did not partake somewhat of the character of a boomerang. And the question is, Who was it that was decoyed?

In an article entitled, "Thoughts on Conscience," in *Word and Work*, Rev. E. Balley says:—

A conscience illuminated and instructed by the word of God is free from condemnation, and is strong to bear the reproaches of men and the accusations of Satan.

Such a conscience is above the laws of men, and is not amenable to earthly tribunals. No civil power can have any control over the conscience. . . . In secular things we are to submit to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake, but in all religious things we are left to God and our conscience.

This is true, and it does not alter the case a particle to call civil that which is religious.

Special.

To all to whom the SENTINEL comes we wish to say this word. The SENTINEL is invariably discontinued at the expiration of the time for which it is paid, unless it be requested to be continued. Many of the friends of the SENTINEL send copies to their friends. Sometimes those to whom it is sent do not want it, and write to us to discontinue it; but we are helpless in the matter for we do not send it. Then when those persons find it is not stopped they send another order sharply reproving us for not stopping their paper; whereas we not only do not send it but we do not know who does send it. Sometimes friends of the SENTINEL order from this office copies sent to individuals. In such cases when we receive word to stop sending it we can comply, and we invariably do comply promptly. No paper is ever sent to any person from this office after that person has notified us that he does not want the paper.

Therefore, dear friends, if the SENTINEL continues to come to you after you have asked us to stop sending it, you may know that we do not send it, do not know who does, and therefore cannot stop it, and that it is useless to write to us a second time on the subject.

Also it is well to bear in mind that, although the SENTINEL may come to you without your having subscribed for it, you will never be asked to pay anything for it. We do not send any SENTINELS anywhere except those which are paid for. If you have not subscribed and yet receive the paper, you will understand that somebody is either sending it to you himself, or has sent money to us to pay for sending it to you.

The best method of opposing error is by the advocacy of truth.

THE *Kansas Worker*, the organ of the Kansas Tract Society, says: "A true advocate of temperance will want the saloons closed every day in the week, and a law to that end can be enforced as well as a law that only closes them on Sunday. Such a law, instead of being in the interest of temperance, is in the interest of Sunday." The *Worker* tells the truth, as all religious papers should. Of course all papers, and all persons, too, ought to tell the truth; and we wish they would.

THE first item in the editorial columns of the *Christian Statesman* for April 17, tells us that "Rev. Wilbur F. Crafts has resigned his position as Publishing Secretary of the American Sabbath Union, which he found would confine him to New York and vicinity, in order to be free to make a transcontinental trip, in the interest of Sabbath reform. . . . In the autumn, he expects to return to the pastorate."

Thus we are quietly told that the Sunday Union, as represented in the person of Mr. Crafts, expects to die in the autumn. Is this latest off-shoot of the National Reform Association to be uprooted in its early youth? Possibly the Sunday Union has become irrevocably wedded to the civil Sabbath, and the parent organization has decided that it is wiser to await the slower but surer appeal to religious prejudice. At the late convention in Washington, it was decided to eliminate the term "civil" Sabbath from the National Reform vocabulary. Perhaps, as its occupation is gone, the organization which was the exponent of the idea contained in that expression, is to go with it.

BOUND volumes of the *Pacific Health Journal* for 1888 and 1889, published at Oakland, California, have found their way to our table and are most welcome visitors. These volumes are neatly and substantially bound in half roan, and present a very neat appearance. But it is the contents of the volumes which make them valuable. They abound in useful information and practical every-day hints which cannot fail to be exceedingly helpful to every one who cares to profit by them. The volumes are well worth the price at which they sell. They may be ordered together, or singly, from the Pacific Press, Oakland, Cal. Price, post-paid, \$2.25 per volume.

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VOLUME 5.

NEW YORK, MAY 8, 1890.

NUMBER 19.

The American Sentinel.

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

EDITORS,
E. J. WAGGONER, ALONZO T. JONES.

Render therefore unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's; and unto God the things that are God's.

THE public school fund is drawn from the whole people, without discrimination or preference, and with no reference whatever to any question as to either religion or the Bible. Therefore the same fund should be used and applied for the benefit of the whole people as it is raised, without discrimination or preference. As the money is raised without reference to those who believe in the Bible or religious instruction, so it should be expended and used. If the money when raised is to be applied according to the dictation and the religious wishes of those who believe in the Bible and religious instruction, then justice demands that it shall be raised by taxation only upon those persons. Justice will never allow religious exercises or religious instruction in the public schools.

All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them; for this is the law and the prophets.

ONE of the greatest sophistries with which those please themselves who are in favor of religion in the schools is that in which they speak of the reading of the Bible "without note or comment." The truth is that the Bible, precisely as it is, without a single note or a word of oral comment, may be read in such a way that the mere reading of it will be the strongest comment that could possibly be made.

The public reader of Dickens reads that author without note or comment, but the impression made upon those who hear is deeper than all the commentators in

Christendom could make upon those same persons. Edwin Booth reads Shakespeare without the slightest note or comment, and yet it would be impossible for any commentator to convey the depths of meaning, or to make the strong impressions that are made by his mere reading of the plain words of the author.

It is so with the Bible. The one who reads the Bible to the pupils in the public schools may do so "without note or comment," and yet he may so read what he reads as to make a stronger impression than could be made by any comment that he himself might make. It is hard to believe that those who make such a plea as this in the defense of the reading of the Bible in the public schools, can be sincere. It is equally difficult to understand how those who make this plea can deceive themselves with such sophistry, even though they may hope to deceive others.

It is not Christianity to teach the children "Be virtuous and you shall be happy." It is Christianity only to teach them "Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ and thou shalt be saved."

Presbyterian Morality.

FOR nearly five years the Presbyterian Synod of New York has appointed at each annual session a standing Committee on Religion and Public Education. The object of appointing the committee is that it shall consider and report upon the following resolution:—

Resolved, That the Presbyterian Synod of the State of New York, believing that the lessons of history and the traditions of American liberty forbid the union of Church and State, *discriminates between sectarianism and religion,* and affirms that so far as public education is concerned, an enduring morality must derive its sanctions, not from policy, nor from social customs, nor from public opinion, but from those fundamental religious truths which are common to all sects, and distinctive of none.

It therefore urges upon its members the imperative necessity of opposing the attitude of indifference to religion, which appears both in public school manuals, and in the educational systems of reformatories, and at the same time, of using every proper influence to secure the incorporation with

the course of State and National instruction, of the following religious truths as a ground of national morality, viz. :—

1. The existence of a personal God.
2. The responsibility of every human being to God.
3. The deathlessness of the human soul as made in the image of God, after the power of an endless life.
4. The reality of a future spiritual state beyond the grave in which every soul shall give account of itself before God, and shall reap that which it has sown.

The committee that is appointed at each annual session considers this matter during the year and reports at the next annual session. In the report of the committee for 1888, it says:—

The earliest efforts of your committee were directed towards ascertaining the attitude of the Roman Catholics. Archbishop Corrigan, of New York, and Vicar-Generals Quinn and Preston, besides many leading priests and writers of the Roman Catholic persuasion, were interviewed with the most satisfactory results.

The result of that interview, which the committee pronounced most satisfactory, was that Vicar-General Preston told the committee that the Roman Catholics "could be satisfied with nothing less than the teaching of their whole faith." The Vicar-General further told the committee that the Protestant denominations, "if they valued their own creeds," ought to feel on this matter as the Catholics do. And further, he said, "The points you propose, while better than none, would not satisfy us, and we think they ought not to satisfy many of the Protestant churches, while the infidels who are now very numerous would certainly reject them."

These statements of the Vicar-General to the committee are the substance of the reply to the efforts of the committee to ascertain the attitude of the Roman Catholics, and express what the committee called "the most satisfactory results." And upon this the committee reported that "the position of the Roman Catholics, upon the question therefore is well defined."

The results in this case seem to have been so entirely satisfactory to the committee and to the Synod, that no further effort has been made since, so far as we can learn, to ascertain the attitude of the Roman Catholics. And aside from this, not much has been done by the committee up to the present year in any efforts toward ascertaining the attitude of other churches, but the present year a stronger effort is being made than ever before. The Wisconsin Supreme Court decision came quite opportunely to give the Synod a leverage. Consequently the Synod of 1890 appointed influential committees to visit the spring meetings of other ecclesiastical bodies.

Dr. M'Cracken, who is the second in the list of appointees to visit the Methodist Conferences, is very active and whole-souled in the work. Dr. M'Cracken is Vice-Chancellor of the University of the City of New York. The New York Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church convened April 2. In the minutes of the Conference we find the following statement:—

Vice-Chancellor M'Cracken, of the University of the City of New York, and representing the Presbyterian Synod of New York, was listened to with very great interest as he addressed the Conference on the subject of "Religion and Public Education," especially criticising with keen censure the already famous decision of the Wisconsin Supreme Court on the Bible as a sectarian book. A committee was appointed to consider the subject.

We have not yet been able to obtain the full report of this committee, but the closing paragraph has these words:—

We repudiate, as un-American and pagan, and as a menace to the prosperity of our free institutions, the recent Supreme Court decision in the State of Wisconsin, a decision dictated and defended by the enemies of the common schools, that the reading of the Bible without comment is sectarian instruction. In the present state of the controversy, we hold it to be the duty of Christian citizens of a commonwealth, Christian in its history and in the character of its laws, to deny that the Bible is a sectarian book, and claim for it a place wherever the State attempts to educate youth for the duties of citizenship.

The New York Conference is doubtless the strongest and most influential of the Methodist Conferences in the United States. Its action in this matter is of great weight in itself, and doubtless will be of great weight in influencing other Conferences in the same direction.

A Conference in New England has also adopted the Presbyterian view, and so taken its stand in favor of religion and the State. The *Christian Advocate*, with other influential religious papers, likewise, indorses this position. What *The Christian at Work*, and the New York *Sun* think of it, is shown in other parts of this paper. The New York *Observer*, in a long article, seems to wish to be non-committal, yet it closes with these words:—

If it were possible to secure a universal expression of opinion, we have reason to think that an immense majority of the people would cordially

manifest their preference for unsectarian schools, in which belief in God and his word are set forth as the basis of morality and government.

Whether this be true or not, we are not prepared just now to say, but as for the churches of the country, as such, we fear that it is so. There are individuals in all the churches who are strongly opposed to any connection between religion and the State; but to take the churches as such, we seriously doubt whether there is a single denomination, except the Lutheran, amongst all the Protestant denominations which are held to be evangelical, which would not indorse the position of the Presbyterian Synod and the New York Methodist Episcopal Conference. The Lutheran Church we believe would, as a denomination, repudiate the efforts to put religion in the public schools, or to have it connected with the State in any way.

This is a matter of great importance to the people of this country. Religion and the State are both infinitely better off without any such connection. It is impossible for the State to teach religion, of itself, for religion it has none. The State must get religion before it can teach it. The only place that it could possibly get it would be the Church; but so long as the Church has any religion worth the name, the State does not need any such thing, because the Church will be diligent, active, and efficient. And, so long as the Church maintains that position, she will refuse any alliance or connection whatever with the State; but just as soon as the Church loses it, then she is ready and anxious to secure the support of the State. And when the Church has lost the power and the virtue of the religion which she professes, and then undertakes to give to the State that style of religion which she has, the more of it the State gets, the worse it is for the State. This will be seen by taking a glance at the resolution of the Presbyterian Synod, and the propositions which it sets forth as a ground work of national morality.

The Synod insists that there must be a discrimination "between sectarianism and religion;" and affirms that "an enduring morality" must derive its sanctions from those fundamental religious truths which are common to all sects and distinctive of none. It therefore sets forth those four religious truths as the ground work of a national and enduring morality. In the four religious truths proposed, the committee has certainly made a success of stating those which are common to all sects and distinctive of none; for there is not one point in the four that is not accepted by nine-tenths of all the people on earth. The Unitarian, the Trinitarian, the Jew, the Mohammedan, and the heathen all accept every point named.

First as to the existence of a personal God. What God it is, is not so much as hinted at. Whether it be Buddha, or Joss or Allah, or Jehovah, it is all the

same; all that is necessary is to assent to the *existence* of a *personal* God, and everybody on earth except the downright atheist, assuredly assents to that.

As to the second, there is nobody that believes in any kind of a god at all, who does not believe in man's personal responsibility to that god.

As to the third, the deathlessness of the human soul has been believed by almost everybody since the day that Satan told Eve she should not die; and if a person believes that the soul is *deathless*, it is not likely to be very hard for him to believe that it is made after the power of an "*endless life*."

As for the fourth point, it is already contained in the second and third, and what they want to gain by repeating it, it is difficult to see.

But this is not the worst thing about the situation. Bear in mind that it is as "*Christian* citizens of a commonwealth, which is *Christian* in its history and in the character of its laws," that the Presbyterian Synod sets forth this system of national morality. Yet in the whole statement, resolution and all, there is not a word or a hint about Christ any more than if there were no such person in existence. And this is proposed by a body of professed Christians as a statement of religious truths forming the ground work of an enduring morality!

More than this they make the whole thing but a piece of infidelity by resolving that an enduring morality must derive its sanctions from those fundamental religious truths which are common to all sects and distinctive of none. The truth is, a person may believe all four of the points named, and yet not have a particle of enduring morality in him. All men have made themselves immoral by transgression of the moral law, and no man can attain to morality except by faith in the Lord Jesus Christ. An enduring morality therefore can only be secured by an abiding faith in Jesus Christ and when these men propose to make an enduring morality derive its sanctions from these fundamental religious truths which are common to all sects and distinctive of none, they, in that, set Christ aside and present to men the hope of an enduring morality without him. But such a hope is a spider's web instead of that "anchor of the soul" which belongs to the Christian.

The morality which is common to all sects and distinctive of none is simply and essentially pagan; it is paganism itself. Whereas that morality which is distinctive of Christianity and peculiar to it alone; that morality which is manifested in the life and character of Jesus Christ, and which is secured only by faith in him,—that morality alone is enduring; and it is enduring because it is divine. He who has this morality will live eternally; he who comes short of it in a single degree, will vanish as the early dew.

The fact that the Presbyterian Church, and the New York Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, are willing to propose to the people of the United States as a national and enduring morality a system which makes no mention of Christ, and which is but a pagan system is a fearful commentary upon the religion which they hold and set forth as Christianity. The repudiation of the Wisconsin decision as "un-American and pagan" can have but little weight, when done by those who propose the establishment of a national morality which is wholly pagan.

A. T. J.

No government can have any but an unlawful, sinister object in view by seeking the support of any system of religion, or forming a political alliance with its professors.

The Divine Right of the Parent.

THE following article is taken from the argument of Mr. J. H. M. Wigman, before the Supreme Court of Wisconsin in the late case of the Bible in the public schools. The principles here announced are worthy of all acceptance. His statement of the divine right of the parent, is the truth of God:—

If the Superintendent of Public Instruction has the right to place the King James version of the Bible in a list of text books and authorize the district board to adopt it as such and order or permit the teachers to read it to our children, then it necessarily follows that he has the right to adopt any other version; such right or power would make him the supreme in spiritual over our children and destroy all religious liberty and rights of conscience.

All the various versions of the Bible are sectarian books, whether it be the Douay version used by Catholics, or the King James version used by most Protestants, or the recently revised version given to the world by the American and English Commission. And it is a violation of our Constitution to allow any Bible, be it either Catholic, Protestant, Jewish, or Mormon, to be read in the public schools and thus force, or surreptitiously impose, a doctrine upon a child adverse to the faith of a parent.

It will not do to say that only certain chapters were read and that these chapters are substantially the same; if the teachers have the right to select these chapters, they have the right to select others. Neither will it do to say that the Bibles are substantially alike; every one who has ever made a comparison knows such is not the case. But suppose that all the Bibles were substantially the same, but that while Catholics so regarded them, Protestant neighbors should just as honestly, though mistakenly if you choose, take a very different view of the

matter; would it, we ask, be right for Catholics because of their numerical majority to force Protestant children against the protesting consciences of their parents to study or read the Catholic instead of the Protestant Bible, accepting the Catholic *ipse dixit* for the fact that both Bibles were alike, while the Protestant could believe nothing of the kind? Certainly this would not be our idea of religious liberty, whether practiced by Catholic on Protestant or by Protestant on Catholic.

If the Superintendent of Public Instruction or the board of education of Edgerton, composed as it may be of self-righteous Christians may require the King James version of the Bible to be read to the children of unwilling parents, he or they may require it to be taught and expounded; another board made up of another class may require another version to be read, taught, and expounded: for while the Protestants have their King James version, the Catholics have their Douay version; the Jews, while rejecting the New Testament, have the Old for their Bible; the Mormons have their version and if the Board at any time be made up of professed infidels, they may substitute the teachings of Tom Paine's "Age of Reason," or another class may substitute the Koran.

The question is not as to whether the Catholic is right, for this is purely a theological question which not even the Legislature, in all the profundity of its wisdom and the plenitude of its power, has the authority to determine. The only thing which the State has a right to demand of Catholics is that they act the part of good citizens and the naked question, stripped of all disguises, resolves itself into this simple proposition:—

"Can a Catholic, believing as he does about the Bible be a good and faithful citizen? If he can, why allow a school board or teacher to force upon the children of the relators an abandonment of their faith by impressing on their minds a doctrine contrary to the faith of their parents? Why mock them with the idea of religious liberty while compelling them to be taught that their religious belief which they derived from their parents is false?"

The reading of the King James version may be in accordance with the teachings of most Protestant sects, but it is against the teachings and belief of the Roman Catholic Church and if allowed, it gives one sect an advantage over another sect. It is an attempted control of and interference with the right of conscience, by giving a preference to the Protestant sect.

Our Constitution gives the right to every man to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of his own conscience and provides that that right shall never be infringed, nor shall any control

of or interference with the right of conscience be permitted or any preference be given by law to any religious establishment or mode of worship. [SEC. 18, Art. 1, Constitution of Wisconsin.]

Judge Cooley in his work on Constitutional limitations, page *469, says: "There is no religious liberty where one sect is favored by the State and given an advantage over other sects. Whatever establishes a distinction against one class or sect is to the extent to which the distinction operates unfavorably, a persecution, and, if based on religious ground, a religious persecution."

We say then that the attempt of the district board and the teachers of the schools of Edgerton to read the Bible to the children of unwilling parents is a violation of the Constitution; it is a violation of the liberty of conscience; as much so as it would be to compel them to embrace Judaism or Paganism.

Suppose that at some future time a Jewish citizen should be elected to the office of Superintendent of Public Instruction, and that he should place upon, and recommend in, a list of text books, (amongst which should be Jewish books,) a Jewish Bible, and that the district board of Edgerton should be composed of Jewish citizens who, animated with the profundity of the wisdom of the present school board, should undertake to adopt such books, what would our self-righteous Christians, who now compose the school board, say? Would they raise no objection? Would they call this non-sectarian teaching? Would they allow a teacher, either directly or indirectly, to teach their children against their will, that he whom they believe to be the Messiah, the Lord, and Maker of heaven and earth was, after all, only an imposter? Are any of them base enough to answer this question in the affirmative? Upon what principles of justice dare they then deny to others the right and privilege they claim for themselves? It will not do to say that the Superintendent of Public Instruction has selected the King James version. Who has given him authority so to do, from so many other translations, no two of which even agree in all essential particulars?

Can he or the school board ostracise the children of a denomination of Christians by having a book introduced, read or taught as a "Bible" which they are taught and believe is not the Bible? We should be pleased to know what the qualifications of the Superintendent of Public Instruction or the school board are for ascertaining which amongst all the conflicting translations of the Bible is the correct one. Has either of them ever studied, or is either of them familiar not only with the Latin and Greek but also with the Hebrew, the original language of the Scripture? The Old Testament was written in Hebrew except some parts in Chaldee and Syriac.

If the State Superintendent or the district school board of Edgerton may determine between the different religious denominations which has the correct version of the Bible and cause it to be read in the public schools to our children, against the will of their parents, it would completely overthrow everything in the shape of religious liberty, for it is a palpable violation of the principles of religious liberty to force anybody's child, whether the child of a Catholic, Protestant, Jew, or non-denominationalist, against the conscientious objections of its parents to listen to the reading of a book called "Bible," in which the parent does not believe.

The parents are the only earthly sovereigns who rule directly by divine right. This authority over their child and their exclusive right to train and educate it in their own way dates back to the very morning when the first born of Adam and Eve lay a helpless infant in the arms of its mother. This authority was afterwards re-affirmed and ratified by the Almighty from the mountain top where, with a tongue of lightning and a voice of thunder, he gave the command: "Honor thy father and thy mother;" and however poor and humble the family may be, there is surrounding its family government a "charmed circle" within which the mightiest monarch on earth should not dare uninvited to set his foot, or intrude his unwelcome presence; and this is the educational circle in religious matters; this is that sacred circle which encompasses the tender, plastic, untaught mind and heart during the earlier years of childhood, when the character of the future man or woman is in the embryo state and liable to be made or marred by the very slightest touch and to be swayed for good or evil by the most imperceptible influences.

It will not do to say that the State may step within this family circle and cut asunder the sacred bonds of love, harmony, and reciprocal confidence between parent and child, transfer the control of the child's religious education to the hands of strangers—public school teachers. It will not do to declare that the State, through the Superintendent of Public Instruction and a school board, has the right to control the consciences of the children against the will of their parents by prescribing the particular sources from which they shall derive their religious ideas and opinions,—a most dangerous power to be exercised in a free government. No; if the State Government desires to fill this land with free, intelligent, well-educated, upright, law-abiding men and women, let it not thwart the fathers and mothers in their honest endeavors to preserve intact their parental authority and to maintain the honor, dignity, and harmony of the family government by educating their own children in religious matters, according to their own best judgment and conscience.

The State that undertakes to teach religion in order to inculcate principles of good citizenship, will fail to secure either religion or good citizenship.

The Methodists and the Public Schools.

ON the last day of its session the Methodist Conference in this city adopted resolutions against secularizing the instruction in the public schools. "Purely secular education," say the resolutions, "is impossible in a land whose literature, history, and laws are the product of Christian civilization." "Christian citizens," they declare further, "must deny the right of the State to assume to give such an inadequate education."

We should look upon this action of the Conference as a more grievous one than we do, but for the fact that it will accomplish nothing in the way of diverting the public school moneys to sectarian ends. The plain fact is whether or not it be true that purely secular education is impossible in a Christian land: it certainly is true that only secular education can be given in the common schools. The moment sectarian instruction is given, that moment the schools cease to be "common" or "public;" that moment the Catholics are driven out of them, as are the Jews and those of other religions, while if evangelical instruction is supplied the Unitarians will be driven out; and what a "confusion worse confounded" we should have! Our Methodist friends declare their attachment to the public schools; but their course would destroy the schools. That this is so is evidenced by the fact that the Roman Catholics are in entire accord with our Methodist friends in their position. They say, with the Methodists, not merely that children must be religiously educated—for we are all agreed as to that—but that this sectarian education—and all religious education is sectarian—must be supplied by the State.

To this position *The Christian at Work* cannot for a moment assent. Religion is necessary to the children, but it must be supplied by the Christian home, by the church and Sunday-school, and by other Christian agencies. The public schools are maintained to protect the State against the evils of illiteracy. Its citizens should know how to read and write, and perform the simple operations of arithmetic. And they should be made familiar with the history of their own country. But further than this the State should not go; nor can it go in the direction the Methodists wish without disestablishing the schools—and in this work the Catholics are with the Methodists, yet singularly enough, in their resolutions the Conference stigmatizes the Romanists as "enemies of the common schools."

We do not here consider the value of a half-hour's instruction in religion in the public schools, nor traverse the qualifica-

tions of the teachers to impart such instruction. We only put before our readers the situation as it presents itself to this journal, with the conviction that they who would force sectarianism into the public schools as the Roman Catholics and the Methodist Conference would, are compassing the destruction of these schools.—*Christian at Work.*

The truth itself forced on man otherwise than by its own inward power becomes falsehood.

The State Cannot Do It.

EDUCATION is defective if the spiritual nature is neglected. We all ought to insist on this. Shall we then insist on introducing religious instruction into the schools of the State? By no means. Why? Because the State does not purpose to give complete education. The State aims to improve the citizen and not to perfect the man. It does this for its own efficiency and protection. But is not the citizen based on the man? Yes. Is not morality an element of good citizenship? Yes. Is not morality based on religion? Yes. Why, then, does not the State aim at perfecting the man for the sake of the citizen? Why does not the State teach religion in order to foster morality which is so essential to good citizenship?

We answer: The State does not undertake to teach religion, because it knows that it cannot. The State is by its very nature unqualified for teaching religion or for completing the education of a human being. No cause can produce an effect different in kind from itself. No force reaches higher than its own source. Bread feeds the body and not the mind. Truth feeds the mind and not the body. Social influences effect the social nature only. Moral results are produced by moral forces and by no other. In order to awaken, nourish and train the spiritual, we must have a spiritual power. Now, the State is a civil power. It exists for civil purposes. Its functions, its agencies, its rewards and its punishments are civil. But man is a moral and spiritual as well as a social and industrial being. The moral and spiritual require moral and spiritual forces for their education. These the State does not possess, and hence the State cannot give a complete education. It cannot touch the moral and spiritual in man.

The State cannot teach morality, because it does not know morality. It does not know absolute right and wrong; it knows rights and wrongs. It does not know absolute goodness and badness; it knows the efficient and the detrimental. It does not know the holy and the sinful; it knows the loyal and the criminal. It does not know theft and murder and adultery and slander as wrong; it knows

them as wrongs, as infractions of the rights of others, and as hurtful to the body politic. Thus not having a cognition of morality, it is impossible for the State to teach morality.

In like manner, the State does not know religion. It does not know dependence on God, obligation, responsibility, duty, love, or obedience to God. These all are personal cognitions and experiences. Persons having them may, and frequently do, organize on them as a basis and for their cultivation. The Church is such an organization. But such a society the State is not. It is based on cognitions and experiences entirely different and for entirely other purposes. Persons who do not have these cognitions and experiences, and who deny the possibility of having them, belong to the State. . . . A religious character is impossible for a nation. The phrase "a Christian nation" is absurd. If every man, woman, and child in the State were a Christian, we should then not be a Christian nation, but a nation of Christians. Christianity is not a national characteristic; it does not run in the blood. No one is a Christian in virtue of his birth of a certain race, or of citizenship in a certain State. Christianity is a personal and an acquired characteristic, and is not essential to nationality or to citizenship. The State neither knows nor recognizes religion when it exists. It is impossible, therefore for the State to teach religion; of those truths and experiences it has no cognitions.

Consider again what it is to teach morality. It is something other than the enumeration and exposition of moral duties, or than a dissertation on the philosophy of ethics. Persons may be very learned in all this, and yet be utterly wanting in moral education as the word is used in the objection of the Catholics. Moral education is the awakening of the moral nature to a vivid sense of right and wrong, to a love of right and a hatred of wrong, to a choosing of the right and a rejection of the wrong, and to a consequent constant exercise of the will in right volitions. But these results are produced by the impingement of a moral nature already educated on an unawakened moral nature. But the State has no such educated moral nature. It has no moral nature at all. It does not, it cannot, exact such an educated moral nature as a qualification in its servant the school teacher. All that it asks, or can ask, is power and aptness to impart information with an inoffensive outward conduct. For this reason the State cannot become the agent of moral education.

The same is true of religious education. This does not consist in conveying information concerning God and man, Christ and the Bible, sin and salvation, the Church and holiness. Mere knowledge of these things is utterly worthless. It improves neither the citizen nor the man.

As mere knowledge, stopping with itself, it is not worth teaching at all. Religious education is the awakening of the spiritual nature of man so that he may feel his dependence on God, his obligation to God, his sin against God, and the love and mercy of God toward him in Christ Jesus, and so that he may come back to God in Christ Jesus in repentance and faith, love, consecration and obedience. This alone is that religious education which our Catholic fellow-citizens so justly tell us is essential to complete human education, and which produces the manhood and the morality so necessary to good citizenship. This education can be produced, generally speaking, only by the impingement of a spiritually educated nature, on an unawakened spiritual nature. But the State has no such educated religious nature. It has no religious nature at all. Hence, the State cannot impart the religious education here spoken of.

The best instrument for the awakening and nurture of a spiritual nature is the Bible. But the Bible is a spiritual instrument, and can be properly used only by the spiritually-minded. The carnally-minded and the worldly-minded can teach facts and truths about the Bible, and expound intellectually some of the contents of the Bible. But to use the book as a means of spiritual awakening and nurture is possible for the spiritually-minded only. The State is utterly void of this spiritual-mindedness, and hence is utterly unfit to use the Bible for religious instruction.

We are thus shut in to the conclusion that the State is not competent to give man a complete education. It has not the power, and hence it is not its function to impart moral and spiritual instruction.—*Rev. Owen James, in National Baptist.*

Those who preach to rulers the duty of employing power to propagate the truth, would do well to remember that falsehood, though no match for truth alone, has often been found more than a match for truth and power together.

The Best Defense of the Public Schools.

THE friends of the public-school system have need to be on the alert. Its enemies are active, and will destroy the best scheme of public education ever devised, if not resisted. But we must not only defend it against its enemies; we must save it from some of its friends. No small part of the present agitation concerning it is due to that class of its professed friends who are fighting outside of the legitimate lines of defense. For example, a protest has been made because the mayor of this city appointed a Roman Catholic as School Commissioner in place of another Roman Catholic. This protest would be legitimate, if the new commissioner were opposed to our public schools and wished to break them down. But there is no evidence that this is the fact, nor is it even

alleged. In the absence of any such proof it is manifestly unfair and unjust, and savors of religious proscription to insist that no Roman Catholic shall serve on a public school board. The strong defense of the public school is that it is public, for the benefit of all without distinction of race or religion. There is no other ground upon which to justify the taxation of people of all races and religions for its support. Catholics are taxed for it, Catholics patronize it extensively, and Catholics as such should not be excluded from its management. This is an impregnable position for the friends of the public school to take. If they take it and adhere to it they will compel all enemies to surrender.—*Independent.*

Any invasion of the rights of another done of purpose is persecution. Any invasion of the rights of others, by large bodies, is none the less persecution; and when these rights are rights of conscience, it is persecution, and the men who suffer from it feel it as persecution the moment their attention is addressed to it. The moment that a Jew becomes aware that his taxes are appropriated to a form of worship alien to his faith, and which teaches its falsehood, he is persecuted, and it is only a question of time and humanity whether those who persecute him shall be persuaded to persecute him more.

The Common Schools are Common to All.

THE following extract is from the concurring opinion of Justice Orton in the decision of the Wisconsin Supreme Court. It is the clearest statement of the case of the "common school" that we have seen, and is valuable as well for its sound principles:—

I most fully and cordially concur in the decision and in the opinions of Justices Lyon and Cassoday in this case.

It is not needful that any other opinion should be written, but I thought it proper to state briefly some of the reasons which have induced such concurrence in the decision.

The right of every man to worship almighty God according to the dictates of his own conscience shall never be infringed; nor shall any man be compelled to attend, erect or support any place of worship; . . . nor shall any control or interference with the rights of conscience be permitted or any preference be given by law to any religious establishments or modes of worship.—Constitution, Art. 1, Sec. 18.

No religious test shall ever be required as a qualification for any office of public trust, under the State, and no person shall be rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of his opinions on the subject of religion.—Constitution, Art. I, Sec. 19.

The interest of "the school fund," and all other revenues derived from the school lands shall be exclusively applied, etc, to the support and maintenance of common schools in each school district, etc.—Art. X, Sec. 2, subdivision 1.

The Legislature shall provide by law for the establishment of district schools which shall be as nearly uniform as practicable; and such schools shall be free, and without charge for tuition, to all children between the ages of four, and twenty

years; and no *sectarian* instruction shall be allowed therein.—Art. X, Sec. 3.

Each town and city shall be required to raise *by tax* annually for the support of *common schools* therein a sum not less, etc.—Art. X, Sec. 4. Provision shall be made by law for the distribution of the income of the school fund among the several towns and cities of the State for the support of *common schools* therein, etc.—Art. X, Sec. 5.

These provisions of the Constitution are cited together to show how completely this State as a civil Government, and all its civil institutions, are divorced from all possible connection or alliance with any and all religions, religious worship, religious establishments or modes of worship, and with everything of a religious character or appertaining to religion; and to show how completely all are protected in their religion and rights of conscience, and that no one shall ever be taxed or compelled to support any religion or place of worship, or to attend upon the same; and more especially to show that our *common schools*, as one of the institutions of the State created by the Constitution, stand, in all these respects, like any other institution of the State, completely excluded from all possible connection or alliance with religion or religious worship, or with anything of a religious character, and guarded by the constitutional prohibition that “no sectarian instruction shall be allowed therein.”

They show also that the common schools are free to all alike, to all nationalities, to all sects of religion, to all ranks of society, and to all complexions. For these equal privileges and rights of instruction in them, all are taxed equally and proportionately. The constitutional name, “common schools,” expresses their equality and universal patronage and support. *Common schools* are not common as being low in character or grade, but *common* to all alike, to everybody and to all sects or denominations of religion, but without bringing religion into them. The common schools, like all the other institutions of the State, are protected by the Constitution from all “control or interference with the rights of conscience,” and from all preferences given by law to any religious establishments or modes of worship.

As the State can have nothing to do with religion except to protect every one in the enjoyment of his own, so the common schools can have nothing to do with religion in any respect whatever. They are as completely secular as any of the other institutions of the State, in which all the people alike have equal rights and privileges. The people cannot be taxed for religion in schools more than anywhere else. Religious instruction in the common schools is as clearly prohibited by these general clauses of the Constitution as religious instruction or worship in any other department of State supported by the revenues derived from taxation.

The clause that “no sectarian instruction shall be allowed therein” was inserted *ex*

industria to exclude everything pertaining to religion. They are called by those who wish to have not only religion, but their own religion taught therein, “godless schools.” They are godless, and the educational department of the Government is godless, in the same sense that the executive, legislative, and administrative departments are godless. So long as our Constitution remains as it is, no one’s religion can be taught in our common schools. . . . Let it once enter into our civil affairs, our Government would soon be destroyed. Let it once enter into our common schools, they would be destroyed. Those who made our Constitution saw this, and used the most apt and comprehensive language in it to prevent such a catastrophe.

No State Constitution ever existed that so completely excludes and precludes the possibility of religious strife in the civil affairs of the State, and yet so fully protects all alike in the enjoyment of their own religion. All sects and denominations may teach the people their own doctrines in all proper places. Our Constitution protects all and favors none. But they must keep out of the common schools and civil affairs. It requires but little argument to prove that the Protestant version of the Bible, or any other version of the Bible, is the source of religious strife and opposition, and opposed to the religious belief of many of our people. It is a sectarian book. The Protestants were a very small sect in religion at one time, and they are a sect yet, to the great Catholic Church against whose usages they protested, and so is their version of the Bible sectarian, as against the Catholic version of it.

The common school is one of the most indispensable, useful, and valuable civil institutions this State has. It is democratic, and free to all alike, in perfect equality, where all the children of our people stand on a common platform, and may enjoy the benefits of an equal and common education. An enemy to our common schools is an enemy to our State Government. It is the same hostility that would cause any religious denomination that had acquired the ascendancy over all others to remodel our Constitution, and change our Government and all of its institutions, so as to make them favorable only to itself, and exclude all others from their benefits and protection. In such an event, religious and sectarian instruction will be given in all schools. Religion needs no support from the State. It is stronger and much purer without it.

This case is important and timely. It brings before the courts a case of the plausible, insidious, and apparently innocent entrance of religion into our civil affairs, and of an assault upon the most valuable provisions of the Constitution. Those provisions should be pondered and

heeded by all of our people, of all nationalities and of all denominations of religion, who desire the perpetuity and value the blessings of our free Government.

Wherever there is a system of religious instruction endowed and patronized by law, with a preference given to it by the State over all other systems, and a preference given to its teachers over the teachers of all other forms of belief, there is a religious establishment.

The Only Alternative.

THE Methodists, in conference here, passed resolutions last Monday against the secularization of the common school education.

“Purely secular education,” say the resolutions “is impossible in a land whose literature, history, and laws are the product of a Christian civilization,” “Christian citizens,” they declare farther, “must deny the right of the State to assume to give such an inadequate education.”

Yet the State can give no other than a purely secular education. It has no right to give any other, for we have no State religion to teach. The public schools must be wholly secular, or we must give them up.

That is the alternative, and Methodists, Baptists, Roman Catholics, and Episcopalians must look it squarely in the face. The schools must go, or they must remain secular, and become more so rather than less.

If people’s convictions lead them to require that their children shall receive in the schools which they attend, religious education along with the secular, they must send them to other than the public schools. If they do not think that they can give their children sufficient religious instruction at home and in the Sunday-schools of their churches to save them from spiritual peril, they must keep them out of the free schools maintained by public taxation. They must send them to religious schools of their way of thinking, and support such schools themselves.

In working for the introduction of religion into the public schools the Methodists are therefore, working for their destruction. There can be no question about that. They speak of the Roman Catholics in their resolutions as “enemies of the common schools;” but they are precisely as much enemies of the schools themselves when they demand what cannot be granted without breaking up the whole system. The schools must be altogether secular or they will be torn to pieces. There is no other logical conclusion.

As a matter of fact, are the schools unsatisfactory to the public at large because they are necessarily purely secular?—They do not seem to be so. Everywhere they are crowded. The school accommodations in New York are insufficient to meet the demand upon them, and this demand

grows with the growth of the population. The complaints are, not of the absence of religious instruction, but that the secular education is not afforded to all and is not what it should be.

The public schools are maintained simply to protect the State against the evils of illiteracy. Its citizens should know how to read and write. They are for no religious purpose whatsoever. The churches, maintained by voluntary contributions, must look after the matter of religion, each in its own way, and according to its own conscience and its own dogmas.—*New York Sun.*

Every subject's duty is the king's; but every subject's soul is his own.

The Baptists of Canada on Religion and the State.

THERE is just now in Canada, considerable agitation of the same questions that are fast becoming so prominent in the United States, namely, the union of Church and State, Sunday laws, and religion in the public schools. On the question of religion and the public schools, as well as on that of the total separation between Church and State in everything, the following petition of the Baptists of Ontario and Quebec, is of interest. We wish the Baptists of the United States were as outspoken on these questions as are those of Canada. We know that in this country there are individual Baptists who have as clearly defined views on these questions, and as much readiness to express them, as the Baptists of Ontario and Quebec have shown themselves to have; but we have not yet heard of a single Baptist Association in the United States, which as a body has taken such a position. We should be glad to learn of scores of them. This report is taken from the *Canadian Baptist*:—

To the Honorable the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Ontario.

The petition of the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec humbly sheweth:—

1. That the denomination of Christians called Baptists stands historically identified with, and has always been foremost in, maintaining certain principles touching civil and religious rights, which may be summarized as follows:—

That the State is a political corporation simply; that freedom of religious opinion and worship is inherently a vested right of the individual conscience, and not a grant from the State; that parliament may not prescribe any form of religious belief or worship, nor may it tax in any form any citizens for the support or teaching of religion.

2. That in harmony with these principles the following resolution was passed at the annual meeting of your petitioners, held in the city of Ottawa, in the month of October last: Moved by Rev. R. G. Boville, M. A., seconded by Rev. J. Dempsey, that,—

Whereas, The historic belief of the Baptist Church has always been that Church and State should be separate, and that all citizens and denominations should be equal in every way before the law; and,—

Whereas, Said principle is being violated in all ecclesiastical exemptions, whether in favor of Baptists or of other denominations: in the continuance of the mediæval tithing system of the Roman Catholic denomination in Quebec; in the existence of separate schools supported out of public rates;

in State provision for religious instruction in public schools; and in public grants for denominational purposes, as well as in other respects; therefore,—

Resolved, That we hereby declare our conviction that the only permanent and sufficient remedy for these evils that are subversive of the principles of Religious Liberty and equality, and therefore a hindrance in the development of our national life, is the absolute and final separation of Church and State, and the revision of our constitution in harmony with the same.—Carried.

3. Believing that in all regards in which the State violates the principles above summarized, it transcends its rightful power and unjustly infringes on individual rights; and believing further, that nothing short of the thorough and consistent application of these principles throughout the whole Dominion will produce harmony and secure the welfare of the people of Canada, your petitioners pray—

That your Honorable Body may be pleased to speedily adopt measures,—

1. To absolutely abolish all exemption of ecclesiastical property and persons from their due share of municipal taxes and burdens.

2. To effectually prevent the making of gifts or grants from the public funds to denominational institutions or purposes, whether charitable, educational, or otherwise.

3. To abolish all laws providing for the imparting of religious instruction in the public schools.

4. To bring about the entire abolition of separate denominational schools supported by rates levied by process of law.

And your petitioners as in duty bound will ever pray.

Witness the hands of the President and Secretary of your petitioners, subscribed at Toronto this 17th day of March, A. D., 1890.

(Signed) D. E. THOMSON,
President.
(Signed) JAMES GRANT,
Secretary.

The spirit of republican institutions casts out and rejects as an extraneous and foreign and ruinous element in its civilization, any preference by law to one set of religious opinions, to one system of religious teachings, over another.

Orthodox Presbyterianism.

WE here present an extract from the speech of Hon. Stanley Matthews in the Cincinnati case of the Bible in the schools. In these times when Presbyterian Synods and Presbyterian papers are demanding that the State shall teach religion, and denouncing Supreme Court decisions to the contrary, it is important that the public, as well as the Presbyterians themselves, should know just what is orthodox Presbyterianism on this question. Mr. Matthews said:—

I wish, partly as a personal gratification to myself, and partly for the sound and wholesome truth conveyed in sound and wholesome words, which it contains, to read to your Honors a part of the confession of the church to which I belong, on the duties and functions of the civil magistrate. *The Westminster Confession of Faith*, chapter xxiii, section 3, says:—

Civil magistrates may not assume to themselves the administration of the word and sacraments, or the power of the keys of the kingdom of heaven, or in the least interfere in the matters of faith. Yet, as nursing fathers, it is the duty of civil magistrates to protect the church of our common Lord without giving the preference to any denomination of Christians above the rest, in such manner that all ecclesiastical persons whatever shall enjoy the full, free and unquestioned liberty of discharging every part of their sacred functions, without violence or danger. And as Jesus Christ hath appointed a regular government and discipline in his church, no law of any commonwealth should inter-

fere with, let or hinder the due exercise thereof among the voluntary members of any denomination of Christians, according to their own profession and belief. It is the duty of civil magistrates to protect the person and good name of all their people in such an effectual manner as that no person be suffered, either upon pretense of religion or infidelity, to offer any indignity, violence, abuse or injury to any other person whatsoever; and to take order that all religious and ecclesiastical assemblies be held without molestation or disturbance.

Thus, may it please your Honors, am I taught by my own church—a church which teaches elsewhere in the same confession that “God alone is lord of the conscience”—and which here plainly defines and declares its own rights and the rights of the whole Christian Church, and the limits of the civil power in respect of them; and in so doing denies to the civil magistrate any assumed right *in the administration of the word*, which means neither more nor less, than, any part or lot in instructing in religion—denies his right, *in the least, to interfere in matters of faith*, which he attempts to exert when, by law, he decrees that a particular version or translation of the Bible shall be publicly read, as part of a system of religious worship and instruction, by and to particular persons, at stated times and places, thereby implicitly sitting in judgment upon the questions relating to its inspiration, its canonical character, the accuracy of its translation, its character and claims as the word of God, and opening the way, if such a power is admitted, for a further claim, to expound, interpret and teach by authority its true meaning; denies his right to give the preference to any denomination of Christians above the rest, a right which is clearly exercised where the State authorities, school boards or courts of law imperatively ordain a form of religious devotion to be practiced, or a mode of religious instruction to be adopted, in the public and common schools, which the consciences of any Christian denomination prevent them from attending, supporting or countenancing; declares the right of every denomination of Christians, to exercise its discipline and government ecclesiastically, among its voluntary members, according to their own profession and belief, without let, hindrance or interference with, by the law of any commonwealth.

But this noble article of the Westminster Confession of Faith goes one step farther, in its vindication of the rights of conscience against the power of the civil magistrate. It recognizes and throws the mantle of its protection, not merely over rights which it claims for those whom it regards as peculiarly its own—the confessors of its own faith—but concedes the same to all others, even to those who deny, not only its own confession, but the very faith itself—even infidels; for it maintains it to be the duty of civil Government equally to protect and defend all the people, both in person and good name, and so effectually, that no person be suffered to offer any indignity, violence, abuse or injury to any other person whatsoever, *either upon pretense of religion or infidelity!*

In other words it is not orthodox Presbyterianism in this country, to deny to an infidel the same civil rights that belong to a saint.



NEW YORK, MAY, 8, 1890.

NOTE.—Any one receiving the AMERICAN SENTINEL without having ordered it may know that it is sent to him by some friend, unless plainly marked "Sample copy." It is our invariable rule to send out no papers without pay in advance, except by special arrangement, therefore, those who have not ordered the SENTINEL need have no fears that they will be asked to pay for it simply because they take it from the post-office.

THE Wisconsin decision has awakened such widespread discussion of the subject of Religion and Public Education, that we have made this number of the SENTINEL somewhat of a special upon that subject. We give to our readers some of the most valuable matter to be found upon this subject. The argument of Mr. Wiggman, in the Wisconsin case, is a powerful and noble vindication of the right of the parent to instruct his own child. Judge Orton's opinion in the same case is an excellent statement of the case of the common school. The article by Rev. Owen James is a masterly statement of the impossibility of the State's ever having anything to do in any way, with religious instruction. And it is difficult to see how the Presbyterian Church can favor the teaching of religion in the public schools in the face of its own Confession of Faith, as so eloquently expounded by Stanley Matthews.

All these articles are most worthy of acceptance for all that they say, and for all that they mean, and in view of the condition of things in this Nation to-day, and in view of the powerful influences that are at work to secure action by the State which shall commit it to the cognizance of religious things, it is important that the principles so well set forth in the articles which we have the pleasure of presenting to our readers in this number of the SENTINEL, should be made known everywhere.

We hope all to whom this paper comes will give it the widest possible circulation.

THE Presbyterians throughout the whole United States are now discussing the question of the revision of their Confession of Faith. A great majority of those Presbyteries which have already expressed themselves, are in favor of revision. But there is one point in the Confession which we have not yet seen mentioned by any one of the Presbyteries, which will need to be revised, if the position of the Presbyterian Synod of New York is orthodox. That is, the article which declares that

"civil magistrates may not assume to themselves the administration of the word, or in the least interfere in the matters of faith." If the State is to teach religion as this Synod demands that it shall, then that part of the creed needs to be so revised as to declare it to be the duty of the civil magistrate to administer the word and regulate matters of faith.

RESOLUTIONS are being adopted by ecclesiastical bodies, and many petitions are being sent to the United States Senate, urging the passage of the Blair Educational bill.

THE teaching of religion belongs to the Church, and to the Church only. God has committed to the Church this work, and endowed her with the power to do it effectively. The State has no authority to do it, nor has it the power by which, alone, the attempt to do it can be effective. This work then, having been committed to the Church, when the Church passes it over to the State and the State assumes the task, what then is the Church to do? What is there left for her to do, and what further use is there for her in the world? More than this, the Church will not stop at that. When once the State has assumed the task of carrying on and supporting the work of the Church, the next thing it will have to do will be to support the Church itself, and that in idleness, as every State has ever had to do, and will ever have to do, which takes upon itself the task of teaching religion. Therefore if the Government of the United States, or of any State, wants to keep forever clear of the galling burden of a lazy, good-for-nothing Church, let it keep forever clear of any attempt to teach religion.

APPARENTLY with some surprise the question is asked, Would you object to the use of the Bible in the public schools merely as a reading book? We answer decidedly, Yes. We object to the Bible's being made less than it is, or to any impression being conveyed that it is less than that which it is. The Bible is the word of God and that is all that it is. In it is the revelation of the eternal purpose of God which he purposed in Christ Jesus for the redemption of the race of man lost and ruined by sin. It is that and that only, and to make it less than that is to make it worse than nothing. And to use it in the public schools, or anywhere else, merely as a reading book, is to put it upon a level with all other mere reading books, and is to make it less than that which it is. Such procedure conveys the impression to the minds of the children in school that the Bible is no more, and of no more worth or authority, than any other reading book; and to do that is to destroy in their minds the true idea of what the Bible is, and of what its worth

and authority is. Therefore everybody who has any regard for the Bible for what it is, ought to object to its being put to any use that will convey to anybody any idea that it is less than that which it is—the word of God.

THE Presbyterians and the Methodists of New York,—the Calvinists and the Arminians—have heartily joined together in denouncing the Wisconsin decision and demanding religious instruction in the public schools. Yet if the State should decide to establish religious instruction in the public schools and should leave it to these two denominations to decide just what form of religion should be taught there, and to what degree, it would be difficult to find any two denominations in all the land between which there would be a wider divergence of view, or a more bitter contention.

THE New York *Herald*, not long since, secured an interview with the Pope, in which that dignitary expressed great love for America and the Americans. He expressed great anxiety over the "discontent, disorder, hatred, and profound unhappiness" that is seen in the present condition of society; and says he has studied how to bring about a change, and that, while he lives, he will labor to relieve the world of this terrible confusion. These good professions of the Pope had the effect of greatly pleasing the *Christian Union*, and it gives vent to its delight in these words:—

We cordially greet the Pope as an honored leader of a great international community in the work of industrial and social reform, no less than as a witness of the first importance to the fact that such a reform is the imperative need of our time.

Yes, we are perfectly satisfied that in the settling of this social confusion, the Pope will have much to do, and with the result that when it is settled, it will be to the advantage of the Papacy, and with the Pope as the head over all and supreme arbiter for the world.

THE Telluride *Republican* should experience no difficulty in deciding what the AMERICAN SENTINEL means. That journal cuts too clean to be misunderstood. It objects to placing God on a level with vile man, and *The Graphic* takes the same high ground. The religion that Jesus of Nazareth taught, first; the statutes of the State next. Both separate and distinct.—*Colorado Graphic*.

THE AMERICAN SENTINEL.

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DEVOTED TO

The defense of American Institutions, the preservation of the United States constitution as it is, so far as regards religion or religious tests, and the maintenance of human rights, both civil and religious.

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

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A MILWAUKEE preacher argues that "The Church should stand as an arbiter between capital and labor and try to get them together." The Church should do no such thing; such is not her place in the world. Christ was once asked to do that very thing (Luke 12:13, 14), and he flatly refused to perform any such office. And the disciple is not above his Master, nor the servant greater than his Lord; it is enough that the disciple be as his Master, and the servant as his Lord. What a singular thing it is that professed ministers of the gospel will take positions and announce doctrines that are directly repudiated by the very Author of their profession.

SINCE the confessed "Waterloo" that the National Sunday-law issue met at Washington upon the Breckinridge Sunday Bill, there has been considerable query as to what turn next would be taken by the managers of that movement. It now begins to appear, and it is that they are putting forth their efforts to so shape elections as to get into legislative halls men who will be but tools in their hands for the accomplishment of their purposes. Mr. Crafts has gone to California; Mrs. Bateham was already there; and they are driving a strong campaign, by which they hope to secure in the election next fall, a Legislature that will give them a Sunday law there. The leading State worker there, Rev. Edward Thompson, says, that although the Association is not a political one, still they propose "to make their influence felt by waiting until after legislative candidates are nom-

inated, then go to the dominant party and ask its candidate to pledge himself to vote for a Sunday law. In case he will do so, they will vote for him, but should he refuse, the energies of the voting members of the Association will be united to compass his defeat." And in this he included the members of the Young Men's Christian Association. In Chicago also they are strongly pushing the political organization of the Sunday forces. By the time the next Congressional election comes around, they will no doubt make a national campaign on this issue. Now, therefore, is the time to work as never before with and amongst the people, in order that there also these religio-political tinkers may meet another "Waterloo."

Another Sunday-Law Fraud.

IN the Sunday-law campaign of last year Mr. Crafts urged everywhere the argument that a national Sunday law would be constitutional because the Supreme Courts of twenty-five States had held that such laws were constitutional. That argument never had enough real worth to pay for the breath that it took to make it, because the decisions of State courts have no bearing upon a national question. This year Mr. Crafts is passing off an argument that is just as worthless; but he presents it with such an air of authority as to make it appear as though it was of some force. The argument is so entirely his own that he has copyrighted it and has sent it out with other of his "syndicate" matter, to be printed in such of the "patent inside" papers as will publish it. It is as follows:—

The judicial department of the National Government is represented by a decision of very great importance, though little known, which declares the constitutionality of Sunday laws. The decision was a unanimous one, delivered by Mr. Justice Field, March 16, 1885 (113, U. S. 710), and is as follows: "Laws setting aside Sunday as a day of rest are upheld, not from any right of the Government to legislate for the promotion of religious observances, but from its right to protect all persons from the physical and moral debasement that comes from

uninterrupted labor. Such laws have always been deemed beneficent and merciful laws, especially to the poor and dependent, to the laborers in our factories and workshops, and in the heated rooms of our cities; and their validity has been sustained by the highest courts of the States."

This is given by Mr. Crafts as a decision of the Supreme Court of the United States upon the question of Sunday laws.

Rev. Dr. J. H. Elliott referred to the same thing, in his argument before the House Committee on District of Columbia, in behalf of the Breckinridge Sunday Bill, and said, "This is a case in the Supreme Court," thus also passing it off as a decision upon the question of Sunday laws.

Even if it were such, it would not prove what they try to make it prove. It does not say that Sunday laws are constitutional by the United States Constitution. It does not say that their validity is sustained by the highest court of the United States. It says, "Their validity has been sustained by the highest courts of the States." So that, taking this very statement which they offer, it proves simply what it has already taken them so long to understand, that is, that the States have sustained such laws, which action has no bearing whatever on a national question.

But that is not all there is to this matter. As we have stated, Mr. Crafts and his fellow-workers are passing this argument as a decision of the Supreme Court of the United States upon the question of Sunday laws, while in truth it is no such thing.

The decision distinctly says, "The prohibition against labor on Sunday is not involved." So that the decision is not in any sense what Mr. Crafts attempts to make it.

Now for the facts in the case. The case is known as one of the Chinese Laundry cases, brought up from San Francisco—the case of *Soon Hong v. Crowley*. The City of San Francisco passed an ordinance regulating laundries and public wash-houses. The fourth Section declared that "No person owning, or employed in, a public laundry, or a public

wash-house within the prescribed limits, shall wash or iron clothes between the hours of ten in the evening and six in the morning, or upon any portion of Sunday."

Soon Hing was arrested by the police of San Francisco, and he applied to the United States Circuit Court for a writ of *habeas corpus* upon the plea that this section was in contravention of the provisions of the Burlingame Treaty, and of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States in that it deprived "the petitioner of *the equal protection of the laws*." The judges of the Circuit Court were divided in opinion, that of the presiding justice prevailing, and the case was certified to the Supreme Court "for review." In rendering the decision the Court referred to a case that it had decided only seventy-one days before, and said:—

The fourth section is identical in both. *The prohibition against labor on Sunday in this section is not involved here*, as it was not in that case; and the provision for the cessation of labor in the laundries, within certain prescribed limits of the city and county during certain hours of the night, is purely a police regulation, which is, as we there said, within the competency of any municipality possessed of the ordinary powers belonging to such bodies.

To get a full understanding of the matter it is necessary to quote from the case to which the Court here referred. It is the case of *Barbier v. Crowley*. The Court said:—

That fourth section, so far as it is involved in the case before the Police Judge was simply a prohibition to carry on the washing and ironing of clothes in public laundries and wash-houses, within certain prescribed limits of the city and county [of San Francisco], from ten o'clock at night until six o'clock in the morning of the following day. *The prohibition of labor on Sunday is not involved*. The provision is purely a police regulation within the competency of any municipality possessed of the ordinary powers belonging to such bodies; and it would be an extraordinary usurpation of the authority of the municipality if a Federal tribunal should undertake to supervise such regulations. It may be a necessary measure of precaution in a city composed largely of wooden buildings, like San Francisco, that occupations in which fires are constantly required should cease after certain hours at night until the following morning; and of the necessity of such legislation the municipal bodies are the exclusive judges; at least any correction of their action in such matters can come only from State legislation, or State tribunals. . . . Neither the [Fourteenth] Amendment, broad and comprehensive as it is, nor any other amendment, was designed to interfere with the power of the State, sometimes termed its police power, to prescribe regulations to promote the health, peace, morals, education, and good order of the people, and to legislate so as to increase the industries of the State, develop its resources, and add to its wealth and prosperity.—113 U. S. 30, 31.

Thus it is proved by the very words of the decision which Mr. Crafts quotes that the question of Sunday laws, or of Sunday labor, was not involved at all. The question was simply whether a city, or a State if need be, could regulate the time in which public laundries or wash-houses should be opened.

But did the Court use the words quoted

by Mr. Crafts? Yes, and this is how it came about: The petitioner had argued that the said section was "void on the ground that it deprived a man of the right to work at all times," and in the same line of the decision throughout, the Court held that this objection was "without force" because such regulations are properly within the police power of cities and municipalities. The Court said:—

On few subjects has there been more regulation. How many hours shall constitute a day's work in the absence of contract, at what time in our cities shops shall close at night, are constant subjects of legislation.

And then it was that, continuing, the Court said:—

Laws setting aside Sunday as a day of rest are upheld, not from any right of the Government to legislate for the promotion of religious observances, but from its right to protect all persons from the physical and moral debasement which comes from uninterrupted labor. Such laws have always been deemed beneficent and merciful laws, especially to the poor and dependent, to laborers in our factories and workshops, and in the heated rooms of our cities; and their validity has been sustained by the highest courts of the States.

This reference to Sunday laws is used by the Court only as an illustration of the exercise of the police power of the States and municipalities. And even if it were not so used, even if it were used with direct reference to the question of Sunday labor, the force of the decision, so far from showing any power of the United States Government to enact Sunday laws, would show on the contrary that such laws are wholly within the jurisdiction of the States, as a part of what the Court called the police power of the States and of which it declared "it would be an extraordinary usurpation of the authority of the municipality if a Federal tribunal should undertake to supervise such regulations."

But it is not even this; for decisions are of legal force "only so far as regards the subject matter then involved." The decisions of courts are expressions of law upon the points involved, and upon these only, and whatever may be said with reference to any subject which is not involved is of no legal force. Especially is this so when the court plainly says that such subject is not involved in the case. Put in the form of a syllogism the case quoted by Mr. Crafts, stands thus:—

Decisions are of force "only so far as regards the subject matter then involved."

This decision plainly says, "The prohibition of labor on Sunday is not involved here."

Therefore the decision cited by Mr. Crafts in support of Sunday laws, is of no force whatever with reference to any question of labor on Sunday.

The use which Mr. Crafts and his fellow-workers make of the reference to Sunday laws in this case, is false,

1. In that they make it a decision on the question of Sunday laws, whereas the decision plainly says, virtually twice, that

the question of labor on Sunday is not involved.

2. Their use of it is false in that they make it binding in subject-matter which is not involved.

3. Their use of it is false, in that, even though it had the force which they would give it, they make it a question of national jurisdiction; whereas the effect would be to confine it exclusively to the limits of the police power of the States, with which it would be "an extraordinary usurpation" for the national power to interfere.

4. Mr. Crafts's use of it is understandingly false, in that as he must have read the decision in order to write of it as he did, he certainly must have read there the positive statement that "The prohibition against labor on Sunday is not involved;" yet he makes it involve that very question and uses it as authority upon that question. Under the circumstances how he can honestly make that a decision upon the national constitutionality of Sunday laws, is more than we can understand, and is in order for him to explain.

The sum of the whole matter is, that the use which Rev. Wilbur F. Crafts makes of the decision which he cites is utterly and inexcusably false.

It is simply another vain effort of the Sunday-law workers to create authority for Sunday laws where there is none, and illustrates that the further they go, the harder they are pushed to find valid arguments with which to support their wicked cause. And thus may all their efforts perish.

A. T. J.

Religion as a Political Factor.

It is claimed by those who want religion taught in the public schools that it is primarily for the benefit of the State; that it is not with the view of fitting the children for heaven, or of making them Christians, but rather to fit them for this world and to make them good citizens; that it is not that religion needs the support of the State, but rather that the State needs the support of religion. It is argued, therefore, that it is only as a political factor, and its worth only according to its "political value," that the State proposes to enforce the teaching of religion in the public schools; that the object of the instruction is not "the spiritual welfare of the children" but "the benefit of the State."

This argument appears very plausible, but it is utterly fallacious. The supreme difficulty with such a view is that it wholly robs religion of its divine sanctions and replaces them only with civil sanctions. It robs religion of its eternal purpose and makes it only a temporal expedient. From being a plan devised by divine wisdom to secure the eternal salvation of the soul, Christianity is, by this scheme, made a mere human device to effect a political purpose. And for the State to

give legal and enforced sanction to the idea that the Christian religion and the belief and practice of its principles are only for temporal advantage, is for the State to put an immense premium upon hypocrisy. But there is already entirely too much of the profession of religion for only what can be gained in this world by it politically, financially, and socially. And for the State to sanction the evil principle, and promote the practice by adopting it as a system and inculcating it upon the minds of the very children as they grow up, would bring upon the country such a flood of corruption as it would be impossible for civil society to bear.

Let us not be misunderstood. We do not deny for an instant, but rather assert forever, that the principles of the Christian religion received into the heart and carried out in the life will make good citizens always. But it is only because it derives its sanction from the divine source—because it is rooted in the very soul and nourished by the gracious influences of the Holy Spirit. This, however, the State of itself can never secure. This at once carries us into the realm of conscience, upon the plane of the spiritual, and it can be secured only by spiritual forces, none of which have ever been committed to the State, but to the Church only.

A. T. J.

Religious Amendment to the Constitution.

SENATOR BLAIR'S proposed amendment is to force into all the public schools the teaching of the principles of Christianity. This arrangement is open to many objections.

1. It is a proposition to have the State undertake a work which, outside of the family, belongs only to the Church. This is the chief characteristic of a union of Church and State. Civil affairs belong to the State; religious affairs belong to God and the Church; "render therefore unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's; and unto God the things which are Gods." Matt. 22:21.

2. In the matter of the religious training of children, it "puts the State not only in the place of the parent, but above the parent." As God holds the parents responsible for their children, it is evident that they should be allowed to train the children as they believe God requires, without any interference of the State.

3. It proposes to use carnal weapons (force) to propagate religion. Christ says; "Whosoever will, let him take the water of life," but the advocates of the amendment intend to compel people to study religion whether they desire to or not.

4. The first amendment to the Constitution says, "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof;"

but the proposed amendment would change this by compelling Congress and the State Legislatures to make laws for the establishment of the principles of Christianity in all the public schools.

5. The Blair amendment does not define these "principles," which would necessitate a succession of church councils, similar to those convened in the Dark Ages, or the introduction into our civil courts of an endless chain of religious litigation, to settle the disputes constantly arising among the people.—*A. Delos Westcott, in Reedsburg, Wisconsin, Free Press.*

How Far They Propose to Carry It.

A REGULAR contributor to the *Christian Statesman*, Rev. N. R. Johnston, of Oakland, California, has an article in that paper, of April 10 and 17, entitled, "Christ's Headship over the Nations," which is worthy of notice, for the reason that he is a representative National Reformer, and it is fair to presume that his views are entirely in harmony with those of his brethren, since they are published without dissent in the official organ of the National Reform Association. Referring to the evils which prevail in our land, Mr. Johnston says:—

The antidote to these abounding evils and to whatever tends to ruin us as a Nation is to be found in two things:—

1. The general prevalence of pure religion and consequent pure Christian morals. To bring about this desirable end is, under God, the work of the Church of Christ.
2. The voluntary submission of the Nation and Government to Christ Jesus as Lord of nations; or voluntary obedience to King Jesus.

With the first of these "two things" no Christian can find one word of fault. It is most emphatically true. The only antidote for evil, in the sense of sin, or wickedness, is to be found in Christianity; but Christianity can operate upon a nation only through individuals. It can elevate a nation morally only by reforming and elevating individuals; and to do this "is, under God, the work of the Church," but the Church bears no message to nations; the gospel message is to be preached *in* all nations, but *to* individuals, and only individuals can hear, believe, and obey it, and be reformed and saved by it.

The second of Mr. Johnston's "two things" is the central thought of National Reform. Undoubtedly those who urge it suppose that they do it for the honor of Christ, and for the good of the Nation. But its danger is equalled only by its subtlety. Such submission would be only a mockery unless at least a majority of the Nation were indeed Christians, and even then it would be a real submission only on the part of those who were Christians; and after it was made the Nation would be no more Christian, in the proper sense of the word, than it was before; that is, it would be Christian only so far

as those who composed it were Christian. Indeed while there might be a nation of Christians, there can be no such thing as a Christian nation. To make such a submission more than an empty compliment, a mere profession meaning nothing, force would have to be given to it by making the law of Christ, the divine law as revealed in the word of God, the supreme law of the land. But to do that would be to establish a theocracy; not indeed a true theocracy in which God himself would be the ruler, but a man-made theocracy in which men would rule in the name of God. But in such a theocracy as that the supreme law would be not the law of God in fact, but such a version of that law as those in power might from time to time see fit to impose upon those under their rule. That theocracy would not be one divinely established, and administered by inspired men, as was the theocracy under Moses and Joshua, but it would be a theocracy established by men and administered, not only by uninspired men, but too often by evil and designing men. This would be in effect to put men in the place of God and to cause men to look to their fellows instead of to God to know their duty toward God. It is by this very principle that the Pope rules; in fact the principle of the Papacy, and of National Reform is the same. The only difference is that the Papacy exalts the Pope, while National Reform would exalt some other man or men in exactly the same way and with the same result; namely, that of placing men in the place of God and causing them to stand in the relation of God to their fellows so far as moral government is concerned.

The moral law, the law of God, binds the consciences of men. It follows, therefore, that to make men the administrators of the divine law is to give them power over the consciences of their fellow-men. The unavoidable conclusion is that National Reform seeks to endow human Governments with the sovereignty of conscience, a sovereignty which, according to the gospel, belongs only to God. But it may be said, as it has been said before, that National Reform would make the divine law as revealed in the Scriptures, the law of the land no farther than to make it the model for human legislation, and that only so far as it might be applicable to civil government. But how far would it be held to be applicable? This question is one the Government would have to decide, and it would be decided not by any fixed and infallible rule, not by divine wisdom and direction, but by men certain to err even as men have erred before in deciding similar questions. It would just as certainly make men judges of the divine law as it would to declare the whole law of God the supreme rule in civil affairs.

We are not, however, left to surmises in this matter. In the article in the

Christian Statesman before referred to, Mr. Johnston tells just how far they would consider the law of God as applicable to civil government. He says:—

All civil governments and all officers should take the Bible as the higher law and as the rule of action. Indeed, this holy law is just as good a rule of action in the State, as in the Church, or in personal relations. Accordingly the whole moral law as summed up in the ten commandments, and the whole moral Mosaic penal code, would be the rule of action in Congress, in State Legislatures and in the courts of justice. Kidnapping, man-stealing, blasphemy and adultery, as well as murder would be punished by severe penalties. Not the ever-changing will of the people, but the unchangeable law of the Most High would be of supreme authority. As this would be right, can we doubt that good would result?

The practical results of such a system of government Mr. Johnston describes as follows:—

It would secure the administration of a rightly constituted government by righteous legislators, judges, and executors. It would make only righteous men, men of Christian morality—eligible to office. It would keep out of office all ungodly and wicked men. Aspirants for office, for power, for honor, or for spoils—unbelieving and immoral men, asking the dear people to make them legislators, or congressmen, or judges, or governors, would be left at home.

Again he says:—

It would tend powerfully to the suppression of existing evil—of all abounding wickedness. Public idol worship, profanity, blasphemy, Sabbath desecration, disregard of parental authority, oppression of the poor, and of the millions once enslaved, shameful wrongs done to women, the licensed liquor traffic, intemperance, legalized prostitution, infamous divorce systems, polygamy, bloodshed, adultery,—these and similar evils would be punished as the divine law requires.

These extracts which are in no way modified by anything else in Mr. Johnston's article, show that the National Reform idea is not simply to have Christian principles govern the Nation through the influence which Christianity ought to have upon the individuals that compose the Nation, but by making not only the ten commandments but also "the whole moral Mosaic penal code" the law of the Nation. And this he thinks would keep wicked men out of office. If it did, it would do better than it did anciently. The righteous rulers of the whole nation of Israel from Saul to Zedekiah were the exception, and wicked kings the rule. The National Reform scheme of government would tend rather to make hypocrites than to secure honesty in the administration of government.

It is a wonder that any man who has a sincere regard for good morals, as a personal acquaintance with Mr. Johnston warrants us in believing that he has, would for a moment think it wise to make a profession of religion a qualification for civil office. Under such a system every politician would of necessity be a member of the Church, and corrupt men would rule the Church as they now rule political parties; and while the Church would be so much worse, the Government would be no better. It is a sad fact that

defaulters and embezzlers are about as common—not indeed among Christians, but among those who profess to be Christians—as among those who make no profession. The reason for this is that many join the Church through some improper motive, in order to gain some social or business advantage, and not having the root of the matter in them, when temptation comes, they fall. What assurance then could there possibly be that Christians would be any more honest under the proposed National Reform *regime* than they are now, or than they have been under similar circumstances in other countries? There could be no such assurance; on the contrary, a knowledge of human nature, and the history of the past lead us to believe that instead of purifying the State, National Reform would hopelessly corrupt both the State, and the Church.

The nature of the penalties which, according to their own representation of the matter, would be inflicted under the proposed National Reform system will be examined in another article. C. P. B.

The Bible in the Public Schools.

IN studying the subject of the Bible in the public schools, there are two important questions to solve; first, which, if any, of the Bibles shall be used? and second, what are the public schools?

The Bible, to many, means only the Bible adopted by the Protestants, or the King James version, and in urging that it be read in the common schools, they do not recognize the fact that the Catholic has a different Bible, which he regards as the only faithful translation of the Scriptures; or that the Jew accepts of the Old Testament only, regarding the New not only as false, but as cruelly charging his ancestors with the murder of the world's Messiah.

The difference between these Bibles is considered by each party as vital to the eternal welfare of the believer. Says the Protestant Bible, "Except ye *repent*, ye shall all likewise perish." Says the Catholic Bible, "Unless ye shall *do penance*, ye shall all likewise perish."

This is not an accidental difference in translation but is a difference maintained throughout the entire Catholic Bible, based on the distinctive Catholic doctrine of penance, in opposition to the Protestant doctrine of salvation through faith, as the following quotation from the "Doctrinal Catechism," proves: "He [Luther] invented a thing, which he called justifying faith, to be a sufficient substitute for all the above painful religious works, an invention which took off every responsibility from our shoulders, and laid all on the shoulders of Jesus Christ; in a word, he told men to believe in the merits of Christ as *certainly applied to them*, and live as they pleased."—Page 37.

There are other important differences

which appear in the text, and would be made apparent by the mere reading of the passages.

The difference between the Protestant and Catholic Bibles, and the Jewish Bible, is far greater, as the Jew rejects the entire New Testament as not only a base fabrication, but as containing an unjust charge against his people.

The infidel rejects the whole, and finds his views of religion met in the writings of Rousseau, Paine, or Ingersoll.

Which of these Bibles shall be read in our common schools? To this question comes a chorus of opposing answers.

Who shall decide? Is it the prerogative of the State to decide which of these Bibles contains the most truth, and which error? If we so decide, we adopt the theory which gave to the Dark Ages their moral gloom.

Leaving the difference in Bibles, there is another important difference with regard to the propriety of reading any Bible without comment. The Protestant position is, that "the Bible without note or comment is the infallible rule of faith and practice." The Catholic regards this as a dangerous doctrine, fraught with eternal ruin to the child, and to say that he is not sincere, is to sit in judgment on his conscience. And the conscience of a Catholic is as sacred in the eyes of the law as the conscience of the Protestant.

In studying this subject, we should not allow our preconceived ideas, or time-honored practices to prejudice us. The time was, when men as conscientiously believed that the Government should protect religion by burning heretics, as do some to-day that the Bible should be read in the public schools. One way of bringing this question squarely before us is to reverse the condition by placing the Catholic, Jew, or infidel in the majority. Would the Protestant, who believes that salvation comes alone through faith, be willing that his child be taught from the reading of the Douay Bible, that to obtain it, he must do penance? If infidels were in the majority, would the minority be willing to have the exercises of the day prefaced by the reading of extracts from Thomas Paine, Robert Ingersoll, or some other exponent of infidelity? Here it is that the golden rule has a practical application. "All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them."

The public school is created and maintained by the civil Government, and therefore is a civil institution. Protestants, Catholics, Jews, and infidels are taxed alike for its support. They are not maintained in the interests of or in opposition to religion. As a part of the Government they come under Lincoln's immortal definition of government,—they are "of the people, by the people, and for the people." They are neither by or for the Protestant, as such, but for the people without

reference to religion. Since the support of the public school is compulsory as is the attendance upon it in most States, it follows that the parent is compelled to maintain, and patronize a place of worship, for such is the school room while the Bible is being read. In other words he is taxed to support an institution which destroys the faith of his child, and is compelled to send his child to an institution where its faith will be destroyed. This is the worst of tyranny.

While this view of the public school is regarded by the majority as self-evident, there are a few who, because of this attitude of our schools toward religion, declare that they are "godless." This comes from a misconception of the mission of the public school. Had God delegated to the civil Government the teaching of religion, a failure to do it by means of the public school would merit the above criticism. The State in providing for the teaching of reading, writing, and mathematics without teaching religion is simply attending to its legitimate business which the Church does when it attends to the teaching of religion. The term "godless," cannot be applied with any more consistency to the common school, because the Bible is not read or taught in it, than it can be to schools of phonography, telegraphy, or art, because the Bible is not taught or read in them. The place for the Bible to be read and taught is in the home, the denominational school, and the church.—*Home Missionary.*

Baptists Oppose It.

ACCORDING to *The Christian Index and Southern Baptist*, Baptists are opposed to teaching religion in the public schools. That paper in its issue of February 27, says:—

Baptists are uncompromisingly opposed to union of Church and State. Whenever and whenever this contest has arisen they have invariably stood on the side of liberty of conscience, and, if need be, have sealed, with their blood, their undying devotion to this principle. The State must not maintain a religious establishment. The public schools are forbidden to teach religion. In them the Bible is practically ignored. The children who attend these schools represent parents of every shade of religious belief. Some are Gentiles, others are Jews. Some are Calvinists, others are Arminians. Some are Trinitarians, others are Unitarians. Some want God, Christ, and the Bible recognized, others want neither God, Christ nor the Bible mentioned. What is to be done? Education alone, makes men neither moral nor religious. The remedy is to be found in the family, and in the denominational school. Fathers and mothers, in the early years of childhood must do the work of religious instruction and training.

The Kansas City "Journal" on National Reform.

UNDER the title of "God in the Constitution," the *Kansas City Journal*, of January 22, has the following which is worth reading and remembering:—

This is a subject that is discussed from various standpoints, but mainly from theologic and anti-theologic premises, which excite all the antagonisms and animosities of the religious conflicts of past times. We are at once taken back to the times and spirit of the Middle Ages, and Hallam's summary of that epoch furnishes the coloring of one side or the other, more than the ideas of Paine, Franklin, Jefferson, and the men who kept our American civil ideals free from this master element of discord among the people of the earth.

It is a mistaken issue. It is not whether there is a God, or whether there is not. It is not a question of a Creator or of a creative power—and above all it is not a question between theism and atheism. But it is a question of the introduction into our organic law of a problem that does not apply to the practical affairs of life, but is merely the opinion of this or that man or organization of men as to the conditions of a life after this one—of a question that no one mind can think or settle for another, any more than it can sense the palate of another. It is not a practical question at all—at best it is a hypothetical one and can never be settled, because no precedent can be availed of to know.

For example, we can tell whether or no universal suffrage works to the betterment or detriment of society, but we cannot feel or sense how a belief in one God or three Gods, or three in one, affects the tariff or the land question. They do not settle these, one way or the other, but to vote on them does. The form in which so-called religion has entered into these questions may well be illustrated in the formula so familiar to everyone: "Resolved that the earth belongs to the Lord for the use of his saints. Resolved, that we are the saints." This has been and is to-day the practical application and working of "God in the Constitution" of every form of government on earth, where religion has been recognized as a thing of the State.

It goes without saying, in this last decade of the nineteenth century, that every man, and woman and child is a member of society with equal natural rights. These natural rights are easily and clearly defined—the right to life, the right to liberty and the right to pursue happiness, each for himself. Now, the conditions of happiness cover all the rest. Holding property and its protection is a tangible thing in society, and these cover all the material things conducive to happiness in this world—all else is embraced under what we call liberty—the action of the mind—of the real man. The moment you

use material power to control or coerce this freedom of mind that moment you introduce tyranny, discord and strife—because you have interfered with the most important right of humanity.

It is not the recognition of God that is involved—for no mature, sane mind, whether savage or civilized, ever denied the existence of the creative power or the wisdom that is expressed through worlds. And it is about time the intelligent world resented the canting superiority assumed by ignorance and craft—that there are such things as "infidels" and "atheists" in the world. The worst form of infidelity or atheism the world has ever known is that which denies to man the right to his God-given freedom to think and to be what his best thought can make him. It is time that the assumption of any authority to say what "sin" is, should be branded with what it is—infidelity to God and man. The free, the real worshippers of God—those who do as Jesus did—worship the Creator by doing good to his created, should assert themselves and no longer beg the question from anybody.

The ecclesiastical world has so long forced man into a false position that it has become almost hereditary with us to concede them some sort of authority in such matters. There is no authority in this world older or superior to the people themselves—and the people derive authority of the individual himself. Society is only the delegated authority of the individual. Self-preservation is the first law of nature. To make this effective, men agree to exercise this law collectively. This is what we call government—and it is all there is. How can we worship God otherwise than in this recognition of natural justice—for it is all we are capable of expressing in action. So the highest worship of God is the highest development of good in man. Now those who deny this are the infidels, those who seek to disturb or overthrow that condition, the atheists. This is all of the teachings of Jesus, and it is about time those who agree with that teaching and assert it as a foundation of human government should assert their true position, and let those who have transformed them into a set of metaphysical doctrines and opinions understand that the matter in question is understood. This assumption by traditional ignorance and tyranny must be done away with, and given to understand that the intelligent portion of mankind have got to know their true position—that it is simply a usurped authority, teaching in the name of Jesus, not only what he did not teach, but perverting his whole scheme of teaching. The nearest formula, as to human conduct, to the teachings of Jesus is found in the Declaration of Independence; and the Constitution of the United States is the embodiment, as near as may be, of those principles in the management of organized society.

This is the true God in the Constitution—the freedom of the individual. Now, how are we going to improve upon it by putting "God" into this instrument? "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto the least of these, ye have done it unto me." To the least of men the Constitution has done it—and that is all the God that can be put in it. It is full of God now, and to put any one man's God in it takes out of it the God of all men. That states the question about as clearly as need be. The bloody record of religious persecutions and wars is but the history of attempts to put the God of somebody into the constitution of society to the exclusion of the God of everybody. The conception itself is narrow, it is born of ignorance, and the attempt is but a form of intolerance.

Why?

WHY should *anything* based upon the word of God ask for support other than that word? It cannot. It is only when we realize weakness in ourselves that we look elsewhere for support. When the Church asks the civil power to compel people to yield obedience to her ordinances, then those ordinances have become *forms*, and forms only, lacking in power to affect the heart, and inspire the life.

This is no less true of one ordinance than of another. Shall civil power compel people to be baptized and join the Church? No! Then, shall it compel people to keep the Sabbath? If the Church has lost her power to convert the heart, so that it shall yield *willing* obedience to her Lord; if she must ask civil power to compel service to her forms; then how sadly yet truly are the words of Paul being fulfilled, "Having a *form* of godliness but denying the *power* thereof."

MRS. M. J. BAHLER.

Oakland, Cal.

In speaking of the last days of the Roman Republic, Tacitus remarks that "laws were not made for the public only; but for particular men,"—the idea being that the public good was not the first thought, but that political advantage took precedence, and that those who had the making of the laws would play into the hands of particular men, or classes of men, in order to secure their support: and that, on the other hand, particular men or classes looked only to their own interests, to their own advantage, and not to the public good.

To any one who has watched the course of legislation in the United States for the last few years, it will not be difficult to detect the growth of a condition of things which is becoming more and more precisely parallel with that to which Tacitus refers. It is becoming more and more a serious fact that in our Legislatures, laws are not made for the public only, but for particular men.

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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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In the Senate, April 23 and 24, petitions were presented in favor of the Sunday-rest Bill, by Senators Quay of Pennsylvania, Spooner of Wisconsin, Frye of Maine, Reagan of Texas, Ransom of North Carolina, Butler of South Carolina, Dawes of Massachusetts, Harris of Tennessee, Blair of New Hampshire, Teller of Colorado, Sherman of Ohio, Pierce of North Dakota, Dixon of Rhode Island, Cockrell of Missouri, Turpie of Indiana, Pasco of Florida, Farwell of Illinois, Evarts of New York, Wilson of Maryland, and Payne of Ohio.

In the *Record*, these petitions are variously characterized, as follows: "A petition of citizens of Pennsylvania;" "A petition of 287 citizens of Wisconsin;" "A petition containing the signatures of 40 citizens of New Mexico;" "What purports to be a petition praying for the passage of a Sunday-rest Bill. It is stated that it was indorsed by 184 people in a mass-meeting of citizens of Dallas, Texas, and indorsed by 190 people in a mass-meeting of citizens of Gainesville, Texas. Somebody signs it, saying that it was indorsed, but it is without the names of the petitioners;" "A petition of 33 citizens of South Carolina;" "A petition of 99 citizens of Massachusetts;" "The petition of the Superintendent of the Cumberland Presbyterian Sunday schools at Lebanon, Tennessee, representing 75 citizens;" "Petition of Lambert S. Wood, of Missoula, Montana, representing labor organizations in that State;" "Petition of 75 members of the Second Congregational Church of Denver, Colorado;" "A petition with 1157 representative indorsements of the citizens of Ohio;" "A petition of 60 members of the Methodist Episcopal church of Rhode Island;" "Petitions collected by the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union, . . . containing 96 signatures from Missouri;" "A petition of 202 citizens of Indiana, collected by the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union;" "A petition of 234 citizens

of Kansas;" "A petition of 44 members of the First Baptist church of Pensacola, Florida;" "A petition of 376 citizens of Indiana;" "A petition of over 400 citizens of New York;" "A petition of 135 members of the Hampden Presbyterian Church of Baltimore, Maryland;" "A petition of citizens of North Dakota;" and "A petition of 550 citizens of Ohio."

The above testimony of the *Congressional Record* for only two days, bears witness to the persistency of those who favor the passage of the religious bills now before Congress, in urging these measures upon the attention of Congressmen.

HON. WILLIAM C. OATES, of Alabama, said, in the House of Representatives, on April 16, while speaking upon the bill "to define and regulate the jurisdiction of the Courts of the United States:"—

There is one alarming feature in the tendency of the times, in the tendency of Congress, and in the tendency of our Federal judiciary, and that is, towards the centralization of Federal power.

Why, Mr. Speaker, let any man look at the number of bills that are brought before Congress at every session, that are properly within the jurisdiction which Congress has assumed, and see how utterly impossible it is for Congress, even if it sat from year's end to year's end, to give consideration to even one third of them, and let him in all candor say whither we are tending. How are you going to administer the affairs of your Government in its present form, if this tendency to the enlargement of its jurisdiction is to go on? It behooves every lover of this country to cut down Federal jurisdiction instead of enlarging it, if he would preserve and perpetuate our Government and its blessings for the benefit of posterity.

And yet it is proposed by Senator Blair, in his Educational Bill, that, in consideration of \$77,000,000 in hand paid, the States should surrender their public-school systems to the virtual censorship of the general Government, and constitute the Secretary of the Interior and the Commissioner of Education, a governmental educational Bureau for the oversight of school interests of the United States. Then, in the educational amendment to the Constitution, offered by the same Senator, it is expressly indicated what shall be the character of the public schools which each State shall establish, and what shall be taught therein, with a provision that Congress may enforce its requirements by legislation, when necessary. More than this, in the Sunday-rest Bill, Congress has been asked to take paternal charge of the "Sunday observance" of all persons under its exclusive jurisdiction, in its mail and military service, in inter-State commerce, on the high seas, and throughout the world.

DISTRICT SECRETARY C. MC REYNOLDS, of Kansas, writes a very encouraging letter from Winfield, in his State. National Reform and Sabbath Union workers have been very active there the past few weeks, but their efforts have developed able and intelligent opposition, in some very unexpected quarters.

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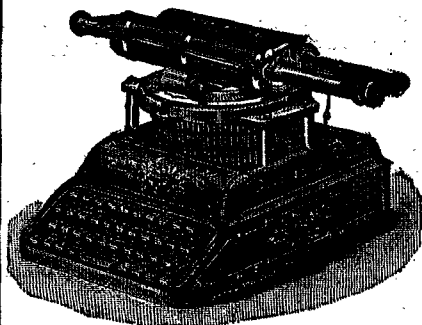
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SUNDAY, April 20, in Salt Lake City, what seems to have been a sort of mass-meeting was held to consider "The obligation of the civil authorities to protect the American Sabbath." The meeting was addressed by Rev. Doctors Vincent, Duff, Thrall and McNeice. The Sunday movement is more than holding its own as a question of national influence.

SUNDAY night, May 4, the Rev. A. B. Kendig, D. D., pastor of the Hanson Place Methodist Episcopal Church, Brooklyn, New York, spoke on the "National Importance of the Sabbath." One of his statements in regard to those who oppose Sunday laws was this: "We must say to them, 'If you put your finger upon the Sabbath, you die from among your fellows.'" The gospel of the Sunday-law preachers is altogether a gospel of force.

It is stated that the late persecution of the Jews in Vienna became so dangerous to all shopkeepers that the city recently appeared covered with such signs as "I am a Christian Tradesman," "Christian Brandy Shop," "Christian Cheesemonger," "Christian Old Clothes Shop." And that is just what we would see in this country should the hopes of the National Reformers be realized. Every thing would be metaphorically labelled, "Christian." Every corrupt politician and political "boss" in the country would be a "Christian;" we might reasonably expect the "conversion" of Tammany *en masse*, and boodlers and boodlers would rule the "Church" just as they now manipulate the wards.

THE New York *World* lately secured a unique kind of an interview with United States Senator Ingalls, by which it secured the Senator's views on a goodly number of interesting questions. The Senator's statement on one point touches a matter to which we have called attention in these columns considerably of late; that is, the drift toward paternalism in Government. He said:—

It begins to appear as if individuals had no rights or no private business which the Government was bound to respect. The injustice of society and the inequality of conditions have given an enormous impulse to the idea of nationalism, the control of all economic agencies by the direct interposition of the Government. This is the logical reaction from

individualism, on which our system was founded. The hope that political equality would result in the destruction of poverty and in social fraternity has not been realized. There are larger private fortunes; there is greater political power in fewer hands; in other words, there is more tyranny in the Republic than in a monarchy. The strongest succeeds more rapidly and more readily here because liberty being common to all, there are no restraints and limitations to overcome. The demand now is, therefore, not that all shall be free, but that all shall be restrained from the full exercise of their faculties and from the enjoyment of their acquisitions.

THE Society of Working Girls held a convention in this city several days ago, and in the convention it was stated that in Philadelphia a girls' class in stained glass had been stopped by the Glass Workers' Union, upon which the *Independent* justly remarks:—

"This is an extraordinary statement. We can hardly imagine how it could be done except by terrorizing the teacher who may have been a member of the Glass Workers' Union. The Union which attempts to prevent children from learning trades, which fights against its own sons and daughters is cowardly and silly as well. The hope of the country rests in the education of its youth into intelligent bread-winning activities."

ANOTHER important statement made by Senator Ingalls in the *World* interview is the following; it is strictly true and is worthy of careful consideration by those who now are making so much of what they choose to call "Christianity" in politics:—

The purification of politics is an iridescent dream. Government is force. Politics is a battle for supremacy. Parties are the armies. The decalogue and the golden rule have no place in a political campaign. The object is success. To defeat the antagonist and expel the party in power is the purpose. The Republicans and Democrats are as irreconcilably opposed to each other as were Grant and Lee in the Wilderness. They use ballots instead of guns, but the struggle is as unrelenting and desperate and the result sought for the same. In war it is lawful to deceive the adversary, to hire Hessians, to purchase mercenaries, to mutilate, to kill, to destroy. The commander who lost a battle through the activity of his moral nature would be the derision and jest of history.

SOME time ago the SENTINEL expressed its gratification that the Young Men's Christian Association had kept itself clear of all the religio-political movements that have arisen. We are now compelled to retract that statement, at least so far as the Young Men's Christian Association of California is concerned. It seems that the leader of the State Sunday-Law Association there, is a member of the Young Men's Christian Association, and in his work he assumes to wield the political power of that Association in favor of candidates for the Legislature who will pledge themselves in favor of a Sunday law.

From the *Republican* of Fresno City, California, April 22, 1890, we clip the

following editorial note which explains the situation, and which is important upon more than this particular point of the Sunday-law issue:—

When Dr. Edward Thompson outlined the policy of the Young Men's Christian Association in politics, on Sunday evening in his lecture on the "Necessity of a Sunday Law," he gave the Association a responsibility which will cause it considerable trouble, accepting the lecturer's statement as correct. In regard to the coming political contest in this State the speaker said that while the Association was not a political one in any sense, still they proposed to make their influence felt, by waiting until after legislative candidates were nominated, then they would go to the dominant party and ask its candidate to pledge himself to vote for a Sunday law. In case he would do so they would vote for him, but should he refuse, the energies of voting members of the Young Men's Christian Association would be united to encompass his defeat. The public at large would like to know if the speaker was authorized to reflect the sentiment of the Fresno branch of the Association.

THE Philadelphia Sabbath Association held its Fiftieth Anniversary, Sunday and Monday, April 27 and 28. Rev. Dr. J. A. Hoyt, pastor of the Chambers Presbyterian Church, delivered the speech of welcome, in which he said:—

How strange that an institution born with the creation, adorned with moral law and brightened with the light of the resurrection, should need support! Yet it is so, like that other sacred institution of the past, marriage. Man has trampled upon both, and it is necessary to make an effort to force men to realize the great gift of God.

This is just what we have been telling the people for years. We have known all the time that the Sunday-law movement was only an effort to force men to recognize God and the religious obligations of Sunday. Just how much force will be required to cause men fully and properly to realize the great gift of God, Mr. Hoyt did not attempt to tell. That doubtless is left for consideration when the law, and the power to use such force, shall have been obtained. Then how much force shall be used can readily be decided by the ecclesiastical managers.

ALMOST every speech that is made by those who are prominent in the Sunday-law movement, more fully illustrates the truth that those professed ministers of the gospel have forgotten what the gospel is.

IN proportion as the ecclesiastics become co-legislators, heresies become civil crimes, and liable to civil punishments.—*Dean Milman.*

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VOLUME 5.

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The American Sentinel.

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PACIFIC PRESS PUBLISHING COMPANY,

No. 43 BOND ST., NEW YORK.

EDITOR, - - - ALONZO T. JONES.

ASSOCIATE EDITORS,

C. P. BOLLMAN,

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“MORAL questions,” says the National Reform Declaration of Principles, “cannot be determined by majorities; otherwise morals might be reversed at every election.” This is true and it is just the reason why civil Government has no business to meddle with morals. We marvel that all cannot see this. Government can and should require all men to practice civility, but morality is beyond the jurisdiction of earthly governments and earthly courts.

THE *Christian Statesman* mentions the “explicit Christian tone” of the prayers in Congress, and then says:—

They are the official and formal acknowledgment of the Christian religion by the Legislature of the Nation. If the decision of the Supreme Court of Wisconsin, that the Bible is a sectarian book, is good American doctrine, then these prayers are also sectarian.

Precisely. That is just what they are; and to take the public money with which to pay for such prayers is to appropriate public funds to sectarian uses. Congress has no more right to spend the public money for this purpose than it has to build a Christian meeting-house, or to pay for the preaching of Christian sermons.

SOME people of Toronto, Canada, sent an address to the Emperor of Germany exhorting him to break loose from all connection with the Pope, and expressing the hope that he has been “chosen of God to strike Romanism its fatal blow.” They tell him if he will do this and “march at the head of the advance thought of the hour,” that he “shall be more than the

Emperor of Germany.” He shall, in short, “be one of the leaders of the embattled hosts of God on earth.”

We should like to know where these Toronto folks get their authority to appoint leaders of the hosts of God on earth. But from the letter which the Emperor lately wrote to the Pope, we rather think that this exhortation of the people of Toronto will not be given that weight by the Emperor that they would like to have it; even though it be at the risk of the splendid possibilities portrayed in the promise which they make to him.

Righteousness and the State.

THE *Christian Union* of April 24, set forth a short catechism on the subject of religion and the public schools, with the purpose of getting the reader committed to the sanction of religious instruction by the State. The catechism was somewhat involved however, and to make its point clearer, in the issue for May 1, it put the case in the following form:—

Ought the State to inculcate righteousness in its public schools? For ourselves, we have no hesitation in saying that it has no right to maintain any public schools which do not inculcate righteousness.

We suppose that the *Christian Union* means the right kind of righteousness. Let us see therefore what this is, and how it is obtained; then we will be better prepared to understand whether the State can make a success of inculcating righteousness. Jesus Christ directed all people to “seek first the kingdom of God and his righteousness.” It is therefore, the righteousness of God, that men are to seek. This only is the right kind of righteousness. Any righteousness which comes short of that, is not genuine righteousness,—in short it is not righteousness at all. The State, therefore, in order to inculcate the right kind of righteousness, must inculcate the righteousness of God, and to do that there will have to be a State recognition of the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, which, in other words, would be the State recognition,

of the State establishment, of Christianity. None but Christians could have any part in the Government; none but Christians could have any part as instructors in the public schools; Christians only would be qualified to have any part in the affairs of State, and such Christians only as possess the righteousness of God, in order that they might instruct the ungodly by every possible example, in the way of righteousness. That, it is seen at once, would be to turn the State into a Church; the Church and the State would be identical. But that did not work well when it was tried before, and it would work no better now. This single point shows plainly enough that it is impossible for the State to undertake the inculcation of righteousness. So much for the *kind* of righteousness which men must have.

Now a few words as to how only that righteousness can be obtained. How is it made known to men? We read “I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ: for it is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth; to the Jew first, and also to the Greek. For therein is the righteousness of God revealed.” This righteousness therefore is revealed in the gospel of Christ, and in that only. For the State therefore, to undertake to make known righteousness to the children in school, or to anybody anywhere else, it would necessarily have to take charge of the gospel of Christ, and expound that *as such* to the people. This it is seen again would at once turn the State into a Church, and Church and State would be identical.

Having found what kind of righteousness it is that men must have, and how that righteousness is made known, next, how is it acquired by individuals when made known to them? How does it become their own? Again we read: “Now the righteousness of God without the law is manifested, being witnessed by the law and the prophets, even the righteousness of God which is by faith of Jesus Christ unto all and upon all them that believe, for there is no difference.” And let us read Romans 1: 16, 17, again: “I am not

ashamed of the gospel of Christ: for it is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth; to the Jew first, and also to the Greek. For therein is the righteousness of God revealed; *from faith to faith*: as it is written, *the just [the righteous] shall live by faith*.

Once more we read, "As by the disobedience of one many were made sinners, so by the obedience of one shall many be made righteous." Rom. 5:19. It is by the obedience of Christ that men are made righteous, and not by their own obedience; it is by his righteousness that men are made righteous; for he it is "whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation through faith in his blood *to declare his righteousness* for the remission of sins that are past." Romans 3:25. Therefore "To him that worketh not but believeth on him that justifieth the ungodly *his faith is counted for righteousness*; even as David describeth the blessedness of the man to whom God *imputeth* righteousness without works." Rom. 4:5, 6.

Thus it is manifest that it is only by faith in Christ that righteousness can be obtained. Therefore for the State to inculcate righteousness, it would necessarily have to inculcate faith in Jesus Christ. This again would be but to turn the State into a Church. But if the State is to do this, what shall the Church do? If the State becomes the Church, then where shall the Church itself appear?

More than this, when the gospel is preached to men and they receive it, there is another step to be taken. Christ said "Go ye therefore and teach all nations, *baptizing them* in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." And, again, "Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature; he that believeth *and is baptized*, shall be saved, but he that believeth not shall be damned." Thus, in order to be righteous, it is essential that a person shall have faith in Christ. In order to manifest acceptable faith in him, it is essential that that person should be baptized, and thus further it is seen that, in order to inculcate righteousness, the State must become the Church, but such a thing as that is impossible; the State cannot become the Church, and as certain as it is that the State cannot become the Church, so certain it is that the State can never inculcate righteousness.

The very few scriptures which we have here cited are sufficient to show the wild absurdity of the statement of the *Christian Union*. We might fill columns of this paper with scriptures to the same effect, but these are sufficient to show how utterly impossible it is for the State to inculcate righteousness, and it is most singular indeed how the *Christian Union* could ever seriously make such a suggestion. The State knows no such thing as righteousness; it never can know it; and never knowing it, it is certain that it never can teach it.

There is, indeed, another kind of righteousness that the Scriptures tell about, that is, self-righteousness, but it is hardly to be supposed that the *Christian Union* means that the State ought to inculcate self-righteousness upon the minds of the children. The only two kinds of righteousness that exist are God's righteousness and self-righteousness. The State cannot inculcate God's righteousness; it ought not to inculcate self-righteousness; therefore the State can never have anything to do with the inculcation of righteousness.

A. T. J.

"Appropriate" Sunday Reading.

THE President of the American Sabbath Union, Mr. Elliott F. Shepard, is down on Sunday newspapers. More, to read a Sunday newspaper is desperately wicked, yet in the issue of his own paper, the *Mail and Express*, for April 12, he says:—

The advertising world will please take notice that Saturday's *Mail and Express* has the largest circulation of the week. Those who do not like to buy a newspaper on Sunday, buy our Saturday issue, knowing that in it will be found some reading appropriate for Sunday.

Indeed! Then it seems that it is not the fact that the paper is *read* on Sunday that constitutes the evil, but that it is *bought* on Sunday; because to buy the *Mail and Express* on Saturday, and read it on Sunday is commendable! Well, for that matter, there are very few of the Sunday papers that are actually bought on Sunday. Doubtless nine out of every ten of them are paid for by the week, or by the month, and are never paid for on Sunday; and it is certain that they are not printed on Sunday.

And even the plea that the Sunday paper keeps people away from church is annihilated by Mr. Shepard's statement; because the reading of a Saturday paper can keep people away from church just as well as the reading of a Sunday paper. It is true that the *Mail and Express* is not as large as the Sunday papers, yet the Saturday issue in which this statement is found, has eight large pages with much closely printed matter upon them and in small type, which makes about as much reading as a person could well get through with Sunday forenoon between breakfast and dinner time.

Then, as to the quality of the Sunday reading. It is claimed that when people do read the Sunday paper and go to church, their minds are so illy prepared for the worship that it is almost impossible for the preacher, with all his efforts, and all the services put together, to overcome the evil influence. Now is the Saturday's *Mail and Express* of so altogether pious a character as to be a help to Sunday worship when read on Sunday? Let us see.

On the first page, besides the general foreign and domestic political news, we

find a report of the principal English horse race; a report of a suit for divorce; a report of a malicious prosecution; and two liquor advertisements.

On the second page a letter from Rome occupies nearly a column; a half column of matter is given to the Grant Monument; then comes real estate gossip, "Social Chitchat," quotations of bonds, railroad and bank stocks, etc.

The third page has four columns of reading matter, three columns of which are devoted to horse races, base ball and such like; and the rest of these four columns is filled up with a story under the head of "A Crime at Sea." The rest of that page is advertisements.

Then comes the editorial page, beginning with this scripture:—

Forbearing one another and forgiving one another, if any man have a quarrel against any; even as Christ forgave you, so also do ye.

Then come the editorials, headed "Foolish Surrender to Chicago;" "A Hoodlum Bill;" "Let Them Join a Democratic Club;" "The Dummy Rapid Transit Commission;" "Another Important Saxton Bill;" "To Advertisers;" "Great Cry, Little Wool;" "The Jersey City Investigation;" "The Kara Flogging Case;" and "The Republic of Brazil." In the editorial to advertisers is the recommendation that the people read the *Mail and Express* on Sunday. Then comes a letter from Senator Blair on the absurdity of the outcry about Religious Liberty, and kindred stuff. Then miscellaneous matter, poetry, and line items, closing up the page with seven advertisements, one of which is of whiskey, and another is of that brand of champagne which seems to be the favorite of the *Mail and Express*.

The fifth page is devoted to miscellaneous matter about "Life in New York," "Spring Fashions," "Reminiscences," "Ghosts," etc., with nearly two columns of advertisements, amongst which is one of liquor.

The sixth page has a column and a half interview with Patti upon "How to Train the Voice;" a two column interview with Dr. Depew on "The New South;" and something over two columns of miscellaneous matter about a certain humorist, tornadoes, hotels, etc. The rest of the page, a little over two columns, is devoted to advertisements, amongst which is another one of a certain brand of "good whiskey."

The seventh page reading matter is devoted to "The Religious World." Three columns are filled with a sermon; "A Typical Papist Prayer;" "News and Opinion;" then nearly two columns of church notices. The rest of the page, three and a half columns, is filled with advertisements, without any of liquor.

The eighth and last page has the first column filled with an account of a strike, Moody's Work, Base Ball Games, a Grand Ball, a Fair, and other items. The second column is filled with gossip about the the-

atres and opera. The third column is devoted to temperance, a boxing match, and a pugilistic challenge. The fourth column is devoted to the Social World, Dinners, Weddings, etc. The fifth column has an interview with a humorist, followed by three minor items of local matters. Then comes about a column and a half of general advertisements; and nearly a whole column of advertisements of theatres and shows.

And that is the kind of a paper that is to take the place of the Sunday paper! That is the kind of a paper that is appropriate for Sunday reading. But anybody who has ever read any of the great Sunday dailies, knows that in point of real worth, they are as far ahead of the *Mail and Express* as needs to be imagined. It is true that Mr. Shepard only says that in his paper there will be found *some* reading appropriate for Sunday; but that is just as true of any Sunday paper that was ever issued. And it is certain that in the average Sunday paper there is more reading that is appropriate for Sunday, and is easier found, than there is in Mr. Shepard's paper. But whether there is or not, or whatever the reading is, our readers can now form an estimate of what kind of a paper it is that, according to the view of the President of the American Sabbath Union, can appropriately be read on Sunday. And by this they can form their own estimate of the cry that is made by the American Sabbath Union against the Sunday newspaper. A. T. J

How Far They Propose to Carry It.

IN an article on this subject in last week's SENTINEL, it was shown by quotations from an article in the *Christian Statesman*, by Rev. N. R. Johnston, that under the proposed National Reform Government "the whole moral law as summed up in the ten commandments, and the whole moral Mosaic penal code, would be the rule of action in Congress, in State Legislatures, and in the courts of justice." It was also shown by the same authority, that these so-called reformers expect by this means to "keep out of office all ungodly and wicked men," that is all who make no profession of Christianity, and that they propose that idol worship, profanity, blasphemy, Sabbath breaking, disobedience to parents, intemperance, polygamy, adultery, prostitution, gambling, etc., shall "be punished as the divine law requires." It is the purpose of the present article to examine this matter a little and see what, according to their own showing, would be the nature of the punishments which National Reformers would in the event of securing the much-coveted power, inflict upon those whom they should adjudge guilty of violation of the divine law.

Blasphemy is one of the sins which Mr. Johnston says would, under the National

Reform *regime*, be punished "as the divine law requires." But first what is blasphemy? Blasphemy is defined by Webster as:—

An indignity offered to God by words or writing; reproachful, contemptuous, or irreverent words uttered impiously against God.

Profanity, Webster defines thus:—

The quality or character of being profane; profaneness; irreverence; especially the use of profane language; blasphemy.

It appears, therefore, that in the common acceptance of the word, blasphemy is synonymous with profanity; yet Mr. Johnston enumerates profanity as though it were another and different sin. It follows that he must have purposed by the use of the word blasphemy, which in his list of sins to be punished by the State occurs after the word profanity, to convey an additional meaning not contained in the word profanity. Let us then inquire what that meaning is. After giving his own definition of blasphemy, Webster quotes the following from Bouvier:—

Blasphemy is to attribute to God that which is contrary to his nature, and does not belong to him, and to deny what does.

In this sense every man who has a different conception of God from that which his neighbor has, blasphemes, in the estimation of that neighbor, if he gives expression to that conception. Thus, in the eyes of the Trinitarian, the Unitarian blasphemes when he denies the divinity of Christ and the personality of the Holy Spirit. Likewise, the literalist blasphemes, according to the generally accepted idea of God, when he teaches that God is a literal being having body, parts, and passions. The atheist also blasphemes when he denies the existence of an intelligence commonly known as God, no matter how chaste the words in which that denial may be expressed. Thus, in the sense contained in Bouvier's definition, blasphemy is the assertion of some conception of the Deity which conflicts with the generally accepted conception of the divine Being, or the denial of the prevailing, or legal, conception of that Being. This must be what Mr. Johnston means by the use of the word since it is all that is contained in it more than is contained in the word profanity, which he had previously used in the same enumeration of sins.

Let us then inquire how, under the proposed National Reform system of government, this crime of differing from the majority or from the powers that be as to the being and attributes of Deity would be punished. Mr. Johnston says, "As required by the divine law." Turning then to that law we read (Lev. 24: 16):—

And he that blasphemeth the name of the Lord, he shall surely be put to death, and all the congregation shall certainly stone him: as well the stranger, as he that is born in the land, when he blasphemeth the name of the Lord, shall be put to death.

Death by stoning is then the penalty

which National Reform would inflict for blasphemy, an offense which consists only in thoughts and words either written or spoken. And yet Mr. Johnston and his friends have been very much grieved in the past, because they have been accused of desiring a union of Church and State, and because it has been asserted that in the event of their movement being successful persecution for conscience' sake must result.

Profanity, by which we presume is meant profane swearing, or cursing, is also punishable by death by stoning, as will appear by reference to Leviticus 24: 10, 14. Death was also the penalty for Sabbath breaking (Num. 15: 32-36), for adultery (Lev. 20: 10), for disobedience to parents (Deut. 21: 19-21), and for idolatry (Deut. 11: 6-10). According to Mr. Johnston all these would, therefore, under the proposed National Reform Government, be punished by stoning to death.

But some of the sins which Mr. Johnston says would "be punished as the divine law requires," were permitted under the theocracy, and no punishment is specified for them in the Old Testament. Polygamy, for instance, was quite common in Old Testament times, and it is only in the light of the New Testament that it clearly appears as sin. It follows that if our Reform friends punish polygamy "as the divine law requires" they must punish it according to that which shows it to be sin. Let us see how this would be.

According to the New Testament polygamy is adultery, and by referring to Matthew, 5: 27-30, and comparing it with Mark 9: 43-48 it will be seen that according to the teaching of Christ adultery is punishable by casting into hell fire. The original word used here is *gehenna*. This is supposed by many to refer to a place of eternal torment, but primarily it referred, as stated by Greenfield, to "the valley of Hinnom, South of Jerusalem, once celebrated for the horrid worship of Moloch, and afterwards polluted with every species of filth, as well as the carcasses of animals and dead bodies of malefactors; to consume which, in order to avert the pestilence which such a mass of corruption would occasion, constant fires were kept burning." This makes it clear that that form, at least, of adultery which is clearly shown only by the New Testament to be adultery, must be punished by burning, if it is to be punished "as the divine law requires." And since the fires in the Valley of Hinnom are long since extinct, and men have not access to the lake of fire supposed to be typified by those fires, it follows that they who would attempt to punish sins as the divine law of the New Testament requires, must kindle their own fires just as they were kindled in the sixteenth century at Smithfield to punish violations of the divine law as expounded by the Papal Church and administered by Bloody Mary.

It is no wonder that Mr. Johnston thinks that this "would tend powerfully to the suppression of existing evil." Powerful remedies are expected to exert a powerful influence; but in this case it is more than doubtful if the influence would be that which the National Reformers imagine that it would be. 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 great trouble with these men is that they fail to distinguish between moral government and civil government, between the government of God and human governments, between a divinely established and divinely administered theocracy, and a man-made and humanly administered counterfeit theocracy. In a true theocracy God himself is the ruler; in a man-made theocracy men rule in the name of God, but not by his authority, just as popes and kings ruled in the Dark Ages till "drunken with the blood of saints and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus."

National Reformers have denied that persecution would result from the success of their movement, but in the light of such statements as those published from time to time in the *Christian Statesman*, and of which Mr. Johnston's utterances are only a fair sample, such denials amount to nothing, and the fact remains that the logic of their scheme stops nothing short of the fagot and the stake. Of course they would not call it persecution; the Catholics never persecuted; they only adjudged people to be guilty of violation of the civil law and then turned them over to the civil authorities to be punished for the good of the State, and as a warning to evil doers. And this is just what the National Reformers propose. They would not persecute; no, not they; they would only have the civil authorities put people to death for not agreeing with the majority in matters of religion.

Nor is this, bad as it is, the worst feature of this proposed Reform government. The divine law, they say, is to be made the rule of action in the courts of justice. That is, the meaning and the scope of the divine law are to be determined by civil tribunals; and not only so but they must decide what constitutes violations of the divine law. And as that law takes cognizance not only of outward acts but of the thoughts and intents of the heart (Heb. 4: 12; Matt. 5: 21-28); it follows, therefore, that under the proposed National Reform regime men are to be constituted judges, not only of human actions and words, but of human thoughts as well, with power to punish, even to the death, thoughts which

they may judge to be contrary to the divine law. It was this same principle followed to its logical conclusion that gave rise to the Inquisition; and it must result in bitter persecution wherever followed, for human nature has not changed. It matters not that men are honest, that they really think that they are doing God service. The Saviour said to his followers, "The time cometh that whosoever killeth you will think that he doeth God service." That was literally true in the Dark Ages and it may be even so again. No man can be assured that he will not become a persecutor unless he steadily refuses all power over the consciences of his fellow-men, and sternly represses within his own heart the first risings of desires to coerce others in matters of duty toward God. The National Reformers are demanding authority which belongs alone to God. Should they ever attain it, they would exercise it just as such power has always been exercised by those who usurped it. The spirit of compulsion is always and everywhere opposed to the Spirit of Christ, and so far as the National Reformers cherish it they are anti-Christian.

C. P. B.

The Flaw.

THE object of the National Reform Association is stated to be "the maintenance of the existing Christian features of our national life. The Association is opposed to union of Church and State, on the one hand, and the secularized or atheistic State, on the other hand."

The flaw in this very subtle statement, is in the last sentence. The supposition that the individuals who compose a secular State or Government, are necessarily atheists, is absurd. Neither is a secular State an atheistic State; nor a secular condition necessarily an atheistic condition. Every man, so long as he exists in this world and accepts its social and political responsibilities, must be a part of secular Government and a secular State. He may profess Christianity or atheism, still his secular, worldly duties to his fellow-man remain unaltered. Nations and States are secular and transitory; they are not of the spiritual world or eternal. Neither the District of Columbia, nor the State of Pennsylvania, nor the United States of America will rise in the resurrection. Neither the passage of Sunday laws, nor the insertion of the name of God in the Constitution can give eternal life to a legal fiction, or assure to it any such possibility.

Christianity or atheism can only be attributed to individuals, governmental units, and not to the composite body politic. Were that not the case, all would be lost, for, so long as there is an unrepented sin, the sinner is lost. Therefore, if Christianity or atheism can be attributed to the State, so long as there is one unrepentant sinner, the State is lost. Are

the National Reformers willing to accept the inevitable logic of their position?

Let us analyze that sentence: "The Association is opposed to union of Church and State, on one hand, and the secularized and atheistic State, on the other hand." The construction shows the opposition to be expressed against two things—"union of Church and State," and a "secularized or atheistic State." The expressions, "on the one hand," and "on the other hand," corroborate the evidence of the grammatical construction, and show that the intent of the sentence is in accord with its grammar. Therefore, in the mind of the writer, "secularized" and "atheistic" are virtually synonymous.

A State is necessarily secularized from its inception, inaugurated for, and dedicated to, worldly matters and purposes, not spiritualized and set apart for unworldly uses; and so the term "secularized," as applied to the State, is a proper one. The State can never be anything else. But the citizens who compose, create, and give force to the secular government, may be, and many are, God-fearing men and women.

An "atheistic State," however, would be a very different thing. Strictly, it would be a State officially and legally denying the existence of God.

Therefore the language of the sentence is at variance with the construction and its modifying phrases, and the opposition expressed, is against three things, instead of two,—"union of Church and State" a "secularized State," and an "atheistic State." With the opposition to the first, all well-informed Christians will agree. With the opposition to the second, none but anarchists will sympathize, for the abolition of secular government would do away with all government. The third, all intelligent men should recognize as in rhetoric a mere figment, and in fact a nonentity.

W. H. M.

On Account of Religion.

America says that in 1885 Foster North, of Kewanee, Illinois, was expelled from the State University of Illinois, for refusing to attend religious exercises in the chapel, and that now, on the strength of the Wisconsin decision, he has entered suit to have himself re-instated as a student. We wonder that he did not enter such suit long ago; it certainly was proper for him to do so the very day he was expelled. The Constitution of Illinois declares that, "The free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship, without discrimination, shall forever be guaranteed; and no person shall be denied any civil or political right, privilege or capacity, on account of his religious opinions;" and that, "No person shall be required to attend or support any minister, or place of worship against his consent, nor shall any preference be given by law, to any

religious denomination, or mode of worship." And when the authorities of the University expelled that student for that cause, they certainly put themselves above the Constitution. For, the officers of the State University are State authorities; their action would be the action of the State; and for them to compel attendance on religious exercises is certainly to require attendance at a place of worship; and to expel a student for not attending, was certainly to deny him a civil privilege on account of his religious opinions. All the people of Illinois are interested in this case, and we hope that they will see it through. We hope further to see the rights of that student vindicated by the Supreme Court of that State.

What Is "Sectarian"?

THE proper answer to the question whether the Bible is "a sectarian book," depends wholly upon what is meant by the question, and upon the relations in which it is asked.

The common English version of the Bible, being equally accepted and used among all Protestants, is not, as between them, in any sense sectarian. This same version, however, is such as between Protestants and Catholics, since it is not accepted and used by both. So, also, the Douay version of the Bible, though not sectarian as between Catholics, is such as between Protestants and Catholics, since it is not accepted and used by both. To introduce into the public school either of these versions, and make the reading of either a part of school exercise, whether for the purpose of worship or that of religious instruction, is plainly to place in the public school a sectarian book as between Protestants and Catholics.

Protestants would not be satisfied if the Douay version were thus established in the public school under the authority and regulation of law, and would justly claim that this is using the public school as the instrument of Catholic propagandism. The objection is just as legitimate when urged by the Catholic against a like use of the common English version in the public school. The matter of fact is that the common English version and the Douay version of the Bible, are so dissimilar that, as between Catholics and Protestants, they are both sectarian books. The Catholics accept one, and the Protestants the other, and neither accept both.

The just conclusion, in view of these facts, is, that in a public-school system supported by general taxation and regulated by State authority, the introduction of the Bible in either of these versions or in any version, had better be omitted altogether, and the instruction and exercises confined exclusively to the *secular* sphere of knowledge. This which is far from being a new opinion with us, as it seems to us, is abundantly sufficient for the public school,

especially in a community taxed in common for its support, with diverse religious beliefs and preferences. We see no other ground that is absolutely equitable and just toward all classes, and free from all partiality toward any class.

We dissent alike from those Protestants and those Catholics, who would use the public school for religious propagandism in any form. The simple truth is that the State as such, has properly nothing to do with such propagandism, and should omit it altogether, leaving the work to other and more fitting agencies.—*Independent*.

What Right Indeed?

WHAT right have our State and city governments for their exempting church properties from the regular law of taxation? Not only is such exemption against the spirit of our Constitution, but also against the letter of the New Testament. "My kingdom is not of this world," said Christ, "Render therefore unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's; and unto God, the things that are God's." Were the churches to render unto Cæsar what belongs to Cæsar, were they to pay to the Government the taxes that belong to the Government, that injustice would be wiped out of our statute books which exempts from taxation a vast amount of the very finest property in our land, that aggregates a value of hundreds upon hundreds of millions of dollars, and that is, almost without an exception, owned by rich corporations, while the poor washerwoman has her hovel sold over her head by the sheriff, if she cannot pay the paltry sum levied on it for taxes. "In the city of New York, Trinity Episcopal Church owns a block of land one-fourth of a mile wide by three-fourths of a mile long, valued at \$25,000,000. Taxed equally with other property it would contribute \$750,000 per annum to support the State—but being exempt, this amount goes to the church coffers; and the people of New York who are taxed the extra amount in order to make good this deficiency, positively pay \$2,000 a year for the religious instruction of each attendant at Trinity Church." And the injustice appears still more flagrant when we consider that most of this property is not used at all for religious purposes, but is rented out for offices, stores, warehouses, and, if report be true, for some very illegitimate business. And this is only one church corporation within one denomination. Now consider the value of the church property owned by all the Episcopalians, by the Catholics, Methodists, Baptists, and all the other denominations, and you may have some conception of the amount of church tax exemption in a country where Church and State are totally separated.

If this is a Government in which Church and State are totally separated, what right has it to employ chaplains to offer up

sectarian prayers in behalf of people to whom such supplications are objectionable, prayers that are, as a rule, never listened to, never heeded, except they partake of the nature of a stump-speech, or when the chaplains introduce some spicy sensationalism, or when they proceed to give to God, or to his Son, some practical suggestions as to what course He should pursue in connection with the commonwealth? This farce that is going on every day, is not only against the spirit of the organic law of this country, but also a positive blasphemy, and to keep it agoing our National, and our State Governments expend more than \$50,000 annually of the people's money.

If this is a Government in which Church and State are totally separated, what right has the President to assume the role of high priest of the Nation, and issue a proclamation, asking the people to assemble in their respective places of worship for a Thanksgiving-service unto God? Fancy Col. Robert G. Ingersoll, the agnostic, Prof. Felix Adler, the ethical culturist, Senator John J. Ingalls the unbeliever, (if report be true) elected President of the United States, fancy one of these assuming the role of high priest, bidding the people to do that which he has fought and ridiculed for years, and you may realize the absurdity of a thanksgiving or a fast-day proclamation by the chief Executive in a Nation, in which every native-born citizen, no matter what his belief, is eligible to the Presidential office, and in a Nation that is amply provided with religious organizations, and each amply supplied with provisions for thanksgiving and fast-day service.

What right has a State government, if this is a country in which Church and State are totally separated, to consecrate Good Friday as a legal holiday? or to interfere with its citizens spending their weekly day of rest and recreation in the manner most agreeable to themselves, as long as they remain within the limits of the law? What right has it to make unjust discriminations between its citizens, legislating only in favor of orthodox church people, and cruelly disregarding the rights of those who are just as loyal as the church people, even though they do not share their peculiar, gloomy Puritanic Sabbath doctrines?—*Our Pulpit*.

THE only freedom which deserves the name, is of pursuing our own good in our own way, so long as we do not attempt to deprive others of theirs, or impede their efforts to attain it. Each is the proper guardian of his own health, whether physical, mental, or spiritual. Mankind are greater gainers by suffering each other to live as seems good to themselves than by compelling each to live as seems good to the rest.—*John Stuart Mill*.

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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Good Work in California.

In the *Chronicle-Union* of Bridgeport, California, April 26, we find an excellent report of a large and enthusiastic meeting, held by the citizens of that place "for the purpose of entering their protest against Congress interfering in the religious concerns of the American people." The meeting was addressed by the Chairman, Mr. W. O. Parker; District Attorney, C. L. Hayes; and Mr. J. H. Cook, Vice-President of the National Religious Liberty Association. With reference to the Blair Religious Amendment Mr. Hayes very aptly remarked: "'The Constitution as it is' is my motto. It was amended twenty-five years ago to free the slave; and I am not in favor of now tacking on another amendment to enslave the people."

Judge Eddy suggested that all present who had not signed the remonstrance to Congress, be invited to do so before leaving the house.

A series of strong resolutions was adopted denouncing the Blair Amendment and the Sunday bills before Congress, from which we copy the following two:—

Resolved, That we most earnestly request the Senators and Representatives of this State in Congress to oppose the adoption of the joint resolution and measures referred to. That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to said Representatives for presentation to the Senate and House, and that the county newspapers be, and they are hereby respectfully requested to publish the same with the proceedings of this meeting.

Resolved, That the earnest and effective work being performed by the National Religious Liberty Association in opposition to such legislation and to said proposed amendment to the Constitution meets with our unqualified approval, and that J. H. Cook, Vice-President, and Assistant Ira Wheeler, present at this meeting, deserve the thanks of the people for their untiring zeal manifested in advancing the cause of the Association.

The report closes as follows:—

The meeting then adjourned, when all present, except one or two, signed the remonstrance, if they had not previously. The meeting was a very orderly one and fully reflected the sentiments of our people on these most unpopular measures.

We are glad it is so; and let the good work go on.

Another Sunday Bill.

THE Sunday-closing bill for the District of Columbia, which passed the Senate, April 5, was first presented under the title, "A bill for the establishment of certain laws or ordinances for the District of Columbia," and contained twenty-four sections. Of these, all but the first five were stricken out when the bill came to be put upon its passage. The tenth section reads as follows:—

SEC. 10. That it shall not be lawful for any person or persons to *curse or make use of any profane language*, or any indecent or obscene words, or engage in any disorderly conduct in any street, avenue, public space, square, road or highway, or inclosure, or at any railroad depot or steamboat landing, within the District of Columbia, or in any place wherefrom the same may be heard in any such street, avenue, alley, public square, road, highway, or inclosure, or in any such depot, railroad cars, or on board any steamboat, under a penalty of not exceeding twenty dollars for each and every such offense.

Thus, under a general title which told nothing, was included a Sunday-closing law, and a law against blasphemy. The clause providing a penalty for the use of profane language, was stricken out, in the indiscriminate slaughter of nineteen sections of the bill. Senator Blair desired to amend the bill so as to cover all days of the week, but at the earnest and persistent request of the friends of the measure, desisted from offering the amendment, and yielded to the compromise with the liquor traffic, because as he said,—"*It is well to provide for the observance of the Sabbath.*" In that sentence, he characterized the measure—and the whole Sunday-closing movement.

A Scrap of History.

IN the Convention of the Sunday Union, held in Washington last winter, Mr. Crafts said that in the event of the passage of the Breckinridge Sunday Bill for the District of Columbia, a "law-and-order league" would undoubtedly be established to aid in its enforcement. Dyer and Obion Counties, in Tennessee, where Sunday prosecutions are now going on, had forestalled the Sunday Union, in this particular, as will be seen, by the following extract from the cross-examination of a witness for the prosecution, in the case of *The State of Tennessee v. R. M. King*, lately tried before Judge Swiggart:—

Question.—You say this plowing of his, on that day, created a determination with some, that it would be prosecuted?

Answer.—Yes, sir,—ought to be.

Question.—Who formed that determination?

Answer.—Well, sir, there were several parties; previous—

Question.—Name them.

Answer.—I want to tell you how I got the names, if you will let me.

Question.—Just give the names.

Answer.—Mr. Dobbins, Mr. Will Wright, and perhaps Mr. Frank Pardue (I am not certain), and Mr. W. R. King, and some others that I don't know that I could name just now.

Question.—Of what church are you a member?

Answer.—Methodist Church.

Question.—Have you named all the parties that you remember?

Answer.—Yes, sir, that is all,—all I could name just now.

Question.—At or before this time, had there been a combination, or a written agreement entered into, between you and the parties that you have named, that you would prosecute all violations of Sunday laws?

Answer.—Yes, sir, there had.

Question.—Have you ever had anybody else indicted or arrested, or charged, except Seventh-day Adventists?

Objected to.

Colonel Richardson.—I am asking this, with a view to show the *animus* of these witnesses, and their feelings against this particular man. I expect to show why Mr. Cole (as he said they had) entered into a compact to prosecute all the parties who violated the Sunday laws. I expect to prove by Mr. Cole, that divers parties (and, if not by him, by others) who are not Seventh-day Adventists, cut wheat and did all sorts of work on the Sabbath, desecrating it generally, and that nobody has been prosecuted or interfered with, except this remnant of Israel. (Hisses.)

Court.—Ask him if he has any feeling against this defendant, if you want to. I sustain the objection. (Defendant excepts.)

A PACKAGE of petitions from Michigan, has been received in Washington, by the secretary of the National Religious Liberty Association, with a note attached which reads as follows:—

I circulated this petition in my school district. All signed it.

Such thorough work as this, is encouraging, especially when it is remembered that all these are enabled, by the leaflet, "My reasons for signing the petition against religious legislation," which they receive, to understand more fully and defend the position which they have taken.

THOSE who wish to do so and who have not already had the opportunity of so doing, or who have neglected it, are requested to sign BOTH of the following petitions and send them to W. H. MCKEE, 225 A Street, N. E., Washington, D. C. If room for more names is desired the petition may be cut out and pasted onto a sheet of legal cap.

To the Honorable, the House of Representatives of the United States:—

We, the undersigned, adult residents of the United States, 21 years of age or more, hereby respectfully, but earnestly, petition your Honorable Body not to pass any bill in regard to the observance of the Sabbath, or Lord's day, or any other religious or ecclesiastical institution or rite; nor to favor in any way the adoption of any resolution for the amendment of the National Constitution that would in any way give preference to the principles of any one religion above another, or that will in any way sanction legislation upon the subject of religion; but that the total separation between religion and the State, assured by our National Constitution as it now is, may forever remain as our fathers established it.

To the Honorable, the Senate of the United States:—

We, the undersigned, adult residents of the United States, 21 years of age or more, hereby respectfully, but earnestly, petition your Honorable Body not to pass any bill in regard to the observance of the Sabbath, or Lord's day, or any other religious or ecclesiastical institution or rite; nor to favor in any way the adoption of any resolution for the amendment of the National Constitution that would in any way give preference to the principles of any one religion above another, or that will in any way sanction legislation upon the subject of religion; but that the total separation between religion and the State, assured by our National Constitution as it now is, may forever remain as our fathers established it.

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NEW YORK, MAY 22, 1890.

NOTE.—Any one receiving the AMERICAN SENTINEL without having ordered it may know that it is sent to him by some friend, unless plainly marked "Sample copy." It is our invariable rule to send out no papers without pay in advance, except by special arrangement, therefore, those who have not ordered the SENTINEL need have no fears that they will be asked to pay for it simply because they take it from the post-office.

It is clear that the chief effect of the late decision of the Supreme Court on the liquor question, will be to make the question of prohibition a national question only.

Now that prohibition has become indeed a national question let it be made strictly a political, and not a religious nor yet a religio-political, issue. Let the National Prohibition platform be stripped of its religious, National Reform features, and let it declare for prohibition straight, for prohibition only. Then it ought to win, and THE AMERICAN SENTINEL will do all it can to help it win. But so long as that platform retains its National Reform head, its religious body, and its Sunday tail, THE AMERICAN SENTINEL will be uncompromisingly opposed to it "teeth and toe nail."

THE *Mail and Express* takes Doctor Talmage severely to task for allowing himself to be interviewed, for publication in a Sunday newspaper. But the *Mail and Express* recommends its own Saturday evening's issue for reading on Sunday; and it is certain that in the Talmage interview there was nothing as dull and vapid as the matter of the *Mail and Express* habitually is; and it is likewise certain that there is not a Sunday paper in New York City which does not furnish much better reading than does the Saturday issue, or any other issue, of the *Mail and Express*.

LAST fall, Rev. N. R. Johnston, of Oakland, California, was appointed a member of a committee to organize local Sunday Unions in that State. In commenting upon this fact we incidentally remarked that it was certainly fit that he should be a member of the committee, since, though socially a very worthy man, his religious views were such that he could not see why if a theocracy was good for the Jews it would not be equally good for us; nor why if it was right anciently to put men to death for Sabbath breaking, it would not be the proper thing to do now. In short, we said that he was unable to distinguish between a divinely-established theocracy and a man-made counterfeit of a divine theocracy. Mr. Johnston felt grieved at this, and complained, both privately and publicly, that we had mis-

represented him. Till now we have remained silent under the charge, having in our removal to this city mislaid the evidence of the truth of that which we said. However, a recent article in the *Christian Statesman*, from Mr. Johnston's pen, has furnished abundant evidence that we stated the case none too strongly; and in this, and the preceding number of THE SENTINEL, under the heading, "How Far They Propose to Carry It," this evidence is given. Mr. Johnston may not mean all that he says; in fact, we have often thought that he was better than his theory; but he should not find fault when people take him just as he says, especially when he expresses his sentiments in carefully written articles for publication.

THE twenty-fifth anniversary of the National Temperance Society was held in Broadway Tabernacle, this city, Tuesday May 13. The exercises were well attended, especially in the evening when the great building was crowded. The exercises throughout were more like those of a genuine temperance association than any which we have seen for many a day. In fact a genuine temperance organization is just what this Society is. The strong pleas that were made for the restoration of the real, good old temperance meetings and work, in which the effort should be to save men and build up strong individual characters, were in marked and refreshing contrast with the political harangues, the self-glorification, and the mutual admiration speeches of organizations labeled "Christian Temperance." THE AMERICAN SENTINEL heartily wishes the National Temperance Society the most unbounded success.

A DISPATCH gives the information that the Governor of California has "pardoned an innocent man." That is a most singular proceeding, though it is not the first time that it has been attempted by executives in the States. Pardon necessarily implies guilt. If the man was innocent, of what then could he have possibly been pardoned? It will be said that the man had been convicted and sentenced by the State, though innocent, and in order to release him it was necessary to pardon him. Not at all. There is no place for pardon in the case. When the State convicted a man who was innocent, then the State did wrong. And when the State discovered that it had done the wrong, even though it were mistakenly and unintentionally, the only proper thing to do was to issue a public apology, and a proclamation fully exonerating the innocent man who had suffered such grievous injury. To offer a pardon in such a case is only to add insult to injury. To offer a pardon in such a case is both to charge and to convict of the crime of which it is proposed to pardon the man. And for a

man to accept pardon in such a case is to confess guilt. It would be well for governors at such times to bear in mind what justice is, and to be just before they undertake to be generous. It is impossible to pardon an innocent man.

In a recent speech at Cooper Union, Dr. Mc Glynn said:—

We have long since got past the idea of paternal government. We do not believe in a Government that is to feed people till old age with a spoon. We believe in self-government, especially in political matters, and I am free to say that I believe in a great deal of self-government in the Church as well as in the State. The average American must feel his blood boil with indignation at this notion of nursing and coddling the working men and women, being kind to the beggars, taking interest in their moral and spiritual as well as their material welfare.

The Doctor is quite right except in the statement that we have "got past the idea of paternal government." That idea is the bed-rock principle of Romanism, of Mormonism, of Nationalism, and of National Reformism, and as a Nation we are badly afflicted with all of these isms. Indeed paternalism seems to be in the very air. It has been well said, however, that a paternal government is an infernal government for the reason that it must of necessity trench upon the most sacred rights of the individual. The paternal idea of government is that the State decides what is best for the individual, and then undertakes to see that he gets it, whether he wants it or not.

THE *Dial*, of Oakland, California, is striking some heavy blows against Sunday laws, and all religious legislation. We admire its talent but we cannot fully indorse all that it says, for the reason that it does not properly distinguish between Christianity and much of that which claims to be Christianity. Sunday laws are anti-Christian, and those who advocate them are, though it may be unwittingly, the enemies of the truth as it is in Jesus Christ. The *Dial* should recognize the fact that it is not Christianity but the lack of it which leads the Church to seek the aid of the civil power to support her institutions. Christianity is able, not only to stand alone, but to flourish under persecution. Indeed so true is this that it has been said that "the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church."

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ASSOCIATE EDITORS,

C. P. BOLLMAN,

W. H. MCKEE.

PRINCIPLES are fundamental truths. In the Declaration of Independence we have this grand principle: "All men are created equal, and are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty," etc. The leading principle of the Bible is, that our first duty, hence our first right, is to love and worship God unmolested. This is religious liberty. The beauty of a principle is, that nothing but truth will fit it. Hence principles are touch-stones which distinguish the true from the false.—*M. E. Steward, A. M., in Southern Sentinel.*

THE following quotation from Professor W. G. Sumner, of Yale College, makes an excellent statement of an important truth. Knowledge is not enough; there must be with it sufficient character to make a right use of it:—

"The moralists have never been satisfied with the old adage that knowledge is power. They felt the lack of the moral element in it: that is to say, they felt the lack of the element which it was their business to supply. The adage, however, was true. Knowledge is power, and, in itself considered, it is nothing more. The notion that knowledge makes men good is one of the superstitions of the nineteenth century. Knowledge only gives men power. It furnishes a chance. It brings with it, however, the grim alternative already described. Will the man who has it use it for good or for ill? That is a moral question. It finds its answer in the springs of character, and the independent self-determination which lies deepest in the essential elements of each

man's personality. This, by the way, is one of the reasons why there is no sound social or personal strength which is not founded on the training of the individual. It is the reason why individual character is the spring of all good in man or the State, and why all socialism is profoundly immoral. Wherever collective standards, codes, ideals, and motives take the place of individual responsibility, we know from ample experience that the spontaneity and independent responsibility which are essential to moral vigor are sure to be lost."

"A Redeemed Commonwealth."

SUNDAY, May 4, Rev. Dr. Charles H. Parkhurst, of Madison Square Presbyterian Church, this city, delivered a sermon on the scripture text, "And I John saw the Holy City, the New Jerusalem, coming down from God out of heaven, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband." It was directly in the line of the Church and State preaching that is constantly becoming more and more prevalent. He declared that "heaven is a redeemed commonwealth." Now a commonwealth is "an established form of government, or civil polity, or, more generally, a State." His statement amounts to this then that heaven is a redeemed State, but no State has yet been redeemed. If heaven be therefore a redeemed State, there is as yet no such place because there is no such thing. Heaven was, before there ever was a State, and will be after all States are gone.

This criticism is not a play upon words, for the rest of his sermon shows that such is his idea of what heaven is, and that the redeemed commonwealth is the culmination of history, and when we reach that place, then that place and that commonwealth will be heaven. He says:—

Now if a redeemed commonwealth is appointed of God to be the culmination of history and the end toward which he is working, then that end we are to consider as a law regulating or determining the methods by which, as God's workmen, we are to help in the achievement of God's aim and ambi-

tion. If it were only a question of how many individuals could be brought to their knees and induced penitentially to accept Christ as their Saviour, then all we should have to do, as a church, would be to teach the doctrines of repentance and regeneration, multiply our missions, strengthen our evangelistic forces and count the converts.

Thus Mr. Parkhurst's view of the purpose and work of the Church is that it is to save States instead of souls, and that the song of the redeemed in that day will be that the Lord had saved every nation, and kindred, and tongue, and people, and not as the Scripture says, that the redeemed are gathered "out of every nation, and kindred, and tongue, and people."

It would be difficult to form a statement of God's purpose as revealed, that would be more directly contrary to the truth than is this statement by Dr. Parkhurst. In the Scripture there is no such thing announced, nor contemplated, as a redeemed State. No State will ever reach the other world. No State will ever be redeemed. There will be some *people* redeemed out of all the States that have ever been. This theory springs from the idea that is so largely held, of the conversion of the world. But that idea is totally false: it is contrary to every statement of Scripture. When the world ends, it will be in wickedness.

The record is that "in the last days perilous times shall come. For men shall be lovers of their own selves, covetous, boasters, proud, blasphemers, disobedient to parents, unthankful, unholy, without natural affection, trucebreakers, false accusers, incontinent, fierce, despisers of those that are good, traitors, heady, high-minded, lovers of pleasures more than lovers of God; having a form of godliness, but denying the power thereof." 2 Tim. 3:1-5. And, instead of there being any promise or prophecy that they will all become good, and better and better, the record is that being thus bad they "shall wax worse and worse, deceiving, and being deceived." And having grown worse and worse, when the end comes, and the heaven departs as a scroll when it is rolled

together, and every mountain and island are moved out of their places, then the word of God is that "The kings of the earth, and the great men, and the rich men, and the chief captains, and the mighty men, and every bondman, and every freeman, hid themselves in the dens and in the rocks of the mountains; and said to the mountains and rocks, Fall on us, and hide us from the face of him that sitteth on the throne, and from the wrath of the Lamb: for the great day of his wrath is come; and who shall be able to stand?"

There has been no more deceptive doctrine invented than that which teaches the conversion of the world, and the redeeming of commonwealths. The Saviour did not die for commonwealths, he died for individuals. All may have eternal life if they will. Yet in fact many have chosen, and many do still choose the other way instead, and every man is at liberty to choose which way he will. "Whosoever will, let him come." If he will not, he may go the way of his choice. The truth is that it is *in fact*, "only a question of how many individuals can be brought to their knees and induced penitentially to accept Christ as their Saviour;" and therefore it is true that all that the Church has to do "is to teach the doctrines of repentance and regeneration, multiply its missions and strengthen its evangelistic forces" for that very purpose. Whenever the Church ceases to do that, it then ceases to be a Church in the proper sense of the word. And too many of them have ceased to do it, and there is too much preaching of this kind that leads in the way for more of it to be done.

Those who profess to be the representatives of the Church have forgotten what the Church is, and what its work is. These are the ones who neglect the humble task of preaching to individuals the doctrines of repentance and regeneration, and enter upon a course of ambitious political action, to convert cities, States, and nations as such. Leaving individual action, individual responsibility, and individual influence, they undertake to convert men by wholesale. They make the city Christian by electing a mayor who will enforce Sunday laws. They make the Nation Christian by incorporating the name of the Saviour in its Constitution and laws. Thus they hope to obtain a redeemed commonwealth.

Yes, it was in this way that the Roman Empire was redeemed; thus it was made a redeemed commonwealth. But it was worse after it was so redeemed than it was before. Such a redemption multiplied and heaped up wickedness to such an extent that human society could not bear it; it had to be utterly swept out of existence, as it was, by the flood of savage barbarism that swept the Empire from one end to the other. Such a redemption in that day ended in utter ruin. Such a one wrought again in this day will end in the same

thing; and whoever will escape it needs as an individual to turn to Christ and penitentially accept him as the Saviour.

A. T. J.

A Criticism Answered.

NOT long since an article appeared in this paper over my signature in which I used the following words:—

The only way to prohibit the liquor traffic is to prohibit it, not one day in the week, but every day. To make criminal upon one day in the week that which is perfectly legal at all other times, is simply to place a premium upon official corruption; to make possible persecution, as in Tennessee; and to educate people to disregard and despise the law.

This sentiment was subsequently criticised by the *Colorado Graphic* as follows:—

But how can Mr. Bollman, if he is serious, claim for prohibition for the six days what cannot be secured for the one day? A gentleman who stands so nobly for equal rights; so manfully against religious legislation, which is always sumptuary, how can he even suggest a prohibitory law and consistently maintain his other positions? Did he not read that in Bangor, in prohibition Maine, one hundred and fifty saloons (speak-easies) had been discovered and were closed by the Mayor, and that in thirty days thereafter there were fifty others discovered? No, sir; sumptuary legislation is a failure.

The writer does not pretend to say that prohibition has ever been a success in the sense of stopping all liquor drinking, or even all liquor selling, especially in large cities; nor does he pretend to say that it ever will be a success in any such sense. But be that as it may it proves nothing as to the merits of the question. Theft and prostitution, and gambling and lotteries are forbidden by law, but they are not prohibited in the sense of being absolutely prevented. They are, however, greatly lessened by the laws against them, and so has liquor selling and the evils which spring from it been greatly reduced by prohibitory laws in Maine, Iowa, and Kansas. It is, therefore, idle to argue that because saloons (speak-easies) exist in Bangor, prohibition is wrong or even that it is a political mistake. The only question is, Has the State a just right to prohibit the traffic in intoxicating drinks?

The *Graphic* assumes that prohibitory laws are of the same nature as Sunday laws, and other measures of religious legislation. This is a mistake as can easily be shown. About the only thing in common between them is that many religious people favor both. But the fact that religious people are in favor of two measures does not prove that they are both equally good or equally bad. Prohibition is in no sense religious. Very many religious people do not believe in it, while a great many people who make no profession of religion are in favor of it as a matter of public policy, and as necessary for the protection of life and property. The evil effects of liquor drinking are not confined to those who drink. Every intoxicated man is a menace to life and property, not his own life and property merely,

but the lives and property of others; and can it be that society has no right to protect itself against the danger?

Again, the traffic in intoxicating liquors entails upon the State enormous expenditures for the apprehension, trial, and imprisonment of criminals, and for the care of paupers. Crime and pauperism are the legitimate fruits of the liquor traffic, and can it be that the State has no right to prohibit that which has proved itself to be the most prolific contributor to our prisons, alms houses, and insane asylums? Certainly right and justice demand the prohibition of a business that burdens the State as the liquor traffic does. Suppose that the State has no right to prevent a man from drinking what he pleases, and that where and when he pleases, does it follow that it has no right to prohibit the public traffic in that which beggars whole families and turns them out paupers to be supported by those who by honest toil have accumulated property which bears its just proportion of taxation?

But it is said that prohibition interferes with personal liberty. Proper prohibition will never interfere with personal liberty. Moreover the cry of personal liberty does not come as a rule from the men who drink, but from those who grow rich by ministering to the most depraved appetites of their fellow-men. The liberty which they demand is liberty to enrich themselves by burdening the public with paupers and criminals. Are they justly entitled to such liberty? Hardly.

Liquor men themselves grant the right of the State to regulate the traffic in which they are engaged, and that not merely for revenue but to restrict the evils which it engenders. But the right to regulate carries with it the right to prohibit. And this is one reason why the State has no right to legislate upon religious matters, or in any way regulate the exercise of religion. If the State had the right to require or to forbid one religious observance, it would have the right to require or to forbid any or all others. This is why all Christians who prize religious liberty as they should, and who are willing that others should enjoy the same privileges that they themselves do, oppose all State interference in religious matters. They insist that all must be left absolutely free to worship or not to worship just as they please. But every body recognizes the right of the State to regulate liquor selling; to say that A may sell, and that B shall not sell. But whether they realize it or not, if the State has the right to say that one man shall not sell intoxicating liquors it has the right to say that no man shall sell such liquors. Did liquor dealers for a moment believe that their business is as legitimate as any other, and that the "right" to sell liquor rests upon the same ground as the right to worship, they would demand, not license as they now do, but

absolute freedom. But while prohibitory laws are purely civil, and the enacting of them not only the right but the duty of the State, Sunday laws are of an entirely different character. Sunday is a religious institution; its friends call it the *Christian Sabbath*, and most of them insist that it ought to be kept in obedience to the fourth commandment. It is therefore no more the right of the State to enforce its observance than it would be to enforce baptism or the Lord's Supper.

Laws forbidding the sale of intoxicating liquors to be used as beverages, violate no man's conscience. Nobody sells whiskey as a religious duty. The whole traffic is demoralizing and fraught with danger to life and property, and liquor dealers themselves know and acknowledge that this is so. But a failure to religiously keep Sunday endangers neither life nor property; it makes neither criminals nor paupers. Many good citizens and earnest Christians do not regard Sunday, because they do not believe that there is any divine law requiring its observance, and they exercise their God-given right to labor upon that day; but in so doing they do not prey upon others, they do not injure anybody in any way, nor do they burden the State. In short, there is no similarity whatever between Sunday work or business, and the liquor traffic: and there is and can be no more similarity between Sunday laws and prohibitory laws. The reasons for Sunday laws are wholly religious; while the only proper reasons for prohibition are wholly civil and political. C. P. BOLLMAN.

Education Does Not Give Character.

In the arguments on the subject of "Education and the State," which are now so widely made, it is often stated that ignorance is the mother of crime, and that therefore it is for the interest of the State that its citizens should be intelligent if it would have good citizens, as intelligence is the mother of virtue. This is not true. It would be hard to prove that ignorance is any more the mother of crime than is intelligence. The ignorant are not the only ones who commit crime. Go to any penitentiary, and, although we have not actually tested the matter, we feel perfectly safe in saying that of the inmates, it will be found that those who can read and write are not the minority. Ninety-four per cent of the criminals of New York State can read. Thousands upon thousands of boys to-day, are reading stuff that tends infinitely more to make them criminals than the inability to read could possibly do. It is a fact that from one of the Western penitentiaries a regular newspaper is issued. All the type setting, editorial work and everything in connection with it, is done by the regular convicts of the penitentiary. With hundreds, yea, thousands of people in the penitentiaries, the trouble with them was

not that they could not write, but that they wrote too much, and too well, especially other people's names. The bank wreckers, the embezzlers, and the forgers, are not persons who are ignorant, they are people of excellent education.

This is not in any sense an argument in favor of ignorance and against education. It simply illustrates the fact that education does not give character, while it is, in fact, only character that counts. A man may have an excellent character and be either ignorant or educated, but if he is not honest he will steal, whether he be ignorant or educated. In fact, if he be not honest, the probabilities are that education will make him the greater thief, as in the case of the forgers, the bank wreckers and the embezzlers.

Let the people be educated most completely everywhere, but let character be built up in them at the same time.

What Is Truth?

THE best definition I have ever heard is as follows: "Truth is that which, in the face of all possible opposition, can be shown to be in conformity with fact and sound reason." It follows from the very definition that truth is never afraid of error or falsehood. It always meets them squarely and openly, never asking any unfair advantage, never afraid of competition, and therefore never found asking for a monopoly.

Tried by this standard, the true nature of the Sunday-law movement will at once appear.

The champions of this movement were *personally invited* to be present at the Washington Citizens' Meeting, and were assured a fair opportunity of being heard, and of maintaining the truth and right of their positions. Not one of them was there, though some of them, at least, were in the city. They preferred to wait till their own convention, where no one who differed from them was allowed the slightest chance to say a word.

They argue everywhere that it is only a *civil Sunday law* they want. The leading speaker of the American Sabbath Union argued this for an hour in my own hearing, declaring vehemently that we misrepresented the Union entirely, when we said they were seeking religious legislation; and asserting that they only wanted civil Sunday laws in the interests of the "poor over-worked laboring man."

After his speech he passed out a document to all in the audience who would accept it. It contains the following extract from the constitution of the American Sabbath Union, which states its true basis and object.

Article I. Name: The American Sabbath Union.

Article II. Basis: The basis of this Union is the Divine authority, and universal and perpetual obligation of the Sabbath.

Article III. Object: The object of this Union, is to preserve the *Christian Sabbath* as a day of rest and worship.

So it seems that if they are only asking for civil Sunday laws, they are asking for them for a religious purpose; namely, to preserve the day as a day of rest and worship. A law that is desired and obtained for a religious purpose, is a *religious* and not a *civil* law.

Why not call it so? Ah! it would defeat their purpose. Any work that is compelled to resort to such deception *is not the work of God*.

They bring forth their Sunday-law Bill for the District of Columbia, and ask us to look at its title, and see how innocent it is. "A bill to prevent people from being *forced to labor on Sunday*." How innocent! How evidently in the interests of liberty! But stop! When you read the bill itself, it is a bill to compel people to stop laboring on Sunday, whether they want to or not. Why did they not name it, A bill to *force people to stop laboring on Sunday*? Oh! this would have been a true title, but *truth* would here, as everywhere else, defeat their object.

Again, I heard the leader of this whole movement say in the Convention held on December last, in New York City, that they were going to introduce this local bill, and concentrate all their effort upon it. Why? Was it because the people of Washington and the District of Columbia were such terrible Sabbath breakers? No, for he admitted that they kept the Sabbath here as well as anywhere in the Nation.

He said, "If we can get the United States to pass a Sunday law for the District of Columbia this year, Congress will then have declared Sunday laws constitutional, and will have no excuse for not giving us a Sunday law for the Nation next year."

Why was not this argument used in Washington instead of the foolish plea that although the people have been very good Sabbath-keepers in the past, they have but just discovered that they have no Sunday laws, and so must have one right away, or they will engage in revolution,—working on Sunday?

Again I say, it would be the truth, and truth wherever, or whenever it is told means the destruction of all their plans. Out in a city in California, they wanted a Sunday law, but they did not know what to name it. Shakspeare said, "What's in a name?" But he had not learned the philosophy of the Sunday-law advocates, if he had he would have said, "There's millions in it," or rather, every thing in it. Some of them in California were honest enough to want to call it a "religious Sunday law," others said that would never do, call it a "civil Sunday law;" still others said, "say it is only 'a police regulation.'" They finally decided to call it a "sanitary regulation." It seems to be really as difficult a matter to name a Sunday law, as for a young father and mother to name their first baby.

Now, in general, I should have more faith in a sanitary regulation, if it came from the doctors, than if, as in this case, it came from the ministers. There was a time when nearly all the sanitary regulations came from the ministers instead of the doctors. In those days, even in the large cities, sewers were unknown, and all the filth was thrown into the street; and then the people trusted to charms and priestly incantations, and holy relics, and miracle cures, to deliver them from the pestilence.

This, too, was in the time of the Inquisition,—the Dark Ages of ignorance and persecution. I believe also among the Indians to-day, the medicine men are both priest and doctor. This is only another evidence among many, that the Sunday-law movement is a long step backward toward ignorance and error, and superstition and savagery. In this instance, however, the ministers of California made such wonderful advancement into the mysteries of hygienic science, that they discovered that milk sold on the streets after 5 o'clock Sunday morning, was dangerously *unsanitary*. Again I say, truth does not have to resort to such subterfuges. The truth will always bear to be openly and fairly stated.

But let us examine this "sanitary" argument for Sunday laws. Briefly stated it is as follows: "The physical health of every man and woman demands rest on one day in seven. It is for the good of the State that its citizens should be kept in robust physical condition. Therefore the State may, and must enforce the observance of Sunday rest for civil and sanitary reasons. Admitting the premises for the present, for the sake of argument, let us see if the conclusion follows, or rather let us see where this logic would lead to if adopted by our Government. It is a demonstrated hygienic fact, that the health of every person requires a bath at least once a week. Must the State, then, enforce by law the taking of a bath once a week upon all its citizens? and if so, must it send spies into every family, and even into every private bath room to see that the law is obeyed?" The physical health of all persons, demands about nine hours sleep a night. Must the State by law compel every one to retire to sleep at 9 P. M., and remain in bed until 6 A. M.?

It is evident that when the State once commits itself to the care of the physical health of its citizens there is no stopping this side of the "paternal government" of the past. The difference between the theory of such governments and our American theory of government, is just the difference between slavery and liberty. The difference between the kind of people raised under such laws, and those raised under our free institutions, is the difference between *children* and *men*.

There are many cases recorded of sudden death, caused by a fit of anger, and

it is well proven that all true religion is conducive to good health, and all evil and unrestrained passion tends directly in the other direction; so the government that takes upon itself the guardianship of the physical health of its citizens, might, reasoning thus, establish religion, and bring back the Inquisition at once. They might do this, and claim they did it all for *civil* and *sanitary* reasons, just as the Sunday-law advocates do. Thus it is seen that even admitting their premises, their conclusion does not follow.

But the premises are unproven assumptions. It is not true that every person, whatever his age or occupation, needs just one day's rest in seven for his physical health. Some need much more, and some have such light work and such robust health that they can do with much less. Thus the whole civil or sanitary Sunday law argument, is based on *false* reasoning from a *false* premise.

G. E. FIFIELD.

The National Reform Idea an Absurdity.

DR. DAVID MC ALLISTER seems to think that religion depends upon the statutes of States and the edicts of empires. In this, he joins in opinion with the most rabid of atheists and anarchists who constantly charge religionists with being the dupes of power exercised through State authority.

The Emperor Constantine made Christianity the religion of the Roman Empire, and to this fact, many unbelievers in Christianity attribute its extraordinary growth. The very opposite of this is more probably the truth. Gibbon shows very plainly that Constantine himself, vacillated between Christianity and the old State religion of Rome almost to the end of his days, just as politicians seeking support from contending factions now do, when doubtful as to which party is most likely to prevail. It is often a fine stroke of political policy, for an aspirant for power and fame, to espouse what outwardly appears to be the weaker party in a State, and thus connect his name with its rise, and growth into full power and control. The statesman who has the shrewdness to fall in with the rising tide of public sentiment, at the proper moment, is sure to reap power and emoluments in the end.

Primitive Christianity was the religion of the poor fishermen of Galilee; and while their hearts were warmed, their hopes inspired, and their enthusiasm enkindled by it, it was laughed about and scoffed at, by the Scribes, the Pharisees, and the fashionable people of the time.

In Rome, Christianity took root among the workingmen—the poor and the lowly, in the cities—as radical reforms generally do. And its methods were so quiet, and its early adherents so peaceful, that, to use the words of Gibbon, it "gently insin-

uated itself into the minds of men, grew up in silence and obscurity, derived new vigor from opposition, and finally erected the banner of the cross on the ruins of the capitol."

In its primitive purity, Christianity had no use for the State as a means of propaganda. It grew and spread through the cities in spite of the State, and State religions, which, sooner or later, were always found to be its deadly enemies.

Why should the aid of the politician be invoked, to strengthen and support a movement having for its object the *reform* of public opinion, while *his* object as a general rule, is to quietly *float* with popular opinion *as it is*? Convince him that you have the votes to carry him along, and he is with you. Fail to do this, and he is in your way.

No religion ever remained pure and true to humanity, that sought to carry forward its propaganda by means of political strategem, political power, and political spoils.

The idea that the State can make *itself* moral, by the formula of "Be it enacted," is to invoke from the masses of the people, a moral force which, by hypothesis, does not exist among them; and it is as absurd, under our theory of popular government, as the attempt of a man to lift himself by the straps of his boots.

First plant the moral force in the hearts and minds of the masses—get them in love with the true, the beautiful, and the good; let them come to hate inequality of rights, and despise slavery in all its myriad forms; let them see the beauty of truth and the economy of righteousness; and there will be no occasion for wrangling as to what religion the "State" should believe in.

The truth is, the State, as such, does not and cannot believe in anything. A law book cannot think or feel, and can neither do right nor wrong. When a king is imagined to be the State, it might be presumed to have a moral character, or more probably, an immoral character. But when the State becomes the concrete result of the conflicting opinions and passions of sixty-five millions of people—a mere compromise, reflecting the opinions of no one individual,—it cannot be said to have a moral character, or a religious belief.

The Rev. R. M. Somerville evidently is not satisfied with the proposition to simply print the name of God in the Constitution. He wants Christ recognized as a politician also, to the extent of having his name mixed up with the names of the lawyers that figure so largely in our old musty law books. It is the old antiquated notion of religious *things* instead of religious men. Make the *things* sacred in order that they may make *us* pious! Does it not smack of image worship and idolatry?

When will the Church learn that moral

force can be transmitted only by the tender cords of sympathy and love? Does not all experience prove that the State is incompetent to *force* men to love and believe, by means of policemen, courts, and armies?

Physical force is available to control *action* only. The attempt, through physical force, to make men love one another, is to make them hate and despise one another.

Let the fashionable churches come down to the level of the working people, as the early Christians did, and show their sympathy for the poor and lowly—not so much by alms-giving and begging as by showing them what their *rights* are, as well as their errors; by teaching them that no man has the right to acquire wealth through the power of the State—that the State can have no wealth to give to some without first taking it from others—that the man who sells his vote for money, is selling, not only *his* rights, but *other* people's rights; by teaching consistent, genuine righteousness all 'round, and everywhere, in high places and low, in public and private relations; let all this be proclaimed as God's law, and I venture to say more sympathy will be excited, more minds will be awakened and more churches will be filled, than would result from printing the word God in all the law books and school books, or by chalking his name all over creation by State authority.

Washington, D. C.

Unmerciful Mercy.

At the Protestant Episcopal House of Mercy, in this city, there is held against her wish, and the wish of her parents, a Jewish girl sixteen years old. Two years ago at her home she acted very unruly, was disobedient to her parents, and quarrelsome with her brothers and sisters, and the parents asked the police justice to commit her to a reformatory, that she might be subjected to stricter discipline than they were able to bring to bear, until she should learn better how to behave herself. The police judge sent her to this Protestant Episcopal House of Mercy, as there is no Hebrew reformatory in this city. Now the parents desire that she shall be released. They tried to secure her release upon a writ of *habeas corpus*, but it was refused because it seems that by somebody's influence other than that of the parents, she had been regularly committed to that institution until she is twenty-one years of age. The parents have earnestly besought this institution of "Mercy" to let them have their child, but the institution still holds her, and, it seems, proposes to hold her in spite of all that the parents may wish.

If such a thing as this were done by the Roman Catholics, what a universal howl of execration would go up from Protestant

throats! But, as it is, we have not seen mention made of this in a single paper outside of the one that made the announcement. We can hardly help wondering whether the managers of this institution ever heard of Christ, or of Christianity. It is certain that the name of the institution should be changed; for such proceeding is anything but merciful. Such action is a libel upon both the name and the Author of mercy.

Make a Note of This.

In endeavoring to show that the enforcement of rigid Sunday laws is not inconsistent with the liberties of the Jews, Mr. Crafts, in his "*Sabbath for Man*," page 258, says:—

It is not sufficiently emphasized that the Jew is left absolutely free to observe the seventh day. He can close his shop; he can refuse to work.

Herein lies a principle. As long as a man has the privilege of closing his shop and refusing to work, he is free to observe a day. Question: What man has not this privilege? Certainly all men have it, the Christian as well as the Jew. Then what Sunday-keeper is not absolutely free to observe Sunday? They all are. What consistency, then, can there be in Mr. Crafts and his party pleading for a law to prevent persons from being *forced* to labor on Sunday," as they did in Washington last February, at the hearing of the House Committee on the Breckinridge Sunday Bill?

In closing his shop, the Jew of course will lose trade, and in refusing to work, perhaps lose a job; yet, says Mr. Crafts, he is left "absolutely free to observe the seventh day." The Sunday-keeper can do the same and be left just as free to observe the first day. Let us not forget to emphasize this. Law in one case is as unnecessary as in the other.—*W. A. Colcord, in Review and Herald.*

Not a Christian Law.

THE *Christian Statesman* refers to the illegal divorces granted to Hebrews in this country by Jewish Rabbis, some of whom assume the prerogative of the State in such cases, and then it says:—

These facts illustrate the necessity for maintaining and enforcing carefully the distinctively Christian laws of the American Government.

We have nothing to say against the better enforcement of the laws in such cases, or against the necessity for better and more uniform laws governing the subject of divorce, but we do object to having such laws styled "Christian laws." To say that they are Christian laws is to say that marriage is a Christian institution, and that the State has a right to enforce Christianity by legal enactment.

The chief object of the *Statesman* at the present time seems to be to make the people of this country believe that they have

already legislated upon Christianity, and that, since they have already enacted some "Christian laws," there is no reason why they should not now go on and legislate upon Christianity to any desired extent. This is their argument precisely, and it shows what must be the inevitable result if religious legislation is ever begun in this country. It shows the imperative necessity of watching every move of legislative bodies, that no false step shall be taken which will establish a precedent for legislation upon Christianity.

We agree that laws regulating marriage are right; that is, that there should be such laws; but we deny that marriage is a Christian institution, or that in passing such laws it is necessary to legislate upon the Christian religion.

1. Marriage is not a Christian institution because it originated before Christianity. It was instituted about four thousand years before the commencement of the Christian dispensation. In fact it was instituted before the fall of man, and consequently before man needed a Saviour and Christianity to redeem him.

2. Christian institutions are for Christians. If marriage were a Christian institution, then none but Christians would have a right to marry. But people who are not Christians have as much right to marry as those who are; therefore, marriage is not a Christian institution.

3. No one can be a Christian without observing all known Christian institutions. Hence, if marriage was a Christian institution, no one could be a Christian unless he was married. But that the *Christian Statesman* itself knows is not true.

Therefore we say that laws which regulate marriage are not Christian laws, but civil laws.

A. DELOS WESTCOTT.

The One Object.

At the Garnett, Kansas, Sabbath-rest Convention, held in March, there was noticeable a general diversity of opinion on almost every point brought up except one. Some observed Sunday, because the fourth commandment is binding. Others observed it because of the resurrection of Christ and the completion of redemption on that day. Some believed it to be verily the seventh day from creation; while another had no less than a half dozen reasons for changing to the first day. Some believed in keeping the Sabbath according to the most strict laws of the Puritans; while another believed in an entirely different manner of Sabbath observance.

Thus it was all through the Convention on all points except the one great object,—that of having a law to enforce the observance of the day. All arguments were made for this one purpose. It mattered not though the reasons given were contrary the one to the other, they would

make the final conclusion point to the enactment and enforcement of a Sunday law, and that would seem to harmonize every thought.

The indications were that they think the Lord is not able to pass sentence and execute judgments against the violators of his law, and has consequently passed it over into their hands, for them to look after and enforce. So now they seem to think it incumbent on them to bring to pass some means whereby they can punish the transgressors of God's law (according to their interpretation of his law), and clear themselves of this great responsibility.

It is not surprising that they should come to such a conclusion, when we remember that one of their men has said, "In this work we are undertaking for the Sabbath, we are the representatives of God." It is the principle upon which the Papacy was built; and the Papacy was only the natural outgrowth of the principle. The establishment of this principle is their object.

OSCAR HILL.

The Educational Amendment.

In a recent editorial on the Blair Educational amendment, the Virginia City *Chronicle* says:—

"Should the amendment become a part of the national law the necessity would at once exist for each State, or Congress, to establish by law a system of public schools, and to declare in such law what are the 'fundamental, non-sectarian principles of Christianity.' The Legislature of each State would declare by statute for the government of the schools what are such 'fundamental principles,' and thus there would be a separate religious school code for each of the forty-two States. Considering human nature as we find it, could any sensible person say that the Legislatures of forty-two States could be brought to agree on what are and what are not the 'fundamental, non-sectarian principles?'"

"The inevitable confusion and conflict which would appear in such legislation but serves to show the soundness of the principle and popular sentiment, that the establishment of religion is not and should never be a function of civil government. The principles of the Christian religion should be left for the Church and not the State to determine. It can hardly be considered that the average member of a State Legislature, or of Congress, is fitted either morally or intellectually to determine for the people, the Church or the schools what is true religion."

So far as the National Government is concerned, the people of the United States, considered as a body politic, have no religion to teach, no doctrine of God to promulgate, and no form of worship to sustain or enforce.—S. T. Speer, D. D.

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We believe in the religion taught by Jesus Christ.
We believe in temperance, and regard the liquor traffic as a curse to society.
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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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The People Speak.

THE following editorial report from the daily *Bodie Miner*, of California, is worth reprinting here. It has the right ring and a good deal of it:—

Last Tuesday J. H. Cook and J. A. Wheeler of the National Religious Liberty Association, arrived in Bodie. These gentlemen are travelling through Eastern California and Western Nevada, obtaining signatures to petitions to Congress asking that body to refrain from any legislation whatever looking to a union of Church and State in the Government of the United States. Considering that we have got along very comfortably, very happily, and very prosperously for over a hundred years without any such cranky nonsense, no sensible man thinks there is any sense in starting it now. The movement which Mr. Cook and Mr. Wheeler are urging is a simultaneous one in every State and Territory in the Union, agents canvassing everywhere for signatures to Congress to let the Constitution remain as it is so far as regards religion or religious tests. Returns of signatures to Washington are made weekly. These gentlemen commenced canvassing for names as soon as they arrived in town, and about every lady and gentleman who understood the matter readily signed the petition.

A mass-meeting was held in Miners' Union Hall on Thursday evening. The meeting was called to order by Watkin Morgan. Orlando E. Jones was selected for Chairman, Watkin Morgan acting as secretary.

Chairman Jones read the Blair Sunday-rest Bill and the Joint Resolution proposing to establish religion in our public schools. Mr. Jones then proceeded, in his customary clear and perspicacious style, to point out the absurdity of legislating on those subjects at all. We are happy, contented, prosperous, rich, and the boss of the world; let us remain so.

F. P. Willard made a very neat and telling little speech in support of the petition, and was heartily applauded throughout.

Harvey Boone, while declining to make any remarks, heartily indorsed the petition and the object of the meeting.

J. H. Cook, who is thoroughly familiar with the entire subject, explained it very lucidly, after which the following resolutions were presented and read:—

Resolved, That we, the people of Bodie, Mono County, California, in mass-meeting assembled, are steadfastly opposed to the adoption by Congress of the United States of the joint resolutions introduced in the Senate by Senator Blair, proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, respecting the establishment of religion and free public schools. That we are opposed to the passage by Congress of the Blair Sunday-rest Bill, and to its kindred measure introduced by Mr. Breckinridge, of Kentucky, and to all other legislation looking to the establishment of any system of religion by the Nation, or by any State; or restricting the right of any citizen to engage in any legitimate, lawful pursuits on any day of the week.

Resolved, That the first section of the joint resolution for the amendment of the Constitution respecting an establishment of religion and free public schools, which reads as follows: "No State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof," is not designed to guard the rights of the several States, but to muzzle them, and thus center the power of legislation on the subject of religion for the several States, in the national Legislature.

Resolved, That article second of said joint resolution which proposes to establish and maintain a system of free public schools in which are taught the fundamental principles of the Christian religion, is destructive of the principles of religious and civil liberty, and is wholly un-American in its inception, and deserves the universal condemnation of every American citizen.

Resolved, That the Blair Sunday-rest Bill is wholly a religious bill. Its passage would be religious legislation, therefore, is in conflict with the first amendment. "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." That it is in conflict with the words of Christ, "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and unto God the things that are God's." That it places a high penalty of crime on conduct not essentially criminal. That it is designedly loose in its wording, "labor to the disturbance of others," giving every advantage in law to any religious bigot who may chance to have had his mental equilibrium disturbed by Sunday labor, subjecting the offending party to a fine from \$10 to \$1000; also the premium bid for any one to spy out persons who may have labored and received pay for said labor, in conflict with said law; to bring suit in his own name, and for his own use, and recover said money; all of which speak plainly of the religious and intolerant character of the said bill; that they call loudly on every American citizen to come to the rescue and demand the preservation of the Constitution, as it now is, with all its safeguard against any religious legislation, and protection alike equally to all.

After the reading, N. B. Ward moved that the resolution be adopted. Carried, the vote being unanimous.

Those present were then invited to sign the petition, which all did with alacrity.

Friday morning, Messrs. Cook and Wheeler, having performed a good work in Mono County, left for Hawthorne, and will continue their labors to Candelaria, and down through Inyo.

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NEW YORK, MAY 29, 1890.

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"SOME Christians serve God so tremendously on Sunday," says Doctor Talmage, "that they are cross and crabbed all the week. Doing too many things on Sunday, they do nothing well all the rest of the week."

And the Doctor might have added truthfully that as a class such "Christians" are in favor of compelling everybody else to "serve God" just as they do, at least so far as Sunday is concerned. They are generally those who believe that the sum of all religion, worth having, is in Sunday keeping.

OF prayers in Congress, the *Christian Statesman* remarks:—

"If the silence of the national Constitution as to religion is to be construed as a deliberate and intentional renunciation of all religion by the American Nation, then such prayers, or any prayers, in Congress, or in any State Legislature, are an impertinence and an anachronism, and ought to be abolished."

That deduction is perfectly logical, and the logic ought to be turned into a fact. Chaplaincies in Congress, in State Legislatures, the army, etc., are an impertinence and an anachronism. They are a relic of the hierarchal rule of the Middle Ages, and ought to be abolished. Legally, chaplains are unconstitutional loafers; physically, however, they are strictly constitutional loafers.

THE *Sabbath Advocate*, of Stanberry, Missouri, says that "the present tendency on the part of the people of this Nation is to put down everything that tends to unite Church and State, and consequently Mr. Blair is having poor success in his Sunday legislation. Too vividly does the past come up before us to tolerate such without a struggle. We say down with everything of such tendencies. Christianity can stand without a union with the State." If the editor of the *Advocate* would take the *Congressional Record* and note carefully the number of petitions presented both in the Senate and House in favor of a national Sunday law he would not feel quite so confident as he seems to that Mr. Blair may not after all be ultimately successful in his efforts to secure religious legislation. The friends of a national Sunday law are making a "still hunt," but they are doing effective work, and if the advocates of religious liberty suppose that

there is no danger they are simply deceiving themselves. But what the *Advocate* says illustrates the situation exactly. The great danger to religious liberty in this country is due in a large measure to the indifference of the people. The great majority think that there is, and can be no danger; and at least a large minority care not a straw whose liberty is infringed so long as they are not affected. They fail to realize that the only safety for any class is in *jealously guarding the rights of all alike*.

THE bill which recently passed the Senate forbidding the sale of intoxicating liquors in the District of Columbia on Sunday, was for a time prevented from passing, by Senator Blair, who desired to have it amended. Finally, however, Mr. Blair withdrew his objection to its passage, saying:—

This particular bill, it seems to be thought, is very good in the way of spoon-victuals, and I do not feel inclined to be an obstacle to the enactment of whatsoever good there may be in it into a law. *It is well to provide for the observance of the Sabbath.*

And so it appears that Senator Blair agrees with us that Sunday-closing laws are in the interests, not of temperance, but of Sunday observance. That bill ought to be killed, and we hope the House of Representatives will do it.

IN the course of a speech to the Senate in introducing a bill to repeal laws providing for the retirement of army and other officers, delivered in the Senate of the United States, April 23, Senator Reagan, of Texas, said:—

It seems to me we can only account for the creation of privileged classes in this country, on the hypothesis that it is the result of a skillfully devised plan of those in this country who condemn the political doctrines of the illustrious Mr. Jefferson and his followers, who seek by this means to subvert our Federal system of States with reserved rights, and of people with reserved liberties, and on the wreck of this system to establish a strong, consolidated, centralized Government with power to repress and control the popular will, and, in the interest of the few, to establish a Government of force and coercion in the place of our present democratic Government based on the consent and agreement of the people and States.

In these words, Mr. Reagan has expressed the greatest danger which threatens this commonwealth, and one which has already passed its inception.

THE assumption of police power over the State by the Legislature of Massachusetts for the enforcement of the Sunday-closing of saloons, and the earnest effort made by the supporters of that measure to proselyte other States to the same dangerous policy, is still another evidence of the decided trend of the so-called "reformers" toward paternalism in Government.

Mr. Dudley, of Boston, said, in the Sunday Convention, held in Washington last winter: "Massachusetts determined to

take it into her own hands to enforce her own laws and to control the police force; but in Boston was shown the force of the law—the power behind it. . . . It has been claimed that this is an interference with the local government, but it is not. Fifty-nine out of every sixty of these convictions are for violations of the Sunday law, and only one for a violation of the city law."

Thus is shown the growing tendency to place the powers which are legitimately municipal in character, in the hands of the Legislatures, and those which should be in the province of the Legislature solely, to the general Congress. And so they would usher in the age of Bellamyism—not only "looking backward," but actually going backward, politically, in an attempt to establish the "United Patriarchate of America."

THE mischief of Sunday laws is again illustrated by a case out in Indiana. Mr. C. W. Cook keeps a hotel at New Haven. Some time ago he allowed the agent of the Toledo Automatic Cigar Company to put up on the outside of his house one of those little machines into which one drops a nickel and gets a cigar. On Sunday April 20, somebody dropped a nickel into the thing, got a cigar and smoked it. Mr. Cook knew nothing about it, had nothing to do with the machine himself, nor has he any of the profits of it at all, but simply allowed the owner of it to place it there, yet *he was prosecuted for Sunday desecration*. A change of venue was secured, and the case was tried in Ft. Wayne. After deliberating all night the jury brought in a verdict of guilty with a fine of one dollar and costs, and the costs amounted to over fifty dollars.

This well illustrates the value of Sunday laws. All they are worth, or that they ever were worth, is simply to give a chance to meddling bigots to pester, or vent their spite upon, their neighbors. This is the only earthly thing that Sunday laws are used for now, and it is the only thing they ever will be used for; and if the Sunday-law advocates get the laws enacted which they so long for, this simply illustrates in a very mild way, what will be the fruit of them.

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VOLUME 5.

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The American Sentinel.

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EDITOR, ALONZO T. JONES.
ASSOCIATE EDITORS,
C. P. BOLLMAN, W. H. MCKEE.

THOSE who insist that some species of religious instruction shall be incorporated into our public-school system, may not intend the result; yet they are taking just the course most likely to destroy the system altogether, since they demand of it what it cannot consistently do. *Secular* instruction is the utmost limit to which the system can be reasonably extended.—*Independent*.

THE home and the church are the proper places for moral and religious training, not the State free schools. These schools are for secular training, to prepare for intelligent citizenship, heroic manhood, and for life work. The State educates for its own support and protection, not for the future of man or boy after death; not to make Christians, Jews, or Mormons, but to make good citizens, noble patriots, and wise men.—*Commercial Gazette, Baltimore, Maryland*.

"ALL crime against the State," says Rev. W. J. Coleman, "is an open sin against God." If this were true, it would follow that the State can require nothing wrong, and forbid nothing that is right. It would also follow that the three Hebrews who refused to fall down before the great image which Nebuchadnezzar set up, were guilty of sin; that Daniel sinned in praying to God when forbidden so to do by the king; and that the apostles and martyrs of Jesus also sinned when they chose to obey God rather than men. God has ordained civil government; he did this when he created men and placed them together in families and communities; and when governments confine them-

selves to their proper sphere it is sin to resist their authority; but when they enter the domain of morals and assume to rule in things pertaining to God, they put themselves in the place of God, and must be disobeyed by all who would remain loyal to God. It is this principle alone that justifies the martyrs; any other reduces them to the level of criminals who suffered justly, condemned alike by God and man.

The Bennett Law.

THE Bennett law of Wisconsin has excited much discussion not only in that State but throughout the country. This law was enacted last year, going into effect April 18, 1889. The object of the law is to compel all the children between the ages of seven and fourteen years, to learn the English language. Every such child is compelled to attend school where the teaching is in English, "not less than twelve weeks in each year" under penalty of a fine of "not less than three dollars nor more than twenty dollars" for each offense; "and failure for each week or portion of a week on the part of any person to comply with the provisions of this act shall constitute a distinct offense." Section 5 reads as follows:—

No school shall be regarded as a school under this act, unless there shall be taught therein, as part of the elementary education of children, reading, writing, arithmetic, and United States History, in the English language.

This law has incurred the open and determined opposition of the whole Lutheran body in the State, assisted by that portion of the Roman Catholics who speak German or other foreign tongues. The Lutherans seem to be the leaders in the contest. Illinois has a similar law, only worse if anything, and the Bennett-law contest in Wisconsin has awakened a much more active opposition to the Illinois law. The cause is one in both States.

In several papers that have discussed this matter we have noticed a singular misapprehension of the question at issue,

and a misstatement of the reasons of the opposition.

1. The opposition is not to the public school in any sense. The Lutherans maintain the perfect right of the public school to exist; and willingly pay their proportion of the public-school taxes.

2. The opposition is not to the use, nor the teaching, of the English language in the public schools. The Lutherans cheerfully admit the right of the public school to teach the English language.

3. The opposition is not to the English language itself, nor to its use. The opponents of the Bennett law do not prohibit their children from either learning or speaking the English language. They know full well that their children will learn English. They know that in the nature of things they cannot live very long in this country without learning it. They teach it in their schools, and speak it, and write it, upon occasion.

BUT,

While admitting all this, they deny that the public school may teach religion, much less the religion which they believe; and they maintain their own exclusive right to teach their own religion to their own children, in their own schools, at their own expense, in their own native language, if they choose.

While maintaining the right of the public school to exist, they maintain likewise the right of the parochial school to exist.

While cheerfully paying their proportion of taxes in support of the public school, they maintain their right to pay what they please for the support of their own private school.

While they maintain the right of the State to use and to teach the English language in the State school, they maintain their own right to use and to teach the German, or any other language, in their own school.

While they cheerfully admit the right of the public to establish and maintain the public school, they deny the

right of the public to turn their private schools into public schools. For that, in one sentence, is what the Bennett law means, and the Illinois law also.

The Bennett law requires that every child between the ages of seven and fourteen years shall attend school such period of time, not less than twelve, nor more than twenty-four weeks, in each year, as "shall be fixed" "by the Board of Education, or Board of Directors of the city, town or district;" "and such Boards shall, at least ten days prior to the beginning of such periods publish the time or times of attendance."

The Illinois law requires that the children shall attend school "at least sixteen weeks," with a penalty of not less than one dollar, nor more than twenty dollars "for every neglect." "But if the person so neglecting, shall show to the satisfaction of the Board of Education or of Directors that such child has attended for a like period of time a private day school, approved by the Board of Education or Directors of the city, town, or district in which such child resides, etc., then such penalty shall not be incurred."

The only effect of these laws is to make every private school a public school. The use of the term "private school" in the sections quoted is a misnomer; because when the public fixes the time or times of attendance at the school, and fixes what shall be taught there and how; when what is done must be "to the satisfaction" of the public authorities, and must be "approved" by the public authorities, then such schools are no longer private in any proper or legal sense of the word.

Yet these laws do not openly propose the abolition of the private schools, they only mildly propose to confiscate them—to turn them into public schools at private expense. These two States generously grant the right of the churches to establish church schools; but when the schools are once established, then the States merely assert the authority to turn them into State schools at the churches' expense. The effect of these laws therefore is as clearly confiscation of property as need be. The State lays a public tax, collects it, and uses it under its own direction in the work of the public school. The people who hold church schools pay their proportion of the tax levied by the State. They pay all that the State asks. But besides this they as church members organize schools of their own in which to teach their own children the religion in which they believe, and whatever else they may choose; they use their own money to pay teachers, to build school-houses, etc. Then the State steps up and demands, "I must have all this too. These schools must be under my control; the teaching there must be to my satisfaction; in short they shall not be counted schools at all unless you teach there what I say shall be taught, and as I say it shall be taught. In other words,

and to be plain about it, you must spend your money and teach your children as I choose and as I direct."

That is precisely what these laws mean. The confiscation of the money and property however is a very small item, as compared with the usurpation of the place, and the authority of the parent and the Church. These laws are identical in effect, and almost identical in word, with a bill introduced in the New York Legislature, January 16, 1890, which the Union League Club unanimously denounced as "a dangerous and vicious bill," and "in the line of the most vicious class of legislation with which we are afflicted;" and which met the death it deserved, and which it is to be hoped is everlasting. Any private or church school that obeys these laws thereby consents to the State's assumption of authority to control the school, and dictate in its affairs. And if the State can say what any church or association of parents shall teach to their own children, and how it shall be taught, then there is no longer any such thing as parental or church authority to teach anything except at the direction and dictation of the State. The State has no more right to say what shall be taught in a private school, than a private individual has to say that his private views shall be taught in the public school. The State has not a particle more right to say what shall be taught in a church school, than a church has to say what shall be taught in the public school.

These are the grounds, and these the basic reasons, of the opposition to these laws in Wisconsin and Illinois. It is in defense of the American principle of the rights of the people, and of the Christian principle of religious liberty.

These compulsory school laws of Wisconsin and Illinois have not a scintilla of justice to rest upon. The principle is that of absolutism, the laws are but the assertion of it, and the defense of the laws is but the defense of it. We have read everything we could get hold of on the subject, from the laws themselves and Governor Hoard's speech, to whatever else we could find on either side of the question, and we have found the principle of the laws and the defense of them to be absolutism only; and in all that has been said in defense of them we have not yet found a single valid reason.

As we have shown, the laws logically assert the right of the State to say that neither the parent nor the Church shall teach anything to the children except at the direction and dictation of the State, and so argue that the State is absolute. All the advocates of the laws have not asserted openly and in plain terms that this is so, but some of them have. The words of one such we give. The *Chicago Tribune* of April 8, 1890, gives the words of Mr. William C. Goudy, a well-known lawyer and political leader, as follows:—

The State has the power over its citizens. The State may even abolish the relations between parent

and child, though as to the result of such an act I do not care to speak. The fact is that the law does interfere with the custody of children. Time and again children are taken away from both father and mother.

It is true enough that where parents maltreat a child, the State may, in fact it must, exercise its protective power in behalf of the child. Protection of the rights of the subject is what the State is for, and it must protect a child as well as a man. But it is only the assertion of the rightfulness of tyranny to argue from that the right of the State to abolish the relations between parent and child. It is a wicked spirit that turns the doing of a favor, into authority for an assertion of power—to make the exertion of a protective power in an exceptional case, the authority to assert a commanding or dictatorial power in all cases.

Further it is gravely argued that it is necessary to "the peace and safety of the State" that the State shall compel all the German and other children of foreign tongues to learn the English language. And it is *America* that says it. Well now, if all the people of Illinois and Wisconsin both should speak German, or Latin, or even Choctaw, we should like to know what calamity could threaten the peace and safety of either of the States from that source. Is every person necessarily a thief, or a murderer, or an outlaw who does not speak the English language? Is the peace or safety of States or communities never disturbed or threatened by people who speak English?

But if it is necessary to the peace and safety of the State that all the children of foreign tongues shall learn to read and write and speak English, why is it not necessary that the parents shall learn it also? Why jeopardize the peace and safety of the State all these years till all the parents die who do not speak English, and all the children learn to speak, read, and write English? Why is it not necessary, yea, much more necessary, that the parents be compelled to learn English as well as the children? Or is it a fact that the peace and safety of the State are endangered only by the children, and by such of them only as are between the ages of seven and fourteen years?

Besides, upon the theory of these laws that English can be learned only in school, not to compel the parents to use English is to continue the greatest possible hindrance to the children's learning to use it. So long as the parents are suffered to use German in the home, in the shop, in the field, everywhere, it will be almost an interminable task, successfully to get the children to learn it. Why then do not Wisconsin and Illinois go about this work in the right way? Why not adopt the plan that will positively assure speedy and certain, and permanent results? Why does not each of these States enact a law—doubtless Mr. Bennett for Wisconsin,

and *America* for Illinois, could easily frame the laws—declaring that after a certain time, say three or six months, everybody in the State shall use the English language exclusively, or else have his tongue cut out?

That will bring the result, and speedily, which these present laws aim to secure. We know it will, for it has been tried with perfect success. Some years ago a certain province of Turkey spoke another than the Turkish language. This was deemed not to be good for the State. Therefore a decree went forth that after a certain time whoever should speak any language but the Turkish should have his tongue cut out. And we have it from a person who was there that the thing worked splendidly. It is true some of the people lost their tongues, but what was that, in view of the immense result accomplished—the peace and safety of the State!

And just now, even in this present month, that most excellent ruler, that father of his country, the Czar of all the Russias, has issued an edict, abolishing the Finnish tongue and establishing the Russian only, in all the schools in Finland. We are not informed what penalties are attached to the law, but undoubtedly the mildness of temper that is characteristic of this model ruler will be expressed in penalties at the most no heavier than are those of these kindred laws in Wisconsin and Illinois.

The opponents of the Bennett law in Wisconsin and its counterpart in Illinois are in the right. It is the same old contest of justice against despotic power, of private rights against public wrongs, of the freedom of the individual against the despotism of the State. They are in the right, and we wish them unbounded success.

Will the people of these two splendid States come back to the place of enlightenment and American civilization? Will they redeem themselves from the reproach of Russian and Turkish despotism? We earnestly hope they will. A. T. J.

Senator Blair's Educational Bill.

SENATOR BLAIR is attempting some very dangerous experiments, in the name of learning and religion. His Educational Bill is of doubtful utility, and of more than doubtful expediency. There is no evidence that education will be permanently benefited by putting the Federal Government in control of it, and aiding it for a fixed term of years out of the Federal treasury. The people should sustain popular education for its own sake. Our Government rests upon the intelligence of the masses, but it is a voluntary intelligence. The fitness of the people for self-government lies in their voluntary enlightenment. When they reach a point at which the Government has to force

them to fit themselves for self-government, there will be danger abroad that larger statesmanship than Blair's will have to deal with. His measure tends to reduce the spirit of self help amongst the people, to turn their faces toward Washington, and look to the Federal Government for that which they should do for themselves. In this sense the help he intends to give to popular education will hurt it more than it has ever been hurt before. Education is as much the personal concern of every American as is obedience to the laws which all have made. Pride in himself, in his citizenship, in his country, is the proper motive for supporting public schools and general culture, and for this Mr. Blair's aims will be a sorry substitute. —*San Francisco Alta.*

The Public-School Question.

THE common schools are our national idol. Like all idols this American tutelary genius exercises a peculiar spell over its votaries and has the faculty of stupefying and stultifying them *ad libitum*. A most glaring instance of over-zeal and folly in this noble cause is the recent legislation of Wisconsin and Illinois against the parochial schools which abound in those States.

These two States have an immense Lutheran population, which has come mostly from Germany and northern Europe. They are people of enlightened and earnest religious convictions, many of them having come here to enjoy, unhampered by statecraft and uncorrupted by rationalism, their pure, evangelical, Protestant faith. To inculcate this precious faith in their children is with them one of the primary functions of the Christian Church, a duty to which she cannot be derelict. Hence they maintain at great expense in every congregation, a parish school in which for the first hour of every day the children receive instruction in the Christian religion.

They have no hostility to our common schools. They laud them as one of the noblest products and supports of the State. They are perfectly willing to be taxed for their maintenance, although deriving little direct profit from them. They are accustomed to send such of their children as can prosecute a further course of study, to the higher grades of the public schools, where their primary training is found quite equal to that furnished by the public school. They have not in a single instance asked for a portion of the school fund. In cities where, by co-operation with the Romanists, they could easily have succeeded in getting exemption from school taxes, or securing a fair portion of the fund, they have repelled with scorn the proposal for united action, protesting that in this matter they had nothing in common with Roman Catholics. But while in the fullest accord with the American school system,

they recognize that it is purely and necessarily secular, that the all-important element of true education is absolutely excluded. Hence they propose to supplement State education with Christian education; and very properly this supplement comes first in order, since all admit that the earliest religious impressions become the deepest and most abiding. The hearts and minds of the children are filled with the knowledge of divine truth, and then the State may take charge of their further instruction.

All this, it must be acknowledged, is at once accordant with the purest patriotism, and the best type of Christianity. And so far, the State could have no possible pretext for breaking up these parish schools. But a pretext is offered on the score of language. Many of these people have not been long enough in this country to have acquired the English language. And some communities are so exclusively made up of Germans or Scandinavians that the vernacular which they brought with them to this country still prevails, and it is said that there are even natives who cannot read, write, or understand English. There is, again, no opposition to the use of English. Dear as is the mother tongue which embalms the hallowed traditions and associations of a people, the hymns and the prayers of their religion, these new comers are sufficiently intelligent to understand the significance of their American citizenship to their children—and that to contend with others in the race of life, they must master the language of the country. And whoever saw a young German or Scandinavian that was not eager to speak English, no matter how much amusement was caused by his broken efforts?

Whenever it is practicable, the parish schools teach some of the branches in English. In many of them it is the medium of instruction for half the day, and the children outside the school room speak almost exclusively English. Yet as large bodies of emigrants continue to arrive, forming new communities and churches, cases continue to arise where a suitable teacher who can use English as the medium of instruction cannot be found, or where the children are as yet so absolutely ignorant of English, that to use that language as the medium of instruction would be the height of absurdity. You might as well make Greek the vehicle of instruction in our primary schools.

Yet this is just what these political wiseacres say must be done—the elementary branches must be taught in English, whether the children can understand a word of it or not, whether the teacher is capable of using it, or whether he is not. The police are to drag the children out of the Christian schools, where there is no English taught, and force them into the schools of the State, even though they understand not a word that is uttered there.

If only an amendment had been added requiring these statesmen to do the teaching under these conditions for the first year, there would soon have followed a call for an extra session of the Legislature to abolish this crude and hasty measure.

The American people are as sensible and just as they are practical, and one may confidently predict that such enactments, when properly understood, will not have the sanction of a sober public opinion. Apart from the impossibility of instructing children through the vehicle of an unknown tongue, such an expedient is doomed to failure even as a means of making them English. The results may be seen in half the counties of Pennsylvania, where English has been the language of instruction for fifty years, and where persons can be found whose parents and grandparents were born in this country, and who are still unable to speak, write, or understand English. They attended the English schools, but not understanding what was taught they never learned English or anything else. Though not among our worst elements, could they have had the instruction of parish schools in their vernacular, they would be far more intelligent than they are.

If Americans could for a moment put themselves in the place of these pious foreigners, who by common consent constitute a most peaceable, intelligent and thrifty class, they must look upon this legislation as a wanton and cruel invasion of their sacred right to educate their offspring in the best manner possible under the abnormal and temporary conditions. No American community would submit for one hour to such an outrage.

Some of these Germans have probably fled from the intolerance of Russia, which forces the Russian tongue into the schools of the Baltic Provinces. Invited to this country as offering the fullest civil and religious liberty, how bitter must be the disappointment which finds here the same spirit, the same politics, the same heartless disregard of circumstances and of rights.

But the saddest aspect of these laws is the revelation they make of the godless spirit that rules the State. The beliefs and the morals of Christianity, we have heard times without number, are the palladium of our free institutions. Here now are evangelical churches providing a thorough Christian culture for their children, infusing into their minds the eternal principles of private and public virtue, and the State with iron hand breaks in the door and demands to know what is being taught in these schools. The answer is, "The doctrines of the gospel, and whatever besides will help to make good citizens." "In what language are you doing it?" "In the only language at our command." "OUT WITH THIS BUSINESS! This is an English country, and unless you teach English your school must stop." And so we are going! Whither, O

whither, tell me where? We are fain to speak of this as a Christian country. We hear often that Christianity is the common law of the land. We are even now passing a bill in the national Legislature to enforce the observance of "the Christian Sabbath." To some well-meaning people only one thing is lacking to make this in form as it already is in fact a Christian Nation, and that is to write the name of Jesus Christ across the national Constitution.—*Prof. E. J. Wolf, in Christian at Work.*

Simple Tyranny.

THE public-school system, existing in the several States of the Union, is directly the creation of State authority, and is maintained and enforced by compulsory taxation. The object is to meet a great practical want in the way of popular education that otherwise would not be adequately met. There can be no doubt either as to the necessity or as to the wisdom of the system considered with reference to the end had in view. The question whether the education, thus provided for, shall be simply *secular*, or shall, in addition thereto, include some element or elements of *religious* teaching, is the vexed question that has for years been the bone of contention in our public-school system, and that now really constitutes its greatest peril.

We have never had but one opinion on this subject, and have given full expression thereto, as occasion has called for it. We do not believe it to be the legitimate province of any State, as such, to engage in any species of *religious* propagandism, whether in the public school or elsewhere. A State, in order to do this, must first have a State religion, and, of course, must authoritatively determine what it shall be, and what it shall embrace; and having proceeded thus far, it must then, in order to give the idea a practicable form, compel the people through a tax levy to pay the expense of teaching the religion, whether they believe in its truth or not. The mere statement of the idea ought to be sufficient to refute it with the American people.

An American State cannot consistently extend its public-school system, supported by general taxation, and regulated by law, beyond the purely *secular* field of education; and those who demand that it shall do more than this are making war upon the only system that comes within the province of the State. Our public-school system must be purely secular in its instruction, or be abandoned altogether, unless the people are prepared to have the State in its organic power become a religious propagandist.

We desire to preserve and perpetuate the system on the only basis that is practicable, and hence utterly dissent alike from those Catholics and those Protestants

who would use the public schools for religious purposes. Not a dollar of the public money should be thus expended. No man should be required by law to pay a solitary penny for religious propagandism. Such a requirement is simply tyranny.—*The Independent.*

Where the Difficulty Lies.

PROFESSOR BLAISDELL, of Beloit College, Wisconsin, in *The Christian Union* of May 8, criticises the decision of the Supreme Court of that State on the Bible in the schools. He raises the same cry as other enemies of the public school, that the public school is thus made godless, and says:—

There are multitudes of thoughtful people in Wisconsin who will say, If information about a Supreme Being, and addressed to the highest and most productive sentiments in the school training of my children is to be ruled out of our schools so that they become godless and morally colorless, we will have our parish schools.

Very well, such persons had better have their parish schools than to have the public school turned into a parish school. They had better teach their own children the religion which they want them to be taught, at their own expense, than to undertake to do it at other people's expense.

To talk about the public schools being thus made morally colorless is another piece of sophistry, because those very persons claim that the religion to be taught shall not be dogmatic, nor sectarian. It must be of such a kind as that all may receive it with equal favor. And to demand that in a community where there are many different views, and where every man is free to think for himself, is only to demand that the teaching shall be morally colorless. The objection that the public schools are made godless and morally colorless, is a fraud. There is not a particle of fairness in it, and those who make it must know it, because it is difficult to conceive how men who can write as intelligently as these, can be so dull as not to detect the sophistry of their own argument.

The Professor next objects to the decision because if it is sound, then the State cannot teach religion in its asylums, for the blind, the deaf and the insane. Then he begins to beg his question by appealing to the sympathies of the people for these unfortunates. But that is no objection to the decision. If the State has the right to teach religion in its asylums and in the penitentiaries, then it has a right to teach it in the public schools. If it is right to teach it in the public schools, it is right to teach it everywhere else. The trouble is that those who argue this way miss the whole point, and that is, that it is impossible for the State to teach religion. Before the State can teach religion, it has to have a religion to be taught. And as the Supreme Court of Ohio justly said:—

Properly speaking, there is no such thing as religion of the State. What we mean by that phrase is the religion of some individual or set of individuals taught or enforced by the State. The State can have no religious opinions, and if it undertakes to enforce the teaching of such opinions, they must be the opinions of some natural person or class of persons. If it embarks in this business, whose opinion shall it adopt?"

All that the State ever can do is to give a certain class of persons the power to force their views in religion upon others at the public expense. But the State had a good deal better let that be done at the expense of those who want to teach that doctrine. It is clear that the State cannot do it without at once making a distinction between its citizens and establishing a preference in religious things, which is only to establish a certain religion.

To the parent and the Church is committed by the Lord the task of teaching religion. It is the place and the duty of the Church to carry to the unfortunate the consolations of religion, and even to criminals the hope of being made righteous. But the Professor argues that especially in the asylums for the deaf and blind, "young children are gathered for four, six, eight, or ten years in the forming period of life." The idea is that these young children need careful training in religion and as the State has assumed charge of them, that therefore if they get such training, the State must give it. We are willing to admit that these young children, blind or deaf, should be taught religion and should be trained in righteousness, but, as it is only the parent and the Church to whom this work has ever been committed, it is they only who can do it. If the parents fail to do it, then it is the place of the Church to do it. If the Church fails to do it, then it goes undone because the State cannot do it.

The difficulty in this whole matter is that the Church in this and a good many other things, has proved recreant to her trust, and has deplorably failed to do the very work which belongs to her, which God has committed to her, and which the failure to do is a disgrace to her. And having done this, it is a poor plea for the Church to stand up and insist that the State shall teach religion to the children, and that the State shall not leave them godless when she herself, through the failure to teach them the religion of Christ has left them godless.

Next the Professor mentions the reform school and the penitentiary, and of the latter says:—

There is a penitentiary at Waupun, in the heart of our beautiful State, whither go up under sentence of these courts, and amid the deep solicitude of our people, five hundred vigorous young men annually to be recovered to citizenship, a problem concerning which the perhaps most successful and experienced criminal officer in America says, "I know of nothing which will solve the problem of penal discipline but the religion of Jesus Christ." This decision, if it means anything, hazards the banishment of the religion not only of Jesus Christ, but of any religion whatever from that prison.

To be sure it does, so far as any teaching by the State is concerned. But it does not preclude the Church from doing her work, that which is committed to her, of teaching these persons the religion of Christ. By the way, does Professor Blaisdell mean hereby to intimate that "any religion whatever" should be taught to anybody, but the religion of Jesus Christ? If so, what religion should it be? and how much would they be bettered?

But, aside from this, these people do not go to the penitentiary to be reformed; they are not sent there for that purpose. They are sent there in punishment for the crimes they have committed, and that their fellow citizens may be protected from their further depredations. It is a false theory—this mawkish sentimentalism—that the criminal is unfortunate, and that it is misfortune that overtakes him when he is convicted of his crime and sentenced to the penitentiary to pay the penalty. He is not unfortunate, he is bad. It is not misfortune, but justice that has overtaken him. It will not do to give the criminal to understand, as this theory does, that his conviction and the infliction of the penalty is a misfortune; It will not do for the State to undermine its own authority, destroy respect for its own laws, and put a premium upon crime, by counting justice a misfortune.

We admit that the religion of Jesus Christ will solve the problem, not only of penal discipline, but of parental and every other kind of discipline; but it is impossible for the State to apply it either in the penal institutions or anywhere else. Besides if the State is to apply this remedy in penal institutions, why shall the State not apply it outside? If the State is to teach the religion of Jesus Christ to people in the penitentiary to make them good while they are there, and to keep them out when they get out, why shall not the State teach that religion to the people before they get into the penitentiary, and in order that they may not get in there? And if the State shall do this, then what is there for the Church to do, and what is the Church for?

Thus, and so surely, does the State become a Church, and a Church the State, by every theory that would have the State undertake to the slightest extent the work of teaching religion. And every plea that the State shall do so is a confession that the Church either has no place in the world, or else has forgotten her place.

A. T. J.

THE American Sabbath Union Convention held a meeting in San Bernardino last week. The stock resolutions against Sunday newspapers were adopted. Sunday trains and Sunday mails were condemned of course. Those present were in earnest and meant what they said; but that doesn't help the matter any.—*The Citrograph*.

The Sphere of Legislation.

LEGISLATION can deal only with the natural affairs of man. The laws of a land are restraining and compulsory, and can therefore not touch the free will of a man, to which true religion only, can come. No legal enactment can make a man honest; but if he is found guilty of stealing, it can punish him as a warning, and for a season remove him from all opportunities to steal. All legislation is for the protection of the people, to prevent the evil and unjust from molesting others in their just rights. Beyond this it has no power. All it can therefore do for religion, which is of every man's own free choice, is to prevent others from interfering with him in his worship and practices according to his own conscience; and to prevent zealots, who have not the Christian love of the neighbor, from molesting others.

THE AMERICAN SENTINEL seems therefore to be right in opposing religious legislation. . . . All just laws are made for the protection of the people in all their just rights; of which religious liberty is the first; but no law can enforce, or even defend, any form of religion.—*Mount Joy, Pennsylvania, Herald*.

Sunday-Law Campaign in California.

WE have mentioned the political campaign which the Sunday-law advocates are carrying on to secure representatives pledged to enact Sunday laws. It is the same old trickery put in new dress. The following statement of *The Dial* gives a good view of the way they are doing it:—

The very beneficent Sunday-law devotees have mapped out an importunate campaign for the present season in California. Rev. Wilbur F. Crafts and Mrs. Bateham, both of national reputation in the line of Sunday fanaticism, have come from the East to assist poor California in the herculean task of extricating herself from Sunday desecration. In addition to this, the local co-adjutors, male and female, are training for a fight to the finish.

Dr. Thompson, the State satellite of the American Sabbath Union, a few weeks ago laid out the plan of operations before the pastors of San Diego, which, in brief, comprised the following programme: First, to labor to secure recognition by one or both of the great political parties by Sunday-law planks in their State platforms; second, failing to effect the point in this way, the next step will be to work upon individual candidates for the Legislature. Faithful friends of the measure in each district will interview the candidate of one party and if possible procure his private pledge to support a Sunday law. They can say to him, "Your party is not committed either way, you are at perfect liberty to do as you please; your position need not be known during the campaign;

just privately pledge yourself to us and we will throw our weight in the balance in your favor."

The point will be to assure the candidate that all the church people are united on this question, and will all vote for any one who is pledged to support a Sunday law. If he fail to see it in that light, he is to understand that he will be tabooed by the good people, and their support will be given to the other man. In this campaign everything political in the power of the sacred circle is to be bartered for a Sunday law.

There are in the plans for this campaign, although in the name of religion, the elements of the most deceptive political schemes ever brought to light in the State. This State movement is part and parcel of the game for a national Sunday law, which in turn is a link in the National Reform Constitutional Amendment plot; and their principal hope, all the way through, is based on the verdancy or the cupidity of politicians. They would loudly denounce the same principle of operations if brought to bear against their pet project. The line upon which the Sunday-law politicians are working, was laid out at a National Reform Convention, held in Pittsburg, in 1874, when Dr. Robert Audley Browne gave vent to the following sentiment:—

There is no more persistent man alive than the typical representative American office-seeker. Of that class, the most of those who have not yet found whether they are for Christ or not, or who are openly decrying this movement, are ready to be its firm friends as soon as they acquire wisdom to discern the signs of the times, and are assured of its speedy success. They may pull back now at the hind axle, or scotch the wheels of the car of progress; but when they see it move, they will quickly jump in to get front seats, and avow "they always thought it was a good thing." When our Master comes into his kingdom in our beloved land, they will be candidates for the foremost positions, and scramble with the mother of Zebedee's children for the right or left hand places in the kingdom.

This shows the character of the weapons they propose to use, and the programme proposed for the California campaign shows the deceptive manner in which the weapons are to be secured. Verily "the end justifies the means" from a Sunday-law standpoint. When a professedly Christian people begin to work in a secret manner with such candidates as can be secretly induced to barter principle for votes, it is time for honest people to look with suspicion upon the object sought by such means.

Not only is there deception proposed in regard to the manipulation of candidates, but there is equally as rank deception in regard to the character of the "Sabbath" which it is designed to bind upon the people of the State. The leaders of this movement have two propositions before the people: To the church people the very solemn plea is made that the sacred Sabbath is being desecrated by the ungodly use of the day; while to the general pub-

lic the call is for a merely "civil Sabbath," in order that the poor workingman may have a day of rest and recreation. The Oakland apostle of this religious-political movement, Rev. N. R. Johnston, even goes so far as to blandly plead for the saloon-keepers' opportunity to go to the picnic on Sunday: while on the other hand the wickedness of the Sunday picnic has been held up as the grand reason why we should have a Sunday law. In his call for a convention at San Jose on the twentieth and twenty-first of this month, he shows the *religious* character of the *civil* Sabbath that his party is working for in the following language:—

The great importance of the divine institution, the steady growth of opposition to it as a sacred day of rest, the alarming prevalence of Sabbath desecration, and the danger that a Continental Sunday may displace our true American Sabbath, all call for combined wisdom and united efforts to promote Sabbath sanctification, and to secure a righteous civil law in our State that will tend to prevent the contemptuous disregard of our sacred day of rest.

And all this in the face of the public representations, not only of Mr. Johnston himself, but of Mr. Crafts, Mr. Thompson, and the whole flock of prominent leaders, that all that is wanted is a civil day of rest, a legal holiday in the interests of overworked humanity. Let the people beware of wolves in sheep's clothing.

A Political Revolution in Wisconsin.

THE last Wisconsin Legislature, passed at its last session what is known as the BENNETT law, making education in Wisconsin compulsory, and enacting this provision beside:—

No school shall be regarded as a school under this act, unless there shall be taught therein as part of the elementary education of children, reading, writing, arithmetic, and United States history in the English language.

Upon its face this provision might seem to be fair enough, but, closely considered, it is found to embody features replete with mischief. The State of Wisconsin contains a very large foreign-born population, chiefly German, Scandinavian, and Belgian. In many of its towns German is extensively spoken; in most of the private and parochial schools German is taught.

To make education compulsory, while denying to the schools where children of German parents are instructed a legal existence as schools, means substantially, their abolition; and if the State has the right to prescribe what language shall be taught in schools that are not maintained by the State, but supported and managed by private individuals, it must also have the right to prescribe and supervise all their other studies. Against such an invasion of private rights the citizens of Milwaukee have now protested with such vigor and effectiveness that the only thing

to be done with the Bennett law is to repeal it.

If the local authorities of New York were to direct that Latin or Greek should no longer be taught in any of our colleges; if they undertook to furnish the text books of history to be used in private schools and to interdict all others; if they assumed to interfere with the religious training of the young, either in parochial or Sunday schools, a strong expression of dissent would promptly follow. The State maintains its own schools, and there is no interference of any sort, sectarian or political, with their management; but the dictation of the State cannot be permitted any further than in the schools which it supports by taxation.

Penal laws for the obliteration of a language have been passed and cruelly enforced in Ireland and Poland, but they can have no place upon the statute books in this country. The people of Milwaukee gave their views upon the subject very decisively; and similar views, it is quite safe to say, are entertained by a majority of the voters of every populous community in the United States, where English is not exclusively spoken.—*The Sun*.

Remarkable Language.

THE Rev. Dr. Parkhurst used this very remarkable language in the course of a sermon last Sunday at the Madison Square Presbyterian Church:—

It is as much a Christian's duty to love his country as his God. To an American the Stars and Stripes ought to be as much of his actual religion as the Sermon on the Mount. It is as much the duty of a New York Christian to go to the polls on election day as for him to go to the Lord's table on communion day.

The command of Jesus is to love God with the whole heart, and your neighbor as yourself. Therefore, love for mankind as brethren is a Christian sentiment. But patriotism is a restriction of that sentiment to a man's own country.

Great as are the "Stars and Stripes," and glorious beyond measure, is a Christian preacher justified in calling them as much a part of religion as the Sermon on the Mount, in which is contained the very kernel and epitome of Christianity? They are for time; but does not Dr. Parkhurst believe that the words of Jesus are for eternity, for the endless ages, when the symbols of earthly power shall have passed into nothingness?

The duty of a Christian to go to the polls is a great and a high duty. He shares it with the Jew and the pagan; but were not the Madison Square Presbyterians a little startled to hear Dr. Parkhurst putting it on the same religious plane with the duty of partaking of the sacrament as distinctive of Christianity?

Such language is very extraordinary. But Dr. Parkhurst, it must be remembered, is a Presbyterian of the agnostic variety.—*The Sun*.

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ON THE

Breckinridge Sunday Bill.

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NEW YORK, JUNE 5, 1890.

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THE German Emperor makes "Sunday rest" the phase of the industrial question, which claims "the foremost attention." It will not be long before the Sunday-law question becomes not only a national but an international one.

THE Woman's Christian Temperance Union takes to itself much credit for securing the Illinois Compulsory Education law. They are entitled to all the credit that attaches to such a statute. The law is entirely worthy of its source

THE *Christian Union* says that "Few intelligent Christians believe that the earthly body has any resurrection." Such "intelligence" as that is the most serious kind of ignorance. Such wisdom as that is of that kind which by wisdom knows not God, at the last. The earthly body of Jesus Christ had a resurrection, and so must every one have who will ever be where he is.

A CONTRIBUTOR to the *Western Wave*, of South Dakota, states that in some of the public schools in Grant County in that State "the Roman Catholic catechism is being taught." Those who know of it ought to have it stopped. The Roman Catholics of South Dakota have no more right to use their catechism in the public school, than the Protestants of Wisconsin have to use the King James version of the Bible in the public school.

In defense of the Bennett law, Governor Hoard cites the fact that some persons who could not understand English had been seduced into signing what they supposed were contracts to sell patent rights or something of that sort, while in fact they had signed promissory notes for large amounts of money, or perhaps mortgages on their farms. Well, we have known that to be done all over the land, to people who could not understand any language but English. If the Governor's argument means anything, it means that people who can speak, read, and write English are thereby made safe from being deceived or swindled. That is giving rather more virtue to the English language than it had ever yet been known to display. But perhaps the idea is in-

tended to be conveyed that the Bennett law gives to the English language this virtue. If so then the argument has at least one merit, it is the only real point that has yet been made in favor of that law.

THE Hon. J. M. Palmer, late United States minister to Spain, adopted in Spain, and brought home with him, a Spanish boy. As the Spanish nurse who had engaged to come was hindered at the last moment, Mr. Palmer waited in this city until another could come from Spain; because, he says, he desires that conversation with the child shall be wholly in Spanish, and that his instruction shall be in that language also. It is a good thing that Mr. Palmer lives in Michigan, instead of Wisconsin or Illinois. Otherwise, he might soon find himself undergoing prosecution for not giving the child instruction in English, and for not causing the child to forget the Spanish language as soon as possible.

SUNDAY evening, May 11, Rev. Theo. Clifton, of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, delivered a lecture on "What Protestants May Learn from Catholics," in which he said:—

They [the Catholics] must give to support their work. They dare not do otherwise for fear the priest will send them to hell. When I have gone to a millionaire to get a few hundred dollars for the support of our cause, and have been refused, I have sometimes wished for the power of the priest to say to him, "Give me a hundred thousand dollars or here you go."

That is just about the size of it. That is a very fair illustration of what Protestant preachers learn from Roman Catholic priests, and of how they learn it. The trouble is, they are learning too much from this source. Woe to the people when these men get the power to practice what they are learning. Mr. Clifton is a Congregationalist.

THE Canadian Supreme Court has just decided that in the works of Victor Hugo there is nothing immoral, even though they may be condemned by the Roman Catholic Church. The case grew out of the refusal of certain Catholic booksellers of Montreal to fulfill a contract which they had made to supply a customer with Hugo's works, on the ground that as Catholics they could not sell works condemned by the church. The court very properly held that the Congregation of the Index, or any other congregation, could not make laws annulling the legal contracts between its own members and outside parties. The *Catholic Review* of this city complains that this is simply a Protestant decision and that it places the booksellers in a dilemma: they must "commit a grievous sin by dealing in prohibited books, or they lose heavily by breaking their contract." This, the *Review* thinks, "only illustrates a plain but much-observed fact, that Church and State cannot ignore each other, even

if they would." It is evident that the editor of the *Catholic Review* would like to see "the Church" clothed with power to revoke civil contracts just as she used to do in the palmy days of the Inquisition. The bookseller was not obliged to make that contract; but having voluntarily entered into such a contract it was only justice that he should fulfill it. Let Roman Catholics make no such contracts, and they will have no such difficulties. No decree of any church can impair the obligation of contracts.

MANITOBA has adopted a law by which it is proposed that from the first day of May and forward, the schools shall be public schools, and so conducted as to be without offense to Catholic or Protestant; in short, unsectarian. Accordingly instructions were given as follows:—

On the first of May the Catholic school board will cease to exist and the Protestant school board will become the public school board of the city. The members of the Protestant school board will continue in the office of public school trustees for the remainder of their respective terms. After the first of May all moneys due to the Catholic school board on the levy of 1890 will belong and be payable to the public school board.

This is to say, that the public schools of Manitoba shall henceforth be *Protestant* public schools, and that they shall be unsectarian *Protestant* schools. This is the same kind of public schools that those people in this country want, who are clamoring for the teaching of religion in the public schools.

SOME time ago we mentioned the pamphlet "Bible Principles and the Union of Church and State," issued by the London branch of the Pacific Press. We had then received only a sample copy. We are glad to announce that we have the pamphlet now in stock and can fill orders promptly. Aside from the Bible principles, which are universal, there is much in this pamphlet that is of interest to the people of the United States in its excellent showing of some of the workings of Church and State when legally, or rather illegally, joined. In the presence of the workings of the National Reform Association and its allies this book makes good reading for Americans. We shall present extracts from time to time in THE SENTINEL; but everybody should have the pamphlet. Send in your orders. Price, forty cents.

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EDITOR, - - - ALONZO T. JONES.

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C. P. BOLLMAN,

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"THE Protestants and Catholics of Newburyport, Massachusetts," says the *Converted Catholic*, "are quarrelling over the saloon license. Through the efforts of a secret society all the licenses for that town have been granted to so-called Protestants, and Father Teeling, the Roman Catholic priest, has protested against this unfair discrimination." This item illustrates the impropriety of calling Protestants all who are not Catholics, and of denominating Christian all who are neither Mohammedan nor Pagan. Of course, as the *Converted Catholic* remarks, these people who have received license to sell liquors are not members of any Protestant church, but it is just as proper to call them Protestants as it is to call Christians hundreds of thousands who are so called.

ANOTHER evidence that the workingmen are not crying so loudly for Sunday laws, and that they are not complaining so bitterly of the Egyptian bondage and slavery of being forced to work on Sunday as the Sunday-law advocates claim, is furnished by the Chairman of the Committee of Arbitration in the great Chicago strike which was settled lately. In that, there was no call by the workingmen for the stoppage of Sunday work, there was no complaint about being required to work on Sunday, no demand whatever for any release from Egyptian bondage, nor Sunday labor. There was just this provision in the settlement with regard to Sunday: "Sunday work will be paid for at the rate of double time." That is, wherever men work on Sunday, they are to have double wages over work done on other days. It is probable that pay for Sunday work has

not always been at the rate of *double* the pay for work on other days; but nearly always more is paid for work on Sunday than on other days. However, whether that be so or not, it is certain that the workingmen are not nearly as anxious about the question of Sunday labor, as the Sunday-law preachers are.

The Rights of the People.

It is remarkable how everything in the way of State or legislative action is running more and more to the theory of force. Even now it has reached that stage where it is demanded that the people shall be forced to be religious, forced to be English, forced to be educated, forced to vote, and there is no knowing what next will come, nor where it will end.

By Sunday laws and the Bible in the public school the people are all to be forced to be religious. By such as the Bennett law in Wisconsin the people are all to be forced to be English. By a compulsory voting law Governor Hill of this State, as a leading executive, and David Dudley Field, a leading lawyer, propose that all the people shall be forced to vote.

This theory is subversive of the American principle of government which is the only true principle of civil government. The American principle of government is the principle of *rights* not force. This Government is a government of rights, not a government of force—a government for protection, not compulsion. "Oh," it is said "we fully recognize that. We do not propose for an instant to take away anybody's rights. We simply propose to compel everybody to *exercise* his rights." But, the moment that government assumes the authority to compel a person to exercise his rights, that moment it robs him of all his rights. For who is to compel the minority to exercise their rights?—The majority of course. But if the majority may compel the minority to exercise their rights, then that majority have the equal right to compel the minority to exercise those rights *as the majority*

say. Such a proceeding annihilates constitutional government, and substitutes only the government of the mob. The very idea of a constitution is sacredly and safely to guard the rights of the minority against even the slightest encroachment of the majority; whether it be in an attempt to say that any person shall exercise his right, or an attempt to say *how* he shall exercise it.

Any claim of the right to compel a person to exercise his rights necessarily carries with it the right to say how he shall exercise them. All this compulsion that is now advocated is claimed to be for the good of the State; it is claimed to be essential to the peace and safety of the State; that is of the majority. It would be absurd to compel a person to exercise a right and then leave him free to exercise that right to the detriment of the State. It would be suicidal to compel people to exercise their right to vote and then leave them free to exercise it in such a way as to overturn the power that does the compelling. It is destructive, rather than preservative, of the peace and safety of the State to compel people to rest and at the same time leave them free to hatch mischief. Therefore any claim of right to compel anybody to exercise his rights necessarily involves the claim of right to compel him to exercise them in a certain way. And that is only to rob him of his rights and his freedom altogether.

It is true that force is the only power at the command of a civil government. But the only proper use that can ever be made of it is for protection. It is not to be used to compel a solitary individual to exercise his own rights; but to compel all to recognize, and not to infringe, the rights of others.

Every person in the United States has the natural right to rest, and to worship, and to be religious, and to speak English; and many of them have the political right to vote. Every person has the right to exercise those rights. And every person has an equal right *not* to exercise those rights.

Another instance of this same spirit of despotic invasion of the rights of the people, is shown in the act of Congress empowering the Census Bureau to carry on such a political inquisition as to compel the people of the United State to answer such questions as the following:—

22. Whether [he or she is] suffering from acute or chronic diseases, with the name of disease and length of time afflicted.

23. Whether defective in mind, sight, hearing, or speech; or whether crippled, maimed, or deformed, and name of defect.

24. Whether a prisoner, convict, homeless child, pauper.

25 and 26. Is the home you live in hired? or is it owned by the head or by a member of the family?

27. If owned by head or member of family, is the house free from mortgage encumbrance?

28. If the head of the family is a farmer, is the farm which he cultivates hired? or is it owned by him or by a member of his family?

29. If owned by head or member of family, is the farm free from mortgage encumbrance?

30. If the home or farm is not owned by head or member of family and mortgaged, give the post office address of owner.

When Congress, and legislatures, and governors, and lawyers, advocate the compulsory speaking of English, and compulsory education, and compulsory voting, and the compulsory telling of every personal defect and every private disease, it is not so much to be wondered at that preachers should advocate compulsory religion. When Congress voluntarily sets on foot a political inquisition it is not to be greatly wondered at that the political preachers and churches should petition the same body to establish a religious inquisition also.

Every one of these things is an unwarrantable invasion of the rights of the people.

In this Government there are rights of the people, separate from and above both the rights of the States and of the United States. There is such a thing as the rights of the States; there is also such a thing as the rights of the United States; and there is yet further such a thing as the rights of the people. In other words there are State rights, national rights, and personal rights; and each of these is separate from both the others. This is all recognized and expressed in the United States Constitution. The Constitution begins with the words,

“WE THE PEOPLE.”

Then the Ninth Amendment says:—

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

Then the Tenth Amendment says:—

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

The makers of this Nation understood this question thoroughly; but it is now almost entirely forgotten. When will the people learn once more to recognize, and to assert, the rights of the people?

A. T. J.

A Telling Example.

In *The Independent* of May 22, we find the following announcement:—

A telling example of the evil of intoxicating liquors is that offered by the dismissal of Post-Chaplain John Vaughan Lewis, formerly a popular minister of St. John's Church, the most fashionable church in Washington City, who was appointed to a chaplaincy in the army in 1883. He was compelled to leave his church by his unfortunate, and we must add, criminal habit of drinking. The habit pursued him after he left the church and while a chaplain in the army. A year ago he was confined in an insane asylum for treatment, after having been recommended for retirement by a retiring board. It was hoped that the treatment would result in a partial cure, so that he might be restored to duty; but such has not been the case, and an order has been issued directing his retirement with a year's pay.

That is also a telling example of the evil of State chaplaincies. There was a man dismissed from the church for drunkenness, and then by some “influence” or other hocus-pocus was made a *chaplain* in the army. That is to say, he was not fit any longer to belong to a church, therefore it was proper for the State to take him up and give him charge of the spiritual interests and the moral culture of its soldiers.

Addicted to habitual drinking when he was appointed in 1883, he kept it up all these seven years “while a chaplain in the army;” and a year ago he was confined in an asylum for treatment, with the hope of “a partial cure, so that he might be restored to duty.” That is to say, an habitual drinker is worthy to be appointed a chaplain in the army, and so long as he is not entirely gone in besotted inebriety he is capable of performing “duty” as a chaplain. When, however, it is no longer possible to keep him even partially sober then it is proper to retire him “with a year's pay.” Eight year's pay, therefore, —not less than ten thousand dollars of public money—has been paid to this chaplain for doing a drunkard's “duty.”

Such a misappropriation of public money however is a very small item in comparison with the infamous and standing insult thus imposed upon every enlisted man in the United States Army. For, to assume—as the appointment of such a character as that to the office of chaplain, and as the keeping of him there knowing him to be such, does assume—that the soldiers of the United States army are so low and degraded that a confirmed drunkard is a fit instructor in morals and a proper person to take charge of their spiritual interests, is nothing short of an infamous insult imposed upon every enlisted man in the service.

Considerable has been said lately about bettering the condition of the enlisted men in the army. There is plenty of room for it. And the total abolition of the whole system of State chaplaincies in the army and everywhere else, would be an excellent beginning.

Under the circumstances it is difficult to suppose that this man was not known to be what he was, *when he was appointed*. For President Arthur, who appointed him, was an attendant at the very church of which he was a minister before he was appointed chaplain. It is indeed a telling example.

A. T. J.

Why He Sails Under Cover.

M. A. GAULT, in *Christian Nation*, April 30, says:—

Brother Crafts is now making a tour of the West, but does not announce his meetings definitely, I presume in order that these organizers of the opposition may not get on his track.

Yes; that is what we presumed some time ago. But why does he not wish these opponents to get on his track? Is he fearful of the results of an open conflict when overtaken by them? or doesn't he want such large crowds, anyway? Evidently he is not advocating doctrines which admit of such profound reasoning and unanswerable arguments that those who have attacked him once dare not ask him any questions after that. On the contrary, he seems anxious to avoid having to answer the questions a second time. But a lack of definiteness in making appointments may not only keep the opposition off his track, but his friends and abettors also. To such inconvenience is error put when pursued by truth. Why does not Mr. Crafts stand his ground?—*W. A. Colcord.*

Some Statesmanship.

In the course of the discussion in regard to the admission of Idaho into the Union, in the House of Representatives, April 2, Hon. Joseph E. Washington, of Tennessee, as reported in the *Congressional Record* of April 6, said:—

Mr. Speaker: The gentleman from Idaho (Mr. DuBois) in defending the clause in the Constitution of Idaho which disqualifies Mormons from voting and holding office, says:—

The gentleman from Tennessee (Mr. Washington) signs this report. Let us see what the Constitution of Tennessee says on the subject of franchise. By article 9, “Ministers of the gospel are forbidden to hold office, also persons who deny God, or fight duels.”

Yet, the gentleman from Tennessee signs a report which says:—

“We insist that in Idaho disqualifications for holding office shall result only from a conviction of crime.”

The people of Idaho say bigamists and polygamists shall not hold office in Idaho, the people of Tennessee say ministers of the gospel shall not hold office in Tennessee.

Now, sir, let me read you in full the parts of the Constitution of Tennessee referred to. (Art. 9. Sec. 1-3.) They are as follows:—

Whereas ministers of the gospel are, by their profession, dedicated to God and the care of souls, and ought not to be diverted from the great duties of their functions; therefore no minister of the gospel or priest of any denomination whatever shall be eligible to a seat in either house of the Legislature.

No person who denies the being of God or a future state of rewards and punishments shall hold any office in the civil departments of this State.

Any person who shall after the adoption of this Constitution, fight a duel, etc.

Sir, these disqualifications are very different from what the statement of the gentleman from Idaho would lead one to suppose. . . . Surely the gentleman cannot object to that clause of our Constitution which excludes from civil office the infidel who denies the existence of a God! How, forsooth, could such a person take an oath to support the Constitution? Upon whom would or could he call to witness the solemnity of his obligation? He could not swear by the earth, for it is God's footstool. He could not swear by any created thing, for it is less than the Creator, whose very existence he denies.

But, sir, Tennessee does not stand alone among the States in excluding certain persons from the right to vote and hold office. On the contrary, she has fewer restrictions of this sort than almost any other State.

As the gentleman from Vermont (Mr. Stewart) alluded to my State, let me read from the Vermont Constitution, chapter 3, section 12, which says each member of the Legislature before taking his seat shall make and subscribe to the following declaration:—

"You do believe in one God, the Creator and Governor of the universe, the rewarder of the good, the punisher of the wicked; and you do acknowledge the scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be given by divine inspiration, and own and profess the Protestant religion."

This prohibits, if enforced, a Roman Catholic from becoming a member of the Legislature of the State of Vermont, and certainly excludes every infidel. I will not consume time by reading from the constitutions of all the States.

I have cited these cases to show that Tennessee has done nothing cruel, unjust, unusual, or contrary to the spirit of a free and enlightened government when she placed a few restrictions around the right to vote and hold office, but on the contrary she has not gone to any such length as have the States which those who criticise her represent.

The congressman from Tennessee is in error as regards his quotation from the Vermont Constitution, for the clause which he quotes is to be found in the Constitution of 1786, but is omitted in the Constitution of 1793 now in force. However there are other provisions remaining which are, in almost equal measure, out of harmony with the true principles of civil government.

But the remarkable fact remains that after a century has elapsed for the development of the principles enunciated by Thomas Jefferson and his compatriots in the establishment of this Government, such views should be expressed unchallenged in the Congress of the United States; and the fundamental law of all the States be called to witness to their propriety and soundness.

Such incidents as this would argue it not amiss for our legislators to withdraw occasionally from the consideration of naval and military appropriations and tariff making, to the study of the primary principles of civil government, as found in the act for establishing religious freedom adopted by the Legislature of Virginia in 1785.

The following portion of that act would be of special value in such an exercise:—

That our civil rights have no dependence on our religious opinions, any more than on our opinions in physic and geometry; that therefore the proscribing any citizen as unworthy of the public confidence, by laying upon him an incapacity of being called to offices of trust and emolument unless he profess or renounce this or that religious opinion, is depriving him injuriously of those privileges and advantages to which, in common with his fellow-citizens, he has a natural right, etc.

This act also provides that opinions and professions in matters of religion shall in nowise diminish, enlarge or affect civil capacities.

When in the discussion of a question of disfranchisement for a civil crime, such opinion as to what falls within the proper sphere of legislative cognizance are expressed, and things civil and things religious so inextricably commingled, there is, evidently, a wider field for civil service reform than has yet been dreamed of.

W. H. M.

The Contest in Wisconsin and Illinois.

As Judge Prendergast had something to do in assisting the Board of Education of Chicago to frame educational bills to be presented to the Illinois Legislature in 1889; and as the Illinois educational law and the Wisconsin law are both now the subject of great discussion, the *Chicago Herald* requested the Judge to prepare a review of the whole subject, embracing both laws. He did so, and the review was printed in the *Herald* of May 27. For the benefit of the readers of THE SENTINEL, we shall reprint the material part of the article. It will make two installments, the second of which will be a history of both the Illinois law and the Bennett law. We think the propositions set forth in the part here printed will bear the test of all fair criticism. Judge Prendergast says:—

A brief review of recent statutes of the States of Illinois and Wisconsin concerning education is undertaken at the request of the *Chicago Herald*, and from a belief that by reason of grave misunderstanding as to the provisions and effects of both these laws, good citizens, who have in common the laudable purpose of educating youth and forming individual character, are moving, if they have not already moved, into opposing lines.

The rights of parents and of the State are already so well defined by decisions of the highest judicial tribunals of both States, that it ought not to be difficult to compose the present dispute without drawing into the arena of politics, questions so fundamental and yet so easy of misrepresentation. It is wholly foreign to this statement to discuss the relative merits of the public and of the private, or denominational, school methods of instruction. To precipitate such a topic into the dis-

cussion of the relation from the general legal standpoint of the parent and the State to the education of children, would be to introduce a factor not at all relevant.

The statutes mentioned are laws, and undertake to treat of and enforce rights which, in the legislative judgment, reside in different subjects, *i. e.*, the parent and the State, and shall be considered with reference to their bearings upon legal rights. I venture to say that the opposition to the so-called Bennett law of Wisconsin is directed against what that law is believed to be rather than against what it is, and further, that those who approve unqualifiedly the Illinois statute do so without accurate knowledge of the real ground of complaint against it. Denunciation of those who oppose both these statutes proceeds on the assumption that they are enemies of popular education and of the public school, and that they deny to the State its just share of authority in the field of education. This view would seem not to be grounded on fact.

The Bennett law has been generally published and understood to be a copy of the Illinois law. Beyond the fact that both treat of education, there is but little similarity between them. The Bennett law, while open to some objections, is yet replete with provisions recognizing and guarding parental rights, and at the same time it accords to the State recognition of its proper function. [From a careful study of the Bennett law, we are sure the Judge need not be so tender of it as he here seems to be. It is scarcely less violative of rights than is the Illinois statute. —EDITOR SENTINEL.] And in these respects it differs essentially from the Illinois act, which, as to some of its provisions, is violative of rights heretofore considered inviolable.

Before examining these acts and the history of them, it may be well to consider a few general principles, so as to find, if possible, a common ground upon which fair-minded men may stand, and which are conformable to law. Cannot agreement be had to the following propositions?

1. To determine and direct the education of the child is a natural right of the parent.

2. There arises out of this parental right the duty to provide education.

3. When one who, by natural or human law, owes a duty to another, fails to perform that duty, the State can (a) enjoin or compel performance, (b) punish for non-performance, (c) supply the lack where, to the injury of society, non-performance is wrongfully persisted in.

4. The citizen is a partner in the sovereign power and a partaker in its activities, hence the aggregate of citizens may require that those who are to exercise functions of citizenship be fitted to their proper discharge.

5. Compulsory education, in the sense

that parents who violate or neglect their parental duty may be compelled to its performance, or punished for non-performance, is licit.

6. Compulsory education, in the sense of controlling, or seeking to control, or dislodging from their rightful place those parents who are discharging their parental duty commensurately with the state of life of parent and child, is not allowable, even to the State.

7. For the education of his children one parent may select the public school; another may select the private or denominational school; still another may furnish proper education without the aid of any school, and each of the three in so doing exercises a right protected by the law of the land as well as by the law of nature, and for doing which, he need offer neither excuse nor apology.

8. The public and private or denominational schools are in law neither related nor are they subordinate one to the other, nor need they be antagonistic.

There lies within the bare proposition that "the State may compel all parents subject to its jurisdiction to give to their children instruction in the English language" much more difficulty than would at first appear. I will illustrate by the statement of a case within my own knowledge. I know a citizen, not a German, who for some years has educated several of his children in Germany, and instruction has there been given them altogether in the German language. In the Illinois act, as at present framed, if valid, this parent could be punished, for he does not send his children to a school within a district where they reside; nor are they given instruction in the English language. Another instance within my knowledge is that of a parent, not a German, who is about to remove from a comfortably and conveniently located home to another place where he can send his children to a school in which German is—to a considerable extent—the medium of instruction and of conversation among the pupils. He does this so that his children, in youth, may become proficient in that language.

It may be said that these are extreme cases, but what of that? They are facts, and what is the right of these parents is the right of every other parent. Is it competent for the State to punish either or both of these parents for such exercise of their parental rights? It is doubtful. He was a wise man who said, "It is good also not to try experiments in States, except the necessity be urgent and the utility evident." In such cases and in the case of German parents who send their children to German parochial schools, is it not to be presumed that the parents are sensible of the manifest advantage to their children of a knowledge of the English language, and that to parental interest and

affection, rather than to penal statutes, should be committed the task of providing instruction?

The right of the State to fix, by penal law, a given language as the language of instruction in schools has seldom been exercised. The only instances in mind are where drastic measures have been imposed on conquered or overborne peoples, as in Poland, Ireland, Alsace-Lorraine. This requirement for the teaching of certain studies in the English language involves questions of great delicacy. To enforce every right would often lead to offending against judiciousness. What danger sufficient to arrest legislative attention dwells in the fact that in a few rural communities the language brought by foreign-born citizens from the place of origin may obtain supremacy in a school-room. Will not this wear away? . . .

Is it not fair to presume that those who in addition to the payment of taxes for the support of the free public schools, voluntarily assume the burdens of private schools, desire that their own children become intelligent, well-informed and useful members of the community, and that they know as well as others what is for the advantage of their children?

Thrilled the Audience.

At the fiftieth anniversary of the Philadelphia Sunday Association, Mr. John Wanamaker had quite an important place. He made a speech in behalf of Sunday laws, in which he employed the following allegory, which the *Pearl of Days* says "thrilled the vast audience:"—

Just this is on my heart. I have an old friend born in another country years ago. He lived in a garden more beautiful than any other in all the world, where there were no cities and no railroads. I'd like my friend to speak to you. He arrived here last night. Listen to what he says:

"Friend, you are very old?"

"Yes, I have lived a great many years and I have traveled a great deal, first in Palestine, then in Europe, and finally to this country in the Mayflower with the Puritans. I have seen strange things and many changes. I've been to India and to Africa and I go among the Indians of America."

"What's your name?"

"My name is Day."

"Large family?"

"No, only seven of us, and I am the oldest. A great many like me best because I am a friend of the poor. I stop the factories and light up the homes."

"Do they treat you well?"

"The boys laugh at me sometimes, and some men sneer at me. Some call me Sunday and others the Sabbath, but the devout people call me Lord's Day. I used to be the last in the family, but after the resurrection of Christ they put me first. I want to go all over, not merely to hospitals, but to all people and make them and their homes brighter."

"Dear old friend, we love you, and we would even kiss your feet. We hope that you may continue to go about the world and fill every land with joy and blessings in the name of Him who sent you."

That is rather a queer sort of personage indeed! First, he was the youngest in the family, and continued to be so for about

four thousand years; then, all of a sudden by virtue of the resurrection of Christ, he became the *oldest* in the family: and all this without the loss of a single member of the family! Accordingly he has been the oldest now for about eighteen hundred and sixty years. That the resurrection of the Saviour should cause the youngest member of a family to become the oldest while they all remain alive is an "allegory" indeed, or something worse. No wonder the vast audience was thrilled by the relating of such a phenomenon! But when people can be thrilled with such namby-pamby balderdash as that they must be exceedingly impressible.

A Good Thing Spoiled.

At the recent anniversary of the Garrett Biblical Institute, in Chicago, Dr. C. W. Bennett, of the Chair of Historical Theology, preached the Baccalaureate sermon from Mark 4:28; subject: "The Era of Religious Harmony. What Signs of Its Approach? What Can We Do to Hasten It?" Among other things, the Doctor thought this era might be hastened "by recognizing that we cannot produce moral effects by mechanical contrivances, cannot make men moral by statute. Placing the name of God in the Constitution and the Bible in the public schools will not make the Nation righteous."

This is good; but the speaker spoiled it all by saying: "There should be a conference of all the churches to select suitable moral precepts from the Bible for a text-book on which all can agree for use in the public schools." "The Bible," said he, "may be so used by godless teachers as to promote skepticism." Just so; "godless teachers" are incompetent to give religious instruction; and for this reason, if for no other, teaching the Bible, either in whole or in part, should not be attempted by the State, but should be left to the Church and the home.

"God in Government"

A GREAT deal of dignified nonsense has been written on the recognition of God in government, union of religion and the State, and kindred subjects, and we expect much more. Some think it absolutely necessary that religion be connected with the State, and God recognized by the Government, and that no harm will follow in the way of intolerance or persecution, as some anticipate. An article of this kind has appeared in the *Arena* for May, over the signature of Canon W. H. Freemantle. The writer anticipates no trouble from the recognition of God in government, because "this Christianity [of the Bible] can never beget a church which is the foe of progress."

He further says, in speaking of what is vital in Christianity: "In this I trust the two countries are agreed. I see in both

an increasing desire to legislate for the moral good of the people, and I cannot doubt that in the sphere of practical life the two organisms—a church thoroughly nationalized and a nation thoroughly Christianized—will blend together to be the first-fruits of the new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness.”

Now all this sounds very well, but there are some things worthy of consideration in this connection. 1. The Christianity of to-day is no more the Christianity of the Bible, than was the Christianity of the third and fourth century. Yet out of those centuries came the worst system of iniquity which ever cursed the world. Yet this system recognized God in the Government, and was used for the conservation of what was then considered vital to Christianity. Was the union of religion and the State during the Dark Ages a friend to progress? 2. Pure Christianity, that of the Bible, will never form a union with the world, nor with worldly powers. 3. “A church thoroughly nationalized” is a spiritual harlot according to the word of God; and a “nation thoroughly Christianized,” as far as the ægis of law can make it so, is but a repetition of the Dark Ages. A true Christian nation will be seen only when Christ destroys the national governments of earth and reigns in glory over a people redeemed by grace, not law.—*Signs of the Times.*

The Free Exercise of Religion.

THE following is an extract from a speech delivered by the editor of this paper before the House Committee on the District of Columbia, February 18, 1890:—

There is another consideration in this which shows that the State will be compelled to take official and judicial cognizance of the conscientious beliefs and observances of the people. It is this: When a law is enacted compelling everybody to refrain from all labor or business on Sunday, excepting those who conscientiously believe in and observe another day, then there will be scores of men who know that in their business—saloons, for instance—they can make more money by keeping their places of business open on Sunday than on another day, because more men are idle that day. They will therefore profess to observe another day and run their business on Sunday. This is not simply a theory, it is a fact proved by actual examples. One of the very latest I will mention. I have here a clipping from the *Southern Sentinel*, of Dallas, Texas, February 4, 1890, which I read:—

Right here in Dallas we have an example of how the law can be evaded. Parties have leased the billiard hall of the new McLeod Hotel, and have stipulated in their lease that they are conscientious observers of the seventh day [though to the best of the common knowledge and belief they are not]: that, in consequence, their business house will be closed on Saturday, and will be open on Sunday.

Mr. Groul—If they are known not to be conscientious worshipers, and keepers of the seventh-day Sabbath, what defense would they have?

Mr. Jones—The defense would still be a claim of “conscientious belief in, and observance of, another day.” The claim indeed might not be sincere. And if there were any question of it in the community, it would certainly be disputed and the court would be called upon to decide. Thus you see that by this bill the United States courts will be driven to the contemplation of conscientious convictions and compelled to decide upon the sincerity of conscientious beliefs and observances. And thereby it is proved that the introduction and advocacy of this bill is an endeavor to commit Congress and the Government of the United States to the supervision of the conscientious convictions of the people.

Now, gentlemen, to prevent this was the very purpose of the First Amendment to the Constitution. It is well known, as I have stated, that the Colonies which formed the original thirteen States had each one an established religion. When it was proposed to organize a Federal Government, the strongest influence that had to be met and overcome was jealousy of a national power—a fear that a national power would override the powers and interfere with the domestic affairs of the States. It was this that caused the adoption of the First Amendment to the Constitution. Their affairs of religion and the exercise thereof being the dearest of all, are first assured protection. Fearing that the national government might enact laws which would restrict or prohibit the free exercise of the religion of any of the people of the States; or that it might adopt or indorse some one of the religious establishments of the States, and thus form an alliance which might annihilate both political and religious individuality; that the political individuality of the States and the religious individuality of the people might be free; for themselves and their posterity the people declared that “Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.”

It is not to be inquired whether there was any danger of that which they feared, they feared it and that is enough. And because they feared it, because they were so jealous—rightly jealous too—of their religious rights and conscientious convictions, they guarded these, as they intended and supposed, forever, from any supervision or cognizance whatever on the part of the national Government. And upon this I quote now more fully the words of Bancroft, to which I merely referred a little while ago:—

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 in Judea.

It left the management of temporal things to the temporal power; but the American Constitution, in harmony with the people of the several States, withheld from the Federal Government the power to invade the home of reason, the citadel of conscience, the sanctuary of the soul; and, not from indifference, but that the infinite spirit of eternal truth might move in its freedom of purity and power.—*History of the Formation of the Constitution, Book V, chapter I.*

Thus says the historian, there is by the Constitution “perfect individuality extended to conscience.” This individuality, these rights, are as dear to us and as sacred as they were to the fathers of our Nation, yet no more so to us than to other people. Therefore, gentlemen of the committee and the representatives of the people, by your respect for the Constitution and your oath to support it, and in behalf of the sacred rights of all the people, we implore you to give no heed to any demand for legislation, which in any way, to the least degree, proposes to touch the conscientious beliefs or observances of a solitary individual in all the land; give no heed to this bill, which in its very terms, proposes to commit Congress to the supervision of conscientious beliefs, and proposes to drive the national power into a field where the makers of that power forbade it to go, and to compel it to assume jurisdiction of questions which they have forbidden it even to consider.

Now, as to the petition—their petition I mean (our petition is all right, that needs no defense), the petition which the other side is circulating—that petition shows what this bill means. Both this bill and the Senate bill, “which includes this,” were framed and introduced upon this petition. If we know what the petition asks for, we shall know also what the bills are intended to give. Here is the petition—I read the one for the national law, “which includes this.”

To the House of Representatives of the United States:—

The undersigned organizations and adult residents (21 years of age or more) of the United States hereby earnestly petition your honorable body to pass a bill forbidding in the United States mail and military service, and in interstate commerce, and in the District of Columbia and the Territories, all Sunday traffic and work, except works of religion.

The question then which would inevitably arise upon this is, What religion is it whose works of religion only shall be excepted? That question would have to be answered. It would have to be answered by the United States courts or by Congress. But whenever, or by whichever, it shall be answered, when it is answered, that moment you have an established religion—a union of Church and State. You cannot go back if you take the first step. The last step is in the first one, and we beg of you, gentlemen of the committee, and of these men themselves, for their own sakes as well as ours, do not take the first step.

We all know that the most wickedly cruel and most mercilessly inconsiderate of all governments is that in which the ecclesi-

astics control the civil power. And how are you going to escape it under such laws as here proposed? Who is to enforce these Sunday laws? Who, indeed, but those who are working for them? Certainly those who are opposed to them, or indifferent about them, will not enforce them. Who then are they who are working for the enactment of these laws? Who organize the conventions and count out the opposite votes? Who appeared here before your committee to argue in favor of it? Who, indeed, but the Church managers? for you saw how summarily the Knights of Labor part of the delegation was squelched.

Well, then, if it is the Church which secures the enactment of the law, it will be the Church that will have to see to the enforcement of the law. In order to do this she will be compelled to have police and courts which will do her bidding. This is her great difficulty now. There is now no lack of Sunday laws, either in the States or the Territories, but the laws are not enforced. In order to get executives and police and courts who will enforce the law to her satisfaction, the Church will have to elect them. Then, as said Mr. Crafts in this city the other day, they will form "law and order leagues to enforce" the Sunday laws. Here then is the system: The Church combines to get the law enacted; the Church secures the election of officers who will do her bidding; the Church forms "law and order leagues" to make sure that the officers do her bidding and enforce the law. Where, then, will the State appear, but in the subordinate position to formulate and execute the will of the Church? Then you have the Church above the State, the ecclesiastical superior to the civil power. This is just what is in this national Sunday-law movement; and this is what will certainly come out of it. It is inherent there.

But when George III. undertook to make the military superior to the civil power, our liberty-loving fathers declared it tyranny and avowed such things should not be in this land. And now when a movement reaches the national Capitol which bears in itself an attempt to make the *ecclesiastical* superior to the civil power, it is time for the American people to declare that this is tyranny also, and resolve that no such thing shall be in this land. That attempt one hundred and fourteen years ago grew out of the "divine right of kings" to govern, and the doctrine that governments do not derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. This attempt now grows out of the divine right of the *ecclesiastics* to govern, and likewise that governments do not derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. The President of the American Sabbath Union, which is the originator of this national Sunday-law scheme, has definitely declared in so many words that "governments do not derive

their just powers from the consent of the governed;" and one of the secretaries of an auxiliary Union has as definitely stated that "this movement is an effort to change that feature of our fundamental law."

Gentlemen, when such doctrines as these are openly avowed, and when such an attempt as this is made by those who avow them, to embody them in national law, it is time for all the people to declare as we decidedly do, that this Nation *is, and of right ought to be, FREE AND INDEPENDENT OF ALL ECCLESIASTICAL OR RELIGIOUS CONNECTION, INTERFERENCE, OR CONTROL.*

Selfish and Tyrannical.

THE proposed religious legislation as embodied in the Blair-Crafts-Breckinridge Sunday bigotry, is "not dead but sleeping," and will no doubt bob up serenely at the beginning of every new session of Congress. It is really an indirect confession on the part of its advocates that they are losing faith in the invincible power of love in the conquest of the world.

But it is not "religion, pure and undefiled before the Father," but ecclesiasticism which is foremost and uppermost in this Sunday-law crusade. The former is always tolerant—"not puffed up"—and is ever ready to fulfill the golden rule, while the latter is always selfish and tyrannical, according to power and opportunity, and disposed to control the human conscience by force.

It is strange that professed followers of Christ should forget the lines defined and ordered by the Founder of our religion, and appeal to the State to aid them with its fines and prisons in the spread of religious truths, when the facts are ever before us to prove that in this country, where Church and State have thus far been divorced, Christianity is on a better and more promising footing than it is in any other country on the globe.—*J. G. Clark, in Oregonian.*

A Modern Inquisitor.

WHAT a perfectly inquisitorial disposition Census Superintendent Porter must have! First, he commissions the enumerator to inquire into the financial difficulties, the private defects, and secret diseases of all the people, with the idea of compelling answers under penalty of one hundred dollars. When he found this could not be made to work, he then undertook to get the physicians all over the country to violate their professional oaths and betray professional confidences, by revealing the private diseases and secret maladies of all their patients. Since he found that the physicians of the country were men too honorable to stoop to such shameful dealing, he now directs that where the persons themselves refuse to answer these wickedly hatched questions, the enumerator "should obtain the information by in-

quiry from neighbors, and enter it upon his schedule the same as if obtained from the head or some member of the family." No doubt Mr. Porter, by this last effort, will obtain a host of information. In many instances "neighbors" know more about other people than those people know about themselves, and are ready to tell it. But anybody who would trust such "information" would have to be of as remarkable disposition as is the author of this inquisition himself. We doubt whether the records of the Papacy contain the names of a person more perfectly qualified for the office of Inquisitor-General than *this* record shows Census Superintendent Robert P. Porter to be.

How Do They Use It?

THE lessening of the hours of labor may seem to be a very good thing for mechanics, but it is not impossible that in the long run it may be found to work against their interests. A great many persons who are not mechanics, but toil as arduously as any mechanics ever do or did, do not find that they can make a fair living unless they work more than eight hours a day. If the whole wide world can get along upon eight hours a day for toil, and is ready to devote the rest of its time to proper rest and recreation, and to such pursuits as will help to relieve those who engage in them, we wish the eight-hour rule might be established the world over. But the question arises, whether, apart from possible financial difficulties, the reduction of the hours of labor and consequent increase of hours of idleness may not prove in a moral point of view more hurtful than helpful to the laboring classes? Do they use well such leisure as they now have? Or do they use it in a way that suggests that increase of leisure would prove only a curse, and not a blessing?—*New York Observer.*

A RELIGIOUS paper of Oakland, California, has the following item which contains a thought worth repeating. It says:—

There is published in Santa Cruz, California, a monthly journal called the *Buddhist Ray*, which boasts of being the first paper of its kind published in a Christian city. It is being circulated in Japan. What is a *Christian* city? And if a city were Christian, would it publish a Buddhist journal? The doctrine of Christ is, "Out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh." The paper has naught of which to boast. Christ would not recognize Santa Cruz as his, any more than he would Yeddo, Oakland, London, or any other city.

THE defeat of what is known as the Bennett law, on a direct issue in Milwaukee, shows the danger of carrying unnecessary proscription into the public schools.—*Christian at Work.*

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ARGUMENTS

ON THE

Breckinridge Sunday Bill.

o o o o

Verbatim report of the speeches of Eld. J. O.
Corliss, of Washington, Alonzo T. Jones, of New
York, Editor American Sentinel, and Millard F.
Hobbs, District Master Workman of District
Assembly 66, Knights of Labor, together with a
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NEW YORK, JUNE 12, 1890.

NOTE.—Any one receiving the AMERICAN SENTINEL without having ordered it may know that it is sent to him by some friend, unless plainly marked "Sample copy." It is our invariable rule to send out no papers without pay in advance, except by special arrangement, therefore, those who have not ordered the SENTINEL need have no fears that they will be asked to pay for it simply because they take it from the post-office.

SOME men are bound to get to the front no matter what it costs; notoriety they will have in one way or another, as is just now strikingly exemplified in the case of Senator Blair, whose picture and name figure prominently in a patent medicine advertisement in several papers. In years to come when it shall be asked, Who was H. W. Blair? the answer will be, He is the man who was cured by Dr. Blank's Wild Cherry and Sarsaparilla Troches.

AMONG the many petitions for a national Sunday law presented to Congress during the present session, is one from "one hundred and two citizens of Massachusetts, praying for the better observance of the Sabbath." The query naturally arises, If these petitioners really desire better Sabbath observance why do they not observe it better? There is no law in this country against any man's observing any day just as well as he wishes to. It would be just as appropriate to petition Congress for better attendance at church, or for more regularity in family worship, or for less formality in giving thanks when sitting down to dinner. There is really no difference between petitions to Congress asking for a national Sunday law, and petitions "praying for the better observance of the Sabbath;" the latter, however, show more plainly the wish of the petitioners, namely, the legal enforcement of a religious institution.

THE Boston Committee of One Hundred, taking their cue from the United States Supreme Court decision upon the Mormon test oath, are now urging that the Roman Catholics shall be disfranchised. They declare:—

We do not hesitate to say, as a measure for the Nation's self-preservation, that no man who confesses allegiance to the Pontiff should be allowed to participate, as a citizen, in either holding office, or casting a ballot. The United States Supreme Court has decided that the law of one of our States disfranchising Mormons is constitutional, on the theory that the man who takes the oath the Mormons were required to take cannot be a good citizen. Why should not this principle be applied to those who confess allegiance to the Papal hierarchy? No ballot for the man who takes his politics from the Vatican.

The Committee of One Hundred are not alone in this; there are several pa-

pers in different parts of the country that advocate the same measure, and for the same reason. Others advocate the same measure for other reasons. But whether it be this reason or others, the truth is that those who advocate such a proceeding, hold a despotic theory and proceed upon a despotic principle. And if they had the power to execute their wish, the despotism that would thereby be established, would be no less cruel than that which they assert characterizes that which they wish to abolish. That Committee of One Hundred should be annihilated.

MISS MARY F. LATHROP, of the Non-Partisan Woman's Christian Temperance Union, is now on a visit to the Pacific Coast, in the interest of Christian temperance. She met a rather hot reception from some of the partisans of the partisan Woman's Christian Temperance Union. In an address in the First Congregational Church, Oakland, Sunday evening, May 25, she referred to this, and read a letter which she had received from a preacher, before she started for the Coast. In the letter the preacher said to her:—

Don't you dare to come to California, you scarlet woman of Babylon, you hand-painted Jezebel!

When she had read this, Miss Lathrop lowered her voice and quietly remarked:—

You laugh, my friends, but it is no laughing matter. If connection with political parties inculcates such feelings as this, where Christian love, forbearance and peace and good will should exist, isn't it high time we got away from politics?

So say we. All honor to the womanly women, who have cut loose from a leadership that is characterized by mannishness in women, and womanishness in men.

SOME of our exchanges are still repeating the story that the Nun of Kenmare had received subscriptions for a forthcoming book and then "disappeared," leaving said subscribers with neither their money nor the book. There never was a particle of truth in the story. There was no disappearance of the Nun. She was filling a lecture engagement in Baltimore, in midwinter, when she took a severe cold, which settled in her throat, affecting it so that she was compelled to break off her engagement, and by the positive direction of physicians go to Florida for her health. But at no time did she disappear, for her publishers as well as her friends knew all the time where she was. Yet her enemies seized upon this circumstance, and, being virtually in control of the press of the country, made it tell for all they could against her. Besides this, when she found that her book would be delayed, she wrote personally from Florida to each subscriber, offering to return the money if he did not want to wait longer than was at first expected for the book. Her enemies however, knowing well that a sensational story stands a much better chance of wide cir-

ulation through the daily press than the truth can possibly secure, made the fullest use of their opportunity.

We have the honor to be personally acquainted with the Nun of Kenmare—Miss M. F. Cusack;—we have had an hour's conversation with her, within a week before this writing; and we know that there never was a particle of truth in the story of her disappearance. It was wholly an invention, and the wish that it might be so was the mother of the invention. She is working diligently at the book referred to—"Why I Left the Church of Rome"—and hopes to have it in the press soon. If all the people knew what steady persecutions follow her, and what repeated difficulties meet her, so far from wondering why the book is delayed, they would rather wonder at the splendid courage that sustains her in undertaking to print the book at all, and in carrying on the noble fight that she is making. From our acquaintance with this lady, we believe her to be a genuine Christian woman, and well worthy of the sympathy and support of everybody who loves Christianity or admires courage.

THE *Christian Statesman* of April 24, copies from the illustrated *Christian Weekly*, an article by the Rev. Robert F. Sample, D. D., in which he says that "patriotism is a Christian virtue." We have read the New Testament through several times, and we never yet discovered this amongst the Christian virtues. One list of these virtues is as follows: "The fruit of the spirit is love, joy, peace, longsuffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance." Another list gives these: "Faith, virtue, knowledge, temperance, patience, godliness, brotherly kindness, charity." Patriotism is not amongst these, nor is it anywhere mentioned in the New Testament amongst the Christian virtues. How Mr. Sample found it out therefore, when it is not written, we should like to know. Will Mr. Sample give his authority? or, will the *Christian Statesman* give the authority for the statement?

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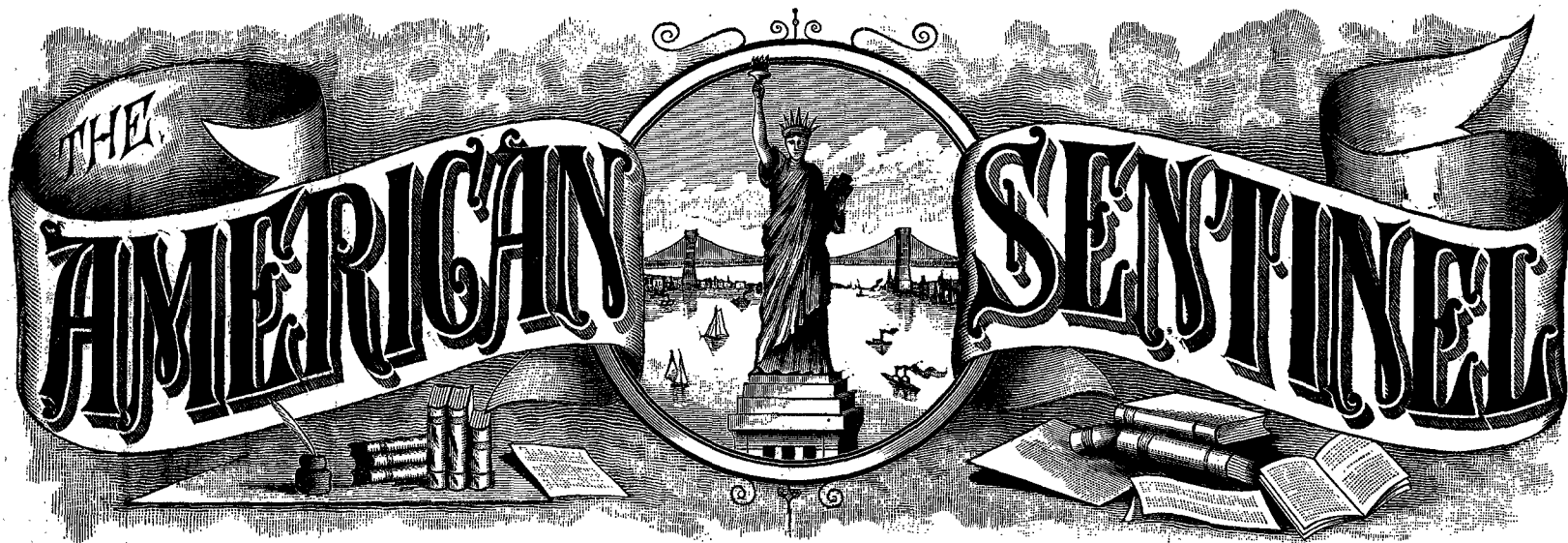
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EDITOR, ALONZO T. JONES.

ASSOCIATE EDITORS,

C. P. BOLLMAN,

W. H. MCKEE.

THE statements in regard to compulsory education in the leader in last week's SENTINEL are not to be taken in an absolute sense; but as in intent agreeing perfectly with the propositions in the article reprinted from Judge Prendergast in the same paper. Taking, however, the phases of compulsory education which we had directly in mind we mean all that we said, that it is totally unwarranted and only evil. We shall print another article shortly, giving the facts which show this to be so. We merely make this note now to prevent any misunderstanding of the phrases in the article named.

A MARKED feature of the debate, in the Senate, on the bill "subjecting imported liquors to the provisions of the laws of the several states," which was introduced to do away with the result of the "original package" decision of the Supreme court, has been an almost universal consideration of the question from a "moral" point of view. "Regulation of morals" and "protection of morals," by the police power of the State, have been phrases in constant use throughout the discussion. If the highest deliberative body in the Nation fails to distinguish between sin and crime, immorality and incivility, and in its debates presupposes the right of the State to "regulate morals" by police power, how far are those who are striving to bring about the general governmental supervision of morals from the accomplishment of their purpose?

The moral question as to whether a man shall injure his own health, blunt

his moral sensibilities and come short of eternal life, through the use of intoxicants, or any other agent, is an entirely different question from the civil issue as to whether another man may manufacture and expose for sale that destructive agent.

The manufacturer and seller of intoxicating liquors must answer to God for the sin of tempting his neighbor to his destruction, but for the crime against the peace and welfare of the State he is answerable to the police power of that State.

The manufacture, transportation, and sale of intoxicating liquors, so far as the authority of Congress or the police power of the State is concerned, has nothing to do with morals, but is solely a matter of the jurisdiction of the municipal law.

What the Bennett Law Really Is.

WE have before stated that in his review of the Compulsory Education laws of Wisconsin and Illinois, Judge Prendergast was more tender of the Bennett Law than there is any need to be, and we think more than the law itself will justly allow. His first remark in this direction is:—

I venture to say that the opposition to the so-called Bennett Law of Wisconsin is directed against what that law is believed to be, rather than against what it is.

That is too bad if it is true; because there is certainly enough in the law for what it is to justify all the opposition to it that there is, or has been. It is too bad to spend legitimate effort under a misapprehension when there is such ample ground for a right expenditure; we shall therefore examine the matter again to clear it of all misapprehension, and let the opposition be concentrated upon the law strictly for what it is.

Next the Judge says:—

The Bennett Law, while open to some objections, is yet replete with provisions recognizing and guarding parental rights.

We shall see how replete it is with such provisions, when we shall have gone a little further along.

The State Superintendent of Public In-

struction, for Wisconsin, issued an official circular, January 25, to explain to Boards of Education, Boards of School Directors, and School District Boards, the provisions of the Bennett Law. In this circular the Superintendent says:—

The following is a copy of that part of the law which imposes specific duties upon school boards and school officers:—

The people of the State of Wisconsin, represented in Senate and Assembly, do enact as follows:—

SECTION 1. Every parent or other person having under his control a child between the ages of seven and fourteen years, shall annually cause such child to attend some public or private day school in the city, town, or district in which he resides, for a period of not less than twelve weeks in each year, which number of weeks shall be fixed prior to the first day of September in each year, by the Board of Education or Board of Directors of the city, town, or district, and for a portion or portions thereof, to be so fixed by such Boards, the attendance shall be consecutive, and such Boards shall, at least ten days prior to the beginning of such period, publish the time or times of attendance, in such manner as such Boards shall direct; provided that such Boards shall not fix such compulsory period at more than twenty-four weeks in each year.

SECTION 2. For every neglect of such duty the person having such control and so offending shall forfeit to the use of the public schools of such city, town, or district, a sum not less than three dollars (\$3.00) nor more than twenty dollars (\$20.00); and failure for each week or portion of a week on the part of any such person to comply with the provisions of this act, shall constitute a distinct offense; provided, that any such child shall be excused from attendance at school required by this act, by the Board of Education or School Directors of the city, town, or district in which such child resides upon its being shown to their satisfaction that the person so neglecting is not able to send such child to school, or that instruction has otherwise been given for a like period of time to such child in the elementary branches commonly taught in the public schools, or that such child has already acquired such elementary branches of learning, or that his physical or mental condition is such as to render attendance inexpedient or impracticable, and in all cases where such child shall be so excused the penalty herein provided shall not be incurred.

SECTION 3. Any person having control of a child who, with intent to evade the provisions of this act, shall make a wilful false statement concerning the age of such child or the time such child has attended school, shall, for such offense, forfeit a sum of not less than three dollars (\$3) nor more than twenty dollars (\$20) for the use of the public schools of such city, town, or district.

SECTION 4. Five days prior to the beginning of any prosecution under this act such Board shall cause a written notice to be personally served upon such person having control of any such child, of his duty under this act, and of his default in failing to comply with the provisions hereof, and if, upon the hearing of such prosecution, it shall appear to the satisfaction of the court that before or after the receipt of such notice such person has caused such child to attend a school as provided in this act in good faith and with intent to continue such attendance, then the penalty provided by this act shall not be incurred.

SECTION 5. No school shall be regarded as a school, under this act, unless there shall be taught therein, as part of the elementary education of children, reading, writing, arithmetic, and United States history, in the English language.

SECTION 6. Prosecutions under this act shall only be instituted and carried on by the authority of such Boards and shall be brought in the name of said Boards, and all fines and penalties, when collected, shall be paid to the School Treasurer of such city, town, or district, or other officer entitled to receive school moneys, the same to be held and accounted for as other school moneys received for school purposes.

SECTION 7. Jurisdiction to enforce the penalties herein described in this act is hereby conferred on justices of the peace and police magistrates within their respective counties.

On this Judge Prendergast says:—

With all proper deference to the State Superintendent it must be said that this circular improperly construes the Bennett Law as conferring a right upon School Boards to subject private schools to their approval or disapproval and as vesting in School Boards the right to determine the extent and the subject of instruction to be acquired by children attending private schools.

Now with all proper deference to the Judge we inquire, which is right, he or the State Superintendent?

The controlling section of the whole law, the one section that governs and defines all the others, so far as any school is concerned, is section 5. That distinctly declares that "no school shall be regarded as a school under this act, unless there shall be taught therein, as part of the elementary education of children, reading, writing, arithmetic, and United States history, in the English language." This is the only thing that constitutes a *school* under this act. Wherever the word "school" is used in the act therefore, whether it be called public or private, it means only such a school as is there described, and that is the only kind of a thing that will count. Although it be a private school, it counts for nothing under this act, unless there shall be taught therein what is named in this section and *in the English language* as the section says.

Now Section 1 says, "Every parent or other person having under his control a child between the ages of seven and fourteen years, shall annually cause such child to attend some public or private day school, for a period of not less than twelve weeks in each year." That is to say that every person having control of a child between the ages of seven and fourteen years shall cause that child to attend, not less than twelve weeks in each year, such a school as is defined in section 5. He might send the child every day in the year to a school in which the branches named were not taught in the English language, yet in the purview of this act he has not sent the child to school at all; and it will not count any more than if the child had not seen a school. So far then as private schools are contemplated in the Bennett Law, it annihilates them unless they conform to section 5. And if they do conform to section 5, they are virtually annihilated anyhow because then they are under State control and so become State schools instead of private schools.

So far then every child must attend *such* a school as is defined in section 5, at least twelve weeks in each year. Now who is to fix the time? Who is to say what particular twelve weeks of the year they shall be? Section 1 continues, saying: "Which number of weeks shall be fixed by the Board of Education or Board of Directors of the city, town, or district; and for a portion or portions thereof, to be so fixed by such Boards, the attendance shall be consecutive; provided that such

Boards shall not fix such compulsory period at more than twenty-four weeks of each year." If that does not subject private schools to Boards of Education and Board of Directors, anywhere from twelve to twenty-four weeks in each year just as *they* shall see fit, then it would be impossible to frame a statute that would do so.

Now does the Bennett Law subject private schools "to the approval or disapproval" of School Boards? Section 2, provides that "from attendance at school required by this act," that is from attendance at such a school as is defined by section 5, any child shall be excused "by the Board of Education or School Directors, upon its being shown, to their satisfaction, that instruction has otherwise been given for a like period of time to such child in the elementary branches commonly taught in the public schools, or that such child has already acquired such elementary branches of learning." By this the power is conferred upon the School Boards to pass upon the system of instruction employed in any private school. It must be shown to their satisfaction that the children who do not attend the public school, have received in another place such instruction as is required by the public-school curriculum. This must be shown to the satisfaction of the Boards; and the Boards themselves are the ones who are to decide whether the presentment is satisfactory or not. Therefore, if the Bennett Law does not subject private schools to the approval or disapproval of School Boards, and vest in those Boards the power to determine the extent and the subject of instruction to be acquired by children attending private schools, then it would be impossible to do so without specifically stating it in so many words.

Accordingly the State Superintendent said:—

Parents, guardians, and others who may elect other means than the public school of the district in which they reside for the education of children under their charge or control, when summoned by the School Board of their district, must show sufficient reasons for non-attendance of their children upon the public school.

But of this instruction Judge Prendergast says:—

This is the meaning and effect of the injudicious Illinois Statute, but it is certainly not the meaning or effect of the Bennett Law.

Nevertheless it is clear that the State Superintendent states the matter rightly. By the law, if a child is not in the public school, the parent or guardian must answer for it under penalty of from three to twenty dollars. If the parent or guardian says that the child goes to a private school, then he must show to the satisfaction of the School Board that the child receives there such instruction as is required by the public school course. If the child is in neither a public nor a private school, then also it must be shown to the satisfaction of the School Board, that he has re-

ceived or is receiving elsewhere the instruction required by the law and in the English language as the law requires. It is certain therefore that the State Superintendent has interpreted the law according to its evident intent.

Again the Superintendent said:—

In extent the instruction must not be less than that prescribed by the rule adopted by the Board. In subjects the instruction must include reading, writing, arithmetic, and United States history in the English language as provided in the fifth section of the act in question.

And upon this, Judge Prendergast remarks:—

The act nowhere confers upon School Boards authority to prescribe the extent of instruction that children must receive in private schools.

There is a technical turn, by which alone this statement can be true. It is true that the act nowhere confers upon School Boards authority to prescribe the *greatest* extent of instruction that children must receive in private schools. But it is certainly true that it does confer upon School Boards authority to prescribe the *least* extent to which instruction can be given there. The act distinctly says that the number of weeks of compulsory attendance shall be fixed by the School Boards; and the period shall not be *less* than twelve, nor *more* than twenty-four weeks in each year. But when this period has been fulfilled, the other private school may go on all the other weeks of the year, and the School Board has nothing to say about it. If the School Board in the present year shall fix the period at sixteen weeks in which instruction shall be given according to the terms of the law, the instruction must not be less than this in extent. That is what the Superintendent said and that is what the law says. And the technicality that saves the Judge's criticism from being false is hardly worth the trouble of using.

If now we have removed any misapprehensions as to what the Bennett Law is; if we have dispelled any misbelief of what it is, and have assisted in any way in making plain what it really is, so that the opposition may be concentrated upon it and directed definitely against it for exactly what it is, we are satisfied with this effort. The Bennett Law and the Illinois Law are both distinct and positive invasions of the rights of the parent and the rights of the people. We hope they both may be annihilated as they propose to annihilate the private school. A. T. J.

A DENVER paper says: "The advocates of Sunday legislation are finding fault with Denver Sunday recreations, and will endeavor to close Elitch's Zoo, stop the Berkeley motors, and shut off the City Park concerts. The last-named is not so much an eye-sore, however, as the concerts do not occur until 4 P. M. The sky is ruddy, however, with an effort to force people to either remain at home on Sunday or go to church."

The So-Called National Reform Movement.

THE National Reform movement is defined by David McAllister, D. D., LL. D., Treasurer of the National Reform Association and author of the "Manual of Christian Civil Government," as "organized opposition to the encroachments of the secular theory of civil government." "The secular theory," he says, "is summed up in the statement that 'civil government has nothing to do with religion but to let it alone!'" This definition of the secular theory we accept; but the Doctor's definition of National Reform is defective for the reason that it gives the impression that the movement is wholly defensive, whereas it is decidedly aggressive, as will appear presently.

In his "Manual of Christian Civil Government," Dr. McAllister says:—

From the first the work of the Association has been both conservative and reformatory. It has never failed to stand in the breach when any of the Christian institutions of our Government, such as Sabbath laws, or the Bible and unsectarian religious instruction in our common schools, were assailed and needed sturdy defense. At the same time it used its utmost efforts to reform every abuse and wrong in our public life, and go to the root of the matter by such a radical reformation as would put the Nation in avowed allegiance to Christ as King of kings, and practical obedience to his law.

This shows, as before remarked, that National Reform is not simply "organized opposition to the encroachments of secularism," but that it is an organized demand for the enactment of laws directly in the interests of religion and religious institutions. This is well illustrated in the case of the Sunday. We have no national Sunday laws, and never had such a law, therefore, as a national Association the National Reformers have not stood "in the breach" when our "Sabbath laws" have been assailed. Their standing in the breach has been by making demands for the passage of a national law for Sunday observance and by efforts to secure more stringent State laws. And not only so, but they demand a radical and far-reaching change in our fundamental law. Just what this change is will appear from a consideration of the proposed amendment to the preamble to the Federal Constitution. They demand that this preamble shall be amended to read as follows:—

We, the people of the United States [recognizing the being and attributes of Almighty God, the divine authority of the holy Scriptures, the law of God as the paramount rule, and Jesus, the Messiah, the Saviour and Lord of all], in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and to our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

The part inclosed in brackets constitutes the proposed amendment, and is certainly much more than "opposition to the encroachments of secularism;" it is in fact a direct assault, not only upon secularism

as at present embodied in our laws, but upon the rights enjoyed by non-Christians under the Constitution as it is.

Nor must it be supposed that this would be simply a triumph of a theory over a theory, and that the adoption of this amendment would be barren of practical results. So far would it be from this that it would subordinate every statute, yea every constitutional provision to that which the courts should hold to be the law of God. We say that which the courts should hold to be the law of God, because the question of what constitutes that law would have to be passed upon by the courts. And not only so, but they would also be called upon to sit as judges of that law, interpreting it just as they now interpret and construe acts of Congress.

The courts might decide that the ten commandments constitute the law of God, or they might hold that by the law of God as used in the amended preamble was meant the whole revealed will of the divine Being. But be that as it might, they would be compelled to take cognizance of everything coming within the scope of that law, and thus become judges not alone of words and acts, but of thoughts as well, for that law takes cognizance of the most secret emotions of the soul; it is declared to be "a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart." Heb. 4:12. In harmony with this declaration of the apostle, we find the Saviour declaring that hatred is murder (Matt. 5:20, 21), and that lust is adultery. Verses 27, 28. It follows that to administer the divine law men must in some way get at the thoughts of the heart, and that could be done only by extorting confession by torture, just as confession was wrung from the victims of the Inquisition in the Dark Ages.

It may be supposed by some that this is taking an extreme view of the National Reform position and of its logical results for the purpose of presenting the movement in as unfavorable a light as possible; but it is nothing of the kind. It is just what they say about it themselves. In an article in the *Christian Statesman* of April 17, a prominent National Reformer says:—

The whole moral law as summed up in the ten commandments, and the whole moral Mosaic penal code, would be the rule of action in Congress, in State Legislatures, and in courts of justice.

And again:—

Not the ever-changing will of the people, but the unchangeable law of the Most High would be of supreme authority.

The effect of this would be to change this Government from a government of the people and by the people to a theocracy, not indeed a true theocracy as was the theocracy of Israel, but to a counterfeit of that theocracy in which men would rule in the name of God, but without his sanction and without divine guidance. It would be a government in which men would sit in the temple of God showing

themselves to be God, that is assuming the powers which belong alone to God, thus opposing and exalting themselves above God, as does the man of sin described by the apostle in Second Thessalonians.

In saying this we do not charge the National Reformers with the intention to follow the example of the Papacy, nor with any purpose to oppose themselves to the truth of God by usurping his prerogatives; far from it; but we do charge that their zeal for God and for his law is not according to knowledge. Their purpose is to honor God by requiring all to acknowledge him as the rightful ruler of this Nation and of all nations; but the effect of their proposed amendment would be to put the Government in the place of God, to substitute for the divine law human interpretation of that law, and so to destroy allegiance to God.

This would be most disastrous to the very best elements of manhood, and destructive of conscientious obedience to God. Under such a Government men would look not to God and to his law to know their duty but to the law of the land. They would naturally ask, not, what does God require? but, what does the State require? And instead of seeking to please God, they would seek to please the State; and with that done, no matter how superficial the service, they would be content.

C. P. B.

Is Protestantism Powerless?

AN old saw says, "You cannot eat your cake and keep it, too." In like manner it may be said you cannot keep the public schools intact and devote them to the furtherance of religious instruction. Why?—For several reasons. In the first place, there can be no religious instruction without giving that which by some religionists will be considered sectarian. For example, when it is insisted that the Bible should be read in the public schools, what is meant is that a specific translation and none other must be used. That translation is the King James version. It is objected to by Roman Catholics that it is a distinctively Protestant version; that certain renderings are wrongly made; and it is objected that the Bible should be explained by competent teachers, for which work the public school teacher is not qualified. Therefore, say the Roman Catholics, such instruction is sectarian. Is it, or is it not? Suppose the circumstances were reversed, and the Catholics forming the majority were to insist on reading the Douay version in the schools with "do penance" translated for "repent"—would not Protestants object, and with good reason?

But if it be insisted that this King James version shall be read and taught as "an educative force," is it not clear the way is opened up to the Roman Catholics

not only to withdraw from the public schools, but to insist that a share of the school tax shall be allotted to their parish schools? A version of the Bible held to by certain sects and repudiated by other sects is to that extent sectarian. How is it possible, then, to keep the schools free from sectarianism, and yet introduce a sectarian version of the Bible in the schools?

Furthermore, is Protestantism so weak that it must depend upon five or ten minutes of Bible instruction, by teachers of the public schools, many of whom are unqualified for the work of instruction, in order to religiously educate their children? Are the home, the Church with its prayer-meetings, its Sunday-school and other agencies wholly inadequate to the work of religiously educating the youth, so that if the King James version of the Old Testament is not read the omission would be "deplorable and suicidal"? Possibly Protestantism is as weak and powerless as such a condition of affairs would indicate. But we very greatly doubt it.—*Christian at Work.*

Sunday Laws Again

WE are glad to be in harmony with others whenever it is possible, and we find we are in harmony with Brother McCreery in several particulars. We agree with him that no Sabbath laws should be passed for the enforcement of the Sabbath as a religious ordinance, and we also fully agree with him that workmen and all others should be protected in the observance of the Sabbath; and we further agree with him fully that the "Sabbath was made for man," to be a blessing spiritually and temporally, and we are sure that if all would observe the Sabbath day they would be in better health, live longer and be far happier. So far we are agreed. Wherein then is the Sunday-rest Bill wrong? We answer that the object of the bill is to enforce the observance of a religious ordinance. Article 2, of the constitution of the American Sabbath Union, contains the following: "The basis of this Union is the divine authority and perpetual obligation of the Sabbath." In the writings and speeches of many of its strong supporters the claim is boldly put forth that God is visiting our Nation in judgments, because of a failure to recognize him in the Constitution, and Christ as the ruler of the Nation, by appropriate legislation. The Johnstown flood, the Louisville cyclone, and the fire by which Secretary Tracy was bereaved, are cited as acts of God, by which his wrath is shown toward the United States because, as a Nation, we refuse to keep Sunday.

These are the persons who are clamoring for the passage of the Blair Sunday-rest Bill, and all this talk about the movement being for the purpose of "protect-

ing" the workman is a sugar coating over the real pill which is being prepared for the people to swallow.

The terms of the bill show that the object is not "protection," but compulsion: "Any person laboring on Sunday shall be fined not less than \$10 or more than \$1,000," more than a year's wages forfeited for daring to labor. "Any person receiving pay for laboring on Sunday may have it taken from him by whoever shall first sue for the same." It does seem strange that any one should argue that those terms only mean to "protect" those who wish to be religious and to observe Sunday.

Taking it for granted as assumed, that all that is intended is "protection," let us try the same argument in another way. We are agreed that the daytime is for labor and that the night is for sleep. Men would be healthier and in many ways benefited by following this rule and many men are now laboring in the night time, to their detriment. We, therefore, feel a great interest in "protecting" them and proceed to pass a law that if Brother McCreery is found at his study or workbench after 9 o'clock in the evening "he shall be fined not more than \$1,000" and if he receives pay for the same, I may recover it from him and use his night wages for myself. Would you call that protection?

A majority of the people conclude that men would live longer, have better health and be happier if they regularly used soup. It is a God-given right which all have to use soup. It may be that this idea is traditional and has been handed down to us from a soup country, and it may also be true that with these who praise and laud soup so very highly it is used as a religious rite, but that is neither here nor there. "Soup is good for man," and the workman must be protected in this, his God-given right to eat soup. The workmen may appear by their representatives and say, "Leave that soup business alone; we will get our rights without your aid." In our extreme anxiety for "protection" we formulate our law and when it is completed, it provides that Brother McCreery, with others, must regularly and at stated intervals take his soup, and he must take it at the same time those who use it as a religious rite take theirs, and a failure to do so makes him liable to a fine of not over \$1,000, all because soup is good for man, and man must be "protected" in his right to eat soup. Brother McCreery may have conscientious scruples about eating his soup on the stated day and may have eaten his the day before. That makes no difference; the law must be enforced or at least can be enforced, and it may be that the "less enlightened" States may enforce the law to the detriment of his particular stomach, but the more "enlightened States" might be "tolerant" and not wish to disturb our worthy brother.

How is that for "protection"? yet it is just the same as this Sunday protection.

The statement that the States which are the least advanced are the ones where Seventh-day observers are persecuted, and the more enlightened States are tolerant, is the best argument against any such law. The more enlightened States see the absurdity of such a law and will not enforce it, while the States that are behind make the lot of one class hard, because they can do so with a bad law. The fault is with the law and not with the people.—*J. D. Pegg, in Fort Collins, Colorado, Courier.*

The History of the Bennett Law.

THE history and the provisions of the Illinois and Wisconsin Statutes and the steps officially taken in both States to construe and enforce them will show that those who have positive convictions as to the place of the parent in the domain of education had just ground of apprehension if not of complaint; while, on the other hand, those who entertain positive or even advanced views on the relation of the State to education will, on learning what is really opposed, find much in the Illinois Statute and something in the Bennett Law that may be omitted or amended without impairing the just rights of society or the State, and without at all interfering with the development of the elements most to be desired in a system of universal education.

Like individuals and all things within the State, both kinds of schools are amenable to the powers of the State to an extent measured by the necessities of the common welfare, but the public schools, being the creation of the State, bear a relation to the State control not shared in by the private schools, which are the creation of voluntary individual action.

For some years it was observed in the city of Chicago that a considerable number of children of school age were loitering on the streets and in public places, with evident injury to their moral and physical well-being. Other children, in much greater numbers, were put to labor in shops, factories, and stores at an immature age, and it was considered that such practices were injurious, not only to the children, but to society. As to the children that wandered upon the streets, it was felt that in some cases blame attached to parents; in other cases that the children were beyond the control of their parents.

These conditions and the agitation arising from them among the people and various organizations, in the press and in the Board of Education, resulted in the appointment of a committee by the President of the Board of Education to frame acts to be presented to the General Assembly of the State of Illinois, then in session. Three bills were drawn and

submitted to a public meeting of citizens embracing all shades of opinion on the subject of education and religion; were approved by that meeting; subsequently approved by the Board of Education, and the Board appointed a committee, other than those that had framed the bills, to take these proposed laws to Springfield and cause them to be introduced in the Legislature. These three bills were introduced in the House of Representatives on March 7, 1889, and became known as follows:—

House Bill No. 531, a bill for an act regarding truant children.

House Bill No. 547, a bill for an act prohibiting child labor.

House Bill No. 557, a bill for an act concerning the education of children.

These three bills were referred to committees of the House and the first two of them were not acted upon thereafter by the House, and so did not become laws. The third bill passed the House, I believe, was sent to the Senate, and in the Senate there was substituted for it a bill which was commonly supposed to have been prepared by the State Superintendent of Instruction, and which became a law. This bill differs radically in several respects from the bill which was prepared and generally approved in Chicago, and it is to the objectionable features of this bill that it would seem, the whole controversy, both in Illinois and Wisconsin, is due.

The bill that passed the Illinois Legislature permits and even invites harsh, unnecessary, and illegal prosecution against parents. It undertakes to vest in Boards of Education and Boards of Directors authority and jurisdiction over private day schools, and subjects these to the approval of such Boards, without which they cannot, according to the act, exist. Several prosecutions have taken place in the State of Illinois under this act, while not a single prosecution has taken place in the State of Wisconsin under the so-called Bennett Law.

This brings us to consider what is the Bennett Law, and what were the circumstances preceding, surrounding and succeeding its enactment.

The Wisconsin Legislature was in session during the winter of 1888-9. There was presented in that Legislature a bill known as the Pond Bill. The announced object of this Pond Bill was to secure statistics from all schools in the State of Wisconsin, public, private, and denominational, touching several matters connected with the schools. The provisions of this bill were regarded as somewhat sweeping and inquisitorial. Agitation against the bill was widespread throughout the State, and it was defeated.

About this time, whether because of the defeat of the Pond Bill or not, I am not advised, copies of the three bills which had been prepared in Chicago, presented to the Illinois Legislature and defeated, were run together and introduced as one

bill in the Legislature of Wisconsin by Mr. Bennett, and it was announced, and repeated over and over again, and became generally accepted as true throughout the State of Wisconsin that the Bennett Bill, which in fact consisted of three bills on three very different, though related, subjects, was a copy of the Compulsory School Law, enacted in Illinois, and hence it came to pass that unjust prosecutions under the Illinois law were regarded as liable to be duplicated at any time in the State of Wisconsin.

Those who were alarmed and exasperated by these Illinois prosecutors, all of them not being conversant with the rules of construction of statutes, and in many cases without having carefully studied the Bennett Law itself, grew to have an antipathy toward it because of what they supposed it to be. The blunder, to use no stronger term, of passing in Illinois a crude and defective law was followed in Wisconsin by the blunder of merging three separate bills, each containing machinery for its own enforcement by pains and penalties, and passing the whole as one bill, which seemed, as was said in one of the protests made against it, "to bristle with penalties."

The opposition to the Bennett Law was the result principally of the belief that it was the same as the Illinois law, which law permitted and authorized harassing and illegal interference, on the part of School Boards, with parental rights. And so the controversy grew, on one side persons believing that their parental and even religious rights were being unjustly interfered with, and on the other hand, persons believing that the opposition to the Bennett Law was opposition to popular education, opposition to the public school law, and opposition to the development of a high standard of citizenship.—
Judge Prendergast, Chicago.

A Sunday Convention in California.

A DISTRICT Sabbath Observance Convention was held at San Jose, California, May 20 and 21, under the auspices of the California Sabbath Union and the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. It will be understood that the word Sabbath here refers to Sunday. From the published call for the Convention, we extract the following:—

The great importance of the divine institution, the steady growth of opposition to it as a sacred day of rest, the alarming prevalence of Sabbath desecration, and the danger that a continental Sunday may displace our true American Sabbath, all call for combined wisdom and united effort to promote Sabbath sanctification and to secure a righteous civil law in our State that will tend to prevent the contemptuous disregard of our precious rest-day.

Among the arguments brought to bear on the subject was the claim of Rev. T. B. Stewart, of San Francisco, that the murder of President Lincoln was a judg-

ment of God on the Nation because the people of the North spent Sunday in rejoicing, with drums and cannon, over the surrender of Lee to Grant.

Mrs. Bateham, of Ohio, was quite hopeful of the future. "This question," she said, "is being agitated all around the world." She said:—

We have in America tried the Puritan Sabbath, and we ought to know what its influence has been. Foreign nations have envied us this holy observance. All the nations of Europe are tending towards a more perfect keeping of the Lord's day. There has been a Sabbath Observance Congress in France, and we may soon expect a Sabbath law in this State. This is very encouraging, for France is one of the three spots in the civilized world that has no Sunday law. The District of Columbia is the second, and California, as you all know, is the third. . . . We have passed the midnight hour on this question, and now the dawn is coming.

. . . . Even the railroads have been influenced, and the Sunday freight traffic has diminished by one-half. . . . I have found a much stronger feeling in favor of this law in California than I expected, and I am greatly encouraged by such a Convention as this.

In the course of a subsequent address, Mrs. Bateham said:—

There are people who ask for what they call a free Sunday. They should remember that liberty to play means liberty to work, and liberty to work means the liability to be compelled to work by those who are restless in their greed for wealth.

In this the speaker completely upset the plea for a "civil Sabbath," with which the people of California are being regaled. That theory would give men a free Sunday; in fact, *freedom* of the overworked laborers is professedly the great object sought. But according to Mrs. Bateham, they must not have freedom to play. What then must they have freedom to do? Let her own words tell:—

We wish to secure this day safe from all work, in order that men may spend it with their families and have time to attend the house of worship and to study.

Those people who are credulous enough to accept the plausible civil Sabbath advances in favor of a State Sunday law may as well open their eyes first as last to the fact that no such thing is contemplated by the chief movers in this plot. The whole tenure of the sentiment expressed by members of the Convention was to the point of a sacred, religious observance of the day. Mrs. Bateham is an acknowledged mouth-piece of the Sunday-law element, and her denunciations of a free Sunday are applauded by the California Sunday-law Union. Quite a number of honest people have been thus far duped with the idea of "merely a civil Sabbath;" but when this movement shall have culminated in law, they will find that a religious day underlies their expected day of recreation. They must not have liberty to play.

Dr. Hirst, President of the University of the Pacific, delivered an address on the subject, "Shall We Have a Continental Sunday, or the Christian Sabbath?" He, too, dwelt emphatically on the sacredness

of the day, and the dangers of making it a holiday. His emphatic declaration was: "Take religion out of the Sabbath, and it becomes only a foot-ball." He said:—

It is deserving of notice that those who ask that the people should have a holiday, never think of asking that Wednesday should be set apart for that holiday. No; they ask for the Sabbath, for it is thought to be safer to rob God than to rob men.

We had noticed the fact ourselves, that when the specious pretext of a civil Sabbath for the workingman's physical benefit was being held up for the admiration of the public, it was always Sunday, never Wednesday, or any other day but Sunday. Now we have the admission of one of the Sunday-law champions, and an able one, too, that they mean to enforce the religious observance of the day,—the civil feature was only the sugar coating. There was one good suggestion the speaker uttered, which we think applies quite aptly to the movement he is advocating, namely, that "great evils are often, if not always, insidiously developed." This Sunday-law evil is coming to the front in just that way.—*Signs of the Times.*

Religion and the State.—No. 1.

THE present tendency, in various countries, is to form a closer relation between civil government and religion. The principal reason assigned for this by those who favor the movement is that the constant increase of crime demands a moral remedy to be administered by the civil laws of the commonwealth. This movement generally manifests itself in two ways, namely, in the demand for stricter Sunday laws, and the reading of the Bible in the public schools.

In seeking to enact strict Sunday laws, the promoters of the movement deny any wish to change in the least the present relation of the Church to the State. Indeed, they unanimously assert that, while it is within the province of the State to guard public morals and promote the interests of the Church, the two departments should forever be kept separate. But, to justify the State in enacting Sunday laws, they declare that to maintain a Sunday rest, is only to insure order and peace in the community, for which it is the duty of every commonwealth to provide. Thus, Sunday laws are made to appear as civil or police regulations, and as though they were in no way calculated to interfere with a man's personal relation of faith and obedience to God, and as in no sense religious enactments.

The same theory maintains that the Bible in the schools is necessary in order that children, who are prospective citizens of the commonwealth and therefore the wards of the State, may be educated in morals, without which they cannot properly discharge the responsibilities of citizenship soon to be laid upon them. This point is emphasized by the fact that many children have no moral training at home,

and, not being required to attend church, they are, therefore, abandoned to the liability of developing into criminals unless the State steps in to counteract this tendency, through the public schools.

It certainly is to be regretted, that some children are not trained in virtue and morality, either at home or in the church. Could all have the benefit of a proper religious training from infancy, it would undoubtedly be a safeguard against crime, as well as a stimulus to high attainments in citizenship. But, does it follow that because the Church and the home are unfaithful in the discharge of religious duties, the State should assume their prerogatives, and, in addition to its civil duties, attempt the teaching of religious doctrines?

Doubtless some are ready to answer this question at once in the affirmative. But there are some principles underlying this whole matter, which it is well to consider, before drawing a final conclusion. Every man has certain natural rights which must necessarily accompany his existence. If man were the creature of a civil government, the same power by which that government could create its subjects, would enable it to create the rights of its subjects. But man, being God's creature, existed long before any civil government, and, of course, his rights also antedate all such governments. On the other hand, civil government is the creature of man, and was created by him, for a single purpose, that of protecting his previously existing rights, given him by his Creator. Civil government, therefore, having no power to bestow these rights, can properly have no authority to infringe them. The only province of civil government, is to protect rights already possessed, and no matter how infinitesimal a man's rights may be, it is the duty of civil government to protect those rights against any encroachment. For any government to go beyond this, and assume to override or restrict man's God-given rights, is to usurp an authority which belongs only to the Creator of man and his rights.

J. O. CORLISS.

WE do not vouch for the statement, but it is said that "a saloon man has been found in Washington who closes his place with prayer. His application for renewal of license having been rejected on the ground that his place bore a bad name, he appeared before the commissioner in his own behalf. In reply to the question, 'Do you shut up promptly at midnight?' he answered: 'When ten minutes to twelve comes, I kneel down, say my prayers, and shut up.'" Prayer under such conditions would be just about as much of a farce as is the labeling of governments and corporations, Christian, when everybody knows that they are nothing of the kind, and when in the very nature of the case they cannot be Christian.

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IN Arkansas, State Secretary D. Nettleton has been doing some very effective work for the Association in the distribution of Religious Liberty literature. It is expected that at the session of the Legislature, the coming winter, another effort will be made to increase the stringency of the Sunday laws in that State.

IN an editorial on the "True Basis of Sabbath Laws," in its issue of May 29, the *Christian Statesman* unintentionally draws a comparison which does indeed show conclusively the true basis of civil laws for the observance of Sunday, as it existed in the mind of the writer. The article says:—

The principle of Judaism would make the seventh day of the week our civil Sabbath. The principle of Mohammedanism would make the sixth day our civil day of rest. But our law has no such connection with Judaism or Mohammedanism. It has a connection however with Christianity.

Judaism would make the seventh day, Mohammedanism the sixth day, and Christianity the first day, our civil Sabbath.

By this collocation the authority of the three is equal and similar, each in its own sphere.

Nothing more is required to show the falsity of this position than to ask whether the authority of Christianity, or Judaism rests upon the same basis as Mohammedanism, and whether Judaism enforced the observance of the Sabbath by the same authority from which Mohammedanism derives its right to enforce its rest day, and whether true Christianity bears the same relation to Judaism, which Mohammedanism does to Judaism?

No religion enforced by, and observed in obedience to, a civil statute can be anything else than a man-made religion. Mohammedanism is a man-made religion, and the legal Christianity proposed by the *Statesman* would be no better, for it would be liable to all manner of human perversions and corruptions. W. H. M.

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GAINESVILLE, FLA.

ARGUMENTS

ON THE

Breckinridge Sunday Bill.

o o o o

Verbatim report of the speeches of Eld. J. O. Corliss, of Washington, Alonzo T. Jones, of New York, Editor American Sentinel, and Millard F. Hobbs, District Master Workman of District Assembly 66, Knights of Labor, together with a brief submitted by Prof. W. H. McKee, Secretary of the National Religious Liberty Association,

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NEW YORK, JUNE 19, 1890.

NOTE.—Any one receiving the AMERICAN SENTINEL without having ordered it may know that it is sent to him by some friend, unless plainly marked "Sample copy." It is our invariable rule to send out no papers without pay in advance, except by special arrangement, therefore, those who have not ordered the SENTINEL need have no fears that they will be asked to pay for it simply because they take it from the post-office.

It is stated that a wealthy citizen of Minneapolis, Minnesota, has announced his intention to spend \$50,000, if necessary, to prevent one of the theaters of that city from giving Sunday performances hereafter.

In the American Bible Society, at its annual session in this city, it was stated that during the past eight years, 750,000 families in this country have been found without Bibles, and almost 300,000 of these families refused the Bible even as a gift. That is another argument which goes to show how this is "a Christian Nation."

WE recently selected for our columns an article from one of the great religious papers of this city which we thought exceptionally good, and which we designed printing with proper credit. It was put into type, and came very near getting into the page before we noticed that it contained an entire paragraph which had been plagiarized bodily from the *Sun*. We have no objection to the *Sun*; indeed we think it a very good paper, but we feel ashamed to think that one of our leading religious papers is compelled to steal editorials from a secular paper. It is probably true that there is honor among thieves, that is, among ordinary thieves, but it is scarcely true of literary pirates.

ABOUT the only thing in which the advocates of Sunday laws are perfectly agreed among themselves is, that they should have Sunday laws. But when it comes to the basis for the required legislation, they find themselves unable to agree. The National Reformers repudiate the idea of the "civil Sabbath." They maintain that the only proper ground for Sunday laws is the law of God, and very properly say that to admit any human authority or civil policy, would be to admit the right of the State to fix, and consequently to change the Sabbath; and to take this position would be virtually to say that were the State to change the day, they would also change their practice in the observance of the day.

But many, even among Christian ministers, assert that there is a civil basis for Sunday laws, and that they ask for such

legislation, not on religious, but on civil and utilitarian grounds. This idea is made prominent by the American Sabbath Union, and by those who are working in harmony with them. It was the central thought in a recent Sunday law meeting held in Oakland, California, at which the Council of that city were requested to pass a Sunday-closing ordinance on purely "civil grounds." But to show the confusion which existed in the minds of the leaders of the meeting it is only necessary to say that the resolutions adopted, used repeatedly the term "the Christian Sabbath," and closed with these words: "We hereby express our decided conviction that the City Council should, without delay, pass an ordinance that will close all the saloons on the Sabbath day." This shows that it is not the "civil Sabbath," so called, which they wish to preserve, but the religious institution insisted upon by the National Reformers. It also shows the fact that nobody recognizes a "civil Sabbath;" that is, a Sabbath having any basis other than the authority of the Church or the authority of God.

THE President of the American Sabbath Union recommends his Saturday evening paper for Sunday reading. But the one objection that takes precedence of all others against the *Sunday* newspaper is that the reading of it keeps many people from church, and that those who read it and go to church are very much hindered in their devotions, and their listening to the sermon while at church. Now will not the reading of Mr. Shepard's Saturday evening paper on Sunday have the same effect? And if so, will the American Sabbath Union advocate the abolition of Mr. Shepard's Saturday evening paper? If not, why not?

THE *Converted Catholic* of this city says that "it is painfully true that former priests, and even converted priests, will receive ample compensation for their services in denouncing Popery in all its phases, and especially if they speak of the immorality and wickedness of Jesuit priests and nuns, but they can starve if they try to preach the gospel to the Roman Catholics." This simply shows that the contest between Catholics and Protestants is no longer one of principle but is simply a fight for advantage. This is further shown by the fact that Protestants are so ready to adopt Catholic methods and invoke the aid of the civil power to advance their interests.

REV. THOMAS DIXON, JR., pastor of the Twenty-third Street Baptist Church, of this city, is credited with the following sensible utterance concerning the Sunday paper:—

In my humble opinion the Sunday newspaper has come to stay. It is useless to rave and talk wild

talk on this subject. You cannot destroy it. It has a mission. Why not cease our efforts to destroy, and seek to convert it and make its great cylinders to throb with the great truth of the living God, and send its messages of love and faith circling round the world? The Sunday newspaper is no rival of the pulpit. To be candid, I would rather, myself, read a live newspaper than listen to a dead man try to preach. The preacher who cannot hold his own against cold type is not called to preach, and the sooner he quits trying to preach, the better for him and the better for the cause he represents.

The only answer that can be given to Mr. Dixon's query is that the gospel which the Sunday-law advocates proclaim is not one which seeks to convert, but one which seeks to compel; it is not a gospel of moral suasion but of physical force. Mr. Dixon's would be the better plan, but it can never be popular with those who having departed from the spirit of the gospel have imbibed the spirit of the Inquisition.

UPON the action of the late Presbyterian General Assembly upon the subject of religion and education, the *Sun* pointedly remarks:—

The Presbyterians want religious instruction in our public schools.

But how can we have it in this republic, where the Church and the State are wholly separate? What religion shall we teach? Shall it be Christianity or Buddhism, Judaism or the doctrines taught by Jesus?

The Presbyterians assail the Roman Church as the enemy of the school system; and yet they are joining forces with it in demanding religious education as a necessary part of the public-school system.

THE *Pacific Union*, a California labor paper, has the following:—

When Mr. Gompers was asked what would be wanted after the eight-hour day, he answered, "More." And then what? "More." But how much more, Mr. Gompers? "Why, not one iota less than the full fruit of his toil. Put that on your banner."

Mr. Gompers does not say who will employ labor under such conditions, nor where the capital is to come from to inaugurate, and to support in their infancy the various enterprises that are to return to the laborer the full fruit of his toil. Such a demand, if general, would bring starvation to hundreds of thousands of homes, that under our present industrial system know no want.

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EDITOR, - - - ALONZO T. JONES.

ASSOCIATE EDITORS,

C. P. BOLLMAN,

W. H. MCKEE.

“A GOOD Sunday law,” says the *Colorado Graphic*, “is one which allows men, women, and children to do as they please, provided they do not interfere with what their neighbors do, or in other words, molest their neighbors.”

IN commenting upon Senator Stanford's proposition to create a Land Loan Bureau in the Treasury Department, by means of which the Government shall loan money on unincumbered real estate, at a low rate of interest, for a long term of years, the *Christian Union* remarks that it is a much longer step toward Nationalism than it appears to be on its surface, and then pertinently says: “In view of these schemes for making the Government a silent partner in all sorts of industries, we think the time is ripe for some instruction, in popular literature and lectures, on the true functions of government.” We think so too: paternalism, or Nationalism, which is only another name for the same thing, will yet be the ruin of this country.

A RELIGIOUS paper of Oakland, California, has the following notice of Miss Lathrop's work in that city:—

The Non-Partisan Woman's Christian Temperance Union is ably represented on this coast at present by the national organizer, Miss Mary F. Lathrop, who is now in Oakland presenting the claims of the new organization. We are assured by Miss Lathrop that the Union is strictly non-partisan and non-sectarian; that it proposes to keep itself clear of all entan-

gling alliances, either religious or political, upon which there is room for wide difference of opinion among members; and that it will work along the single line of Christian temperance. We are sure that this one line affords ample scope for all the energies of the good ladies who join. We believe that the new organization is one with which all ladies can consistently work no matter what their religious convictions; and so long as it adheres to the plan that has been set before us, we wish it a hearty Godspeed.

A Question of Rights.

ALTHOUGH we are opposed to the Bennett Law in Wisconsin and its counterpart in Illinois, or anywhere else; and although we should like very much to see those laws everlastingly killed; yet at the same time we are constrained to say that we believe the opponents of those laws in those States have made a serious mistake in making it the issue in a political campaign. We believe that the opposition to those laws could have made a fight and gained a victory in another way, the effect of which would have been infinitely stronger and more lasting than anything that may be done, or any victory that may be gained in the way they are waging the contest. In the other way we believe victory for the opponents of the laws would have been absolutely certain, while in this way victory is at the very best uncertain.

What we mean is, that the opponents of these laws, instead of entering upon a political campaign to secure the repeal of the laws, should have planted themselves upon the ground of personal, private, parental, and religious rights; should have made the plea that those laws are unconstitutional in that they are an unwarranted invasion of such rights; and should have carried their plea to the Supreme Courts of their States. We say that in following this course, we believe victory would have been absolutely certain; because the Supreme Courts of both those States have already decided that it is the right

of the parent to direct what subjects and to what extent his child shall study even in the public school; and that this right is above the authority of the public school teacher, or the public School Board. The Supreme Court of Wisconsin said:—

Ordinarily, it will be conceded, the law gives the parent the exclusive right to govern and control the conduct of his minor children, and he has the right to enforce obedience to his commands by moderate and reasonable chastisement. And furthermore, it is one of the earliest and most sacred duties taught the child, to honor and obey its parents. The situation is truly lamentable, if the condition of the law is that he is liable to be punished by the parent for disobeying his orders in regard to his studies, and the teacher may lawfully chastise him for obeying his parents in that particular.

The Supreme Court of Illinois said:—

Parents and guardians are under the responsibility of preparing children entrusted to their care and nurture, for the discharge of their duties in after life. Law-givers in all free countries, and, with few exceptions, in despotic governments, have deemed it well to leave the education and nurture of the children of the State to the direction of the parent or guardian. This is and has ever been, the spirit of our free institutions. The State has provided the means and brought them within the reach of all, to acquire the benefits of a common school education, but leaves it to parents and guardians to determine the extent to which they will render it available to the children under their charge.

Of these decisions Judge Prendergast says:—

It has been decided by the Supreme Courts of Illinois and of Wisconsin that it is for the parents of children attending even the public schools, to determine the extent and the subjects of instruction to be acquired by the child, and that such parental determination is to control school authorities and teachers. If this be the law as to public schools, it is a fortiori the law as to private schools.

According to these decisions the battle of the opponents of these laws has already been fought and the victory won, and all they had to do was to claim the victory as theirs by carrying their case to the Supreme Courts of their States. For their contest is in defense of the parental rights and authority asserted in these decisions, and of private schools. And as Judge Prendergast says, if the determination of the parent is to control the authorities and teachers of the public school, how

much more must it be so in their own private schools.

In this way the question could have been argued and decided solely upon its merit, in the cool, dispassionate realm of law; all room for political antagonisms and sectarian bitterness would have been avoided; and the victory would have been complete, lasting and beneficial.

As it is, however, entering as they have upon a political campaign to secure the defeat of these laws, the immediate effect will be to multiply party antagonisms; to excite more deeply sectarian bitterness; to involve both the Lutheran and Catholic Churches in direct political action; and even if the campaign prove successful the victory can be but temporary, unless by constant political exertion they shall hold the power they shall have thus gained.

But it is not certain that the opponents of the laws will be successful in the campaign. Reasonably certain it may be; but absolutely certain it is not. There are thousands of men who care very little about the question considered upon its merits, or who, if it were only a case in court, would be inclined to favor the defeat of the laws; yet when it comes to voting for a Roman Catholic, or a candidate pledged to Roman Catholics, will vote against him for that reason only. It is easy enough to say and we agree that it ought not to be so; but that it is so no man can deny.

But suppose the opponents of these laws succeed in electing all their candidates even to the Governor, that in itself does not remedy the evil of the laws. That is a task that still remains to be done by the Legislature; and an important question is, will they be able to secure sufficient power in the Legislature to repeal the laws entirely, or to modify them so as to annul all bad features? or will they be compelled to adopt a compromise in the shape of some ambiguous phrases that will depend altogether upon the party in power for interpretation?

If they should fail in the political campaign and then attempt to make a test in law, it will be at an immense disadvantage. And besides it would be but to stultify themselves. For, to submit a question to the decision of a political campaign is to consent that it is a question which may be justly settled by majorities. It is to agree that you will assent to the decision whatever the result may be. But we do not believe that the Lutherans and Catholics in this case intend to assent to the righteousness of the decision, if they fail in the campaign, if the majority proves to be against them. If they do intend to assent, then they are in a most pitiable plight. The truth is that this is not a question of majorities at all, it is a question of rights only. And being a question of rights, and not of majorities, it has rightly no place in a political campaign.

But admitting it to be properly a question of majorities, even then a political campaign is the last resort. A successful campaign may secure the repeal of the law, but a successful campaign by the other side may at any time secure the re-enactment of the law. Whereas, if a favorable decision of the Supreme Court be given, that kills the law, and every other like it, forever. If, however, the Court should sustain the law, then a campaign issue would be in order.

We are free to say, that we sincerely hope, that, by whatever means it may be, the Bennett Law and its counterpart in Illinois may be so effectually swept away that in practice they may never be heard of more. Yet at the same time we are also free to say that we think the opponents of these laws have made a serious mistake in the method to be employed. The Lutherans and the Roman Catholics in these two States have started upon a course which they will find to be attended with large possibilities of mischief—possibilities of mischief scarcely less if they succeed, than if they fail in the present campaign.

A. T. J.

An Outrage.

THE Santa Rosa, California, *Republican* has the following editorial notice of the fining of R. M. King, a Seventh-day Adventist, in Tennessee, for working on Sunday:—

And this occurred in one of the United States of America, in the latter part of the nineteenth century! Let us hear no more about Blue Laws and witch burning.

The Seventh-day Adventists are a deeply religious people. Most faithfully do they observe the day which they believe is ordained of God for rest. On that day they do no work—transact no business. Often the day is kept at great inconvenience.* But it is set apart by most members of the church and devoted to public and private worship.

Then, too, the Seventh-day Adventists are generally conscientious and honest people. They are reliable, and can be depended upon. Their code of morals is founded on their construction of Bible declarations. As a class they are true to their convictions of right, and equity, and justice. With them all these things are not a matter of custom; but of profound conviction as to the desire and purpose of the Almighty.

And in this country there are States having laws under which these people, who have religiously observed the day of the week which they believe was divinely set apart for that purpose, are fined for working on another day! It is an outrage to so interfere with the enjoyment of religious liberty.

The *Republican* ought to know whereof it affirms concerning Seventh-day Adventists, for the "Year Book of the California Conference" shows that Santa Rosa has a church of that denomination numbering sixty members. In this Tennessee case the victim of the bigotry of his neighbors, and of an unwise and wicked law, was clearly a man of excellent character; but that has nothing to do with the principle involved; the law would be just as bad if all who suffer under it were blacklegs. A law which makes possible

persecution for conscience' sake, ought not to exist in any State for a day. The law has, however, been sustained by the Supreme Court of Tennessee, as appears from a notice in another column of this paper. This does not prove that the law is right; it only shows that the people of that State need to be educated in the correct principles of civil and religious liberty.

Sunday Laws and the Working People.

ONE argument much used in favor of Sunday laws is that such legislation is necessary to give the laboring classes a day of rest. Indeed this is a standard argument and it is urged in favor of both State and national laws for Sunday observance. Senator Blair, the father of the well-known Sunday-rest Bill now on the calendar of the Senate, has himself stated the case thus:—

The mass of the working people would never get Sunday rest if there had not been a law of the land that gave it to us. There is that practical fact, and we are fighting for the tired, hungry man, woman, and child all over the country who want a chance to lie down and rest for twenty-four hours out of the whole seven days.

The Senator probably believes this to be true; but he is certainly mistaken if he does, for the mass of the people now have, without effective Sunday laws, all the rest that they have a mind to take on Sunday. California has, for about eight years, been without any Sunday law whatever, yet it is the testimony of even the friends of Sunday legislation, that the day is as well observed there as in States having such laws. A residence of six years in one of the largest cities of that State, as well as observation in the largest city in the State, warrants the writer in saying that California has fully as good and as general Sunday observance as States having Sunday laws; very much better than this city. Secular work and business are very generally suspended upon that day, and the great mass of laborers have opportunity to spend the day as they see fit. Of course a few are compelled to choose between losing their positions and working on Sunday, but that is no more true there than it is in States having Sunday laws.

It is a very general custom to give those who work on Sunday some other day off, and there are few indeed, if we except housewives and servant girls, who work seven days in the week. The legislation proposed by the Senator would not do that which he assumes that it would do. Sunday laws would, however, if they were framed as many demand that they shall be, virtually compel thousands to literally "lie down and rest" upon Sunday for it would make it impossible for them to do anything else. Only those who live in large cities can appreciate the privilege of an occasional outing in the country or in some park; but these Sunday-law people

would place all this beyond the reach of the poor by making it impossible for them to reach such places upon the only day that they can spend time to go to them; namely, upon Sunday. The rich can keep carriages and can on Sunday drive to these places or reach them upon other days either by private or public conveyances, but the poor cannot take the necessary time except on Sunday; and then if the hopes of the Sunday-law advocates should be realized, no public conveyances would be permitted on Sunday, and the rich would enjoy a monopoly of the parks and various resorts which now make life tolerable for the toiling masses in our great cities.

Of course Sunday holidayism is not desirable; no more is very much of other holidayism. People are likely on all such occasions to run to excess; but hosts of these people will not go to church and what are they to do? A leading paper in this city says:—

Almost anything is better, for people who are confined by work during the week, than to remain in the heated, noisy, and ill-smelling city on a hot Sunday. Sensible and sophisticated folk start early in the day and thus avoid the rush. They seek an unfrequented rather than a popular resort. They prefer the beach, the woods, the fields, to the best-dressed crowd that ever assembled. And when they find the right spot, they rest in the way which does them most good, whether it be a new and agreeable form of activity or sheer "lazing." It is a great thing to know how to rest and to cultivate a genius for repose.

But this sort of resting is just what the Sunday-law people are determined the people shall not do; they propose to make it impossible for poor people to get into such places on Sunday. This city has, in Central Park, two magnificent museums, one of art, another of natural history, but they are both closed on Sunday in deference to the demands of those who reverence the day. Referring to the last session of the Legislature of this State, the *Mail and Express* says:—

It is important to note that the Legislature did not altogether ignore, as some may be led to suppose, every measure having a moral bearing. It refused, for instance, to pass the bill providing for the opening on Sunday afternoons of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and the Museum of Natural History, in this city, and for this, every true believer in the sanctity of the Sabbath ought to be grateful. A large and powerful influence was brought to bear upon the Legislature in favor of this measure, and it is greatly to its credit that it did not pass.

It will be observed that the only reason urged here for not opening these museums on Sunday is the religious character of the day. A large number of people have a religious regard for Sunday, and for this reason those who do not so regard it, or who so regarding it do not think it wrong to look at paintings and other beautiful and interesting things upon that day, must be deprived of the privilege because of the feelings of those who think it wicked to spend any portion of Sunday in such a way. These people well know that there are thousands who cannot visit the

museums upon other days, but they care not for this; they keep Sunday and so everybody else must keep it too; they take snuff and if others don't take snuff also, they must at least sneeze. What they propose is to so hedge them about with law that they will be compelled to choose between staying at home and going to church. It is the duty of the State, they argue, to look after the morals of the people; the people cannot be truly moral without going to church and being religious; so it is the duty of the State to so arrange matters that they will go to church and be religious; and the easiest way to secure this end is by Sunday laws.

There can be no doubt that Sunday laws are essentially religious. The *Christian Statesman* if less wise is more candid than some of its co-workers in the Sunday-law cause, and unhesitatingly declares that the only basis for such legislation is found in the fourth commandment. In support of this proposition the *Statesman* says:—

Judge Flandrau, of the Supreme Court of Minnesota, declared that the Sabbath law of that State "can have no other object than the enforcement of the fourth of God's commandments, which are a recognized and excellent standard of both public and private morals" (*Brimhall vs. Van Campen*, 8 Minnesota Reports, 13). Judge Caldwell, of the Supreme Court of Texas, held that "the object of the Legislature was to forbid all secular employments on the Sabbath, not excepted in the act. The disregard of the Sabbath, the refusal to recognize it as a day sanctified to holy purposes, constitutes the offense" (*Elsner vs. the State*, 30 Texas Reports, 524). The Supreme Court of Alabama said: "We do not think the design of the Legislature in the passage of the act can be doubted. It was evidently to promote morality and advance the interests of religion, by prohibiting all persons from engaging in their common and ordinary vocations" (*O'Donnel vs. Sweeney*, 5 Alabama Reports, 467. See also *Wright vs. Geer*, 1 Root, 474; *Fox vs. Able*, 2 Connecticut Reports, 548; *George vs. George*, 47 New Hampshire Reports, 27).

Of course the fourth commandment says nothing about Sunday, but, inasmuch as it is popularly supposed that it now enjoins the observance of that day, and inasmuch as the design of those demanding Sunday laws is to honor that day for religious reasons, Sunday laws have of necessity a distinctively religious character. They are religious legislation and utterly at variance with the spirit of our free institutions.

C. P. B.

The Precedent Lawyer.

In his address before the National Reform Convention in Washington, last April, Judge Hagans, of Cincinnati, said:—

Very early the *dies dominicus* was set apart and the people were not to be employed in secular business on that day. Legislation in England began in the reign of Henry VI., but a little more than a hundred years ago. During the reign of Charles II., a statute was passed, which is the origin or foundation of the various and somewhat dissimilar acts of the legislatures of the several States of the United States on this subject. . . . In every State in this Union, Sunday laws have been passed by our various legislatures containing

provisions of more or less stringency, and construed and enforced by the highest courts, until a Sabbath of cessation from secular pursuits is firmly entrenched in American law, there to abide forever. . . . This legislation has come to stay in this land.

Here speaks the precedent lawyer. Because the legislatures and the courts have mistakenly perpetuated a Church and State Statute of Charles II., therefore, the error is "firmly entrenched in American law," and "there to abide forever," although in conflict with the spirit of American institutions and the letter of the injunction which the general Government lays upon itself in the First Amendment to the Constitution.

The Supreme Court and the Bible.

In the *Northern Wisconsin News* of May 8, we find the report of a sermon delivered by Rev. T. De Witt Peake, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, at Merrill, Wisconsin, Sunday evening, April 27. It sounds much more like genuine Methodist doctrine than does the report of the New York Methodist Episcopal Conference rebuking the action of the Wisconsin Supreme Court in the case referred to. We wish the men of Mr. Peake's stamp were much more numerous, not only in the Methodist Church, but in all the other churches. We reprint the following extract from this sermon:—

It is known to all well-informed people in our State, that the Supreme Court of Wisconsin rendered a decision, March 18, which holds that the reading of the Bible in the public schools of the State is unconstitutional. The case was an unusual one, as well as a most important one. Doubtless, feeling the gravity of the situation, three of the Justices rendered separate opinions on different phases of the subject, the whole Court concurring in the decision on the main point at issue. The particular case at issue is known as the "Edgerton Bible Case," it having been the habit of some teachers in the Edgerton schools to read the Bible at the opening of the morning session each day, using the King James version of the Bible. Some of the Catholic parents of the little city, whose children attended the public schools, protested against this exercise, and appealed to the Circuit Court for a writ of *mandamus*, compelling the School Board to have the practice stopped or show cause for not doing so. An alternative writ was granted, to which the School Board responded, and the relators demurred thereto. The demurrer was overruled, and on this, appeal was taken to the Supreme Court, which decided that the order of the Circuit Court overruling the demurrer of the relators must be reversed, and the cause remanded with directions to that Court to give judgment

for the relators on the demurrer, awarding a peremptory writ of *mandamus* as prayed for in the petition.

Since this decision was given, many adverse opinions have been issued from the pulpit and the press, showing that the ligaments which bind the State and Church together, in other countries, are not entirely severed in this country, in the minds of many good and loyal citizens. Indeed, many of my own brethren, in my own church, which is the most thoroughly American church in the world, have been foremost in denouncing the decision as antichristian and un-American. Now, as much as I dislike to do so, I must dissent from their opinion, and affirm that I can see nothing antichristian, nothing antiprottestant, nothing un-American in the decision of the Court. At first I thought there was; being influenced by garbled extracts from the opinion of the Court, and by the adverse criticism thereon by men in high places. But having secured the full text of the opinion and having studied it closely with the Constitution, and the Bill of Rights, I cannot see how the Court could have decided otherwise, and been American at all. And further, I think the decision will serve better the cause of truth and the Christian religion, as it is, than did it seek to re-knit the broken ligaments of Church and State, which it has taken centuries of bitter conflict and bloody struggle to sunder.

The American State, as I see it, is completely secular. It has no religion, as such, and is entirely indifferent to sects as such. Because this is the case, she gives each citizen religious liberty in the fullest sense, as a fundamental right. This means more than the toleration by law of differences of religious belief and of different modes of worship. The ideal American State is not to inquire into any man's belief, as affecting his qualifications for office nor to concern itself either for the support or hindrance of any form of religion.

Toleration denotes neither the freedom of religion from the State control, nor the equality of all religions before the law. On the contrary, it implies either a preference by the State of some one form of faith or worship, though other forms are permitted; or the right of the State to regulate the administration of ecclesiastical affairs by the civil law. In the etymological sense, toleration is the permitting of that which is not fully approved. In the ecclesiastical sense, it means definitely, the allowance of religious opinions, and modes of worship, in a State when contrary to or different from those of the established church or belief. Toleration is a concession, in part, of that control over religion which the State assumes to exercise, but which it so far permits to fall into abeyance.

Now, you can see that this is not the condition of things in the ideal American State. The religious liberty, guaranteed by the

ideal American State, is absolute freedom of religious opinion and worship, a vested right of conscience, not derived through any grant of the civil power. All that the ideal American State can do is to protect her citizens in the enjoyment of these vested rights. Liberty of opinion, liberty of worship, liberty in all matters pertaining to religion, is not a privilege created, or conceded, by the State, but is a right inherent in the personality of the individual conscience; and the ideal American State is pledged, not only, not to interfere with that right, but to protect it.

Now, the Supreme Court only protected the Catholic conscience, at Edgerton, and their liberty to worship according to its dictates. The Court, in my judgment, could not have done less than this. We may deplore the case, we may think the Catholic conscience is wrong, that it is miseducated and narrow, but the Court had nothing to do with anything but the facts, that the conscience is there, and that its rights are being trampled upon. The Court had no right to inquire into the fact whether the Catholic Church is friendly to the common-school system or not, for the question was whether the individual conscience of the people of Edgerton, was abused by the religious exercises, held each morning in the public schools of the city? The Court had no business to ask whether it was a Catholic, or a Methodist, or a Baptist conscience, that had been or was being abused.

I think the attempt of any body of Christians to introduce their discriminating doctrines and practices into schools that are the common property of all citizens, should be set aside as a monstrous usurpation. Only by doing this can we have any harmony in the schools of the State at all, and without harmony but little good can be accomplished by them.

Religion and the State.—No. 2.

THE first form of government given to man, was committed to him by the Author of his existence, and was of a paternal nature. Under this, each head of a tribe became the absolute ruler of his family interests. He not only interested himself in the temporal welfare of his subjects, but was considered by them, their spiritual leader as well. This continued to be the criterion in the patriarchal age, but, as family circles enlarged, and connecting ties became more slender, individual interests became more and more antagonized, until it was necessary to institute another form of government, which would provide for the exigencies arising from the ever multiplying and divergent interests, and yet not encroaching upon purely personal rights enjoyed under the previously existing polity.

One of the God-given rights of every man, is to exercise parental authority in his family. It has been from the first,

and is still, the privilege of parents to decide what rules shall govern in their respective households, without regard to how others govern in their families. It is also their privilege to instill just such principles, and to teach just such behavior toward themselves and all others, as they may think proper and right. This authority has the sanction of both the Old and New Testaments in the following expressions: "Train up a child in the way he should go, and when he is old, he will not depart from it" (Prov. 22: 6.); and, "Fathers, provoke not your children to wrath, but bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord." Eph. 6: 4.

By these injunctions parents are alone made responsible for the moral well-being of their children, consequently, are given absolute control of their moral training. The civil government has no such credentials, and therefore has not the least right to interfere with the direction of any household, unless, perchance, its inmates are jeopardized in life or limb, by the despotic sway of unnatural parents. In this case, the civil power may step in, and protect the child from physical injury.

The Church, like the family, is paternal or instructive in its government. It, too, decides its own tenets of faith, and rules of discipline. The Church holds a commission from Heaven to preach the gospel, and administer the ordinances thereof. By virtue of that commission, it rightfully extends its occupation to become the guardian of family morals. But while the Church is thus permitted to give religious instruction to as many families as wish it, there are certain limits, beyond which it has no right to go. The Church may counsel parents how to train their children for heaven, but it has no commission to usurp authority over the children, because that has been reserved to parents alone.

Civil government is essentially different from that of both the Church and the family, in that its functions are wholly of a civil nature. In other words, it is that form of government which guards the social privileges, and prescribes the civil duties of all under its jurisdiction; without regard to their religious beliefs. Civil government has to do with the people, only as citizens, without regard to Christianity. The Church, on the other hand, deals with its members simply as Christians, without authority to inflict civil penalties. The State formulates civil law for all alike, within its precincts, whether Christian or unbeliever. The Church has but spiritual authority, and that only over those who profess faith in the tenets of the Church, and have formally connected themselves with it.

But the test of citizenship is not based on any religious creed. So long as one duly regards the rights of others, as human beings, and readily meets his part of the obligations which rest alike on all;

so long as he promptly discharges all the demands of the government upon him, the State must recognize him as a good citizen, even though he may be an atheist. The State, as such, can know no difference between a Christian and an unbeliever. This must necessarily be so, from the fact that Christianity relates wholly to another world, to things spiritual and eternal, while civil governments have to do entirely with the affairs of this world—with the temporal only.

A State cannot properly enter the realm of religion, to direct its methods, or restrain its operations when properly conducted, that is, so long as it does not trespass upon the domain of the civil, for the reason that true religion is from a higher source than human authority, and its subjects are responsible to a higher than an earthly tribunal. Christianity is founded on the unchangeable word of Jehovah, while earthly governments are ever being modified to meet the rapidly changing conditions of society. These varying phases are produced by majorities, which are often created through political cabal or personal magnetism. To subject religion to the control of such influences, is to delegate it to the domain of human strife, and the corruptions of party power.

Again, religion being a matter between the individual soul and its God, no one person has a right to make his conscience the rule by which to guide another, in things spiritual. The same principles obtain, in relation to majorities. The greater part of a community may be agreed concerning some matter of conscience; but, if only one among them holds a different opinion, his rights of conscience are just as sacred as those of all the others, and should be respected. Then, for the majority of a community to dominate the minority in matters of conscience, is to assume infallibility in spiritual affairs; and so, to make the consciences of the larger part, the rule of conscience for all others. That would be unjust; for while it would permit the majority to exercise spiritual discretion, it would forbid that privilege to all who happened to be in the minority. Moreover, such a state of things would subject the minority to others who would make their religious creeds, regulate their mode of worship, and tax them for the support of a religion which the majority might think to be true, but which they themselves may believe to be false.

But when a religious majority are engaged in such work, they are not exercising their own rights of conscience, but are trampling on the rights of others, instead. It is safe to say that any Christian would come to this conclusion if the proper test were brought to bear in his case. Suppose, for instance, that in the turn of human affairs, a pagan majority should prevail in a country composed largely of Christians, and should com-

pel all Christians to support paganism: Would Christians who then happened to be in the minority, consider themselves justly treated, when compelled to support a religion in which they had no faith? Certainly not. But would it be any less wrong for a majority of Christians to compel a person dissenting from the faith of Christianity, to support that religion?

This is doubtless putting the question in a form in which some have not before considered it. But is it not reasonable to believe that the Golden Rule, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them," has as forcible application in a matter of this kind as in any other? The rights of conscience are individual, and cannot be settled by arraying the larger number against the smaller. Therefore, whatever faith a man's conscience may lead him to adopt, even though he may stand alone in the community, if that conscience is exercised peaceably, and not against the rights of another person, its rights should be recognized and as fully protected, as those of all the others.

J. O. CORLISS.

Working for a Sunday Law.

At the late Sunday Convention at San Jose, California, a resolution was introduced by Dr. Evans, requesting the City Council of San Jose to pass an ordinance forbidding the use of bands of music on Sunday upon any street within one block of a church. The resolution was called out by the fact that some of the churches had recently been disturbed by bands of music during their services. The ministers and church people of San Jose, as in some other cities, seem determined to ignore the State law already in force for the purpose of protecting public worship against disturbance. Section 302 of the Penal Code provides as follows:—

Every person who willfully disturbs or disquiets any assemblage of people met for religious worship, by noise, profane discourse, rude or indecent behavior, or by any unnecessary noises either within the place where such meeting is held, or so near as to disturb the order and solemnity of the meeting, is guilty of a misdemeanor.

And such misdemeanor, according to section 19, is punishable by "imprisonment in a county jail not exceeding six months, or by a fine not exceeding five hundred dollars, or both." Why do not the disturbed churches avail themselves of the protection here guaranteed not only for Sunday worship, but for worship on any other day? Do they not fear that the recognition of this comprehensive State law would annul their plea for a special Sunday law? There seems to be no other excuse for such action. To some extent this explains the following resolution, passed by the Convention, which is apparently designed to concentrate all the protection for worship on *one* day, namely, Sunday:—

The Sabbath was made for man, and God has given it by moral statute. While it is necessary to man as a religious being, yet independent of this, because of the physical, mental, moral, and social benefits resulting from it, it should have a place in the Civil Code of our State, guaranteeing its privileges and benefits to every citizen. Forever opposed to any union of Church and State, denying the right of the State to enforce its religious observance simply because the Sabbath has a religious character, nevertheless we insist that the laws of our State should protect the Sabbath as a day of rest for all, and a day for unmolested religious worship to those who wish to so observe it. Therefore,

Be it resolved, That we invite the co-operation of all good citizens in securing a Sabbath law in the State of California which shall protect all our citizens in their right to one rest day in seven.

Of course that *one* rest day must be on Sunday. The Penal Code above quoted protects worship on any and every day; but that appears to be too sweeping, so it is quietly laid on the shelf, and a law is sought for the protection of one day. People who choose to worship on any other day are not worthy of protection.

But the resolution which called out the most discussion, and indeed the only one which received any opposition on its merits, was that regarding Sunday newspapers. It reads as follows:—

Resolved, That it is the sense of this Convention that the taking of mail from the post-office on the Sabbath, the reading or purchasing of Sunday newspapers on the Lord's day, or the publishing of church notices or other matters in such papers, are to be discouraged as violations of the fourth commandment.

Dr. Calhoun said that he had not given a notice to a Sunday paper in ten years; that the Ministers' Union had often resolved not to have their church notices inserted in the Sunday papers, but in a short time afterward "some fellow" would break over, and like a flock of sheep the others would follow.

Dr. R. H. McDonald said he thought we ought to make the best use possible of that which we cannot control; so long as we cannot get rid of the Sunday newspaper, let us use it for all the good purposes possible. He would, as a matter of policy, drop out that resolution from the committee's report.

Rev. T. B. Stewart, of San Francisco, grew quite warm over the subject, and charged the hoodlumism of his city mainly to the account of the Sunday newspaper. He thought that a minister who did not use all his influence against it, should be denounced by his brethren.

This called out remonstrance from Rev. Silcox, of Oakland, who thought this was going too far. He said these papers were regularly issued, giving notice as to all other things that were going on in the city, and he thought it proper that they should also tell where the gospel could be heard. Of course he was opposed to the issuance of papers on Sunday, but as long as they were issued, they might be used to give such information.

Dr. Minton seconded Mr. Silcox' point; said he did not think the publishers of Sunday papers, were worse than other men; that they worked for money. He

was opposed to Sunday papers, however, and did not directly give them any notices, but they copied his notices from the Saturday evening papers as news items.

Even Rev. N. R. Johnston was opposed to the idea of denouncing brother ministers in regard to this matter, but before he got through, he was charged with doing that same thing himself. Said Rev. Stewart, "You are worse than I am, Brother Johnston." The speaker was strong in his utterances against the Sunday paper, and the habit of going to the post-office on that day. He instanced the case of a neighbor of his, a deacon in the Congregationalist Church, who would go to the post-office after his mail on his way home from church.

A Mr. Ross was very emphatically opposed to Sunday papers, and stoutly decried their deleterious influence. He had two of them coming to his house, and he seemed to be well posted as to their contents. He urged the necessity of a Sunday law, that these papers might be stopped. We have heard many complaints of the Sunday papers, but never knew that Christian people were obliged to take them if they didn't want to. In fact, one speaker expressed the opinion that if one thousand people would stop the *Sunday Mercury* of San Jose, it would soon cease to be issued.

The Committee of Ways and Means presented propositions, among which were recommendations that ministers present frequently to their congregations the moral statute, "Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy." That prayers around family altars and in prayer-meetings be offered for better Sabbath observance and a righteous Sunday law in California. That tracts on the religious duty and civil requirements of the Sabbath be put into all homes. That the aid of the religious and secular press be invoked in behalf of this cause. That conventions be held in every county in the State, to work up sentiment. That as soon as possible an efficient field secretary be put into the field to hold public meetings and organize local associations in advocacy of a Sunday law for this State. That all churches, societies, and corporations favorable to this movement be requested to take collections of money to further the work. That a State convention in the interest of a Sunday law be held as soon as the State committee shall deem advisable.

Thus are the enemies of religious liberty working in the name of liberty. While they claim to be working under the banner of the Declaration of Independence, which claims that all men are created free and equal, their efforts only comprehend the liberty of a class,—those who want to keep Sunday. To compel others to do so, is to take away their liberty. But such is all governmental interference with religion; such is all religious legislation, of whatever character.—*W. N. G., in Signs of the Times.*

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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J. O. CORLISS, Field Secretary of the National Religious Liberty Association, is speaking in New Hampshire, in defense of the principles of religious liberty as expressed in the First Amendment to the Constitution, and advocated by the Association. The *Concord Evening Monitor*, of June 2, publishes an excellent report of an address, by Mr. Corliss, which appeals in forcible and unmistakable terms to every citizen and every legislator. The discourse was an able arraignment of the two measures,—the joint resolution providing for an amendment to the Constitution, requiring the teaching of the principles of religion in the public schools; and the bill for a national Sunday law.

The closing comment is worthy the attention of every American citizen: "The people should look into this matter and say to those who are sent to Congress, 'Don't put your hand upon our religious liberties.'"

Religious Liberty Involved.

A DISPATCH from Nashville, Tennessee, to the *Sun*, June 15, says:—

The Supreme Court of Tennessee has just rendered a decision affirming the action of the lower court in the case of the State vs. R. M. King. This case was appealed from the Circuit Court held in Troy, Obion County, last March, and has attracted much attention on account of the religious question involved in it. Mr. King is a member of the Seventh-day Adventist Church, a sect which observes the seventh day (Saturday) as the Sabbath, instead of Sunday, the first day of the week. The defense has been made by the National Religious Liberty Association, an organization of recent origin, which admits no one into its membership who does not believe in the Christian religion, but holds that the functions of religion and the State are entirely distinct, and,

for the interests of both, should be kept separate. Mr. King is a farmer, and was indicted for quietly working on his own premises, not in sight of any place of public worship. None of the witnesses for the State testified to having been disturbed in any way or to having a knowledge that any one else had been disturbed, except that their moral sense had been shocked by seeing work done on Sunday.

The defendant was first arraigned before a Justice of the Peace, and fined three dollars and costs, amounting in all to about twelve dollars, which he paid. He was afterward indicted for the same offense by the Grand Jury of Obion County, and was fined seventy-five dollars. An appeal was taken to the Supreme Court on the plea (1) that the acts complained of and proven did not constitute a nuisance, as charged in the indictment; (2) that the Court erred in not permitting the defendant to prove that he had been once arrested, tried, convicted, and fined for the same offense, and that he had paid the fine and costs; (3) on the ground of the appeal of the Attorney-General to the religious prejudices of the jury, by his bitter denunciations of the religious views of the defendant, and confounding the sect with which he is connected with the Mormons.

The case will be taken to the Supreme Court of the United States. This will be the first case involving the constitutionality of Sunday laws that has been brought before the United States Supreme Court.

An association has been organized in Tennessee, the members of which pledge themselves to prosecute every violation of the Sunday laws. A number of persons who observe the seventh day as the Sabbath are now under indictment for working on Sunday. They are tenacious of their faith, and claim the right, under the First and Fourteenth Amendments to the Constitution of the United States, and the Bill of Rights of the State of Tennessee, to work on Sunday. In view of recent movements in favor of a national Sunday law, and the opposition to this and all other religious legislation by the National Religious Liberty Association, the progress of this case through the Court will be watched with deep interest by many.

AN Iowa paper, of June 14, says:—

The German Lutheran Synod, in session at Du- buque this week, has 300 ministers, 450 congregations, and 50,000 communicants, and is spread over fourteen States. Delegates were present from Dakota, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Nebraska, Kansas, Iowa, Ohio, Missouri, Michigan, and Washington. The Convention was opened by the President, the Rev. Prof. G. Grosswell, D. D., of Waverly, Iowa. Reports were read denouncing the Bennett Law. The Synod resolved to introduce Barnes' school text-books of the American Book Company in the parochial schools.

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NEW YORK, JUNE 26, 1890.

NOTE.—Any one receiving the AMERICAN SENTINEL without having ordered it may know that it is sent to him by some friend, unless plainly marked "Sample copy." It is our invariable rule to send out no papers without pay in advance, except by special arrangement, therefore, those who have not ordered the SENTINEL need have no fears that they will be asked to pay for it simply because they take it from the post-office.

No Paper Next Week.

AS THE SENTINEL volume for this year is to consist of fifty numbers, we will issue no paper next week. Number 27 will therefore bear date of July 10.

THE president of the Young Men's Christian Association of Indianapolis, has been asked to resign because as president of a street railway company he ran extra cars on Sunday to a suburban resort of doubtful character. The demand for his resignation comes from the Presbyterian ministers of that city.

DURANGO, Colorado, has a Sunday law entitled, "An Ordinance Requiring the Observance of the Sabbath." But of course it is a mere "police regulation," a "sanitary measure," to secure to the "tired son of toil a day of rest." It must be so for with the exception of the title it is almost identical with numerous State and municipal acts which we are assured are purely civil.

THE *Western Herald* published at Burlington, Iowa, comes to us filled with hard arguments against Sunday laws and kindred religious legislation. Referring to the efforts of the Sunday-law advocates the *Herald* says: "It has taken centuries to evolve separation of Church and State, and now we are asked to surrender our vantage ground, and relapse once more into the darkness of the mediæval ages."

JUNE 11 and 12, there was held in this city a Temperance Congress representing every shade of temperance sentiment in the country, the only condition required of delegates, being opposition to the saloon. The Congress was large and enthusiastic, and while it adopted no platform and passed no resolutions, there was no room to doubt that an overwhelming majority present were third party Prohibitionists. The readers of THE SENTINEL need not be told that it is opposed to the liquor traffic, yet we could not help feeling that there was a spirit manifested in the Congress which bodes no good to the country; it was the spirit of intolerance, and of government by clamor. Speaking of the Supreme Court decision in the original pack-

age cases, one speaker said that if the Constitution upheld the liquor traffic, he was in favor of spitting on the Constitution and stepping on it. If the Constitution as it is upholds the liquor traffic, we say let us respect it and abide by it until such time as public sentiment shall be educated up to the point of amending the Constitution. The country can get along very well without the patriotism that proposes to spit on the Constitution.

WHEN Mr. Crafts started west across the Continent on his Sunday-law tour, we announced his appointments, which, it will be remembered, were invariably at one of two or three places each particular date. As he returns, he finds it necessary to make his appointment each date to be at any one of a series of from one to seven different places. They are as follows:—

June 27, Watertown, South Dakota, or St. Peter, Minnesota, or Mankato or Fergus Falls; June 29, Minneapolis; June 30, Winona or Faribault or Northfield or Owatonna or Hastings or Red Wing; July 1, Madison, Wisconsin, or La Crosse or Green Bay; July 2, Madison or Prairie du Chien or Freeport or Galesburg or Dubuque or Davenport or Burlington; July 3, Des Moines or Cedar Rapids or Iowa City or Indianola or Keokuk.

This form of appointment, says Secretary Gault, is "in order that the organizers of the opposition may not get on his track." It is well for the American Sabbath Union thus to advertise his fear of the opposition. Why doesn't he rally his seven million two hundred thousand Roman Catholic petitioners for a national Sunday law, and at one stroke overwhelm the opposition?

A READER has sent us a report of the Gloucester County (N. J.) Temperance Alliance clipped from the *Gloucester Constitution*, which is of interest because of one bit of information which it contains. Referring to an effort which had been made in the name of the Alliance to prevent the issuance of a liquor license to Lincoln Park Company, the chairman of the committee having the matter in charge said:—

In conversation with the judges your chairman told them our principal objection to Lincoln Park was the fear of Sunday selling and the consequent disgrace to our county.

Some further history of the case then follows, and the report concludes thus:—

Our attorney stated plainly our objections. Then Mr. McGowen, the President [of the Park company] and Mr. Patterson, the applicant, personally stated that no liquor would be sold on Sunday; that all the laws would be obeyed. . . . Upon receiving these assurances, on the advice of counsel, your chairman consented to withdraw the remonstrance. Our counsel made the announcement to the court, the judges nodded their approval, and in a few minutes publicly announced that the license to keep an inn and tavern at Lincoln Park was granted.

This shows the drift of much of the so-called temperance sentiment, and is right in line with something which appeared some months since in the *Cali-*

fornia Prohibitionist: a correspondent of that paper remarked that if the saloons would only close on Sunday, he thought it was about all that could be reasonably asked of them.

"MORAL forces," said Mrs. Mary T. Lathrap at the recent Temperance Congress in this city, "are the imperial forces, and the nation is safe only when its moral forces are on the throne. I believe that in some of our great cities, and in some eastern commonwealths, we are reaching a moral deadlock, when the moral forces are beaten down, and beaten back by the forces of evil around them. Now I believe that the Church is the party, and ought to be the organized expression of moral forces in government just as I believe that the saloon is the organized form of the devil's kingdom on earth."

Let us examine this a little. "The moral forces are the imperial forces."

"The nation is safe only when its moral forces are on the throne."

"The Church is the organized expression of moral forces in government."

The inevitable conclusion is that the Church should be upon the throne. And yet, in common with other National Reformers, Mrs. Lathrap would no doubt indignantly deny any desire to unite Church and State in this country or to subject the State to the Church.

A JUDGE in Pennsylvania, lately rendered a decision on "works of necessity and mercy" on Sunday, in which he declared that Sunday could not be surrendered to the fierce rivalry to get gain, and that "it has come down to us with the most solemn sanctions, both of God and man, and if we do not appreciate it as we ought, we are, at least, bound to preserve it."

Upon which, the *Pearl of Days* remarks:—

Above all else, the supreme will of God as to what the Sabbath day was given to man for should enable us to decide questions of supposed necessity.

Exactly! That is the real reason in all the arguments for Sunday laws that are made, and it shows the hollow pretenses to virtue in the arguments of those who plead for the "civil" Sunday.

THE AMERICAN SENTINEL.

AN EIGHT-PAGE WEEKLY JOURNAL,

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THE *Signs of the Times*, of Oakland, California, says, that it "is just as strenuously opposed to laws for the seventh-day Sabbath as it is to laws for Sunday. Government has no business to legislate on the question." And so say we.

THE Supreme Court of Indiana has decided that a will drafted on Sunday is valid, and that such labor is not in violation of the law forbidding "common labor" on Sunday, and holds that there is a "wide distinction between the execution of contracts, notes, and bonds on Sunday, and the execution of a will." It is well that the Court so decided, else it must also have forbidden dying upon Sunday, since it might easily happen that a man, neglecting to make his will upon Sunday, would die before Monday and so leave no will.

CRITICISING certain so-called Sunday-law arguments the *Western Herald* of Burlington, Iowa, says:—

Facts are worth stating, even in a church and at a meeting whose aim is the civil enforcement of a religious institution. The speaker who asserted that the French Revolution was the result of the abolishment of Sunday, the so-called day of rest, and the substitution therefor of every tenth day in its stead, was either quite uninformed or wilfully perverse. The causes of that Revolution were multiplex—but chiefly due to the poverty of the masses who had long been preyed upon by the nobility, the common people seemingly being regarded as born only for the use of the upper class. Atheism was widely prevalent, it cannot be denied, but it was largely the outgrowth of the oppression and flagrant immorality of the ruling classes.

Yes, facts are worth stating; but those who plead for compulsory Sunday observ-

ance are not as careful to state facts as they should be. The fact that it was the abuses practiced by a corrupt church that more than anything else caused the atheism which was so pronounced in France at the time of the Revolution, would not be of service to their cause, and so they don't state it. They find it more convenient, even if less logical, to attribute that atheism to what were in fact some of its results.

An Interesting Question Raised.

IN the last number of THE SENTINEL we reprinted from the *Sun*, a dispatch from Nashville, Tennessee, stating that the conviction of a Seventh-day Adventist for working on Sunday had been confirmed by the Supreme Court of that State; and that the National Religious Liberty Association was about to make an appeal to the United States Supreme Court. The dispatch stated that the point on which the appeal is to be taken, is the rights of a citizen of the United States under the First and Fourteenth Amendments. This question is both interesting and important. In Tennessee and Georgia at the present time, religious people who conscientiously observe the seventh day of the week as the Sabbath, and who are honest and model citizens in every respect, are being meanly persecuted, as have been others of the same class in Arkansas, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania, at other times, by those who profess to observe Sunday.

It is important to know as soon as possible whether it is true that in this Nation one class of citizens must be compelled to pay tribute to the religious views of another class. Is it true anywhere in this country that there is a class of religionists who have a monopoly of religious views secured to them by the State? As these things have been going on for a considerable length of time, we have longed to see the day come when the matter should be tested by the National Constitution, and we are glad that the prospect of its being tested is now so good, and we hope that

the Religious Liberty Association will make good the announcement which we have read in this dispatch. We have no doubt whatever that if the decision shall be rendered according to justice, and the logic of the Constitution, it will put a quietus upon this exercise of the persecuting propensities of certain Sunday religionists.

If the First Amendment to the Constitution stood alone, there would be no ground of appeal on this point, because it simply forbids Congress to make any law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; but in that amendment there is no inhibition upon the States. The States are not forbidden to do what Congress is there forbidden to do. The powers not prohibited to the States by the Constitution, are reserved to the States respectively or to the people, and as that amendment does not forbid the State to do thus, that power may be exercised by the State to any extent. So far as this amendment goes in itself, any State in the Union might establish any religion and forbid the exercise of any religion but that. But this amendment, taken in connection with the Fourteenth, assures perfect, religious liberty to every citizen of the United States.

The Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States established a new order of things under this Government. Before this amendment was adopted, there was primarily no such thing as a citizen of the United States. Every person was a citizen of a State first, and a citizen of the United States only because he was a citizen of a State; but the adoption of that amendment made all persons born or naturalized within the United States, citizens of the United States, and of the several States in which they reside; so that now every person is a citizen of the United States first of all, and after that is a citizen of whatever State it may be in which he resides. The Fourteenth Amendment further says that "no State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or im-

munities of citizens of the United States." Citizenship of the United States, therefore, and the rights, privileges, and immunities of persons as such, under this amendment takes precedence of all the powers of the States. Under the First Amendment there is secured to all citizens of the United States perfect immunity from any form of oppression on account of religious convictions; because the power of the United States is positively forbidden to be exercised in any such way. And as, by this amendment, every citizen has perfect immunity and privilege secured to him in the free exercise of his religious convictions, and as by this amendment every State is absolutely prohibited from either making or enforcing any law abridging the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States, it therefore follows logically and justly, that no State can make any law, or enforce any law that is already made, which would interfere in any way with the right of an observer of the seventh day, or any other, to be free from any interference whatever on the part of, or in behalf of, those who observe Sunday or any other day.

Logically and justly the First and Fourteenth Amendments to the Constitution of the United States would absolutely prohibit any State from making or enforcing any law for the observance of Sunday, and much more, any law compelling the observance of Sunday by those who have already observed another day.

We know that the turn is now attempted to be taken by the courts, that Sunday legislation is not religious legislation, and that Sunday laws are not enacted or enforced in the interests of religion; but this is false. There is not a Sunday law on any statute book in Christendom that is not there out of deference to religion, and that is not there because of the distinctively religious idea that attaches to it; and for judges on the bench to undertake to make it appear that these laws are not religious, and that such legislation is not religious legislation, is to falsify the record in two particulars. First, Sunday is in itself religious, and religious only. The first Sunday law that ever was made was enacted solely in the interest of religion, and the object of the law was to devote the day to "the purposes of devotion," thus putting into the law the religious idea that attaches to the day; and every Sunday law that has ever been enacted from that day till this has been enacted with this same idea in it.

Sometimes, indeed, the laws are found to read, "The first day of the week, commonly called Sunday," but that does not modify the matter in the least. The idea of the first day of the week as such, and as a distinctive day, is religious, and there is no other idea that attaches to it in the laws that have been enacted or in the minds of those who observe the day or who seek to enforce the law. The first

day of the week owes its precedence to the fact that Christ rose on that day, and it is in honor of this event that the day is said to have been set apart and to be observed; *and this is, entirely religious*, so that whether it be as "the first day of the week" or as plain "Sunday," the thought that is in the phrase and that is in the law wherever it may be found is religious only, and for judges on the bench to attempt to make it otherwise is simply to do violence to all the logic of the question, and to contradict all the facts in the history of the question.

Again, every one of these laws has been enacted with the distinct intention of showing deference to the religious idea that is expressed in the day. The laws were enacted solely for that purpose. The original laws of this country were the Sunday laws of the colonies. Each one of the colonies having an established religion and considering itself to be set for the propagation of the kingdom of God in the earth, established by law the observance of Sunday, the first day of the week, or the Lord's day, solely with the intention of compelling all people within its jurisdiction to comply with the forms of the religious establishment of that particular colony. All the Sunday laws of the other States, and the idea of them have been taken bodily from those of the original thirteen. Now it is a principle in the interpretation of law, that no meaning shall be given to a law that was not in it when it was enacted. The rule is that a statute "is not to be made to mean one thing at one time, and another at some subsequent time, when the circumstances may have so changed as perhaps to make a different rule in the case seem desirable.

The meaning of the Constitution (or statute) is fixed when it is adopted, and it is not different at any subsequent time when the Court has occasion to pass upon it." And says Cooley: "A Court or Legislature which should allow a change of public sentiment to influence it in giving to a written Constitution a construction not warranted by the intention of its founders, would be justly chargeable with reckless disregard of official oath and public duty."

This is as true of a statute as it is of a Constitution. No Court has any right to give to any law a meaning other than that which was in it when it was made. As the Sunday laws have been enacted solely out of regard for religion; and as the purpose in the enactment of the laws was solely religious; when a Court attempts to read into the statute any other meaning, and to give to the laws any other purpose, it simply does violence to the rules of law established for the guidance of courts, and sets up the mere opinion of the judges who so decide, and makes their will to be the law.

Legislation and laws in behalf of Sunday, being religious legislation solely,

are clearly prohibited to Congress by the First Amendment to the Constitution. It therefore follows that so far as the power of the United States is concerned, every citizen of the United States has perfect immunity from any such legislation. And as the Fourteenth Amendment makes all persons born or naturalized in the United States citizens of the United States first of all, and then positively prohibits any State from making or enforcing any law abridging the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States, it follows that properly and logically the Constitution of the United States absolutely prohibits any State from making or enforcing any Sunday law. And much more does it prohibit the enforcement of the observance of Sunday upon those who religiously observe another day.

We know that this point has never yet been raised under the Constitution, and consequently the Constitution has never yet been officially construed with reference to this question. But that this is the logic of the Constitution upon this point, there can be no question; and that we have excellent authority for saying that this is the proper construction of the Constitution is equally clear. Hon. James G. Blaine was in Congress when the Fourteenth Amendment was adopted. He played a leading part in all the movements which secured the adoption of this amendment as a part of the Constitution. His opinion of the meaning of this clause of the amendment can be only second in weight to that of the official declaration of the Supreme Court of the United States; and as the Supreme Court has not yet been called upon to pronounce upon the question, Mr. Blaine's opinion is, so far, of the very highest importance and of the greatest value. On pages 312-314, Vol. II of his work, "Twenty Years of Congress," Mr. Blaine discusses the value and importance of the Fourteenth Amendment, and on page 314 are the following words:—

The language of the Fourteenth Amendment is authoritative and mandatory: "No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws." Under the force of these weighty inhibitions, the citizen of foreign birth cannot be persecuted by discriminating statutes, nor can the citizen of dark complexion be deprived of a single privilege or immunity which belongs to the white man. Nor can the Catholic, or the Protestant, or the Jew be placed under ban or subjected to any deprivation of personal or religious right. The provision is comprehensive and absolute, and sweeps away at once every form of oppression and every denial of justice.

This clearly touches the point at issue in the case which is proposed to be carried up from Tennessee. If the Catholic, or the Protestant, or the Jew cannot be placed under ban, or subjected to any deprivation of personal or religious right, then certainly each one of these classes is free from religious subjection to the religious

dictates or observances, of any of the others. And as this is true as between Protestants and Catholics, and between Catholics and Jews, and between Protestants and Jews, it is equally true as between one class of Protestants and another; and therefore the Sunday-keeping people of Tennessee or of any other State, cannot place under ban, or subject to their religious dictates, under penalties of law, a people who choose to observe another day than Sunday.

Again we say, this is a question of the deepest interest and of the greatest importance to every citizen of the United States. We are glad that the question is to be brought to the test; we hope the Religious Liberty Association will do indeed what the Nashville dispatch says that it has proposed to do, and we wish the Association complete success in its noble undertaking. The Constitution, the logic, the justice, and the probabilities are all on the side of the Association. Whether the law will be put there also, remains to be seen; for that depends upon how the United States Supreme Court shall decide.

A. T. J.

St. James and the Vatican.

THE following we clip from the San Francisco *Examiner*, of May 30:—

London, May 30.—The appointment of Judge Andriano Dingle, Chief Justice of Malta, as English Ambassador to the Vatican, is the outcome of the mission of Sir Minterm Simmons to the Vatican, and has reference alone to Malta.

There is nothing in the appointment which need alarm those earnest Englishmen who are inclined to take fire at the opening of diplomatic relations with the Papacy. It is forgotten by many well-meaning people that the British flag floats over a very considerable Roman Catholic population in various parts of the world, and that the crown has taken control over territory in which, by solemn treaty, all the religious rights of Catholics are guaranteed.

Such is the position in Lower Canada, in a section of India, in the West Indies and in Malta, and if ever it seems to call for modification, the British Government of the day must trample arbitrarily upon all its pledges or open negotiations with the papal authorities.

The canon law is the civil law of Malta. Her Majesty's government desired a certain concession regarding the validation of managers, the use of English by the clergy, and the appointment of bishops, and all that is required has practically been obtained.

We wish to call attention to the following points:—

1. Such negotiations between England and the Papacy would once have been considered by Englishmen as little less than treason.

2. It would be so considered now were not the Papacy a power which England dares not ignore. The fact that England has taken such a step shows the increased power and influence of the Papacy in European affairs.

3. The fact of the negotiations proves that the Roman Catholic Church is not only an ecclesiastical power, but a political power.

4. The second paragraph quoted is the thinnest sort of fallacy. Because England rules over Roman Catholic subjects, does it follow that she must negotiate with the Vatican and send an ambassador to St. Peter's? Does she rule over her people as members of different sects, or as British subjects? If the fact that there are many Roman Catholics in the dominion of Great Britain is reason why the British Government should send an ambassador to the head of that church, ought not that Government, to be consistent, to open negotiations with other religious denominations? There are many Wesleyans, and Presbyterians, and Congregationalists, in the British dominions. Why is not an ambassador sent to their General Conferences? The Salvation Army has many thousands of British subjects. Why should not an ambassador be kept at the royal palace of General Booth?

5. The action ought to alarm every true Englishman. The conclusion is unavoidable; an English ambassador at the Vatican is a recognition of the temporal sovereignty of the Pope. A proposition to open negotiations from the head of any other sect would be treated with ridicule or silent contempt by the Court at St. James. But the Roman Catholic is no more entitled to it than is the smallest sect in the dominions of Her Britannic Majesty. As was remarked by a leading London journal a few years ago, Rome is a power which must be taken into account in solving the great questions of the day. Both England and Germany are finding it to be the case more and more. The outcome of it all is revealed in the prophetic word.—*Signs of the Times*.

Religious Observance.

ON Monday night, June 16, the Rev. W. F. Crafts gave a lengthy lecture in Boulder, Colorado, on "The Civil American Sabbath." He exhibited a chart and explained the physical detriment of continued labor, and enthusiastically spoke of the need and benefits of laws to better enforce the observance of this civil Sabbath. The religious Sabbath would not down, but kept continually coming to the front, all through the lecture. In the beginning of his speech he made the statement that all the States, excepting California, had Sunday laws, and in no State did these laws compel any religious observance. At the close of his lecture, one in the audience arose and asked, if a man observed the seventh day as a rest day, thus meeting all his physical necessities, and then on Sunday pursued his labor of such a nature and in such a place as to disturb no one, on what ground did Sunday laws fine him seventy-five dollars for so laboring? The speaker replied that he did not countenance the few cases of that kind which had occurred, but all Sunday laws should exempt those who kept the seventh

day. It will be seen at once that this was an evasion of the point in question. What the law *should* do, and what it *did* do are very different things. The man was punished, not for disturbing his neighbors, for he did not disturb them; not for injuring himself by continuous toil, for he had rested the day before; it is therefore easy to see that the punishment inflicted by these laws was to compel the religious observance of Sunday. All Sunday legislation is religious legislation; and it is plain to be seen that any and every Sunday law, in any and every State, is for the sole purpose of enforcing the religious observance of that day.

E. R. JONES.

The Bible and Public Schools.

WE have read, with hearty approval; the opinions recently delivered in the Supreme Court of Wisconsin, in regard to the question of the Bible in the public schools of that State, the full text of which has been published in the *Albany Law Journal*. This reading only confirms our opinion of this decision as heretofore expressed.

Mr. Justice Lyon delivered the opinion of the Court; and Messrs. Justices Cassoday and Orton delivered concurring opinions. The case before the Court was that of a petition for a *mandamus*, commanding the School Board in the city of Edgerton to cause the teachers in one of the public schools of that city to discontinue the practice of reading, during school hours, portions of the King James version of the Bible. The petitioners for the *mandamus* were residents and tax-payers in Edgerton, and presumptively Catholics in their religious faith, although this fact is not stated in these deliverances. They complained of the practice above referred to.

This petition brought squarely before the Court the question whether such a practice is consistent with the Constitution of the State of Wisconsin; and this question the Court unanimously answered in the negative. And, that our readers may the better understand the case, we submit in the following order the several points decided:

1. The first point is the construction of Article X, Section 3, of the Constitution of the State, which declares that "the Legislature shall provide by law for the establishment of district schools, which shall be as nearly uniform as practicable, and such schools shall be free and without charge for tuition to all children between the ages of four, and twenty years, and no sectarian instruction shall be allowed therein." The Court held that the reading of the King James version of the Bible in public schools of the State during school hours, is "sectarian instruction" within the meaning of this constitutional prohibition, and hence inconsistent there-

with. Mr. Justice Lyon said that the prohibition "manifestly refers exclusively to instruction in *religious* doctrines," and in such doctrines as "are believed by some religious sects and rejected by others." The Court took judicial knowledge of the fact that the King James version of the Bible is not accepted and used by *all* "religious sects" in Wisconsin, but is accepted by some of these sects and rejected by others. Hence, as between them, all having the same constitutional rights, the Court held that version to be a "sectarian" book, and the reading of it in the manner and for the purpose set forth in the complaint to be forbidden by the Constitution of the State.

How any other conclusion could have been drawn from the premises, we are not able to see. We presume that there is not a Protestant in Wisconsin who would hesitate a moment on the point, if the book read had been the Douay version of the Bible which is acceptable to Catholics, or the Koran, or the Book of Mormon. The reading of such a book as a part of school exercise, whether for worship or religious instruction, would be offensive to Protestants, and they would have good cause for complaint, just as the reading of the King James version, which is sometimes called the Protestant Bible, is offensive to Catholics. It should not be forgotten that, under the Constitution of Wisconsin, Catholics and Protestants have on this subject precisely the same rights, and that neither can claim any precedence over the other. The Constitution of that State makes no distinction between them, and determines no question relating to their differences, or any other religious differences. It deals with all the people simply as *citizens*, no matter what may be their religious tenets, or whether they have any such tenets.

2. The second point decided is that "the practice of reading the Bible in such schools can receive no sanction, from the fact that pupils are not compelled to remain in the school while it is being read." On this point we quote, as follows, the language of Mr. Justice Lyon:—

When, as in this case, a small minority of the pupils in the public school is excluded, for any cause, from a stated school exercise, particularly when such cause is apparent hostility to the Bible, which a majority of the pupils have been taught to revere, from that moment the excluded pupil loses caste with his fellows, and is liable to be regarded with aversion, and subjected to reproach and insult. But it is a sufficient refutation of the argument that the practice in question tends to destroy the equality of the pupils which the Constitution seeks to establish and protect, and puts a portion of them at a serious disadvantage in many ways with respect to any others.

The plain fact is that *not* to compel the attendance, upon such reading, of the children of parents who object to it, for the sake of continuing the reading, is a virtual confession that the reading has a "sectarian" character, as between those

who desire it and those who object to it. It is merely an attempt to get round what is apparent on the face of the case.

3. The third point decided is that "the reading of the Bible is an act of worship, as that term is defined in the Constitution; and hence the tax-payers of any district who are compelled to contribute to the erection and support of common schools, have the right to object to the reading of the Bible, under the Constitution of Wisconsin, Article I, section 18, clause 2, declaring that no man shall be compelled to . . . erect or support any place of worship." This provision is in what is called the "Declaration of Rights." The opinion delivered by Mr. Justice Cassoday on this point is, to our understanding, clear and conclusive. Bible-reading in public schools has the form and intention of religious worship; and this being the fact, then to compel the people by taxation to erect and support public schools, in which such reading is a practice, is to compel them by law to erect and support places of worship. The fact that these places are also used for other purposes does not relieve the difficulty. The Constitution expressly declares that the people shall not "be compelled to erect *any* place" that is used for the purpose of worship. To tax a man to erect and support a public school, and then to introduce the element of religious worship into that school, is to make a combination which the Constitution forbids.

4. The fourth point decided is that, "as the reading of the Bible at stated times in a common school is religious instruction, the money drawn from the State Treasury in support of such school is 'for the benefit of a religious seminary,' within the meaning of the Constitution of Wisconsin, Article 1, section 18, clause 4, prohibiting such an appropriation of the funds of the State." The design of the clause referred to, is to prevent the State from using the public funds to defray the expenses of religious instruction; and this design is frustrated just as really when these funds are used to support common schools in which such instruction is given, as it would be if these funds were used to support "religious societies, or religious or theological seminaries." Mr. Justice Cassoday in his opinion sets forth this point very clearly.

We have thus given the pith of the argument on this subject as stated by the three Justices of the Supreme Court of Wisconsin. We see no escape from the conclusion reached, and have no desire to escape it, since we thoroughly believe in its correctness everywhere. To the argument that "the exclusion of Bible reading from the district schools is derogatory to the value of the Holy Scriptures, a blow to their influence upon the conduct and consciences of men, and disastrous to the cause of religion," Mr. Justice Lyon thus replied:—

We most emphatically reject these views. The priceless truths of the Bible are best taught to our youth in the church, the Sabbath and the parochial schools, the social religious meetings, and, above all, by parents in the home circle. There these truths may be explained and enforced, the spiritual welfare of the child guarded and protected, and his spiritual nature directed and cultivated in accordance with the dictates of the parental conscience. The Constitution does not interfere with such teaching and culture.

The doctrine of the Constitution of Wisconsin, as thus settled by the Supreme Court of that State, is, in our judgment, the true doctrine for every State in the Union. It remits the question of religious instruction, as to what it shall be, as to the agency giving it, and as to the cost thereof, to voluntary, private, and individual effort, and devotes the public school, created and regulated by law, and supported by a general taxation of the people, exclusively to secular education. This principle is in harmony with the nature and structure of our political institutions, and is, moreover, just and equitable as between religious sects. It favors no one of them and proscribes no one of them; and while it leaves them all free to propagate their religious beliefs in their own way, and at their own expense, it gives to the whole people, at the cost of the whole, a system of popular education that is certainly good as far as it goes, and is *all* that the State can give, without itself becoming a religious propagandist. Catholics and Protestants alike ought to be satisfied with it. There is no other basis on which the school question can be justly settled as between different religious sects.—*N. Y. Independent.*

Some Pertinent Questions.

WHILE some of the advocates of Sunday laws are still urging the passage and the enforcement of such laws in the interest of religion, others are more wise, even if less honest, and are pleading for a "civil sabbath" for "civil reasons." In a recent discourse in Denver, Rev. W. F. Crafts said: "It is genuine labor reform, this six-day law."

"There is a general agreement," said he, "that the rest day must be made, by law. When men think that ten hours out of twenty-four is enough for work, it is incorporated in law, and everybody thinks it all right. Our movement is a six-day one, and on a par with the ten or eight-hour law." But where is the parallel? No ten or eight-hour law ever made, forbade men to work more than eight or ten hours; such laws simply forbid employers to require men to work more than eight or ten hours for a day's wages; if the men themselves are willing to work extra time, they may do so. But Sunday laws forbid work upon a certain day; they aim to protect not the employee, but the *day*.

If the real purpose of Sunday legislation is to prevent men from being required to do unnecessary work upon Sun-

day, why do the advocates of such legislation not ask that the day be made a legal holiday, and that employers be required to pay double wages for all work done upon that day—with the provision also that a claim for such extra wages shall never outlaw, and that no agreement on the part of an employee shall be a bar to the collection of such wages? Such a law would stop all the unnecessary Sunday work now carried on, and give working people every advantage that they could justly claim on the score of a *right* to rest; and at the same time it would leave all who wish to labor on their own account free to do so, as they are not now in some States. But no law whatever is really necessary to secure to every man the right to rest.

While upon the Pacific Coast, a few weeks since, Mr. Crafts was asked if a Saturday law was not necessary to protect the Jew in the religious observance of the seventh day. Mr. Crafts replied: "It is not sufficiently emphasized that the Jew is left absolutely free to observe the seventh day. He can close his shop; he can refuse to work." Mr. Crafts is quite right in this answer; but it is just as true of the Sunday keeper: he can refuse to work. If the demand was as general as Mr. Crafts would have us believe, men would strike for Sunday rest just as they now do for shorter hours and higher wages. But nobody ever heard of a strike against Sunday work.

But Mr. Crafts, though professedly working for a civil law for the protection of a civil rest day, is not content to place the seventh-day observer and the first-day observer upon the same footing as regards the law. He not only wants to provide that nobody shall be compelled to work upon the first day, but that nobody shall be permitted to work upon that day, with these exceptions: "We concede," says he, "that three exceptions must be made—for labors of necessity, mercy, and for those who keep Saturday, the latter to work behind closed doors." But why behind closed doors, Mr. Crafts? If the law is only for the protection of labor, only to prevent men from being *compelled* to work on Sunday, why provide that those who want to work upon that day shall do it behind closed doors? There can be but one reason, namely, to place Sunday work under the ban of the law, and merely tolerate it just as Protestant worship is tolerated in some of the South American countries, behind high walls and in buildings not having any outward resemblance to churches.

Referring to Mr. Crafts' work, the *Denver News*, of June 17, well says:—

It needs no analysis to see the drift of the legislation he advocates. He would have the civil power enforce a religious conception of Sunday observance, save that he would forego compulsory attendance at church.

One fact is, that look at the matter from

whatever point of view you will, the real design of Sunday laws is to protect and honor the day, not to protect the men who might otherwise labor upon that day. This fact is "not sufficiently emphasized;" indeed, it is even denied by the American Sabbath Union.

C. P. B.

Unique Legislation.

THE last clause of the Blair Sunday-rest Bill, is worded as follows:—

Nor shall the provisions of this act be construed to prohibit or sanction labor on Sunday, by individuals who conscientiously believe in and observe any other day than Sunday as the Sabbath, or a day of religious worship, provided that such labor be not done to the disturbance of others.

This is unique. No such legislation as this was ever before offered in this country. The restrictions of the Bill, if passed, would bear upon all persons within the exclusive jurisdiction of Congress,—the District of Columbia, the Territories, ships on the high seas, military and naval stations, military and naval service; the postal service, and those engaged in inter-state commerce and trade with the Indians.

The influence of such a measure would not be as circumscribed as some of its promoters would have us think. Its restrictions upon the postal service, and inter-state commerce, would cause its effects to be seen, and its results manifested in every corner of the land. Those who planned it, well know this, and have worked accordingly. But from the effects of this far-reaching law, they make an ostensible exception. What is it? It specifies a certain class of people, who are characterized in the bill, as "individuals who conscientiously believe in and observe any other day than Sunday, as the Sabbath or a day of religious worship," and declares that, as regards them, the bill is non-committal. Concerning this class, it withdraws its prohibition, but at the same time refuses its sanction. As regards them, it refuses to legislate.

These people who "conscientiously believe," etc., are therefore thrown outside the pale of the law. They are ignored in the laws of the United States. They are outlaws. There is something so darkly mysterious in their case, that Congress cannot acknowledge their existence, but must deny itself to them utterly, either in favor or displeasure.

But who is it that thus assumes to ask for the outlawry of a body of American citizens? It is a number of men who form the nucleus of a party known as the National Reform Association, and who deny their own citizenship, and refuse to exercise their right of suffrage. This Government, and the people (who are the Government), should consider whether "conscientious" citizens who obey the law, pay their taxes, and value their franchise, using it for the benefit of their country, should be scorned and outlawed, at the

demand of a few men who are aliens by choice—voluntary aliens, because the great founders of this republic were too intelligently and profoundly reverent to embody the name of God in the civil document upon which the polity of this Nation is based. Shall the Congress of the United States say of any person or any class of persons within its jurisdiction, "We wash our hands of you;" "We neither prohibit nor sanction your acts;" "We deliver you up to the Committees of One Hundred, to the Law-and-Order leagues, and to the White Caps"? If this can be accomplished by a demand from such a source, who governs this country? and who may not come next under the ban of outlawry?

W. H. M.

Bellamyism In Fact.

THE following bill has been introduced in the United States Senate by Senator Plumb, of Kansas:—

Be it enacted, that the President of the United States shall forthwith issue a call addressed to all citizens of this republic over twenty-one years of age, inviting them to serve in the grand army of labor of this republic for not less than one day, under the following terms and conditions; First, the hours of labor shall not exceed four hours per day for more than five days in each week, nor more than six successive weeks without an intermission of two weeks; second the rate of wages shall be four dollars per day, and be payable weekly, in the declaratory, full legal tender, silk-threaded, green-back, paper money of the United States of America exclusively.

SECTION 2. That an Executive Department of Labor be and is hereby established, and the office of Secretary of the Department of Labor, at a salary of \$4 per day, is hereby created, for the purpose of enabling the said President to rapidly commission and assign said volunteers to duty in the public service, where their abilities will reflect credit upon themselves; and it is hereby distinctly provided that the tenure of office in said service shall be held exclusively at the pleasure of the said volunteer, and not, as heretofore, at the pleasure of some spoilsman who may happen to hold a commission issued by the President of the United States or other officer thereof.

SECTION 3. That the money necessary to carry the provisions of this act into effect, be, and is hereby appropriated out of any money in the treasury not otherwise appropriated, and in case there shall be no money in said treasury, then it shall be the duty of the Treasurer of the United States to inform the Secretary of the treasury of that fact, and he shall at once cause a sufficiency thereof to be prepared and covered into the Treasury for said purpose.

SECTION 4. That all laws, and parts of laws, in conflict herewith, be, and are hereby repealed, and this act shall take effect when approved.

That is Bellamyism, otherwise called Nationalism, reduced to legal form. Of course so far as Senator Plumb is concerned this is only a "take off;" but as for Bellamyism it is the genuine article set in statutory phrase. Nothing more than this is expected to be done with the bill; but it is worth something to have Mr. Bellamy's extravaganza reduced to a definite proposition and put into plain every-day English. We should like to see Mr. Bellamy or any who holds his fancy, either advocate or oppose it.

The Basis of Civil Sabbath Laws.

I LEARN from the *Christian Statesman* of May 29, that the editor, and Judge Hagan, of Cincinnati, Ohio, though agreed in the propriety and necessity of a civil Sabbath, differ from each other on the basis of such legislations. The Judge says, "No legislation on this subject, unless it is founded on some basis beside the Christian duty of observing a day of rest, can be justified. So keen and incisive was the intention of the founders of the Government to divorce the Church from the State, entirely and forever, that there cannot be, as there ought not to be, any legislation to enforce the performance of a Christian duty as such; but all laws must be founded on civil rights, duties, and obligations."

But the editor argues that without the divine law for the Sabbath there would be no basis for a civil Sabbath law. He says, "The moment we depart from an immutable moral basis, that moment we are left adrift without compass or chart. The logic which runs us into such absurdity and such wickedness should show us that we must base our civil Sabbath laws on the divine law. This is where our ablest jurors have based them. Judge Flandrau, of the Supreme Court of Minnesota, declared that the Sabbath law of that State 'can have no other object than the enforcement of the fourth of God's commandments.'" The editor also quotes Judge Caldwell, of the Supreme Court of Texas, as saying that "the object of the legislation was to forbid all secular employments on the Sabbath, not excepted in the act. The disregard of the Sabbath, the refusal to recognize it as a day sanctified to holy purposes, constitutes the offense."

Judge Hagan, to avoid the union of Church and State, would have the civil Sabbath based on reasons wholly outside of religious obligation; but the editor thinks such an idea absurd, and would have the civil Sabbath based on the command of God, so that it will reach men's consciences, and so that "the refusal to recognize it as a day sanctified to holy purposes" will constitute the chief offense against the law. Any one can see that the enactment of such a law would be an effort to compel men to acknowledge the claims of the religion of the Bible, and of what they call the Christian Sabbath; and yet this is not religious legislation, but purely civil! But however they differ in regard to the basis on which to found it, in one thing they agree, and that is, we must have a "civil Sabbath."

The advocates of error will differ widely in their premises, but still come to the same conclusion; but those who plead for truth are united in the reasons they offer in its support, because they are ready-made, and they do not have to invent them.

R. F. COTTRELL.

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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Liberty of Conscience.

R. M. KING, of Obion County, Tennessee, belongs to a sect which holds Saturday and not Sunday to be the Sabbath. He observes Saturday with great strictness, and on Sunday quietly proceeds with the labor on his farm.

For doing so, Mr. King was indicted, tried, convicted and fined last March. The National Religious Liberty Association—an organization composed entirely of believers in the Christian religion—has undertaken King's defense, and the case has been appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States for the purpose of testing there the constitutionality of State laws enforcing the religious observance of Sunday as a Sabbath.

Whatever the judicial ruling may be as to the constitutional power of a State to enforce such laws, there can be no doubt that their enforcement in such cases as that of Mr. King is a gross violation of natural rights and rights of conscience. It is not contended that Mr. King disturbed any neighbor in the enjoyment of a quiet Sunday, but merely that his working on Sunday and his observance of Saturday as his Sabbath instead, was an offense to the moral sense of the community, and a violation of the law of the State.

If it was so, it is high time for the community in which Mr. King lives to discipline its moral sense, and for his State to rearrange its laws in conformity with that principle of individual liberty which lies at the foundation of American institutions.

The principle involved is simple and its application plain. The State has nothing to do with religion except to protect every citizen in his religious liberty. It has no more right to prescribe the religious observance of Sabbaths and holy days than to order sacraments and ordain creeds.

In recognition of the general custom of the people, the State rightfully makes Sun-

day a legal holiday, in order that no man whose conscience or convenience forbids may be compelled to work on that day. The law also properly protects citizens against unnecessary disturbance of their quietude on that day, but beyond that it has no right to go, in a country where Church and State are totally separated by fundamental law. To go further is for the State to assume powers inconsistent with its being and very dangerous to religious liberty.

And this doctrine is held by all enlightened men of all creeds, not in antagonism to any but in defense of all. It is the doctrine of perfect religious liberty in a purely secular State as opposed to the doctrine of State absolutism and intolerance in religion.—*Editorial in New York World, June 23.*

THE Rev. G. E. Gordon, whom many of our citizens met at the recent Dairy-men's Association, promulgates some sensible ideas. He recently signed a remonstrance against the enactment by Congress of laws to enforce the observance of the Sabbath. "I am opposed to all legislation of that kind," he said, when questioned about it. "I believe that the people have the right of quiet assembly, and that meetings should be protected from both inside and outside disturbance. I am opposed to rowdy Sundays, and I am opposed to rowdy Mondays. I do not believe that a Catholic corner-stone laying procession, with its band has any more right to disturb a meeting of Turners, than a Sangerfest band has to disturb a church meeting. Legislation for the observance of Sunday, because it is Sunday, is not in harmony with American principles. After nineteen centuries of existence if the Church can not conquer the world without special legislation, it would better give it up. I think the freer the Church is from legislative enactments the more chance it has, the further it reaches, and the more good it does."—*Columbus, Wisconsin, Democrat.*

SECTARIAN instruction should be sedulously excluded from the public schools of the land. The Catholics, as they have a right to do, object even to the reading of the Protestant Bible in such schools: but now comes Rev. Charles O. Brown, of Dubuque, in a letter to the Des Moines *Capital*, saying there are "at least seven district schools in Dubuque County where the Catholic catechism is taught." A church so strenuous in preventing unwelcome reading in the presence of its children should not employ the public funds to promote their doctrines, nor expect that other people will be willing to have it done.—*The Lyons, Iowa, Mirror.*

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SPEAKING of the Non-Partisan Woman's Christian Temperance Union, the *Independent* of this city says: "We most heartily commend it to those who want to do temperance work without complication with political parties." And so do we; and not only so, but we suggest that every Christian ought to want to do temperance work in just that way.

THE *Mail and Express* heads the following dispatch, "Americanism in the West":—

Chicago, June 13. One hundred delegates from lodges of the Patriotic Sons of America throughout the State met last evening at the Grand Pacific Hotel to devise means of creating a public sentiment in favor of the suppression of German public schools. The meeting was enthusiastic and unanimous.

Let us hear no more about Russian and German despotism in forcing the Russian and German languages upon conquered provinces.

A SPRINGFIELD, Ohio, dispatch says:—

Canton and Springfield played the first Sunday game of ball, on Sunday, before 3,000 people, notwithstanding the ministers' vigorous protest. Monday morning, by pre-arrangement of the baseball management, Constable Parsons arrested managers and players. In Squire Miller's court they pleaded guilty, and each was fined twenty-five cents and costs. The latter will be thrown off. Church-going people are kicking over the fines imposed by the Justice, and there is likely to be some fun later.

That seems strange. We are confidently assured by very many people that Sunday laws are not religious, but police regulations for the health of the people. If that were true it would seem that boards of health, and not the church people, should do the "kicking" when Sunday laws are violated.

JUNE 2, Joseph Keeter and Joseph Barnett, of Indianapolis, were fined by Mayor Sullivan for taking photographs on Sunday. The former, with costs, paid \$19.50 and the latter paid \$13.25. Both were amateurs engaged in taking landscapes. George Wilson and Ruth Keeter were arrested for the same offense, but their cases were continued. Laws that make such things possible ought to be promptly abolished. We suppose, however, that the Indiana Sunday law is simply a "civil regulation" to "preserve the health of the people" by keeping them from working

too hard. It might not occur to many that amateur photography is necessarily either very hurtful physically or morally, but they forget that this was done on Sunday.

Sunday is a very peculiar day. It would no doubt be all right for the Mayor of Indianapolis to take his carriage and enjoy a drive on Sunday, or for any number of people to devote the day to feasting and visiting, but taking photographs of landscapes is not to be tolerated.

SENATOR BLAIR, in a letter to the *Mail and Express* some time since, said:—

I yet believe that instead of selecting a final toleration of so-called religions, the American people will, by constant and irresistible pressure gradually expel from our geographical boundaries every religion except the Christian in its varied forms. I do not expect to see the pagan and other forms existing side by side with the former, both peaceably acquiesced in, for any length of time. I do not think that experience will satisfy the American people that the inculcation of any positive religious belief hostile to the Christian faith, or the practice of the forms of any other worship, is conducive to the good order of society and the general welfare. There may not be any exhibition of bigotry in this. I believe that religious toleration will yet come to be considered to be an intelligent discrimination between the true and the false, and the selection of the former by such universal consent as shall exclude by general reprobation the recognition and practice of the latter. . . . The people are considering these subjects anew. They are questioning whether there be not some mistake in theories of religious liberty, which permit the inculcation of the most destructive errors in the name of toleration, and the spread of pestilences under the name of liberty which despises the quarantine.

This casts an important sidelight upon the legislation of which Mr. Blair is the author. It shows that the spirit of religious despotism and intolerance is ingrained in his very make-up, and that these measures in legislation are simply the means through which he would give vent to that which is in him and a host of others of his kind who are backing him up in his mediæval methods.

SOME time ago when everything possible was being done to secure from Congress some recognition of Sunday as the Sabbath, some action that would serve as a precedent for more extended and far-reaching legislation, the country was assured that the District of Columbia was without a Sunday law. THE SENTINEL published at that time an old Sunday law of the State of Maryland which has long been in force in the District, having never been repealed, but, even after it was published, the statement was still bandied about that the District had no Sunday law. This is now contradicted by the following from the Washington correspondent of the *Mail and Express*:—

There is a good deal of excitement in sporting circles here over the question of Sunday baseball games. The Sunday law in the District of Columbia is very strict. Not only are all saloons, cigar stores, and other shops closed, but the barber shops are shut up also, peddlers are not allowed to sell fruit on the street, and while newsboys are allowed

to sell papers, they are not permitted to cry their wares. There is no city on the continent where Sunday observance is so strictly enforced, and no attempt has ever been made to resist or test the law.

The baseball managers hold that the game is a healthy amusement, and that there is no law to prohibit them from doing as they please within the inclosure which is leased by them. The grounds are in an isolated locality, and they claim that no one can be disturbed or interfered with in their observance of the Sabbath, by a game. They claim also that there is no law prohibiting baseball playing on Sunday. The District Commissioners, however, say that there is a law against Sunday desecration and they intend to enforce it.

Those who remember reading the Sunday law of the District of Columbia, published in THE SENTINEL of February 13, will readily agree that it is "very strict"; also that it is ample to prevent ball-playing or almost anything else of a secular nature on Sunday.

A MOST interesting book has found its way to our table. It is entitled, "From Eden to Eden," by the late J. H. Waggoner of Basel, Switzerland. This book is a brief examination of the more important historic and prophetic portions of the Scriptures. It is not a labored argument to prove the divine inspiration of the Bible. That is taken for granted. And yet the book presents incidentally the most irrefragable evidence of the divine origin of both the Old and New Testaments. The Scriptures themselves are their own best witness, and the author of this book well says:—

It is the office of the Scriptures themselves to convince of their own origin and authority. To those who read them reverently not a word is needed to prove that they are divine; while to those who do not read them, or who read them carelessly and without reverence, no manner or amount of proof can be given that can cause them to realize their divinity, their importance, or their beauty. To be appreciated, the Bible must be studied with an earnest desire to learn the truth.

The object of this book is to assist to just such a study as is here indicated, and the plan upon which it is written is most admirably adapted to that end. One important truth kept constantly in view by the author is the unity of the divine plan as revealed in the several parts of the Scriptures.

Though embracing only 264 pages, this work covers "the entire period of the world's history and the consummation of the plan of redemption, yet the important truths which enter into this plan are so connected in their presentation, that the thoughtful reader cannot fail to see the relation of each to the others, and to realize the necessity of each as a part of the whole—brevity being rather a help in this direction than otherwise."

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THE AMERICAN SENTINEL.

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MEN do not form civil societies for the maintenance of any form of religious opinions, but for purposes common to all and antecedent to all; consequently all attempts to found any civil superiority upon religious belief, are simply attempts at fraud and robbery; and are to be resisted, like other attempts at fraud and robbery.—*Westminster Review*.

ACCORDING to the report of a special agent of the Agricultural Department, fifteen per cent. of the food sold in the country is adulterated or misbranded, causing a total loss to the consumers of about \$675,000,000 a year. This would be a large and perfectly legitimate field of operation for those philanthropists who are so profoundly concerned for the public health that they are fearful that people will not take sufficient rest. They should at least combine with their demand for "civil" rest on Sunday a demand for pure food. In that case their movement would certainly be partially civil; something which cannot be said of it now.

THE AMERICAN SENTINEL is as much opposed to lotteries as any one can be, and holds that the State should suppress them; but we cannot approve the sentiment expressed recently by Mr. Foster, the leader of the anti-lottery fight in the Louisiana Senate. He declared that the side which he represented could fight \$1,000 bills with twenty-five dollar shot guns. This was simply a declaration that they would meet fraud by force. The lottery which they

are fighting is bad, but, bad as it is, it is not as utterly demoralizing as is the use of the shot-gun argument in politics. Those who espouse great moral ideas should themselves be moral, and should confine themselves to methods that at least are not opposed to good morals. The use of the shot gun in politics, should be left for the other side in this lottery fight.

A Dangerous League.

EARLY in the year we noticed in THE SENTINEL the organization in this city of the National League for the Protection of American Institutions, and promised at the time to tell more about it when we should find out more. We have now found out more about it, and we are going to tell it; and what we tell about it shall be simply what we know.

Document No. 1 of the League, says:—

The objects of the League are to secure constitutional and legislative safeguards for the protection of the common school system and other American institutions, and to promote public instruction in harmony with such institutions, and to prevent all sectarian or denominational appropriations of public funds.

Hon. John Jay, ex-Minister to Austria, is President, and Rev. James M. King, D. D., of the Methodist Episcopal Church, is General Secretary. Quite a large number of millionaires, and other prominent men, are members of the League, among whom are Bishops Potter and Coxe, Drs. Howard Crosby and John Hall, and Rabbi Mendes. Other well-known names are those of Clinton B. Fisk, H. H. Boyesen, and E. P. Bellamy.

The primary step taken, and the first work proposed to be accomplished by the League, is to secure the following amendment to the Constitution of the United States:—

No State shall pass any law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, or use its property or credit, or any money raised by taxation, or authorize either to be used, for the purpose of founding, maintaining, or aiding,

by appropriation, payment for services, expenses, or otherwise, any church, religious denomination, or religious society, or any institution, society, or undertaking which is wholly, or in part, under sectarian or ecclesiastical control.

That amendment says very much, or it says very little. It says very much that is good, or it says very much that is bad. If it be taken plainly upon what it says, and interpreted according to its true meaning, it is well enough. The latter clause forbids the State to devote any of its funds, or credit, to any sectarian or denominational school, or any school under ecclesiastical control. That is, it forbids the appropriation of any funds for church uses or for use in any church institutions. It forbids any State money, or credit, to be given to any church schools; but that clause does not forbid in any way the teaching of religion in the public schools. It does not forbid the use of State money, property, or credit for the purposes of teaching religion in the public schools. The first clause, however, would forbid this if given its true meaning, because no religion can be taught in the public schools and at the same time leave everybody the free exercise of religion.

If, therefore, this should become a part of the Constitution, and should be interpreted and enforced according to the true meaning of the words used, it would be well enough; *but this is not intended by the League which proposes the amendment*. They do not intend by it that the teaching of religion—of Christianity in fact—shall be excluded from the public schools. And this is why we have said that the proposed amendment means much that is good, or much that is bad. If it be fairly interpreted, if it be interpreted according to the meaning of the words used, it is good; but if it be interpreted according to the intents of the League which framed it, then it is only bad.

We have not the individual views of all the enrolled members; but we have the printed views of both the President and the General Secretary, and if the principles of the League, and the intents

of the League, in this matter, are represented by its President and its General Secretary, and if those principles and intents are expected to be carried into effect under the amendment when adopted, then the amendment means much that is bad.

Fairly and honestly interpreted, the amendment would forbid the use of the Bible or the teaching of any religion in the public schools; yet, February 15, 1889, Dr. James M. King, then the representative of the Evangelical Alliance, and now the General Secretary of this League, appeared before the United States Senate Committee on Education and Labor, and argued in favor of the proposed Blair Amendment to the United States Constitution, which distinctly proposed to enforce by national power, the teaching of "the principles of the Christian religion" in all the public schools of the Nation. In his speech he argued earnestly for that "Christianity" which is "a part of American law." He said:—

The Christianity which has from the beginning characterized our public schools, and which properly belongs to the schools of Christian people, is thus alluded to by the Evangelical Alliance in a recent circular to the American people:—

Touching the management of our common schools on the purity of whose teaching depends the character of the Nation, this Alliance would earnestly and respectfully entreat all who would maintain in their purity and beneficence our American institutions, to have eye to the schools in their own immediate neighborhood; to cherish them with affectionate and jealous care; to guard them from partisan and sectarian manipulation, to see that the teachers are fitted for their work, morally as well as intellectually, and that they worthily appreciate the grandeur of their task in training children for their high duties as American citizens. They should clearly understand that while those duties are based upon the broad, tolerant Christianity which our country holds to be, in a modified sense, a part of the American law—the Christianity revealed in the Bible, and whose divine origin and birth are judicially recognized—a Christianity not founded upon any particular tenets, but Christianity with liberty of conscience to all men; the *Christian ethics* and *influence* thus authorized and demanded in our schools must never be narrowed or perverted in our State institutions, and least of all in our public schools, by the admission of denominational dogmas or doctrines, or of decrees or maxims at variance with American rights, American principles, or American law; or inconsistent with the fundamental American principle of a complete separation of Church and State.

Again: It is now known everywhere that the Wisconsin Supreme Court lately decided against the use of the King James version of the Bible in the public schools. The Court decided thus upon the strength of the clause in the State Constitution forbidding sectarian instruction in the public schools, and which forbade the State to make any law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof. In short, the Supreme Court of Wisconsin decided against the use of the Bible in the public schools, under constitutional provisions which in substance and on their face are identical with this amendment which is proposed by the National League for the Protection of American Institutions; yet, on the eighth day of April, 1890, in the New York Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Dr. King, at the time

General Secretary of this League, as Chairman of the Conference Committee on Religion and Public Education, presented a report in which are the following statements of what the committee called "principles":—

2. That the separation of Church and State cannot mean under our form of government the separation of Christian morality and the State.

3. Historically, and by the highest legal and judicial precedent we are a Christian Nation.

4. It is well settled by decisions in leading States of the Union that Christianity is a part of the common law of the State: "the American States adopted these principles from the common law of England."

5. Education consists in the symmetrical development of the whole man for the purpose of his creation. This purpose is admitted to be moral. Purely secular education is impossible in a land whose literature, history, and laws are a product of a Christian civilization.

12. We repudiate as un-American and pagan, and as a menace to the perpetuity of our free institutions, the recent Supreme Court decision in the State of Wisconsin, a decision dictated and defended by the enemies of the public schools, that the reading of the Bible, without comment, is "sectarian instruction of the pupils, in view of the fact that the Bible contains numerous passages upon some of which the peculiar creed of almost every religious sect is based. And that such passages may be reasonably understood to inculcate the doctrines predicated upon them." The enemies of the common school declare that "exclusion of the Bible would not help the matter. This would only make the schools purely secular, which were worse than making them purely Protestant. For as it regards the State, society, morality, all the interests of this world, Protestantism we hold to be far better than no religion."

In the present state of the controversy, we hold it to be the duty of the citizens of a commonwealth, Christian in its history and in the character of its laws, to deny that the Bible is a sectarian book, and to claim for it a place whenever the State attempts to educate youth for the duties of citizenship.

And April 16, 1890, in a long letter to the *New York Times*, Hon. John Jay, the President of the League, took the *Times* to task for its criticism of the above report. The sole object of the letter is to prove that "Christianity is a part of American law" and that therefore Christianity and its interests must be respected and enforced by the law, and it distinctly defended the right of the State "to teach morality," "to approve the ten commandments," and "to instruct children in the law of God and the sermon on the mount." And he assumes the task of "defending American law from the charge of ignoring Christianity" which he declares "is not difficult for even a layman."

By these evidences it is plain enough that this League for the Protection of American Institutions does not really intend to protect the American public school. While proposing that this amendment shall prohibit the State from devoting any money to any church school or institution, the League does intend that the State shall teach the Christian religion in the public school, and shall use its money for that purpose. The League gives to the word "sectarian" a meaning of its own, a meaning which the word

cannot fairly be made to bear, and it intends that under that meaning its views of the Christian religion shall be forced upon the people in the public schools at the public expense.

We are not alone in the view that by interpretation this proposed amendment is to be made to enforce what it does not say. The same day on which Dr. King spoke before the Senate Committee in behalf of the Blair Amendment, Rev. T. P. Stevenson, Corresponding Secretary of the National Reform Association, spoke immediately preceding Dr. King, and presented a memorial of which the two following resolutions are a part:—

Resolved, That our common schools, as one of the most important institutions of our country, should correspond to the Christian origin, history, and character of the Republic itself. Our schools should teach the history of our country, and the character of our institutions, our laws, and the reasons for them, the prerogatives and responsibilities of the sovereign people and their government, on the loyalty due, under God, to the authority of our own rulers. *The Bible ought not only to be read but taught in all the schools.* The public schools must prove a failure if they do not train our rising generation to be honest, virtuous, and loyal citizens. Such training, the ordinance for the Territory of the Northwest, and Washington's farewell address, assure us, can be found only in the principles of religion.

Resolved, That while our schools are and should be Christian, no preference or advantage should be given to any one sect or denomination in connection with the public schools. Above all, no sect can justly or fairly claim any share of the public money for the support of its own sectarian schools.

This expresses the same principles precisely as those held by Dr. King and Mr. John Jay; and of this amendment that is framed and proposed by the League, the *Christian Statesman* of which Mr. Stevenson is editor, says:—

It ought to receive the immediate and serious support of all loyal Americans.

And then says:—

Rightly interpreted, the foregoing amendment could not be used in any way as a lever to overthrow the Christian elements in our public schools.

By these evidences it is plain enough that if that amendment were adopted and were a part of the United States Constitution, and the United States Supreme Court should by it decide against the use of the King James version of the Bible in the public schools, that Court would be denounced by this League as an aider and abettor of "the enemies of the common schools," and such decision would be denounced by this League as "un-American and pagan."

Another thing, it is only Protestants who demand, as in Wisconsin, that the Bible, that is, the King James version of the Bible, shall be used in the public schools. This according to the above report of the General Secretary of this League is not sectarian. It is held not to be sectarian because the leading Protestant denominations all agree that it is proper. With this meaning given to the word "sectarian" these denominations might establish

what they would call a National University, say at Washington City. They could put it under State control and then could draw from the public treasury all the money that by any influence they could secure in support of that school, and so teach their views of Christianity in the school. All this, even though that amendment were a part of the national Constitution, because the school would not be under ecclesiastical control, but State control, and according to their interpretation the teaching of their views of Christianity and the Bible would not be sectarian.

Or, on the other hand, the United States might be persuaded as Senator Edmunds' bill proposes, to establish a National University itself, and these denominations, according to their interpretation of the word "sectarian," could have taught there at the national expense, their views of Christianity and the Bible. And if these things were not so taught in such an institution, then according to these "principles" they would repudiate the instruction as "un-American and pagan, and a menace to the perpetuity of our free institutions."

According to their idea, their view of Christianity and the Bible is not sectarian, therefore it must be taught in the public schools. But if the question be left to the States there will be a disagreement between them, as has already appeared in supreme court decisions. But if this proposed amendment should be adopted the whole question would be at once removed from State jurisdiction and made national only. Then if a decision of the United States Supreme Court should be secured sustaining the ideas of the League that Christianity and the Bible are not sectarian, a national religion would thus be established at one stroke. And *that* is what this League means, according to the expressed views of its President and General Secretary.

Therefore, judged and interpreted by the views and intents of the President and General Secretary of the National League for the Protection of American Institutions, this proposed amendment to the Constitution of the United States is to be used only as a means of establishing so-called Protestant Christianity as a national religion. It means in the end just what the so-called Blair Amendment means, but it is worse than that, in that whereas the Blair Amendment plainly says what it means, the amendment offered by this League means the same thing, but sets it forth in language which appears to promise precisely the opposite, leaving it to their own interpretation to secure by it what the League intends. If those who propose and advocate this amendment mean what the amendment says, it would be all well enough; but when they mean the opposite of what it says, then it makes the whole thing to be only evil. If the amendment were adopted as it reads, and were inter-

preted as it says, it would be perfectly proper and a good thing; but when those who have framed it and who propose to secure its adoption mean the opposite of what it says, then the danger is that the influence which they exerted to secure its adoption might be available to secure their interpretation, which is the opposite of what it says.

Therefore the best thing for the American people to do, is to protect American institutions *by giving no place* to the National League for the Protection of American Institutions, at least so far as its views are represented in the published ideas of its President and General Secretary.

A. T. J.

"The Civil Side of the Sabbath."

IN Eccl. 7:29 we read: "Lo, this only have I found, that God hath made man upright; but they have sought out many inventions." The above title, quoted from a National Reformer so-called, displays one of the many inventions of those who are clamoring for civil law to compel all to observe an institution wholly religious. They call it the "Christian Sabbath," and claim for it divine sanction and religious obligation. If this claim is just, civil law has no more to do for its enforcement, than it has for the enforcement of the Christian ordinances of baptism and the Lord's supper. It is a matter entirely at the option of each individual. God leaves men free to serve him or not as they choose, retaining the right to call them to judgment in his own time. And our unequalled Constitution forbids the making of any law prohibiting the free exercise of choice in all religious matters. This is as it should be; it is in harmony with the Golden Rule. All have the right to keep Sabbath, if they choose, and when they choose.

But National Reformers wish to compel all to keep Sabbath when they do; and to evade the truth that they wish to enforce a religious institution by civil law, they tax to the uttermost their inventive powers to find a way to make it appear that they do not ask for religious legislation. Hence their Sabbath has many sides; as the sanitary side, the merciful side, the protection side, and the civil side. All this, and I know not how much more, to persuade the good people that legislation in favor of a religious observance is not religious legislation, or the establishing a form of religion by law, the very thing which our peerless Constitution prohibits.

All have the privilege of resting one day in seven, if they think it for their health; but if they do not rest on a particular day, it is not a contagious disease, like the small-pox or yellow fever, that will endanger the lives of those who do rest. Workmen have the privilege of resting on Sunday, without compelling everybody else to rest on that day. And in regard to protection, our laws justly protect all in

religious worship on every day in the whole year. And there is nothing uncivil—nothing which infringes upon the rights of others—in quietly attending to one's own business on any day. But it would be quite uncivil to compel any man to lose the reward of honest labor on any day on which he chooses to work. The civil side of religious legislation has been sufficiently exemplified in past ages of the world. To repeat the experiment is worse than folly.

R. F. COTTRELL.

No Need of Sunday Legislation.

THE *Examiner* (Baptist) of this city, had an article some time since on "The Need of Sunday Legislation," in which some ideas worthy of notice were advocated. The article is a review of a paragraph or two from an article in a secular paper expressing the sentiment that no laws should be made in regard to Sunday, and that consequently everybody should do as they please about observing it. This, the *Examiner* thinks, would be utterly destructive of all Sunday observance. That paper admits, however, that "no laws should be made enforcing the religious observance of Sunday."

Just what those who say they are in favor of Sunday laws, but not in favor of enforcing the "religious observance" of the day, mean, we do not know. Sunday is purely a religious institution. It is observed because it is a religious institution, and how any observance of it whatever can be enforced without enforcing a religious observance, is more than we can understand. It is true that no law can compel anyone to have a real regard for Sunday, and possibly the advocates of Sunday laws would regard nothing short of that as religious observance; but any law that prohibits secular occupations on Sunday, compels people to act as though they had a sacred regard for the day, and what is that but religious observance as far as it goes?

The *Examiner* argues that Sunday laws are necessary in order to afford those an opportunity to rest who desire to do so. To prove this, it cites the case of the Saturday half-holiday in this city, of which it says:—

For several years, by a concerted action, some few large firms in the same lines of business adopted a system of early closing during the summer, but the practice was by no means general, and it had no sure basis until a statute made Saturday afternoon a legal holiday. When all banks and public offices closed at noon on Saturday, it was found not only practicable to close private offices and shops, but of little use to keep them open, and so the half-holiday became assured as a summer institution, and is more and more generally observed with every year.

But instead of proving the necessity of Sunday laws, this proves conclusively that no such laws are required further than to make Sunday a legal holiday. There is no law forbidding work upon Saturday afternoon; the law simply makes

Saturday afternoon a legal holiday, and banks, courts, etc., must of necessity suspend business, because business done at that time would not be legal. But to make Sunday *dies non* would not satisfy Sunday-law advocates. This is exactly the case with Sunday in California. It is a legal holiday, no public business is done and would not be legal if it were done, and yet, Sunday advocates say that California has no Sunday law, and they are demanding that a Sunday law be enacted in that State. The truth is, that that which they want is a statutory recognition of Sunday as a sacred day. And that, they say, would not be religious legislation!

C. P. B.

The Bible in the Schools.

THE Rhode Island Congregational Conference recently adopted resolutions denouncing the action of the School Board in discontinuing the reading of the Bible in the public schools of Providence. This action of the Conference is reviewed and criticised in the following excellent editorial from the Providence *Evening Bulletin*:—

The view of the matter taken by the Congregational Conference is, we think, wholly mistaken. It is based on a radical misunderstanding of the function and scope of the public schools; and we cannot believe that it is taken by the great majority of intelligent and fair-minded people, whatever their religious predilections. The idea lying behind these resolutions, as well as the thought running through all arguments for the retention of the Bible in the schools, seems to be that its removal is in some way a concession to the Catholics. As a matter of fact it is nothing of the sort. The reason that decided the discontinuance of Bible reading in the schools of Providence, the reason that has ruled in other similar cases, and the reason that must finally prevail everywhere, is that this change is necessary in order to make the public schools exactly what they are intended to be and nothing more.

In a land like ours where freedom of conscience and of worship is a fundamental guarantee, the only justifiable purpose of the public-school system must be to furnish a purely secular education under such circumstances and conditions as will make it available to all classes and sects in the community. The concession, then, would be in leaving the Bible in the schools. That would be a concession to the extreme, but it cannot be thought common Protestant contention that the public schools should be Protestant institutions as regards both control and instruction and, inevitably if not intentionally, as regards attendance.

For the Bible cannot be used in the

schools, to be read without comment or explanation, without putting sectarianism into the system of public instruction. That the reading of the Bible in the schools is a sectarian act has been established by the recent court decision in Wisconsin, and it is obvious, indeed, from the most ordinary common sense view of the question. Any pupil of ordinary intelligence who listens to the reading of doctrinal portions of the Bible will be more or less instructed thereby in . . . doctrines about which there is sectarian difference of opinion.

Now, sectarian instruction must certainly comprehend the inculcation of religious doctrines upon which there is any difference of opinion. And as the Catholic Church declares that the version used in the schools is inaccurate and misleading on many points, as the Unitarian and Universalist Churches must hold that the reading of the Scriptures without comment or exposition is likely to lead to erroneous beliefs, as the Jews cannot consider the New Testament a sound body of doctrine, and as Agnostics would not have the Bible as a whole made a part of dogmatic instruction, it is clear that its reading is sectarian teaching. Consequently its reading has no proper place in schools that are meant to be non-sectarian. That is the first reason why it is excluded. Its retention makes the public educational system something other than "free" to all classes and sects. It makes them sectarian and leaves them available by only a portion of those who are compelled to pay taxes to support them.

But that is not the only reason for the discontinuance of a practice which, at the best, is perfunctory and of no practical advantage from any point of view. Perhaps the stronger reason is in the necessity of entirely separating religion and worship from public education if the functions of State and Church are to be kept wholly separate. As cannot be too often insisted the sole purpose of the public-school system is to provide a secular education, which is clearly within the province of the Government. It is not to give religious instruction or provide a place of worship, which is as clearly a private matter. But the reading of the Bible, so far as it amounts to anything at all, is religious instruction and the place where the Bible is read is, to that extent, as the Supreme Court of Wisconsin lately declared, a place of worship.

Even were it practicable, then, to provide an amended version of the Scriptures which should contain no doctrinal points, its reading would still be out of place in the public schools. There is no more reason for opening the sessions of the latter with devotional exercises than there would be in beginning the day's labor in stores and factories with similar ceremonies. The school is a place of work. It is a place where children are sent to get

a secular education. The inculcation of religious doctrine and the cultivation of the feelings of worship are matters for the home and Church. They are matters with which the Government has no concern and which it cannot interfere in without uniting the functions of Church and State in a manner and to a degree wholly repugnant to the spirit of American institutions.

We, here in Providence, have taken that broad and sensible view of the question and by discontinuing the practice of opening the schools with Bible reading, have removed the last vestige of sectarianism from our school system. We have thus placed the system on a basis of equal opportunity for all, making it equally available, without violation of conscience, for Protestants or Catholics, Jews or Agnostics, though, of course, those who hold that religious training should be an integral part of education are not, and cannot be, satisfied with it. That much it was our plain duty to do as citizens of a State that intends to offer free education to all, and that is supposed, indeed, to compel the school attendance of all children of school age; and anything less than that would not have sufficed.

We have simply made the schools of this city what they are intended to be, on our theory of government, and nothing more. In deprecating that action, the Congregational Conference puts itself in a position which reflects little credit on its intelligence and liberality, and in which it cannot be believed it will be joined by the majority of American people, least of all by the people of Rhode Island, who from the first have so strenuously insisted on absolute freedom of conscience, and the entire separation of the affairs of the Church from the affairs of the State.

The Sabbath Is Not a Civil Institution.

I NOTICED recently an article in defense of Sabbath laws by Hon. E. L. Pancher, LL. D., entitled, "The Sabbath as a Civil Institution," which set me to thinking. The drift of the argument seems to be that as the "Christian Sabbath is observed and well established in the United States," and is "regulated by laws passed to secure the good order of society," that it is therefore a "civil institution," and "is a *right* of the citizen that it should be observed as a day of cessation from labor, and of quiet and order."

Now I cannot possibly see any logic in these statements. The mere fact that it is observed and well established, and protected by laws does not prove that it is either the Sabbath or a civil institution. When we come to examine the Sabbath as a religious institution, we want better authority than its being "observed and well established" in any nation. If that argument be true, the Sabbath of the Mohammedan is just as much the Sabbath or

a civil institution, as the Sabbath of the Christian, Mr. Pancher to the contrary notwithstanding, for that day is "observed and well established" among that people. But it is not my purpose to examine in regard to whether Sunday is the Sabbath or not; I desire to examine "the Sabbath as a civil institution." Is it? I repeat that the mere fact that the law requires cessation from labor, etc., upon Sunday, or any other day, does not make it a civil institution. Its observance may have been required from time immemorial by nations, but that fact does not make it a *civil* institution. The definition of the word "civil" is as follows:—

Civil: Pertaining to a city or State, or to a citizen in his relations to his fellow-citizens, or to the State.

As fellow-citizens, we all recognize the fact that we sustain to the State and to each other, a certain relationship. The functions of the Government pertain to this relationship. They cannot possibly extend beyond it. In the requirement of the Government, and the obligation of the citizen, there should be harmony and justice. For this very purpose "governments are instituted among men." Let us test the institution of the Sabbath upon this principle.

Suppose the Government requires the observance of a day as "a day of cessation from labor, and of quiet and order." They claim that it is a *right* of the citizen that it should thus be observed,—a *civil* requirement. Now if this be true, the violation of this institution will be an *uncivil act*, and that relationship that the violator sustained to the State or fellow-citizen, will be broken. He will be accounted as subverting that right guaranteed to the citizen by the Government. Let us see what acts constitute a breach of this institution. Mr. Pancher cites as precedents the action of the English Government that passed statutes "regulating the keeping of the people from any sports and pastimes whatsoever, worldly labor, the opening of a house or room for public entertainment or amusement, the sale of beer, wine, spirits, etc., and other like acts on that day." He says there were other acts designed to compel attendance at church, etc., which would be prohibited now (?), "but the acts referred to do not relate to religious profession or worship, but to the *civil* obligations and duties of the subject and citizen," etc.

I have now defined some of those duties, at least, that the citizen owes the State, the violation of which will be a breach of the civil law. Let us examine this a little.

"Keeping the people from any sports or pastimes whatsoever." There are many things that would come under this head, such as hunting, fishing, ball-playing, driving, walking, etc., etc. Suppose that on a Sunday (or any other day that the Government may set apart), neighbor A takes his fishing tackle to some stream,

for pleasure; neighbor B and his wife drive to their country residence; neighbor C and family visit the park, or some other place for recreation. The law forbids any "sports or pastimes whatsoever," and these parties have violated the laws and are held as criminals. They have violated a *civil* (?) institution. But let us see what these people did. Neighbor A was fishing; neighbor B was driving to the country; neighbor C and family were enjoying nature and the pure air of heaven. Is fishing an uncivil act? Has B broken his relationship to the State or to his fellow-citizen by driving? Has C and family infringed upon the rights of any as they were recreating? It is so held; because for committing these acts they were found guilty—so we would be led to the conclusion, logically, that the *acts* were uncivil. But let us see. On any other day, the observance of which is not required, others can fish all day, drive as much as they please, recreate all they desire. I look, but they are not apprehended. Why? They have committed the very same acts, but the law does not say they are criminals. Why? "Oh," says one, "these acts were not done on the day set apart." But if they were *uncivil* acts on a *set day* and infringed upon the right of the State or citizen, why would they not be *uncivil upon another day*? So it will be said of "worldly labor." That will be forbidden on the day set apart for the Nation, and the man who will presume to till the soil, reap his grain, or do any other work coming under this head will be apprehended and punished. But on any day not so set apart, men can engage in these duties and will not be interfered with. We are led to the just and logical conclusion, that it is not the *act*, but the *day* upon which it is performed that constitutes the offense. So the matter reverts to the *observance* of the day and not the nature of the *acts* performed upon it.

Is the observance of a day a civil requirement? Let us see. Is the Sabbath an institution of the State, or of God?—Of God most assuredly. It antedates earthly governments. The observance of the day being required, is it a civil or a moral obligation?—A moral obligation in the strictest sense. None but God can truly know that we do observe it as we should. In all his requirements, he takes cognizance of the thoughts and desires of the heart, and to be acceptable, our service must be a willing and delightful one. Neither can we find in its non-observance a breach of that relationship we owe to the State or to our fellow-citizen. To whom do we owe civility? Answer, to the State. To whom do we owe morality? Answer, to God. The Sabbath being a moral institution, and not a civil, to whom do we owe its observance?—To God, most assuredly.

"But" says one, "would you not prohibit the sale of intoxicants and many

other things that you have not mentioned, upon that day?" There are a great many things that should be prohibited, but not because they are performed upon that day, but because they are uncivil, and for that reason they should be prohibited every day. Let us first decide whether the act is an uncivil act, and infringes upon the right guaranteed to the citizen, and then let the Government not only prohibit it upon *one* day, but *every* day. Therefore we claim that as the Sabbath day is an institution of God, and not of the State, and as its observance or non-observance does not interfere with that relationship with which governments only have to do, that the Sabbath is not a civil institution.

R. D. HOTTEL.

Religion and the State.—No. 3.

GOD has never established authority with any man, or any number of men, to declare what is final law for others, in matters of religious faith. Give this power to either the Governor of a State, or to the popular majority of a community, and such authority gradually becomes invested with a force that is sure, sooner or later, to be swayed oppressively. Men who stand with the minority, have a more vivid realization of this, than those on the opposite side. Macaulay stated the truth on this point, in a few words, when he said:—

The doctrine which, from the very first origin of religious dissensions, has been held by all bigots of all sects, when condensed into a few words, and stripped of rhetorical disguise is simply this: I am in the right and you are in the wrong. When you are the stronger, you ought to tolerate me; for it is your duty to tolerate truth. But when I am the stronger I shall persecute you, for it is my duty to persecute error.—*Macaulay's Essay on Sir James Mackintosh, Par. 57.*

It was observed in the beginning of this book that crimes and misdemeanors are a breach and violation of the public rights and duties, owing to the whole community, considered as a community in its social aggregate capacity. And in the very entrance of these commentaries it was shown that human laws can have no concern with any but social and relative duties, being intended only to regulate the conduct of man considered under various relations as a member of civil society. All crimes ought therefore, to be estimated merely according to the mischief which they produce in civil society, and of consequence, private vices, or breach of mere absolute duties, which man is bound to perform considered only as an individual, are not, cannot be, the object of any municipal law.—*Cooley's Blackstone, Book 4, P. 40.*

Cooley in his work on Constitutional Law, also sets forth the relation of the individual conscience to the civil law, as follows:—

It is the province of the State, to enforce, so far as it may be found practicable, the obligations and duties which the citizen may be under, or may owe to his fellow-citizen, or to society; but those which spring from relations between himself and his Maker are to be enforced by the admonitions of conscience, and not by the penalties of human laws. Indeed, as all real worship must essentially and necessarily consist in the free-will offering of adoration and gratitude by the creature to the Creator, human laws are obviously inadequate to

incite or compel those internal and voluntary emotions which shall induce it; and human penalties, at most, could only enforce the observance of idle ceremonies, which, when unwillingly performed, are alike valueless to all the participants, and devoid of all the elements of true worship.—*Constitutional Limitations, X 469, 3.*

To state the proposition in another form, Macaulay, in his review of Gladstone, "Church and State," says:—

Now here are two great objects: one is the protection of persons and estates of citizens from injury; the other is the propagation of religious truths. No two objects more entirely distinct can well be imagined. The former belongs wholly to the visible and tangible world in which we live; the latter belongs to that higher world which is beyond the reach of our senses. The former belongs to this life; the latter, to that which is to come. Men who are perfectly agreed as to the importance of the former object, and as to the way of obtaining it, differ as widely as possible, respecting the latter object.—*Par. 13.*

There is one prominent doctrine set forth in the foregoing quotations to which there must be a general agreement: that is, that the Christian religion is designed to do a work which civil government is in nowise qualified to do. The former accomplishes its mission, and saves the transgressor of God's law, by offering mercy to all who confess their guilt. The latter restrains crime only by the rigid application of its laws, which can in no way change men's hearts. There is no mercy in law, not even in that of Jehovah. True, the word "mercy" occurs in the moral law, but its use there in no way signifies that there is mercy in the execution of that law. Neither could God make men good and save them by the moral law after sin had once entered the world. It was therefore necessary that an atoning sacrifice be offered in behalf of man, and thus the gospel was established, by which all who choose may be eternally saved. The gospel, thus necessitated, was committed to the Church to be proclaimed and administered; but never to the State. In the hands of the Church, it is God's supernatural interposition for the salvation of individual sinners. The State having no gospel, nothing but law, and that only of human enactment, cannot, from the very nature of the case, be qualified to instruct in matters of faith and conscience.

J. O. CORLISS.

SOME of the provisions in the Sunday laws of New York, are worthy of having emanated from the Sunday Union itself, instead of being, as they are, a survival of the blue-law code established by the Church and State union of Colonial days. The *Ellicottville* (N. Y.) *News*, makes this jocose suggestion: "Hunting on Sunday, subjects the offender to a fine of twenty-five dollars. One half of the fine goes to the prosecutor. Here is an opportunity for some one to make money without very much hard work." How long will it be before this will be adopted, together with the grab-bag and the church-lottery, as a legitimate means of assisting the church and Sunday-school treasuries?

What We May Expect.

THE Washington Baseball Club has been prevented from filling an engagement for a Sunday game at Atlantic Park, Washington, by the Commissioners of the District of Columbia.

District Commissioner Douglass thus states the law and the gospel of the case, as reported in the *Washington Evening Star*:—

"Commissioner Douglass in an interview with a *Star* reporter upon the subject said: 'I thought it would shock the country to learn that such a thing as Sunday baseball was permitted at the national capital. If we had been unsuccessful in finding a law I should have done my utmost to manufacture one.'"

"You found a law then?" queried the *Star* man. "Yes, we did, the old common law of England held that the Christian religion was part of the common law, and when the first settlers came to this country they brought the common law with them. You know that it's against the Christian religion to play ball on Sunday, for on the face of it, it's a violation of the fourth commandment. That is the law we operated upon in this case."

So the time has already come when the Commissioners, having in charge the administration of the local government of the national capital, search the statute books for an authority, however obscure, to uphold them in enforcing a religious requirement; and openly assert their readiness to manufacture a law to suit if none shall be found.

So far as its applicability is concerned, that is just what they have done,—manufactured a law. Blackstone says, in Book IV, page 58 (Cooley's Blackstone): "These are offenses punishable at common law by fine and imprisonment, or other infamous corporal punishment; for *Christianity is part of the laws of England.*" Commissioner Douglass is no more endowed with authority to decide what is a "violation of the fourth commandment," or with power to enforce such a decision, than is the chief executive of this Nation endowed with political perfection, because Blackstone says, in Book I, page 245 (Cooley's Blackstone), "The law also ascribes to the king, in his political capacity, absolute perfection. The king can do no wrong.

The king, moreover, is not only incapable of *doing* wrong, but even of *thinking* wrong; he can never mean to do an improper thing: in him is no folly or weakness." One of these political dogmas is just as sound as the other, and if one may be applied as binding now and here, the other may be also, for the same reason.

The Christian religion is a part of the law of the land; the President (and Commissioner Douglass) "can do no wrong, neither think any wrong, in him is no folly or weakness." This is the perfection

which the Commissioner has arrogated to himself in assuming to decide that to play ball on Sunday is a violation of the fourth commandment, and then, as he says, "to operate upon that law."

The Commissioner decides that when Jehovah wrote, on Sinai, "the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God, in it thou shalt not do any work," etc., he intended to have written, "the first day of the week, commonly called Sunday, is the rest day of a Christian nation, in it thou shalt not play baseball," etc.; and having so determined, the Commissioner by virtue of divine right of authority as the representative of the chief executive, who can do no wrong, constitutes himself the viceroy of God to enforce his law. This is the common law precedent upon which the Commissioner has seen fit to take summary action as a public official of the capital city of the United States.

It is well to look through that chapter of Blackstone on "Offenses against God and Religion," from which the Commissioner obtains his "law," that we may know what to expect in the future. (See Cooley's Blackstone, Book IV, pp. 41-64.) In this chapter Blackstone enters into the consideration of those offenses "which are more immediately injurious to God and his holy religion."

I. Of this species (of offenses) the first is that of *apostasy*, or a total renunciation of Christianity, by embracing either a false religion, or no religion at all. This offense can only take place in such as have once professed the true religion.

II. A second offense is that of *heresy*, which consists, not in a total denial of Christianity, but of some of its essential doctrines, publicly and obstinately avowed.

III. Another species of offenses against religion are those which affect the *established church*. And these are either positive or negative: positive, by reviling its ordinances; or negative, by non-conformity to its worship.

IV. The fourth species of offenses, therefore, more immediately against God and religion, is that of *blasphemy* against the Almighty, by denying his being or providence; or by contumelious reproaches of our Saviour Christ. Whither also may be referred all profane scoffing at the holy Scriptures, or exposing it to contempt and ridicule. These are offenses punishable at common law by fine and imprisonment, or other infamous corporal punishment; for Christianity is part of the laws of England.

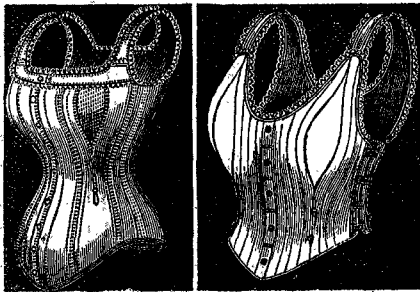
VI. A sixth species of offense against God and religion of which our ancient books are full, is a crime of which one knows not well what account to give. I mean the offense of *witchcraft, conjuration, enchantment, or sorcery*.

VII. A seventh species of offenders in this class are all *religious impostors*; such as falsely pretend an extraordinary commission from heaven; or terrify and abuse the people with false denunciations of judgments. These, as tending to subvert all religion, by bringing it into ridicule and contempt, are punishable by the temporal courts with fine, imprisonment, and infamous corporal punishment.

IX. Profanation of the Lord's day, vulgarly (but improperly) called *Sabbath-breaking*, is a ninth offense against God and religion, punished by the municipal law of England. . . . And therefore the laws of King Athelstan forbade all merchandizing on the Lord's day, under very severe penalties. And by the statute 27 Henry VI., chap. 5, no fair or market shall be held on the principal festivals, Good Friday, or any Sunday (except the four Sundays in harvest), on pain of forfeiting the goods exposed to sale. And since, by the statute 1 Car. I., chap 1, no person shall assemble out of their own parishes for any sport whatsoever upon this day; nor in their parishes, shall use any bull or bear-bating, interludes, plays, or other *unlawful* exercise, or pastimes; on pain that every offender shall pay 3s. 4d. to the poor.

These are some of the provisions of Chapter IV. Book IV., Blackstone's Commentaries, from which the Commissioners of the District of Columbia obtain their law for the ordering of the civil affairs of the capital of this free and enlightened country, just entering upon the last decade of the nineteenth century, and after more than a hundred years of supposed separation of Church and State.

W. H. M.



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THE *Catholic Review* remarks that "the theory that not a dollar should be spent by Government for the spread of religion is a very good theory, but it does not work, never did, and never will." It is not strange that Roman Catholics should take such a view of this matter, but it is surprising that so many Protestants should agree with them.

JUNE 17, the Sheriff of Rock County served a writ of *mandamus* on the School Board of the city of Edgerton, Wisconsin, commanding it to compel teachers not to read the Bible in the public schools. This is the district from which the famous Bible case came, which was decided by the Supreme Court against allowing the Bible in the public schools. Teachers have thus far ignored the decision.

"I NOTICED a queer thing recently in Philadelphia," said a New York man the other day. "It was Sunday, and all the street cars ran as usual except that there were no bells on the horses. They told me that was the law there. They have to wear bells week-days, so that people will notice them coming and get out of the way, but Sundays, apparently, it doesn't make any difference whether folks are run over or not. The proprieties are observed you see, but business isn't interfered with."

THE *Union Signal* has grown enthusiastic over Senator Blair, and finds vent in the following piece of sentimental sweetness:—

Senator Blair is one of the wisest statesmen in Congress; the white-ribbon army, the home-folk, the wage-earners, the militant Christians, are proud of his leadership. Though a recreant Senate voted down his Educational Bill by six majority, his plan of national aid against illiteracy is sure to win. More than any other senator of this generation he represents the hopes of the classes that need a champion. He has dared to take up the gauntlet for them; dared to devote himself to their interests, and we humbly trust they may not only dare but have the power to do, that he may yet be President of the United States. Two pillars must be set up between which the processions of the future shall march into America's temple of prosperity and peace. They are National Education and National Prohibition. When put in place these pillars of our moral Hercules will bear the name of Henry W. Blair.

We know that the United States Senate is not composed of the highest model of

statesmanship, but as for Senator Blair, we know that he is not a statesman at all, in any true sense of the word, where American principles are concerned. The legislation which he has originated, and the speeches which he has made in support of that legislation, show that he does not understand the first principles of the United States Government. It is true that he is the champion of the classes who need that kind of a champion, and it is true that to people who need that kind of a champion, he is the very kind of a champion that they would like; but there are two things about it that are too bad. First, it is too bad that there should be anybody to need such a champion. Secondly, even though there be such, it is too bad that they can find anybody in the United States to be their champion.

THE *Loyal American* plaintively asks: "Shall we permit priests to deprive native born Americans of a birthright, the right to know the language of their native land?" Certainly not; neither shall we suffer them to be deprived of the privilege of learning the language of their fathers if they wish to learn it. The fact is, however, that no priests wish to deprive "native born Americans," or anybody else, of learning the language of their native land; indeed they are anxious for them to learn it, and to learn every thing else that will enable them to become legislators, etc., and so rule the country. The *Loyal American* need not fear that any considerable number of "native born Americans" will grow up in ignorance of the language and customs of the country.

IN the article on the Bennett Law in THE SENTINEL of June 5, we said:—

The Lutherans maintain the perfect right of the public school to exist, and willingly pay their proportion of the public-school taxes.

We have received letters from Nebraska and Wisconsin, stating that this is not true in the localities from which these letters come. One of the letters coming from the County Judge of Jefferson County, Nebraska, says that to his knowledge the Lutherans pay the public school taxes unwillingly and only because they must do so. Another comes from a trustworthy citizen of Liberty Bluffs, Wisconsin, in which he says the same thing and gives the following facts:—

When I settled in this part of Wisconsin, the German Lutherans were not in the majority, and we had eight or nine months school in the year, and fairly good teachers; but just as soon as they got a majority of votes in our district, the time was cut down to five months in the year, all in the winter, no summer term; and teachers wages cut down as low as thirteen dollars to sixteen dollars per month. They voted down all propositions to repair school house, purchase maps, dictionary, etc. Finally when this did not break up the school altogether, they voted to have no school at all, and actually had no school for over a year; and if the State Superintendent had not interfered, this state of things might have continued. Many other districts that I

know of have this same difficulty, more or less, where the German Lutheran element predominates, especially in rural districts.

We made our statements upon the authority of the statements of the synods of the West. The official statements of the Lutheran body must be taken as the principles of the body; and although these facts no doubt exist in the localities named, it is clearly in violation of the principles announced by the body as such in the United States. We are glad to know these facts. We do not indorse the action in the slightest degree, yet from the official statements of the Lutheran body, in our position we cannot hold that body responsible for the action of the Lutherans in these localities. These facts only show that the Lutherans in those localities have gone contrary to their principles; and whether in that place or any other, such action has ever been taken, we earnestly hope that they may reform, and conform to the principles set forth as the principles of the Lutheran body.

We have no sympathy with any antagonism to the public-school system. But, the practice of the Lutherans in the localities named, even though it were more general, will not justify, to the least extent, the State in invading private rights, and taking charge of the private school, and putting itself in the place of the parent, as the Bennett Law does. Clearly the Lutherans named by these correspondents were, and are, in the wrong; and the State of Wisconsin, in the Bennett Law, is also clearly in the wrong; and the wrong course of the Lutherans does not make right the wrong course of the State.

REFERRING to the King case, the details of which are familiar to our readers, the Denison, Texas, *Gazette* says:—

The case has been taken to the Supreme Court of the United States by the National Religious Liberty Association, a society that admits no person to membership who does not believe in Christianity, but holds that the functions of Church and State are entirely distinct. If the United States Supreme Court does not teach the Tennessee witch-burners a lesson, a majority of the American people will be disappointed. We have had entirely too much of the Sabbath invasion of other men's homes. It feeds prejudice, embitters enmity, fractures friendship, wrongs individuals, and does no manner of good whatever.

It is certain that this case is bound to attract a great deal of attention. It is being very extensively noticed by the press of the country.

THE AMERICAN SENTINEL.

AN EIGHT-PAGE WEEKLY JOURNAL,

DEVOTED TO

The defense of American Institutions, the preservation of the United States Constitution as it is, so far as regards religion or religious tests, and the maintenance of human rights, both civil and religious.

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

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EDITOR, ALONZO T. JONES.

ASSOCIATE EDITORS,

C. P. BOLLMAN,

W. H. MCKEE.

IN a letter to the *Rocky Mountain News*, Ellis Meredith says: "The Rev. Wilbur F. Crafts preached three times on Sunday last, at various churches in our city, each discourse being on the observance of the Sabbath. This trio of sermons brings irresistibly to mind, the saying of the old Scotch bishop, Lauderdale: 'It's awfu' wonderfu' tae me, hoo some folk tak' it upo' theirsels' tae explain things tae the Almighty.'"

THE religious education of the children of the State cannot be entrusted to the State. Why? Because the State has no religion, and cannot have. Were the State to get religion then we would have a State religion, and that would be un-American. If the State should join the Church then we would have a State Church, and that would not be republican. The State is entirely secular and cannot teach religion.—*Rev. T. D. Peake.*

THE German Emperor is reported as having "frankly admitted that governments cannot accomplish much unless organized Christianity comes to their aid." In view of this conclusion he writes an autograph letter to the Pope inviting his co-operation in the adjustment of social questions in the present crisis in continental labor agitation, etc. The correspondent who reports this declares, "There is no doubt that a great national movement is on foot, to give the Pope a leading part in an effort to deal with universal labor troubles. His holiness recognizes

this as a great opportunity for the church to put itself at the head of the worldwide reform demanded by organized labor. He holds that the nation must adopt the principles of Christianity, and that the church is the only power competent to meet the issues involved in the social and industrial movement." How different is this from the "great national movement on foot" in this country? The two are born of the same mother; in fact they are twins.

Another Scheme to Establish a National Religion.

MENTION has before been made of the introduction of a bill in the United States Senate, by Senator Edmunds, providing for the establishment of a national university. That such a bill had been introduced was all we knew about it particularly, until a few days ago, when by sending to the capitol we received a copy of it. Like many other of these things that are being carried on in Congress, when read by title it does not appear to many as a very bad thing; yet even though all that this bill intends, or all that it means, were suggested in the title, it would still be a very serious question whether a national university would be conducive to the best interests of education in the United States. It would be impossible to keep it free from political preferences and intrigue. But this is not the worst feature of the bill, nor is it the material one.

The bill not only provides for the establishment of a national university, but it also provides for the establishment of the Christian religion in that university. The bill was introduced May 14, 1890, and is entitled, "A Bill to Establish the University of the United States." Section 1. says:—

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, That there shall be, and hereby is, established, a corporation in the city of Washington to be known as The University of the United States.

Section 2 provides a Board of Regents that is to be composed of the President and the cabinet of the United States, with the Chief Justice, and also twelve citizens of the United States to be appointed by a concurrent resolution of the two houses; and when any vacancy occurs in the office of any regent thus appointed, it is to be filled likewise by the concurrent resolution of the two houses. This provision for the appointment of the twelve citizens of the United States to this place will open the way for the practice of all the political wire-pulling, lobbying, and "influence" that pertain to the United States appointments generally.

Section 3 provides that this university shall institute and carry on a course of education and research in all branches of learning and investigation that shall, in the opinion of the Board of Regents, from time to time, be most conducive to the advancement and to the increase and development of knowledge, and such as the usual course of education in schools, colleges, and universities in the United States does not furnish the best means and facilities for doing.

Section 7 appropriates a sum not exceeding five hundred thousand dollars to procure the necessary grounds, and to erect the necessary buildings.

Section 8 provides five million dollars of the public money as the principal of a perpetual fund from the interest of which, at four per cent., the necessary funds are to be taken to carry on the work of the university, and no more than the amount of such income shall be used, for the purposes mentioned in the bill.

Section 9 provides that the Board of Regents may receive gifts and donations in aid of any of the objects proposed in the bill. In view of the numerous demands for help to farmers, mechanics, laboring men, and almost every class, that are now being made upon the United States, the prospect does not look very brilliant that the regents of this university will be very speedily overwhelmed with

donations. Besides this, to find a person who is ready to give money to the United States would be a thing about as new, under the sun, as is this idea that has suggested it.

All things mentioned, or required in all these sections, are of little importance, however, compared with the provisions of Section 10, which are as follows:—

Section 10. That no special sectarian belief or doctrine shall be taught or promoted in said University, but this prohibition shall not be deemed to exclude the study and consideration of Christian theology.

This section provides at once for the national establishment of the Christian religion. The passage of such a bill by Congress would be the recognition of Christianity as a proper belief and doctrine, and as the only form of theology, belief, or doctrine, worthy of study and consideration, from a national point of view, which would be at once a national recognition of Christianity; and the national recognition of Christianity, and the teaching of it at national expense and by national authority, would be but the establishment of Christianity as a national religion.

Theology is the science which teaches about God. But this declares that the theology to be taught in this university shall be Christian theology. It is only the science of *the Christians'* God that shall be taught there. It is only the wisdom concerning the Christians' God that is to be studied and considered there. Therefore this section does as clearly and distinctly provide for the establishment of Christianity, its beliefs, its doctrines, and its views of God as anything can do. It just as clearly and distinctly provides for the establishment of Christianity as the national religion, as it would be possible to do by an act of Congress.

More than this, the passage of this section as it reads would be a distinct declaration by the national Legislature that nothing that is Christian is sectarian. "No special sectarian belief or doctrine shall be taught or promoted," but this is not to exclude the teaching of "Christian theology." This is but a declaration that the Christian views concerning God, or the beliefs in him, and the doctrines concerning him, are not sectarian. It will be seen at once that this plays directly into the hands of the National League for the Protection of American Institutions; as shown in last week's SENTINEL, which demands an amendment to the Constitution of the United States forbidding any State to give any public money to any institution under *sectarian* or ecclesiastical control, which amendment would lay upon the Supreme Court of the United States the necessity of deciding the question of what is sectarian, and then they intend to have the Supreme Court decide that Christianity and its theology are not sectarian.

Section 11 declares that no person otherwise eligible under the act shall be excluded from the privileges of the university on account of race, color, citizenship, or religious belief. But Section 12, in connection with Section 10, is important. It says:—

Section 12. That Congress shall have power at all times, according to its judgment for the public good, to amend or repeal this act, and it shall have the power by any committee of either house of Congress appointed for that purpose, to visit and inquire into, and report upon all the operations of the corporation established by this act.

This gives power to Congress at any time to inquire into and report upon the merit of the Christian theology that is studied or considered there. This will of necessity make Christian theology an issue in every Congressional election held under the Government. As Congress is here given the power to amend or repeal this act the way will be open for that infidelity which these "unsectarian Christians" declare to be so dangerous, to secure sufficient influence in Congress to repeal, at the very least, that part of the act which appropriates the money of all the people to the study and consideration of the religious views of only a small part of the people. This would bring on at once a contest between that which passes for Christianity and what is held to be infidelity.

Nor would this be all, nor yet would it be the worst thing that would come. It would at once become the special interest of Roman Catholicism on one hand, and of Protestantism on the other, not only to obtain the controlling power in Congress, but to obtain the presidency and the cabinet, so as to make certain which of these forms of "Christian theology" should be taught in the university. Thus to say the very least there would be in every congressional election and in every presidential election a triangular political strife on the question of Christian theology. Nor would this strife be confined only to the congressional or presidential elections. These would be only the occasion for a popular struggle throughout the whole Union, while between times the contest of clubs and cliques, wire-pullers and schemers, generally, would go steadily on, so that the religio-political strife would never cease, and the scenes of confusion and turmoil and bitter contention into which the Nation would thus be plunged, have never yet been seen in this country, and can be conceived of only by those who have the most intimate knowledge of the history of the Papacy from the fourth to the tenth century.

It may be said that even if such a bill as this were passed by Congress it would at once be declared unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court. But that is not by any means certain. That it ought to be declared unconstitutional is very certain, but that it would be, is an-

other question entirely. Besides this, Senator Edmunds, the author of the bill, is said to be one of the best, if not the best of constitutional lawyers, not only in the United States Senate, but in the whole country. True, it does not follow that this fact would necessarily have any influence with the Supreme Court, yet, when a man with such a reputation as a constitutional lawyer, would deliberately frame and offer such a bill, it might be that a sufficient number of the judges on the Supreme Bench would view the constitutionality of the act as Mr. Edmunds does.

But whether the act would be declared by the Supreme Court to be unconstitutional or not, it is not the place of the American people to let the matter go without a protest, and depend upon such an issue as that. That is too much of a risk to run. Now is the time for the people to make their voices heard; now is the time for every man who loves Christianity, or who regards the rights of men, or who desires civil peace rather than religio-political strife and commotion, or who wants to see liberty perpetuated rather than a most wicked despotism established,—now is the time for all such to make their voices heard in such a continual stream of remonstrances pouring upon Congress as will check all such attempts as appears in this university bill. Nor should the matter stop with sending remonstrances to Congress; let public opinion be so aroused and instructed that there shall be sent to Congress only such men as have regard for the rights of the people and respect for the United States Constitution.

This makes no fewer than four measures pending in Congress, any one of which tends directly to the establishment of a national religion. These are the Breckinridge Sunday Bill in the House of Representatives; the Blair Sunday Bill in the Senate; the Blair Educational Amendment; and this University Bill, with the Blair Educational Bill as a feeder to both of the last two. Take all of these, and the National League for the Protection of American Institutions, with its deceptive scheme; the National Reform Association, with its avowed purpose; the American Sabbath Association, with all its crafty tricks; and the Woman's Christian Temperance Union as a feeder to all these—it seems to us that it is time the American people were opening their eyes.

The University Bill was read twice as usual, and referred to a special committee composed of Senators Edmunds, Sherman, Ingalls, Blair, Dolph, Harris, Butler, Gibson, and Barbour.

A. T. J.

SERVIA has a law requiring all shops and places of business to be closed not only on Sunday, but on all the holy days of the church as well.

The Edmunds University Bill.

THE following is a true copy of the bill referred to in the foregoing article:—

51ST CONGRESS,
1ST SESSION.

S. 3822.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES.

MAY 14, 1890.

MR. EDMUNDS introduced the following bill, which was read twice, and referred to a select committee of nine.

A BILL

To establish the University of the United States.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled: That there shall be, and hereby is, established a corporation in the city of Washington to be known as the University of the United States.

SECTION 2. That the corporation shall consist of and be governed by a Board of Regents, composed of the President of the United States, the Secretary of State, the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of War, the Attorney-General, the Secretary of the Navy, the Postmaster-General, the Secretary of the Interior, the Secretary of Agriculture, the Chief Justice of the United States, and twelve citizens of the United States, no two of whom shall be residents of the same State, who shall be appointed by a concurrent resolution of the two houses of Congress. Any vacancy occurring in the office of any regent appointed by the two houses of Congress shall be filled by a concurrent resolution of the two houses. The twelve citizens so appointed regents shall as soon as may be, after their appointment, be divided by the Board of Regents into three classes, of four each. The members of the first class shall hold office for three years, the members of the second class, so divided, shall hold office for six years, and the members of the third class, so divided, shall hold office for nine years; and when a new appointment is needful for the continuation of each of the classes, it shall be made for three years; and if a vacancy occur in any of the classes, it shall be filled by appointment for the remainder of the term only, in respect of which the vacancy exists.

SEC. 3. That the said Board of Regents shall have a common seal and have perpetual succession, and be entitled to the rights and privileges of a public literary corporation. The University hereby established shall institute and carry on a course of education and research in all branches of learning and investigation that shall, in the opinion of the Board of Regents, from time to time, be most conducive to the advancement and to the increase and development of knowledge, and such as the usual course of education in the schools, colleges, and universities in the United States does not furnish the best means and facilities for doing. To the ends aforementioned the said Board of Regents may establish executive offices, and appoint officers of said corporation, and establish and support such professorships, fellowships, scholarships and courses of instruction, study and investigation, and research as shall to them seem meet; and to these ends they may, from time to time, make such rules, regulations, ordinances, and orders as to them shall seem meet, so that the same be consistent with the provisions of this act.

SEC. 4. That the said Board of Regents shall hold their first meeting at Washington, in the District of Columbia, on such day as the President of the United States shall designate, on notice be given by him of the time and place of such meeting.

SEC. 5. That the said Board of Regents shall in

each year report to Congress a full and complete statement of its progress and operations, with an account of all moneys expended in the course of its operations.

SEC. 6. That the said Board of Regents shall have, and are hereby granted, authority to obtain the necessary grounds and provide for the necessary buildings and conveniences required for the purposes of this act, and to fix the compensation and allowance of all officers, professors, fellows, and scholars authorized by this act to be by them provided for, and to provide for all incidental expenses arising from the execution of this act; all of which expenses shall be reported to the proper accounting officers of the Treasury and passed upon according to the usual course of accounts for the public service, but no such expense shall exceed the allowance in gross provided for in this act.

SEC. 7. That the sum of not exceeding five hundred thousand dollars is hereby appropriated, for the expenses of the procurement of the necessary grounds and the erection of the necessary buildings contemplated in this act.

SEC. 8. That the sum of five million dollars of money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, is hereby permanently set apart in the Treasury of the United States as the principal of a perpetual fund, the necessary part of the income of which, and no more than such income, may be annually used for the purposes in this act mentioned. The said sum so set apart shall bear interest at the rate of four per cent. per annum, out of which four per cent. per annum all the expenses of said University, except the expenses provided for in the special appropriation for the grounds and buildings herein before mentioned, shall be paid.

SEC. 9. That the said Board of Regents may receive gifts and donations in aid of any of the objects in this act mentioned, and in such case they shall invest or otherwise deal with the same according to the will of the donor in each case.

SEC. 10. That no special sectarian belief or doctrine shall be taught or promoted in said University, but this prohibition shall not be deemed to exclude the study and consideration of Christian theology.

SEC. 11. That no person otherwise eligible according to the provisions of this act shall be excluded from the benefits thereof on account of race, color, citizenship, or religious belief.

SEC. 12. That Congress shall have power at all times, according to its judgment for the public good, to amend or repeal this act, and it shall have the power by any committee of either house of Congress appointed for that purpose, to visit and inquire into, and report upon all the operations of the corporation established by this act.

COMMITTEE.

Edmunds.
Sherman.
Ingalls.
Blair.

Harris.
Dolph.
Butler.
Gibson.

Barbour.

An Important Decision.

JUDGE MCSHERRY, of Frederick, Maryland, has filed an opinion declaring that "baseball playing on Sunday by men who are under contract for the season at stated salaries, no one being admitted to witness the games except those who pay, can be construed as nothing else than work, and therefore comes within the purview of the prohibitory statute." Under this view, Sunday-baseball prosecutions will become a precedent for arrest and prosecution for the simplest work on Sunday, and a rigid enforcement of the Sunday law will be gradually inaugurated.

The Sunday Association of Maryland

has published its determination to break up Sunday ball playing in Maryland, and this opinion from Judge McSherry is one mesh in the net which they are weaving around the Sunday-baseball players. Previous to the arrests upon which the above opinion was rendered, State Attorney Monroe wrote the sheriff of Anne Arundel County, as follows: "It is in your power alone to have this matter [Sunday ball] settled, by arresting the players as soon as they have finished one inning, and by repeating the arrests as often as they repeat the violations. You must take the responsibility of a failure to bring the question to a settlement as speedily as possible, and I think I have pointed out the only way in which it can be done."

The Source of Civil Power.

THAT civil government is ordained of God is plainly taught in the Scriptures of truth; but that this is so in the sense contended for by National Reformers, namely, that governments are endowed with extraordinary rights and powers, rights and powers which do not grow out of the very conditions under which governments exist, which do not primarily belong to the people, but which come directly and specially to the government from God, is sustained neither by the testimony of inspiration, nor by the nature of man and the conditions under which he exists.

John Locke, the most profound moral philosopher of any age, shows plainly and incontrovertibly in his treatise on "Civil Government," that every power which justly belongs to the State belongs first of all to the individual, and comes to the State from the individual. "God," he says, "having made man such a creature, that, in his own judgment, it was not good for him to be alone, put him under strong obligations of necessity, convenience, and inclination to drive him into society." And it may properly be observed that in doing this, God ordained civil government as well as every other relation that grows out of the conditions under which man exists.

"The first society," says Mr. Locke, "was between man and wife, which gave beginning to that between parents and children; to which, in time, that between master and servant came to be added; and although all these might, and commonly did meet together, and make up but one family, wherein the master or mistress of it had some sort of rule proper to a family; each of these, or all together, came short of political society. . . . Conjugal society is made by voluntary compact between man and woman. . . . It draws with it mutual support and assistance, and a communion of interests too. . . . But the husband and wife, though

they have but one concern, yet having different understandings, will unavoidably sometimes have different wills too; it therefore being necessary that the last determination, *i. e.* the rule, should be placed somewhere; it naturally falls to the man's share, as the abler and stronger. But this reaching but to the things of their common interest and property, leaves the wife in full and free possession of what by contract [or by nature] is her peculiar right, and gives the husband no more power over her life than she has over his." Again, on this very point, Mr. Locke remarks, that the power of the husband over the wife is so far from being absolute that she "has in many cases a liberty to separate from him; where natural right or their contract allows it."

We do not understand by this that Mr. Locke denies that marriage is a divine institution, but that he asserts that it is entered into by agreement, and that the just powers of the husband are derived from the consent of the wife, which consent, together with compliance with whatever forms may be required by civil society, constitutes her his wife, and that the wife is under obligation to the husband only in that which natural right or their contract allows. The same he shows is true in civil society. He says: "Men being by nature all free, equal, and independent, no one can be put out of this estate and subjected to the political power of another without his own consent. The only way whereby any one divests himself of his natural liberty, and puts on the bonds of civil society, is by agreeing with other men to join and unite into a community for their comfortable, safe, and peaceable living one with another, in a secure enjoyment of their properties." But that men will and must do this is made certain by the very fact that they are created social beings with equal rights; it follows, therefore, that in creating them thus and associating them together, God ordained that they should thus organize, therefore "the powers that be," the civil powers, "are ordained of God." This view of the matter preserves the perfect harmony which exists between the teaching of the Scriptures on one hand, and the nature of man and the facts of history on the other; while the National Reform theory arrays the Bible against facts as we know them to exist, and makes the Creator responsible for a great deal of very bad and tyrannical government.

C. P. B.

SOME one may ask me: "If not for the good of the children, nor for the sake of religion, but for her own safety, should not the State teach religion?" Men and women of every possible shade of belief, and of every possible shade of non-belief down to zero of belief, make the State, and support the State, therefore the State can have no religion nor can she support any. If the State has no religion then how can she teach it?—*Rev. T. D. Peake.*

Sunday-Law Tactics.

THE *Oakland Morning Times*, one of the best and cleanest dailies published in California, has this to say about the Sunday-law contest in that State:—

At a recent ministers' meeting in San Diego, Rev. Dr. Thompson, a representative of the American Sabbath Union in this State, outlined the proposed Sunday-law campaign this fall as follows: "First, labor to secure recognition by one or both of the great political parties by Sunday-law planks in their platforms; and, second, in case of failure to effect the point in this way, work upon the individual candidates for the Legislature. Interview the candidate of one party, and, if possible, procure his private pledge to support a Sunday law. Say, 'your party is not committed either way; you are at perfect liberty to do as you please; your position need not be known during the campaign. Just privately pledge yourself to us, and we will throw our weight in the balance in your favor.'" In this campaign, he added, the church people must be united and agree to vote for the candidates who would give this pledge. If one candidate would not give it then go to another.

The State is under great obligation to Dr. Thompson for thus showing the hand of the Sunday-law tacticians. "Forewarned is forearmed." Candidates of a character to secretly barter principles for votes must be avoided. Neither of the great parties, we may presume, will be induced to adopt a Sunday-law plank. The Democratic party has a record on this point to maintain, and it will doubtless prove true to it. The Republican party has had an experience with Sunday-law planks which it will probably not be in a hurry to duplicate. So the second or secret plan of operations, with individual candidates, will be fallen back upon, without doubt. But let purchasable candidates, if such there should be—and some such there are sure to be—remember that though their purchasers may contract to give them the solid church vote for a Sunday law, they never will be able to "deliver the goods."

We have too high an opinion of many of our church people to believe for a moment that they will be a party to any such underhanded transactions, or allow their suffrages to be bartered in this secret way. Some will; but, unless we are greatly mistaken, not the majority, or even those who would be glad to have a Sunday law, if it could be so obtained squarely, and be so sustained by public opinion as to prove effective. But they very well know that if it be not so obtained and supported it would be, if enacted, a dead-letter law, and so, worse than none. They observe the day religiously themselves and would like to see others observe it religiously. At the same time,

they are sensible that it is as difficult to enforce devotion as to command affection.

They have seen also the unjust and oppressive manner in which the observance of Sunday is being enforced in other States, and they have too much of the Christian spirit, of doing to others as you would be done by, to desire to see similar wrongs made possible here. And more than all, they are of too open, frank, and honest a nature to be willing to give even a tacit consent to anything which savors of concealment and bribery.

On the whole, then, we have little fear of the success of these secret Sunday-law tactics. We now predict their complete and ignominious failure.

How It Looks From Australia.

"THE *Bible Echo*, a religious paper published in Melbourne, Australia, has this to say about the efforts now making to secure religious legislation in this country, and also of a similar movement in the Australian Colonies:—

The Constitution of the United States guarantees to all its citizens freedom in matters pertaining to the conscience; and declares that Congress shall make no laws for the establishment of religion, or restricting the free exercise thereof. And in laying the foundation of the Government, by special effort all allusions to matters of religious belief were omitted. The law undertook only to control in matters which were purely civil and national, not in those which were ecclesiastical or religious.

But of late years there has been on the part of many religionists a feeling of discontent at this state of things, and a movement has been inaugurated to obtain an amendment to the Constitution such as will permit the enactment of certain laws concerning Scriptural education, Sunday observance, etc. This movement is opposed by a large class of citizens, and the contest waxes warm.

A similar contest is probably before the people of these Colonies, as demands for stricter Sunday laws and for Scriptural education in the public schools are already being actively urged. We stand on the side of good law and order. We believe in the sanctity of the Sabbath day and in the importance of the religious training of children; but we are wholly opposed to the State becoming an agent for enforcing and prescribing either. Parents are responsible to God rather than to the law for the religious influences which are exerted over their children. The sacred duties which we owe to God should be taught by faithful fathers and mothers, rather than perhaps ungodly and infidel teachers in the humdrum mechanical method of the schoolroom, where they will soon become degraded and commonplace. If perchance a parent does

not wish to have his children brought under such instruction, it should not be forced upon him. Such a course cannot result in any good.

So in all matters pertaining to religious obligation, the law may compel a hypocritical observance of its provision, but it cannot render men pure and acceptable to God. The Lord has not delegated his work to Cæsar. Let the Bible be upheld by our churches; let it be exemplified by Christians; let it be urged upon the consciences of men by its friends; but let the law keep its hands off from those duties which pertain to man's relation to God. Every man must form a character for morality and truth, and meet it in the Judgment. As he alone will be held to account, so he must be free to act."

A Parallel.

"Woe unto you scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! because ye build the tombs of the prophets, and garnish the sepulchres of the righteous, and say, If we had been in the days of our fathers, we would not have been partakers with them in the blood of the prophets." These words, uttered so many centuries ago, have never lost their force. They are just as applicable in our day, and there is the same spirit for them to rebuke now as was manifested then. It is very natural to see others' faults. It is so easy to say, "If we had only been in those days or in their place, we would not have done as they did."

The scribes and Pharisees could look back on the acts of their impious fathers and condemn their course for slaying the prophets and killing those that were sent unto them, while at the same time they were only waiting for a good opportunity to stain their hands with the blood of the Son of God.

The same spirit was shown by the Romish Church, who, while she condemned those wicked Jews for crucifying the Lord, at the same time crucified him millions of times in the person of his saints, all through the long Dark Ages.

We look with horror on the wholesale work of slaughter done by the Inquisition, while at the same time in our own Nation a large organization is formed, and its numbers are swelling every year, whose sole purpose is to do the very thing that will cause to be re-enacted the same scenes in our country as were enacted by Rome in her days of power. The adherents of this movement by styling themselves National Reformers virtually admit that they consider themselves as better than their fathers. They claim to be laboring for the good of the Nation, but like the Pharisees of old they fail to see that they are only following the same course they are so free to condemn in others.

History repeats itself; because human nature is the same in all ages, and always

will be, and we can avoid making the mistakes that others have made only by firmly adhering to principle and right. If we would honor those who established this Nation and those who have preserved it, let us remember that these noble, unselfish men bought with their blood, blessings of liberty and peace that we have no right to recklessly throw away.

Such a move as is set on foot by the National Reformers, should stir up every true American to work to forever preserve the blessings of "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

S. O. LANE

A Cardinal on Sunday Observance.

ACCORDING to the *Mail and Express* of the 8th inst., "Cardinal Gibbons, in regard to the sacredness of the Sabbath, and the desecration of the day by baseball and kindred sports, has this to say:"

I think that Sunday should be first of all a day devoted to religious worship, and, second, to innocent and healthful recreation, as being the only day in which the great masses of the people have time to seek relaxation from their work.

The danger is in the excess either way, and I entirely agree with Dr. Weld (pastor of the First Independent Christ's Church) in deprecating the closing of our art galleries, libraries, etc. absolutely, to the public, presupposing that a certain portion of the day is set apart for religious exercises.

I think that any recreation that will contribute to the physical, mental, and moral benefit and enjoyment of the masses should be encouraged. I think that baseball is a game that is in conflict with the quiet decorum and tranquillity that should characterize the observance of the Lord's day, and is too violent an exercise to be conducive to such harmony.

This much the *Mail and Express* quoted from the Cardinal, but neglected to inform its readers that he also said:—

Whatever may be the abuse arising from Sunday baseball, I regard the baseball players and observers of the game as far less responsible than those who utter from the pulpit on the Lord's day unjust and uncharitable statements about their neighbor. The Christian Sunday is not to be confounded with the Jewish or even the Puritan Sabbath.

This is a cut direct at the pet theories of the *Mail and Express* and the American Sabbath Union. Their design is to enforce Sunday-keeping on the basis of the fourth commandment. This idea the Cardinal repudiates, maintaining as all Catholics do that Sunday is an institution of the Church. "The Church," he says, "desires us on that day to be cheerful without dissipation, grave and religious without sadness and melancholy. She forbids, indeed, all unnecessary servile work on that day, but as the Sabbath was made for man and not man for the Sabbath, she allows such work whenever charity or necessity may demand it. As it is a day consecrated not only to religion but to relaxation of mind and body, she permits us to spend a portion of it in innocent recreation." The *Mail and Express* is less tolerant than the Cardinal,

and the church which he represents, and would invoke the strong arm of the civil law to restrain the people from even those amusements that the Roman Catholic Church, which, according to her own representation, is the mother of the Sunday institution, freely permits.

The *Mail and Express*, and the association of which its proprietor is president, are largely, if not wholly, responsible for the continued Sunday closing of the Metropolitan Art Gallery, and the Museum of Natural History, in this city, by which thousands of poor people are deprived of the privilege of ever looking upon the beautiful and instructive things which they contain, and which are supposed to be for the benefit of the public, not simply for the gratification of those who are able to take a day off occasionally to look at them. The Cardinal, the *Mail and Express*, and the American Sabbath Union are, however, all agreed that if it is competent for the State to require Sunday observance, and this is, after all, the all-important point; those who agree on this are not likely to disagree very widely in regard to detail.

C. P. B.

Sentiment and Character.

It is often said that laws, to be effective, must be backed up by public sentiment. This is true only where such sentiment is the genuine reflection of solidly built character. Character excels sentiment as far as light excels darkness. Sentiment is as capricious as the winds; rightly built character is as fixed as the hills. It is easy enough to create sentiment; it is a task to build up character. Sentiment can be created in a day; it requires time and careful training to build up character. Therefore it is only when sentiment is the genuine reflection of rightly built character, that it is worth anything in support of law or anything else. When sentiment predominates over character, and so runs to sentimentalism, it will support anything that is popular or fashionable, and is therefore worthless, if not worse than worthless. For instance, when in his old age Louis XIV. became religious, it was his will likewise that all others should be religious. He therefore required all about him to observe the duties enjoined by the church. Those who showed themselves conspicuously pious were rewarded "with blue ribands, invitations to Marli, governments, pensions, and regiments." The result is thus described:—

Forthwith Versailles became, in everything but dress, a convent. The pulpits and confessionals were surrounded by swords and embroidery. The marshals of France were much in prayer; and there was hardly one among the dukes and peers who did not carry good little books in his pocket, fast during Lent, and communicate at Easter. Madame de Maintenon, who had a great share in the blessed work, boasted that devotion had become quite the fashion.

That was sentiment; but there was no

properly formed character to support it. The character that lay behind the sentiment was shameful; and character, whatever it be, will assert itself in the long run. That influence which formed the sentiment was no sooner broken than the whole "blessed work" was more than undone. The sequel is thus told:—

A fashion indeed it was; and like a fashion it passed away. No sooner had the old king been carried to St. Denis, than the whole court unmasked. Every man hastened to indemnify himself, by the excess of licentiousness and impudence, for years of mortification. The same persons who, a few months before, with meek voices and demure looks, had consulted divines about the state of their souls, now surrounded the midnight tables where, amidst the bounding of champagne corks, a drunken prince, enthroned between Dubois and Madamé Parabere, hiccoughed out atheistical arguments and obscene jest. The early part of the reign of Louis XIV. had been a time of license; but the most dissolute men of that generation would have blushed at the orgies of the Regency.

The Puritan Parliament tried the same thing in England, and with the same result. It was resolved "that no person shall be employed but such as the House shall be satisfied of his real godliness." "And the consequence was that a crowd of impostors, in every walk of life, began to mimic and to caricature what were then regarded as the outward signs of sanctity. . . . The Restoration crushed for a time the Puritan party, and placed supreme power in the hands of a libertine. The political counter-revolution assisted the moral counter-revolution, and was in turn assisted by it. A period of wild and desperate dissoluteness followed. Even in remote manor houses and hamlets the change was in some degree felt; but in London the outbreak of debauchery was appalling."

These examples teach the important truth that, law without character to sustain it is of no value. And with this belongs the other equally important truth that the only legitimate and proper work of the Church is *not* the making of laws, but the building up of sound and symmetrical character.

Let the churches of the United States learn this lesson and practice it, and they will do far better than they can do by all the efforts that they can ever make to secure the enactment of Sunday laws or any other.

A. T. J.

National Reform in Brazil.

THE Roman Catholic bishops have issued a letter to their clergy and faithful, which they have distributed throughout the republic. It contains eighty-six large octavo pages, and is divided into three parts, as follows:—

1. What is our opinion in regard to the separation of Church and State, which has been decreed by the provisional government?
2. What is our opinion in regard to the freedom of worship given to the sects?
3. What is our duty in regard to the new situation of the church in Brazil?

In the introduction to their letter, the bishops say:—

What will become of you, dear people of Brazil, if you should also be deprived of your faith, and be left without God; without God in the family, without God in the schoolhouse, without God in the government and public offices, without God in the last moments of life and in death, yea, even in the grave without God?

We want individuals, families, and society to keep faithfully the Decalogue, which observance, as Le Pluy says, is the secret of the stability and well-being of families, of the regeneration of races, of the honor and splendor of great, prosperous nations.

This has the genuine National Reform ring. The idea is that unless the government fosters religion the people are, to some extent, deprived of it; the nation is godless, the schools are godless, and the people are without God even in death! This is simply saying that every man's personal relation of faith and obedience to God is dependent upon the action of the government under which he happens to live; if the government is Christian the citizen may be Christian; if the government is pagan the citizen must also be pagan! It is an appeal to prejudice instead of reason. All can see how absurd such an idea is when advocated by Romanists in Brazil; but it is not one whit more absurd than is the same idea among Protestants in this country.

Sunday Saloons.

WE have noticed from time to time the opposition on the part of Roman Catholic ecclesiastics to *Sunday* dram-selling, and the *Catholic Home* is quoted as follows:—

There is not a parish in Chicago where the Sunday saloon has not been the ruin of hundreds of the most promising and the brightest boys that made their first communion in the parish church. There is not a parish priest in this city but can furnish a long catalogue of young men and married men whose loss of character, of self-respect, of faith and virtue, whose downfall and probable damnation can be laid at the door of the open Sunday saloon. Is there any Catholic father or mother who mourns the perversion of a son, any Catholic wife whose husband abandons his home for the Sunday saloon, but would rejoice to see these places of temptation closed? Who are they who clamor for the open Sunday saloon? Hard drinkers, inebriates, debauchees, and those who minister to their vices, and grow rich on the misery of wrecked lives.

We very much fear that the only way to make a final riddance of the *Sunday* saloon is to clear out the Monday saloon, the Tuesday saloon, the Wednesday saloon, and all other saloons. A rattlesnake which is allowed to bite six days in the week, will need considerable watching to keep him quiet on the seventh day. The great Catholic Congress in Baltimore has decided to favor the *licensing of the saloon*. The particular form of license which they favor is "high license," but it is license all the same, and sets the seal of the State's permission upon the business by making drunkards, and provides every drunkard with all the strong drink he can pay for.

So long as the saloon runs six days in a week, men will love strong drink, and when they have drank for six days it will be hard to choke them off on the seventh. It might be a mercy to muzzle a mad dog one day in a week, but it would be far wiser to cut off that dog's tail *just behind his ears*.—*The Safeguard*.

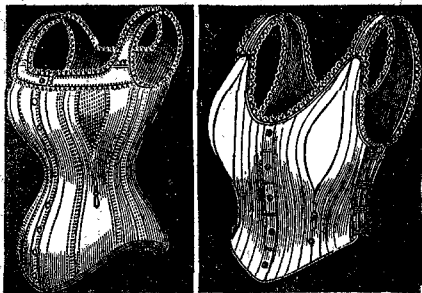
THE following paragraphs are from an editorial article in the *Denver Daily News* of June 17:—

Dr. Wilbur F. Crafts, who in behalf of the American Sabbath Union has been canvassing the country in support of the Blair Sunday Law now pending in Congress, spoke to three Denver audiences last Sunday, and his position was well summarized in yesterday's *News*. Dr. Crafts has studied his subject closely and has become an adept in presenting it in plausible garb. Conscious of the incongruity of attempting religious legislation in this stage of United States history, he has earned diplomatic honors for the cleverness with which he maintains the proposition that his idea of Sunday rest, enforced by law, would not be religious legislation.

The difficulty arises when we come to define rest and specify what may, and what may not be done. It would be interesting to catechise Dr. Crafts on that subject in the presence of one of his large audiences. When he approaches it he has a habit of generalizing, and if he becomes specific he hastens his gait and touches points lightly. It needs no analysis, however, to see the drift of the legislation he advocates. He would have the civil power enforce a religious conception of Sunday observance, save that he would forego compulsory attendance at church. He would ostracize Sunday amusements, no matter how innocent; and entertainments, no matter how instructive. He would interdict the masses of city population from going to any suburban resort on the only day of the seven when it is in their power to breathe country air. Just where he would draw the line who can tell?

Dr. Crafts refers to the Sunday legislation on the statutes of many of the States as proof that public opinion would sustain the legislation he wants. It is true that many laws are in existence which do not accord with the grand conception of religious liberty that was entertained by the founders of our Government, and that was given expression in the national Constitution for Federal guidance. But Mr. Crafts might have added that in most cases such laws have no force, no attention being paid to them; which is a truer indication of popular sentiment.

Religious freedom to the churches and church people consists in the right to be protected from annoyance, and to others in the right to enjoy Sunday rest according to their own judgment.



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ON THE

Breckinridge Sunday Bill.

○ ○ ○ ○

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THE *Orleans* (N. Y.) *Herald* remarks that those "who want religion in the public schools seem to be more anxious to introduce their own theology than to introduce good morals."

If governments derive their powers not from the people but from God, as the National Reformers assert, how comes it that the people can and do reform governments? How is it that they can and do take from governments powers which they formerly had?

REV. G. L. MORRILL, of Calvary Church, Minneapolis, Minnesota, preached a sermon not long since, criticising the decision of the Wisconsin Court on the Bible in the schools, in which he said:—

Has a Scripture-loving and living conscience no right to be respected, especially when it is in the majority? Shall the right of way be given a few atheistic and ignorant brigands, and denied the many who regard the Bible as the basis of civil freedom, virtue, and intelligence? Is this the fifteenth, or nineteenth century? Do we live in America, or Russia?

Admitting the argument in the first two questions, then the accent of surprise in the last two is very appropriate.

THE *Christian Guide*, a neat eight-page paper, published in Boston, by Rev. J. B. Daly, a converted priest, comes to us asking an exchange. We like the tone of the paper and welcome it to our table. In an article on "Church and State" the *Guide* says that "Bishop Doane, in an article on the school question, remarks that 'separate schools for Protestants and Romanists are allowed in England and Holland.' Well, that is a very good reason why we do not want separate schools in the United States. Separate schools would necessarily be religious; and the United States could not support such schools, for the most prominent feature of our Government is the separation of Church and State. Once let this Government support such schools, and we would then unite Church and State. That we cannot do and never shall do, to please the Church of Rome, or any other church."

The *Guide* well says, "or any other church," for the danger is quite as great from misguided Protestants as from Romanists. The demand for unsectarian

religious instruction in the public schools is nothing more nor less than a demand for Protestant instruction; and the State has no more right to teach Protestantism than it has Romanism.

WRITING of the South, the editor of the *Pittsfield, Massachusetts, Call*, says:

Church attendance is good and hotel bars and saloons have few or no back doors, so it is said. South of and including Richmond, you can obtain a Sunday paper, Sunday morning, but a Monday paper is not printed at all. The *Whig* and *Dispatch* are both morning papers, and print on Sunday morning. Calling there one day to look over the *Springfield Republican*, we asked the editor of the *Dispatch* in reference to not issuing a Monday paper. He at once replied that they rested on the Sabbath, and had conscientious scruples all through the South against Monday papers, because it compelled Sunday labor; while Sunday papers were made on Saturday.

In the North, Sunday papers are objected to principally because they are supposed to keep people away from church, though the more cautious keep this reason as much in the background as possible and are eloquent in their pleas for a rest day for the newsboys. They have nothing, however, to say against the Monday paper which is prepared almost wholly on Sunday.

THE Reformed Presbyterian Synod has transmitted to Congress a memorial protesting against Sunday work on the Worlds Fair, and asking that the gates be closed on Sundays. The Synod seems to be very much at sea. The fair is not to be at Washington. Is it to be on the high seas? Or is it a traveling show subject to inter-state commerce regulations? It has been supposed, for some time, that the site had been fixed at Chicago, but evidently the Presbyterian Synod had not heard of it, for they are too intelligent men to ask Congress to interfere with the municipal government of the city of Chicago, and dictate the local management of any fair, whether it be County, State, or Worlds fair, held within its jurisdiction. Of course the Government can close its own exhibit on Sunday but there its jurisdiction ends.

LET none suppose for a moment that our opposition to what its friends are pleased to call "religion and the State," springs from opposition to Christianity. We have a most profound regard for the Christian religion, and are doing all in our power for its promotion. And it is our regard for Christianity that leads us to oppose anything which either directly or indirectly tends to unite Church and State; because such unions instead of promoting pure religion have always and everywhere corrupted it; and instead of attracting people to the Church from a desire to lead blameless lives, and to attain to eternal life at last, have either driven them further from the Church, or else

have attracted them to it for temporal advantage rather than for spiritual upbuilding and moral sanctification.

GOD having made every individual directly responsible to him for his attitude toward his Creator, and for his spiritual condition and character, and as there is no possible way in which the State can assume this responsibility, it follows that every individual must be left absolutely free in all things pertaining to man's duty toward God. This freedom is destroyed, or at least abridged, by even slight State interference in religious matters; therefore we oppose State recognition of any religion further than is absolutely necessary to protect all alike in the observance of religious services, and in the practice of religion.

ARCHBISHOP IRELAND, in his address before the National Educational Association at St. Paul, declared that, though he is a Catholic prelate, he would rather have Protestantism taught in the public schools than to have no religion taught there.

The utterance indicates a very liberal mind, but it is founded, as too much of the discussion of this subject is, upon a total misapprehension of the question. It is not a question of Protestantism or Catholicism. It is not in this country even a question whether or not the children would be the better for religious instruction. It is simply a question of the functions of the State and the rights of men.

Ours is a purely secular State, in which men of all religions and men of no religion are upon an exactly equal footing before the law. It has nothing whatever to do with creeds or with religion, except to protect all citizens alike in their perfect religious liberty. The public schools are maintained by the secular State for the secular education of the children; their religious education is a matter with which the State has no right to concern itself. That is a matter for parents and pastors.

The State has no more right to teach a religion which is held by the great majority of the people, than to teach one held by only one of all its citizens. It has no right to interfere with religion at all.—*The World*.

THE AMERICAN SENTINEL.

AN EIGHT-PAGE WEEKLY JOURNAL,

DEVOTED TO

The defense of American Institutions, the preservation of the United States Constitution as it is, so far as regards religion or religious tests, and the maintenance of human rights, both civil and religious.

It will ever be uncompromisingly opposed to anything tending toward a union of Church and State, either in name or in fact.

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

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THE Order of United American Mechanics is petitioning Congress largely, for "an amendment to the Constitution, which shall prevent the States from enacting laws for the establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." This is an evidence that the practical people of the United States are waking up to the dangers and exigencies of the times.

THERE are at present, four bills before Congress, having in view the closing of saloons on Sunday in the District of Columbia. One has passed the Senate and gone to the House, two have been introduced in the House, and still another has just been introduced in the Senate. The entire Sunday movement seems, at this time, to be concentrated upon the closing of the saloon on Sunday, totally regardless of the mantle of legal charity which it thus throws over the liquor traffic for the remaining six days of the week.

THE *Loyal American* says that, "THE AMERICAN SENTINEL questions the right of the State to prescribe what language shall be taught in the State schools," and asks us to explain why. The *Loyal American* ought to read THE SENTINEL more carefully. THE SENTINEL never did, and never will, question the right of the State to prescribe what language shall be taught in the State school. All that THE SENTINEL has done in this line is to question the right of the State to prescribe what language or any thing else shall be taught in church schools. For any church

to undertake to prescribe what should be taught in State schools, everybody knows would be a union of Church and State; and for any State to undertake to prescribe what shall be taught in any church school is a union of State and Church. And the difference between the evils of a union of State and Church and a union of Church and State is too slight to be defined. Therefore, THE AMERICAN SENTINEL protests just as much against a union of State and Church as anybody else does against a union of Church and State, and we wish the *Loyal American* would do so too.

What Is Treason?

WHEN it is said that the State has no right to interfere with the private school, or to dictate what shall or shall not be taught there, certain persons who make a boast of their Americanism and wear it for a badge, exclaim, and by the exclamation betray their ignorance of American principles, "Suppose the private school should teach treason!" It would be well, and it is strictly in order, for such persons to learn that there is no such thing in this country as *teaching* treason. Treason cannot be *taught* here. American principles know no such thing as the *teaching* of treason.

The United States Constitution says:—

Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort.

No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

This same provision is in the Constitution of all the States. The words "adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort" plainly mean adhering to those who are levying war, or who are engaged in it. As treason therefore consists "*only* in levying war," or adhering to those who are doing so, it is plain that treason cannot be *taught*; it can only be *acted*, and that in the waging of actual war.

This is confirmed by other points, one

of which is the declaration that Congress shall make no law abridging the freedom of speech or of the press. So far as the Government is concerned, freedom of speech and the press is absolute. The theory of this Government is that thinking, discussion, and teaching, shall be absolutely free, that there shall be no restriction upon ideas, even though an idea should gain the assent of a majority of the people to the extent of changing the form of government itself. This is the doctrine of the Declaration of Independence, which says:—

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is *the right of the people to alter or abolish it*, and to institute a *new government*, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as *to them* shall seem most likely to secure their safety and happiness.

From this it is plain that if the idea of a monarchical instead of a republican form of government were conceived by a single man to be the better form of government, he has the right freely to publish and to speak, and to teach that idea; and if by such means he can cause that idea to grow until it absorbs the majority of the people, they might actually change the form of government without committing treason. Governments deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, it is one of the rights of the people to establish such form of government as suits them best; and if a sufficiently large majority of people could be gained to change the form of government by ballot or by any other peaceable means, there would be in it no treason. Upon American principles, ideas are free, and it is expected that whatever idea prevails, that is the idea that the people want to see prevail.

In all this there is no shadow of a suggestion or an admission that the teaching

in the private schools would be treason, even if treason could be taught. It is simply to call the attention of our boastful "Americans" to the fact that when they exclaim against the danger of somebody's "teaching treason" in this country, they are testifying against themselves that they have not yet gotten rid of the principles of despotism in government; and that if they intend to be Americans indeed, they need to know what American principles are, and to speak accordingly.

A. T. J.

Is It Blindness?

THE Presbyterian Synod of New York sent up to the General Assembly as an overture, its views on the subject of religion and public education, upon which the Committee on Bills and Overtures made the following report, which was unanimously adopted:—

A paper reciting the recent decision of the Supreme Court of the State of Wisconsin, affirming the Bible to be a sectarian book, and its use in the public schools to be unconstitutional, and asking for a deliverance of the General Assembly, having been received, your committee recommends that this Assembly reaffirm the action of the Assembly of 1870. [See Digest, pages 278-80.] This action declares an unalterable devotion to the public school system as an agency next to the Church of God in laying a foundation of intelligence, virtue, and freedom in the United States. Regarding the Bible as the *Magna Charta* of our best moral and religious influences, we would consider its expulsion from our public schools as a deplorable and suicidal act, and do hereby urge upon our members to co-operate with Christian people in maintaining the place of this Book of God as an educating force among the youth of our land. The committee, therefore, moves the adoption of the following resolutions by the Assembly.

WHEREAS, A recent decision of the Supreme Court of one of our States has affirmed the Bible to be a sectarian book and its use in the public schools to be unconstitutional; and

WHEREAS, We see in this decision no mere local matter, such as affects simply the people of that State, but the culmination of an effort being made with relentless pertinacity by a foreign hierarchy to overthrow the system of public schools throughout the land; therefore

Resolved, That we affirm the importance of our public schools to the welfare of our people; that with intellectual cultivation must go moral training, or the schools may prove a curse rather than a blessing; but this moral training must be based on religion, otherwise its sanction will not be strong enough to grasp the conscience of the people, or its utterances obligatory enough to shape their character; that as the Bible is the source of the highest moral teaching, we regard its exclusion from our public schools as a menace to national welfare, and we urge the members of our church to so arouse public thought on this subject, from the pulpit, the press, and ecclesiastical assemblages, that this Book shall be restored to its true place in our system of education.

As the same General Assembly indorsed the movement for the revision of the Confession of their faith, it will be in order now for them to revise that part of the Confession which denies the right of the State to have anything to do with administering the word of God. Yet it is probable that instead of doing so they will

keep it there just as it is, and still go on boasting loudly of the Presbyterian doctrines, of the separation between Church and State, of religious liberty, and the rights of conscience.

Consistency, although it may be in the wrong, is better than the absurd self-contradiction, in which the Presbyterian General Assembly, and the New York Conference of Methodist Episcopal Churches have involved themselves on this question. If they would argue at once for a union of Church and State they might be considered honest, at least, even though they were wrong; but when in one sentence they declare strongly for an absolute separation of Church and State, and then in the very next sentence declare just as strongly for the teaching of the Christian religion by the State, it is hard to understand how they can be honest, without charging them with being ignorant, whether they be right or wrong.

A. T. J.

Is It Civil?

THE latest utterance of the chief worker in behalf of Sunday legislation is the following:—

Laws setting apart a weekly "independence day" are no more inconsistent with liberty and much more essential to it, than the law of the annual Independence-day.

The man who expects that people are going to accept such a feeble comparison as that as sound argument for Sunday legislation, pays a poor compliment to their intelligence. There is no more likeness between the Sunday observance that is contemplated by the proposed laws and the observance of the Fourth of July, than there is between a Presbyterian synod and a college baseball nine. When such a plea as that is made for Sunday laws, all you have to do is to ask if under the proposed Sunday laws it is designed to give people the same freedom of action that they have on the Fourth of July. Are we to believe that all the so-called American Sabbath Union is working for is for a law granting the people full liberty to take "a day off" every Sunday, to go on a picnic, let off fire-crackers, lounge around, and do as they please generally? Some less gauzy plea will have to be invented.—*Signs of the Times.*

A Fallacy.

ONE of the latest attempts to show that there exists a purely civil basis for Sunday laws, and that so far as Sunday laws exist in this country, they exist upon a civil basis, is an article in the *May New Englander*, by Dr. William Atterbury of this city. On this point, Dr. Atterbury says:—

The distinction was made between the Sabbath as an institution of religion, and the observance of Sunday as a civil institution. This distinction has been carefully preserved by legislatures and courts. Sunday laws are now upon the statute books of

every State but California. In general, these laws forbid common labor and traffic, except in cases of necessity or mercy; public or noisy amusements, and whatever is likely to disturb the quiet and order of the day. They make Sunday a non-legal day; courts may not sit, nor legal processes be served except in specified cases. It will be seen that they do not enforce or prohibit any observance of religion. They leave each man free to do or to omit doing on Sunday what he chooses, within restrictions which are deemed necessary to the public peace, order, and general welfare. There is no interference with the liberty of conscience. Neither the religious nor the irreligious character of the acts forbidden is assumed.

Let us examine this matter a little and see how "carefully" legislatures and courts have preserved this "distinction." In the case of *Bramhall vs. Van Campen*, (8 Minnesota Reports, 13), Judge Flandrau, of the Supreme Court of Minnesota, gave the opinion that "the Sabbath laws of that State can have no other object than the enforcement of the fourth of God's commandments." In the Supreme Court of Texas, Judge Caldwell held that "the object of the Legislature was to forbid all secular employments on the Sabbath, not excepted in the act. The disregard of the Sabbath, the refusal to recognize it as a day sanctified to holy purposes, constitutes the offense." (*Elsner vs. the State*, 30 Texas Reports, 524.) In deciding one of these Sunday cases the Supreme Court of Alabama also said: "We do not think the design of the Legislature in the passage of the act can be doubted. It was evidently to promote morality and advance the interests of religion, by prohibiting all persons from engaging in their common and ordinary vocations." (*O'Donnel vs. Sweeney*, 5 Alabama Reports, 467. See also *Wright vs. Geer*, 1 Root, 474; *Fox vs. Able*, 2 Connecticut Reports, 548; *George vs. George*, 47 New Hampshire Reports, 27.)

It is scarcely necessary to add anything to this testimony of the courts of these States; the Judges who delivered these opinions probably knew more about the intent of the law-makers than does Dr. Atterbury. It would seem, however, that it ought not to require Supreme Court decisions to convince anyone that the religious character of the day is the only real basis of Sunday laws; this is certainly the case, and the Judges whose opinions have been given, have simply recognized the fact without seeking to change it in the least.

Again, Dr. Atterbury says: "In general these laws [the Sunday laws of the several States] forbid common labor and business," etc.; that is true, but the term generally used is not "common labor or business," but "secular labor or business." This is the term used both in the Blair Sunday-rest Bill and in the Breckinridge Bill, and in this they only follow the language of the statutes of most of the States. Webster defines "secular" as "Pertaining to this present world, or to things not spiritual or holy; relating to

things not immediately or primarily respecting the soul, but the body; worldly." The contrast implied by the use of this word cannot be ignored. According to the definition quoted above, the word "secular" is opposed to religious and spiritual; and we are surprised that anyone should say that in such laws "neither the religious nor the irreligious character of the acts forbidden is assumed." It is impossible to forbid "secular" labor or business without assuming the religious character of the acts permitted, or rather the religious character of the acts to which the day is to be devoted.

Substituting the definition for the word "secular," we have this paraphrase of that portion of the Blair Bill which prohibits secular work or business on Sunday: "No person, or the agent, or servant, or employe, of any person or corporation, shall perform on Sunday, or authorize to be performed, any work, labor, or business pertaining to this world, or to things not spiritual or holy, works of necessity and mercy excepted." Now the bill means just the same with the word "secular" in it that it does with the definition of the word, and it means no more than do the Sunday laws of very many of the States. The fact is, that Sunday laws are made because of the regard that people have for the day as a religious institution, and the so-called civil basis for it is a recent discovery, sought out for the purpose of meeting the arguments against such legislation.

C. P. B.

Centralization.

THE Blair Educational Bill, "to aid in the establishment and temporary support of common schools," and which was defeated in the Senate, has been introduced in the House by Mr. Cheatham, and was called up in a meeting of the House Education Committee on June 27, when, seven Republican members being present, all voted to report the bill. It has since been reported favorably to the House, by the chairman of the Committee.

July 12, Mr. McComas from the House Education Committee reported favorably the bill which has already passed the Senate (S: 3714.) to apply a portion of the proceeds of the public lands to the more complete endowment and support of the colleges for the benefit of agriculture and the mechanical arts.

This last bill appropriates the sum of fifteen thousand dollars, with an annual increase of one thousand dollars for ten years, and an annual sum thereafter of twenty-five thousand dollars to be paid to each State and Territory, to aid in the endowment and maintenance of agricultural colleges. The sums annually appropriated are directed, by the provisions of the bill, to be paid to the treasurers of the respective colleges, and "such treasurers shall be required to report to the Secretary of Agriculture, and to the Secretary of

the Interior, on or before the first day of September of each year, a detailed statement of the amount so received and of its disbursement;" also "an annual report by the president of each of said colleges shall be made to the Secretary of Agriculture, as well as to the Secretary of the Interior, regarding the condition and progress of each college, including statistical information in relation to its receipts and expenditures, its library, the number of its students and professors, etc." The Secretary of the Interior is charged with the proper administration of the law.

This bill had its origin and growth in the same atmosphere which produced the Blair Educational Bill, and the Blair Educational Amendment, and was accompanied by a printed report from Senator Blair. Some of the more objectionable features of the measure, as it was first attempted to be passed, were eliminated, but enough remains to show the ear marks of a determined effort to centralize educational control in the general Government.

Senators Morgan, Reagan, Hawley, and Plumb opposed most earnestly the clauses which placed these State institutions under the supervision of United States authority; and to them it is due that Congress did not commit itself to the passage of a bill which in express terms assumed the right of the central Government to exercise a supervision over State institutions of learning. Senator Morgan said:—

It seems to me, Mr. President, that the Senator from Vermont is lending himself to a scheme here for the purpose of introducing into the act of 1862 certain new features which imply that the Congress of the United States shall take the control of education in the States where these colleges are situated, and that the schools shall be regulated by a law passed here and by administrative measures enacted here. . . .

If any one thing has ever occurred in the history of the legislation of the United States to prove that the States are the proper guardians of public education, the history of the act of 1862 establishing the agricultural colleges is the best proof that could be adduced. At a proper time, I shall ask these gentlemen in this body, who have committed themselves against the propositions of the interference of Congress in the administration of public schools in the States, to strike out of this bill what is proposed to be inserted here and which is entirely unnecessary.

Senator Reagan followed Senator Morgan, saying:—

Before I proceed with the criticisms I desire to make upon the bill, I will say that it seems to me the purpose of the bill is to fix upon our legislation the principle that Congress is to go into the States, take charge of educational institutions, and regulate what is to be done with them. That was a principal argument made against an educational bill which has been urged with great ability and persistency here. It seems to me now, if we consent to adopt this bill in the form in which it is presented by the committee, it takes away all arguments in the future that Congress has no right to control the schools of the State.

I wish to add here that it seems to be upon the theory of a great many leading men in New England, almost a New England idea, that the Constitution of the United States is to be overthrown by the enlargement of the powers of the Federal

Government, and by the abridgment of the powers of the States, and this is one of the means of doing it.

This is a serious indictment, and, most unfortunately, it is a true bill.

W. H. M.

The Sunday Paper Again.

PITTSFIELD, Massachusetts, is a city of fifteen or sixteen thousand inhabitants, and has of course several papers. One of these, the *Call*, is published on Sunday. We are not informed that its publishers make any profession of religion, but one of its editors is a church member. At a recent meeting of the official board of the church to which he belongs, it was voted that one of the brethren be requested to see the editor and expostulate with him in reference to his publishing the *Call* on Sunday, and to request him either to change the date of publication or withdraw from the church. To this the editor, made reply in the next issue of his paper as follows:—

The *Call* has been published in this city for the past eighteen months. The editors of the paper (not the publisher, for its editors have no ownership in the property, and are simply employes,) have tried to maintain the standard they first set up when a Sunday paper was thought of, and that was to publish a clean paper. . . . We make no boast, but we claim that no paper in Berkshire County makes a greater effort to keep its columns clean and pure than our own. Quack medicines of the "Pennyroyal Pills" order, "Errors of Youth," or quack doctors have no place in the *Call*. Many of the religious journals cannot say so much. Not because they are not offered us, but because *we will not take them*. We deal in no sensations and we print as much church news as any paper in Berkshire. The *Call* is printed late Saturday nights, and the work of its getting out is done largely on Saturday. The Monday paper which the good brother who brought up the resolution reads so gladly, is all made on Sunday. This same brother we refer to has no scruples about hitching up his horse of a Sunday afternoon and riding over the highways of Berkshire, and in which we are of the opinion that he does no harm; excepting as *he* draws the line of Sunday observance.

The date of publication of the *Call* will not be changed. We find that the good people of this city and county patronize us well; and we, on the other hand, attempt to give them a readable and clean journal for their education, and we hope, their profit.

We have the highest respect for religious things, and advocate good order, morals and all that makes men and a community better. The *Call* is willing to compare records with the over-zealous brother who wants to excommunicate one of the editors of this paper. *Its sole harm lies in the fact that it is read on Sunday*. The *Call* has no disposition to attack the church, and whether excommunicated or not, we shall hold in the highest love and heartfelt devotion the church to which we have always been proud to know we belonged, whether we have always walked in its ways faultlessly or not. We shall not withdraw. The board has the right to expel, and no one questions that, after a hearing and proper charges are preferred. . . .

The editors of the *Call* await the action of the board, as expressed in their resolution, with interest. The fight about Sunday papers may as well be met here as anywhere. As we said before, for the people of our faith, for the church of our choice, and for the esteemed pastor of that flock, we have now and always shall maintain the highest regard and affection.

We have italicized one sentence in this straightforward statement of the matter of difference between the editor and the church, because it gives in a few words the gist of the whole matter. The opposition to Sunday papers is not on account of the work done upon them on Sunday, but because they are read on Sunday, and the objection to this reading is, that it keeps people away from church. Of course the church has a right to overcome this difficulty if it can, by proper means, that is by church discipline and by moral suasion, but it has no right to ask the State to interfere and forbid the publication of Sunday papers.

Who Will Run the Machine?

At one of the National Reform Conventions, a speaker describing the "typical American office seeker," said, "he may for a time pull back on the hind axle, and scotch the wheels of National Reform; but when he sees that the car is going on to success, he will jump aboard and claim a front seat." So it seemed that the speaker hoped to have the help of the "typical office seeker" in carrying out the scheme which they advocate. And who will prevent him from taking a front seat? He can profess the Christian religion as loudly as any of them. And the majority may decide to give him a front seat. Catholics and Protestants will help to get the National Reform machine running; but who will run it? Neither can claim the exclusive right; therefore the "typical American office seeker" will stand as good a chance as anybody.

These religious fanatics know not what they do. They may fancy that they will get the control of the Government and run it as they please; but they cannot tell what will be the result of converting our free Government into an engine of religious oppression, as it certainly will be whenever the Nation professes religion, as they desire. But they will not take warning; they are determined to try their insane project. And some of them already have the spirit of persecution. It is often manifest that they have "blood in their eye." But many are deluded, and may see their error only when it is too late.

R. F. COTRELL.

Evils of Religious Domination.

In the course of his remarks in the Senate, June 24, while that portion of the Diplomatic and Consular Appropriation Bill was under discussion, which has relation to the recommendations of the International American Conference, Senator Morgan, of Alabama, said:—

The South American States under the Spanish regime had one difficulty to encounter that we never really were confronted with, which has been more potent, more influential, upon the destinies of those States than the negro question has been in the United States, or any other question which we have

had to contend with, not excepting our war with Great Britain; and this is the influence of an established religion. . . . It has taken the better part of the lives of their respective Governments, and an enormous outlay of money, and the shedding of vast quantities of human blood, to free them from the mistake which we escaped through our good sense in discarding the domination of any religious sect or power or church in our Government, and in adopting that wonderful scheme, promoted by Mr. Jefferson, of the divorce of the Church and the State. These peoples, one by one, nation by nation, have struggled out of the embrace of "this body of death," for this is what it was to them, politically considered, and as fast as they have broken away from it (and most conspicuously in the case of Mexico) they have risen at once to order and progress and deliverance from embarrassment, and they have established themselves with wonderful rapidity in power, and in dignity, and in influence amongst the nations of the earth.

Such utterances as these should be recommended to the consideration of the judiciary of Tennessee, where it has just been decided, in Justice, Circuit, and Supreme Courts, that a conscientious Christian man who observes the Sabbath of the fourth commandment (the seventh day), might properly be indicted as a common nuisance, because he plowed corn on Sunday in sight of some half dozen persons, part of whom were avowed spies on his actions with the intent to prosecute him because of their religious intolerance.

"Quite Cautious," Indeed.

THE following ringing article is from the *Signs of the Times*, a Seventh-day Adventist paper, published in Oakland, California:—

In the *Christian Statesman* of May 15, "N. R. J.," writing from this city, gives the object of the "not very positive but quite cautious," Sunday-law plank in the California Prohibition Party's platform. We quote from his letter as follows:—

It will be noticed that the wording of the resolution is not very positive but quite cautious. It was evidently framed with the intention and expectation of securing the approbation and votes of the Seventh-day Adventists, who are not only a temperate people, but quite numerous in the State.

If that was the object of the plank, it will certainly fail of its purpose in the main. Seventh-day Adventists are an ultra-temperance body, but they know too well the history of religious legislation in the past, and the "sure word of prophecy" regarding its future, to become in any sense, or to any degree, a party to open the door for its devastating work in this country. When this certain blot upon our civil and religious liberty does come, it must come at the bidding of those who are too blind to see, and too credulous to suspect, the poison sting that lies secreted by its "civil" smile.

He further says, by way of emphasizing the cautious character of the resolution, that "it ignores the Sabbath as a divine institution." Why, we ask, should it not be ignored as a divine institution, if a "civil" Sabbath is all that is to be asked,

as heretofore represented by "N. R. J." himself, and his co-agitators?

Again, he complains that "it ignores the duty of the State to forbid work because the divine law forbids it." We ask, What has the divine law to do with a "civil sabbath"? The divine law does not recognize any such institution as a "civil sabbath." That law provides for a religious Sabbath, the keeping of a day holy, and designates what day,—the seventh day,—the day before the first day of the week. See Ex. 20:8-11; Mark 16:1, 2; Luke 23:56 and 24:1. Why, then, should the State forbid work on a "civil sabbath" on the authority of the divine law?

Another complaint is, "it gives no preference to the Christian Sabbath, or, indeed, any day, but favors only one day in seven as a rest-day." Why should they give preference to the "Christian Sabbath," if only a "civil sabbath" is desired? What difference does it make what day is set apart for "civil" purposes? But "N. R. J." seems to be afraid that the "civil sabbath," for which he has so earnestly pleaded in Oakland and other places, will be all his party will get, if anything; and there is cause for suspicion that some ulterior design lurks behind this specious plea of a "civil sabbath" for the physical necessities of the tired workingman,—that "the saloonist would have an opportunity to go to church, or to the picnic, or to rest at home." Yet he says "for a political party convention this is better than nothing."

With all the deceptive caution, however, designed to catch the Seventh-day Adventist vote, "N. R. J." is doubtful, and properly so, that the game will win. He rather despairingly admits that "they are not likely to vote with any party that favors civil legislation in favor of even a 'civil sabbath' if this be the first day of the week." He knows very well that Seventh-day Adventists would not vote for civil legislation in favor of any kind of a Sabbath, civil or religious. But why did he add that last clause, "if this be the first day of the week"? The insinuation is that for some other day they would favor it; that they are actuated solely by a wicked disregard of Sunday. And this is in harmony with the endeavor of the national Sunday-law advocates, who strive to create the impression that only seventh-day keepers would be affected by the law.

Seventh-day Adventists are not only opposed to civil legislation in favor of any kind of a Sabbath, but they are opposed to civil legislation for a Sabbath on any day of the week. To enforce by civil law a so-called "civil sabbath," or that other imaginary absurdity, an American Sabbath, is subversive of the liberties guaranteed by the Federal Constitution; and it is unwarranted by the word of God. And to presume to add civil law to the com-

mandment of God for the enforcement of his Sabbath, is presuming to add wisdom and strength to the decree of the Almighty. "Who hath required this at your hand?"

Not all the Sunday-law preachers, nor all the political conventions in Christendom, can frame a Sunday-law resolution so cautiously that Seventh-day Adventists cannot see through to the end of the scheme. Human Sabbath laws are evil, and only evil, no matter upon what pretext they are framed.

The Clerical Party.

THE clergy seem to be entering into politics at this period more than ever before in our history. They are not content with giving moral and religious instruction, leaving the laity to apply it in practical affairs according to their own consciences. Instead of this the clergy are taking the part of active political leaders with specific political designs.

The Reformed Presbyterian ministers are circulating petitions to Congress asking that God shall be formally recognized in the Constitution as the only Supreme Ruler; and they are refusing to vote until their request is granted. Methodists and Presbyterians in their general convocations demand that religion shall be made a part of the public school education, and a society, made up of ministers chiefly, has been organized to combat the supposed influence of the Church of Rome upon school legislation. They cry out that the schools must be protected against clerical influence, and yet at the same time they protest that the secularization of the schools must not continue. They seem to be desirous of bringing the religious issue into politics with the clergy as the natural and inevitable leaders.

A large number of ministers of various denominations have also been preaching sermons after an organized plan, declaring that what they call civil-service reform is a religious obligation.

The Rev. Dr. Parkhurst, of the Presbyterians, Dr. Elmendorf, of the Dutch Reformed, and Mr. Heber Newton, of the Episcopalians, have entered into the municipal campaign with great heat, contending that their flocks must make the task of changing the present municipal officers a profound religious duty. To that end, and with the assistance of Bishop Potter, the ministers of this mind are about to organize a clerical party in municipal politics; and the churches will probably be transformed into halls for generating enthusiasm in behalf of the movement. The town will ring with political sermons if this project works, and the test of orthodoxy and Christian principle may be the support of the clerical ticket.

This, of course, is likely to make discord in the churches, for nearly all the leaders of the opposition are church members, and it is improbable that they will change

their political course at the dictation of their pastors. For instance, in Dr. Parkhurst's Madison Square Church, is Collector Erhardt, who wants a straight Republican ticket under any circumstances; and yet, according to the view of the clerical party, the advocacy of such a ticket is downright sin. They want the field unobstructed for their fight with Tammany. Boss Platt is also among the parishioners, and he may make up his mind that it is bad politics to run a clerical ticket. Another of Dr. Parkhurst's parishioners is Mayor Smith Ely, faithful in his attention to his religious duties, and yet so sagacious that he may regard the project of the clergy as impracticable.

Hence the plan of bringing the clergy and the churches into politics is sure to lead to much embarrassment, and it may provoke dissensions which will be long in healing; for no church would be unanimous in its views of political duty and expediency. Some of the congregation would be on the side of the clerical party, and some would be supporting the regular Democratic or Republican nominations. Yet the pastor would be electioneering for the clerical ticket with might and main, and preaching that it was a Christian duty to vote for it and, inferentially, a sin against God to vote any other way.

When the Church enters the political arena, the great majority of the people will feel that their duty as citizens requires them to administer to it a sharp rebuke as a warning against any repetition of the experiment.

In this Republic, Church and State must be separated absolutely, and always.—*The Sun.*

By What Authority?

THE Colorado *Catholic* of June 21, gives editorial expression to a few points which are worthy of consideration by the Sunday Union, and National Reform Association. The *Catholic* says:—

The ranting and raving of certain ministers of Denver anent Sunday observance is becoming simply disgusting. Last Sunday a certain minister went about from church to church airing himself on the question. What right had he to say to any man that he must deprive himself of any amusement on Sunday? Did Jesus Christ, in whom he professes to believe, appoint Sunday as a day of rest? No, he did not. Why then should these ministers assume to themselves the right to tell any man what he must do on Sunday? . . . Yes, the world concedes that man needs a day of rest. What right have you to say it shall be Sunday? . . . Sunday is to be observed by religious worship and prayer, not because of any State law, but because God has commanded it. He has commanded it through his church, therefore it is to be observed in the manner indicated by that church. Now, the church which has appointed Sunday as a day of rest—the day Mr. Crafts follows—never demanded the puritanical and nonsensical observance required by him. . . . But we say to you, ministers of Denver, you have no right to demand any religious observance of Sunday unless you find it in your rule of faith—the Bible—which you may search till the day of doom for a single text to sustain your position. Do not resort to

civil process for support, for our Constitution guarantees us religious liberty, and you have no right to say to any man that he must be sanctimonious and hypocritically pious instead of light hearted and merry, which the Catholic Church bids all her children to be.

There is nothing uncertain or indefinite about these statements. Do the Sunday-law advocates acknowledge their truth or deny them? If they deny, upon what authority do they base their denial?

ONE of our exchanges, the *Orleans Herald*, is a little mixed on the proper functions of the State. Some time since we said that "the manufacture, transportation, and sale of intoxicating liquors, so far as the authority of Congress or the police power of the State is concerned, has nothing to do with morals, but is solely a matter of the jurisdiction of the municipal law."

To this the *Herald* takes exception, and asserts that the State *has* something to do with morals. We imagine, however, that the only difference between us is on the use of the word "moral." The State certainly forbids some things that are immoral just as it forbids some things that are sinful; but it does not, or at least should not, forbid anything simply because it is immoral, or sinful. If the State does forbid things because they are immoral, or sinful, which is the same thing, it must forbid and undertake to punish all sin; this the State cannot do; it follows that it can properly forbid only those things that are uncivil, and that it can forbid them only because they are uncivil. We use the word "moral" only in the sense of pertaining to or being in harmony with the divine law. The *Herald* evidently gives it a wider signification.

ON May 17, in the Senate, Mr. Mander-son, from the Committee on Printing, reported back favorably the following resolutions previously introduced by Mr. Blair, of New Hampshire:—

Resolved, That the Senate Miscellaneous Document No. 43, of the Fiftieth Congress, be reprinted for the use of the Senate, and that five hundred copies be printed for the use of the Committee on Education and Labor.

Resolved, That there be one thousand copies of Notes of Hearing on Joint Resolution (S. R. 86 of the Fiftieth Congress) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States respecting establishments of religion and free schools, printed as a document for the use of the Senate, and five hundred copies for the use of the Committee on Education and Labor.

The resolutions were agreed to, and the documents ordered republished. These republications are the reports of the hearings on the Sunday-rest bill, and the Constitutional amendment providing for the teaching of the Christian religion in the public schools, held before the Senate Committee on Education and Labor, in the last Congress, and contain the arguments in opposition to those measures, by A. T. Jones, and J. O. Corliss.

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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C. ELDRIDGE, - - - - - President.
W. H. MCKEE, - - - - - Secretary.

THE Secretary of the National Religious Liberty Association is in daily receipt of signatures to the petition against religious legislation, notably from California, Iowa, and Michigan. The signatures are mostly upon petition slips, which the senders seem to have received by letter from some earnest workers for religious liberty.

The Real Reason.

COMMENTING editorially upon the case of the Tennessee Adventist, fined for working on Sunday, and whose cause has been espoused by the National Religious Liberty Association, the *Sigourney, Iowa, Review*, of July 9, gives the following excellent analysis of the motives of those who demand, and enforce, such laws as that under which Mr. King is being persecuted:—

The witnesses who testified against Mr. King did not claim that any religious meeting was disturbed, or that they themselves were disturbed, or that any of their individual rights were invaded by his Sunday plowing, but only that their moral sense was shocked by his violation of the Sunday law, and this shock the court held to be a nuisance. These witnesses imagined that they possessed a moral sense, but we are rather inclined to doubt it. It is a very common human frailty to mistake bigotry and intolerance for moral sense. Men dearly love to make other men do as they do, especially in private individual matters that concern nobody else, and when they find men with minds of their own who will not obey their arbitrary commands, they are mad enough to tear them to pieces. The moral sense of the Chaldeans was terribly shocked when Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego refused to bow down to Nebuchadnezzar's golden image. It was not through any sympathy or fear that some terrible judgment would fall on these Hebrew children for their impiety, for they were eager to

roast them in the fiery furnace. It was not any Christian love for Mr. King or any anxiety for the future salvation of his soul, that actuated his religious prosecutors in their efforts to stop him from plowing on Sunday. They were ready to rob him of his hard earned cash by heavy fines, and they would not hesitate to torture him to death, rather than allow him to exercise his right of conscience differently from what they had ordered.

After all, religious intolerance is nothing more than human egotism in its secondary or brother's-keeper stage. When a man conceives an idea in regard to diet, dress, rule of life or religious observances, he wants everybody else to see it just as he does. That they refuse to so see it or observe it, is to him a standing challenge to the wisdom of his position, which his conceit cannot brook, and he naturally craves the power to force them to observe something that he can't convince them of by facts, figures, or logic. After preaching his hobby till he gets a little following he organizes, and memorializes some political party to give him a law to enable him to force his theory on the rest of his brethren, in exchange for the votes of his organization, and if his organization amounts to anything as a political factor he usually gets the legislation he wants.

We don't believe that the religious people of Tennessee are any better than those of other States. We doubt if one in ten of them strictly observes the Sunday law they have forced on the statutes, and we have no idea that it was the salvation of men's souls they were thinking of when they clamored for the law under which they have been persecuting King. They observed, or pretended to observe, Sunday as a holy day, and imagined that they were doing a very praiseworthy act in so observing it, and expected the balance of mankind to look up to them with great reverence and respect on account of their piety. But the man who did not so observe the day, appeared to them as a standing challenge to their assumed superiority, and they wanted a law to punish him, not because they thought that God was unable to suitably punish the violators of his holy law, but because it hurt their human vanity to have their pretensions to great moral virtues disputed, and they wanted their revenge.

All these religious laws and prosecutions which have stained the history of the Church in all ages, come not from an earnest Christian endeavor to elevate mankind, but from the malicious disposition of the professor of religion to punish the man who dares to question the superior excellence of his professions. The religious Sunday observer of Tennessee could afford to be lenient with the squirrel hunters whose rifles could be heard popping in the timber on all hours of that holy day. He could easily ignore their violation of his Sunday law because the

transgressors were low white trash whose influence cut no figure, but when a man making equally high religious professions with himself, whose life was just as pure and exemplary, who derived the authority for his position from the same sacred volume from which he derived his, and could defend his position with arguments and citations which could not be refuted, when such a man disputed the sanctity of his Sunday observance, a challenge was thrown out which he could not afford to ignore without serious sacrifice of his professed sanctity. It was not Mr. King's soul he cared to save from the consequences of his Sunday labor. It was Mr. King's influence that challenged the soundness of his theology, and set at naught his assumed religious superiority and authority, and aroused a combative malice, that would have lighted the fagots around the seventh-day observer, had the law of the State permitted it.

THE *Advocate*, a prohibition journal of Watertown, this State, is calling for the more vigorous enforcement of existing Sunday laws. Speaking of the growing disregard of Sunday, the *Advocate* says: "If allowed to go on unchecked, a Continental Sabbath, or a Sabbath without regard to a law compelling a suspension of business, will be substituted in this country instead of the Sabbath of our fathers. Against such an innovation we strongly protest."

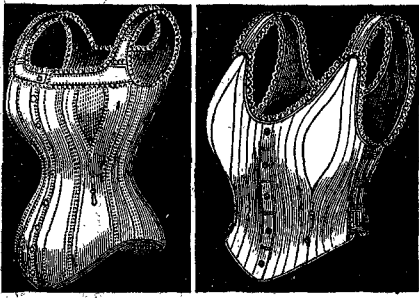
THOSE who wish to do so and who have not already had the opportunity of so doing, or who have neglected it, are requested to sign BOTH of the following petitions and send them to W. H. MCKEE, 225 A Street, N. E., Washington, D. C. If room for more names is desired the petition may be cut out and pasted onto a sheet of legal cap.

To the Honorable, the Senate of the United States:—

We, the undersigned, adult residents of the United States, 21 years of age or more, hereby respectfully, but earnestly, petition your Honorable Body not to pass any bill in regard to the observance of the Sabbath, or Lord's day, or any other religious or ecclesiastical institution or rite; nor to favor in any way the adoption of any resolution for the amendment of the National Constitution that would in any way give preference to the principles of any one religion above another, or that will in any way sanction legislation upon the subject of religion; but that the total separation between religion and the State, assumed by our National Constitution as it now is, may forever remain as our fathers established it.

To the Honorable, the House of Representatives of the United States:—

We, the undersigned, adult residents of the United States, 21 years of age or more, hereby respectfully, but earnestly, petition your Honorable Body not to pass any bill in regard to the observance of the Sabbath, or Lord's day, or any other religious or ecclesiastical institution or rite; nor to favor in any way the adoption of any resolution for the amendment of the National Constitution that would in any way give preference to the principles of any one religion above another, or that will in any way sanction legislation upon the subject of religion; but that the total separation between religion and the State, assumed by our National Constitution as it now is, may forever remain as our fathers established it.



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ARGUMENTS

ON THE

Breckinridge Sunday Bill.

o o o o

Verbatim report of the speeches of Eld. J. O. Corliss, of Washington, Alonzo T. Jones, of New York, Editor *American Sentinel*, and Millard F. Hobbs, District Master Workman of District Assembly 66, Knights of Labor, together with a brief submitted by Prof. W. H. McKee, Secretary of the National Religious Liberty Association,

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NEW YORK, JULY 31, 1890.

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THERE was a strike of Sunday car drivers a week or two since in Brooklyn, not as might be supposed, however, against Sunday work, but for pay by the day instead of by the trip.

THE *Voice* says that "although Francis Murphy is dead set against prohibition a resolution was unanimously passed at one of his South Omaha meetings, last week, calling upon Mayor Sloan to enforce the prohibition laws on Sunday." Yes; love for Sunday, and laws for its enforcement, take precedence of all opposition to the liquor traffic, in the minds of thousands of people both in and out of the Prohibition Party.

THE *Loyal American* found something in THE AMERICAN SENTINEL which it thought was awry, and asked for an explanation. We have given it; now it is our turn. In its issue of July 2, it sets forth among its principles this:—

We want all wills to be signed thirty days before death, or failing that, the State shall divide the estate among the heirs.

Now we should like the *Loyal American* to explain just how every man is to know when he is within thirty days of his death so that he can make his will, and escape the penalty here proposed? We pause for a reply.

THE *Pittsburgh Christian Advocate* is not pleased with the present administration. It says:—

We confess to very great disappointment in the religious features of President Harrison's administration. He is a Christian man, an officer, and for years a Sabbath-school teacher in the Presbyterian Church. Much was expected of him in the way of proper example in his high office, and of respect for the Christian principles and sentiment of the country. But in some respects we have not seen them. Intoxicating liquors have been served on his table on State occasions, and lately a "german," one of the most offensive and disgusting of all the public dances, was given in the White House. It was a full dress (rather undress) affair, such as but few thoughtful mothers would suffer their daughters to attend. Chaplain Milburn says there has not been any such public exhibition in the presidential mansion since the marriage of President Tyler. Pretty soon the people will wonder what the difference is between a Christian president and one who is not a Christian.

This illustrates the evil of calling any man a "Christian president." People will wonder what difference there is between a "Christian president" and one who is

not "Christian;" and the conclusion arrived at is likely to be, that a "Christian president" is one who makes a profession of religion, and is governed by the policy of his party and the customs of Washington society, while a non-Christian president is one who makes no profession and is governed in just the same way.

DOCTOR GUTHRIE, the eminent Presbyterian divine, is credited with this statement:—

I counted in Paris thirty-three theaters and places of amusement, open on the Sabbath day, but in one hour I saw in Edinburg, with all her schools, churches, and piety, more drunkenness than I saw in Paris in five months.

This shows that Sunday laws are practically worthless as a temperance measure; if people are in the habit of drinking, and have opportunity to get liquor six days in the week it is useless to attempt to keep it from them on Sunday.

THE Louisiana Legislature has had before it a substitute for the State Sunday law, in the form of a bill giving to police juries and municipal corporations throughout the State the power to regulate all Sunday trade, etc. The measure is really local option applied to the Sunday question. The bill passed the Legislature, but was vetoed by the Governor.

The *Pearl of Days* noticing the bill, says, "It is a measure that no friend of the Sabbath ought to approve." Certainly no National Reformer would approve it; the aim of that party is to centralize the control of all the moral questions in which they interest themselves, into one infallible, papal head, and no such approach to individual freedom of choice, as local option even, could be permitted in their politics.

THE preachers of Milwaukee, not long since, discussed in their Monday meeting, the subject of "Capital and Labor." The following resolution was introduced:—

Resolved, By this Preachers' Conference, that we are in full sympathy with the laboring people of this city, and stand ready at any and all times to manifest friendly, fraternal regard to each. Our churches are open to every one, and all shall be cordially welcomed when they desire to come.

The resolution was fully discussed, but was mostly objected to on the ground that it seemed to imply that the laboring classes had not before been welcomed to the churches, and the following resolution was substituted:—

Resolved, That this Preachers' Conference is in full sympathy with all the people of this city, rich or poor, learned or unlearned, and stands ready at all times to welcome all to our churches and assist any to lead a better life.

This was unanimously adopted. But that the first resolution should have ever been introduced, or the second one either introduced or adopted, is, in itself, a grave reflection upon the influence of those churches. When professed Christian

churches have to advertise that the people are welcome to attend them, and welcome to their assistance to lead a better life, in other words, when they have to advertise that they are Christians, they are in a sorry plight so far as Christianity is concerned. But there is entirely too much of that kind of Christianity in the United States, and that is why there is so much demand that the State shall take charge of religious instruction and religious observances.

At the Catholic Congress held at Baltimore, last year, a committee was appointed to arrange for another one to be held in connection with the World's Fair in 1892. The *Catholic Review* of June 29, urges upon the committee prompt and steady action in preparing for the Congress. It says that "the Congress will be an American Congress, but the celebration must be continental, and delegates from every diocese in North and South America, representatives from every race on the continent should find recognition on this occasion." We wait now to see what steps the National Reform Association, and the American Sabbath Union will take to secure the recognition of representatives in that Congress.

THE *St. Paul Dispatch* supports the decision of the Wisconsin Supreme Court, in the Edgerton Bible case, and says: "In view of the severity with which the founders of our constitutional systems plainly regarded all possibility of interference with individual religious belief or individual right of conscience, it is safe to say, that the proper and the more advisable course in the discharge of the duty of the State, to afford secular instruction to its citizens, is to wholly eliminate all form of religious instruction, and leave the discharge of that duty where it rightfully belongs, with the parents of the several children."

THE Sunday Alliance, of Scotland, communicates to the Sunday Union, of the United States, a report of the progress of the work of the Alliance for the past year in Scotland; a paragraph is devoted to the commendation of the American Sunday Union, and the *Mail and Express*. Thus steadily are these forces for the promotion of political religion joining hands round the world.

THE AMERICAN SENTINEL.

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DEVOTED TO

The defense of American Institutions, the preservation of the United States Constitution as it is, so far as regards religion or religious tests, and the maintenance of human rights, both civil and religious.

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It is stated that, according to a recent ukase of the Czar, no person who is not of the Christian faith will be allowed to serve on a jury, unless by the special approval of the Minister of the Interior, and of the Minister of Justice. Of course to be a Christian in Russia, means being a member of the Greek Church; what it would mean in this country, should the National Reformers be successful, remains to be seen; probably membership in any of the so-called orthodox churches would fill the bill.

An infidel paper says: "It is hard for a Christian to be tolerant; to be just. There is somewhat in Christianity that makes its adherents bigots." This is a mistake; those who are called Christians are often bigoted and intolerant, but the spirit of true Christianity is opposed to bigotry and intolerance. The fundamental principle of Christianity is, "All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them," and this leaves no room for bigotry and intolerance.

The gospel of Christ is a gospel of peace, not a gospel of force. Said the Saviour: "Behold, I send you forth as sheep among wolves; be ye therefore wise as serpents, and harmless as doves." Acting under the divine commission to preach the gospel, the apostles went forth, not appealing to human governments to compel men to accept their message, but beseeching men "by the meekness and gentleness of Christ." Said the apostle: "Now then we are ambassadors for Christ, as though God did beseech you by us; we pray you

in Christ's stead, be ye reconciled to God." The Christian who desires to go beyond these scriptures and compel men to believe, or to act as though they believed, should stop and ask if he has not himself lost the Spirit of Christ, if indeed he ever had it. "The fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, longsuffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance." Whoever has the Spirit of Christ will bring forth the fruits of the Spirit; and "if any man have not the Spirit of Christ he is none of his," even though he may be called by his name. Said the Saviour: "Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven; but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven."

Divine Right and Precedent.

IN view of the proposed Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, making Christianity an essential part of the public-school curriculum, and also the Edmunds Bill for the establishment of a national university in which "Christian theology" shall be taught, the question of the Bible in the public schools anywhere in the country is a national question. The principles involved in the Wisconsin case, therefore, are just as much national as though it were a case in a Federal court itself. We have given the Supreme Court side of this case quite fully and repeatedly in THE SENTINEL; but what some would call the other side has not been noted so fully. There has been issued by the Rev. W. H. McAtee, D. D., of Madison, Wisconsin, a pamphlet of seventy-two pages, entitled, "Must the Bible Go? a Review of the Decision of the Supreme Court of Wisconsin in the Edgerton Bible Case," which we must notice. In the beginning of the prefatory note he says:—

No American State has ever taken the attitude toward the Christian Scriptures and the worship of Almighty God, now assumed by Wisconsin. Five have expressly refused to do so; and in no other has the question ever been raised.

This is just that much more to the

credit of the State of Wisconsin. The attitude that has been taken by this State, is the attitude that properly belongs to every State on earth. It is the attitude of the United States Government, the Constitution of which forbids Congress to have anything to do with religion.

There is no State on earth, neither by executive, legislative, nor judicial process that has any means of discovering and deciding authoritatively what are "the Christian Scriptures," or who is Almighty God. There is no executive, nor legislative, nor judicial power, or authority on earth that has any right to decide for anybody what system of religion that person shall study or read, or hear read; nor have the men who compose any of these departments of government any power to decide for anybody, but their own individual selves, what religion is, what "the Christian Scriptures" are, or who the Lord is. What means has any man, elected to office, of discovering after his election, what is the truth in religion, that he had not before? The men who oppose this decision, including, we are persuaded, Mr. McAtee himself, would deny the right of any one man, in his place simply as a man among men, to decide for anybody else what God it is he shall honor, or what religion it is which he shall receive. This being so in the case of men before they are elected to office, what is there in their election, or in the position to which they are elected which instantly clothes them with a power which neither they, nor those who elected them had before they were chosen to such office? The claim that men sitting in Supreme Court, or in any other court on earth, or in any department of government, are clothed with such power, or authority, or right, is in principle only the old claim of the divine right of kings, and of the present claim of the infallibility of popes. It is, in principle, a claim that there is a divinity that hedges the office itself, and that he who attains to the office becomes, *by that means*, clothed with the divine right to act authoritatively in the

place of God, and to decide the things of God for all the people.

The attitude assumed by the Supreme Court of Wisconsin, therefore, in which is denied the principles of the divine right, and the infallibility, of office, is the correct attitude. Its refusal to assume a power that by no possible means can belong to it, is altogether to its everlasting honor; and that it was done in the face of precedents, even though the precedents might have been much more numerous, is just so much more to the honor of the Court. To have followed the precedents of the five States referred to by Mr. McAtee, would have been only to follow precedents that are essentially wicked, because those precedents themselves follow other precedents which are an essential part of the Papal system of Church and State, which is the very "mystery of iniquity." This in fact is virtually confessed by McAtee, in another place. On page sixty, he says:—

The very fact that it is without precedent in all history, is enough to startle the most indifferent. No other State in Christendom has ever dispensed with the Christian Scriptures in its educational system, much less in its penal, reformatory and charitable institutions.

Suppose it be so, that does not prove the decision to be wrong; because the same precedent which proves that no other State in Christendom has ever dispensed with this, will likewise prove that no other State has dispensed with an established religion, with injustice to its people in religious things, or with persecution for conscience' sake. And these we all know are wrong. In short, the only way that the Court could be right in this, was to act contrary to all the precedents of Christendom and of history. And the safest thing for Wisconsin or any other State to do in this line, is always to go directly contrary to the precedents of Christendom and of all history.

But the idea that any court should decide any case upon the merit of precedents is just as far wrong as is the claim that a fallible court should assume the prerogative of infallibility, or that a power, that is merely the collective, representative will of the people, should assume to act by divine right. A court that decides any case upon precedent ceases to be a court of justice, in any true sense of the word, for that is simply to abdicate its own functions and its own reason as a court, and pass off upon the people the will of some other court, chosen by some other people and representing the will of an entirely different class from those who established the court. For any court of justice, or any lawyer, or any man, to allow his honest convictions to be swayed by precedent, is to deny himself; and when he does so in a representative capacity, it is to deny the people whom he represents.

There is not a judicial crime, nor a form

of governmental oppression that might be committed, that has not abundant precedent. There is not a step that has ever been taken in human progress that has not had to be taken against universal precedent. As a guide in human conduct, it is principle and not precedent that should be followed. The question can never be rightly asked in any such case, "What has been done?" but in every such case the question must be, "What ought to be done?" To rest upon what has been done, is precedent; and that is stagnation. To inquire what ought to be done, is principle; and that is progress.

We have not space to enlarge more at this time upon this point, we only say, precedent lawyers, precedent judges, and precedent courts are the bane of States and nations. And precedent preachers are the bane of the human race.

A. T. J.

Civil Government and the Divine Law.

THE National Reform theory is that civil government is not a voluntary association, but a divine institution, and that it is clothed with authority and power that transcend all human institutions. Its design, they assert, is not the securing of human rights, but the suppression of wrong and promulgation of good. "Civil government," says Rev. Foster, one of the National Reform secretaries, "is the keeper of both tables of the law." We have often shown in these columns that the theory that the State, or civil government, is the keeper of the law of God or of any part of it, is most mischievous, for the reason that it makes men judges of that law, and destroys direct individual accountability to God. If God has made the State the custodian of his law, he has also made it the interpreter and expounder of his law, and it is the duty of the people to receive the law from the State. This is substantially the claim made by the Papal Church, a claim which Protestants hold to be blasphemous. But if it be blasphemy when made by a church, is it not even more so when made in behalf of the State?

But, perhaps, for the purpose of this article, the proposition that civil government is the keeper of the divine law will be best examined in the light of the more explicit statement made by Mr. Foster, namely, that "the State is the keeper of the second commandment, and should prohibit idolatry either on the part of the Chinaman or Romanist." Now if the proposition be correct that the State is the keeper of the divine law, the conclusion that it is in duty bound to enforce that law cannot be avoided. But let us examine this a little and see how it would work.

Passing by all Chinamen as idolaters of the most gross sort, we will apply this rule to the Romanist. Mr. Foster, who

is, we must not forget, a representative National Reformer, says, that the State should prohibit idolatry on the part of the Romanist. But the Romanist denies that he is an idolater. He will admit that he bows to pictures and images, but will stoutly assert that they are simply symbols of the Unseen, to which his worship is in reality directed, and that the image or picture is only for the purpose of assisting his faith. It is true that, as Protestants, we call that idolatry, and such it is; but covetousness is also idolatry (Col. 3:5), and is just as truly a transgression of the divine law as are the more gross forms of idolatry. Shall we then punish covetousness?

But it may be said that the law can only take cognizance of the outward acts, and that while it may punish a man for bowing down before an image, it cannot punish him for the thoughts and intents of the heart, because man cannot determine the thoughts of the heart. But if the State is the keeper of the law, and is to enforce the law *as the law of God*, where or how shall we draw the line? Is it not as certain that the man, who shows by his every-day life that he is covetous, is a violator of the divine law, as it is that the man, who prays to a picture of the Virgin Mary, is an idolater? It may even be the case, and it is often true, that such an one is in every way a better citizen, a better neighbor, and a better man, than the one who is covetous. Moreover, it is just as easy to demonstrate to the satisfaction of an impartial person that the one is an idolater, as it is to show that the other is an idolater. The occasional act of the one shows that he is guilty of violating the second commandment, while the whole life of the other, his every business transaction, all his dealings with his neighbors, show conclusively that he violates the same commandment. Shall the law lay its hand upon the one, and spare the other?—Certainly not.

Properly speaking, the State is not the keeper of the law. There is no part of the law of God which can be enforced as such, by civil government. For instance, it is within the physical power, though not within the proper sphere of government, to compel its citizens to refrain from ordinary labor upon Sunday, or on any other day of the week that it may see fit, but it is not within the power of any government to compel its citizens to obey the fourth commandment. That commandment says, "Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy;" and simply resting from labor is by no means all that is required in that commandment. According to Isa. 58: 13, true Sabbath keeping is not only to refrain from labor on the Sabbath, but to "call the Sabbath a delight, the holy of the Lord, honorable." And this, civil government cannot compel; therefore,

it is impossible for civil government to enforce the fourth commandment; neither can civil government enforce any other commandment as the law of God. Take, for example, the sixth. The Saviour said that he that hateth his brother is a murderer. A man may manifest all the hatred of which he is capable, and may even express that hatred, and yet the civil law cannot lay hold upon him as a murderer. True, if he makes threats, that is, if he declares his intentions to use violence, the law can place him under bonds to keep the peace. It may be demonstrated as fully as human testimony can demonstrate anything, that his heart is full of hatred, and yet no one would say that the civil law ought to touch him. Still, in the sight of God the man is a murderer. The seventh commandment furnishes another illustration, which we need not dwell upon, as all are familiar with the teachings of the Saviour on that point. And this is sufficient to show that civil government cannot enforce the law of God.

There is another feature of this matter which demands attention, namely, the fact previously referred to, that to attempt to enforce the decalogue would be to constitute men judges of the divine law. God is the interpreter of his own law. Human beings differ in their interpretations of that law. Of this, the second commandment furnishes an illustration, as already shown. The Protestant says that bowing to an image or picture is idolatry; this the Romanist denies. Now who shall judge between them, and decide which is right? If it were the prerogative of civil government to decide this question, then, if the judge were a Protestant he would decide from a Protestant standpoint, and the Papist would be punished for the use of pictures and images. But suppose the judge himself were a Papist, he would then decide that such worship was not idolatry, and the accused would go free. Thus, it appears that that which is idolatry to-day, might be held to be perfectly right to-morrow; or that which would be decided to be idolatry in New York, might be held to be perfectly innocent in New Jersey; and yet, in both instances, according to National Reform logic, the decision would be rendered by the duly authorized agent of the Almighty.

If indeed it were true that civil government is ordained of God, in the sense in which National Reformers claim that it is, then the Government of Spain in the days of the Inquisition was just as truly a Government of God, as is the Government of England or the Government of the United States to-day. But it cannot be true that governments are ordained of God in that sense, for if it were true God would be the minister of sin. "Governments," says the Declaration of Independence, "derive their just powers from the consent of the governed;" and had this maxim always prevailed, despotic govern-

ments never would have been known. The very idea of government which National Reformers advocate, is responsible for the barbarities and iniquities of all the despotic Governments in the world; and the only wonder is that citizens of the United States could for a moment entertain such a proposition. It is as clear as the noonday sun that the National Reform theory is at variance with the principles of this Government, and to carry out the National Reform idea would be simply to overthrow republican institutions.

C. P. B.

Political Divinity.

A SHORT time ago, we printed in THE SENTINEL the statement of Rev. Dr. Parkhurst, of this city, that "it is as much a Christian's duty to love his country, as his God;" that "the stars and stripes ought to be as much a part of a man's religion as the Sermon on the Mount;" and that "it is as much the Christian's duty to go to the polls and vote on election day, as to go to the Lord's table on communion day."

If this be correct it would be proper to interpret the Scriptures accordingly, and read, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God, and thy country with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, and with all thy strength." And as we read at the close of the Sermon on the Mount, "Whosoever heareth these sayings of mine and doeth them, I will liken him unto a wise man which built his house upon a rock;" it would be proper also to read in connection therewith something like this, "Whosoever, therefore, heareth the laws enacted under the stars and stripes, and doeth them, the same shall be likened unto a man which built his house upon a rock," etc.

It is not necessary to go any further in this. This is sufficient to show how nearly akin to blasphemy such a sentiment is. But Dr. Parkhurst is not alone in this sentiment that reduces divine things to the level of human and political things. The *Union Signal* runs in the same line. An editorial, in its issue of April 10, says:—

In this country where the ballot is the badge of sovereignty, and every voter is a sovereign, no more sacred act can any man perform than that of voting.

This likewise puts the most sacred acts upon a level with those of mere human and political expediency. It is neither surprising nor inappropriate, therefore, to find the *Signal* next referring to Plato for an example in political philosophy. This is perfectly proper, for the sentiment itself is pagan, and it is only right that a pagan should be appealed to. It is a pagan sentiment only that makes political things divine. In the philosophy of paganism, the State is the supreme deity. All political things, therefore, are of the highest order of sacredness, and there is no such thing as a distinction between duty to God

and duty to the State. This is the philosophy of paganism, of Dr. Parkhurst, of the *Union Signal*, and of many others in this day. Christianity separates the things of God from the things of the State; separates duty to God from duty to the State, and renders to God that which is God's, and to Cæsar that which is Cæsar's.

A. T. J.

Chicago Correspondence.

WHILE the Commissioners of the Columbian Exposition are busying themselves in settling the matter whether the fair shall be on the Lake Front or not, and while they are deciding who is the best man to place at the helm to guide the mammoth undertaking to success, and while the Illinois Legislature is planning for special legislation to give Chicago the legal right to raise, in the way they desire, the necessary funds for the great fair; the clergy and others, in Chicago, are agitating the question thus early as to whether or not the Exposition shall be opened on Sunday.

Dr. Utter, of the Unitarian persuasion, expressed himself recently as very decidedly in favor of opening on Sunday. This drew from the ranks of the Sunday-closing advocates a volley, threatening the divine vengeance if the Nation should add rebellion to impiety, by opening on Sunday an exhibition upon which the gaze of the world was fixed. Dr. Henson, in particular, threatened fearful judgments if the great "American Sabbath" should be so disregarded. He advocated the idea, strongly, that Chicago should be made a model Christian city before the fair comes off, so that the inhabitants of the Old World could see a living example of what Christianity would do for a nation.

As we listened to the reverend gentleman giving utterance to the above thoughts, we could not refrain from soliloquizing. We will suppose the great Exposition on the Lake Front, as proposed; and in our imagination we will behold every door barred against the visitor whose conscience would not condemn him for going on Sunday; the perfect quiet of the ideal Sabbath reigns throughout the entire grounds occupied by the prodigious exhibit; people from every corner of the earth are there; and as they witness the "Sabbath hush" of the fair, the first thought will be, "what good people must dwell in the immediate surroundings of such an enclosure, fortified by all the insignia of outward piety." And, since the fair cannot be visited on Sunday, the visitor starts through the city to form an acquaintance with some of these good people. Before fairly entering the thronged streets he sees the glittering sign of a saloon, and, perhaps, hears the carousals of debauchery within. While this shakes his exalted ideas of Chicago a little, he is ready to excuse it by thinking

he is fallen into one of the worst places in the city, a little section as yet unreclaimed from its gross corruption, so he passes on.

As he rounds the next corner, another like spectacle of a slum stands out before him; a little later, a gambler allures this unsuspecting innocent into his net, and draws from him his hard-earned money. By this time his eyes are beginning to be opened to the situation, and he secures a copy of the *Saturday Daily News*, and is perfectly horrified to read its bold attacks on the immoralities of the city. He is dazed as he reads about the crime on every hand, and his sensibilities are fairly paralyzed as he still further reads that the City Council is in connivance with these agents of lawlessness, and that the reputable citizen cannot be stirred to the importance of going to the polls to vote "the rascals out."

Would such a spectacle make a very favorable impression on the visitor, from the Old World, who had not accepted Christ? And yet, such is the condition of Chicago to-day. With a saloon at every turn; with debauchery and vice on every hand; with the grossest corruptions right in the very council chamber of the great city's lawmakers; and with public sentiment so sleepy on the subject, that some of the Chicago papers claim that they cannot arouse the people to the gravity of the situation, does it look much as though the whole city could be made a model of primitive Christianity before the opening of the Exposition in 1893?

Perhaps the exigencies of the situation will suggest to some one, the idea of centering all the great evangelists here, to take the city by storm. But Mr. Moody has been working here for a long time, and what he has been able to accomplish would only be like taking a drop from the great ocean of crime. The renowned Messrs. Jones and Small worked here for some time, but did not seem to make any perceptible impression on the wickedness of this modern Sodom. The famous "Boy Preacher," Harrison, tried his evangelistic skill on the wicked city, and only a few of its swarming inhabitants seemed to know he was here. While we would very seriously question whether any good comes out of the kind of work done by some of the above named gentlemen, it is true that they, together with many evangelists of lesser note, beside the great army of resident ministers, have been working away on Chicago for "Lo! these many years," and still the great crimes go on.

In the face of all this, is it not the greatest conceivable vagary for a minister to think and talk of having Chicago, in so short a space of time, wholly within the fold of Christ? If it could be done why do not the ministers who believe that way, plan to do it without waiting for the Exposition? If it could be done, is not the minister committing sin who

waits for a great fair to move him to action? But, personally, I have as much faith in the idea that Sodom could have been converted, as I have in the conversion of Chicago. But so great is this Sunday-law panacea for all moral ills, that its advocates would say by their actions and words, "Only give us a lever by which we can close the Exposition on Sunday, and Chicago is instantly transformed into a city of saints."

In regard to some of their plans, to secure such would-be benefits for Chicago, I will speak in another letter.

A. O. TAIT.

The State Cannot Be Religious.

It is affirmed by those who demand religious legislation, that God requires from all nations, an acknowledgment of his supreme authority, in recognition of his prospering care over them, on the ground that they are the creatures of God, and therefore stand in the same relation to him morally, as human beings. But, if nations ought to acknowledge God's authority over them, solely on account of being his creatures, then all created beings should certainly be required to do the same. Such a rule, however, presents one very formidable objection, which briefly stated is this: Any outward acknowledgment of Deity, is a form of worship rendered in recognition of moral responsibility; and any form of worship is a devotional, or religious act. But every religious act must, of necessity, spring from some preconceived opinion regarding religious doctrine, which requires a certain degree of intelligence.

It does not follow, then, that because some existing thing is a creature of God, it is therefore charged with moral responsibility. Not only does this require intelligence, but a high order of intelligence. It is true that any person, who has mental power enough to entertain distinct ideas of a Supreme Being, may recognize his moral obligations to that extent that he will reverently worship God; but it will readily be conceded, that there are those, such as idiots and insane persons, who are not capable of exercising this high privilege, and yet no one will deny that they are God's creatures. There is still a larger class of God's creatures—beasts, birds, and reptiles—that have no visible form of worship in recognition of the source of their being, because they are not possessed of that order of intelligence by which alone, the Creator is recognized as an object of worship, love, and obedience.

The recognition of God, therefore, and of accountability to him, require not only a distinct intellectual faculty, but that of a high order. Where, in a government, shall this faculty, this intelligence, be found? In order that there may be a governmental recognition of God, it is nec-

essary that what is thus held to be the government, shall be a distinct entity, a personality, possessing an intelligence of as high an order, and as real, as that which is found in each individual soul. Where, then, we ask again, is there in a government any such intelligent personality as is thus shown to be essential? There is no such thing; there never was any such thing, and there never can be any such thing.

While it may be freely admitted that God asks human intelligences to individually acknowledge him as the source of their existence and happiness, the foregoing clearly shows that there is no ground for the assertion that a nation is a moral being, simply because it is one of God's creatures. We do not, however, admit the proposition that nations are, properly speaking, creatures of God; but could it be positively shown that nations are the direct creatures of God, it would in no wise follow that they, as such, are therefore capable of recognizing moral obligation, which requires special intelligence of, and full belief in, a personal Supreme Being. Nations being only political bodies of men, a portion of whom are in doubt upon the question of a personal God, it cannot be truly said that any whole nation entertains such a belief. It may be contended that, because a majority of those in a nation do believe in a personal God, that is, therefore, the faith of the nation. But such a claim does not change the facts of the case. Since the majority in a nation cannot bear moral responsibility for the minority, they cannot represent their religious belief or moral standing. Then, just in proportion as the individuals who constitute the nation personally fail to truly recognize God, the nation itself is lacking in that particular, and no majority representation can make it otherwise.

The truth of the matter is, that while each person in the world is a living and conscious moral unit, no collection of such units, however large, or in whatever manner related to each other, can possibly transfer their personal, moral obligations to the political body, and thus make it a moral person. This idea holds even in the Church of God. There, the standing of one member in no way represents the standing of another. One member cannot worship for any one else, neither does the fact that he is enrolled as a member with others who have genuine faith in the tenets of the Church, ensure him salvation with the others, except he has a personal, living faith for himself. Then, if the Church, which was instituted for purely moral purposes, cannot unite into one, the moral units of its organization, how much less can a nation do it which is established on an entirely different basis, and for a wholly different purpose.

Every one in a nation may have as much personal faith in God, as the mem-

bers of a church, but that does not, therefore, constitute the nation a moral being. Only the personal units are, or can be so held, and these, only because they are individually accountable to God's moral law. Thus, we read: "Now we know that what things soever the law saith, it saith to them who are under the law, that every mouth may be stopped, and all the world may become guilty before God." Rom. 3:19.

The words of the prophet are often referred to, in vindication of the idea that nations are moral persons: "The nation and kingdom that will not serve thee, shall perish." But this text proves nothing of the kind. We read in 2 Kings, 9:8, also, that: "The whole house of Ahab shall perish;" but that certainly does not show that the house of Ahab was a personality composing a moral being, distinct from the individuals who formed the household. It could mean nothing more than that the persons who composed Ahab's household were to perish because they were all guilty of wrong. But God never punishes any one for the sins of another, even though he may be connected with a guilty party, by family or national ties. The assurance of this, is found in the words, "The soul that sinneth, it shall die." So, if only one of a nation's representatives were found righteous, while all the others were guilty, the one righteous person would be preserved, because of his individual integrity, while the others would be made to suffer for their individual sins only.

The apostle has positively stated that "every one of us shall give account of himself to God." Rom. 14:12. This being true, it follows that no one can do more than to answer for his own conduct, at the bar of God. In other words, since every one answers for himself, no one will be required to answer for him. It is therefore plain that the only moral accountability which God recognizes, is that of individuals. Then, when men act in the capacity of statesmen, and administer the affairs of government, the incumbent of one department, cannot be held responsible for the wrongs which he does not sanction, and which may be done in another department with which he has had no connection. On the same principle, no government, as a whole, can be held morally responsible for the actions of even a majority of its representatives. It matters not, therefore, with what body a man may be connected, that body is not responsible for his individual acts. It therefore follows, that if nations are not morally holden, as such, they can have no conscience, and of course, no religion, and have, therefore, no right to meddle with matters of religion.

J. O. CORLISS.

More about the "Civil Sabbath."

THE argument for the "civil Sabbath" rests on the false distinction made between the spiritual intent of the Sabbatic institution, and the physical, social, and intellectual good derived from it. It is said that "God gave the Sabbath for a religious purpose—for the spiritual good of his children, and because it pleases him to have them meet and worship him—and with this of course the civil law can have nothing to do; but as it is discovered by experience that a great physical, social, and intellectual good, *to the people*, is derived from keeping the Sabbath, therefore the State may enforce such Sabbath keeping for civil reasons."

This argument rests first, upon the distinction made between the divine and human intent of the Sabbath; but secondly, it rests upon the assumption that the government is the proper guardian of the physical and social good of its subjects.

Regarding this assumption, it is only necessary here to remark, that the moment the government commits itself to such a guardianship, there is no logical stopping place this side of a complete supervision of the eating, bathing, sleeping, and dressing of all its subjects.

To say nothing of the expense and inconvenience of running such a government, and of the intolerable interference of the government officials with the sacred privacy of family life, it has been proven by experience, that such paternal guardianship on the part of the government, tends directly to produce, on the part of the people, a corresponding childish dependence. Thus, by keeping the mass of the people in perpetual childhood, and throwing all the care and responsibility of their welfare on a few persons, the distance, between the governing and the governed, is perpetually widened, and the tendency is directly toward monarchy and despotism. It need not be said, that nothing could be more utterly subversive of all the principles of democracy and freedom than this.

Our Sunday laws in the States are relics of a barbarous past. And the clamor of the National Deformers, and the anti-American Sabbath Union, for national Sunday laws, is the asking of our Nation to commit itself to a theory of government which logically includes all the despotism and oppression so terribly illustrated by the bloody past. But, now for this distinction between the spiritual interest and the physical and social good of the Sabbath.

Mr. L. C. Inglis, in his paper, read at the Washington Convention, of the American Sabbath Union, declared that, "practically this is a distinction without a difference."

Thus the very foundation of their whole "civil Sabbath" theory was declared false, by one of their own speakers on their own platform; and as the distinction is false,

it is therefore admitted that all "civil Sabbath" legislation is in reality *religious legislation*.

Perhaps the fallacy of this distinction may be best proven by showing that it would apply equally well to all the other commandments in the decalogue; and that as the law contains the whole duty of man (Eccl. 12:13), therefore, by the same method of reasoning, all religious and moral duties could be enforced by law, for *civil reasons*. Take the first commandment for illustration: "Thou shalt have no other Gods before me."

It is well known that most terrible wars, and untold misery, have been inflicted by the nations upon themselves and one another, because of different gods or different views of the same God. In fact, very much of the war and bloodshed of the past is traceable to the violation of the first commandment.

The very reason God gave that first commandment, was, not that he had a desire to be worshiped, but that by teaching all men to look up to the *one* God and Creator as their father, he might unite them all into *one peaceful family* of brothers and sisters, instead of having the world divided into hostile sects and nations.

Why not, then, for *civil reasons*, that is, for the welfare and peace of the State, establish the worship of the one God, and carefully describe by law the character of this God, and state definitely what shall pertain to his worship? In other words, why not establish a national religion at once, and enforce it?

Take the second commandment as another illustration. From violating the first commandment, men have been led onward to the violation of the second, and all the others of the ten.

Why not, then, for *civil reasons* prohibit all image worship, and all violation of any other of the commandments? for the same principle is involved throughout. This is the very way people have always reasoned when they have established State religions.

"Well," says one, "why is not the reasoning good? If all this good will come from a unity of faith and practice, why not enforce such unity?" Simply because it cannot be done; it is utterly beyond the power of the State. The State might as well legislate to enforce an eclipse of the moon once a week.

In the Middle Ages, they attempted to enforce such a unity of faith and practice. They compelled whole tribes to be baptized, and to receive the eucharist. No one will, to-day, claim that those poor unfortunates really partook of the eucharist, far less that they experienced any of that union of feeling that comes from a real participation in that sacred ordinance.

Later, victorious Christian (?) kings

drove hoards of the conquered barbarians through the rivers of their blood-stained lands to baptize them, and yet they were unbaptized still, as all must admit who have any true idea of baptism.

A glimmer of this truth seemed to dawn upon the minds of the bigoted Spaniards, who, after compelling the Moors to be baptized, decided that they were still non-Christian (*i. e.* unbaptized) dogs, and that they must therefore be exterminated.

This distinction between the spiritual intent, and the civil benefit of the law of God, rests on a false and arbitrary idea of God's government. It assumes that the pleasure of God is to domineer over his creatures, and if in obedience to such arbitrary rules, there comes any benefit to the people, well and good. On the contrary, the highest pleasure of God, is the pleasure and welfare of all his creatures. There is nothing arbitrary in all God's government. A thing is not right or wrong simply because God said so; *but God says so because it is so.*

There are certain principles, which in the very nature of things, in all the universe of God, must tend to the happiness of all intelligent beings, and there are other principles which tend to their misery. Of the first, God said, "Thou shalt," and of the second, "Thou shalt not." Thus, all God's law rests in his love for his creatures, and in his desire for their *happiness* and *well-being*; but this law can not be enforced by the civil power, and any attempt to thus enforce it upon the people, tends, and in all history has tended, to their *misery* and *ill-being*, and is, therefore, utterly subversive of the designs of God's law and government.

By this it is seen that the same argument that upholds the so-called "civil Sunday," would carry the nation to any lengths into the iniquitous labyrinths of religious legislation and persecution.

G. E. FIFIELD.

OUR friends who are exercised over the question of a Sunday law in California are in a great strait. They want a Sunday law, but they know that the people of California will not listen to any talk of religious legislation, and so their perplexity is to have the observance of Sunday enforced, and at the same time not let the people know that any religious legislation is going on. The *California Christian Advocate* says of the Sunday question: "It must be brought before the country as a civil measure, yet in such a way as not to secularize the day." Just so. We have all heard of the hunter who aimed at an animal so as to hit it if it was a deer, and to miss it if it was a calf. It is somewhat amusing to see our friends attempt this feat on the Sunday question.

—*Signs of the Times.*

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A Lawyer's View of the Nature of Sunday Laws.

IN his brief in the well-known King case, recently passed upon by the Supreme Court of Tennessee, Col. T. E. Richardson, attorney for the plaintiff in error, gave the following history of the law under which Mr. King was indicted:—

The only statutes on the subject will be found in the act of 1741, enacted by His Excellency, Gabriel Johnson, Esq., Governor, by and with the consent of His Majesty's council, and General Assembly of the province of North Carolina; and is as follows:—

Whereas, in well-regulated governments effectual care is always taken that the day set apart for public worship be observed and kept holy, all and every person or persons whatsoever shall, on the Lord's day, commonly called Sunday, carefully apply themselves to the duties of religion and piety; and no tradesman, artificer, laborer, or other person whatsoever, shall upon the land or water, do or exercise any labor, business, or work of their ordinary callings—works of necessity and charity only, excepted—nor employ themselves either in hunting, fishing, or fowling, nor use any game, sport, or play, on the Lord's day aforesaid, or any part thereof, upon pain that any person so offending, being of the age of fourteen years and upwards, shall forfeit and pay the sum of *one dollar and twenty-five cents*. All and every Justice and Justices of the Peace, within his or their respective counties, shall have full power and authority to convene before him or them, any person or persons who shall offend in any of the particulars before mentioned, in his or their hearing, or on other legal conviction of any such offense, and to impose the said fine or penalty for the same. See laws of Tennessee, Scott's Edition, Vol. 1, page 55.

This act was passed when the church was a part of the State—when there was a State religion. Its purpose was that Sunday should be kept holy. After the Revolution, this act seems to have been retained amongst the statutes of North Carolina, as well as incorporated in the laws of Tennessee. And in 1803, after the admission of Tennessee, as a State, into the Union, the Legislature passed an act entitled as follows:—

An act more effectually to prevent the profanation of the Lord's day, commonly called the Sabbath.

Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Tennessee, that if any merchant, artificer, tradesman, farmer, or any other person shall be guilty of doing or exercising any of the common avocations of life or causing or permitting the same to be done, by his, her, or their children or servants, acts of real necessity or charity excepted, on the Lord's day, commonly called Sabbath, such person or persons on due conviction thereof before any Justice of the Peace within the county where such offense shall be committed, shall forfeit and pay the sum of three dollars, one-half to the person who shall sue for the same, the other half for the use of the county wherein such recovery may be had. This act was passed November 3, 1803. See laws of Tennessee, Scott's Edition, Vol. 1, page 795; also Car. & Nich., Art. "Sabbath," pages 638, 639.

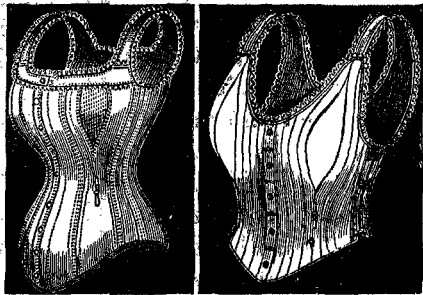
Can there be any doubt that the act of 1741 was passed to favor and promote Christianity, and also the interests of the Church of England? then the religion and Church of the State. Is it not equally plain that the act of 1803 was passed to promote and give preference to the Christian religion? that it was passed to prevent the profanation of a day sacred to certain persons claiming to be members of the Christian Church, or of certain sects of Christians? This Court knows historically, if not judicially, of the wonderful revivals and wide-spread religious excitement in the year 1800. They created a deep and lasting impression upon the people. They prevailed most extensively throughout the States of Kentucky and Tennessee. They were conducted principally by the Presbyterians and Methodists, and the power and influence then obtained by the latter, are felt and seen to the present time.

That the act of 1803 was the result of those revivals, and passed in obedience to the behests of those churches and to conform to their religious views, no one can doubt. That the law was enacted to compel the observance of Sunday in conformity with their tenets, and to coerce the conscience of all persons who might differ with those sects, can be denied by no candid mind.

By those acts exclusive jurisdiction was given to Justices of the Peace, to try, and punish those who violate their provisions. For nearly a century no member of the Bar or Bench ever dreamed or held that the Circuit Courts of the State, had jurisdiction over the offense, as created by those acts.

For a half century or more after the passage of the act of 1803, it was regarded as the expression of earnest but fanatical zeal, and was allowed to fall into "innocuous desuetude." It is the fit instrument of petty persecution, and has been seldom used, even by the most earnest of zealots.

To the credit of the Christian people of the State, it can be truly said, they have generally scorned to use such means of persecution or coercion.



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THE *Press*, of this city, suggests that when lightning struck the Metropolitan Museum of Art, one Saturday night, it was doubtless trying to open the door, so that working people could get into the museum on Sunday.

ON July 8, Senator Sherman presented in the Senate, petitions "numerously signed," from Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Maine, Pennsylvania, New York, Iowa, Kansas, Vermont, and Michigan, praying for an acknowledgment of Almighty God, and the Christian religion, in the Constitution of the United States. The petitions were referred to the Committee on Judiciary.

JUDGE PENNYPACKER, of Philadelphia, in the case of an appeal from the justice court, by William R. Waldman, a barber, convicted and fined for Sunday-shaving, has affirmed the conviction with a long opinion, in which he bases his affirmance upon a law of 1794, which provides a fine of four dollars "for the performance of any worldly employment on the Lord's day, commonly called Sunday."

A CALIFORNIA paper, the *Citrograph*, notes the fact that Congress is being flooded with petitions for the closing of the Chicago World's Fair, on Sunday, and says: "Should this be done, hundreds of thousands of workers will be debarred from visiting the exposition. These Sunday-closing-petition signers can visit the exhibition any day they like; but the poor laborer, the workingman whose daily toil just suffices to keep his family going, must either be debarred from seeing the sights of the fair altogether or go on Sunday. We certainly hope Congress will totally ignore these petitions. To do otherwise will be to work a great hardship on the toilers of Chicago and vicinity."

JUST now, Cardinal Gibbons is in bad odor with the *Mail and Express*, because he has said that he is in favor of opening museums and art galleries on Sunday, and that "apart from such religious exercises as each man's conscience may impose upon him, the day should be given up to such recreations as contribute to the physical, mental, and moral benefit and enjoyment of the people." "His position," says the

Mail and Express, "is thoroughly consistent with the practices of his church. . . . In Romanist countries Sunday is usually a day of shows, and general dissipation. The priests are satisfied, if the people go to mass in the morning, and to confession occasionally, to have them desecrate the Sabbath in any way they please." The gentleman who presides over the destinies of the *Mail and Express*, would be satisfied with nothing less than the devoting of the whole of Sunday to religious exercise and spiritual meditation, saving that he would probably allow ample time, for those who could afford it, to enjoy the usual Sunday dinner.

THE Methodists of Utah have adopted a strong resolution warning the people of the United States against Mormonism; and declaring that the radical cure for what they call the new and dangerous form of Mormon rebellion, is to be looked for largely in the pending legislation in Congress. Commenting upon this a secular paper remarks, that in this they "appear to have fallen into an error in the language, at least, of their resolution. The resolution condemns Mormonism. But the Government of the United States has no war to wage against Mormonism. Apart from polygamy, the rights of the Mormon Church in this country do not differ from those of any other church."

Now that the national Government has taken charge of the landing of immigrants at New York, a writer in the *Mail and Express* is anxious that Congress should regulate the time of departure of steamships from foreign ports, so that they should not arrive and disembark their passengers here on Sunday. He thinks that if the national Government would notify steamship companies that after a given date immigrants would not be allowed to land on Sunday, there would be no trouble in obtaining compliance with such a regulation. "This when accomplished," he exclaims, "will be another point gained in favor of Sabbath observance." How numerous, and how wonderful are the ways in which it is sought to commit Congress to Sunday legislation!

REFERRING to the fact that the Government has been for years granting money to various denominations, for the education of certain Indians, the *World* asks: "What business has the United States to engage in religious proselyting of the Indians, when its policy towards them for a hundred years has been robbery and extinction?" Only one answer can be given, namely, that the United States has no business whatever to engage in any such work. If the Government had let the religious education of the Indians alone altogether, it is highly probable that they would have received

more and better religious instruction than they have received. In that case, men and women having a genuine missionary spirit would have been sent among them, who would have labored from love of souls, instead of love for Uncle Sam's dollars. The greatest service that civil government can possibly do genuine Christianity, is to let religious instruction and religious questions severely alone.

THE Central American correspondent of the *New York Sun*, says: "A movement is going on in all the five republics to close the shops and stores on Sundays. The markets and establishments where provisions are sold, will be opened during a certain part of the day." Although the Roman Catholic Church has been disestablished in Central America, yet, that is the form of religion quite universally espoused by the ruling classes; it is not likely to be difficult there, therefore, to obtain a formal observance of Sunday, enforced by law. To all who are experimentally acquainted, however, with Central American life and manners, such a "movement" presents itself as a grim sarcasm on the mock Christianity of this whole politico-legal hypocrisy.

THE *Christian Inquirer*, a Baptist paper of this city, says:—

The Bible is the creed of Protestants. In this day when there is so much attention paid to confessions of faith, and so much said about a revision of creeds, the Church needs to swing back to the Bible as the supreme authority of doctrine and life, creed and conduct. Our battle will be shorter, sharper, more conclusive, and our victory surer and more glorious when we meet the hosts of infidelity, Romanism, and all sorts of falsehood and wickedness, with the Bible only, in our hands. Our appeal must be to the Book! Every doctrine of men must be brought to the test of God's word. If it be of God it will stand; if not, it will perish, and ought to perish.

That is good; the Bible ought to be in fact, as it is in theory, the creed of Protestants. But how about forcing "the creed of Protestants" upon everybody by the power of the State? And if Protestants are indeed willing to bring everything to the test of the Bible, and if they believe that everything that is of God will stand, why do they seek to have some so-called Christian institutions bolstered up by civil laws?

THE AMERICAN SENTINEL.

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DEVOTED TO

The defense of American Institutions, the preservation of the United States Constitution as it is, so far as regards religion or religious tests, and the maintenance of human rights both civil and religious.

It will ever be uncompromisingly opposed to anything tending towards a union of Church and State, either in name or in fact.

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

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THE Czar seems to be determined that Russia shall be a "Christian" country, even if he has to drive every Jew out of the empire to accomplish that result. A ukase has just been issued, which practically condemns about a million Jews to choose between exile and the endurance of intolerable persecution, merely because they do not agree with this miserable despot in his religious views and practices.

WE are told that being without a State church, we are a Godless Nation. But the religious life of a nation does not depend upon the alliance of the church with the secular power. Christianity achieved its noblest work while untrammelled with the golden fetters of the State. If the religion of Jesus has not sufficient vitality to stand, independent of State patronage, then let it fall.—*Rev. Joseph Glasson.*

THE *Leader* (Baptist) of May 29, published an account of a Baptist Bible-reading Conference at San Bernardino. As at Oakland, Dr. Read conducted the Bible-reading on "The Lord's Day." His arguments on this we have previously noticed. At the close, the observance of the day, and the "civil sabbath," were touched upon. The report in the *Leader* said:—

How shall we observe the Lord's day? Whatever brings you nearer to Christ is right; whatever leads you farther away from him is wrong.

If the Sunday newspaper puts you in a more devotional frame of mind, then read it.

Now, as to the civil sabbath, all that we can

consistently ask is protection in our own observance. If a band of music persists in playing near us while at our worship and disturbs the quiet of the day to us, we can appeal for protection to the civil authorities, but if they go off in some canon to themselves we cannot consistently call for any enactments to prohibit them. I am in favor of the Sunday closing of saloons, but only on the condition that they close all the time, for they are a nuisance anywhere, any time, and all the time. The enactment of laws based on simple Christian commands savors too much of the spirit that martyred the early Baptists in New England. It leads to union of Church and State. The only recourse for Christians is to suffer for Christ.

Would that all Baptists and Christians held such sound principles.—*Signs of the Times.*

An Alarming Situation.

IN the Senate of the United States, July 24, there was the most important debate that has been conducted in Congress, not only during this particular Congress, but for years. And yet we fear that very few people in the United States will know of it or will see in it particular import. The debate arose on the Indian Appropriation Bill, which had passed the House, and was now to be considered in the Senate, and the particular point in debate was the consideration of the two following items. We quote from the record:—

The Presiding Officer. The reading of the bill will proceed.

The reading of the bill was resumed. The next amendment of the Committee on Appropriations, was, on page 60, to strike out the clause from line 19 to line 21, inclusive, as follows:—

For support and education of sixty Indian pupils at St. Joseph's Normal School at Rensselaer, Indiana, \$8,330.

Mr. Dawes. I ask unanimous consent that that amendment and the next one may be considered together, for the same reasons.

The Presiding Officer. The next amendment will be stated.

The next amendment was to strike out the clause from line 25, on page 60, to line 2, on page 61, inclusive, as follows:—

For the education and support of one hundred Indian children at the Holy Family Indian School, at Blackfeet Agency, Montana, \$12,500.

Mr. Dawes. Mr. President, the Committee recommend the striking out of those two appropriations, and I desire as briefly as possible, to

state the reasons which have actuated the Committee in this recommendation. They both stand on the same ground, if one should be stricken out both should, and if either remains both should remain.

These are schools under the management of the Catholics. They are new appropriations by the Government for the maintenance of two new Catholic schools, and the one between them, the St. Boniface's Industrial School, is also one of the same kind. That the Committee did not strike out, for the special reasons which I will state in a moment.

What influenced the Committee to strike out these schools was simply this consideration: They desired not to go any further than the present condition of affairs in appropriating the Government's money for the maintenance of schools of particular religious denominations. The present and existing state of things in that particular, if these schools are not added, will be precisely what it was last year.

Thus it seems that the Government of the United States has already been appropriating public money for the support of schools of religious denominations, and that this question would not have been raised, had not the Catholics made a request for support of these additional schools of their own. The way the matter has stood, up to the present time, not including the appropriations contemplated in this bill, is thus set forth by Senator Dawes, the Chairman of the Committee:—

The appropriations in this regard have run from the year 1886, as follows: For Catholic schools in 1886, \$118,348, as against \$109,916 for all others; in 1887, \$194,635 as against \$168,579 for all others; in 1888, \$221,169 for Catholic schools, and \$155,095 for all others; in 1889, \$347,672 for Catholic schools, as against \$183,000 for all others; in 1889-90, as I have said, \$356,967 for Catholic schools, as against, for all other denominations and all other schools, \$204,993.

That is the condition of things which the present administration found when it entered upon office. Hundreds of thousands of dollars given outright to religious denominations for the purpose of teaching their denominational views, virtually a union of Church and State! The present administration desired to put a stop to this, keeping the Church and the State separate, and letting the churches support their own schools, and teach their own doc-

trines, at their own expense, but says Mr. Dawes:—

The present management was in favor of divorcing the Government absolutely from them all, but it found it impossible to do that.

And has it come to this, that, through the Indian Department, the different religious denominations of the country have already got such a hold upon the United States Government that they cannot be shaken off? Is it possible that already there is such a union between the State and these churches, that it is impossible to divorce the Government from them? That this is so, is proven not only by the statement of Mr. Dawes, but by the result of this discussion in the Senate. Although the effort was to strike out two items of appropriation to Roman Catholic schools, the result was that not only was neither of these stricken out, but both with two more were adopted. Strong opposition to the measure was made, by Senator Reagan, of Texas, and Senator George, of Mississippi, whose speeches we shall print in THE SENTINEL; but their noble effort availed nothing. The tide was too strong; the political power of the churches, and especially of the Catholic Church, is too great.

The history of the thing is worth relating. It began in 1885, the first year of President Cleveland's administration, when the Commissioner of Indian affairs made this statement:—

The Government should be liberal in making contracts with religious denominations to teach Indian children in schools established by those denominations. It should throw open the door and say to all denominations, "There should be no monopoly in good works. Enter all of you, and do whatever your hands find of good work to do, and in your efforts the Government will give you encouragement out of its liberal purse." In other words, the Government without partiality, should encourage all the churches to work in this broad field of philanthropic endeavor.

And according to the list given by Mr. Dawes, the first appropriation of public money that was given for this purpose was \$118,343 to Roman Catholics, with \$109,916 for all other denominations put together, and that it steadily increased until, by the appropriation for the fiscal year of 1889-90, the Roman Catholics were given \$356,967; and \$204,993 to all other denominations. That is, within four years the Roman Catholic Church received \$1,238,786 while all the other denominations together received \$761,583. In other words, within four years the Roman Catholics were enabled to increase their appropriations \$238,424 above the amount with which they began, while all other denominations were enabled to increase theirs but \$95,087.

Is it difficult, for any reader to see a direct connection between these facts and figures, and the frequent visits of Cardinal Gibbons to the White House during the presidential administration from March 4, 1885 to March 4, 1889? There is no

room for reasonable doubt that the suggestion in the report of the Commissioner of Indian affairs for 1885, was secured by the Roman Catholic Church. This probability is made stronger by the fact that in the year 1885, the very year when this thing began, there was established in the city of Washington, a Catholic Bureau of Missions, of which Mr. Dawes says:—

They have been on the ground here for the last five years, pushing Catholic schools upon the Government as earnestly as was in their power, and largely to that influence is attributed this great increase, which has come to be three-fifths of all the appropriations. They are active still.

No man can fail to see the direct connection, we repeat, between these facts and the above figures. It is true that because of their being accessories after the fact, and upon the principle that "the partaker is as bad as the thief;" the Episcopalians, Methodists, and Presbyterians are inexcusably guilty of participating in this iniquity. But, from the facts, it seems certain that the scheme was originally a Roman Catholic one.

Further particulars are also necessary. The present administration desired to stop the flow of this evil tide, and to break the grasp of this devil-fish upon the national Government. But finding it impossible to do so at once, it thought at least to put a check upon it, and, therefore, absolutely refused to recommend any increase of appropriation to any church; and did recommend that the Government conduct its own schools and teach the Indians itself. The Catholic Bureau of Missions applied to the present administration for aid in establishing three new schools. There were also applications on the part of the Episcopalians, the Presbyterians, and the Methodists; but all such applications were refused. With the refusal the Protestant denominations contented themselves; but the Catholic Bureau, says Senator Dawes, "having failed to get a contract for these three schools from the Government in addition, and aggravating the inequality that had already aroused public sentiment, they went to the House of Representatives, without any estimate or recommendation from the Department, and obtained the insertion into the bill, of these three schools."

When the bill reached the Senate, an amendment was there added to it voting an appropriation to yet another school, making four in all that the Catholics had secured. As soon as the other denominations heard of this, they hurried up to Congress with a protest against the proposed appropriation; but there was no suggestion of any protest from them against having the appropriation of former years continued both to the Catholics and to themselves. It seems, therefore, that the protest came only because the Catholics had succeeded in obtaining additional money, when they themselves could secure nothing additional. Their

protest, therefore, simply amounts to nothing. It has no force whatever; and their protest never will have any force as long as they continue to receive money from the Government in support of their own church schools. Let these protesting denominations absolutely refuse to take any more money from the Government; let them return to the Government the money which they have already, and unconstitutionally, taken, and then let them protest against the appropriation to Roman Catholic schools. This will give some force to their protest. This, however, is hardly to be expected; because, having been sharers with the Roman Catholics in the iniquity of the thing these five years, and now raising a protest only because the Catholics get more than they can get, it is so far contrary to the nature of church encroachments on governmental power, as to be beyond all expectation that these denominations could by any possible means, be led to take such a proper and honest course.

It is just to state, that the Baptist Missionary Association is among those who have protested against these appropriations; and their protest is consistent, because they have never been partakers in the evil. The Baptists have pursued a consistent course, and have refused to avail themselves of the generous invitations of the administration of 1885-89, and have maintained their own right, as well as their own ability to teach the religion which they believe, at their own expense, without selling their honor as well as their rights, to the national Government.

The condition of things exposed in this debate on the appropriation bill, is one of the most startling revelations that has ever been made on the subject of the union of Church and State in this Government. The fact that there is already formed such an alliance between the national Government and the Church power that it is considered impossible to break it, ought so to arouse every man who loves religion or the Government that the supposed impossibility of breaking the alliance shall be annihilated, and the whole question be put upon its genuine constitutional basis, and the Government have nothing at all to do with religion in the teaching of it, or in any other way.

The reasons for the supposed impossibility of breaking this union of Church and State are, in themselves, of such importance as to require more space than we can give in this article. We therefore defer that point until next week.

A. T. J.

THE Bible, which is a religious book if any thing, is a subject of controversy among over two hundred sectarian denominations, and its introduction into our public schools, must strike at the harmony that should be cultivated and sustained.—Judge Thomas Barlow.

The Secret of Abolishing the Saloon.

REV. W. F. CRAFTS, in his tour across the continent and back, seems to have made the journey especially to tell the people how bad a small sect known as Seventh-day Adventists are. In his visit to Peoria, Illinois, he did but little else than denounce this sect. He represented them as very bitterly opposed to all Sunday legislation, and gave utterance to the most scathing anthemas because of such opposition. He stated that if they would use the same opposition toward the liquor traffic, that they do toward Sunday laws, the saloon would be banished from the land in a year.

If we are correctly informed, Seventh-day Adventists only number about thirty thousand. And if it is true that so small a number of Christians could rout the saloon in a year, why doesn't Mr. Crafts turn *his* guns in that direction, and try to find the requisite number to engage in the work with him? Certainly if the saloon could be driven from the country, it would be more beneficial to the morals of society than all the benign influences ever dreamed of, in Sunday laws.

Now what will Mr. Crafts do? Will he take back his rash statement, or will he insist that there are not thirty thousand Christians in the United States working for temperance? If the temperance army is not that strong, we would suggest that it be reinforced from the ranks of the workers for Sunday legislation. If it should be said that Sunday desecration and intemperance go hand in hand, and that working for Sunday laws is really working for temperance, we must insist on saying that the proof is wanting. Any one with ordinary observation knows that there are multiplied thousands of good citizens who are strongly opposed to the saloon, and yet they do not observe Sunday at all. They either spend the day at their ordinary business, or else in some harmless recreation. The facts are too apparent for any one to say that a failure to observe Sunday religiously is always accompanied by intemperance.

The saloon element, it is true, pay but little regard to Sunday, and generally spend the day in drunken carousals. It is not their failure to keep Sunday that drives them to the saloon; but because of their habit of strong drink, and the influence of the saloon, their sensibilities are so benumbed that they do not regard any principles of morality as they should. So if Mr. Crafts has carefully made his estimate, and is sure thirty thousand zealous Christians can rout the saloon in a year, we earnestly advise him to devote his energies to the destruction of this great social evil, and when the cause of so much misery is removed the iniquity will cease of itself. We hope Mr. Crafts will free himself from the delusion that working for Sunday laws will advance temperance,

and turn his misguided zeal and energy to hunting up his thirty thousand Christians, and by inspiring them with intense devotion to the temperance cause, either prove his statement to be true, or else quit telling that Seventh-day Adventists could rout the saloon in a year, if they would devote themselves to that work.

A. O. TAIT.

What Is the State?

HAVING learned that a State or a Nation cannot become a moral creature, by reason of its having been formed of men who are individually accountable, the next inquiry which naturally presents itself, is, what kind of a creature, then, is the State? and what are its functions? These are very important questions, and if properly answered, will solve the problem, of how far the interests of the Church and the State are identical.

It cannot be successfully disputed that civil government is ordained of God, for this is so stated by the Scriptures. Rom. 13:1. But for what purpose? To rule in religious matters? If so, then what need of the Church? Why not let the State be the Church, and have all the gospel ordinances administered by government officers? In that case, each government officer would, of course, be inducted into office by prayer and imposition of hands, in the same way as officers of the church. It may be objected that such an extreme would not be admissible, because it would necessarily degrade Christian ordinances to the level of secular matters. True enough; but if civil government is ordained of God to regulate, in any degree, matters of religion, who shall say where its powers must end? Did not the Apostle Paul exhort the Roman Christians to be subject to the "powers that be" for conscience' sake? Yet the very work of preaching the gospel, in which that apostle was engaged, was opposed to the religion and laws of the Roman Government. The religion of Rome, at that time, was pagan, and that was controlled by the State. The religion Paul preached was Christianity, to which Rome was uncompromisingly opposed. Neander, in his Church History, quotes the following from Cicero, as one of Rome's fundamental maxims of legislation:—

No man shall have, for himself particularly, gods of his own. No man shall worship, by himself, any new or foreign gods, unless they are recognized by the public laws. Vol. I, pages 86, 87, Torrey's translation, 1852.

And yet in the face of law so stringently opposed to Christianity, the apostle exhorted the subjects of Rome, who professed Christianity, to be subject to the "powers that be," calling them the "higher powers," and declaring that they were "ordained of God." Now, if that Government was ordained of God, to enforce such laws as it did against Chris-

tianity, then how manifestly wrong was it for the Apostle Paul to preach a religion in Rome, which was diametrically opposed to the laws of Rome! Looking at the matter in this light, Nero did the work of a minister of God in executing wrath upon the Christians for not conforming to the laws of the country, which commanded all to "worship the gods in all respects, according to the laws of your country, and compel all others to do the same; but hate and punish those who would introduce anything whatever, alien to our customs in this particular."

This was Roman law. Yet Paul himself, as well as the other apostles, practiced that which was plainly in violation of that statute, and suffered death in consequence. They justified themselves, too, in the course they pursued, by asserting that the law of God had higher claims on them than the laws of earthly governments.

At one time, when Peter and John had been preaching the gospel contrary to the law under which they lived, they were threatened by the authorities for so doing, and were commanded to desist from such a course. They simply replied, "Whether it be right in the sight of God to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye." Acts 4:19. That all might know how they regarded the authority of the civil power in religious matters, they still kept on preaching Christ; but were again apprehended, and brought before the council. They were then reminded of the caution given them a short time before; but the apostles quietly said, "We ought to obey God rather than man." Acts 5:29. These answers of the apostles plainly show the position they occupied, relative to this matter. They did not have the faintest idea that the State had the least authority in matters of religion. More than that; their words plainly teach that human laws are utterly incapable of meeting the requirements of the individual conscience, and are therefore inadequate to regulate matters of personal faith toward God.

Why, then, were those injunctions regarding the "powers that be," given by the Apostle Paul to the Roman Christians? Manifestly to teach them that their relation to Christianity in no way absolved them from their duty as citizens, to the government under which they lived. Although they had come to recognize the King of Heaven as their spiritual Ruler, they were not to forget that civil governments have a part to act, in procuring peace and protection to the honest and industrious, and, for that purpose, were ordained of God. And, although the king of the country in which they lived, was a wicked heathen, they would not be justified in refusing to obey his laws, which imposed taxes to maintain peace and public order. So long as those laws did not contravene that law

which is above all—the law of God—they were enjoined to observe them, as duties toward their fellow-men, which were covered by the law of their heavenly King.

Civil government, then, is ordained of God, for the sole purpose of regulating affairs between man and his fellow-man. This is as true of a heathen as of a Christian power; as seen from the fact that Paul made such a statement and applied it to the Roman Government, when it was intensely pagan, and even when it was ruled by Nero. But, admitting this, it does not follow that God ordains each statute enacted by civil governments, or any of the statutes thus enacted. To say that every civil magistrate holds office by divine authority, and has, therefore, a right to rule in religious things, is stating that which every one knows is not, and cannot be, true. For, in that case, no man, whoever he may be, would have any alternative but to obey the mandates of the civil authority in divine as well as earthly things, without a question as to whether it was just or not. This would destroy all necessity for any one but the magistrate to read the Bible, in which is found recorded the will of God. Moreover, such a rule would make the magistrate's conscience the rule for all under his jurisdiction, and would, therefore, destroy the relation man is supposed to sustain toward God, by making him, in religious matters, wholly responsible to the magistrate rather than to God. This principle is well illustrated by the statement of Louis XIV., when, on his death-bed he was approached in relation to his spiritual condition. His answer was, "I have left all these matters with the church, and I expect they have attended faithfully to them." Here was a man who had been taught to depend wholly on the church, as an institution divinely guided, and the consequence was that, in all his wicked career, he never acknowledged any responsibility except to that institution upon which he had been prone to lean. The same condition of things would surely follow with those who were led to believe in the divine appointment of all the magistrates of the land.

It is well known, however, that the powers of civil authority are always obtained and regulated according to the peculiar notions of those who happen to be in authority; and the way governmental authority has usually been obtained, is well stated by Macaulay, in his essay on "Gladstone on Church and State":—

A nation of barbarians pours down on a rich and unwarlike empire, enslaves the people, portions out the land, and blends the institutions which it finds in the cities with those which it has brought from the woods. A handful of daring adventurers from a civilized nation wander to some savage country, and reduce the aboriginal race to bondage. A successful general turns his arms against the State which he serves. A society, made brutal by oppression, rises madly on its masters, sweeps away all

old laws and usages, and when its first paroxysm of rage is over, sinks down passively under any form of polity which may spring out of the chaos. A chief of a party, as at Florence, becomes imperceptibly a sovereign, and the founder of a dynasty. A captain of mercenaries, as at Milan, seizes on a city, and by the sword makes himself its ruler. An elective senate, as at Venice, usurps permanent and hereditary power. It is in events such as these, that governments have generally originated; and we can see nothing in such events to warrant us in believing that the governments thus called into existence, will be peculiarly well fitted to distinguish between religious truth and heresy. *Par. 33.*

Yet such as these, were among the "powers that be," and existed in the providence of God; not, however, to regulate religion among men, but to maintain order and the proper relations between man and man. To say more than this, would be to assert that God ordained the powers of the East to maintain Mohammedanism and Buddhism. This could not be true; otherwise the gospel commission conferring authority to carry the gospel into all the world, was a mistake, and the labors of foreign missionaries in heathen countries, are all out of order.

The truth is, that the language of Paul to the Roman Christians, was designed to state only a general truth, which was applicable to every form of government in order to ensure peace and prosperity to God's creatures everywhere. Order in government may be seen even in the lower grades of creation. We have only to watch a colony of honey-bees for a short time, when it will be seen that they have governmental order, and are controlled in all their movements, by some acknowledged head. And those proverbially enterprising insects known as ants, are said, by naturalists, also to be governed by specific laws which are rigidly carried out in each community of these little creatures. The governmental powers of these, and other orders of the animal creation, were just as much ordained of God, as were human governments; yet it does not follow that their powers of government were designed to extend to religious things. J. O. CORLISS.

A Travesty on Law.

THE Law and Order League, of Irondequoit, New York, has undertaken to stop Sunday baseball playing in that place. On Sunday, July 20, a number of the members of the League accompanied by a justice of the peace, and several constables, appeared upon the grounds where a game was in progress, and ordered the playing stopped; they had not provided themselves with warrants, however, and were obliged to withdraw.

Immediately at the close of the game the players obtained their own arrest, and gave bonds for their appearance before a justice of their own choosing.

This was not quite so scandalously ludicrous a travesty on "law and order"

as that which characterized the breaking up of a Sunday ball game at the Driving Park, near Alexandria, Virginia, some time ago. On that occasion a colored justice was summoned, the case heard immediately, and the players fined two dollars each and costs. After this was satisfied, the officers attempted to re-arrest on another charge, that of holding a public exhibition on Sunday; but the manager sprang into his carriage and escaped; whereupon, angered at this and the loss of possible fees, the deputy sheriff chased the colored justice off the grounds with a drawn pistol.

Such incidents as these are samples of the enforcement of "civil Sabbath" laws under the influence of the Sunday Union. It is impossible to conceive of a more ridiculous burlesque of either civil justice or true religion.

How Came It So?

IN *Our Day*, for July, Rev. W. F. Crafts publishes an article entitled, "Trans-continental Notes on Sabbath Desecration," in which he vents his wrath against the Seventh-day Adventists. Mr. Crafts is either making rapid progress in knowledge, or else those Seventh-day Adventists, of whom he makes so much, are a wonderful people. When he first started in his American Sabbath Union work, so far as the record of any of his efforts would show, there were no Seventh-day Adventists in the United States, or else he did not know of any. Immediately afterward, however, they sprang into existence all over the land, or else he learned something in a little while that he did not know before; for in his Sunday-law tour across the continent and back, last summer, and in his campaign last winter, the Seventh-day Adventists in about an equal ratio with Seventh-day Baptists—these two together—were denounced everywhere as the strongest opponents of Sunday legislation,—stronger, indeed, than all other forms of opposition put together. This season, another bound has been made either by the Seventh-day Adventists or else by Mr. Crafts's intellect,—it may be, indeed, by both. For now the Seventh-day Adventists, alone, are declared to be outdoing all other forms of opposition to Sunday laws, put together. He says:—

Everywhere are seen the footprints of the little but lively denomination of Seventh-day Adventists, who are outdoing not only the Seventh-day Baptists, but even Hebrews, infidels, and liquor dealers in battling against Sunday law, as if it were the worst of vices. They put beautiful tract-holders into depots, filled with their literature, which they also distribute from door to door with a generosity and industry that shame by contrast the meagre gifts and efforts of the friends of the American Sabbath.

Now the query with us is, How does all this happen? Were there no Seventh-day Adventists in the United States in December, 1888? Or did they immediately after-

ward spring, like Jonah's gourd, from the ground, or come like spirits "from the vasty deep?" Were they all there before? and did Mr. Crafts not know it? Or did he know it, and ignore it? Or yet again, were they already "everywhere" quietly attending to their own Christian calling as Christian people should? and did Mr. Crafts's, conjuring with his Sunday-law wand, like that individual whom Macaulay mentions who conjured with his magic wand, call all these into an aggravated prominence with no power to bid them retire again? Mr. Crafts would do well to take a lesson from this, for the confessed peaceful methods employed by this people in their opposition which so disturbs him, are nothing at all, in comparison with the demons of destruction that will be called from the wicked world, *professedly in his favor*, by the mischievous relationship that will be created between the Church and the State, should he and his party succeed in securing their desired Sunday laws.

In his article, however, he managed to leave his denunciation and discussion of Seventh-day Adventists, long enough to make an attempt to prove that "Sunday-work causes physical injury" and this is the proof:—

Here is an engineer who does fifty-four days' work a month, making his regular salary swell to \$180, almost every month. A part of the extra work he does because he does not wish to displease his superior when asked to do two days' work in one, and a part because of his blind ambition to make money, at any cost. He is slightly wounded in an accident, from which he would have quickly recovered but that he has no reserve of strength, no recuperative powers, and so he dies at the close of seven years service, for lack of a nine-hour law, and a six-day law.

Is it so, then, that every engineer who swells to \$180 his regular salary of \$100 per month dies at the close of seven years' service? Are they wounded only once in seven years, so that the wound and the loss of his reserve strength, and the seven year period, all co-operate symmetrically to demonstrate, so completely, the fact that Sunday work causes physical injury? If so, then every such engineer has a safe and effectual remedy. Each year, according to Mr. Crafts's figures, he clears \$80 per month by his extra work, this amounts to \$960 a year, and would amount to \$5,760 in six years. Now, there are not many of these engineers who cannot live on the regular salary of \$100 per month. For six years, therefore, each might well have a clear \$5,760 laid by, then let him skip that seventh year, and with it escape being wounded, and having to suffer death; in short, escape all the consequences of his dreadful dissipation in working on Sunday.

This idea of an engineer's "making" his salary of \$100 per month swell to \$180 almost every month, by Sunday work, is as complete a demonstration as need be of the hypocritical fallacy of the plea that

the Sunday-law workers make upon the strength of the "slavery" and "Egyptian bondage of Sunday toil."

Mr. Crafts closes his article with these words:—

Both for the individual and the State, the Sabbath is closely related to success as well as salvation.

And this idea of salvation for the State, as well as for the individual, in the matter of Sunday keeping, shows how much of the civil, and how little of the religious, there is involved, and is intentionally involved, in Sunday laws.

A. T. J.

Seventy-Five Dollar Jokes.

MR. M. A. GAULT, of Blanchard, Iowa, is a district secretary, and an active worker, of the National Reform Association. We compile a few of his statements, that the reader may better appreciate what follows. Here are some of them:—

Whether the Constitution will be set right on the question of the moral supremacy of God's law in government, without bloody revolution, will depend entirely upon the strength and resistance of the forces of Antichrist.—*Christian Statesman*, Nov. 1886.

Don't think we are advocating war; but if we are not successful in the use of these other means, as it was with the anti-slavery question, after they had agitated and petitioned, and used the ballot they drew the sword; so shall we as a last resort, be compelled to use the sword and the bullet.—*Statement in a lecture at College Springs, Ia.*, Feb. 10, 1889.

Our remedy for all these malefic influences is to have the Government simply set up the moral law, and recognize God's authority behind it, and lay its hand on any religion that does not conform to it.—*Christian Statesman*, Jan. 13, 1887.

We propose to incorporate in our national Constitution the moral and religious command, "In it [the Sabbath] thou shalt do no work," except the works of necessity, and by external force of sheriffs we propose to arrest and punish all violators of this law.—*In a letter to the writer*, dated June 3, 1889.

I see most of your literature in my travels, and I am convinced that your folks will die hard. But we are helping Brother Crafts all the time to set stakes, and get ropes ready to scoop you all in. You will kick hard, of course, but we will make sure work.—*Card to J. S. Washburn*, dated Nov. 22, 1889.

Mr. Gault, and R. C. Wylie have recently been holding local conventions at various points in Kansas, in the interests of National Reform, and especially Sabbath reform. In their convention at Garnett, Mr. McReynolds was granted twenty minutes' time the second day of the convention, which was March 20. In introducing him, Mr. Gault stated to the convention that Mr. McReynolds' people thought they were trying to get a law to persecute them; then turning to Mr. McReynolds, he said: "Mr. McReynolds, I would shoulder my musket and fight for you before I would see you persecuted for your faith."

Mr. McReynolds then arose, and stated that he would first show how Mr. Gault intended to fight for us. He read the

quotations from him and Mr. Graham, found in "Civil Government and Religion," page 54; also Mr. Graham's card to Mr. Washburn. This brought Mr. Gault to his feet. He said all the trouble was, we people did not know how to take a joke. He said he did not mean what he said, but simply wrote to Mr. Washburn in a joke. He said some of their men had said things in the past, which they do not say now; and, for his part he would withdraw all those statements he had made.

We do not wonder that some of these men feel ashamed of some of their statements when they meet them in cold printer's ink, and that they would gladly take them back. The best they can do for them now, however, is to smooth them over, and call them "jokes," and say they did not mean what they said. But how may we know whether they are joking, or mean what they say, or not? The surest way we have of ascertaining this, is by testing those things which they are endeavoring to secure. They are clamoring for more, and stricter, Sunday laws. How do these laws operate? Just recently (March 6) one of our brethren in Tennessee, R. M. King, has been fined seventy-five dollars for working quietly in his own field on Sunday. The judge and prosecuting attorney of the court in which he was tried, as well as his neighbors, have declared that if Mr. King and his brethren continue to labor on Sunday they must leave the country. Now, Mr. Gault may call this a joke, but we look at the matter quite differently. If he and his fellow-laborers had to pay for the come-out of their jokes, perhaps they would think differently too. Here is a man, a Seventh-day Adventist, being persecuted on account of the existence of a Sunday law. Mr. Gault has said, that before he would see our people persecuted he would shoulder his musket and fight for us. Let him take up his gun now, and go down to Tennessee. Here is an opportunity. Let him go to the court house at Troy, Obion County, and pay the seventy-five dollars and costs. Or was he also "joking" when he said to Mr. McReynolds that he would fight for us? How may we know whether he meant this or not? Let him settle the bill, and then we shall have reason to believe he meant this, and was joking in his other statements; otherwise we shall probably hold to our former opinion. It was fun for the boys to stone the frogs, but it was death to the frogs. Mr. Gault and others seem to delight in making these inflammatory speeches, but seventy-five-dollar jokes are quite serious things for poor men to pay. And the worst, we fear, is not yet.—*W. A. C. in Review and Herald*.

In proportion as the ecclesiastics became co-legislators, heresies became civil crimes, and liable to civil punishments.—*Dean Milman*.

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History of the Tennessee Sunday Law.

LAST week, we printed in this column an extract from the brief of Col. T. E. Richardson, showing that the Tennessee Sunday law is a relic of the Colonial period when Church and State were united. We herewith print another chapter of history from the same source, as follows:—

In 1796, a Constitution of the State of Tennessee was adopted, and as a part of the Constitution, there was appended a Bill of Rights, the third section of which reads as follows:—

That all men have a natural and indefeasible right to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of their own conscience; that no man can, of right, be compelled to attend, erect, or support any place of worship, or maintain any ministry against his consent; that no human authority can, in any case whatever, control or interfere with the rights of conscience; and that no preference shall be given, by law, to any religious establishments or modes of worship. Art. XI, Sec. 3, Constitution, 1796.

By Section 4, Article X, of that Constitution, the Declaration of Rights is declared a part of the Constitution, and shall never be violated, on any pretense whatsoever; that the rights contained therein, and every other right not delegated, is excepted out of the general powers of government, and shall remain forever inviolate.

In the Constitution of 1834, Section 3, of the Bill of Rights, is the same provision as heretofore stated, and in Article XI, Section 12, it is affirmed, "And to guard against the transgression of the high powers, we have delegated, we declare, that everything in the Bill of Rights contained, is excepted out of the general powers of government, and shall forever remain inviolate."

In the Constitution of 1870, the third section of the Bill of Rights is the same as that of 1796, and 1834.

And Section 16, of Article XI, contains

the declaration that everything in the Bill of Rights contained, is excepted out of the general powers of government, and shall forever remain inviolate.

It will also be seen, Article XI, Section 15, of the Constitution of 1870, declares, "No person shall in time of peace be required to perform any service for the public on any day set apart by his religion as a day of rest."

Thus, it will be seen that the framers of the Constitution have ever been jealous of any attempt to interfere with the rights of conscience, or the domination of any church or religious sect.

In recent years, efforts have been made to revive and enforce the law of 1803, and by *judicial legislation*, the offense enacted by that act has been declared a nuisance at common law,

In *Parker vs. the State*, it is said:—

The statute makes it unlawful for any one of the enumerated classes to follow his ordinary secular avocation on the Sabbath day, because it is immoral and is of pernicious effect, and though it may be conceded a single offense may be liable only to the penalty prescribed by statute, yet a succession of such acts becomes a nuisance, and is indictable.

The Court will observe that the title of the act is, "More Effectually to Prevent the Profanation of the Lord's Day," that the purpose is a religious one, and that nowhere are the acts forbidden declared immoral.

With all respect for the distinguished Judge, who delivered that opinion, we insist that it is in violation of the Constitution, that it is a repudiation of the spirit of the declaration contained in the Bill of Rights, and is unsupported by reason or authority. Why is the act complained of declared to be immoral and unlawful? Why is a succession of such acts declared to be a nuisance and indictable? Because they have been done on Sunday. Then it must be because it is repugnant to the religious views of the community. If it is a nuisance, why is it not such on Monday or Saturday, as well as on Sunday? The answer is, because the work is done on Sunday. If it is an offense because done on Sunday, then the law, declaring such acts to be illegal and immoral, is a religious law, enacted for the purpose of favoring some religion. If that be so, then the law is in violation of the Constitution.

The case of *Parker vs. the State*, refers to *Gunter vs. the State*, 1 Lea, 129, as authority. That case was an indictment for violating the Sabbath, by hunting and shooting through the woods and fields with guns, pistols, etc., to the manifest corruption of the public morals, and common nuisance of all good citizens. The opinion in *Gunter vs. the State*, was delivered by the same learned Judge who delivered the opinion in the case of *Parker vs. the State*.

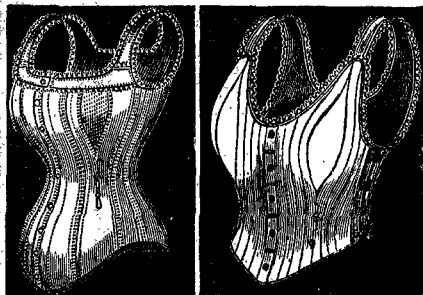
In support of the position taken in *Gunter vs. the State*, he refers to 3 Sneed,

134; 3 Heiskel, 135; 1 Swan, 42, and Bishop's "Criminal Law." Upon examination of the text referred to in Mr. Bishop's work, it will be seen that he lays down the rule to be, that it is an offense unnecessarily to perform secular labor upon Sunday, in such a way "as to disturb the worship of others." The case of *Bell vs. the State*, was an indictment for using obscene language in public, and in the hearing of divers persons. This would be an offense on one day as well as another.

According to the learned Judge who delivered that opinion, the offense was the same whether committed upon Wednesday or Sunday, and can therefore be no authority for the opinion in *Gunter vs. the State*. We insist, however, that it is doubtful whether the opinion in *Bell vs. the State* can be reconciled, with the principles set forth in the Bill of Rights. That opinion is based upon the laws and authority laid down in Blackstone's Commentaries. That distinguished and enlightened author holds that Christianity is a part of the law of the land. However true that may be in England, where the Church is part of the State, such is not the law of Tennessee, or in any of the States of the Union. The Government, State or Federal, can in no sense be said to be founded or based upon Christianity. No preference can be given to any religion. All religions are alike protected.

The followers of Mahomet, the disciples of Confucius, the believers in Buddha, as well as the worshipers of the true and living God, are entitled to like protection, and are secured in the enjoyment of the same rights. In this State, in this Nation, there is no such thing as "religious toleration." Every man enjoys the same right of conscience, and is responsible to no earthly tribunal for his religious faith and worship. The assumption, therefore, that Christianity is a part of the law of the land, is inconsistent with the spirit of our institutions, as well as in violation of the reserved, accepted, and inalienable rights of the people. So, too, upon examination it will be found that the cases referred to, 3 Sneed, 134; 3 Heiskel, 135; 10 Yerger, do not support the positions assumed in *Gunter vs. the State*, and *Parker vs. the State*.

THE Law and Order League, of Long Branch, has given notice to the Board of Commissioners, that the Board and the police will be held responsible for any further violations of the Sunday statutes. The present Board of Commissioners was elected under a pledge to enforce strict Sunday closing. In fulfillment of this pledge, and spurred on by the injunctions of the Law and Order League, notices have been posted, that all places which supply the wants of Sunday visitors must be closed during Sunday.



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THE Troy Annual Conference has petitioned Congress that the corps of army chaplains be enlarged. The development of a military corps of religionists, goes naturally hand in hand with legislative enactments to secure formal observance of religious doctrines.

THE *Southern Sentinel*, a Dallas, Texas, paper, that has for some months been doing good service in the promulgation of correct political doctrines in the Lone Star State, has just been enlarged. The principles of the *Southern Sentinel* are substantially the same as our own, and we rejoice in its prosperity.

THE *Inter-Ocean* says, that under the compulsory education law of Illinois, some school trustees "have assumed the right to indulge their individual prejudices against parochial schools." Yes, such laws as that are always used that way. The proper thing to do to put a stop to it, is to blot from the statute books such laws, forever.

AUGUST 4, an election was held in Salt Lake City, in which the Liberal, or anti-Mormon ticket, was successful. Referring to this fact, the *Mail and Express* says:—

Again the Christians have whipped their opponents. In yesterday's election the Liberals carried the county by majorities ranging from three to five hundred, although the Mormons had placed a bogus ticket, called a "workingmen's ticket," in the field. The contest was bitter and exciting.

Thus, it appears that in Utah whatever is anti-Mormon is "Christian." We have no idea, however, that the men who engaged in this "bitter and exciting" contest had any idea of doing it as Christians, but only as citizens. The use of the word

"Christian" in this connection, is due to the determination of the *Mail and Express* school of politicians to so mix religious and political questions, that the people will entirely lose sight of the difference, and suffer the State to exercise authority in both spiritual and temporal affairs.

It is stated that in a recent lecture in London, Dr. Parker said:—

Sunday is . . . given up to parties at your homes, bicycling, and lawn-tennis, even among occasional church-goers, who would vote against the opening of museums on Sunday.

It should be remembered that this is in "Christian" England, where they have a national Sunday law, an established church, and about all that the National Reformers insist would make it a Christian nation. The moral is, that people cannot be made religious by law. Another thought in connection with it is, that this Sunday intolerance affects people very similarly in every part of the world; the "Christians" who want to compel others to keep Sunday when they do not keep it themselves, are not confined to England, some of them are to be found in New York, and we have even heard of them as far west as California.

THE Paterson (N. J.) *Press* has written to the authorities of one hundred-and-three of the principal cities of the United States for information as to the regulations governing the use of their public parks on Sunday. Replies were received from eighty-nine, and of these, New Orleans is the only city which makes no distinction between Sunday and other days of the week. Washington, D. C., and Richmond, Virginia, furnish no means of recreation and permit no amusements whatever in their parks on Sunday.

The comparison which the city of Washington bears in this regard to the other cities of the country, is an interesting fact to note, when it is remembered with what urgency a local Sunday law was pressed, at Washington, last winter. It is but another evidence of that which the entire country now knows, namely, that the whole effort was only an attempt to secure political capital to further the general movement for a national Sunday law.

A CORRESPONDENT of the *Duluth News*, makes the following good point:—

Rev. W. F. Crafts, of the American Sabbath Union, after presenting his reasons for a Sunday law before an audience of workmen, was asked if a law could not be made demanding one day of rest in seven, leaving the individual to choose his day. Mr. Crafts replied: "If you take religion out of the day, you take the rest out of it." Now, if you cannot get rest on Sunday without religion, and a law is made compelling you to rest, what else is it but a law compelling you to be religious?

The fact is that were it not for their religious regard for Sunday, neither Mr. Crafts nor any other minister would be

found pleading for a Sunday law. The history of the eight-hour movement, and other labor reforms, proves this; the ministers have, as a class, interested themselves in none of them.

PRINCE BISMARCK is credited with the following:—

Over-education led to much dissatisfaction and disappointment in Germany, but in Russia it led to disaffection and conspiracy. There were ten times as many people educated for the higher walks as there were places to fill. Further, education was making pedantic theorists and visionaries, unfit for constitutional government. It would be madness to put such men in authority. Russians do not know yet what they want; they must therefore be ruled with a rod of iron.

Of course education unfits men to be ruled by despots. Education familiarizes men with the truth that governments derive their just powers not by inheritance, but by the consent of the governed; it is, therefore, the foe of autocrats.

ON April 9, Senator Vance introduced in the Senate, "A bill to release certain church property in the District of Columbia from taxation," which enacts, "That all taxes and special assessments which may have been heretofore charged against any church property in the District of Columbia, but remaining unpaid, be cancelled and released: *provided*, that at the time such tax or special assessment was levied, the property in question was used exclusively for church purposes."

Thus, unquestioned, would the United States Government recognize the demand of the Church for this *modicum* of indirect support from the State. As church property is untaxed, so all other property must submit to a heavier taxation in proportion, and therefore the taxes, which the church property would otherwise pay, are divided *pro rata* among all tax-payers, and consequently the entire taxable property is assessed with the church taxes.

By this indirection the churchman obtains from the non-churchgoer just so much towards the aggrandizement of his church, and the more worldly, wealthy, covetous and miserly the church organization is, just so much more involuntary support and aid it draws from those who are not in sympathy with its hoarding methods.

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EDITOR, - - - ALONZO T. JONES.

ASSOCIATE EDITORS,

C. P. BOLLMAN,

W. H. McKEE.

It is said that Queen Victoria allows military bands to play on Sunday afternoons on the east terrace of Windsor Castle, and that the Lord's Day Observance Society, scandalized by this act, have addressed a letter to her asking her to suppress the bands.

"RUSSIA," says the *Missionary Herald*, "is guilty of the most flagrant denial of the rights of conscience, and of religious liberty. It is said that there are now in the common prison of Witepsk, several men and women of high moral character, whose only offense is that they have spoken in quiet ways of the gospel truths which they have themselves received.

After confinement of about six months, their trial was to take place in June, with the probable result of their being deprived of property rights, and also sentenced to long imprisonment or banishment to Siberia. No hand, save that of the Almighty, seems able to put a stop to these atrocities."

How far this is a Christian country depends altogether on how far the principles of Christianity have become the principles of the people. An intelligent pagan observer, who should be told that this is a Christian country, would not form the most exalted notion of Christianity from what he might see. It is said that the Japanese Government recently sent a deputation to investigate the religious establishment of England, with a view to its introduction into Japan as a national

religion. The commission reported adversely, chiefly on the ground that Christianity had not saved England from being a drunken nation. To incorporate the Christian religion with the government, and make it the established religion, does not make a Christian nation in the best sense. Christianity cannot be legislated into the world; it must be propagated by the "foolishness of preaching."—*Christian Advocate.*

Why Is It Impossible?

LAST week we published an account of the appropriation of public money by Congress for the support of church schools, and the statement of Senator Dawes, that it was necessary to continue such appropriations because the present administration had found it impossible to divorce the Government from parochial schools. In this article we propose to examine the reasons which are given, why this thing is held to be impossible. After stating the amount of appropriations to parochial schools, from the years 1886 to 1890, with an item of \$356,967 for Catholic schools, and \$204,993 for schools of other denominations, for the year ending June 30, 1890, Senator Dawes, who had charge of the bill, said:—

That was the condition of things last year when the present management of the Indian Bureau came into power. That is maintained today in precisely the same condition.

This is a statement worth examining:

1. It is shown by the Senator that the United States Government is allied with the churches in the United States to such an extent as to be spending more than one-half million dollars each year, for the support of the schools of these churches. That is, more than one-half million dollars is taken each year from all the people, and given outright to certain churches with which to conduct church schools, and to teach the religious dogmas of those churches.

2. It is stated by the Senator that the

question, whether the Government should be connected with parochial schools at all, is a "great question." That is the truth. It is a great question. It is the great question that caused the Dark Ages, and has been the curse of every government until now. It is this question that our fathers sought to avoid, when they forbade Congress to have anything to do with religion. But, although the whole spirit and intent of the United States Constitution forbids this thing now being done by the Government for certain churches of the United States, yet, both the Government and the churches went deliberately ahead, and are still going ahead, and the people sit still, and let it go on without any protest.

This is a forcible and practical illustration of what THE SENTINEL has often said: that constitutional safeguards are such, only so long as the intelligence of the people is kept up to the level of the Constitution. A people may have a perfect Constitution, and yet, if they neglect it, so that the public intelligence falls below the level of the Constitution, and the real character of the Constitution is forgotten, then the Constitution is of no more value than so much blank paper. This is the condition of things in the United States now. So far as the subject of religion and government is concerned, the United States Constitution is as nearly perfect as a human production can be made. It declares an absolute separation between the Church, or churches, and the State; and prohibits the Government from having anything to do with establishing any religion, or with any religion already established in any way. And yet, the people of the United States have so far forgotten these principles, and the necessity of maintaining them, that Congress goes on, year after year, bestowing national aid upon certain churches, and the people say not a word. They still elect men to Congress who are carrying on the same iniquity, and the people suffer this thing to go on, until the churches get such a hold upon the Government that it

is officially declared that it is impossible to be broken. And this declaration is made by the very men who are sent to Congress, and sit there under a solemn oath to support and defend the Constitution of the United States. Of what benefit is the Constitution of the United States, in its provision for the separation of Church and State, when the men who take oath to support it, thus violate it, and when the people are so careless and indifferent about the whole matter as to suffer it to go on year after year, with not a word of protest? This is indeed a great question.

And yet, as great a question as it is, and as great a question as it is acknowledged by Senator Dawes to be, he considers any discussion of the question to be "unprofitable and in every possible light an unfortunate discussion." How is it possible that the discussion of the great fundamental principles of the United States Constitution can be unfortunate and unprofitable? If this statement be true, then it was an unfortunate and unprofitable thing for our fathers to put this principle in the Constitution at all; because it is certain that every subject embodied in the Constitution is properly a subject of discussion. Therefore if the statement of Senator Dawes be true, that the discussion of the question as to whether the Government should be connected with parochial schools, in other words, whether there shall be a union of Church and State—if the discussion of that question can ever be unfortunate and unprofitable, then that is only to charge that the action of the fathers, in making such a provision in the Constitution, was only unfortunate and unprofitable. But Mr. Dawes even repeats this proposition. He says:—

The present management was in favor of divorcing the Government absolutely from them all, but it found it impossible to do that. Perhaps it would have been better, had the Indian education set out upon this principle, but it had gone so far and got so interwoven with the whole system of Indian education, that it was utterly impossible to retrace the step, and to avoid the precipitation upon the country of such a discussion as that, which could do no good anywhere.

Senator Dawes is from Massachusetts. Does he express the opinion of the people of that State, when he declares the discussion of the question of national support to parochial schools to be unfortunate, unprofitable, and such as can do no good anywhere? Are the people of the United States, as a whole, ready to admit that the discussion of one of the greatest principles embodied in the United States Constitution, can ever be either unfortunate or unprofitable, or such as can do no good anywhere? We cannot believe that such is the sentiment of the majority of the people of the United States, but we shall very soon know whether it is or not. If this is allowed to go on, as it has been going for the last

five years, and as Congress proposes to keep it going, without such a discussion throughout the whole country as the importance of the subject demands, then we shall know that Senator Dawes has rightly represented the matter; and then we shall likewise know how great a mistake our fathers made, when they considered that question of sufficient importance to make it one of the leading principles of the Constitution of the country.

It is easy enough to understand how Senator Dawes, and other senators, should deem the discussion of this question to be unfortunate and unprofitable, and barren of good anywhere. These are politicians, and there are votes that depend upon the course they take; and therefore, it is easy to understand how they can count any question unprofitable that will put them into the place where the course which they may take may jeopardize votes. We speak this advisedly, because it stands on the face of the speech of Senator Dawes, all the way through. We do not remember ever to have read a speech delivered in the halls of Congress, in which the essential characteristics of the political straddler were more openly displayed than in the speech of Senator Dawes on the Indian Appropriation Bill, in the Senate of the United States, July 24, 1890. He pretended to speak in support of the administration in its endeavor to divorce the Government from the parochial schools. He pretended to speak in opposition to the State aiding the church schools. He started out in a tone, and with a statement of facts which seemed as though he was determined to smite the evil with mighty blows, right and left. He seemed to be rallying all his strength for a mighty effort, that which might naturally be supposed to be intended to crush, as with a pile-driver, the whole wicked scheme; but it ended every time in tickling as with a feather, all the churches concerned, and *particularly* the Roman Catholic Church. For instance, when he had given the items of appropriation of public money, to the amount of \$2,060,369 in support of church schools, apparently with the idea of opposing any further appropriation—after he had thus raised this great question of giving aid to parochial schools, he then artfully dodged the issue, and passed off the discussion of this "great question" as one altogether "unfortunate," "unprofitable," etc.

Again, when he had given facts which involve the Catholic Bureau of Missions in the playing of as clear a Jesuitical trick as ever was played, and upon which it would be naturally expected he would denounce the whole scheme, he mildly toned down the vigorous array of facts, and partly apologized for it all, by saying:—

I had just as lief the Government money would go to carrying on that school, as any other denominational school; and if the Government is to go

further into this connection with denominational schools, it might as well do this. . . . If the Senate think it wise to go further, the Committee have nothing to say.

Again, he said of the Bureau of Catholic Missions, these words:—

They have been on the ground here for the last five years pushing Catholic schools upon the Government as earnestly as was in their power, and largely to that influence is attributed this great increase which has come to be three-fifths of all the appropriations. They are active still.

And when he had shown that that Bureau in its activity and in open defiance of the Indian Bureau, and of the administration, had gone to Congress, and had got four additional schools, with the appropriation of thousands of dollars to each—when he knew all this, and when he made the statement in his speech; yet in direct and immediate connection with these statements, he said this:—

There is a very efficient, and urgent, and active Catholic Bureau of Missions in this city . . . *which deserves both personally and in the purpose for which it is organized* the highest commendation. I know personally those who are at the head of it, and I have taken occasion, with great pleasure, to say that they are men worthy of confidence.

That is to say, here is a Bureau, an organized church-association, organized solely for the purpose of pushing Catholic schools upon the Government, and to secure Government money for the support of these schools in violation of the Constitution of the United States; and yet, Senator Dawes stands before the Nation and declares that that Bureau "both personally and in the purpose for which it was organized, deserves the highest commendation," and that the men who are at the head of it "are men worthy of confidence," when he knew that the men at the head of that Bureau had played as deliberate a trick upon the United States, as could ever be played. How can the Constitution of the United States, how can the interests of the people, be safe in the hands of such men, and in the presence of such organizations?

And such are the reasons why the discussion of this great question is considered unprofitable and unfortunate. It is true that such a discussion, as was carried on by Senator Dawes, is unprofitable and unfortunate. It is true that that can do no good, but only harm everywhere. Because such pandering to the church power, such a tickling with straws, and such compromising of the Constitution, can have no other effect than to embolden the encroachments of the church power upon the Government, and the Constitution, until the whole shall be completely swallowed up.

This is why it is considered impossible to divorce this church power from the Government. This is why it is found impossible to retrace the steps already taken. Those who are in the place to retrace the steps, are so afraid of losing votes, so afraid of losing party prestige,

that they dare not discuss, much less denounce, the encroachment of church power upon the Constitution of our Government.

Do the American people endorse the speech of Senator Dawes? Is his position upon this question the position of the American people? Do the American people adopt his views, that the discussion of the constitutional question of the absolute divorcement of Church and State in every form, is unprofitable and unfortunate, and of no good to anybody? Do the American people endorse his view that it is impossible to break the hold which the church power has already secured upon the national Government? And yet one more question: Are the American people ready to admit, and sit quietly down with the admission, that the church power in the United States has already so far encroached upon the national Government, as to have absolutely strangled free discussion of one of the greatest principles of the Constitution, and thus virtually to have strangled all successful efforts at resistance.

A. T. J.

The National Reform Idea of Government.

THE National Reform theory of government is, that, instead of deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, governments derive their powers directly from God. "The powers that be are ordained of God," is a text often quoted by them. What they understand by it is shown by the following paragraph from an article by Rev. R. C. Wylie, in the *Christian Statesman*, of June 12.

To the State belongs the power to define marriage, to declare who may and who may not marry, and for what cause divorce may be granted.

It is strange, indeed, that one who is jealous for the honor of God and for the authority of his law, should take such a position as this, for it is utterly subversive of all moral government. If God has given to civil government the authority here indicated by Mr. Wylie, it at once becomes the duty of all, to accept the authority of government as final upon these questions, and to govern their acts accordingly. It is no longer necessary that any one should ask, what does the word of God say upon the subject of divorce? but what does the government say? and having complied with the requirements of the civil authorities, he would be free from the claims of all law, both human and divine; for having delegated certain authority to government, God could not, and would not hold subjects responsible for the abuse of that power by those whom he had appointed to rule over them.

The truth is that, while the State does properly regulate marriage and say for what cause divorce may be granted, and while

it is the duty of the Christian to comply with whatever marriage laws the State makes, in the matter of divorce the Christian must be governed only by the law of Christ. That is, the law of the State permits divorce for many causes, but the law of God permits divorce for only one cause; and the Christian must not take advantage of the law of the State in this respect, but must obey implicitly the law of God as laid down by Christ. If the Christian has Scriptural ground for divorce, he may seek it through the proper legal channels provided by the State; if he has not Scriptural ground he must not seek a divorce at all, even though he may have abundant civil statutory grounds.

This shows that the State has nothing whatever to do with interpreting and administering the law of God. Every man must answer for himself to God; which would not be the case if the State was permitted to come between the individual and God. In that case men would be responsible to the State, and the State to God; there would be in that case no direct accountability to God; the citizen would inquire, what does the State say? and knowing and doing the will of the State, the individual would be free. But such is not the plan of God. He has ordained civil government to regulate the civil affairs of men, and in civil matters men are responsible to the State; but in morals, men are answerable alone to God. He is the only moral governor, and his law is the only moral law.

C. P. B.

"Unfamiliar Reasons for the Rest Day."

IN recent numbers of the *Christian Statesman*, Rev. Wilbur F. Crafts has published a series of articles, in which he has exercised his skill in inventing numerous reasons for Sunday laws. One of these "unfamiliar reasons" he gives under the sub-heading, "The Weekly Independence Day," and concludes thus:—

Laws setting apart a weekly "Independence Day" are no more inconsistent with liberty, and much more essential to it, than the law of an annual Independence Day.

What analogy is there in the case? The law of the annual Independence Day gives every one the liberty to observe it in whatever civil manner he chooses, or if he choose, not observe it at all. Is that the sort of law he wants for a weekly independence day? Not at all. He wants all to be compelled to observe it, and that in a prescribed way. Such a law as he wants would subvert the very principle of our national independence, as expressed in the immortal Declaration. This declares that all have an inalienable right to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." But a Sunday law, such as National Reformers seek, would deprive many of the liberty of pursuing their own happiness, even in the most

quiet, peaceable, and harmless way, one day in every seven, while it would rob those, who are compelled by conscience to keep another day of the week as a sacred day, of one-sixth of their time in which to labor for an honest living. We conclude that Mr. Crafts's "reason for the rest day" is not only "unfamiliar," but illogical, unjust, and subversive of human rights, as set forth in that matchless document, the Declaration of Independence.

R. F. COTTRELL.

Boxing the Compass.

THE question of religion in the army, is yet undisposed of by Congress, and may fail of settlement because of its intricacy. The following is from an editorial in *The Churchman*:—

Nowhere do the evils of a divided Christendom appear more glaringly, not even in heathendom, than in the army, where one gospel is so much needed and would be so affective. It is urged by some, that Congress has no constitutional power to provide chaplains, and that the existence of such officers is in direct contravention of that article of the Constitution which forbids any provision for an establishment of religion. But if the practice, under an instrument from the date of its origin, be any clue to its true meaning, this objection fails. There have been chaplains both in the army and navy, and in both branches of Congress itself, since the present Constitution was adopted, and before;—since the Declaration of Independence. Moreover, if the Supreme Court should rule this objection valid, the public conscience would at once demand an alternative to the present system, for nothing is more certain than that this Nation is Christian. The question of religion in the army cannot be evaded, however it be postponed. It is related of a former adjutant-general, well known to churchmen, that having constructed the chapel of the Soldiers' Home at Washington, on good ecclesiological principles, he proceeded to furnish it with a Protestant Episcopal altar and the chancel furniture; and that, objection having been made that three-fourths of the old soldiers were Roman Catholics, he built another altar, at the opposite end of the chapel, and fitted the seats with railroad backs. The story is so good and illustrative of this writing, that the general must pardon this use of it, though it should be an "invention." But if all the "divisions of Christendom" had demanded equal rights, the general would have been driven to call in the admiral to box the compass for the orientation of his transepts. This is practically the problem now before Congress. That it is "before Congress" will appear from the fact that the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, meeting in Omaha, took formal action to promote the cause of religion in the army, and appointed a committee of distinguished men, to petition Congress and to invite the co-operation of other religious bodies to the same end. Several of these have cordially responded by action of their highest councils, the General Convention being one of them; besides the independent action of several diocesan conventions. Three or four bills to this effect lie on the table of the present Congress, the main purpose of all being a demand for "a chaplain in every post." There are now thirty chaplains to a hundred posts.

What is the problem, according to the above extract, which is now practically before Congress? It is to so skillfully box the religious compass of naval and military religion, that its points of doctrinal direction shall correspond to those of all the "divisions of Christendom,"

which may be represented in those branches of the public service. If, then, Congress has in hand the problem of naming, in their order, all the points of the religious compass, and providing means by which each man in the employ of the Government may be enabled to face his own particular denominational altar, the sea of controversy upon which the ship of State is about to be launched, will be found to be the identical one described by Sinbad the Sailor, in which the mutual attraction of the lodestone islands will draw the ship apart, and distribute its wreck equally, to every false magnetic pole in this troubled sea of religious controversy.

Such will be the result, if the ship of State voyages on such a sea, so manned and navigated, with a ship's compass accommodated to the magnetic pole of every lodestone island in the theological chart.

The Attributes of the State.

THERE is considerable difference between a *nation* and a *State*. A nation is an aggregation of people, who speak the same language, have the same characteristics, and follow the same customs. A *State* is a political organization of the inhabitants of a certain territory, formed by the people for their mutual protection against violence and injustice. A whole nation may form a single State, but this is seldom the case, as is shown from the divided governments of the Spanish, French, German, English, and other nations. National lines are absolute, and are determined by the circumstances of birth and language. A State exists by the will of those who form it, and its limits are not confined to conditions of nature, such as those of birth and language, since the representatives of many nations may combine to form a State. A nation is the product of nature, while a State is an artificial arrangement to meet existing circumstances, and is therefore liable to change.

A nation, in the state of nature, gives no security to the weak against violence and oppression from the strong. Without a civil government, such as is afforded by the State, anarchy would always prevail, and thus, each would do as he pleased, without regard to the rights of others. Might would be right, and the strong would always prevail, to the injury of the weak. This has been abundantly demonstrated in the history of aboriginal nations, from the remotest times. Civil government, then, is or should be, a government of the people, by the people, and for the people, to protect the person and property of all alike; to compel all to satisfy their wants from the products of their industry, rather than by plunder, and to settle their differences by arbitration, rather than by brute force.

In other words, civil government is organized to do for the members of a community, either singly or collectively, what they are unable to do for themselves without the co-operation of public authority. While this leaves the great part of human affairs, as they should be in any free government, to individual enterprise, there are always public measures, such as negotiations with foreign powers, the raising and maintenance of military forces, and the collecting of taxes with which to provide for expenses for the public good, which must be left to the domain of governmental power, because if left to the people promiscuously, misunderstanding and confusion would ensue, which would at once destroy the peace of the community.

The State cannot, however, do everything simply because it has been thus clothed with power. The State owes all that it is to the people who have created it, and defined its powers. It may be indeed that the powers of a State have not been limited at all by the people who have created it. But there is a Power yet above both State and people, who has set a limit to the powers of the State. The God of heaven has separated, from any jurisdiction or cognizance of the State, the duties and obligations which men owe to him. Man did not need a civil government to define moral duties, because such knowledge was in his possession before the formation of the civil government. And if man had acted according to this knowledge, the necessity for civil government never would have existed. Yet when man departed from the right use of this knowledge, and thus made it necessary that civil government should exist, even then it was not necessary to have a State compact to enforce the authority of Heaven, by punishing infractions of the divine law; for the Author of that law proclaimed his own ability to administer his own government, and punish for the violation of his statutes. "To me belongeth vengeance and recompense. . . . The Lord shall judge his people." Deut. 32: 35, 36. The beings whom the State governs, are, therefore, subject to a moral law which is higher than any human law.

Then what is the necessity for a civil government? Simply to regulate the civil relations of those who are citizens of the State, and by whose consent it governs. But the State being the creature of the citizens, it has no right to command them in matters which would contravene the higher law to which they are amenable, since the Author of that law is above both the citizen and the State. In truth, the State can have no more power over the things of the *moral* law, which emanates from Jehovah, than it has over physical laws, since both of these have the same origin, and are alike unchangeable.

Some may object that this method of reasoning could not apply in countries where the patriarchal theory of government obtains. But that does not prove the reasoning incorrect. The rule followed in those countries where the oldest child is made a ruler of the nation, whether qualified or not, is absurd, and cannot be sustained either in reason or the Bible. Jacob was not the eldest son of Isaac, nor Judah of Jacob, nor David of Jesse, nor Solomon of David. Those passages in the New Testament, which describe government as an ordinance of God, and require subjection to it on that account, were written to a people who did not live under an hereditary government. The Roman emperors were magistrates supported by the army. None of them pretended to rule by right of birth. Nero, whom Paul exhorted the Christians in Rome to obey, was a usurper by the murderous intrigues of wicked and adulterous women. Tiberius also, whose authority Christ recognized by commanding that tribute should be given him, ruled by virtue of the will of Augustus, and the power of the army, "having crept darkly into it by the intrigues of a wife, and by adoption from a superannuated prince."

English kings, too, have ruled in defiance of the patriarchal theory, as will be seen by the history of that nation during the reign of Henry I., Stephen, John, Henry IV., Henry V., Henry VI., Richard III., and others. Henry VIII., far from believing in the divine right of kings, obtained an act of Parliament giving him power to leave the crown by will, and took advantage of that power, to the prejudice of the royal family of Scotland. Edward VI. assumed a similar power, with the approbation of some of the most eminent reformers. Elizabeth induced Parliament to pass a law giving power to the reigning sovereign, with the assent of the estates of the realm, to alter the succession.

These instances show conclusively, that none of those sovereigns mentioned, believed in the hereditary rule in government. Sometimes, indeed, as in the case of James, who, though an heir of William the Conqueror, was excluded from the throne by the testament of Henry VIII., it was maintained that birth confers a right to the throne which it is impossible for law to set aside. But a republican form of government has always been so obviously the best suited to man's civil necessities, that monarchies have been constantly yielding to its influences, until many of them have become so limited that little besides the outward signs of royalty remains, and the will of the people predominates.

J. O. CORLISS.

No civil government has any commission to administer the divine law.

Religious Laws in Washington.

THE American Sabbath Union has, for the past year, shown a very marked anxiety for the corporate morality of the city of Washington, and the District of Columbia. In the Sunday-rest Convention, held in Washington, the thirtieth of January, Rev. W. F. Crafts, while bewailing the lack of Sunday laws at the capital, spoke of the situation being "the same as it is in the far West,—Alaska, California, Idaho, and Arizona. In that strange fraternity Washington is left,—beautiful, beautiful Washington." For several weeks, in different churches of the city, Mr. Crafts continued to reiterate that refrain of "beautiful, beautiful Washington,—in that strange fraternity!"

This wail for the beautiful city associated with such castaways, degraded by such evil companionship, arose from the claim that Washington, in company with the States and Territories named, had no Sunday law.

It is true that the above named divisions of the United States are the only representatives of pure, civil, and religious liberty, undefiled, which this Union affords; but is it true that Washington and the District of Columbia are worthy to be named in that roll of honor? It is not. In Washington City, no hacks, or other vehicles for hire, are allowed to wait at their stands, or upon the streets, for custom on Sunday; no omnibuses or hacks may be left standing in the street, and no vehicle may be washed in the street on Sunday; barbers may not pursue their occupation, after one o'clock, P. M., without being liable to a fine of from twenty to forty dollars, *one-half to go to the informer*; no place of business for the sale of any article for profit, may be kept open on Sunday, except drug stores and undertakers' rooms; newspapers may not be carried on the streets after one, P. M., and no other articles hawked upon the streets during any portion of the day; no liquor can be sold, and all bars must be kept closed during the entire day and evening. (See Webb's digest, pages 372-4, 295.)

Reference to the same digest, page 310, shows the following: "It shall not be lawful for any person or persons to curse, swear, or make use of any profane language, etc., . . . under a penalty not exceeding ten dollars for each and every such offense." Arrests under this are frequent in Washington, the last noticed in the daily city papers, was on August 6.

The management of the public parks permits no games or recreation within their limits, on Sunday.

Besides all this, the District Commissioners have publicly declared, that as Blackstone has asserted Christianity to be part of the law of England, they had, in that dictum, sufficient authority upon which to arrest and prosecute Sunday

baseball players in the District of Columbia;—consequently, by parity of reasoning, the Commissioners could arrest and prosecute for anything which they might decide to be an offense against the Christian religion.

Again, in addition, reference to the "Laws of the District of Columbia," page 136, shows that the Maryland law of 1723 was incorporated in the laws of the District; investigation shows that law never to have been repealed, and to be in force to-day. It is entitled "An act to punish blasphemers, swearers, drunkards, and Sabbath breakers," and is very complete in its enumeration of the different phases of these offenses, and thorough in its provisions; and still the Sabbath Union mourns over "beautiful, beautiful Washington," under the ban of a secular government. On the contrary, Washington and the District are under all these religious regulations, and what a bitter travesty on the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and its first Amendment, and the boasted enlightenment of the American people is the presence of such laws on the statute books, and among the ordinances of the capital city of the Nation.

What can be said for the intelligence, or Christianity of those, who, instead of striving to have them expunged from the records, would add to that brood from the Dark Ages?

W. H. M.

When and by Whom Should the Bible Be Taught?

THERE is no question as to the fact that the Bible ought to be taught. But the question does arise, where shall it be taught? and by whom?

The place where to teach is not so material, as the kind of doctrine or principles taught. The Bible is committed to faithful men to teach and preach, and to be faithful they must have faith; for how can a person teach that of which he has no well defined knowledge? God's book addresses itself to the spiritual understanding of men. Hence, a person must be spiritually minded, and in possession of the divine spirit, to teach spiritual things, for the natural man understandeth not the things of God, for they are spiritually discerned.

Now, as the State and Government are not spiritual, nor indeed can be, they cannot teach, or cause to be taught, spiritual things, for as they are not spiritual they cannot tell when spiritual things are taught; and are therefore liable to be grossly imposed upon by pretenders. And forcing spiritual men and women to unwillingly submit to the most flagrant errors in religious teaching, would destroy religion. Patent political preaching is not the kind of which God approves. God always has chosen, and always will choose, his own standard bearers.

Public schools, in many instances, are

supplied with irreligious teachers, and they are not proper persons to read to pupils, or instruct them, out of the Bible. God put his law in the hands of Aaron in the beginning, and farther on, in the hands of the prophets, and lastly, Jesus Christ put the work into the hands of the newly-made church, and sent them out to preach to, and disciple all nations, encouraged by the words, "I am with you alway."

Christianity is a work of God in the soul, and a matter of conscience between the individual and his God; and no man has a right to step in and tell me what I shall believe; or how and when I shall worship. The Baptist, the Jew, and Adventist have a right to keep the seventh day or any other day if that is their sincere conviction. I have a right to keep every day in the week if I like, or no day at all, so long as I do not interfere with the social, moral, and religious rights of others. God does not compel men to be religious; does not force men to believe; they have a right of choice; they can doubt everything if they like; they make their choice, and must take the consequences of that choice.

I am opposed to the Blair bill, because it seeks to improve upon God's plan of dealing with men. It assumes that God is incompetent to control men under his system of government. And Mr. Blair volunteers to assist the Almighty in making people religious, if he can get Congress to help him. He had better keep his hands off the holy ark, for there is death behind it. Why will men undertake to lumber up Congress with a work that belongs exclusively to the Church and to individual conscience?

I am opposed to the Sunday-rest bill, because it takes away the right of the church as a religious organization; prostitutes its sanctity, and turns religion over to a Christless formality, and institutes a new machine for the manufacture of hypocrites, by compelling men to appear to be what they are not, and compelling men to subscribe to that which they do not believe, and will not practice.

R. M. CULVER.

National Reform Kindergarten.

THE Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor, which recently held at St. Louis, the largest convention ever gathered by any religious society, has been formally received into the *coterie* of religious bodies, associated together as the National Reform party. The *Christian Statesman*, hereafter, will devote a column in each issue to the Y. P. S. C. E. The Young Men's Christian Association is now the only organization of moment, established for a professedly moral purpose, which has not sold itself to politics and forsaken true religion, pure and undefiled, for the great deception in the religious world of this day.

Has It Come to Such a Pass?

As to the question of sectarianism in the public schools, the *Canada Presbyterian* suggests two solutions of this difficulty.

The one is to read both versions, and the other that Catholics and Protestants should agree upon a book of selections. There is nothing impossible about either solution, if both parties were earnest and would yield a little. The matter is not made easier by the fact that many good men, and some good journals like the *Christian at Work*, are in favor of pure secularism. The Roman Catholics are a unit in favor of religious instruction.

The alternatives mentioned above are not offered by the Roman Catholics, nor would they be acceptable to them. The Romanists not only want the Douay version read, but they want it explained and taught. A book of selections perfunctorily read, would satisfy neither Romanists nor Protestants. The only practicable way is to devote the schools to secular instruction, and use the Church, the Sunday-school, and the home for religious instruction. There was religious instruction before there were public schools, and there ought to be religious instruction, even if the public schools are not devoted to religious instruction. If the Church and the home and the Sunday-school are wholly inadequate to instruct the young religiously, but must depend upon the public school, let them confess their failure, and we will see what can be done about it. Somehow we do not believe matters have come to such a pass yet.—*Christian at Work*.

Where Shall They Go?

A CHICAGO paper says: "A large element in the urban population is ignorant, industrious, struggling with poverty, and trying to keep its children in school. Its evenings are dim and weary. What are its Sundays? The women go to saloons in many instances—in far greater numbers than godliness on the avenues would like to believe possible. Where else have they to go? One of the ministers proposed a few years ago even to close the parks Sundays. The children of these poor people go to the parks if they can, as soon as the hot weather sets in to stay. The homes of these people are simply pens of distress. They are too close for reading, even if the families are disposed to read; and happily the distributing stations of the public library supply a great proportion of them with books. They have no music to speak of. Of course they have no pictures, or engravings or etchings, or aught that refreshes a weary eye and opens vistas for imagination to carry off into ideal happiness the victim of social depression. This element in the population of all American cities is annually increasing, and in Chicago it is far larger than is generally supposed."

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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Liberty of Conscience.

PUBLIC attention is being called to a recent attempt to enforce a rigid Sunday law in Tennessee. For the first time since the establishment of our Government, will the Supreme Court of the United States be called upon to decide upon the constitutionality of the laws requiring compulsory observance of special days as sacred days. As we have no established national religion, of course a Mohammedan who abstains from business on Friday, which is his Sabbath, or a Jew who similarly abstains of a Saturday, or one of the Baptist divisions that also keep Saturday as a Sabbath, can be made to observe Sunday only by the same sort of unjust law that once made it a crime to read an English translation of the Bible.

For the protection of the great body of the American people who observe Sunday as a day of worship, the law may properly require that no unnecessary noises or other disturbing proceedings shall be permitted near places of worship during worshiping hours. To pass beyond this line, is to manifest a discrimination as to religious belief inconsistent with the toleration our purely secular system of government is bound to observe. The religious world can make rules for the conduct of its own people, but when they attempt to enforce those rules by the power of the law, they are usurping an authority inconsistent with the spirit of our Government, and are requiring an outward conformity which is without, or against, personal conviction. Such enforced conformity is also inconsistent with the spirit of Christianity, for that requires the willing obedience of heartfelt service, given freely from personal faith and sincere conviction of duty.

Let the Christian, rather by what he does than by what he says, commend religion and its sweet and beautiful observances to the esteem and admiration of the world. "Let your light so shine

before men that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven." To force Christian observances upon reluctant minds is to cleanse the outside of the platter, to arouse the spirit of antagonism, and to compel the assertion of human liberty, which led Martin Luther to say that before he would submit to a sabbatizing of Sunday, he would play on that day, jump on it, dance on it.

This compulsory mode of exacting Sunday observance is a departure from the mild and persuasive influence that Jesus required. "Ye know not what spirit ye are of," he said, when some of his disciples in their excess of unwise zeal, would have had recourse to harshness. To command and enforce compliance with religious duties is to depart from the genius and essence of Christianity.—*Jessamine Journal, Nicholasville, Kentucky, July 25.*

Nothing Less than Persecution.

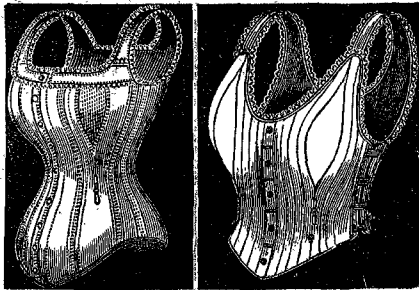
COMMENTING editorially on the same case, that of R. M. King, the *Chicago Tribune* says:—

Mr. King has not only the National Religious Liberty Association at his back, but the whole body of Adventists, who observe the seventh day as their Sunday, and are tenacious of their rights and their faith. They claim the right under the First and Fourteenth Amendments of the Constitution, and the Bill of Rights of the State, to work upon Sunday as they do upon every other day of the week. As Mr. King himself is an Adventist, and his prosecutors and defenders are Christian organizations, the contest is confined to religious bodies, but the whole country will nevertheless watch the case with great interest, as it involves a question which has been largely discussed among the people but has not before engaged the attention of the national Supreme Court. So long as the labor of the Adventists on Sunday does not interfere with the rights of the Mosaic and Puritanic people on the same day, the prosecution of them seems neither more nor less than persecution.

This shows how fair-minded men regard Sunday laws, and especially their enforcement against those who observe another day. The observance or non-observance of a day should, however, make no difference, since it is neither the right nor the duty of the State to enforce upon anybody any religious observance.

Would Welcome Sunday Opening.

A CURIOUS and interesting feature of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, on free days, is the presence at noon of workmen in overalls, and bearing all the marks of recent toil. They evidently come from the scene of building operations hard by, and their presence shows how eagerly working men would welcome the opening of the Museum on Sundays. The Sunday closing, by the way, is more and more a farce, for there is a constant increase in the number of Sunday passes issued to artists and their friends.—*The Sun.*



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A DISPATCH from Plainfield, New Jersey, says:—

Determined to give the horses a weekly day of rest, local humanitarians have announced their intention of putting an effectual stop to Sunday driving. Plainfield has fifty miles of macadamized driveways, and every pleasant Sunday these are thronged with coaching parties. Many of these Sunday-driven horses are in use every day.

Whether these horses are to rest upon a purely secular basis or not, is not stated.

THE State Secretary of the Sunday Union, for Iowa, has undertaken the publication of an eight page monthly, devoted solely, as it says, to the question, "Shall we protect the Christian Sabbath, or surrender it to the organized opposition."

That the *Pearl of Days* has now two coadjutors, one in the middle West, and another on the Pacific coast, the latter edited by the State Secretary of the Sunday Union, for California, marks the steady growth of the movement to accomplish religious legislation; and should stimulate to more faithful effort those who foresee the final outcome; that the truth of this question may be presented before the people while their minds are still free to consider it, and while there is still opportunity for full and untrammelled discussion.

ABOUT a year ago, Rev. J. M. Foster, one of the National Reform Secretaries, published an article in the *Christian Statesman*, in which, referring to the Jeffersonian theory of government, he said:—

That theory is dead and buried long ago. There is only one theory accepted among political philosophers now: "There is no power but of God; the powers that be are ordained of God."

As every American knows, the Jeffersonian theory of government is that set forth in the Declaration of Independence, that governments are for the purpose of securing human rights, and that they derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, that is, from the people. This, Mr. Foster denies in the above quotation; but in the *Christian Statesman*, of June 5, Rev. R. C. Wylie, another National Reform Secretary, has an article in the form of a catechism, in which he says:—

Question. What is the origin of that authority possessed by the Government to enact and enforce law?

Answer. The authority possessed by the Government to enact and enforce law, is derived directly from the people.

This is sound doctrine, but it is not genuine National Reform doctrine; it is simply a National Reform concession to the American idea of government.

"SUNDAY laws," says the *Colorado Graphic*, "are not passed in the interest of temperance. They are passed in the interest of a certain class of so-called Christians, who wish to tear down the beautiful structure Christ built, to gratify their selfish, clannish, dogmatic reasoning. They even grossly insult fellow-Christians who oppose Sunday legislation, and totally ignore the Hebrews. The question of Sunday observance is something with which no government, no State, no city, no town should meddle. The observance of Sunday as a day of rest is a beautiful custom, but its enforcement at the muzzle of a national, a State, or a municipal law is as obnoxious and uncalled for, as the enforcement of church attendance, or family prayers, by the same means."

BISHOP VINCENT is reported as haying said, in a late address at Chautauqua:—

I do not believe that the church of to-morrow ought to be a political church. When the Methodist Episcopal Church, which I humbly represent, begins a political career, urges the passage of certain laws and measures which will be for her special advantage, and hers alone, I am done with that church, and am her bitterest enemy.

The Bishop's first sentence lays down a general principle; in his second, he applies it to his personal relation to the denomination of which he is a member; and in doing so he emphasizes his antagonism to a political church as a whole and in principle.

The Bishop is right. As he is a follower of Christ and a lover of true religion, so is he a bitter enemy of political hypocrisy and legal formality.

No clearer and more certain evidence can be found, and no truer general criterion laid down, of the purity of a man's religion, than the mutual enmity which exists between him and a political church.

THE Supreme Court of Maine has lately been called upon to decide a case, in which was involved the horrible offense of "riding upon Sunday for exercise, and for no other purpose." The question was, whether such a startling act as this could be committed in Maine without violating the statute in relation to the observance of "the Lords day?" After wrestling with the question for a season, the Court set forth the following:—

In *O'Connell vs Lewiston*, 65 Me. 34, and *Davidson vs Portland*, 69 id. 116, it was held that walking out in the open air upon the Sabbath for exercise is not a violation of the statute. In other jurisdictions, also, it has been held not to be unlawful to ride to a funeral (*Horne vs Meakin*, 115 Mass. 326);

walking to prepare medicine for a sick child (*Gorman vs Lowell*, 117 id. 65); riding to visit a sick sister (*Cronan vs Boston*, 136 id. 384); traveling to visit a sick friend (*Doyle vs Railroad Company* 118 id., 195); a servant riding to prepare needful food for her employer (*King vs Savage*, 121 id. 303); a father riding to visit his two boys (*McClary vs Lowell*, 44 Vt. 116); walking for exercise (*Hamilton vs Boston*, 14 Allen 475); and walking partly for exercise and partly to make a social call (*Barker vs Worcester*, 139 Mass. 74). The statute was never intended as an arbitrary interference with the comfort and conduct of individuals, when necessary to the promotion of health, in walking or riding in the open air for exercise. The prohibition is against unnecessary walking or riding. As a general rule the jury, under proper instructions from the court, must determine this question from the circumstances presented to them.

What a travesty of every sound principle of law, of justice, and of government it is, to see the Supreme Court of a State gravely spending its time in interpreting a statute that by any possibility could involve such a question as this!

"THE Sunday question," says the *Political World*, of London, "has cropped up in New South Wales, where it appears there are some pious people who think it wicked to indulge in innocent amusement and recreation on Sundays. Curiously enough an old imperial act of George III., making Sunday entertainments illegal, has been found by the courts to apply to the Colony. A well-known colonial theatrical manager has been fined for contravention of this moldy statute. But the victory gained in the law courts by the promoters of the proceedings, is after all, a doubtful advantage, seeing that this attempt to revive antiquated statutes was strongly condemned by the judges, who, indeed, expressed themselves in favor of a reform of the law so that the subject of a Sunday entertainment might be placed on a footing more in accordance with the general view of the present day."

ALL denominations have the right to sustain their own parochial schools, if they please, but should keep their sectarianism out of the common schools. Indeed, an intelligent friend to the Bible, and the civil rights of our country, will not urge the idea of scripture reading in our public schools.—*Judge Thomas Barlow*.

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EDITOR, - - - ALONZO T. JONES.

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THE *St. Paul Dispatch* notes the fact that a new Russian war vessel is called *The Twelve Apostles*, and says: "Its presumable mission is to go abroad into all the world and preach the gospel of—fiendish despotism." And that is about as near as any civil government can come to preaching the gospel. Civil government always smuts religion when it touches it.

Just as long as Protestants insist, against all their principles of separation of Church and State, that there shall be religious exercises in the public schools, they have no argument against the Catholics. The reading of the Bible, or prayer, in the public schools is a relic of a State church, such as we used to have; and the fear of dropping it lest religion should suffer, is the survival of the cowardice which used to make the Church think it would perish if it lost the support of the State.—*Independent.*

A CALIFORNIA paper has the following note:—

The Executive Committee of the American Sabbath Union has appointed the Rev. Edward Thomson, D. D., LL.D., the State secretary of the association for California, and district secretary for the Pacific Coast. He has appointed a district convention in San Francisco, for August 16, 17, 18. Bishop Fowler is expected to preside, and Bishop John P. Newman will assist. The *California Christian Advocate* says: "This will be the opening of what we trust may

prove a successful campaign in the interests of Sunday reform. The American Sabbath Union has accomplished great things in other States, and we doubt not if the Christian people of every denomination will give Dr. Thomson and his co-workers a hearty welcome, that much may be done here." We presume that this means the beginning of active work with reference to the coming State election.

A Problem for Solution.

THERE has been a great deal said, in and out of Congress, upon the question of a national system of education. There is much still being said, and there is also much that is proposed to be done. Senator Blair, and many other senators, worked diligently to secure the passage of an act by which the United States Government should assume a considerable part in the control of the public schools in all the States. Then, again, Mr. Blair proposes, and large organizations of people support, a resolution to amend the Constitution of the United States, so that thereby the national Government shall be empowered to assume complete and total charge of the education of all the children in the United States. Then, again, Senator Edmunds proposes a bill for the establishment of a national university, for the higher education of people in the United States.

In view of all these things it is proper to inquire what facilities and what qualifications the national Government has for educating the people of the United States, whether partially as proposed in the Blair bill, or totally as in the Blair amendment, or in a university course as proposed by the Edmunds bill? And happily, there is a means of answering to some extent, this interesting question.

In the discussion of the Indian Appropriation bill, which we have mentioned in THE SENTINEL, of the past two weeks, some important items are given which throw light upon this question. There are,

it appears, somewhere about thirty or forty thousand Indian children in the United States. These have been adopted by the United States Government. They are not only considered, but are called, wards of the Government. The Government has assumed the responsibility of their education; and how has it discharged this responsibility? Why, it is found that so far is it from being able to educate these few Indians, itself, that it has found it necessary to let out the work by contract to about fifteen different churches; and in the debate in the Senate it was claimed that this was necessary, and the best thing the Government could do in discharging its responsibility in educating the Indians. Now if the United States Government finds itself unequal to the task of educating thirty or forty thousand Indian children, how will it be able to educate all the children of the sixty-five millions of people in the United States?

More than this, it was openly and soberly argued on the floor of the Senate, that the Government could not properly educate these Indian children without the aid of the churches. It was claimed by these senators that religion was necessary to the education of these children, and it was proper for the Government to unite with the churches in giving to the Indians such an education as only the churches can give. And this is clearly the view of the United States Senate, as is proved by the fact, that the appropriations of the past year are renewed to all the churches, with the addition of four new schools, with thousands of dollars each, to the Roman Catholic Church. This, therefore, being the view of the United States Senate in regard to the education of Indians, if any one of these educational measures proposed by Senators Blair and Edmunds, and supported by thousands upon thousands of the people in the United States—if any one of these measures should be adopted, how would it be possible to keep the national Government separate from the churches in carrying these educational enterprises into effect?

It is of interest and profit further to inquire, what kind of an education it is that these Indians get, from the expenditure of so much public money through the churches? Children, whether Indian or white, are most forcibly and permanently taught by example. What examples have been set, in some things, by some of these churches, and in one thing by all of them?

Senator Dawes spoke of one denomination, unfortunately he did not give the name of it, which in last year's appropriations took pay for sixty Indian students, when they had but forty—a clear case of downright swindling. Are the Indians, which the United States Government paid this church for teaching, expected to follow the example of the church which taught them? And if so, would it not be better if those children were not taught at all? Is it necessary that the United States Government shall give to a church organization, thousands of dollars a year to set before the Indians and the Nation at large such an example of thievery?

Again, there was an appropriation to the Roman Catholic Church, for the teaching of the St. Boniface School of Mission Indians in Southern California; and the result of one hundred and twenty-five years of Roman Catholic teaching of these Indians, is thus stated by Senator Dawes:—

For a hundred and twenty-five years the Mission Indians have been under the education and influence of the Jesuits of the Catholic Church. They are to-day as incapable, though industrious and of good habits, of self support, as citizens of the United States, as babes. They are more than ever reliant upon those from whom they receive their instruction. They go in their temporal matters as they do in their spiritual, where they are advised to go by their superiors. They plant where they tell them to plant, and they sow where they tell them to sow; and when the Mexican Government secularized all that southern mission band, and took away the priests, those poor Indians, with as good personal habits as any white men in the country, were like a flock of sheep without a shepherd, and have been appealing to this Government for a protection, which, if they had been self-reliant citizens, they could have had in and with and of themselves under the law.

And although the result of one hundred and twenty-five years teaching by the Catholic Church has been to make these Indians as incapable of self-support as are babies, and that instead of this teaching causing them to be more self-reliant, it was only to cause them to be more dependent upon their instructors, even to depending upon them to tell them where to plant and where to sow, and to depend as much upon them to know what to do, as though they were children that had never been taught anything; yet to the Roman Catholic Church, the present fiscal year, there was appropriated not much, if any, less than four hundred thousand dollars of Government money to pay that church for the teaching of Indian children! Would it be possible to make a worse appropriation of the public funds than to

give this money to the Roman Catholic Church for its service in teaching Indians to be grown-up babies, the more incapable the older they grow?

Again, that Bureau of Catholic Missions, in the city of Washington in 1889, informed the Government that it desired to put up necessary buildings for the establishment of an industrial or boarding school, in the Black Feet Reservation in Montana, and asked that the Government might allow them the use of one hundred and sixty acres of land, on the reservation, for buildings and grounds. The Secretary of the Interior, on May 6, 1889, granted this request. The Catholic Church went ahead and put up the buildings, and then it demanded that the Government should grant public money for the support of the school, whereas at first they only asked the use of the grounds on which to build it. And they justified their demand for money by the Jesuitical argument, that when the Government granted authority to establish the school upon the reservation, "the implied, if not expressed, understanding was that the Government would contribute toward the support of the Indian children that might attend it." And upon this argument a demand was made for money, for the support and tuition of one hundred Indian children—\$12,500. This is but an example of the character of the Catholic Church everywhere, and any other church that begins encroachments upon the authority or treasury of the State is not far behind it. Such is the Bureau that Senator Dawes advertises as deserving of "the highest commendation." And such are the men whom he takes "great pleasure" in commending to the country as "men worthy of confidence." Now, is it intended by the United States Government that these Indian children shall be taught such things as are clearly set forth in these examples of the Roman Catholic Church, and that other church that was not named? It must be so, or assuredly the appropriations would not be renewed and the system would not be continued. But as that is counted by the Senate as the best thing that can be done by the Government in the education of the Indians, then we submit to every candid mind in the United States, Would it not be better for the Government to keep the public money, and let the Indians alone, than to spend more than half a million of dollars a year to teach the Indians swindling and trickery, by the example of these churches?

In addition to all this there is the example of all these fifteen denominations together, of disregarding the fundamental principles of American institutions, and deliberately violating the spirit of the United States Constitution, in taking the money of the State to support the Church. If the Indians learn from this example to disregard the Constitution, and the funda-

mental principles of the United States Government in other things, as these churches and the Government are doing in this, then are the Indians benefited by the teaching which they derive from such example? Take this whole mixture of Church-and-State teaching of the Indians, with the dishonesty, the trickery, and the unconstitutionality that pervades it all, and how much are the Indians really benefited by such an education?

Again, we say, if such is the result of a governmental attempt to teach a few Indian children, what would be the result of an effort by the Government to teach the children of all the people?

In closing, we submit to our readers the following problem for solution: If the attempt of the United States Government to educate thirty or forty thousand Indian children, creates such a union of Church and State as is considered by senators to be impossible of divorcement, how strong a union of Church and State would be formed, in an attempt of the United States Government to educate fifteen or twenty million white children?

A. T. J.

Senator Reagan on Church and State.

WE have the pleasure of presenting our readers with the speech of Senator Reagan, of Texas, on the subject of appropriation of public money to church schools. We wish there were many more such men in public place.

Mr. President: The provisions of the bill under consideration this morning, and the discussion we have heard, and the condition of things in the country, show the wisdom of the framers of the Republic in providing in the first section of the first article of the Constitution for a separation of Church and State, while guarantying the freedom of religious opinion.

The history of the world is full of the dangers of Church and State. The subject has given rise to as much trouble and as many wars as almost any other subject, and the framers of our Government desired, so far as the people of this country were concerned, to protect them from any such danger.

Besides that, Mr. President, while all the States of the Union, I suppose, have their systems of free public schools, in all of them special pains is taken that those schools shall be non-sectarian and free from religious control, showing that the people of the various States have the same idea of the danger of the union of Church and State, which the fathers of the Republic had, and that they were determined to preserve the barriers against the union of Church and State.

We find that for several years considerable appropriations have been made for the education of the Indians in contract schools,—schools conducted by religious

denominations; and we find a controversy between the religious denominations as to whether the Government has fairly divided its patronage amongst them. It is not unnatural that that controversy should arise when the Government commits itself to the policy of having religious schools. It is not unnatural that denominations large in number and influence, after receiving but a very small portion of that patronage in comparison with others, should say, "If this Government means to establish religious schools, it should divide its patronage amongst the various denominations equitably."

Mr. President, I have no partiality for religious schools by any denomination, and I believe that they are wrong by any denomination, and it is for that reason that I rose to make a few observations.

In 1886, \$228,259 was appropriated for these private schools. Of that sum \$118,343 was given to the Catholic denomination. In 1887, \$363,214 was appropriated for private schools, and of that sum \$194,635 went to the Catholic denomination, in each case over half the amount appropriated. In 1888, \$376,664 was appropriated to private schools, and \$221,169 of that went to Catholic schools. In 1889, \$530,905 was appropriated for this purpose, and \$347,672 of it went to the Catholic schools. In 1890, \$561,950 was appropriated for private schools, and \$356,957 of that sum went to the Catholic denomination, leaving but \$204,993 out of the \$561,950 for fifteen other denominations that were interested in Indian schools; fifteen other denominations, perhaps embracing five-sixths of the religious population of this country, allowed \$204,993 out of last year's appropriation, while that single Catholic denomination received \$356,967!

The Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. Dawes) assumes that this was because of the greater zeal of the Catholics. Perhaps so. Perhaps it was because of their greater aggressiveness; perhaps it was because of their greater anxiety to get control of the State and of politics. At any rate, there stands the fact that the fifteen other denominations received only about two-fifths of the entire appropriation—fifteen other religious denominations engaged in education. Is it surprising that they should make complaints? And are senators to be muzzled through fear of giving offense to an aggressive denomination? Are they to be intimidated and prevented from speaking on this subject, and doing justice as among the various denominations interested? So far as I am concerned that shall not influence me; and the way to get rid of this whole subject is not by adding one more to the number of Catholic schools, as suggested by this bill, and by the Senator from Massachusetts, but it is to separate the whole of these appropriations from the religious denominations and put the schools under the Government, and let its teachers and its agents instruct

these Indians.

It is urged here as a reason why this should not be done, that the religious denominations will do the work cheaper than the Government can do it, and it is assumed that they will do it better than the Government can do it. Mr. President, if they can do that, they can carry on education in the States cheaper, and they can carry on education in the States better, than the State government can do it. It is an admission that ought not to be made that the Government is incompetent to provide persons who can carry on these schools with advantage to the Indians.

I recognize, in view of the relations which the Indians of the country bear to the Government of the United States, that it is the duty of the United States to do whatever it can do reasonably, to promote their civilization and their welfare, and whatever is reasonable and right and necessary to that end shall have my support. But I wish to be understood as protesting now, and for all time, against the union of Church and State in any educational department of this Government, and for the reason that it necessarily leads to the very troubles which have now come up, and to controversies between religious denominations as to who shall use the money of the Government in this business of educating the Indians.

It is an unseemly and unnatural condition of things in this country, and an improper condition of things, one that ought to be frowned down, and voted down, and put out of existence. There is no more reason why the Government of the United States shall make an alliance with religious denominations for education, than that a State should make an alliance with religious denominations for educational purposes. It is wrong, it is dangerous, it is mischievous, and I had hoped that the Committee on Indian Affairs this year, would take some steps towards breaking down this union of Church and State upon this subject.

Instead of that, the chairman of the Committee consents, and they have agreed to add one more to the number of Catholic schools, although they have refused to add any other for any of the Protestant denominations. They allow the aggression to go still further. Mr. President, that is wrong, and if no other senator moves, I shall move to strike out the St. Boniface school from the provisions of this bill.

I thought it right to make this statement in view of the mischief which underlies this whole system.

Now, I desire to say one more thing in reference to what was stated by the Senator from Minnesota (Mr. Davis), that this matter about the education of the Indians in the Blackfeet Reservation, I think it was, originated in 1885, under a promise, a pledge I believe he said, of the

Secretary of the Interior, that Catholics there should have the control of the schools, and he promised to provide them with one hundred and sixty acres of land on which to place them.

Mr. President, is it so that a pledge of the Secretary of the Interior is to control the policy of the Government? Is it so that a promise of the Secretary of the Interior is sufficient title for land, no title being made by authority of Congress or law? I do not assent to either proposition. I do not assent especially to a proposition, fraught with as much mischief as it is, to either the origination of a policy or the grant of the land.

Prohibition Sunday Laws.

THE platform of the California State Prohibition Party, says:—

We favor the enactment of a law requiring one day in seven as a day of rest, as a civil institution, but providing that where any individual habitually rests from labor upon a certain day of the week, such person shall not be required to rest upon any other day, but providing further that in no case shall intoxicating liquors be sold upon such rest days.

This is another instance of the underhanded means by which the religious legislationists of the day, seek to secure laws enforcing their religious views. This statement is considerably involved. It does not say what is intended; and it pretends to say what it does not mean at all. First, "We favor the enactment of a law requiring one day in seven as a day of rest as a civil institution." If a law were enacted in the very words here used, requiring everybody to rest "one day in seven," the people who framed the above declaration would not admit for a moment that it was a right kind of a law.

Next, after demanding a law that shall require one day in seven as a day of rest, it also requires that a provision shall be embodied in the law that "when any individual habitually rests from labor on any particular day of the week, such person shall not be required to rest upon any other day." Will the Prohibitionists of California please explain how a person can rest from labor on a certain day of the week without resting one day in seven? And if the law which they want is to require only that people shall rest one day in seven, and any person is found who actually rests a certain day in the week, then what is the use of making any provision for his benefit?

This betrays the fact that is not expressed—that they intend that the law shall fix the one day in seven which they want as a day of rest. This intention, therefore, made it necessary that they should insert the provision that where any individual actually rests upon a certain day of the week, such individual shall not be required to rest upon any other day.

Nor is this all. They not only intend

what they would not express, that they mean that the law shall fix the particular day; but they intend that the day shall be Sunday. Therefore this platform declares, in fact, for the enactment of a Sunday law. This we know by the documents that are sent out as campaign documents under the platform. R. H. McDonald, who is one of the leading Prohibitionists of California, was a member of the convention, and is an active worker in the campaign. He sent out circular letters to the newspapers, urging "upon all men of influence and conscience, the necessity of giving their aid in helping to remove from our country its terrible scourge, the liquor traffic," in which he appeals to the members and friends "of the First Congregational Church, corner Post and Mason Streets, San Francisco," and laments that "our Sunday or Sabbath day is widely desecrated" and "God's holy day desecrated and put to shame." In another document he and Mr. C. C. Clay and Wm. M. Cubery, announce that they have banded themselves "together with others interested, to do all we can for the securing of a Sunday law in this State, or one day in seven as a rest day." It is addressed to the "fellow-citizens and the friends of the Sunday law, or one day in seven as a rest day," and it says to these "respected friends" that they "herewith will find enclosed a number of extracts from opinions of distinguished individuals on the Sunday law, or one day in seven as a rest day."

Now, as it is evident that the Prohibitionists of California mean a Sunday law, and that only, why didn't they say so? Why did they cover up their real meaning? Why is there such a juggling of phrases to hide what they want, rather than a plain statement of it? We hardly think they will succeed in catching the people of California with such chaff as that.

A. T. J.

How They Stand.

THE meeting of the National Educational Association, convened at St. Paul, Minn., July 8.

After the addresses of welcome, a number of responses were made. The following extracts from the sayings of prominent men of the country show the attitude they sustain toward the subject of religious liberty.

President J. W. Strong, of Carleton College, addressed the assemblage eloquently on behalf of those institutions of the State which are not under State control, and for the educational interests of Minnesota. He said: "But there are in Minnesota other educational interests not under its direct control. Our private schools and our seminaries of learning are not technical parts of our system, but they play a great and important part in our work of education. These parts are

in nowise antagonistic to each other, but aim at what the State can never give, a *moral and religious training and symmetrical development*, which in ordinary schools is not to be had. . . . We do not ask the State to teach religion, but we hold that for her own sake she must guard well religious liberty."

Dr. W. T. Harris, of Washington, D. C., said: "In your proffers of free education, we recognize a devoted interest in the fundamental principles of good government, and while your schools are conducted on this broad basis of virtue and intelligence, let us urge that to enhance their good work there must never be a substitution of school work for that of the Church; nor can it be done with safety."

F. A. LASHIER.

Minneapolis, Minn.

Church and State.

IN these days when religious legislation is being pushed in every quarter, the true relation of Church and State cannot be kept too prominently before the people. We are not surprised that zealous church-members feel pressed in spirit because of the ungodliness that is sapping the life out of churches, and should be anxious to see something done to stay the tide of worldliness; but we would have them remember that to do a thing which Christ has never authorized, but has forbidden, is as bad as doing nothing. One evil can never be checked by another evil. The following extract from an article in the *Presbyterian Quarterly* for April, 1890, will help some to a clearer idea of what both the Church and the State may, and may not do:—

"From all that has been found in the word of God it will be seen that, under the New Testament dispensation, Church and State are intended by our Saviour to be absolutely separate and distinct. They are different spheres, touching at no point. They contain, to some extent, the same people, and take cognizance of the same sins and duties, under the same moral law, but deal with the people from a different point of view, with different ends in view. The State seeks temporal ends only, and requires civic duties. The Church seeks moral, eternal salvation. The State uses brute force; the Church, the sword of the Spirit. Incidentally, Church and State render assistance to each other, but they can only do so (lawfully) incidentally. The Church teaches the people morals, and instills submission, while the State affords protection.

To summarize: 1. A foundation principle is that the moral law covers all of man's original duties, is personal in its application, but requires him to perform each branch of his duty toward its appropriate object. Duties are owed to God, other men, self, the Church, the family, the State, society. The individual owes

his duty toward each, and each may hold him bound to perform the part due to itself; the Church may hold him responsible for the part owed to her; the State may hold him responsible for the part due to it, etc., but only God can hold man bound for his whole moral duty.

2. The Church is a spiritual body, seeking spiritual ends, and using spiritual means to accomplish them. Her allegiance is given to Christ, her spiritual Head. She has no lawful connection with any civil government, has no commission to indorse any, nor to support any, nor to destroy any, but is enjoined to teach submission to such as God may set up wherever Christian people live.

3. It is the business of the Church, by her standards and from her pulpits, to seek to declare the whole counsel of God. This will involve the teaching of the moral law in its bearing upon duties owed to God, man, the Church, the State, the family, society, commerce, letters, etc. The Church is to enforce all the moral principles taught in the word of God and all the details therein given. . . .

The Church knows no State, further than to teach the people their duties toward any State which God in his providence may set up, and to see that her people lead exemplary lives in whatsoever positions they may occupy. The State knows no Church as such; she only knows individuals who constitute the State, and she requires of them only civic duties. So long as Church and State keep within their legitimate spheres, there can be no conflict between them."

The Civil Sabbath.

THE advocates of Sunday legislation are making vigorous efforts to convince the country, that they are working only for a civil rest day in the interests of the laboring man, and are disavowing all attempts at religious legislation. Without questioning their sincerity in making the denial, we will endeavor to show that it is religious legislation, and as dangerous to religious liberty as though it was asked for in the name of religion.

First, the Sabbath is the Lord's day, and God has commanded man to keep it holy. The duty to keep a Sabbath is therefore a duty we owe to God. Said Christ, "Render therefore unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's; and unto God the things that are God's." For the Government to demand that we render to it the duty which God demands of us, is to require us to render to Cæsar that which belongs to God.

Second, it is argued that the Sabbath is two-fold, having a religious, and a civil side, the latter being within the jurisdiction of the civil Government. Without stopping to discuss the position in itself, we will apply it to the first and second precepts of the decalogue. It will be

admitted at once that the worship of idols is degrading, and has a tendency to degrade man physically; but who will say that the Government should pass laws defining who the true God is, and demanding his worship on physical or sanitary grounds? Though it were admitted that there is a sanitary as well as a religious phase to the Sabbath, that does not make it a proper subject for legislation. Man needs sleep, but the Government does not retire its subjects at 9:30 P. M., and awaken them at five in the morning. It is necessary for man's physical well-being that he have food, but the Government does not say how much or when he shall take it. At this point in the discussion it is stated that man has a right to rest one-seventh part of time, and that one man's right to rest demands a law compelling all to rest. According to this reasoning, one man's right to marry demands a law compelling all to marry. The position to say the least is absurd.

Let us next notice whether the demands for Sunday legislation are in harmony with the statement that only a civil Sabbath for the benefit of the working man is contemplated. Why, if this be true, do they propose to close the libraries on Sunday? Why close the theaters and other places of amusement? Why stop the running of Sunday excursions, so much patronized by the working man? These measures are manifestly in the interests of the religious idea of the day. The Fourth of July is a civil rest day, in the true sense of the term. All can rest if they choose, but such a day as this is farthest from their ideas of a civil Sabbath, and betrays the motive which actuated these so-called reformers. In one breath they declare for a civil Sabbath, and in the next deplore the *sin* of Sabbath breaking, and the tendency toward *secularizing* the day.

Who are behind this movement? is a fair question to ask in determining its character. Not the working man, for there is not a workingman's organization in the country that is active in support of the measure. The fact that there are organizations among them to remove almost every grievance both real and imaginary, except the rest day, is indirect proof, at least, that it is not considered by them as a grievance of importance. Some are opposed to it, fearing the religious aspect which we have mentioned. This is shown from the appearance of Millard F. Hobbs, Master-workman of the Knights of Labor, of the District of Columbia, before the Committee having in charge the Breckinridge Sunday bill, and his speech against it.

The fact that this civil-Sabbath legislation is being urged by the American Sabbath Union and other religious bodies, gives us reason to doubt its civil nature. "Do men gather figs of thistles?" Nor can we expect to reap a civil Sabbath

from the sowing of the American Sabbath Union, based on the following article of its constitution:—

ART. 2. Basis.—The basis of the American Sabbath Union is the *divine authority* and perpetual *obligation* of the Sabbath, etc.

Granting, for the sake of argument, that it is a civil Sabbath that is desired, the difference is realized with them by a simple change in the name of the measure. The changes which transformed the Blair Sunday bill from a religious measure as introduced in the Fiftieth Congress, to the one now before that body, which they insist on calling a civil measure, were changes made in the title and the terms used in designating the day, the prohibitions and the penalties remaining the same. It would not greatly console a man who was behind the bars for doing honest labor in violation of such a law, to tell him he was not suffering from the operation of a religious law, as the title of the bill had been changed.

Such a law would work hardship in the case of one who observed another day, although it were a civil enactment. To compel a man to rest on another day besides the one he believes God requires him to observe, is to rob him of one-sixth of his God-given time,—time which he needs to employ in providing for himself and family. To say that the law in most cases exempts such persons, does not remove the objection, as the exemption generally admits of such private work only, as will not disturb others, and must to a certain extent operate against the individual.

There is, however, in these exemptions one of the strongest proofs that the measure is religious in character. If laboring on Sunday is made a crime, how can the crime be changed into a virtue, as in the case of an exemption, simply on the ground of religious convictions? Other laws are not placed on this basis. Laws against polygamy do not exempt because of religious convictions. On no other than a religious basis can it be argued that what is considered a crime in one individual is lawful in another.

In one particular there is a striking parallel between this movement and the one which crucified our Saviour. The charges made against him before the Sanhedrim were all of a religious nature; blasphemy, claiming himself to be the Son of God, and speaking against the temple; but when his accusers appeared before Pilate, and found that he would not listen to these charges, they placed their accusations on a civil basis, declaring him to be an enemy of Cæsar in stirring up the people and refusing to pay tribute. These advocates of Sabbath legislation hate the civil Sabbath, that is, a Sabbath devoted to reading Sunday newspapers and pleasure seeking, as badly as the Jews hated Cæsar; but knowing the opposition of the people of the United

States to religious legislation, they come to Congress, asking civil support for a day which in their Constitution they declare based wholly on "divine authority."

We are not opposed to the Sabbath or Sabbath reform; on the contrary we are in favor of both, but they must come by moral suasion, instead of an appeal to civil law which is dangerous to both civil and religious liberty.—*A. F. Ballenger, in Home Missionary.*

MANY of the good people of Burlington are urging on a movement, through mistaken zeal, to force the observance of Sunday as a day of rest and religious worship. Their motives, however pious, are sadly at fault—alike antagonistic to the spirit of our Constitution and the teaching of the divine Master. However right according to his conscience, it may be for the Christian to set aside the first day of the week for reflection on the goodness and mercy, and for praise and worship of the Creator, there can be nothing but harm arise from the effort to coerce others not thus inspired with the spirit of worship or veneration, or who prefer other days or methods of manifesting their religious beliefs and duties.

State enactments cannot invoke a moral force that does not exist in the masses of the people. First implant in the hearts of men a love for truth, goodness, and righteousness, and no use of policemen's clubs or courts or other punitive measures will be needed to inspire adoration of the Creator's works, or compel the keeping of his holy commands. The individual and not the State must be the one to whom teachers and pastors should appeal. "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's; and unto God the things that are God's."

Sunday, as the Christian Sabbath, is a religious institution. Its enforcement no more devolves upon the State than does that of the rite of baptism, or the Lord's Supper, or other forms, symbols or ceremonies. The object of government is civil order and welfare. Its province does not extend to spiritual affairs.—*Western Herald, Burlington, Iowa.*

THE *Christian Index and Southern Baptist* says:—

The only governments in the world which are Christian, according to the *Catholic Review*, are those of Spain, Austria, and Ecuador. If this is true, then it is also true that a Christian government is no great gain to a people—a conclusion which refutes the assumption which it follows. The fact is that, in the sense of the New Testament no government is Christian, and least of all among civilized nations the governments that are Romanist.

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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C. ELDRIDGE, - - - - - President.
W. H. MCKEE, - - - - - Secretary.

Due to Religious Liberty Literature.

MR. L. A. CALLICOTT, of Lanes, Dyer County, Tennessee, was tried some time since, under the Tennessee statute, forbidding Sunday labor, and found guilty, but a new trial was ordered which took place July 21, before Judge Flippin. Col. T. E. Richardson, who is counsel in the famous King case, which has gone to the United States District Court, defended Mr. Callicott. The defendant is a Seventh-day Adventist, and the question was broached, as to whether the commandment, "Six days shalt thou labor and do all thy work," made it a sin for him to rest on Sunday. E. E. Marvin, an elder of the Seventh-day Adventist denomination, was put upon the witness stand, and the following was elicited, as reported in the *Review and Herald*:—

Colonel Richardson.—"Mr. Marvin, where do you live?"

Mr. Marvin.—"At Trezevant, Carroll County, Tennessee."

Colonel Richardson.—"Are you a minister of the Seventh-day Adventist Church?"

Mr. Marvin.—"Yes, sir."

Colonel Richardson.—"What is the belief and practice of your church concerning the Sabbath?"

Mr. Marvin.—"We believe the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord, as brought to view in Exodus, twentieth chapter, and keep it as such; and with James (chapter 2: 12) we believe this to be a law of liberty, and that we have a heaven-born right to obey it in any State or nation."

Colonel Richardson.—"You regard it as a Christian duty to keep that day holy and no other?"

Mr. Marvin.—"Yes, sir."

Colonel Richardson.—"Does your church hold that the working upon six days is as imperative as keeping of the seventh?"

Mr. Marvin.—"No, sir."

Attorney-General.—"Mr. Marvin, what is the position of your people as to working six days?"

Mr. Marvin.—"They have never officially or publicly expressed any rule concerning it."

Attorney-General.—"Do your people teach that it is a sin to rest on Sunday?"

Mr. Marvin.—"We believe that when required to—"

Attorney-General.—"But answer my question."

Mr. Marvin.—"I will, sir, if you give me opportunity."

Attorney-General.—"Well, go on, then."

Mr. Marvin.—"We believe that when required to rest on Sunday, by laws based upon the religious aspect of the day, it would be wrong to obey them."

Attorney-General.—"Do laws, requiring men simply to rest, tend to enforce religion or worship?"

Mr. Marvin.—"Yes, sir, if such laws be Sunday laws."

Attorney-General.—"On what grounds?"

Mr. Marvin.—"On the grounds that there is not now, nor ever was, a Sunday law, that did not have for its basis the religious character of the day."

Attorney-General.—"But it would not interfere with your religion to rest on Sunday?"

Mr. Marvin.—"Yes, sir. Sunday-keeping is a religious act—an act of worship; it would be conforming to an opposing religion."

The Attorney-General then yielded the case, and the Judge charged the jury to bring in a verdict of *not guilty*.

This testimony is worthy of note, for it brings out the pith of the whole question of Sunday laws. Sunday keeping is a religious act, nothing else,—never was anything else since the Babylonians and their ancestors established the worship of the sun god, which the "venerable day of the sun" perpetuates to the present hour, with the added sanctities of the Christian Sabbath attached in these later times.

If any man believes that "the seventh-day" is the Sabbath of the Lord his God, to compel him to yield a formal allegiance to the first day (the day of the sun) is forcing him to conform "to an opposing religion."

The Judge in this case charged rightly.

The report from which the above testimony is taken, closes with this sentence: "We attribute this victory largely to the National Religious Liberty literature."

W. H. M.

Fined Again.

R. M. KING, of Dyer County, Tennessee, whose case for Sunday-breaking has been appealed to the United States Court, was arrested the third time, on the nineteenth of last June, and brought before the justice court. Of this occasion, he writes:—

On the fifteenth of June, I went out in the morning, and hoed six rows of potatoes; worked just about an hour, and then went to hear the Methodist minister preach. There was a State warrant taken out for me the next day for Sabbath-breaking, and I was arrested on the nineteenth, and taken before Squire Barker, tried, found guilty, and fined \$5 and costs, whole amount \$6.90.

There was a man in the same neighborhood who cut wheat with a binder, on the same day, and worked the necessary hands to shock it, but there was no complaint made of his breaking the Sabbath. He was not a church member.

Of all the prosecutions for Sunday breaking in Dyer County, of which there has been a considerable number, in the past eighteen months, not one arrest has been made outside the number of those who are acknowledged conscientious Christian men, but who differ with the established religion of Tennessee, in that they read the fourth commandment, "The seventh-day is the Sabbath," and those who enacted

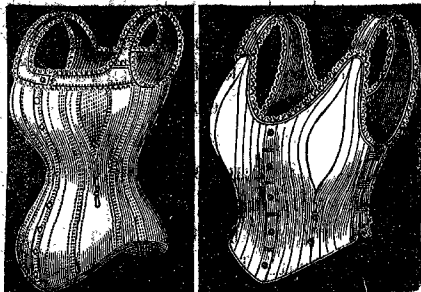
the religious laws of Tennessee read it "The First day is the Sabbath." Those who acknowledge no allegiance to the divine command have so far been absolved from all allegiance to the human Sunday law. This clearly marks the spirit of persecution from which these prosecutions arise.

A CIRCULAR letter has been issued by the Sunday Association of Illinois, to churches, trade and labor Unions and other associations, in which they ask all ecclesiastical and beneficial organizations to adopt a set of resolutions, asking Congress to pass the National Sunday-rest bill; the managers of the World's Fair to close its gates on Sunday; the pastors, church clerks, and secretaries of various ecclesiastical, ethical, or beneficial societies, to co-operate with the Sunday associations in the different States to secure Sunday legislation; and finally urging the Evangelical Alliance to give its influence especially to the furtherance of the enforcement of Sunday observance and in securing the united effort of all religious bodies to this end, with particular reference to the Sunday-rest bill and Sunday observance at the World's Fair.

Thus the work of organization for the promotion of religious legislation goes steadily on, and the plans by which it is intended to accomplish the ends expected are by no means circumscribed, but are enlarged to take advantage of the organized assistance of every society or association of men, women, or children which it is possible to enlist among the ranks of the "National Reform soldiery," which, Miss Willard says, "goes 'marching as for war' in behalf of a national Christianity."

THE movement for the promotion and enforcement of the observance of Sunday as a day of rest, is making rapid strides in Europe, as is shown by the following Paris dispatch to the *London Daily News*:—

A short time ago MM. Jules Simon, Leon Say, and Cheysson, in the name of the League for the Promotion of Sunday Rest for Working People, wrote to the Minister of Public Works, to assist them in an appeal to the railway companies. They did not ask him to use any compulsion, but simply to show himself favorable to the objects of the League, in asking the companies how they might possibly meet them, and whether it would not be possible to suspend, wholly or partially, goods traffic on Sunday. M. Yvest Guyot, in answer states that he has submitted the application of the League to the railway companies, in the hope that they would so arrange the regulations for goods traffic as to be able to grant one day in seven, or at least a part of one to those employed.



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THE papers of Finland have received notice from the Russian authorities that advocating the people's rights, even in the most sober manner, must stop. The Czar is determined to be a "father" to his people, even if he has to banish half of them to compel the other half to adopt the "true religion" and correct political views. The Government of Russia is thoroughly paternal.

THE *World* asks: "How long will the anachronism and injustice continue which compel New Yorkers to violate some statute in order to get needed and innocent recreation on Sunday?" It will continue as long as the State attempts to compel people who have not a religious regard for Sunday to act as though they had. As it stands, the law is utterly useless; and serves only to breed contempt for all law.

A RECENT London dispatch says:—

The exaction of tithes for the support of the Established Church continues to excite much opposition in Wales, and at a sale under distraint in Montgomeryshire a few days ago, the chief constable was struck, and the auctioneer repeatedly kicked by a mob. The sale, however, was persisted in, and the amount distrained for recovered.

Our English cousins ought to learn that there is a better way of getting money for the support of churches than by direct tax: it is by exempting church property from taxation, and by appropriating public money for the support of denominational schools. The result is the same, and ugly scenes are avoided.

THE *Christian Advocate*, of this city, has the following:—

By whom are the saloons supported? Not by the women; not by the ministers and teachers; not by the substantial business men and thriving manufacturers. The Rev. H. W. Bennett, of Columbus, Ohio, says that on Saturday evening careful watch was kept for one hour over five saloons in that city, during which time 640 persons entered, 554 of whom were young men. That hour and that night may be a fair sample, and that city quite like other cities. The young men who work in the mills and shops, and the young men who do not work, support the saloons.

The question which this suggests to our minds, is, Would a Sunday-closing law prevent this? The answer must clearly be in the negative. And yet we are

gravely told that more liquor is sold on Sunday than upon any other day. If the demand for Sunday-closing was made broad enough to cover all the time from Saturday noon till Monday morning, there would be a little more consistency in parading it as a temperance measure. As it is, the most that can be said for it is that it is probably of about as much value, from a prohibition standpoint, as high license, unless, as is the case in this city, corrupt police captains make it a source of revenue by permitting, for a money consideration, a side-door business on Sunday.

COMMENTING upon an imperial ukase recently issued, forbidding further action by Protestant missionaries, especially in western Russia, under the penalty of expulsion from the empire, the *Mail and Express* says:—

This is in perfect keeping with the treatment which the Hebrews are now receiving in the same country; and it is in harmony with the policy which is crushing out Lutheranism and German speech in the Baltic provinces. The Russian Government seems resolved to make an end of all race, religious, and lingual differences within the limits of the empire. It is a policy which has its merits; but it is very cruel. It can be carried out only in Russia.

The *Mail and Express* is about the last paper that ought to find any fault with the Czar for any efforts which he may make to put an end to race, religious, and lingual differences in his empire, for that is practically what it advocates doing in this country. Such a policy is, however, neither more meritorious nor less cruel in America, than in Russia.

"FOR several years," says an exchange, "the local bands have given concerts at Seaside, and Washington parks, at Bridgeport, Conn., on Wednesday and Saturday evenings. It is now proposed, by the Wheeler Wilson band, to give Sunday afternoon concerts, at Seaside park, and such a concert is announced for next Sunday. Business men and working people are largely in favor of these concerts, but at the morning prayer-meeting on Saturday, of church people, a resolution was adopted protesting against a profanation of the Sabbath, and agreeing to use all means within their power to prevent the concert from being given."

This does not agree very well with the claim that is made that they want the State to enforce only a "civil Sabbath." Certainly it requires no more work to render ordinary music, than it does to render sacred music. How comes it then that in order to have a "civil Sabbath" these bands must be prohibited from playing while the church choirs are not interfered with? There is no avoiding the conclusion that it is not the amount of work involved, but the fact that the church music is religious, while the music of the bands is secular.

METHODIST periodicals are discussing the growing tendency of the clergymen of that denomination to make their annual and general conferences scenes of wire-pulling and log-rolling, that turn them into veritable political caucuses and conventions. Commenting upon this fact, a secular paper remarks that "the methods of the brethren at the last conference, when the ballot box was 'stuffed' during the exciting race of the various candidates for bishoprics, were ominous of degeneration. On several ballots, the number of votes found by the tellers was in excess of the whole number of legal voters in the conference, much to the scandal of the devout." But sad as such things are, we may expect them to become more and more common, as the churches become more and more involved in political matters.

W. H. CHANDLER, Assistant State Superintendent of Public Instruction, of Wisconsin, is credited with the following, concerning the Bennett Law:—

I believe to-day as I have all along, and just as I told Governor Hoard, when the bill was passed. The Bennett Law is an injudicious piece of legislation, and one that is unnecessary in Wisconsin. I am not a compulsory educationalist; it is unnecessary, for the reason that it is the first desire of everyone to become familiar with the language of the country, and to secure an education in the English language. Of course, the advocates of the law bring forward a few persons who cannot speak English, but they are exceptional cases, and will exist, and cannot help existing, under almost any circumstances. . . . The law is objectionable not only to Democrats but to prominent Republicans also. There will be an awakening of sentiment at the State convention, that will compel a compromise and modification of the law, and it will be so fixed that all objectionable features will be eliminated. But the law was unnecessary and injudicious, and could some persons have foreseen the future, the bill would never have become a law.

We have said in substance, more than once, that a law compelling the learning of English is entirely unnecessary in this country, since self-interest leads all to desire a knowledge of the language of the country. Such measures as the Bennett Law are not only unnecessary, but they are subversive of that liberty which has always been the boast of this country.

THE long and short of socialism and nationalism is this: The Government should be everything, the individual nothing.—*The Sun*.

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ASSOCIATE EDITORS,

C. P. BOLLMAN,

W. H. MCKEE.

OF Sunday laws, the *Denver News* says: "The utmost freedom in matters of this kind should be allowed. The less the statutes of a State undertake to control the conscience of its people in religious observances, the more they will commend themselves to the enlightened judgment of the world at large."

COMMENTING upon the action of the late Presbyterian General Assembly, in re-affirming the declaration of the Assembly of 1870, in regard to religious instruction in our public schools, the *Independent* says: "The Assembly did not define what this instruction should be; and if it had made the attempt, it would thereby have proved the unwisdom and impracticability of the idea in our public-school system, existing under the authority of the State, and supported by general taxation. The radical difficulty on this subject consists in determining what religion shall be taught at the public expense."

THE people are getting tired of officious intermeddling with the freedom of thought and belief, from persons who would rule the minds and bodies of others in the name of religion. And while there is so much said by Protestants against Catholic rule, there is one thing very certain, that while all religions are tolerated in this country, the people would not submit to the government of any one of the Protestant denominations sooner than to the Catholics. We are a free people, to think and believe at will, without dicta-

tion from any ecclesiastical source whatever. Our Government says, "Think and believe for yourselves, but hands off in religious matters."—*Judge Barlow*.

Religious Liberty and the Mormon Question.

AN interesting question, and a very important one too, has been raised in connection with the Sunday-law controversy; it is this: How can any one oppose Sunday laws on the ground that they are religious, and at the same time favor laws forbidding polygamy, which the Mormons hold as a part of their religion? To many the question appears difficult; but the answer is direct and easy, for the two things are totally unlike in every essential particular.

It is urged, however, that the Sabbath and marriage are both divine institutions, and that therefore the same rule should apply to both. It is true that marriage is a divine institution, but in a widely different sense from the Sabbath. The Sabbath is a divine institution, not only in the sense that it was instituted by the Creator, but in the sense that its existence depends solely upon divine revelation. And this revelation is something with which civil government can have nothing to do. Marriage is a divine institution in quite another sense, namely, it is ordained of God, not only because it is a matter of revelation, but because the inherent sense of every man informs him that marriage is one of the objects of life; he is instinctively drawn into the marriage bond. It is a natural relation, not, like the Sabbath, dependent upon revelation for its very existence. The Sabbath has reference solely to God, and to man's relation to him; marriage pertains wholly to the relations which the Creator designed should exist between man and woman. God has separated, not only in revelation but in nature, between the duties which man owes to him, and the duties which every man owes to his fellowmen; and a just regard for human

rights demands that this distinction be respected.

The reason for the distinction between the duties which men owe to God, and the duties which they owe one to another, is so evident, that it needs only to be pointed out to be apparent to every one. God is the great moral Governor; to him every soul is responsible; to him every free moral agent must give account. To permit any power whatever to come between the individual and God, would destroy this individual responsibility to God. If it were the province of the State to enforce the law of God, the individual would naturally seek to know not the will of God, but the will of the State. And the effect would be to put the State in the place of God, just as the Papacy puts the Pope in the place of God, "so that he as God sitteth in the temple of God, showing himself that he is God." But God has no vicegerent upon earth.

The original Sabbath is a memorial of the creation. It was instituted for that purpose, and its intelligent observance is a recognition of God as the Creator of the heavens and the earth. It does not pertain to our duties to our fellowmen, but solely to our recognition of God; and a failure to observe it imposes no financial burden upon the State. Likewise, Sunday, the day now generally kept, is observed as a memorial of the resurrection of Christ. Its significance is, therefore, wholly religious. Thus, look at it either from the standpoint of the seventh or of the first day, the keeping of a weekly rest, has reference to the recognition of God as the proper object of worship. Therefore, to require such observance under any pretext whatever, is to require the observance of a religious institution.

Moreover, if the State had the right to require the observance of the Sabbath, or of a Sabbath, it would of necessity, have also a right to say in what that observance should consist; and all would be in duty bound to obey its mandates, under penalty not only of the civil law but of the divine law as well, for to dis-

obey would be not only crime against the State, but sin against God. Thus, not the perfect, unchanging law of God, but the imperfect, ever-changing law of man would be the standard by which men would be judged, not only in earthly courts but in the court of heaven. It follows that the State has no right whatever to enact laws of any kind in reference to Sabbath observance.

But when we turn to the subject of marriage, we find that it is entirely different. Marriage means the union of man and woman as husband and wife. It relates, therefore, wholly to mankind, and is properly a subject of civil law, because, as we shall see, the conservation of human rights demands that the safeguards of civil law be thrown around it.

It is true, as previously stated, that marriage was given to man by the Creator, and to violate the divine law concerning it is sin; but that is not the reason that it is properly regulated by civil law. "Thou shalt not kill," is a divine command, but that is not the reason the State punishes the murderer. The State punishes murder solely for the protection of life. The State knows no malice, and does not punish the murderer for revenge, but only to prevent repeated homicides by the same individual, and to deter others from following his example. Likewise, the State properly regulates marriage only because civil justice requires it.

The Declaration of Independence declares that "men are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights," and that "to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men." An inalienable right is a natural right, a right that even though it may not be exercised cannot be surrendered, so that it ceases to be a right. An inalienable, or natural right, may not be exercised for a time, or despotic power may invade it, but justice confirms it, nevertheless, and just government will guarantee it. "Life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" are inalienable rights. A man may throw away his life, or he may sell himself into slavery, or he may bind himself not to seek happiness; but the State can in justice sanction none of these transactions. It is a contradiction of terms to say that "a man may be free not to be free;" for were the State to sanction a permanent surrender of individual, personal liberty, the one making such surrender would, after he had made it, have no more choice in the matter; and there can be no liberty without freedom of choice. The State does not compel any man to exercise his natural rights; but it does refuse to become a party to a surrender of those rights. If one throws away his life, the State cannot restore it to him; but if he sells himself as a slave, or agrees to forego the pursuit of happiness, the State refuses to sanction the act; these rights are still his, and

whenever he sees fit to do so he may exercise them. The Creator has endowed him with these rights, and he cannot be justly deprived of them except as punishment for crime.

Marriage carries with it certain rights that are just as sacred and inviolable as any of the rights with which God has endowed man. The Creator has ordained that every man may "have his own wife, and every woman her own husband." These words are revelation, but they express a truth which is so evident that it must be accepted, whether one believes in inspiration or not. The framers of the Declaration of Independence set forth as a self-evident truth that "all men are created equal," and that they are endowed by their Creator with certain rights. Here the word "men" is generic, and includes women; it follows that women have just the same rights that men have. Therefore, reasoning even from a purely secular standpoint, we must conclude that if every man has a right to his own wife, every woman has a right to her own husband; for their rights are equal. The man who is willing that his wife should take one or more additional husbands, is the only man who can with even a shadow of consistency, defend the taking of more than one wife. *Polygyny* has its root in the assumed inferiority of women; it cannot live for a moment in an atmosphere of equal rights.

The natural right to have a wife or a husband, may not be exercised, or may be forfeited by violation of the marriage contract, just as life or liberty may be forfeited by crime; but it cannot be taken away by another; neither can the State properly sanction (and in such a case, to permit is, in effect, to sanction) any agreement or conflicting relation that would tend to invade or destroy that right. Polygamy does necessarily invade that right; therefore the State cannot sanction it, but is in duty bound to prohibit it.

If it be argued that the State may permit polygamy where all who engage in it do so willingly, the sufficient and just answer is, the State must refuse such permission in justice to those who having married in good faith have never given such consent; and who, were the State to legalize the relation, might be coerced into a consent, sufficient to meet the technical demands of any law that could be framed in regard to the matter, but coming very far short of that perfect liberty of action sought to be guaranteed by the law. It may be true that a majority of women in Utah, whose husbands are in polygamy, have freely given their consent; but because of the perfect equality of human rights the State must refuse its sanction. Justice says that the husband belongs to the first wife; she may at any time claim her rights as the only wife of her husband, and that her

children are the only legitimate children of her husband, and the State must sustain her claim and vindicate her rights. But this it cannot do if it has in the meantime given its sanction to, or legalized, a conflicting relation. It follows that the State must forbid polygamy *in every case*, or else fail of the very object for which governments are instituted among men, namely, to preserve rights.

Again, the State must regulate marriage, because in its very nature it affects not only those who enter that relation, but the entire community as well. Marriage imposes upon those who enter it certain obligations, and they must not be permitted to escape those responsibilities, for if they do the burdens which they should carry will fall upon others. Ordinarily, marriage means offspring, and it is clearly the duty of those who bring children into the world, to support them until they are able to care for themselves. If they fail, or refuse, to perform this duty they thereby throw the burden upon the State, which is only to compel others to be taxed for the support of their children, and to pay for their negligence. And to protect the community from the imposition of this burden, the State insists that marriage shall not be transient, but permanent; and that it shall be so regulated that there shall be no question as to the paternity of children. It is therefore not only, the undeniable *right* but the bounden *duty* of the State to regulate marriage. This is not true of Sabbath keeping; for one man's failure to keep a Sabbath does not deprive another of that privilege; neither does it burden the State. This is practically admitted by even the most zealous advocates of what they are pleased to term a "civil Sunday law." In answering the question, "Should there not be a law to protect the Jew in the observance of his Sabbath?" Rev. W. F. Crafts well says: "It is not sufficiently emphasized that the Jew is left absolutely free to observe the seventh day. He can close his shop; he can refuse to work." This is true; but it is no more true of the Jew and the seventh day, than it is of the Christian and the first day.

But since the State *must* regulate marriage, the State must likewise decide to what extent it will regulate it; and this decision must depend only upon the rights of the citizen, and the best interests of the State. The requirements of the divine law cannot enter into it at all, so far as the State is concerned; and this not because that law is not wise and just, but because the State cannot become a judge of that law; it must of necessity confine itself to things purely civil; and where civil justice is done the divine law will never be contravened.

But some may say, that while the State must of course regulate marriage, and may properly prohibit polygamy in general, it should make an exception in favor of those who, from religious motives, desire

to practice it. But it has already been shown that the State cannot, if faithful to its trust, permit plural marriages even among those who are agreed that such relations are proper. Were the State to make any such exception as this, it would afford opportunity for every man who wished to abandon his first wife, to practically do so simply by making a profession of Mormonism. He could then take as many wives as he saw fit, and might subsequently retain or renounce his new religion according to his own convenience. With polygamy legalized in any State or Territory, no woman in the United States would be *legally* secure in her marital rights. But, even leaving all that out of the question, the State cannot properly make any such exception. Such exception would only be to favor one class above another *for religious reasons*, and that would not be just; for laws should operate alike upon all. It would be manifestly unjust to imprison a "Gentile" for doing that which the Mormon is freely permitted to practice. And such laws would speedily bring all law into contempt, and make government an impossibility. It follows that if the State permits the Mormon to have more than one wife, it must grant the same privilege to the "Gentile;" and if it permits polygyny, it must in justice permit polyandry also. But this would cause utter confusion in families, and certainly burden the State with the care of numerous wards, whom it would have to supply not only with subsistence, but even with family names, as their paternity would be in doubt. And this would at one step plunge the State into absolute paternalism. Indeed the whole system of polygamy is inseparable from the idea of paternalism in government.

It is clear from these considerations, (1) That while marriage and the Sabbath are both divine institutions, they are essentially different in this, that whereas the Sabbath is dependent for its very existence upon revelation, and relates solely to the recognition of God as an object of worship, marriage is natural, and relates wholly to the proper relations of men and women to each other and to society; (2) That for civil government to regulate Sabbath-keeping would tend to destroy moral responsibility to God, and that, without in the least benefiting man; while on the other hand, for government not to regulate marriage would be to neglect the very work for which governments are instituted, namely, the securing of human rights; (3) That while the neglect or refusal of people to keep a Sabbath does not impose financial burdens upon the State, the practice of polygamy must inevitably burden the State with numerous wards of unknown paternity. The unavoidable conclusion is, that while polygamy is an invasion of natural rights, destructive of the very idea of civil government, ruinous

to genuine civilization, and therefore, to be *prohibited to all alike*, the State has no right to either require or forbid Sabbath-keeping.

Senator George's Speech.

LAST week we gave Senator Reagan's speech on the Indian Appropriation bill. We now give the speech of Senator George, of Mississippi, on the same subject. It is brief, but strictly to the point.

Mr. President: I rise principally for the purpose of endorsing, in all its length and breadth and depth, the very fine argument made by the Senator from Texas [Mr. Reagan] in opposition to any scheme by which the money of the people of the United States, shall be appropriated to any particular denomination of Christians for the purpose of educating, civilizing, and Christianizing Indians. I believe that the Constitution of the United States is violated in spirit when that is done. The First Amendment says that, "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion." I believe we do our duty to the Indians, in the way of education, when we do for them what we do for the white people, and the black people of this country, giving them State education without reference to religious tenets. Whenever the Government embarks upon a scheme of that sort, we have, what has so manifestly appeared to-day, a contest between the various religious denominations of this country, as to who shall get the most. I am opposed to the whole scheme.

There is a denomination of Christians in this land, a very large denomination, probably as large as any other, who believe that the interference by Government with the teaching or establishment of the doctrines of any particular religious sect is wrong, and who, therefore, from conscientious scruples refuse to receive any money of the Government to teach any Indian school, or to go into the business at all. That denomination is the Baptist denomination. I think we shall do well when we adhere strictly in practice to that line of action.

[At this point, Senator Call, of Florida, spoke, endorsing the action of the Government in giving money to the churches, and attempted to make it appear that the opposition to the appropriation was only opposition to Catholics, to which Senator George replied, as follows:—ED.]

Mr. President: I do not intend to allow the Senator from Florida, to state in his own way, the position of those of us who oppose the appropriation of money, out of the Treasury of the United States, for the purpose of keeping up these schools. He stated that our opposition was based upon the ground that the Catholics had the schools. I repudiate that sentiment, sir, entirely; I do not care whether the school is kept by Catholics or any one of the

Protestant denominations, it is no part of the business of Congress to take people's money for the purpose of having denominational schools. Denominational schools ought to be kept up by the denominations which own them, and they are kept up in that way all over the United States, for all the population of the United States, except only, for the Indians.

I desire simply to say that much. The Senator from Florida, wholly misinterprets the views and the sentiments of those who oppose these appropriations. I would as soon vote for an appropriation for one sort of a denominational school as for another. I am opposed to all of them. Not to the school, but to their being sustained by taxes collected from the people of the United States.

It Is All Wrong.

UPON the subject of enforced teaching of English in private schools, the *St. Paul Dispatch* says:—

It is right that citizens of foreign nationalities should, among themselves, seek to maintain the traditions and memories of their native lands; but it is not right, and should not be tolerated, that they shall educate their children at the public expense, or otherwise, as if those children were destined to spend their lives in the countries from which their respective parents came.

We have never yet heard, nor do we believe that the *Dispatch* has, of any class of people who desired to educate their children in the traditions and memories of foreign lands *at the public expense*. We have not yet seen it denied that the public has the right to teach English solely in the public schools. The *Dispatch* therefore in this, raises a false issue.

That which is denied is that the public has a right to say what shall be taught in the private schools; and this is not a denial of the right of the State to say that English shall be taught in the public schools. It is not opposition to the teaching of English; but this opposition is to the assumption that if the State can say that English shall be taught in the public schools, that concedes the right of the State to say, that whatever it pleases shall be taught in the private schools; and that consequently there is no such thing as a private school; that the State arbitrarily turns the private school into a public school at private expense. And further than this, it is in defense of private rights as a whole. If the State can take charge of the private school and run it at private expense, then it can take charge of any other private affair, and there is no longer any such thing as private rights; everything becomes public; the State absorbs all, and becomes the parent of all; but that is not constitutional, nor American, nor Christian.

All this is conveyed in the above statement of the *Dispatch*, wherein it asserts

that the right of the citizens of foreign nationalities to "educate their children at the public expense or otherwise, as if those children were destined to spend their lives in the country from which their parents came, should not be tolerated." This puts the State at once in the place of the parent, and proposes to dictate what he may or may not teach in all things, and in all places. As we stated in THE SENTINEL, of June 5, this principle would prohibit ex-Minister Palmer from teaching and speaking Spanish to his adopted Spanish boy, as though the boy was destined to spend his life in the country from which he came.

The theory is all wrong, and the laws are wrong that are based upon the theory, and the arguments are wrong that are used in defense of it. The whole thing is wrong. And yet, for all that, we verily believe that the theory is going to continue until it will finally prevail, and we dread the day when it shall come.

A. T. J.

The Nature and Purpose of Civil Law.

WHAT is the nature of civil law? One writer has defined civil law as "the collective organization of the individual right of legitimate defense." It being true that every man has received from God, the right to defend his person, liberty, and property, it follows that any number of men may legitimately concert together to organize a common force for mutual defense and protection. In other words, law is the substitution of collective force, for the rightful force of individuals, in order that each may be guaranteed the safety of life, liberty, and property, and maintained in all his natural rights. This is necessary, in order to preserve the peace and safety of the people.

But the dignity of a State can only be preserved when its statutes are executed, as otherwise all authority and order in the Government would soon be dissipated. But a legislative enactment without a penalty, could not be enforced, for the reason that such an instrument would be nothing more than a suggestion, and could have no more weight than a mere opinion expressed. Men might or might not adopt such suggestions, as they saw fit, without molestation. But when a legitimate enactment provides that those guilty of violating its requirements shall be liable to a penalty, it makes no difference if certain ones in the State do disagree with its sentiment, they must fall into line, and obey the statute, even though it be against their will, or else suffer the penalty which the statutes provide.

Civil law is a legal remedy for injuries inflicted, no matter how slight such injuries may be. Were it not for the law, there would be no redress for any wrong. Public sentiment may condemn injury and

insult, but it is not a substitute for the law, as it cannot remedy the matter. Its decision may be salutary, yet daily infringed. A principle resting only on public opinion, may be violated until it is not considered of any moment. Macaulay has truly said that "nothing that is very common can be very disgraceful. Thus, public opinion when not strengthened by positive enactment, is first defied, and then vitiated. At best, it is a feeble check to wickedness, and at last it becomes its most powerful auxiliary."

It is for this reason that law is necessary, because, where checks are fewer crimes are greater. But this is force; for were it not for the fear of suffering the penalty, no more heed would be given to the law, than as if it had no existence. Sometimes, as in the case of laws against selling intoxicating liquors, men violate them, expecting to pay the penalty, because they consider it more advantageous to themselves financially, to suffer the inconvenience of the penalty when not considered too heavy, than to obey the law. In view of this tendency, penalties are frequently provided, which are very severe, in order to deter from the violation of the law, and so preserve the authority of the State.

It is plain, therefore, that the operation of law is the operation of force, since men are obliged to comply with its provision or be punished. But for this very reason, civil law cannot properly prescribe positive duties for men, and require the performance of those duties, for the reason that civil government has not the prerogative of punishing men for the neglect of positive duties, because that would be to interfere with men's personal rights, with which a civil government properly has nothing to do. It is an indefeasible right of all individuals to use their faculties and powers as they see fit, and to any extent, in the improvement of their minds or in the accumulation of wealth, provided, however, that in their pursuits they have due respect to the rights of others, by making no offensive or restrictive attacks upon those rights, or anything which concerns them.

The law may punish for all breaches of the public peace. The only question to settle on this score, would be to determine what constitutes an offense. There must be a general agreement that every act of injustice by one citizen toward another, would come under this head; but, in matters of religion, what would constitute an act of injustice? It would certainly be unjust to permit interference with one's act of devotion, of whatever it may consist, whether it is public or private, so long as that devotion does not in any way injure another in person, property, or reputation. The Government may, and ought to have laws preventing such injury, because thereby the public peace is endangered. But the Govern-

ment cannot go beyond this, and require a religious observance on the part of any one, no matter how creditable in itself such an act of worship might be, because that would be an unwarrantable invasion of personal rights, since God has given no one the privilege of deciding for another whether he shall or shall not worship.

Since all law is force, it cannot, therefore, go beyond the domain of mere force. When the law, by force, restrains a man from injuring others, it simply imposes on him a negation. In this case, it does not attack his person, liberty or property, but only protects others from the injustice of his attacks. The law then, is not made to *create justice*, but to *restrain the injustice* that naturally exists. In the absence of injustice, the opposite would come in without force. The office of law, therefore, is to *restrain wrong*, rather than to *enforce the right*. Just as soon as the law commences to act positively, it substitutes the will of those who framed the law, for the will of the citizens. When this is permitted, the intelligence of the citizens becomes a useless possession; their personality and liberty are gone; they need no longer have anxiety about the responsibilities of the future. In short, they would cease to be real men, but grown up children instead, when the laws are framed so as to prescribe their positive duties.

It is for these very reasons that civil law cannot recognize religion, or decide its requirements. We repeat that law is *force*; and whatever positive duties it requires, are forced duties. Therefore, where religion, in any of its forms, is required by law, it is a religion forced upon men, whether they will it or not. Yet it would not do for the law to be opposed to morality, for in that case, it would compel the citizen to accept the cruel alternative of sacrificing his ideas of morality, or his respect for the law. This would be as unjust as the other extreme of the law, prescribing the duties of religion for the citizen.

All, therefore, that civil law can properly do toward religion and be just, is to respect every form of religion, and favor none; to be neither hostile nor friendly to any, but simply be silent on the subject, as a matter lying outside of its jurisdiction. The reason for this is obvious; and the principle is admirably stated in the following words from "Church and State," by Dr. Schaff:—

"Freedom of religion, is one of the greatest gifts of God to man, without distinction of race and color. He is the Author and Lord of conscience, and no power on earth has a right to stand between God and the conscience. A violation of this divine law written in the heart, is an assault upon the majesty of God in man. Granting the freedom of conscience, we must, by logical necessity,

also grant the freedom of its manifestation and exercise in public worship. To concede the first, and to deny the second, after the manner of despotic governments, is to imprison the conscience. To be just, the State must either support all, or none of the religions of its citizens."

J. O. CORLISS.

Subtle Dangers.

THE following extract, from the *Congressional Record*, is submitted as an evidence of the subtle dangers which may be concealed in the most seemingly innocent measure, if it involves any illegitimate or unconstitutional legislation.

The extract is from the debate on the Senate bill for the "more complete endowment and support of the colleges for the benefit of agriculture," etc., which passed the House, August 20:—

Mr. Blount.—Will the gentleman allow me to say in the reply to the last suggestion, as to the constitutionality of this question, is not that a thing of the past? And I would also ask if there is anything in this bill providing for this system except what has already been anticipated, and is existing law to-day?

Mr. McComas.—That is the whole of it.

Mr. Blount.—For instance, you have got your colleges based on the land scrip of 1862, and you have your experimental stations based on the act of 1887, and as I understand it, the effect of this bill is simply to increase the amount appropriated, from \$15,000 to \$25,000.

Mr. McComas.—That is the whole scope of this bill.

Mr. Blount.—Therefore we are not confronted here with the question as to whether we are adopting this or that system, but we have it now, and this is just to extend its operations.

Mr. McComas.—And that is all. It is to appropriate more to secure some more schools in the new States.

Mr. Blount.—But the principle is already in the law.

Mr. McComas.—And not only the principle but the practice, the practice of all the States in the Union. And this simply increases the amount, and adds to the number of schools of like character.

This same method of reasoning was used in the Senate and House, during the debate on the appropriations for the maintenance of religious schools among the Indians; it was used in the discussion of the Breckinridge local Sunday bill, for the District of Columbia, before the House Committee on the District of Columbia; and also at the hearing in the last Congress upon the Blair Sunday-rest bill, before the Senate Committee on Education and Labor.

It does not require a very extended observation of the course which legislation is taking in this country, and of the opinions expressed in legislative halls, to see how it is possible within a few years that laws of a strictly paternal or ultra-religious character may come to their passage, and all protest be totally ineffectual, because the "principle is already in the law"—"and not only the principle but the practice."

Some Pointed Observations.

IN commenting editorially upon a recent Sunday-law sermon, delivered by one of the pastors of Oakland, California, *The Dial* of that city, says:—

The Doctor assumes that all persons outside of prisons are not at liberty to work or not to work on Sunday, as they please, in communities and States where there are no Sunday laws. He also intrudes an ingeniously sentimental appeal as between the rights of the workingman and the millionaire, as respects resting on Sunday—an appeal *ad miserecordiam*, as the logicians call it—to the lachrymal glands, as it were. As a matter of fact, under the present State laws, or the defect of them, on the Sunday question, millionaires sometimes work on Sunday. So, also, many poor men choose occupations in which they work on that day and receive the extra wage for that additional day's work. If they do not so choose, no law obliges them to do so, no more than any law can compel seven days' wages for six days' work in favor of any poor man. But we think we can answer the good Doctor's pathetic interrogation more specifically. We think we understand something of the spirit of the laws of this State. "When" he asks, "will California enact suitable Sabbath laws, etc.?" We believe it will be when the intelligence of California ceases to regard "Sabbath laws" to be in violation of the civil liberties of the citizen—when it ceases to regard "Sabbath laws" to be in violation of conscience—when it ceases to regard the demand for "Sabbath laws" to be inspired by the religious zeal of one portion of the community, for the purpose of enforcing its peculiar observances on the other. It will be when California, instead of representing, as she does to-day, in the spirit of her laws, the advanced principles of American civil liberty, retrogrades to mediæval methods for the persecution of opinion and the support of a semi-theocracy?

Our reverend townsman, like so many of his brothers of the cloth, talks feelingly of the "emancipation" of the workingman, but he gives himself entirely away in his appeal for "Sabbath" and "Christian" legislation. These pious gentlemen do not take the trouble to analyze their motives too keenly, flatter themselves that they mean well, but, as a matter of fact, they mean religious persecution, and they do not mean a great deal else. They simply want to force their neighbors to conform to the "Christian Sabbath," whether they religiously respect it or not. There are multitudes of good citizens, without highly colored religious convictions, who have quite as much regard for the rest and welfare of the "poor workingman" as these professional representatives of good will to men, and who have a great

deal more regard for the principles of American liberty that protect saint and sinner alike. They have more of Christian charity, even; for they would defend with their lives the religious liberties, even, of their would-be persecutors—including those of the "Christian Sabbath"—and this they would do because they are Americans.

Professional religionists, like our reverend fellow-townsmen, appear in these days to be afflicted with an increasing forgetfulness that they are living under a civil government, instead of a theocracy, and that there are in this country other classes of citizens whose rights of opinion and observance are quite as sacred as their own.

They forget that there are even large religious bodies among their fellow-citizens, with convictions as sincere as their own, like the Jews and the Adventists, for whom the enactment of "suitable Sabbath laws" would be downright persecution; as such laws have already proved themselves to be in several of the "sisterhood of States"—in that precious land of religious liberty, Tennessee, for example! These orthodox gentlemen, not content to enjoy the freedom and privilege of Sunday worship for themselves, would have the first day of the week changed in color for their fellowmen, by the powerful aniline of religious conviction. Conscious of their own growing weakness to accomplish this, they resort to the mediæval method of calling on the civil laws to help them out.

A SAN FRANCISCO paper remarks that "the advocates of Sunday laws should 'brace up' and know something. Mrs. J. C. Bateham, who flourishes the sesquipedalian title of 'National Superintendent of the Sabbath Observance Department of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union,' said in a lecture here, last Sunday evening, that the Sunday newspaper was a Sabbath desecration in that it compelled editors, reporters, and printers to work on Sunday. Mrs. Bateham ought to inform herself that the work done by these Sunday workers is for the Monday morning edition, which a strictly enforced Sunday law would make impossible, as it likewise would the reporting of her lecture and the sermons of the clergy."

Nobody that knows anything about newspaper work, supposes that the objection to Sunday papers is because of the Sunday work done upon them. That plea is simply chaff used to decoy unwary sparrows. The real objection to Sunday papers is that they are read on Sunday, and that the reading of them is supposed to keep people away from church.

DRAGGING the churches into politics is apt to hurt religion more than it helps government.

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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The Beginning of the Campaign in California.

THE American Sabbath Union must feel of California, as Cardinal Manning once expressed himself of England:—

If ever there was a land in which work was to be done, it is here. I shall not say too much if I say that we have to subjugate and subdue, to conquer and rule, an imperial race. . . . Were heresy conquered in England, it would be conquered throughout the world. All its lines meet here, and therefore in England the church of God [Roman Catholic] must be gathered in its strength.

Substitute California for England, and American Sabbath Union for the Roman Catholic Church, and the above quotation is befitting language for Sunday-law advocates just now. Prior to 1883, California had a dead-letter Sunday law which was then repealed. Since then Sunday-law advocates have continually mourned and threatened, because California "is the only State without a Sunday law." The American Sabbath Union, last year, sent its best man, Rev. Wilbur F. Crafts. He organized numerous auxiliary societies and departed. He has again visited the State—a few months ago. Mrs. J. C. Bateham, Dr. W. W. Atterbury, of New York Sabbath fame, and Bishop Newman, are also on the Coast, but Sabbath laws are not yet.

Mrs. Bateham has given two lectures, recently, in Oakland, which were very slimly attended. She presented nothing new, and the old arguments were put in a remarkably weak form. An instance, and as telling an argument as she used, was that based on the stability of the Republic. Its foundation, she contended, was the Sabbath. Of course, concrete arguments are worth more than abstract, so the lady presented before us the two republics of France and the United States. The former sabbathless, the latter founded on the Sabbath; the former unstable, the latter stable. This would all have been good if her premise had been true, that a Sabbath-keeping nation was the only

stable nation. But in the first place the United States has not been a Sabbath-keeping nation, and in the second place, the illustration as regards France, is of no worth in the light of opposite facts. Rome existed as a sabbathless republic, for five hundred years before Christ, and as a sabbathless imperialism more than two hundred years after. As a sabbathless republic she conquered the world. Under the last of her mighty emperors she became infected with that malignant plague—a Sunday law. According to Mrs. Bateham, right there, Rome's greatness and stability ought to have begun, but the facts are that the Sunday law of Constantine, was but a prelude to Rome's instability and destruction as a nation of unity and strength.

Another point, perhaps worthy of notice, was concerning the District of Columbia, another poor spot of earth without a Sunday law. The surprising fact, in connection with the matter, however, is this: That for years and years the District was without a Sunday law, and those dear people knew nothing about it till they searched the records. Yet the District of Columbia, during all that time, was one of the civilized spots of earth; it had grown apace; its people had lived, had worshiped, had died, many of them in hope. They had kept their Sabbath as good as in all other cities, except, perhaps, when the Federal Congress was there convened from the several Sunday-law States. And yet, the good people of Washington knew not they were so "disgraced" till our zealous Sunday-law agitators began their hunt. Poor Washington!

Another convention, of the American Sabbath Union, was held at the Young Men's Christian Association rooms in San Francisco, August 16 and 18, under the direction of the District Secretary of the Pacific Coast, Rev. Edward Thompson, LL. D. It was a poorly managed affair. It was announced two weeks previous, but the place was not given, and then nothing more was heard of it till the first day had passed. Even the officers of the association, Dr. Abbott, Rev. N. R. Johnson, and Mrs. J. C. Bateham knew nothing of the meeting. Mrs. Bateham was not present at all. It was a union meeting in only one respect, all wanted a Sunday law of some kind. The spirit of the gathering was well illustrated in Acts 19:32 "Some cried one thing and some another: for the assembly was confused; and the more part knew not wherefore they were come together." Yet all could cry as regards some kind of a Sunday law, "Great is Diana of the Ephesians."

"The Sabbath in the Home," was discussed by Rev. M. M. Gibson (United Presbyterian), and he said some very good things. "If the Sabbath is in the home," he declared, "it will be in the church and in the State." He stated

most truly that there was no more religion in the church than there was in the home; and that if the Sabbath were in the home, it would pervade society and the State. And this contains the whole thing in a nutshell. If the Sabbath were in the homes of the people, there would be no need of Sabbath laws. On this point Dr. Gibson is sound, and the argument makes of none effect the Sabbath laws which he pleaded for in a half-hearted manner; again making of none effect his plea for law by returning to his original argument. The law he claimed would go no farther in restricting power, than the influence of home gave it that power.

Akin to the above topic was another: "Keep the Sabbath yourself." It was argued by Dr. Stewart that it was absolutely impossible to enact or enforce Sabbath laws while professed Christians were so apathetic. The real trouble exists with church members.

"Sunday laws not Oppressive," was discussed by Rev. J. A. Q. Henry (Baptist). He argued, from the following reasons, that they were not oppressive: 1. The Sabbath was a physical necessity. 2. The Sabbath was a necessity from an economic standpoint. 3. It was a necessity from an ethical standpoint. 4. It was a religious necessity. *Ergo* by a fourfold necessity, Sabbath laws were not oppressive. But Government has no right to enjoin a religious observance of the day, but to protect its citizens in their right to worship. Mr. Henry's conclusion no more followed from his premises, than figs could be expected from thistles. Every argument he adduced in favor of his position could be urged in favor of a law to regulate sleep. A proper amount of sleep is a physical and economical, an ethical, and a religious (civil) necessity; therefore, laws to regulate sleep, and we may also say, food and dress, are not oppressive. It is difficult to say whether pity for the man, or contempt for his so-called arguments, is the predominating emotion in listening to such puerilities. One man asked would it oppress the Jews?—No. Provision was always made for them and Sabbatarians, with the exception of laws of one State, Kansas, he believed. This is an indication of the ignorance of many able men upon this subject. A few facts, like the persecutions in Pennsylvania, Arkansas, and Tennessee, are worth a thousand such arguments. Sunday laws are *not* oppressive when they are allowed to become dead letters, as they are in most of our States, but when in operation and enforced they are *always* oppressive, as has been demonstrated times without number.

Dr. Atterbury, of New York, urged the convention to confine the question to the civil, secular Sabbath alone, and drop every other issue. Dr. Abbott made a very vigorous speech on the same line. He said the California Legislature, he

thought, would entertain a purely secular Sabbath bill, but it would do no good to ask for any other. If men were afraid of losing their religion in asking for such a bill, they had better keep away from Sacramento.

Dr. John Thompson (general Bible agent for the Pacific Coast), described the quiet Sabbath he spent in Virginia City, Nevada. Five saloons were running, but there were no places of business open. He returned to California sick at heart, because we in California had no Christian Sabbath, and this he repeated several times. Your correspondent, in conversation with him afterward, expressed surprise at the statement, and asked Mr. Thompson if he did not keep what he believed to be the "Christian Sabbath?" "Why, certainly," was the reply. "How is it then," was asked, "you have no Christian Sabbath here in California?" The Legislature, he said, had not given them one. "Then," it was asked, "do you receive your religion and religious institutions, and matters of faith, from the Legislature?" It is to such pitiable shifts that the logic of their madness drives them.

In the evening, a mass-meeting was addressed by Miss Corabel Tarr, of Chicago, Dr. Edward Thompson (District Secretary), and Bishop John P. Newman, of New York. Bishop Newman urged that the issue be made on a non-secular day, a day of rest. Dr. Thompson gave a glowing account of what had been accomplished in Southern California in the closing of saloons on Sunday. Miss Tarr spoke of women's work in the Sunday movement.

The strength of the Sunday cause is not to be estimated by these illy-managed meetings. While there is much division in the ranks in many respects, to all, great is the *disideratum* of some kind of a Sunday law. It will require some effort to convert California, but as Mrs. Bateham said, "the leaven is working," the baleful, poisonous, corrupting influence of religious legislation. M. C. WILCOX.

The *Loyal American* well says that "the divorce between State and Church should be absolute," and that "to complete the divorce, all churches and other religious property should be taxed."

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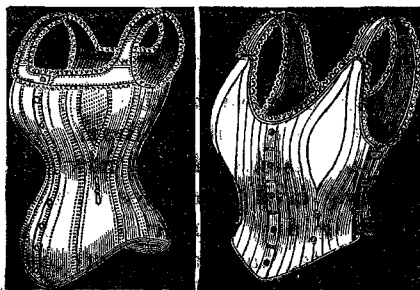
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GOVERNOR HOARD has been renominated and the Bennett law re-affirmed by the Wisconsin Republicans. The Democrats have nominated Geo. W. Peck, and declared against the Bennett law. The action of the Republicans in indorsing the Bennett law is to be deplored, for it is certainly unworthy of the support of either of the great parties.

THE purpose to thoroughly secularize the Government of Brazil, is shown in the provisions of the new Constitution, making civil marriages compulsory, prohibiting any support of the Church by the State, the control of cemeteries by any religious bodies, the teaching of religion in the public schools, the residence of Jesuits in the country, and the founding of new monastic orders. It will now be in order for National Reformers and Roman Catholics to unite in denouncing Brazil as "atheistic," and her statesmen as the "enemies of all religion."

THE *Christian at Work* says: "Our Sunday laws are undoubtedly based upon feeling rather than laid along logical lines." Yet in the same connection it attempts to justify the enforcement of such laws! Referring to this fact, a Western paper says: "Logic is reason; therefore to say that Sunday laws are not laid along logical lines, is to say that there is no reason in them. And in this age of boasted enlightenment, people will plead for rigid laws, against reason. The pitiful part of the matter is that while the laws themselves are based upon feeling, they are usually enforced with a total lack of feeling."

JOSEPH COOK says: "I hold that the Sabbath is recognized in the Constitution of the United States, for the President is required to sign bills within so many days Sundays excepted. Every one of us is entitled to the same day's rest that he is. Still, so far as the State is concerned, I do not believe in enforcing the religious observance of the Sabbath, but only as a day of rest and quiet."

But there is no law to prevent the President from signing bills upon Sunday if he desires to do so. There is, whether Mr. Cook acknowledges the fact or not, a

vast difference between *forbidding* a man to do work on Sunday, and providing that he shall not be *required* to do any. California recognizes Sunday more fully than does the Constitution of the United States, and yet, Mr. Crafts and Mr. Cook, as well as a host of lesser Sunday-law lights constantly complain that that State has no Sunday law. They would not be satisfied with a statute declaring Sunday *dies non*.

REFERRING to those who demand the abolition of capital punishment, because of the scenes accompanying the first electrical execution, in this State, the *Christian Advocate* says: "They may succeed, for this is an age of sentimentality and 'legislation by hurricane.'" This agrees exactly with the utterance of the *Christian at Work* concerning Sunday laws, namely, that such laws "are undoubtedly based upon feeling, rather than laid along logical lines." This is true; we have legislation by clamor, and trial by clamor, and too often the only thing back of the clamor is a sickly sentimentalism as utterly foreign to sound reason as ice is to equatorial Africa.

THE *Pearl of Days* says that, "the Catholic clergy of Los Angeles, California, have joined with other citizens in the following petition:"—

To the Los Angeles City Council:

The undersigned earnestly petition your honorable body so to amend or enlarge our city ordinance that the saloons shall be closed not only on election days, but also on Sundays. In this movement, for the moral benefit of the people, we wish the public to understand that we are influenced by no political partisanship.

FRANCIS MORA, Bishop.
J. ADAM, Vicar-General, and all the other Roman Catholic clergymen of this city.

This is not to be wondered at, since the Baltimore Council declared in favor of *high license* and Sunday closing. The two measures are cut from the same web, namely, compromise with the saloon. They alike delay the final abolition of the evil.

IN a recent appeal in behalf of that society, Ida C. Craddock, Corresponding Secretary of the American Secular Union, says: "How mistaken is your action in refusing to join the army of the American Secular Union, which is waging the only organized warfare against these would-be uniters of Church and State!"

Has the Secretary never heard of the work of the National Religious Liberty Association? With all due deference to the Secular Union, we must say that in the single year of its existence, the Religious Liberty Association has done more effective work against the "would-be uniters of Church and State," in this country, than the Secular Union has ever done in twice the time, or ever can do; and this, for the simple reason that too

much of the work of the Union takes the form of opposition to religion; while the Religious Liberty Association bases its opposition to Church and State union, upon the inalienable right of every man to profess any religion or no religion as he may elect, and that, absolutely free from any sort of State interference.

A FEW weeks ago, a five-year-old boy was run over, in the streets of this city, and had both his legs crushed. Subsequently his father made application to one of the courts, to be appointed guardian for his own child, for the purpose of bringing a suit for damages, in behalf of the injured boy. The father's application was denied, on the ground that he was not worth fifty dollars. It was shown that this father was a sober, industrious man, but that made not the slightest difference; he lacked the necessary property qualification, and could not, under the law as interpreted by the court, be permitted to enter suit in behalf of his minor child. Comment upon such a law is unnecessary. Every lover of justice and liberty will be able to characterize such a law himself, better than we could possibly do it. To say that it belongs with the most objectionable kind of class legislation, and that it is monstrously unjust is to put it very mildly.

"THE school question," says the *Catholic Review*, "is breeding difficulties with every hour. Following the troubles in Massachusetts, and Wisconsin, comes the news from Ohio, that a Catholic pastor in Toledo, has been indicted by the Grand Jury, 'for misdemeanor, or for neglecting to report pupils to the Board of Education.' There is an Ohio law, a meddling, impertinent law, of the same stamp as the Wisconsin Bennett law, conceived in the same spirit of malice, envy, and hatred, which requires all schools, public and private, to make a regular report to Boards of Education in each district, of the names of the pupils, ages, and so on. Acting under legal advice, the Toledo priest refused to make such returns from his private school, and his consequent arrest will test the constitutionality of the law, and make trouble for Ohio fanatics. These irritating questions are going to multiply."

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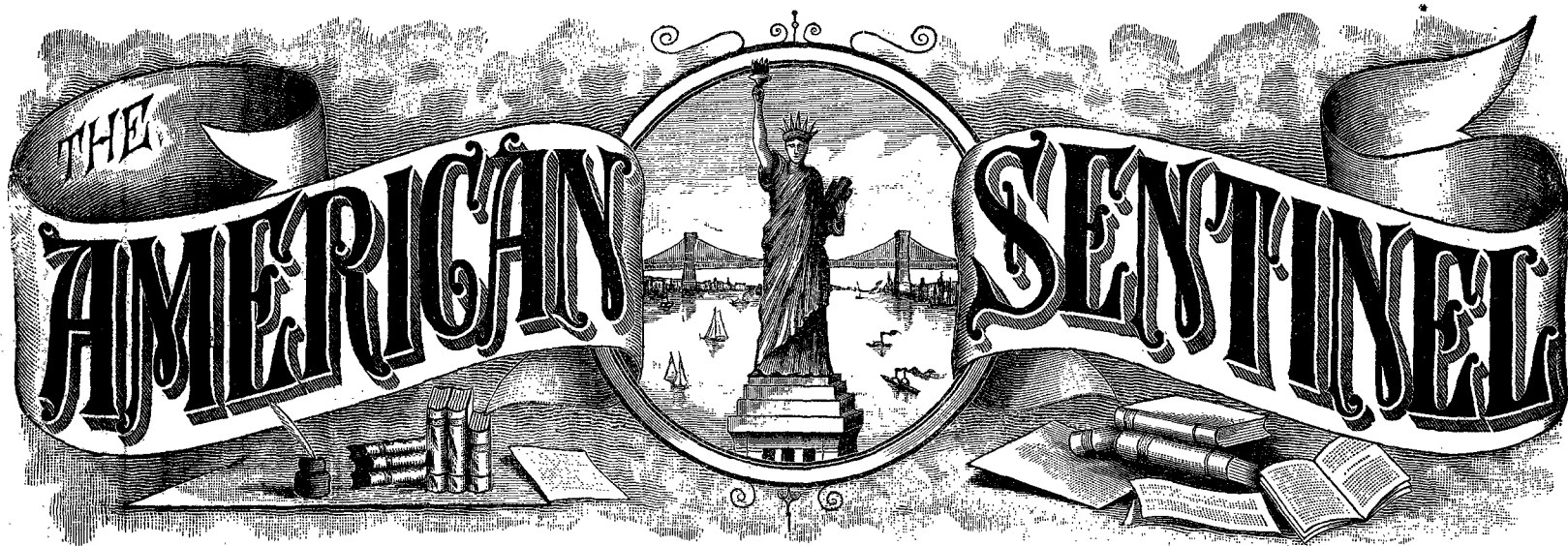
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The American Sentinel.

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EDITOR, - - - ALONZO T. JONES.

ASSOCIATE EDITORS,

C. P. BOLLMAN,

W. H. McKEE.

A CINCINNATI paper well remarks that "it is to prevent working people from enjoying themselves on the 'American Sabbath' that all the efforts of the Law and Order Leagues are directed. The Carnegie library in Allegheny City, it has been decided, must be kept closed on Sunday; and when, please tell us, can the Carnegie labor slaves benefit by the library except on Sunday?"

"MUCH," says the *Christian Advocate*, "is made of the sacrifices which the Christian religion requires. Infidels protest against such a demand as unjust, and merely nominal Christians consider it a great hardship." We suspect that this accounts for the efforts of Sunday-law advocates and other religious legislation-ists, to secure the passage of laws that will practically eliminate all necessity for sacrifice on the part of those who profess Christianity. The road to life is to be made broad by civil law.

THE *Mail and Express* is very much concerned about a union of Church and State in Turkey. In its issue of August 5, it says:—

The dangers and evils that are inherent in a union of Church and State, have been revealed in the riots in Constantinople against the Armenian Patriarch, which compelled his resignation. The Patriarch's conduct shows that he would have encountered no violent opposition had he held merely his ecclesiastical position, free from entanglements with the Turkish Government.

It was as creditable to the Patriarch that he was

urged to reconsider his resignation, as it was that he refused any longer to occupy the position in which he was incapable of protecting his people and yet subject to violent and irrational popular demonstrations, because he was powerless for good.

Could there be a more glaring illustration of the folly and injustice and outright wickedness of the union of Church and State, which the ambitious and scheming Roman Catholic hierarchy would be glad to see consummated in this country?

All that the *Mail and Express* says of a union of Church and State is true; but Romanists are not alone in working for such a union in this country. Many so-called Protestants are quite as much at fault as are the Romanists. Indeed the only difference between them is, that, while the Catholics want government pay for Romanists, Protestants want it for the upbuilding of Protestantism.

The Idaho Test Oath.

WE are asked by a contemporary in Idaho, what is our opinion of the Idaho test oath, and Mormonism in general? THE SENTINEL has given its opinion of that phase of Mormonism which consists of polygamy; so that part of the question has been answered. As for Mormonism in general, apart from its polygamous doctrine and practice, it is akin to the National Reform Association, the American Sunday-law Union, and their allied organizations, in that it involves a union of Church and State, and aims to accomplish and constantly to carry on that which it involves. Therefore Mormonism in general, whether practicing polygamy or not, is only evil; but as polygamy is an essential part of the *ism* the whole thing is doubly evil.

We are willing to give our opinion of the Idaho test oath; and that opinion is that *it goes too far*. The article published in THE SENTINEL, of last week, on the subject of polygamy, shows, and justifies us in saying, that if the Idaho test oath stopped with the prohibition of bigamy and polygamy, no one could have any just cause to criticize it. But that oath does not stop there. It goes so far as to

prohibit every religious duty, that a majority of the people of Idaho might decide to be wrong.

We here print the test oath, putting in italics that point wherein the oath goes too far:—

I do swear (or affirm) that I am a male citizen of the United States of the age of twenty-one years (or will be on the sixth day of November, 1888); that I have (or will have), actually resided in this Territory four months and in this county for thirty days next preceding the day of the next ensuing election; that I have never been convicted of treason, felony, or bribery; that I am not registered or entitled to vote in any other place in this Territory; and I do further swear that I am not a bigamist or polygamist; that I am not a member of any order, organization, or association which teaches, advises, counsels, or encourages its members, devotees, or any other person to commit the crime of bigamy or polygamy, or any other crime defined by law as a duty arising or resulting from membership in such order, organization, or association, or which practices bigamy, polygamy, or plural or celestial marriage as a doctrinal rite of such organization; that I do not and will not, publicly or privately, or in any manner whatever, teach, advise, counsel, or encourage any person to commit the crime of bigamy or polygamy, or any other crime defined by law, either as a religious duty or otherwise; that I do regard the Constitution of the United States and the law thereof and the laws of this Territory, as interpreted by the courts, as the supreme laws of the land, the teachings of any order, organization, or association to the contrary, notwithstanding, so help me God.

That phrase, "or any other crime defined by law either as a religious duty or otherwise" is where this oath goes too far. This makes the State of Idaho supreme and absolute in everything religious as well as civil.

There is a question now agitating the whole country which will serve as a forcible illustration of what we mean. There is a strong demand being made on all legislative bodies, from Congress to the Legislature of Idaho, that laws shall be enacted compelling everybody to observe Sunday, and making it a crime to do any work on that day. Now there are a considerable number of people in the United States, and there are some in Idaho,—Seventh-day Adventists, and Seventh-day Baptists—who do not recognize Sunday

as a day to be observed in any way different from any other working day. They work on that day. They teach that it is right to work on that day. Yet, if the State of Idaho should enact such a Sunday law, as is demanded by those who are working for Sunday laws everywhere, this test oath would disfranchise every Seventh-day Adventist, and every Seventh-day Baptist in the State,—not for anything that is wrong, nor for anything that injures any soul on earth, but simply because Sunday laws make a crime of honest work; and these people from honest conviction would work on Sunday, even though the law prohibited it. For nearly a year, Tennessee has been carrying on a series of persecutions of some of these people for committing such a heinous crime as plowing corn and hoeing potatoes on Sunday. Tennessee has no such test oath as Idaho. If she had, every Seventh-day Adventist, every Seventh-day Baptist, and every Jew who stood by his honest convictions would be disfranchised. Idaho has the test oath, but we believe has not as yet any such Sunday law. If Idaho should adopt such a Sunday law as Tennessee, or should Tennessee adopt such a test oath as has Idaho, then it would soon be seen that such a test oath accomplishes a great deal more than was contemplated when that oath was made a part of the law. And it would be a great injustice too. To work on Sunday is not a crime, and never can properly be made a crime, and therefore to disfranchise whole peoples for Sunday labor would be itself a crime against society.

The observance of the day of rest is a religious duty only, and its obligation rests wholly between the individual and the Lord of the Sabbath. It has no bearing whatever upon any relationship of a citizen to his fellow-citizens or to the State. And no State can ever have any right to legislate upon the subject in any way. Every State that does so puts itself in the dominion of God, assumes his jurisdiction, and demands of men that they render to the State that which is to be rendered to God only.

This is the defect of the Idaho test oath; it makes the State supreme in everything, not only in civil affairs, but in all things religious, not only in things that pertain to the State but in those things which pertain only to God. Under penalty of disfranchisement this oath obliges every citizen of Idaho to swear that he does not, and "will not publicly, or privately, or in any manner whatever teach, advise, counsel, or encourage any person to commit the crime of bigamy, or polygamy, or any other crime defined by law as a religious duty or otherwise." Whatever, therefore, the State of Idaho shall define by law to be a crime, whether it be a religious duty or anything else, that is to be laid aside by every person in

that State. If that State should define it to be a crime to pay any allegiance, whether as a religious duty or otherwise, to a foreign potentate or power, then every Roman Catholic in Idaho would be disfranchised. And this is precisely the claim that has already been made under the precedent. But the claim is as wicked as the law would be. And as before shown, if the State of Idaho should define it to be a crime to work on Sunday, then every Seventh-day Christian, and every Jew would be disfranchised, or else would have to give up his religious convictions and cease to be religiously what he is.

Therefore, as this test oath makes the State supreme in religious things, as well as in civil, it goes too far. If it confined itself to men's relationship with one another, with the relationship of the citizen to his fellow-citizen, or to the State, then nobody could object, and it would accomplish all that it does accomplish in prohibiting polygamy as it really does; but when it goes far beyond this and puts itself in the domain of God, and makes itself supreme in all things religious, in all matters of religious duty as well as otherwise, then in that it has gone too far.

The Mormon Church, like the National Reform Association, the American Sabbath Union, and the leadership of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, confounds civil and religious things. In this confusion the Mormon Church, under the garb of religious claim, wants to practice that which is uncivil. In this test oath the State of Idaho also confounds civil and religious things. And in this confusion, the State of Idaho prohibiting what is uncivil goes away beyond and asserts authority to prohibit whatever may be religious. The Mormon Church has the inalienable right to profess and practice whatever religious doctrine it pleases; but it has not the right, under the claim of religion, to practice that which is uncivil, as polygamy essentially is. The State of Idaho has the absolute right to prohibit anything that is uncivil, under whatever claim it may be practiced; but the State of Idaho has *not* the right, either to assert or to claim authority to prohibit anything that may be a religious duty. In the confusion of religious and civil things the Mormon Church occupies one extreme, the State of Idaho occupies the other. The Mormon Church, in its assertion of right to practice polygamy, is civilly wrong. The State of Idaho in its assertion of right to prohibit religious duty, is religiously wrong. The Idaho test oath, so far as it pertains to bigamy or polygamy, is *right*, because bigamy and polygamy are essentially uncivil. The Idaho test oath, so far as it assumes jurisdiction of religious duty, is *wrong*, because with religious duty no State can ever of right have anything to do.

A. T. J.

Religion Belongs not to the State, but to the Individual.

THE State can have no religion of its own, in behalf of which to frame laws, simply because the State being composed of individuals, it has no existence when separated from those individuals, except in a figure. Religion being a personal matter which each individual member of the State must have for himself, if at all, the State does not need a religion, and could not have one if it would, because no person in the State has power to transfer his religion to the State. If the State has a religion, it must get it from the same source from whence it comes to each individual. But, as the State has no existence outside of its citizens, it can have no religion outside of that which its citizens profess. And the matter of having religion, is left to each individual to decide as he wills. Rev. 22:17. As previously shown, these individuals who form the State, have individual consciences and responsibilities, for which each must singly give account to God. Rom. 14:12. This being true, the State cannot have accountability outside of the individual accountability of those who compose it. And, if the State is not morally accountable, it certainly can have no personal attributes, and therefore no necessity for a religion of its own. More than this: religion operates upon both the head and the heart of the individual, in order to the salvation of the soul. But the State having no personal attributes, has neither a judgment to be convinced, nor a heart in which to receive religious impressions, nor yet a soul to be saved in the world to come.

The State cannot, therefore, make laws touching religion on the plea of its own responsibility; and the citizens do not need such laws, because each one is personally responsible to another tribunal infinitely higher than the State, for his standing in morals. Then all that the State can do, is to make laws prohibiting any man, or any set of men, from interrupting others in the enjoyment of their peculiar form of worship. Any law violating this principle, would work gross injustice to the whole people.

But, because law has been instituted that justice may reign, many have come to believe that all law is justice; or, in other words, that that which is legal is legitimate. But nothing is easier than to frame laws that will pervert the ends of justice. Thus, law is generally made by a certain class of men, who, because of their political influence, can secure enough votes to solidify their opinion into legal statutes. The laws thus made, may be looking almost solely to the benefit of those who brought them into existence, and to the oppression and spoliation of all others. It may readily be seen that laws of this kind, instead of restraining in-

justice, become its most effective instrument. The proneness of men who have power, is, to abuse it, by making it the instrument of their own aggrandizement, even though their elevation cost the downfall of others. It would not, therefore, be safe to place in the hands of any set of men, the power to prescribe positive duties for their fellow-citizens, either social or religious.

It may be said that some, in a certain community, are ignorant in certain lines of thought and need enlightenment; shall we not therefore have a law to oblige them to be informed? But, if a government were permitted to so far assume paternal care over its subjects, why might it not go further at will? In the language of another, "Why should it not take away the child from its mother, select the nurse, prescribe what ballads shall be sung, what tunes shall be played, what books shall be read, what physic shall be swallowed? Why should they not choose our wives, limit our expenses, and stint us to a certain number of dishes of meat, and of cups of tea?" If government can take the first step in paternal legislation, there is no reason why it may not go the whole journey, and regulate all the affairs of life, in spiritual as well as in temporal things. But, in that case what credentials would the legislators exhibit, to show that Heaven had endowed them with intelligence and virtue above those whom they assumed coercively to teach? How would such men satisfy the unbelieving, that they were Heaven's appointed shepherds? Such an attempt could only lead to hypocrisy, discord, and social disorganization.

There are, in fact, but two ways in which Government can possibly effect its ends. These are, reward and punishment. And while these are powerful in influencing men, their effect is not to make men better, because they do not touch the heart. This point is so well set forth by Mr. Macaulay, that we here give his words:—

A public functionary who is told that he will be promoted if he is a devout Catholic, and turned out of his place if he is not, will probably go to Mass every morning, exclude meat from his table on Fridays, shrive himself regularly, and perhaps let his superiors know that he wears a hair shirt next his skin. Under a Puritan government, a person who is apprised that piety is essential to thriving in the world, will be strict in the observance of Sunday, or as he will call it, Sabbath, and will avoid a theater as, if it were plague-stricken. Such a show of religion as this, the hope of gain and the fear of loss will produce at a week's notice, in any abundance which a government may require. But under this show, sensuality, ambition, avarice, and hatred retain unimpaired power, and the seeming convert has only added to the vices of a man of the world all the still darker vices which are engendered by the constant practice of dissimulation. The truth cannot be long concealed. The public discovers that the grave persons who are proposed to it as patterns, are more utterly destitute of moral principle and of moral sensibility, than avowed libertines. It sees that these Pharisees are further removed from real goodness than publicans and harlots. And, as usual, it rushes

to the extreme opposite of that which it quits. It considers a high religious profession as a mark of meanness and depravity. On the very first day on which the restraint of fear is to be taken away, and on which men can venture to say what they think, a frightful peal of blasphemy and ribaldry proclaims that the short-sighted policy which aimed at making a nation of saints, has made a nation of scoffers.—*Essays, Leigh Hunt, Par. 19.*

The foregoing statement, by Mr. Macaulay, may easily be confirmed. Look at France, during the closing days of Louis XIV. When the king became religious, he frowned on all who neglected church duties, and rewarded the pious with blue ribbons and pensions. Soon, the city of Versailles became as solemn as a convent; the marshals of the army were observed to be frequently at prayer; it became fashionable for even the great and wealthy to carry prayer-books in their pockets, and to fast during Lent. This lasted no longer, however, than the life of the king. As soon as he was dead, every one hastened to break away from such rigid lines, and to plunge to excess in licentiousness. Those, who, "a short time before, went about looking so demure, consulting the priests about the state of their souls, were now found at the midnight gaming-table, hiccupping out atheistical arguments and obscene jests." Indeed it is said that the most dissolute of men of an earlier reign, would have blushed at the orgies that accompanied the reaction.

It was the same in England, during the days of the Puritan ascendancy. No person suspected of hostility to the church could obtain favor with the government; the theaters were closed; the fine arts were restrained, and Parliament solemnly resolved that, "no person shall be employed but such as the House shall be satisfied of his real godliness." As the result, men dressed in plain garb, wore lank hair and coarse shirts, talked through their noses and showed the whites of their eyes. When a counter-political movement came, a time of wild and desperate dissoluteness followed, and the amount of debauchery seen was appalling. In no case would like efforts result in anything else. Any government which attempts things beyond its reach, will not only make a failure, but produce the very opposite of that which it desires.

To encourage true religion, more is required than temporary reward and punishment, since, as has already been shown, these can have only an outward effect. True laws may be framed, which will punish for the practice of, or the refusal to comply with, certain forms of religion; but these laws cannot reach the seat of religion, which they should do to have the proper effect. Religion occupies a realm which it is impossible for the State to enter, or for human laws to reach. A parent, even with all the authority God has given him over his child, cannot make him religious by commanding him to be so. Whoever worships God, does so

under the guidance of his own reason and conscience, and not by the authority of another's will.

Religion, then, being a matter of private concern, something between the soul and its God, a civil government organized solely for the public good, cannot extend its agency to the administration or regulation of religion, without usurping God's prerogative, and trampling on man's rights at the same time. No human authority can divorce a soul from his obligations to the law of Jehovah, nor properly coerce one into piety, since his reason and conscience are peculiarly his own, and must remain so, as long as he lives. Man's obligations, therefore, which bind him to God, make him free in this respect, from human authority. Yet religious freedom is not freedom from all human authority, but freedom to follow the dictates of conscience without hindrance.

This does not suppose that any one may be privileged to carry out selfish desires under the garb of religion, when such a course would be a trespass upon the civil liberties of others. But, so long as the exercise of his religion does not trespass on the civil rights of others, the civil government cannot, in justice, interfere with his religious liberty.

J. O. CORLISS.

A Representative National Reformer Defines His Position.

WE are in receipt of the following note from Oakland, California, under date of August 6:—

EDITOR AMERICAN SENTINEL, Dear Sir: I see you have copied the *Signs of the Times* criticism of my article, or letter, anent the action of the California Prohibition Convention in reference to the Sabbath, or Sunday law. I have this day written for the *Signs of the Times* a reply, or defense of myself. If it should appear in the *Signs*, as I hope it will next week, I ask that you copy it in THE AMERICAN SENTINEL that your readers may have both sides.

Yours respectfully,

N. R. JOHNSTON.

We cheerfully comply with Mr. Johnston's request to publish his "defense," which we give as follows, just as it appeared in our Oakland contemporary:—

EDITOR SIGNS OF THE TIMES: As copied in THE AMERICAN SENTINEL of July 31, I have this day read your criticism of my letter in the *Christian Statesman*, of May 15. Will you admit a few lines in my own defense? For I think you misunderstand me. I am sure your readers will if they do not read my letter in the *Statesman*.

1. I do not believe in a "civil Sabbath" in the sense in which you use the words. I never have said that a "civil Sabbath" is all that I favor. I differ entirely from the majority of the California people, who ask a Sunday law merely as a police or sanitary regulation. From the first of Rev. Mr. Crafts's coming here, and all the time, I have most decidedly objected to his theory of a "civil Sunday." In the *Christian Statesman* I wrote against it; and it was because of my objection to the "civil Sunday" that I wrote what I did about the action of the State Prohibition Convention. I totally reject the secular theory of government and of education alike. Others wish only a "civil Sunday;" I wish "the Sabbath of the Lord," our God the Institution of it.

2. The only authority we have for the observance of a Sabbath—the only power that has any right to require a seventh portion of time to be observed as sacred to rest and to worship, whether it be a seventh-day or a first-day Sabbath—is the divine

Law-giver, whose will is declared in the law of the fourth commandment. Neither Church nor State has any right to make a law about a Sabbath. "The Sabbath was made [*i. e.*, appointed] for man." God appointed it. Governments or legislatures have no power except to recognize it as God's law, binding upon the people, and to see that the law which forbids work, be not trampled underfoot by open transgressors.

3. God is the Author of all moral law. He is the source of all authority. "There is no power but of God." Governments may only find out law, the divine law, and accept and codify it as the law by which the people must be governed. Especially do governments have nothing to do in legislation in the department of religion. Government's only sphere is in civil matters.

4. The law of the fourth commandment is partly religious and partly civil. It commands religious duties: it also commands civil duties. "In it thou shalt not do any work, thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, nor thy man-servant, nor thy maid-servant, . . . nor thy stranger that is within thy gates; that thy man-servant and thy maid-servant may rest as well as thou." That is *civil* law. Government should protect men in the enjoyment of their rights. The right to rest as God requires, belongs to the servant. If the master does not grant the right to an employe, he is a transgressor of law. Governments must protect the wronged. God requires it. Government is his agent. Thus government may legislate as to the enforcement of God's civil law for the protection of men in the enjoyment of God-given rights. Thus far I am in favor of a "civil Sabbath." Am I understood?

5. "Thou shalt not steal" is a moral, civil law. Governments have no power to either reject it or modify it. The same is true of the fourth commandment. Except by moral restraints or motives the Church has no power to prevent work on the Sabbath. But a law without a penalty is no law at all. Therefore, civil government is the only and the proper power to punish the open transgression of God's civil law. Thus far I am in favor of a civil Sabbath law. But remember that the permission or obligation to legislate about Sabbath observance is derived wholly from God. Men or governments have no such authority. The religious obligation is the only one existing; *i. e.*, we should have Sabbath laws only because God requires them and for man's good. And the principle I advocate is applicable whether the first or the seventh day should be kept holy. Which is the true Sabbath is not the question here and now. I honor the convictions of those who conscientiously believe in the seventh-day Sabbath; but I beg leave to say that I do not believe in "only a civil Sabbath." I am not in favor of "only a civil Sunday law." I prefer the fourth commandment; and the people, the Church, and the State that permit it to be trampled underfoot by lawless desecrators are false to God and to humanity.

Yours for the truth and the right,

N. R. JOHNSTON.

Having given place to Mr. Johnston's letter, we deem it only right that our readers should have also the reply made by the *Signs of the Times*, which is as follows:—

We give place to the above letter of explanation, not alone as an act of courtesy to a very estimable gentleman, with whom we enjoy a pleasant acquaintance, but also for the special benefit of the readers of the *Signs of the Times*. Mr. Johnston is an honored member of the National Reform Association. He was secretary of one of the early national conventions of that organization, and is a regular contributor to the *Christian Statesman*. Therefore when we read a statement from him, we feel that we read the thoughts of the National Reform Association. We shall doubtless have occasion to make frequent reference to that body in the future, and those of our readers who treasure up this letter will know, as well as any one can know, what its principles are on the Sunday question. We will now offer a few words of comment on the letter, section by section.

1. We wish that all Sunday-law people

stood where Mr. Johnston does, and would as frankly avow their belief in, and desire for, a law from a religious standpoint. We are sure that this is where they all stand, in heart; but repeated defeats on that line have taught many to conceal their real sentiments by pleading for a merely "civil Sunday." With the exception of the statement, "I totally reject the secular theory of government and of education alike," there is nothing in section 1 that we could not heartily second. We also "wish the Sabbath of the Lord our God," not, however, enforced by civil authority.

But by the above phrase, Mr. Johnston means Sunday, which is not the Sabbath of the Lord our God. "The seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God." Ex. 20:10. It was such as late as the time when Christ was on earth, and when the New Testament was written. See Mark 2:23-28. If the Lord has changed the day of his Sabbath, it has been done since his revelation was given to man, and we should like to know where the record of the change is, and to whom he committed it.

2. With the exception of the last sentence, we most emphatically say, "Good!" to section 2. But to the statement that it is the province of legislatures to recognize God's law as binding on the people, and to see that it is not trampled underfoot, we offer a most emphatic protest. That would be a union of Church and State, for it is simply a partnership between God and the State, by the terms of which the Lord is to enact the laws, and the State is to enforce them. This is just the same as a partnership in which one party furnishes the capital and the other does the work. God has not relegated to any inferior power the right or authority to enforce his laws. To think that he "that sitteth upon the circle of the earth, and the inhabitants thereof are as grasshoppers," before whom all nations "are as nothing; and they are counted to him less than nothing, and vanity" (Isa. 40:22, 17), should intrust the execution of his laws to those same comparatively insignificant creatures, is an insult to common sense, to say nothing of revelation.

It is a misapprehension of the fourth commandment, to assume that it simply forbids *work* on the Sabbath day. Paul says that "the law is spiritual." If it is not spiritual, it is nothing. Just what the fourth commandment does forbid is shown by its Author in Isa. 58:13: "If thou turn away thy foot from the Sabbath, from doing thy pleasure on my holy day, and call the Sabbath a delight, the holy of the Lord, honorable; and shalt honor him, not doing thine own ways, nor finding thine own pleasure, nor speaking thine own words," etc. Now if civil government takes it upon itself to see that men do not "trample underfoot" the fourth commandment, it must see that

they do not speak their own words on the Sabbath day. A difficult task it would be, yet as difficult a task was undertaken by the Inquisition. Only the Inquisition could determine to any degree whatever whom to punish for violation of the fourth commandment. God never established the Inquisition, but a National Reform government could not be carried on without it; therefore God has nothing to do with National Reform.

3. A queer mixture is in this paragraph. Governments have nothing to do with religion, yet they must codify and enforce divine law! Since God is the moral Governor, and human governments are to enforce his decrees, yet are to have nothing to do with religion, we may ask, Whence, then, comes religion? But why should the law of God need to be codified by human legislators? Is it not sufficiently clear and concise? The idea that poor, weak, fallible mortals can codify the laws of the Omnipotent Ruler of the universe, which were spoken by his own voice, and engraved in the flinty rock with his own finger, is too monstrous an assumption to be amusing. To codify is to epitomize; to arrange or systematize; to make an orderly collection or compendium of. It is a long step in advance of having the same thing loosely arranged. Therefore, since the National Reform government would codify the laws of God, it must be a legitimate successor to that power that "opposeth and exalts itself above all that is called God, or that is worshiped."

4. Yes, you are understood quite well. "The law of the fourth commandment is partly religious and partly civil!" We have often heard this claim made, and now propose to place it by the side of one text of Scripture: "For we know that the law is spiritual." Rom. 7:14. Can you say that, Brother Johnston? or have you information of a later date than Paul's? That cannot be, for he spoke by inspiration that which he had learned from God himself; and God does not change. Facts cannot change. If the law was spiritual in Paul's day, it is spiritual still, not partly spiritual and partly something else. The idea that the moral law is partly civil is a modern invention, conjured up by presumptuous, self-seeking men, as an excuse for their attempt to divide honors with the Almighty. In saying this, we mean no disrespect to Mr. Johnston. Even the Apostle Barnabas was once unsuspectingly carried away by dissimulation.

But, Brother Johnston, you say in paragraph 1, that you don't want a civil Sunday law; you are frank in your avowal of a desire for a Sunday law from a religious standpoint; then why the reference to the supposed civil features of the fourth commandment as an aid to your plea? Why detract from its complete and perfect morality, and make it partly secular, when you don't want a secular Sunday

law? We can answer. It is because nobody can argue for Sunday laws without involving himself in hopeless inconsistencies.

If the reference to "gates" in the fourth commandment be construed as referring to city gates, then the whole commandment must be considered as addressed to the government, and not to the individual. But it is actually addressed individually to every man. Each man is to keep the Sabbath; his son and his daughter must likewise keep it; his man-servant and his maid-servant must also keep it; and also the stranger that is within his gates. That is, all who are upon the man's premises must keep the Sabbath, because if they worked, it would be the same as if he worked.

It is true that government must protect a man in the enjoyment of God-given rights; but that does not signify that it must force a man to accept that which he does not regard as a right, but which he thinks is positively wrong. Protection and compulsion are widely different. Government must protect the wronged. If a servant wishes to keep Sunday, and his employer by force and power compels him to work, then he may appeal to the law for protection, and so may any man who is forcibly deprived of his liberty. But we must confess that we have never heard of such a case since the abolition of slavery. In these days when employes strike for the most trivial causes, and almost every laborer belongs to some organization which assumes the right to dictate to the employer just how far he may go in any case, it is sheer nonsense to talk of men being compelled to work on Sunday against their will.

5. In this section we have the climax. "Thou shalt not steal" is a moral civil law." The Bible knows nothing of any such mongrel. "The law is spiritual." It is wholly spiritual. He who keeps it only outwardly does not keep it at all. Read the Saviour's dissertation on the law, in Matt. 5:19-28, and his denunciation of hypocrites in Matt. 23:25-28. Thousands of men who have never been guilty of any act of which the State could take notice, have lived in daily violation of the eighth commandment, as well as the seventh, and others.

But what shall we say to this: "But a law without a penalty is no law at all. Therefore, civil government is the only and the proper power to punish the open transgression of God's civil law," which is the moral law of the ten commandments. God says, "Vengeance is mine; I will repay;" but National Reform says that God hasn't the power, and that if human governments do not administer the penalty, sin must go unpunished. Christ says that God has given the Son authority to execute judgment, and that he will do this when he comes from heaven with his mighty angels in flaming fire (see John

5:27; 2 Thess. 1:7-9); but National Reform says that human governments must execute judgment now, or else the sinner will go free. Could any worse insult to the majesty of Jehovah be invented? Mr. Johnston is a minister of the gospel, and we know that he is personally devout and reverent; therefore we feel the more astonished that he should champion a cause which puts man above God; yea, which sets man on the throne of judgment, and relegates God to obscurity.

We have studied brevity in noticing these points, for our space is limited; but we trust that all the readers of the *Signs of the Times* can see that opposition to Sunday laws, and to the theory which underlies them, is not simply a matter of protesting against a possible injustice to a few men; it is a religious duty incumbent on every one who has any regard for the honor of God. Human government is secular, and only secular; that is, it pertains wholly to this world and to worldly affairs. God is the only moral Governor; his government is the only moral government; his law is the only moral law; and it is wholly moral. With it man has nothing to do but to obey it. The duty of the king is identical with that of the humblest subject. Both are alike answerable to God, and to him alone, for violation of his law. So broad are its requirements, that no one can keep them except by the grace of Christ; no one can boast over another; and no one can get beyond simple, personal obedience to it, so that he can act as an overseer to his fellows.

To those who assume to exercise the prerogatives of God, he will say at the last day, "Who hath required this at your hands?" and like the man in the parable, they will be speechless; for "the lofty looks of man shall be humbled, and the haughtiness of men shall be bowed down, and the Lord alone shall be exalted in that day."

Some Rash Statements Examined.

DR. R. H. McDONALD, of San Francisco, has sent us a leaflet from which we make a few extracts. Printed on one side in large type is this statement:—

If the clergy of California would unite in one earnest, determined effort, we would have an effective Sunday law, and there would not be an open saloon in the State by Dec. 31, 1891.

If this is true we cannot help wondering why so much abuse has been heaped upon the Seventh-day people of that State for preventing the passage of a Sunday law, and why they have been accused of joining with saloon keepers to strike down the "Christian Sabbath." Certainly if a Sunday law is really desirable, and the clergy could secure it in so short a time by a determined effort, they ought to blame nobody but themselves if they fail to get such a law. And again, if by a

determined effort the clergy could close every saloon in California, before Dec. 31, 1891, they certainly have no room to censure those who simply refuse to assent to a Sunday-closing law, the passage of which would be to say, in effect, that saloons are all right *except on Sunday*. If the outcome of the present agitation in California should be the passage of a Sunday law, while the saloons are still permitted to prey upon the community as in times past, would it not show much more zeal on the part of the clergy in behalf of Sunday than in behalf of temperance?

On the margin of this leaflet is this remarkable statement:—

There is no instance of a people keeping the Sabbath, as a rest day, who were not free. God has joined liberty with the Sabbath.

Let us see; the Jews kept the Sabbath. From the exode until Saul—about 400 years—they were a free people. But after Saul became king they were no more free than are the subjects of the Czar to-day. The kings of Israel were absolute monarchs, as appears from a number of scriptures. Before Saul was anointed, the Lord commanded Samuel to tell the people just what kind of a government they would have.

And Samuel told all the words of the Lord unto the people that asked of him a king. And he said, This will be the manner of the king that shall reign over you: He will take your sons, and appoint them for himself, for his chariots, and to be his horsemen; and some shall run before his chariots. And he will appoint him captains over thousands, and captains over fifties; and will set them to ear his ground, and to reap his harvest, and to make his instruments of war, and instruments of his chariots. And he will take your daughters to be confectionaries, and to be cooks, and to be bakers. And he will take your fields, and your vineyards, and your oliveyards, even the best of them, and give them to his servants. And he will take the tenth of your seed, and of your vineyards, and give to his officers, and to his servants. And he will take your menservants, and your maidservants, and your goodliest young men, and your asses, and put them to his work. He will take the tenth of your sheep; and ye shall be his servants. And ye shall cry out in that day because of your king which ye shall have chosen you; and the Lord will not hear you in that day. 1 Sam. 8:10-18.

David and Solomon were wise kings, but like Saul they were absolute rulers. We may judge of the character of at least the latter part of Solomon's reign, from these words of the people to his son, Rehoboam, who succeeded to the throne upon the death of his father:—

And all the congregation of Israel came, and spake unto Rehoboam saying, Thy father made our yoke grievous: now therefore make thou the grievous service of thy father, and his heavy yoke which he put upon us, lighter, and we will serve thee. 1 Kings 12:3, 4.

But instead of granting this reasonable request of the people, Rehoboam answered them, saying, "My father made your yoke heavy, and I will add to your yoke; my father also chastised you with whips, but I will chastise you with scorpions." 1 Kings 12:14.

And future kings were no better, so far

as freedom for the people was concerned. The history of both Judah and Israel is, for the most part, a history of misrule and oppression; and yet the Jews were nominally a Sabbath-keeping people; and during a great part of their history, they certainly kept the Sabbath more strictly than any nation now keeps Sunday. But they were not a free people. This proves nothing against Sabbath-keeping; and these facts are not stated to cast any reflection upon Sabbath observance, but only to show how utterly unfounded is the statement published by Dr. McDonald, that "there is no instance of a people keeping the Sabbath, as a rest day, who were not a free people." The statement is without the least foundation in fact, and like many other goody-goody statements, is made for the purpose of persuading people who have no religious regard for Sunday, to keep it from motives of personal advantage. The only correct motive for Sabbath observance is a sincere desire to obey God; and where this motive is lacking, no law however rigidly enforced, can make a people Sabbath-keepers in any proper sense of the term.

C. P. B.

REFERRING to the fact that several prominent clergymen of this city have been, as clergymen, taking a great interest in politics, with the avowed object of purifying the municipal government, the *Christian Union* says:—

There are several reasons why, in our judgment, the clergy should not take an active part in political organization, even if it be dubbed non-partisan. They are not often skillful organizers of practical movements. Their function is to teach truth, not to conduct affairs; and while occasionally the same man is equally good at both, more frequently the man who drops the first function to undertake the second, drops a higher for lower office; and he who undertakes to fulfill both fulfills neither. The American people are jealous of the interference of the clergy in political administration. The attempt to carry on the State by the Church has been very thoroughly tried in the Old World, and the success of the experiment has not been such as to encourage a repetition of it in the New World. Cardinals have not purified statecraft in France, nor have bishops sanctified the House of Lords in England. Ministers are but men, and when they drop the vantage-ground which their profession gives them for quiet and unselfish reflection, and enter the environment of other men, they become much like them. If the minister goes into politics, he is certain to take concern for his church with him, and then the question often stares him in the face between service of the Church or the State, the two not infrequently seeming to present conflicting claims upon him.

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.

OFFICES.

43 BOND STREET, NEW YORK CITY;
225 A ST., N. E. WASHINGTON; 28 COLLEGE PLACE, CHICAGO.

C. ELDRIDGE, - - - - - President.
W. H. MCKEE, - - - - - Secretary.

"THE American Sabbath Union," says the *Pearl of Days*, "has presented an earnest appeal to the Commissioners of the World's Columbian Exposition to be held in Chicago, asking them to decide that the Exposition shall be closed on Sundays. It is understood that the Commissioners will meet in Chicago, on October 7. The officers of the Union, in making this appeal, ask the co-operation of all the friends of the Sabbath throughout the land."

ON a recent Sunday, a party of young men, of the city of Washington, were playing ball outside of hearing distance from any dwelling, but were arrested by the police, on the strength of the common-law decision, recently issued by the Commissioners, that ball-playing on Sunday is contrary to the Christian religion, and that the Christian religion is a part of the common law, and, consequently, of the law of the District of Columbia.

When the case was brought to trial, the Court and prosecuting attorney ignored the legal lore of the Commissioners, and tried the case under an ordinance prohibiting the playing of ball in streets, avenues, and alleys. The counsel for the ball players argued that the law had not been violated, although he attempted to placate the Court by acknowledging that the young men might better have been in church.

The policeman *thought* that they were playing on a line with the extension of Seventeenth street; the Judge therefore held that they were playing in the streets, and imposed a fine of five dollars.

Such things as these are sufficient evidence that wherever the authorities are infected with National Reform doctrines, religious regulations will be enforced, even outside of the law. What then will be the condition of affairs when all the religious legislation asked for has been secured?

THE advice of the Sunday Union in respect to the establishment of Law and Order Leagues throughout the country, for the enforcement of Sunday laws, has taken root, and in several localities has already reached the fruit-bearing period. A prominent instance, which the daily press is now noticing, occurs in Wheeling, West Virginia, where the League has undertaken to enforce the Sunday laws to the letter. A "special" says that on Sunday, August 31, it was impossible to purchase anything in Wheeling, other than necessary medicines, and mentions it as the intention of the League to stop the publication of the Sunday papers.

The dispatch declares, however, that "owing to the absurdly extreme measures taken, there has been a revulsion of feeling throughout the city."

It is noticeable that the press comments do not take exception to the principle involved, but only criticise the action taken by the League as extreme and beyond what public opinion will uphold.

These organizations will continue to push the enforcement of religious laws and city ordinances to the farthest limit in which they can secure the application of the penalties attached, until at last, and not far in the future, this country will find itself under the rule of a religious oligarchy. The Religious Liberty Association was organized none too soon.

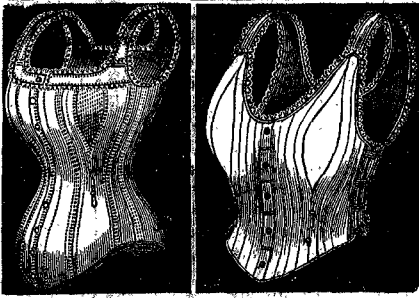
THOSE who wish to do so and who have not already had the opportunity of so doing, or who have neglected it, are requested to sign BOTH of the following petitions and send them to W. H. MCKEE, 225 A Street, N. E., Washington, D. C. If room for more names is desired the petition may be cut out and pasted on to a sheet of legal cap.

To the Honorable, the Senate of the United States:—

We, the undersigned, adult residents of the United States, 21 years of age or more, hereby respectfully, but earnestly, petition your Honorable Body not to pass any bill in regard to the observance of the Sabbath, or Lord's day, or any other religious or ecclesiastical institution, or rite; nor to favor in any way the adoption of any resolution for the amendment of the National Constitution that would in any way give preference to the principles of any one religion above another, or that will in any way sanction legislation upon the subject of religion; but that the total separation between religion and the State, assured by our National Constitution as it now is, may forever remain as our fathers established it.

To the Honorable, the House of Representatives of the United States:—

We, the undersigned, adult residents of the United States, 21 years of age or more, hereby respectfully, but earnestly, petition your Honorable Body not to pass any bill in regard to the observance of the Sabbath, or Lord's day, or any other religious or ecclesiastical institution, or rite; nor to favor in any way the adoption of any resolution for the amendment of the National Constitution that would in any way give preference to the principles of any one religion above another, or that will in any way sanction legislation upon the subject of religion; but that the total separation between religion and the State, assured by our National Constitution as it now is, may forever remain as our fathers established it.



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NEW YORK, SEPTEMBER 11, 1890.

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THE Czar of Russia, who is the head of the Greek Church, demands that the Pope shall address him as an equal, which the Pope refuses to do. A Western paper thinks that the Pope has the better claim to pre-eminence, since he is the bigger humbug. But to us this seems like "snap judgment," for since each, being but a man, claims to be the head of "the only true church," how can the claim of one be any more preposterous than that of the other?

"EVERY Sunday," says the *World*, "which finds thousands of people in our large cities without means of lawful and innocent recreation and refreshment, deepens the popular determination to make our laws conform to the conditions and customs of a cosmopolitan population." The determination ought to be to make our laws conform to justice, and to the natural rights of the citizen. This they can never do as long as they are used to enforce the observance of any religious institution whatever.

THE *Dial*, of Oakland, California, makes the following excellent point on Mrs. Bateham, of Ohio, who is assisting in the California Sunday campaign:—

Mrs. Bateham illuminated her speech at the Presbyterian church, Thursday night, by saying that the people of Washington awoke after twenty years, and found that they had no Sabbath law. Dear Mrs. Bateham, Sister Bateham, do you not know that you have proved too much? See! *Without any law* the sleepy and highly religious people of old Washington observed the Sabbath well—so well as to stand in the front rank of all Sunday observing cities. If this was the result of having no Sabbath laws, why do you complain?

Friend *Dial*, you must not expect Mrs. Bateham to be consistent; but you can depend upon an Oakland audience to appreciate the dilemma in which she has placed herself and the cause which she represents.

MR. JOHN N. STEARNS, Corresponding Secretary of the National Temperance Society, has transmitted to the American Sabbath Union the following resolution, adopted at a regular meeting of the Board of Managers of the Society:—

Resolved, That the Board of Managers of the National Temperance Society, in behalf of its membership throughout the Nation, earnestly protests

against the opening of the World's Fair on the Sabbath day.

This strikes us as being a little out of the line of the legitimate business of the National Temperance Society. If the managers want to throw their influence in favor of Sunday closing of the Exposition, they should do it on their own responsibility; they have no right to commit the Society upon such a question.

JOSIAH STRONG, Secretary of the Evangelical Alliance, says:—

All laws may be said to limit individual liberty, but just laws restrain each in the interest of all; they draw the circumscribing line only where the liberty of one overlaps that of many. Hence, law in a much larger sense, is the guardian of liberty. This is true of our Sabbath laws. Whatever can be said against them, as infringing personal liberty, may be urged with greater force against our common school laws; they rest on the same foundation and are alike pillars of our free institutions.

Is it a sound conclusion that, "this is true of our Sabbath laws," and that "our common school laws rest upon the same foundation"? By school laws, of course, he means those which require attendance upon school for a stated period. Are laws enforcing compulsory attendance upon school, and laws enforcing compulsory observance of Sunday, parallel? They are not. Why not? Because common school education is a secular matter entirely, between the State and the parent and pupil; but Sunday observance would bring in another factor—God. Do the two rest upon the same foundation? They do not, unless the State is God, and God the State. However, that is just the proposition into which the National Reform doctrine invariably resolves itself.

LAST week we stated in a last-page note, that the Republicans of Wisconsin had declared in favor of the Bennett law; but we had not, at the time of making up our paper, seen a copy of the platform adopted by the convention which renominated Governor Hoard, and we find that we were misled by telegraphic statements, sent out evidently by those whose wish was father to their statements. That part of the Wisconsin Republican platform relating to the Bennett law, is as follows:—

The Republican party in convention assembled, declares its devotion to the common school as the chief factor in the education of the people, and pledges itself to support, strengthen and defend it. It recognizes as valuable auxiliaries in the work of public education the private and parochial schools, supported without aid from public funds, and disclaims absolutely any purpose whatever to interfere in any manner with such schools, either as to their terms, government, or branches to be taught therein.

We affirm the right and duty of the State to enact laws that will guarantee to all children sufficient instruction in the legal language of the State to enable them to read and write the same. We believe that the compulsory education law passed by the last Legislature is wise and humane in all its essential purposes, and we are opposed to its repeal, but at the same time we assert that the parent or guardian has the right to select the time of year and the place, whether public or private, and wherever located, in which his child or ward shall receive instruction, and we pledge ourselves to modify the existing law so that it shall conform to the foregoing declarations.

We further believe that all children between the ages of seven and fourteen years should be protected by appropriate legislation from the evils, physical and mental, arising from their employment in factories and similar places of work, and that adequate provision should be made for the care of children incorrigibly truant.

We are unalterably opposed to any union of Church and State, and will resist any attempt upon the part of either to invade the dominion of the other. We repudiate as a gross misrepresentation of our purposes the suggestion, come whence it may, that we will in any manner invade the dominion of conscience and trample upon parental rights or religious liberty. Our only purpose in respect to the educational policy of the State is to secure to all children within its borders, at the earliest practicable age, proper equipment for the discharge of the ordinary duties of citizenship, and to this end, alike important to the State, to the children, and to the parents of the children, we invite the co-operation and aid of all broad-minded and patriotic people.

This, we take it, comes far short of the indorsement desired by the ultra friends of the Bennett law. *America* says of it:—

While this is not precisely a straddle, it is a campaign manifesto that does not seem to stand squarely on the ground which is expected to witness the triumph of true Americanism in domestic legislation.

It is evident that the friends of the law do not find in the Republican indorsement all that they would wish to find; but it is pretty certain that there is in it all that there ought to be. As we remarked in our note last week, the law as it stands is unworthy the support of either of the great parties, and we are glad to know that it has been fully indorsed by neither party. The State will have very little trouble in guaranteeing to all children sufficient instruction in the English language to enable them to speak and write it. Every foreigner desires his child to have a knowledge of the language of the country, and every child desires such a knowledge for himself; and the fear that any considerable number of children, in any part of this country, will fail to secure the instruction necessary to enable them to read and write English, is practically groundless. The anti-foreign sentiment which is being so assiduously cultivated in certain quarters, would better be directed against foreign paternalism in government, than against the use of foreign languages in our schools. English, which is already the language of commerce in all nations, and which bids fair to supplant the French as the language of diplomacy, will certainly never fall into disuse in any part of this country.

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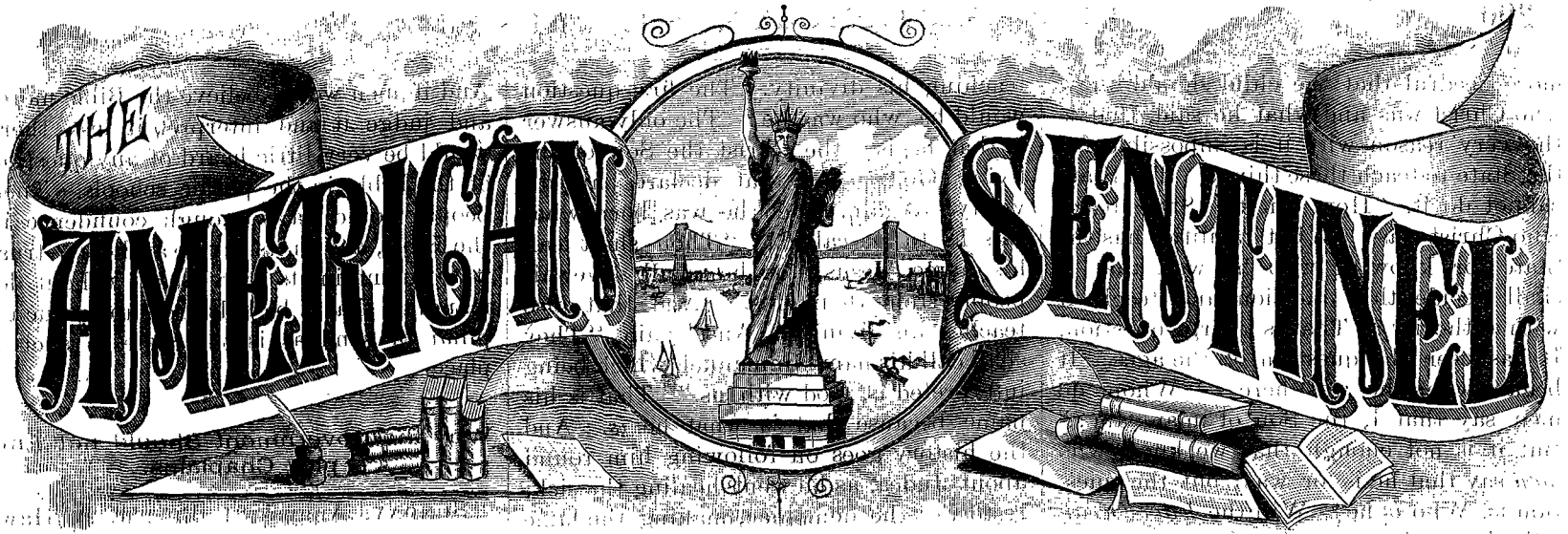
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VOLUME 5.

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The American Sentinel.

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EDITOR, ALONZO T. JONES.

ASSOCIATE EDITORS,

G. P. BULLMAN, W. H. MCKEE.

THE priceless truths of the Bible are best taught to our youth in the church, the Sabbath and the parochial schools, the social and religious meetings, and above all, by parents in the home circle. There these truths may be explained and enforced, the spiritual welfare of the child guarded and protected, and his spiritual nature directed and cultivated in accordance with the dictates of the parental conscience.—*Judge Lyon, of Wisconsin.*

"We demand," say the California Sunday-law advocates, "the enactment and enforcement of an intelligent and rational Sunday law, making one day in seven a rest day, and especially do we demand that all places of secular business be closed on that day, and we further demand that suitable penalties be enacted for the enforcement of the same." To prohibit secular business is to permit religious; this is therefore a demand that the State give religion a monopoly of one day in the week; and yet we are assured by these gentlemen of elastic veracity that they are demanding civil legislation only!

There is no law to prevent a barber or any other tradesman from resting on Sunday, or any other day of the week. There are several shops in Denver which close every Sunday, and have been following this custom for a year or more. Public sympathy is with the man who does what he believes is right. The way to close is to shut up shop on Sunday. If

any number of barbers favor Sunday rest they should take it. Others will follow. Daniels & Fisher close at 6 P. M. every day, without reference to what other dealers do. The *Graphic* closes early on Saturday, often at noon, without regard to what other printing offices do. Enforced Sunday rest is wrong. Every man knows his own business best, and he should not be interfered with as long as he does not interfere with his neighbors.—*Colorado Graphic.*

An Excellent Doom.

UNDER the heading of "A Crime against Liberalism," some time ago, the *Inter-Ocean* criticised the decision of the Supreme Court of Wisconsin, on the Bible in the public schools, which is as clear a case of begging the question as could be, and is as full of sophistry as an egg is full of meat. The third sentence in the article bewails the unfortunate condition of the children of Wisconsin, after this sort:—

That the school children of Wisconsin should be doomed, by a decree of the Supreme Court, to learn nothing of the most marvelous literature extant, seems incredible.

To be sure, what a dreadful doom it is indeed, that the Roman Catholic children, in the State of Wisconsin, shall not be compelled to listen to Protestant prayers, and to take part in Protestant forms of worship, and to listen to the reading of the Protestant Bible in Protestant ways! What a dreadful doom that the children of Jewish parents shall not be compelled to worship as God, one whom they believe to be not God at all! What a dreadful doom it is that the children of unbelievers in the State of Wisconsin shall not be compelled to receive the doctrine and submit to the forms of the Protestant denominations, who think that in themselves is absorbed all the merits and virtues of Christianity. And how dreadful, above all, is the doom of all the people of Wisconsin, that they shall not be compelled to pay money for the support of the religious views of a few self-righteous

"Protestants." We rather think that the people of Wisconsin will survive the terrors of this dreadful doom.

We agree with the *Inter-Ocean* that the Bible contains the most marvelous literature extant; but that a Supreme Court of any State should, according to the Constitution of that State, protect people from being compelled to listen to the reading of that literature is certainly the right thing to do; and that such a proceeding should seem incredible to the *Inter-Ocean*, does not speak very highly of the sense of justice, of right, and of American principles entertained by that paper. And that such a paper should soberly set forth any such idea as that this decision of the Supreme Court of Wisconsin should doom the school children of that State to learn nothing of the Bible, speaks a good deal less for the spirit of fairness and logical discernment that ought to characterize such a paper. The decision of the Supreme Court of Wisconsin no more dooms the children of that State to learn nothing of the Bible, than it dooms them to learn nothing of how to hoe corn. Every man, woman, and child, in the State of Wisconsin, is at perfect liberty to learn all that may be learned of this most marvelous literature extant, and the *Inter-Ocean* knows it.

Likewise, under this decision, no man nor woman nor child, in the State of Wisconsin, can be compelled to pay for the reading of that literature nor to listen to its being read; and why should the *Inter-Ocean* demand that it should be otherwise?

Again says the *Inter-Ocean*:—

It is as needful that he [the child] should know who Christ was and what he said, as it is that he should know who Columbus was and what he did.

Yes it is a good deal more needful. It is as much more needful as that Christ is more than Columbus was; and as what Christ said, is of much more weight and importance than what Columbus ever did. But it does not follow that because a thing is essential that therefore the State must teach it. The very fact that it is so much

more needful that the child should know who Christ was and what he said, that is the very reason why it is impossible for the State to teach these things. The State cannot do it. How can the State teach who Christ was? What facilities has the State for knowing who he was, that it shall decide this question and teach it with authority? That is a large question. It has been the question of the ages. It began when he was here. "Whom do men say that I, the Son of man, am?" But it is not enough that we know who men say that he is, or was; but the question is, Who *is* he? Will the *Inter-Ocean* tell who Christ is? and will that paper go so far as to say that what it says Christ is shall be taught to everybody in the State of Illinois, or anywhere else at public expense or by State authority? But from the article in the *Inter-Ocean* it would seem that it proposes that who Christ is and what he said, shall be taught to the children in school, in the same manner as the question of who Columbus was and what he did. If that be the purpose of the *Inter-Ocean*, then no Christian could ever consent to any such teaching. To put Christ and what he said, in such a place and to teach it in such a way as that, is to deny who Christ really is, and to undo all the force of what he said.

Again we quote:—

Nor does the act of teaching the history of Christ necessitate the teaching of his divinity. We tell the scholar what the motives of Columbus were, we leave him to judge of the wisdom of the motive.

Well suppose the public school teacher undertakes to tell children in school what the motive of Christ was in coming to the world, and leaves the children to judge of that motive, as they would judge of the motives of Columbus, what is that but to teach them to sit in judgment upon the Lord? What is it in fact but the teaching of downright infidelity? When the motive of Christ is set before children or men, it is not his intention at all that they shall judge of that motive. It is that they shall believe it and make it a part of their lives, and that to neglect to do so is to imperil the eternal destiny of their souls. Any man can judge of the motives of Columbus with no danger whatever. A child may judge of the motives of Columbus as he pleases, and think of them as he chooses, and it cannot effect him in the least; but neither man nor child can do such a thing with the motives of Jesus Christ, without injury to himself both in this life and the life to come. And that the *Inter-Ocean* should set forth such a proposition leads us seriously to doubt whether it truly believes in the motive of Christ as it really is, or whether it judges his motive as it does those of Columbus or any other explorer.

We should like to see the *Inter-Ocean* attempt to carry out its own statement and give us an example of the act of teaching the history of Christ without

teaching his divinity. The first question would be, who was he? The only answer is that he is "the Christ the Son of the living God." But that declares his divinity. Again, when he was born what was he to be called? "Thou shalt call his name Jesus, for he shall save his people from their sins." And that also teaches his divinity. And again, "They shall call his name Immanuel, which being interpreted is, God with us." That is his name because that is what he *is*. And the history goes on following him round about Judea, as he went healing the sick, restoring the demoniac, making the lame to walk, and the blind to see, stilling the tempest, and raising the dead. And all these things teach his divinity. The history goes on to say that he was crucified, and that that even happened amid such surroundings that the centurion who commanded the soldiers declared, "Verily, this man was the Son of God." And that teaches his divinity. The history goes on to say that he arose from the dead, and was seen of his disciples, and the people in crowds; that his disciples touched him, and ate with him, and associated with him for a period of forty days after they had seen him crucified, and dead upon the cross, and buried in the sepulchre. And then that he ascended up into heaven, and that there he sits at the right hand of the throne of God. And all that teaches his divinity.

In fact every particular and every item in the life of the Saviour from the manger in Bethlehem until his ascension, teaches nothing else than the divinity of Christ. The history cannot be mentioned without teaching that divinity, and any proposition to the contrary is in itself conclusive proof that the one making the statement does not believe in his divinity. And because this history is the history of his divinity, because the words of Christ are the words of "God with us," this is the reason why the words are to be believed, and not judged when they are taught. It is not for man to judge God; it is not for the sinner to sit in judgment upon his Saviour. As this is to be believed, and as the understanding of it is wholly of faith, and as the record is witnessed to faith by the spirit of God,—for this reason it is impossible for any governmental power on earth to teach either the history or the doctrine of Jesus Christ. Christ himself committed that work to the Church, and any church that consents that the State may ever perform that work, allows that she herself has lost the power to do it. And any State that proposes to do such a thing, simply proposes to rob the Church of its prerogative and to usurp that which never can belong to the State, because Christ never committed it to the State.

If men would believe Christ more and judge him less, there would be far less demand that the State shall teach religion.

And if men would believe the Bible more, and judge it and interpret it less, there would be very little heard of any question of the Bible in the public schools. Then people would have enough confidence in the Bible, and in its divine author, to trust it to maintain its own cause, without demanding that it be bolstered up by such a pillar of sand as is the State in such a place.

A. T. J.

Why the Government Should not Employ Chaplains.

SUNDAY, August 24, Rev. J. B. Hawthorne, D. D., the pastor of the First Baptist Church of Atlanta, Georgia, preached in the First Baptist Church in Washington, D. C. On this occasion, Dr. Hawthorne chose for his text the words of the Saviour: "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's." The following paragraphs are from a report of his sermon, published in the *Washington Post*, of August 25:—

We have the freest and best Government in the world, and yet it is sometimes oppressive, because it steps out of its own sphere to meddle with affairs that belong exclusively to the realm of religion. We boast of having a land where Church and State are completely dissevered, but our boast is not literally and absolutely true. The things that are Cæsar's are sometimes mixed in with the things that are God's; and those unlawful and unhallowed complications result from our lack of understanding as to the relations which should ever exist between religion and the State. It is our duty to obey the powers that be, except when the powers that be interfere with the discharge of our obligation to the kingdom of Christ.

The function of the State is simply to protect men in the exercise of their natural rights, and the encouragement thereby, of all good conduct in earthly affairs. All questions of religious duty are above the reach of the State's control, and should be left to God and his providence, to the Saviour and his people, and to the power of truth and love, acting upon the untrammelled conscience. The State has the right to provide for its own protection and perpetuity. It has the right to remove ignorance by providing for the education of the people; and it has the right to restrain . . . vice, on the ground that ignorance and vice endanger the very existence of the State. But when it goes further than that and attempts to establish or foster any form of religious belief or worship, it steps upon forbidden ground, and violates the very rights of man which it was instituted to protect.

The work of the Church is spiritual. Its legitimate authority is spiritual, and only spiritual. The work of the Church

is to seek by the agency of divine grace and truth to bring men into right spiritual relation with God and one another, to prepare them thereby for happiness and glory in the life to come.

The authority of the State is secular. It is not in the remotest degree spiritual. The solitary function of the State is to protect men in the exercise of their natural rights. By natural rights, I mean those pertaining to life, liberty and property. This conception of the relations between Church and State is one for which Baptists have battled and suffered through centuries of despotism and persecution. They were the first to champion the cause of liberty, and in the progress of the fight they have held their places in the front rank of Christ's army and have been the greatest sufferers. . . . I have said the

function of the State is limited to the protection of life, liberty, and property. If the duty of the State is to protect human life, it follows that the State has the right to enact laws that will prevent the destruction of human life. . . . Now these are statements which no honest man in his right mind will controvert. And when we admit that the State has these rights and ought to exercise them, we commit ourselves to the principle that it is the right and duty of the State to forbid the sale of intoxicating liquors except for medicinal and mechanical purposes. Political demagogues have attempted to mislead us by saying that the State, in legislating upon the subject, has trespassed on the domain of religion. They know, as well as we do, that it is doing more to shorten human life than any other cause. They know, as well as we do, that when the State prohibits the traffic it is simply fulfilling its obligation to protect the lives of the people. . . .

We cannot afford to receive help from the State in building our houses of worship. The principle is wrong. The money which the Church appropriates to this purpose is taken partly from the pockets of people who do not believe in the Christian religion. They are thus compelled by civil power to support an institution in which they have no interest, and for which they have no sympathy. It is not only an injustice to them, but an injury inflicted upon us and our cause. Churches that are supported by the State, rather than by the free offerings of the people, lose their spirituality, cease to be aggressive, and degenerate into the deadness of the coldest formalism.

The appointment of chaplains to Congress, to the Army and Navy, and to our State Legislatures, is a custom which strikes at the very first principles of free government. Any man must see that this signifies more than the protection of the Christian religion. It is patronage. These chaplains are appointed by the Government, they are paid by the Government, and they are responsible to the Govern-

ment for the manner in which they perform their official duties. We are bound to admit that the Government can just as consistently appoint a Mohammedan or a Buddhist to a chaplaincy in the Navy as a Presbyterian or a Baptist. It is a violation of the organic laws of the Republic, and an outrage upon the sacred right of conscience to appoint either. If there is one man more than another who needs the benefit of public worship, it is the average congressman; but it is not the duty of the Government to provide for him this spiritual help. Let members of Congress take money from their own pockets to support the men whom they choose to lead them in the morning devotions, and let the officers and privates of the Army do the same.

"Bible Readings for the Home Circle."

THIS is the title of a book which we find denounced by the American Sabbath Union, in the "Pearl of Days" column of the *Mail and Express*, of May 9. The denunciation of this "dangerous" thing was written by Rev. James S. Mott, one of the Vice-Presidents of the American Sabbath Union; indorsed by the Rev. J. H. Knowles, Secretary of the Union, and printed in the "Pearl of Days," the organ of the Union. Therefore it is strictly official. Speaking of the title of the book, Mr. Mott says:—

Such is the winning title of a book which is being pushed throughout our country with all the energy that the book canvasser can exercise. And yet we have never examined a work in which a good title has been employed in a more uncandid way to inculcate pestiferous doctrines. We should be led to expect a volume of devotional articles, and such presentation of divine truth as is currently accepted by evangelical churches.

Indeed! Is it true then that nothing can be properly presented in this country as Bible doctrine, or as from the Bible, except it be such a presentation of divine truth as is "currently accepted by the evangelical churches?" In other words, is only that divine truth which is currently accepted by evangelical churches? Are the evangelical churches the divinely appointed interpreters of the Bible in all that it means? Has it come to this that whatever of the Bible or about the Bible is printed and distributed that is not accepted by the evangelical churches, must be denounced as "dangerous" and "pestiferous?" Mr. Mott says:—

The preface declares "we let the sacred volume stand as its own witness, massing its testimony on the various subjects presented."

When we had read this blast of the American Sabbath Union, we sent and got a copy of the book, as doubtless most people will do who see it, and the very first place we opened, we found the following on "The New Birth," page 117:—

1. What is the natural condition of the human family?

"For all have sinned and come short of the glory

of God." Rom 3:23.

2. Who alone will be permitted to see God?

"Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God." Matt 5:8.

3. Can man, by his own exertions alone, change his condition?

"Can the Ethiopian change his skin, or the leopard his spots? then may ye also do good, that are accustomed to do evil." Jer. 13:23.

4. How, then, can one be brought to God?

"For Christ also hath once suffered for sins the just for the unjust, that he might bring us to God." 1 Peter 3:18.

Turning back just two leaves we find the heading, "Repentance," under which we have this:—

1. To whom is repentance to be preached?

"And that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name among all nations." Luke 24:47.

2. Who are called to repentance?

"I come not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance." Luke 5:32.

3. How is one to know he is a sinner?

"By the law is the knowledge of sin." Rom. 3:20.

4. Is this a universal rule?

"We have before proved both Jews and Gentiles, that they are all under sin." Verse 9.

5. How are sinners convinced of sin?

"But if ye have respect to persons, ye commit sin, and are convinced of the law as transgressors." James 2:9.

6. What part does the Holy Spirit act in this work?

"For if I go not away, the Comforter will not come unto you; but if I depart, I will send him unto you. And when he is come he will reprove the world of sin." John 16:7, 8, 13, 14.

7. What will be the inquiry of those who are thus convicted?

"Men and brethren what shall we do?" Acts 2:47.

8. What reply should always be returned to this inquiry?

"Repent, and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of sins." Verse 38.

Under the heading, "The Divinity of Christ," we find this, page 255:—

1. How does the great Apostle speak of the Lord Jesus?

"God was manifest in the flesh, justified in the spirit, seen of angels, preached unto the Gentiles, believed on in the world, received up into glory." 1 Tim. 3:16.

2. How does Christ himself speak of his relation to the Father?

"I and my Father are one." John 10:30.

3. How does he show what he means by being "one with the Father"?

"And now I am no more in the world, but these are in the world, and I come to thee. Holy Father, keep through thine own name those whom thou hast given me, that they may be one as we are." John 17:11, 12.

4. Did Christ exist before he was manifested in the flesh?

"And now, O Father, glorify thou me with thine own self with the glory which I had with thee before the world was." Verse 5.

5. How came he in the world as a Saviour?

"And the angel said unto them, fear not; for, behold, I bring you good tidings of great joy, which shall be to all people. For unto you is born this day in the city of David a Saviour, which is Christ the Lord." Luke 2:10, 11.

Under the heading, "Importance of Prayer," we find the following, page 324:—

1. What is the Scripture injunction in regard to prayer?

"I would therefore that men pray everywhere, lifting up holy hands, without wrath or doubting." 1 Tim. 2:8.

2. What is the promise to those who ask and seek for the things they need? *Everyone that asketh receiveth, and he that seeketh findeth, and to him that knocketh it shall be opened.* Matt. 7:8.

3. How does the Saviour illustrate the willingness of Heaven to grant favors to those who ask? *If ye, then, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more shall your Father which is in heaven give good things to them that ask him?* Verse 11.

"Another" under the heading of "The Poor and Our Duty Toward Them," gives this, page 349:—

1. How long will the Church have poor people in its midst?

"For ye have the poor always with you." Matt. 26:11.

2. What ought one to do for the poor? and how often?

"For ye have the poor with you always, and whosoever ye will ye may do them good." Mark 14:7.

3. What promises are made to those who consider the poor?

"Blessed is he that considereth the poor: the Lord will deliver him in the time of trouble." The Lord will preserve him, and keep him alive; and he shall be blessed upon the earth; and thou wilt not deliver him unto the will of his enemies. "The Lord will strengthen him upon the bed of languishing: Thou wilt make all his bed in his sickness." Ps. 41:1-3.

4. When one gives to the poor, how does the Lord consider the act?

"He that hath pity upon the poor lendeth unto the Lord; and that which he hath given will he pay him again." Prov. 19:17.

Each of the readings noticed here is much longer than the parts which we have quoted, but we have printed enough to show how the book is made up. The whole book of six hundred pages is filled with readings in this same order. A question is asked, and then the scripture itself is printed, which answers the question. There are one hundred and sixty-four different readings, which taken altogether cover nearly every subject treated of in the Bible, so that anybody who will buy the book and study it through, will have a much better idea of the Bible than he could have by reading the Bible through; because each reading is upon a particular subject, and the different passages of the Scripture that speak upon that subject and make it plain are printed in that reading, so that when you study the reading you know what the Bible says on that subject!

Thus, from an examination of the book, we are prepared to say it is one of the best books for the study of the Bible that was ever printed. And the American Sabbath Union in condemning it, just as surely condemns the use of the Bible as a popular study.

We have been shown, by a canvasser for the book, testimonials from secretaries of the Young Men's Christian Association, pastors of the Baptist Church, the Congregationalist Church, the Methodist Church, the Christian Church, and officers of the Society of Christian Endeavor; all strongly recommending it as an excellent book, and one of the very best helps in preparation for Christian Endeavor exercises,

Young Men's Christian Association work, and church work generally. And we think their recommendations are wise.

Yet, in the face of all this, the American Sabbath Union says of the book:—

"When it knocks at our door with the pleasant face of Bible Readings for the Home Circle, we must meet that smile with a frown."

When the American Sabbath Union thus shows itself ready to denounce, and meet with a frown, books made up as nearly, wholly, from the Bible as could possibly be without printing the Bible alone, just because, in some things it happens not to suit the American Sabbath Union, how long would it be if they had the power, before the people would be compelled to believe the Bible, just as these self-appointed censors do, or else be denounced or frowned upon as this innocent book is by the Union?

Yes, indeed! Such is the winning title of the book, and by examination, we find that the book is as winning as the title. And we hope that every one who sees this, or who saw that which the American Sabbath Union said about the book, will look up a canvasser and get a copy of the book and read it as closely as we have read it.

As the American Sabbath Union says that the book "is being pushed throughout our country with all the energy that the book canvasser can exercise," it ought not to be very hard for individuals to find one of these canvassers and get a copy of the book.

The N. Y. "Mail and Express" and Sunday Excursions.

A western religious paper has the following criticism of Colonel Shepard's evening paper, which is worth repeating:—

"The New York Mail and Express, that great champion of the Sunday cause, which deplores so greatly the desecration of Sunday by Sunday trains and excursions, whose editor is President of the American Sabbath Union, makes speeches against Sunday profanation, and publishes in his paper, free of charge, a Sunday department, called 'The Pearl of Days,' in which all Sunday pleasuring is condemned, and all abettors thereof denounced,—in its issue of an extra Saturday evening, August 16, 1890 (which, of course, was intended to be read on Sunday), prints on its first page the following notice:—

SUNDAY BY OCEAN'S SHORE
The Central Railroad of New Jersey and Sandy Hook Route carry you there.

With such admirable facilities for visiting the shore on Sunday as are afforded by the Central Railroad of New Jersey, both by their all-rail route and the Sandy Hook steamers, the traveler in search of rest by the sea can readily gratify the wish, and that, too, at an exceedingly modest outlay of money. The beauties of the seashore in midsummer are manifest, and make such a day's outing a happy one. Sunday boats leave Pier 8, North River, foot of

Rector street, at 9:30 A. M. and 1:00 P. M., for Atlantic Highlands, Highland Beach, Seabright, Long Branch, etc.

Sunday trains leave ferry foot of Liberty street, at 4:00 and 9:00 A. M., and 4:00 P. M.—Adv.

"We presume the adv. means advertisement. Now, what did the New York Mail and Express publish this for? Was it for the good of the Sunday cause, or for the money there is in it? There can be but one answer. It will publish on one page for money what on another page it denounces as immoral and a sin against God. Where is the principle? How much dependence can be put on such editors? and how deep is their religion? Perhaps Colonel Shepard has not read far enough in his Bible yet to get to the text which says that he that biddeth him Godspeed is partaker of his evil deeds. 2 John, 11. Mr. Knowles, who conducts the Pearl of Days department, might now with propriety give the Mail and Express a scathing rebuke, and the editor of the paper himself tell what a wicked thing it is."

Religion and the Schools.

The United States became a Nation on the fundamental principle of religious liberty. Other nations had reached the point of religious toleration, but none had adopted a system of religious liberty. Toleration implies a State religion. Liberty implies no State religion. Religion is left to the individual and his conscience. Accordingly no special form of religion can be in any way fostered by governmental aid. The least patronage of a religious sect is a violation of religious liberty. Religions must grow from their own vitality and not from State culture. This is not only the sole condition of religious liberty, but it is the most favorable condition of religion itself. State interference must always mar religion, however much it may give it the appearance of prosperity. State interference brings in the discordant element of politics, detrimental to all religion. It is from these premises we insist that religion must never be taught in our public schools. Any form of religious teaching must have a sectarian character as against other forms; and to that degree such teaching in our public schools would be a violation of our national principle of religious liberty. Because a devout Christian would like to have all American children instructed in the evangelical doctrine, he has no more right to have it taught in the public schools than a devout Jew, in his ardent desire to have all American children instructed in Judaism, has to have the (Talmud) taught in the public schools. In either case, religious liberty is violated. The piety that would force such instruction is of the same sort that burned Giordano Bruno. The school should have as its one object

the preparation of the child to form an intelligent member of the State. For this he must know how to read and write and compute numbers, and must become acquainted with the history and institutions of his country. There the public school has exhausted its function. Religion should be taught at home and in the church. There it can be rendered specific and detailed. The important doctrines may there be carefully inculcated and a strong religion imparted, when the public school at best could furnish only a very weak religion. The cry of irreligious schools under this American system is just as senseless as would be the cry of irreligious reading-rooms or irreligious eating-houses, because no religion was apparent in them. The growth of religion in our country is due to its religious liberty. Injure that religious liberty and you check that growth. And not only do you check the growth of religion, but you engender controversies that infiltrate our politics and prepare the way for the overthrow of all liberties. Religious contests form the fertile soil of tyrannies, and it is for us Americans to avoid carefully the beginnings of a false system that would intensify religious hatreds and strife. While the Government is neutral, all religions can grow according to their own vitality, and the truth will eventually triumph peacefully and satisfactorily to all. *Howard Crosby, D.D., LL.D., in Independent*

The Eight-Hour Movement and Sunday.

In discussing the eight-hour movement and the success which is attending it, the *Observer*, of this city, says:—

This labor day of eight hours has an important bearing on the interests and obligations of the holy Sabbath. Though it gives more time for rest and recreation during the week, it does not lessen the desirability and necessity of one day of complete rest from ordinary labor. Eight hours a day of thorough work during six successive days, will make one day of entire repose from physical and mental toil a genuine relief and benefit. But eight full hours of freedom in every day of the week completely destroys the argument for making Sunday a mere holiday. It is a national disaster for a people to become so frivolous and pleasure-loving that they cannot devote one day in seven to actual rest and serious occupation. When Sunday is used by one-half the population in labor that may provide the other half with amusements, this country will be ready to rank in moral and spiritual force with a South American republic. Eight hours a day for labor removes every shadow of an excuse for popular attacks on the Sabbath on the ground that labor has no other time for recreation. That labor which is confined to eight hours has more opportunity for amusement of every kind than other large divisions of humanity.

This shows the true animus of the whole Sunday movement. It is true that the leaders in the present national Sunday crusade, are professedly working for a civil Sunday, a day in which the poor working man may rest; but it is none the less true that their inspiration is found in the fact that they have a religious regard

for the day, and are determined that others shall at least act as though they also regard it as sacred. They are simply seeking governmental recognition of a religious institution.

Preserve the Constitution.

"At the present time," when some are lamenting the absence of the name of God in our national Constitution, and claiming that our Government is founded upon atheistical principles, and hence a necessity for a change of that noble document, it certainly will not be lost time to study it a little more closely. Although it must be admitted that "our Government is in no sense founded upon the Christian religion," I should not be surprised if, upon examination, we found the gospel and our Government were founded upon the same principles; both designed, in the highest sense, to make men free.

Compare for a moment, the Golden Rule and the Declaration of Independence, the one uttered by Him who "spoke as never man spoke," the other by those who were familiar with the intolerance of the Old World, and who were determined to found a Government that would make free men of all its subjects. We admire the one, because if carried out in life, it would place every person upon a perfect equality with his fellow man. We love the other, because, under its principles, we have grown to be the greatest Nation in the world, and our land "the home of the free." The same spirit of equality and justice is breathed in both these documents. The words of the first are, "all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." In the other we read: "We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." In sentiment, these are the same. No matter what position we occupy in life, high or low, rich or poor, black or white, these are rights given of the Creator, and can not in justice be taken away, or transferred.

Again, every man is sovereign in his own house, for the Constitution says, "The right of the people to be secure in their persons, papers and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated." And if this were carried out, it would be the principle of the Golden Rule. "And in all civil matters, securing justice to all, peace among neighbors, the right to secure and hold property, and in everything adopted and framed into the Constitution, for the common defense and general welfare of the people, we see over and over again the principle of doing to others as we would wish to be done by. And in religious matters, a barrier of

defense is built, that is impregnable, if left as framed by our fathers. We read: "No religious test shall ever be required as a qualification for office of public trust under the United States."

Again, "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof. Thus forever placing all upon an equality in matters of conscience; leaving every person free to make choice of whom or what to worship; how and when and where, and at the same time not to infringe upon the sacred rights of his fellow men. And here again, is the same principle of placing ourselves in the other man's shoes, and then doing as we would be done by. These principles are worthy of our love, of our highest admiration. They are in perfect harmony with the principles of the gospel, the principles of Christianity. Thus we find the objects of the gospel, and of the Constitution, each in its place, perfectly agree, namely, to make men free. All honor to these principles, all honor to those broad-minded men, the fathers of our Republic! All honor to our national Constitution, and let us watch with a jealous eye, every suggestion to change that glorious document. *H. F. Phelps, in Journal, Brainerd, Minn.*

The late German Catholic Congress, held at Coblenz, adopted resolutions demanding "the re-establishment in Germany of all the Catholic orders, including the Jesuits, and the restoration of the Pope's temporal power." "These demands," says the *Catholic Review*, "are significant in Germany to the party suffering, because of their inherent justice to the party governing, because of the fact that six thousand Germans met in congress to make them." Yes, they are significant, but not for the reasons given by the *Review*; they are significant because in every country Roman Catholics are exerting a greater influence than ever before in the present century, and the end is not yet. Of the proposed Catholic Congress to be held in Chicago in 1893, the *Review* says:

Let us get 10,000 representative Catholics together in Chicago in 1893, and if they will have the courage of their German co-religionists, the courage to demand their rights and the rights of the Holy Father, well and good. If they will not, then let us bow our heads before the nobler, greater, braver Germans.

They will not lack the courage, but it is to be feared that those who stand at the head of our Government will lack the courage to resist as they should the encroachments of Rome in this country, and not only so, but already evidences are not lacking, as witnessed by the congressional appropriations to Catholic schools, to show that the demands of Rome are not less potent in this country than in some of the nations of the Old World.

What Need of Sunday Laws?

HON. H. SCOTT HOWELL, in the June *Evangel of Rest*, says:—

The Divine, with infinite wisdom, requires us to "Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy;" and every citizen, however humble he may be, whether rich or poor, whether black or white, who in obedience to this divine law, engages in acts of devotion and worship, in his own home or in the public assembly, may do so in this free country "with none to molest or make him afraid."

Referring to Mr. Howell's words, a Des Moines, Iowa, paper asks the following pertinent questions:—

If the above is true, what force is there in the pathetic appeals of the American Sabbath Union to Congress for laws to give the poor laboring man a chance to rest, and go to church? And if all, rich or poor, black or white, may, if they will, obey the divine law of the Sabbath, "with none to molest or make them afraid," what is the object of all this clamor for Sabbath legislation?

WHATEVER may be true of Protestants in other lands, the Protestants of the United States are unqualifiedly opposed to any union of Church and State, even such a union as is involved when the State undertakes to give the simplest instruction in religion. But it becomes evident that, if the State is going to undertake to give complete education to all its citizens, one of two things must follow: either there must be no religious instruction and we must rear generations of agnostics and atheists, or else it must teach doctrines against which a considerable portion of the citizens protest. Neither of these things ought to be. It is the business of the Christian people of this land, and of any land, to see to it that the atmosphere breathed by their children, while acquiring the education which is to fit them for the present life, be such as shall conduce to their religious as well as to their mental growth, that heart and mind be cultivated at the same time.—*Journal and Messenger (Baptist), Cincinnati.*

THE Rev. Frank Dixon, pastor of the Tenth Avenue Baptist Church, Oakland, in a recent sermon on "The Sabbath," touched the heart of the greater part of the fancied devotion to Sunday, in the following words:—

Was our religion so inseparable from the Sunday of our fathers that it vanished with the desecration of that day? Going down to the bottom of the matter, have we been worshiping a day or Jesus Christ? Then, too, we cannot help asking ourselves if a large part of the reverence with which we have viewed Sunday has not been rendered to our fathers who bequeathed us the day, rather than to any sanctity which we discovered in the day.

It is ancestor-worship instead of devotion to the day for its own sake, in a large degree. Mr. Dixon does not believe that Sunday is any more sacred than any other day, but that all days are alike; but yet he finds ground for State Sunday laws. Great is consistency, but greater yet is custom.—*Signs of the Times.*

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.

OFFICES.

48 BOND STREET, NEW YORK CITY;
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C. ELDRIDGE, - - - - - President.
W. H. MCKEE, - - - - - Secretary.

A LONDON despatch says that Cardinal Manning has written a letter to the Social Science Congress, in session at Liege, Belgium, urging among other things, that the observance of Sunday be enforced. At every public gathering, both in this country and Europe, where it is possible to present and advocate the claims of Sunday for legal acknowledgment and enforced observance, ministers and prelates of ability and eminence, in church circles, are found ready to press the subject with all their power and subtilty. It cannot be long before the result of this will become so evident that even the way-faring men, who are absorbed in running the world's race, will be able to read the signs of the times.

AN Iowa paper, favorable to the objects of the National Religious Liberty Association, has the following note:—

Rev. Wilbur F. Crafts gave three lectures in Des Moines, Sunday, and one, Monday evening. His coming was a surprise, his announcements not being made till within a few hours before he delivered his first address. Our readers understand the object of such a course, but they may be assured that Rev. Crafts's hearers will be bountifully supplied with National Religious Liberty reading-matter, even if the distribution has to follow the lectures.

It is hard for Mr. Crafts to kick against the pricks, but he may as well make up his mind that he cannot have a monopoly of teaching upon the Sunday-law question. If he believes his cause just, he should not fear full and free discussion.

At a regular meeting of the Board of Managers of the National Temperance Society, held recently in New York, the following resolution was passed, and the Secretary directed to transmit a copy to the Commissioners of the World's Fair, at Chicago:—

Resolved, That the Board of Managers of the National Temperance Society, in behalf of its membership throughout the Nation, earnestly protests against the opening of the World's Fair on the Sabbath day.

Is the National Temperance Society about to swing into line with the National Reform Party? The Sunday Union, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, the King's Daughters, the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor, are already bound in the political compact. If the National Temperance Society joins the great conspiracy against religious freedom and Christianity undefiled, the only organizations still remaining neutral will be the Young Men's Christian Association, the Salvation Army, the Labor Unions, and the secret societies.

It may be said that this resolution is intended to be in the interest of temperance. It is not so worded. But if so, it is time the National Temperance Society learned that it cannot associate itself with the movement to enforce religious formality by civil measures, and establish, in any degree, an enforced political religion, and at the same time expect to serve acceptably, either God or the cause of temperance.

MR. B. L. DIFFENBACHER, 1201 Market Street, Sioux City, Iowa, wishes Religious Liberty reading matter for free distribution during the Corn Palace Carnival, in that city, September 25, to October 11. Unsoiled copies of the AMERICAN SENTINEL or numbers of the "Sentinel Library," will be thankfully received, and judiciously used. Send by mail or express, prepaid, to the above address.

THOSE who wish to do so and who have not already had the opportunity of so doing, or who have neglected it, are requested to sign BOTH of the following petitions and send them to W. H. MCKEE, 225 A Street, N. E., Washington, D. C. If room for more names is desired the petition may be cut out and pasted on to a sheet of legal cap.

To the Honorable, the House of Representatives of the United States:—
We, the undersigned, adult residents of the United States, 21 years of age or more, hereby respectfully, but earnestly, petition your Honorable Body not to pass any bill in regard to the observance of the Sabbath, or Lord's day, or any other religious or ecclesiastical institution or rite; nor to favor in any way the adoption of any resolution for the amendment of the National Constitution that would in any way give preference to the principles of any one religion above another, or that will in any way sanction legislation upon the subject of religion; but that the total separation between religion and the State, assured by our National Constitution as it now is, may forever remain as our fathers established it.

To the Honorable, the Senate of the United States:—
We, the undersigned, adult residents of the United States, 21 years of age or more, hereby respectfully, but earnestly, petition your Honorable Body not to pass any bill in regard to the observance of the Sabbath, or Lord's day, or any other religious or ecclesiastical institution or rite; nor to favor in any way the adoption of any resolution for the amendment of the National Constitution that would in any way give preference to the principles of any one religion above another, or that will in any way sanction legislation upon the subject of religion; but that the total separation between religion and the State, assured by our National Constitution as it now is, may forever remain as our fathers established it.

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Some of the proposition that, says the World, "make Texas fever noncontagious and non-infectious, by a Congressional vote." Some people think Congress is like Parliament, able to do anything but make a man a woman." But curious as is such a proposition, it is neither more curious nor more absurd than is the National Reform proposition to make, in a Christian nation, by inserting in the Constitution a complimentary mention of God.

The result of the recent election in one of the Southern States, is thus announced by the Sun:

The Hon. James P. Eagle, Democrat and Baptist, was elected Governor of Arkansas, yesterday, defeating the Hon. Napoleon Bonaparte Pizer, Union Labor, Republican, and Methodist.

We may as well get used to this sort of thing, for should the hopes of the National Reformers be realized, the religion professed by the various candidates will become a matter of more than passing curiosity.

The Sun, of this city, notes the fact that there were two meetings in Chicago on a recent Sunday, to protest against opening the World's Fair on Sundays, and remarks upon it that, "this seems somewhat premature and immature. It is far from certain as yet, that the World's Fair will be open on week days. The Chicago Fair board is not meeting at Time's forelock most unnecessarily. It would appear that the self-instigated Sabbath Observance Department, of the World's Columbian Exposition, is trying to prove the truth of the old adage, "It is better to be ready and not go; than to go and not be ready."

The Cleveland correspondent of the Christian Advocate, of this city writes to that paper, as follows:

The Epworth League continues the effort to secure a Christian Sabbath for Cleveland. The enemies are strongly entrenched, and it is being realized that resolutions and spasms are not very effective. It is now proposed to secure the co-operation of all the young people's societies in all the churches in the city, not excepting the Roman Catholic, and to direct the effort, so far as possible, to secure the election of men to official places who will enforce the law. It was of the Acts of the Apostles that Luke wrote, and we shall be glad to report further acts of this aggressive League.

This paragraph is interesting as showing the progress that the Sunday cause is making, and the efforts that are being put forward in its behalf. Just what force there is in the reference to the fact that Luke wrote the Acts of the Apostles, we confess that we do not see.

Those who are being seduced into the support of Sunday laws by the "civil Sabbath" plea, should make a note of these words from the Christian Advocate, of this city:

To open the fair on the Sabbath would be to offer an open indignity to all the Christian people of America. They all consider the Sabbath a holy day set apart for religious purposes. They consider themselves bound to keep it holy.

There is not much "civil Sabbath" about that. The "civil Sabbath" which Mr. Crafts has been proclaiming all over the land is simply "a good enough Morgan" till the desired legislation is secured. Then the mask will be thrown aside, and it will be seen that we have laws compelling people who are not religious to act in some things at least, as though they were.

We are asked if we wish our readers to understand that we think that all drinking of intoxicating beverages should be abolished? and if we would carry prohibition so far as to forbid the use of intoxicating wine in the holy communion? We will simply say that we are opposed to the liquor traffic and believe that there are ample civil reasons why the State should abolish the saloon; but just how far prohibition should be carried, we are not prepared to say; that is, our study of the matter does not qualify us to speak ex cathedra upon so difficult a question. It seems to us, however, that to prohibit the traffic in alcoholic beverages, and their manufacture for the purpose of traffic, is about all the State could justly do. It would seem that to carry prohibition to the lengths intimated by our correspondent, would be an unwarranted invasion not only of religious rights, but of proper personal, civil rights.

The new Citizens Movement in the city of New York, for ousting Tammany Hall from the control of city affairs, fell into a serious error," says the Christian Advocate, "in using Archbishop Corrigan's name. Not only did they place his name in the list of clergymen who support the movement, but put him at the head of a committee of clergymen, one of whose members is a Catholic priest who is of a contentious attitude toward his church. The committee has been ordered to withdraw it at once. It now appears his name was used in the first place without securing his consent, but simply on the theory that it was favorable to the movement. Such use of any man's name is an impo-

sition. Never without express consent given after full opportunity of reading the document, should any person's name be signed to it." There is a good deal too much of that sort of thing done, and nowhere is it more common than among those who attempt to engineer political matters from a religious standpoint. Such unwarranted use of names is very common with the National Reformers. It is not at all reassuring to know that the Citizens' Movement has been guilty of it in the very outset of the cause of reform. Moral reformers should be scrupulously honest.

One of the neatest and best books which we have seen in a long time, is "Jottings from the Pacific, Fiji and Samoa." By Emma H. Adams, author of "To and Fro in Southern California," and "Up and Down in Oregon and Washington." This book, which is handsomely illustrated, is printed in large clear type, on excellent paper, and is substantially bound in cloth, beautifully embossed in jet and gold. It contains 160 pages of not only absolutely unobjectionable, but highly interesting and profitable matter, descriptive of Fiji and Samoa, and giving glimpses of native life in those interesting islands. No parent can do better than to place such books in the hands of his children, and thus cultivate in them a taste for good reading.

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EDITOR, - - - ALONZO T. JONES.

ASSOCIATE EDITORS,

C. P. BOLLMAN,

W. H. McKEE.

“THE voice of the people is the voice of God,” is as true to-day, as when spoken in a city of Greece two thousand years ago.—*Clear Lake (Cal.) Press.*

Just about as true! For instance, when, a century later, the people crowded around the Son of God, shouting, “Crucify him! Crucify him!”

HE who seeks to transform the church of God into a political club-room, must ever be regarded as the enemy of our higher ideals of civil and religious liberty, and also guilty of a Pharisaism which has the effrontery to dictate methods to God himself. This paper believes that the race will be happiest when it takes God's laws as they are, and enacts such laws for the regulation of human affairs as wisdom, tempered with justice, suggests.—*Central City, Nebraska, Republican.*

THE *Christian Union* is grieved because the sale of acids for removing ink stains is permitted in this country, and says: “A little bit of the thou-shalt-not policy of Russia might make a useful ingredient in the devil-take-the-hindmost policy of our democracy. Under a paternal form of government, the sale of such a mixture as this would probably be prohibited.” Of course, what the *Christian Union* has in view is the ease with which checks can be raised by means of this acid; but the idea of making this the occasion of a plea for a paternal government, would be decidedly funny, did it not show the growing feeling in this country to make

the Government everything to everybody. The “acid” referred to, which is generally sold under the name of “ink eradicator,” is used by thousands of honest men in their every-day business, and is fast coming to be considered as indispensable in every counting room. The editor of the *Christian Union* should provide himself with a “check perforator,” and thank his stars that he doesn't live in Russia.

State and Parochial Schools.

STATE supremacy and jurisdiction over church schools seems to be spreading like an epidemic. Wisconsin, Illinois, and Ohio have laws already in this line. Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, and other States are seriously proposing laws and even considering amendments giving the State jurisdiction over church schools. It seems singular that not only the evil in this thing itself, but the actual danger to the State lying in it, cannot be seen by those who are carrying forward the movement.

First, the thing is evil in itself, because the church school is a private school. Those who establish it pay to the public school all the State demands, and then they take their own money and hire their own teachers to teach their own children, perhaps in their own houses; and then this movement demands that the State shall assume jurisdiction over these private schools, and authority to dictate as to the teaching in such schools. This is but to claim the right of the State to assume jurisdiction and authority to dictate in the private affairs of the people. But if the State has this authority in one thing, it may have it in everything that it chooses, and soon all private rights are gone, and nothing that a man has, not even his own person belongs any longer to himself, but to the public. The State is put above the people, and the people become only a part of the machinery of the State. This is directly the reverse of the American principle—the true principle of government.

“All men are created equal and are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights.” These rights belong to the individual. They are his own. He may, in establishing government he does, surrender the personal exercise of certain of these rights; but he never does, and according to the American principle, he never can, surrender himself bodily, and yield to the Government any jurisdiction over his private concerns. The assertion of the rights of any such jurisdiction on the part of the State is but the assertion of the rightfulness of despotism, and springs from a spirit essentially despotic.

Again, these are church schools organized for the purpose of teaching to the children of the members of that church the doctrines and religion of the church. In many of the schools, the preacher and the teacher are one and the same person, and the building which is the meeting house of the church on Sunday, is the school house for the children of the church members on other days. If the State may rightly assume jurisdiction over what is taught in that house by that preacher to the children of the church members during the week days, why may not the State also assume jurisdiction over what is taught in that house to the children and their parents together, on Sunday? There is no possible argument that will justify the first that will not likewise justify the second. And if the State may do this in these particular circumstances, it may do so in all places and under all circumstances. And then the distinction between Church and State is broken down and destroyed.

This brings us to the second phase of this subject, *the danger to the State* which lies in this movement against church schools. As we have seen, the result is the destruction of the distinction between the Church and State, and is a *union* of Church and State, instead of a *separation*. By the State thus forcing itself upon the Church, and really making the Church a part of itself, forcing it to be so, those churches will inevitably be driven to take

a constant and active part as churches in every department of the State. Because when the State assumes jurisdiction of the church schools to any extent, it becomes of paramount interest to that church to secure as much interest as possible in the affairs of the State, so that the Church through the officers of the State may recover jurisdiction over her own schools and her own affairs. And to this action the Church is driven by the action of the State in first assuming jurisdiction over the affairs of the Church. But in a government of the people just as soon as the Church, as such, becomes a part of the State as such, it remains only a question of time when the State in the proper sense of the word, will be gone, and all that is left of it will be but the tool of the Church in carrying forward her own schemes.

The American principle of Government is the absolute and total separation between the Church and the State. The Church neither dictating to the State in anything, nor yet the State dictating to the Church in anything, but each one occupying its own sphere, and exercising jurisdiction in its own affairs only. We know the cry that is made in defense of this movement to give the State jurisdiction of the church schools,—the cry of danger to the State, and that it is necessary for the general welfare that the State shall do so. But this cry in the first place is a fraud. There is not a particle of danger to the State in anything that is aimed at in these laws; but even if there were some real danger there, it would be nothing at all in comparison with the danger to the State that will come inevitably from the slightest step taken by the State in assuming jurisdiction of church schools, or church affairs in any way whatever. Every man who believes in the separation of the Church and State, every man who believes in the principles of the Declaration of Independence, must oppose always and everywhere, every move to have the State interfere in any way with the workings of the church, or private schools.

Another phase of this question we will reserve for next week. A. T. J.

Churchianity vs. Christianity.

CHURCHIANITY may be defined as Christianity formalized. It is like counterfeit coin—current but false. Defoe wrote:—

“Wherever God erects a house of prayer,
The devil always builds a chapel there.”

Churchianity is this devil's chapel.

When Christianity marries the State, the natural, the almost inevitable product of the unnatural *mesalliance* is Churchianity. The Church is secularized. It is a department of the government. And, as every bargain presupposes a *quid pro quo*, in return for governmental alliance it makes itself a prop of the powers that be.

Thus religion is transformed from a principle into an institution. What should be inward feeling and motive, runs outward and freezes into mere profession. Christianity is a business. The divine element evaporates. God is *Deus ex machina*. The ministry ceases to be a calling and becomes a profession. Men are preferred to this and that sacred office. The clergy are in form, servants of Heaven, in fact, officials of the State. Handling money, controlling patronage, dealing in sacred things for secular purposes, Christianity is hocus-pocussed into Churchianity.

In this country we have no State Church. Nevertheless, Churchianity is a naturalized resident. Because Churchianity is more than a system—it is a state of mind. Wherever form is put for substance, whenever the medium is regarded as the essence, Christianity crystallizes into Churchianity. We have a religious establishment, but no longer religion. We look for Christ and find—a church. We ask for bread and are given—a stone. *Carlos Martyn, D. D., in the Arena.*

The Bible Is Religious Only.

THE *Christian Union* wants the Bible used in the public schools simply as history and literature, just as Xenophon and Homer are used. It says:—

If our Catholic, Jewish, or Agnostic brethren object to opening schools with acts of worship, such acts of worship should, in our judgment, be discontinued. It is not the business of the State to conduct public worship against the objection of any considerable proportion of tax-payers, but, the use of the Bible as history and literature is no more sectarian than the use of Xenophon or Homer.

Yes; it is true enough that the use of the Bible as history and literature is no more sectarian than any other book of history or literature, but the Bible is not that; the Bible is neither history nor literature; it was not written for any such purpose. It is true there is history in it, but the only purpose for which that history was written, is religious. It is likewise true that there is a literature in the Bible, but the sole worth that it has as literature is the religion that is in it. Take the literature of the sermon on the mount, what is it worth without the religion that is in it? That was not spoken as a piece of literature; the Saviour did not declaim that to display his eloquence. It was spoken as the word of God; spoken by him who came down from heaven bringing the salvation of God to man, and it was to impress the thoughts of God upon the minds and hearts of men that Christ uttered it, and to take that idea and thought out of it, takes everything out of it; if it is not that, it is not anything at all. It is the same with any other part of the Scriptures, there are fine passages, there are heights of eloquence and depths of pathos, but whether it be height or depth, it is the inspiration

of the religion of Christ that makes it so, that makes it what it is.

There is another point in this. There is a good deal of sophistry about this idea of using the Bible as a history. We should like some of those who talk that way, to tell us in what the history of the Jewish people consists, that is of any material worth, aside from the religion. What value has the history of the Jewish nation if you take the religion out of it? They were not scientists; they did not cultivate art in any particular form. The form of government that they had was set aside by the Lord himself, and such a form is forbidden to be any more amongst men. Then, as a model government, it is worthless. In art or science it is worthless. The only thing in the history from beginning to end, the only thing that ever was in it, the only thing that was intended to be gathered from it, is religion. And if it be separated from its religious purpose, there is taken away from it all the value that it has.

To prove this, attention needs but to be called to the record. Take up the history that is found in the Bible anywhere, and it is inseparable from the religious idea, and the religious thought. The history of Abraham, for instance, is that God called him from among his people to a land that He would show him, and that he went not knowing whither; that the Lord promised to him, when as yet he had no child, that his seed should be as the stars of heaven—innumerable, and that in his seed all the nations of the earth should be blessed. The seed referred to in that word is Jesus Christ, and the sole purpose of the history from Abraham to Christ, was to bring the people to him. And when he came and that people rejected him, their history, as connected with the Bible ceased forever. In fact, there is a period of more than four hundred years before Christ came, during which there is not a word of history; which in itself shows that the history of that people is not the object of the writing in the Bible.

Again, start with the children of Israel, as they were about to leave Egypt, and it is but an account of miracle after miracle. In fact the whole story, from that time till Israel entered into the land of Canaan, for a period of forty years, is scarcely anything else than a record of a series of miracles. The Red Sea was divided that Israel might pass; then as they passed into the wilderness they came to the bitter waters which were made sweet that the people might drink. Afterward, water was more than once given to the people by Moses merely striking the rock with his rod; and then at Sinai, the Lord appeared in glory on the top of the mount, and also at the door of the tabernacle; and, to say nothing of the constant, almost daily, repetition of miracles, there was the pillar of fire by

night, and the pillar of cloud by day, constantly over the tabernacle, by whose direction they moved or remained. Thus it was all through the forty years wanderings in the desert of Arabia. When they passed into the promised land, it was when "the Jordan overflowed its banks." The priests took the ark of God, and started into the water. As soon as their feet touched the water that which was above stood still, and that below flowed on. And so it stood till the whole of the host of Israel passed over.

Soon after this they came to Jericho and laid siege to that city by merely marching around it once a day, for seven days, blowing trumpets of rams' horns; and on the seventh day they marched around it seven times and then set up a mighty shout, and the walls of Jericho fell down. The siege was ended and the city captured. Not long after this there was a battle with the Canaanites, the inhabitants of the land. They were defeated, but to make the victory forever sure, the sun stood still and the day was prolonged, so that there was no such day before nor after it. And so the whole history might be followed through, step by step, as it is written, from that day when the sun stood still, unto the last historical record in the Old Testament, and all the time the record is to be found inseparable from signs, wonders, miracles, and interpositions of the Lord. All of which demonstrates that the object of the Bible is not historical, but religious wholly. It also demonstrates that it is impossible to use the Bible as a history. And those who ask that it may be used in the public schools simply as history, know that this is so, and if it were not for its religious character not one of them would ever write ten lines of a plea for its use in the public schools as history.

If the record of that people be so valuable, as a history only, as to make it essential that above all others it shall be used as a history, then why is it that those who want it so, do not insist that the history of that people *since* Bible times shall be taught also. But no such request was ever heard of, and never would be if the Bible were history only, as Xenophon or Tacitus is history. But these men, knowing that it is impossible for the State to teach religion, and knowing that it is wrong for the State to tax all the people in order to teach to all, the religion of a few—knowing all this they have not the face to ask that the Bible shall be used in the schools for what it is, and therefore they hope to get it used for what it is, by getting the State to adopt it and use it for what it is not. The plea is essentially dishonest, and it is difficult to see how those who make it do not know that it is dishonest.

As for the New Testament there is no pretense that this is history in any sense. In the four gospels there is a sketch of

the four years of the life of Christ, but the fullest of these contributions to the sketch says plainly, that no attempt is made to write a complete record because no reasonable number of books could contain it if it were written; but that that which is written, was written "that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God; and that believing ye might have life through his name."

The Bible record, from beginning to end, is but a record of Jesus Christ. This verse which we have just quoted not only tells the object of the writings of the gospel, but the object of the writing of the whole Bible, and that is that men might believe that Christ is the Son of God; and that believing they might have life through his name. He is the Lamb of God slain from the foundation of the world. He is the seed of the woman, that was promised before the first pair were driven from the garden. He is the one to whom almost the last words in the Bible are addressed, "Even so come Lord Jesus." "He is the alpha and the omega, the beginning and the end, the first and the last," all the way through the Bible. And therefore any proposition that is ever made by any one to teach the Bible, or to use it in any way, other than as the record of Christ, is to propose that the record of Christ shall be taught with Christ left out. It is, in short, only an attempt to rob the world of Christ and his gifts to men. And such will be the only tendency wherever the Bible is used for anything else than just what it is, namely, the revelation of God concerning his eternal purpose in Christ Jesus the Saviour of men.

A. T. J.

Talk Is Talk.

THE following quotation from the *Buffalo Christian Advocate*, of May 15, 1890, is credited to Rev. Dr. Thomas Dixon, a Baptist minister, of New York:—

This Nation was founded on the Decalogue and the ten commandments. The men who landed at Plymouth Rock, landed on their knees. The foundations of this Republic were cut from the quarry of God's eternal granite. Its foundation stones were laid in cement made with the tears and blood of Christian men and women. The man who has outgrown the Decalogue and the Golden Rule, has outgrown his usefulness in this Nation.

This has the true National Reform ring. The argument is, This Nation has been a Christian nation from the beginning; therefore our Constitution must be revised so as to permit legislation on the Decalogue and the ten commandments and the Golden Rule, in order to *make* this a Christian Nation. The tears and blood of Christian men and women, with which he says the foundation of our Nation was cemented, most naturally call to mind the persecutions of Baptists, Quakers, and others, before the formation of our peerless Constitution, the recurrence of which it was wisely designed to prevent. When men

undertake to legislate for God and enforce his law, tears and blood flow as the result. To say a man has "outgrown his usefulness in this Nation," implies a desire for his banishment. Bigotry and intolerance go hand in hand.

R. F. COTTRELL.

A Good Utterance.

ON the evening of August 26, a banquet was given in the First Congregational Church, Oakland, California, by the Congregational Club, in honor of Rev. Dr. R. R. Meredith, of Brooklyn, New York, who was its guest. Many pastors of Congregational Churches in San Francisco, and the surrounding towns, were present.

In response to several addresses, in which warm fraternal sentiments were expressed toward himself, Dr. Meredith said that two thoughts had been uppermost in his mind during his journey across the continent, and his thirty days' visit on the Coast. These thoughts were Christianity and the country. Of the former, he said: Strictly defined, its essential spirit is a missionary spirit. From its institution down to this day, its true work has been missionary work. The Church, which is the embodiment of Christianity, is necessarily a missionary society; that and nothing else. Jesus Christ, the author of Christianity, and the founder of the Church, was himself strictly a missionary; for he came to *seek* and to save them that were lost.

As to the country, he firmly believed that God had, for centuries before it was settled, kept his hand upon this land for a peculiar purpose, keeping out the old nations until an appointed time. And this peculiar purpose, he believed, was to establish on this continent a nation in which the political and religious institutions should be kept utterly separate; in short, a nation in which there should be not the shadow of a union of Church and State, and no State support for church schools. And he thanked God for that purpose; for Christianity needs no aid, no support, from the State. Christianity has power within itself to stand alone; to accomplish its own mission; and should the day ever come in this country, when the Church, as in an hour of great temptation in the third century, joins hands with the State to accomplish her aims, that will be her day of peril, and will seal the fate of the country.

So far as Dr. Meredith's utterance is concerned, it is all right; but the trouble is, he does not realize what may constitute a union of Church and State. The fact that he says, "Should the day ever come in this country when the Church . . . joins hands with the State to accomplish her aims," etc., shows that he does not realize that the Church is quite generally doing that very thing now, in asking the State to teach religion in the public schools, and to maintain Sunday

observance. And so, in spite of his opposition to Church and State union, he may be expected to lend a hand to help it on. Yet we are glad of such utterances, for they call people's attention to the danger attending a union of Church and State, and so prepare them to oppose it when we show them that the principle of such a union is embodied in Sunday legislation.—*Signs of the Times.*

Christianity and the State.

WHETHER we view the relation of Christianity and the State historically or practically, we are forced to the conclusion that it is a question interwoven with the very fabric of national life.

When Christ came, though surrounded by the ritualistic service of the Jew, and the magnificence of Roman rule in civil affairs, he taught a spiritual worship freed alike from priestly and civil control. He established his kingdom not on coercion, but on love. When the Holy Ghost was poured out, Christianity, free from the shackles of State control, took giant strides forward. A new power had come into the world, and so great was its progress, that one hundred and six years after the ascension of Christ, Justin Martyr wrote: "There is not a nation of Greek or Barbarian, or of any other name, even of those who wander in tribes and live in tents, amongst whom prayers and thanksgiving are not offered to the Father and Creator of the universe by the name of the crucified Jesus."

From that time the Roman Empire and the kingdom not of this world were in deadly struggle for supremacy. Christianity taught the meaning of manhood, crossed local boundaries and united unsympathetic peoples. The world thrilled with moral electricity. Notwithstanding her obscure origin, her imperfect organization, by the enthusiasm of her followers for the divine truth she contained, the Church triumphed over the empire and reached the throne of the Cæsars. The prophetic visions of Isaiah seemed fulfilling,—“Darkness shall cover the earth, and gross darkness the people: but the Lord shall rise upon thee, and his glory shall be seen upon thee. And Gentiles shall come to thy light, and kings to the brightness of thy rising.”

Constantine embraced Christianity because he saw the waning power of the old gods, and the growing power of Christ. He united Church and State to the detriment of both. Its results were evil, and that continually. Christianity was made popular and the Church became filled with unconverted heathens. The State fixed the standard of orthodoxy, spirituality became paralyzed, and men sought by flattery and intrigues to rise to places of power. Missionary enterprises became fewer, the theology of the Church introduced works as a part of the system of

salvation, and the Dark Ages threw their shadow athwart the path of progress. The Inquisition with its cruelties came from the union of Church and State, as effect from cause. For when the Papacy had arisen and asserted supremacy over the governments of Europe, the State became the tool of the Church to punish heretics in property and person. The worst feature of European history for twelve hundred years came from that union. It was also a standing menace to free inquiry and reform.—*Rev. W. B. Judd, Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, N. J., in Converted Catholic.*

An Opportunity.

THE *World* complains that “the closing of the season at the summer resorts of fashion finds the participants in the life at these places as satiated and fagged out as they were at the end of the winter.” “They have,” says the *World*, “simply changed the scene, and the form of social dissipation, which makes so many of our fashionable women haggard at thirty, and old at a time when they should be either in their prime or just entering upon that beautiful and poetic period described by the French wit and philosopher as ‘the youth of old age.’ To substitute breakfast parties, luncheons, balls, dress parades, and other forms of rivalry, feasting and excitement, in the country, for the pleasures of town in the winter, is to divert vacation from its uses, and to rob a change of its intended benefit. It is a part of the national habit of ‘burning the candle at both ends,’ which causes our women to ‘fade early,’ and gives us so many broken down or prematurely aged young men. It is a pity that a people with such a capacity for work should not be able to cultivate more of a genius for repose.”

Does not the *World* know that there is such a thing as paternalism in government? and that this dissipation in the resorts of fashion affords an excellent opportunity to demonstrate the benefits to be derived from the fatherly care of the police power of the State? Why in the name of the logic of the American Sabbath Union does not the *World* get a clause tacked on to the Sunday law requiring these people “to cultivate more of a genius for repose,” or at least to repose more, whether they cultivate the genius or not? Possibly those ministers who are so profoundly concerned about a civil rest with at least a moiety of religious regard, could be induced to incorporate something of this kind with the measures which they are now pushing so vigorously both in and out of Congress. If the paternal theory is worth anything, it certainly ought to afford protection to those who are compelled by that most relentless of all tyrants, Fashion, to neglect the taking of much needed rest.

C. P. B.

They Seek Executive Authority Also.

ON Sunday evening, September 14, the Kings County Sunday Observance Association held a meeting in the Fort Greene Presbyterian Church, in Brooklyn, N. Y. Although not very numerously attended, considerable interest and enthusiasm was manifested on the part of the speakers.

That which first impressed a portion of the audience, was the multiplicity of titles used to designate Sunday, and the fact that each of the speakers had one of his own. It was called, “Sabbath,” “Christian Sabbath,” “American Sunday,” and “Our day.” Of all the titles used, we thought the last most appropriate, for certainly the amount of husbanding needed by this day, and from this class of religious-political guardians, would indicate its human origin, and dependence upon human support.

Dr. Taylor, Recording Secretary of the American Sabbath Union, told how attempts had been made in legislative halls to overthrow the day, and then presented a very forcible argument to show the perpetual existence of the Sabbath, and truthfully remarked, that “you can't legislate the Sabbath out of the world, any more than you can legislate God out of the world.” Now in all candor we fail to see why it is necessary to make so much ado to have a day protected as the Sabbath, by human enactments, as this organization seeks to do for Sunday, except on the ground that it is “Our day,” and nothing more.

Rev. Taylor had much to say in regard to the opposition by rum, and railroad corporations, to all Sunday laws. He spoke of the many Sunday excursions, especially in New Jersey; and significantly remarked that “one church [Presbyterian he thought], has been almost broken up by these Sunday excursions.”

The Rev. Edwin P. Ide aroused some profitable reflections by saying, “I am not afraid of corporations, but of the apathy of the Christian churches.” After this speech, the president, Rev. A. A. Robbins, frankly admitted the truthfulness of Mr. Ide's statements, and also added that in an attempt by himself and others, to get the aldermen to enforce the law with regard to the delivery of ice-cream after ten A. M., on Sunday, they were told that nothing could be done, for it was principally the church people who wanted the cream.

In an appeal for means to help in the work of the organization, one of the members spoke of the violation of Sunday laws as being a “sin,” and said, “because of a lack of means, we cannot punish them [those who break Sunday laws] until it is too late.” Thus the clergy seek to make men good by law, and set themselves up as proper persons to punish evil-doers.

CHAS. F. PARMELE.

Strange Reasons.

SOMETIMES when men are working for an object which in itself is not likely to meet with public favor, they give strange reasons for their course of procedure. This is forcibly illustrated by many of the excuses given for trying to force the observance of Sunday upon this Nation by those who style themselves National Reformers.

In the book, "The Sabbath for Man," by W. F. Crafts, some very strange arguments are used to show why the laboring man should be made to keep Sunday. The author argues that Sunday, if kept, will give a man one third as much time for studying as he would get in a college course in the same time; also by keeping Sunday twenty-one years, a man would have as much time for mental improvement as he would get in a common college course. And further, that a life of seventy years of well-spent Sundays would give one's mind opportunity for improvement equal in time, to three college courses. From this reasoning it would seem that the main object of Sunday legislation is a purely educational one.

Then he goes on to say that many of the Sunday-keeping workmen of a few years ago are the capitalists and leaders of to-day. Here this zealous advocate of Sunday legislation attempts to prove that the working man needs to keep Sunday to better his financial condition, and also he needs it to give him influence and power. Thus he gives as results of good Sunday keeping, education, wealth, and influence—things which human nature most earnestly desires.

But there seems to be a serious objection to these arguments, and that is, that notwithstanding the predicted results of compulsory Sunday observance are so much to be desired by the laboring man, he himself is not much in favor of having his rights restricted on even one day of the week; and therefore is not in favor of Sunday legislation. So after using the foregoing arguments, which Mr. Crafts calls "great facts," he thus explains why the laboring man, generally, does not favor his Sunday-keeping schemes:—

Blind to these great facts, a Shoe Lasters' Union in Brooklyn, at the publication of the new Penal Code of New York in 1882, adopted a paper which thus describes the Sabbath laws:—

We learn with regret that the churches are joining hands with tyranny and capital for the purpose of suppressing liberty, and oppressing the laborer:—

Sentiments representative of many labor organizations, which show that holiday Sundays prevent those who follow them from learning the A B C of political science, and keep them in such ignorance of the true meaning of liberty that they mistake its champions for oppressors.

According to this, the poor laboring man is indeed in a dilemma. He has never taken advantage of his Sunday "educational" privileges, and so is blind—so blind that he cannot see his only source of education. The only way to get him

out of this difficulty, Mr. Crafts thinks, is to force him to keep Sunday until he learns to appreciate these great blessings of education, wealth, and influence, and until he learns the "true meaning of liberty." This is what Mr. Crafts and his friends who have probably kept Sunday long enough to appreciate these "great facts," purpose to do for the benefit of the laboring man.

It is a useless expenditure of time to point out the fallacy of such arguments, as any thoughtful person, whether he has properly kept Sunday or not, can see the foolishness of such reasoning; but one is reminded by the course which these "reformers" propose to pursue, of the kind parents who tied their son to the bed-post Sunday morning, and left him there till he could repeat the hymn beginning—

Thine earthly Sabbaths, Lord, I love.

It is presumable that this boy liked rather to play or go a-fishing than to attend church. His parents enjoyed church privileges and were very anxious that their son should learn to love and reverence the day as they did, and the only way they could see to accomplish this happy result was to force him to rest on Sunday, and learn to repeat sacred hymns until he learned to love to spend his Sundays in this way. It resulted, probably, in the same way that all compulsory Sunday observance would.

There is a blessedness in keeping the Sabbath, as there is in doing all of God's commands, which none but those who are Christians in fact can appreciate. He who feels this blessedness has the least disposition of all men to attempt to force it upon others, because it came to him in quite another way, and he knows it must come to others in the same way that it came to him; and he has learned that Christ's kingdom is not a kingdom of force, but its ruling element is love.

"The Sabbath was made for man"—for his highest good intellectually, physically, and morally. It was given to him as a reminder of his obligations to the true God, the fear of whom "is the beginning of wisdom." Man was not made for the Sabbath,—he was not made to protect it by law, or in any other way. God will do that work for his own day, and in his own good way.

S. O. LANE.

Letter From New Hampshire.

Keene, N. H., Sept. 8, 1890.

EDITORS AMERICAN SENTINEL—Dear Sirs: Through your courtesy, or that of some mindful friend, I have received several copies of THE AMERICAN SENTINEL.

Each succeeding number has but confirmed the good opinion I had of it from the first. It is indeed a tower of strength—a veritable Samson demolishing the pillars and supports of both arrogance and ignorance, as manifested through sectarian bigotry. I wish it continued, and

enclose a year's subscription, one dollar, therefor.

I sent for and obtained, of you, some weeks ago, "The National Sunday Law," which, for sound argument and logic, backed by historical and other facts, is unequalled by anything bearing on the subject, that has come to me. The efforts of Senator Blair to promote temperance and educational interests, apart from sectarian influences, are to be commended. But that he should be influenced to oppose constitutional liberties, which he was chosen to protect and maintain, is not only a matter of surprise to many of his former supporters, but to all whose sense of honor and justice is superior to their desire to bring others to their standard of thought and action.

The attempt to hoodwink the public into the belief that the Sunday-rest bill is secular in its intent and object, is a subterfuge too transparent to mislead any but those whose mental ability is too weak to distinguish between right and foul injustice, or those ever ready to accept the religious tenets of their spiritual teachers without examination.

Force bills, or measures, may be allowable in some directions, but never in denying the right of conscience in matters of religious beliefs or Sabbath observances. It was in view of the intolerance of the church, of its "history traced in blood"—disgraceful to the lowest order of barbarians—that the framers of our Government wisely ordained that Church and State should be widely separated. And it is indeed a matter of surprise that in this progressive day and age, there should be found in our national councils, men so unmindful of the rights of the people they were chosen to protect, as to thus lend their influence to weaken and abrogate the safeguards of our constitutional rights and liberties.

IRA W. RUSSELL.

CHRISTIANITY and Churchism are two very different things. Christianity is a scheme of virtue and benevolence for the elevation of mankind. Churchism is a scheme of churchmen for power, plunder, and persecution. Our fathers utterly repudiated Churchism, refusing it either power or money; but said nothing of religion proper. The Churches of Rome, Russia, England, Turkey, and Mormonism are as far from Christ as day from night. In the United States is the only true Church with power to persuade; but none to tax, persecute, curse, or injure. Our fathers placed it just where it should be.—*Political Record, San Francisco, Cal.*

"HAS civil government," inquires the *Orleans Herald*, "any right to administer divine law?" Certainly not; for civil government to attempt such a thing would be to put itself in the place of God, and destroy individual responsibility to 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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N. R. L. A. Statistics.

THE following statistics, of the National Religious Liberty Association, are of interest: Organized July 21, 1889, with an enrollment of 110, its membership has increased regularly and rapidly, 439 new names being the record for last July. Vice-presidents, secretaries, and press agents in the different States number seventy-five; local press agents, 600. During the year, the Association has secured the publication of general articles, and reports of persecution of its members in Tennessee and Georgia, in the leading papers of the country, and in hundreds of local papers. These articles and accounts have drawn out numerous editorials in defense of the principles of Religious Liberty, and favorable to the work of the Association. By this means the Association has become favorably known to the public. One million, six hundred and eighty-three thousand, three hundred and ninety-one pages of literature have been printed and circulated in the interest of Religious Liberty. Lectures have been delivered, and reported in the newspapers in the several States. Its members have appeared before both national and State legislatures, and their efforts have been crowned with marked success. Over \$1,000 has been expended in the Southern field, in defense of persecuted members, and \$2,000 more in the printing and circulation of literature.

During the coming year the Association will publish a book of several hundred pages, entitled, "American State Papers,"—a compendium of congressional and judicial action relative to Sunday legislation. This work will be placed in the hands of congressmen, judges, lawyers, etc. Another work will be prepared with particular reference to use in State legislatures. The Society will also carry the case of R. M. King before the United States District Court, and possibly before the Supreme Court of the Nation. Mean-

while, its regular line of work will not be intermitted.

This is a showing which cannot fail to interest and encourage all members of the Association, and many others to whose notice it will be brought. A greater work is before it the coming year, which calls for the enthusiastic work of the friends of Religious Liberty, in adding to its numbers, influence, and financial strength.

Public Schools.

WHAT ARE THEY? FOR WHAT PURPOSE MAINTAINED?

OUR system of free public schools is now legally established in all the States, and supported by a strong public sentiment. The public school has myriads of friends, and but few avowed enemies. There is, however, a misconception, on the part of some, as to what they are, and for what purpose they are maintained. Some regard the public schools as semi-religious, originated and maintained for the purpose of teaching, among other things, the doctrines of the Christian religion. Without stopping to show how impossible it would be, in this land of every diversity of creed, from that of the Mussulman to that of the Methodist, to teach a religion without doing violence to some tax-payer's ideas of the only true faith, let us examine the origin and intent of the public schools.

The civil Government has created and maintained the public school for self-preservation. Ignorance may prolong the existence of a despotic form of government, but the stability of a republic in which the responsibility of government rests on all alike, depends upon the intelligent action of the mass of the people. Realizing this, each State has made provision for the maintenance of a system of free public schools, by universal taxation,—Protestants, Catholics, Jews, and infidels being taxed alike for their support. The public school rests upon the foundation of political necessity. It has in view, not only the happiness and well-being of the individual, but the preservation of the State, and is therefore a purely civil institution maintained for political purposes,—neither in the interest of, nor in opposition to, religion. The public schools, as a part of our governmental policy, come under Lincoln's definition of government; they are "of the people, by the people, and for the people." They are neither by nor for the Protestant, the Catholic, nor the infidel, as such, but are for the *people*, without reference to religion.

It is an undisputed principle in political economy, that the State may appropriate money raised by taxation to purposes which are only of general necessity or of supreme utility, and which can be attained by the State only, or by the State to a degree or in a way very superior to those of private effort. It is on this

principle that the State refuses to require the teaching of religion in the public school supported by general taxation. The teaching of religion is not an object to be attained by the State only, neither can the objects of religion be attained by the State to a degree or in a way superior to those of private effort. All history proves that the State, as a teacher of religion, is a disastrous failure. In placing the common school on a purely civil basis, the State does not, in any way, antagonize religion. It is simply an acknowledgment that the teaching of religion is outside its jurisdiction; that religion is a matter not to be handled by the State.

While this view of the public school is regarded by the majority as self-evident, there are some who, because of this attitude of our schools toward religion, declare that they are "godless." This comes from a misconception of the province of civil Government, and the mission of the public school. Had God delegated to civil Government the teaching of religion, a failure to do it by means of the public school might merit such criticism. The State, in providing for the teaching of reading, writing, and mathematics, without teaching religion, is simply attending to its legitimate business, which the Church does when it attends to the teaching of religion. The term *godless* cannot be applied with any more consistency to the common school because the Bible is not read and religion is not taught in it, than it can be to schools of phonography, telegraphy, or art, because the Bible is not taught in them, or than the term *traitor* can be applied to the Church, because it does not teach the principles of civil government, civil engineering, and military tactics.

The unparalleled success achieved by our system of free public schools, is due in great part to their freedom from that disturbing element, religious controversy. Had our public schools taught a system of religion which antagonized the beliefs of the Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists, Universalists, Unitarians, Jews, or infidels, they would not have been supported and patronized as they are to-day. When the course of study in the public schools is confined to secular instruction, and the teaching of religion is left to the parent, the denominational school, and the Church, all classes can patronize them. But let religion be taught, and all whose views of religion are antagonized, are compelled, in self-defense, to withdraw their children from the schools which they are taxed to maintain. Our public schools have been, and ever will be, the main arteries through which is furnished the life-blood of our glorious Republic; and, in view of this, should be carefully guarded against the introduction of anything which is foreign to them, and destructive of their usefulness.—A. F. Ballenger, in N. R. L. A. Leaflet.

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THE statement comes from Winnipeg, that a serious charge has been brought against Lieutenant-Governor Royal, of Northwest Territory, who has been purchasing books for the Government library, and who confined his purchases to Roman Catholic works, only.

THE Red Bank, New Jersey, *Register*, in vigorously opposing the enforcement of Sunday laws, says that there should be no such laws, and boasts that while in Red Bank there is an utter disregard of Sunday laws, yet the "town has the reputation of being the quietest and best ordered in the State," and, "unlike every other town in the county of Monmouth, there is no illegal liquor selling."

MINISTER'S wife (Sunday morning)—"Is it possible, my dear, that after all you have said about Sunday newspapers, you are reading one?"

Minister (very much hurt)—"You ought to know me better than that, Maria; this is last evening's paper."—*The Epoch*.

We presume that this minister was reading that great exponent of moral ideas, published in this city, which demands rigid Sunday laws, advertises Sunday excursions, and which, while denouncing Sunday papers as demoralizing, suggests that the columns of its Saturday evening edition always contain matter suitable for Sunday reading.

THE *Christian Statesman*, of the 4th inst., has quite a lengthy criticism of Senator Blackburn's eulogy upon the late Senator Beck, because in making that eulogy Senator Blackburn uttered sentiments which are not, in the opinion of the *Statesman*, in harmony with the teaching of the Christian religion. The *Statesman* does not question the right of Senator Blackburn to hold whatever religious views that may seem to him good, but it challenges his right to air them as a representative of a "people who are overwhelmingly Christian." And yet this is just the authority that the National Reformers are proposing to give to Congress and to the courts. They propose to recognize Christianity as the religion of this Nation, and then in their own words they must either have a

standard of Christianity or else admit anything which claims to be Christianity. But who will make this standard of religion? Evidently just such men as Senator Blackburn, a man who, though an honest man as the world goes, and an able legislator, knows little more of what Christianity really is, than a Hottentot does of calculus. The *Statesman* ought not to object to a little of its own medicine, as a foretaste of what may be in the future.

THE *Churchman*, of this city, closes a careful review of the debate upon the bill to enlarge the appropriation for the Roman Catholic Bureau of Education, by calling on all Protestant societies receiving Government aid, to purge themselves in this matter by refusing any longer to participate, and says: "As it is to-day, by reason of participation, eyes are blinded and lips are dumb in the presence of wrong, and a department of the National Government made subservient to the Roman hierarchy." THE AMERICAN SENTINEL made the same suggestion some weeks ago, but, so far as we know, it has not been adopted, and we look for no better result from the good advice given by the *Churchman*.

REV. J. D. GILLIAN, Secretary of the Utah Mission of the Methodist Episcopal Church, says:—

The devotees of no faction are so heartlessly cruel as those of a false religion. Mohammed's scheme to convert the world with the sword is but the common index to the character of them who are zealously wrong. "By their fruits ye shall know them." Catholicism of the Middle Ages illustrates the fact of the same possibility existing under the guise of Christianity. Intolerance is the first sign of the fanatic.

To "convert by the sword" is simply to "convert" by force; the same is true of "converting" by civil law; and yet many who can plainly see the iniquity of the former, can see no impropriety in the latter. And why not?—simply because the law is *their* weapon, whereas the sword was wielded by others. Nevertheless, in condemning the sword they condemn force, and in condemning force they unwittingly condemn their own appeal to civil law.

A CORRESPONDENT of the *Voice*, writing from Nebraska, says that he thinks that Prohibitionists are treading on dangerous ground when they "make an exception, in prohibitory laws, of wines used for 'sacramental' purposes." He does not see "how any Christian Prohibitionist can propose or advocate alcoholic liquor for sacramental purposes." To this the *Voice* replies that it does not advocate the use of alcoholic wine in the communion. "We simply say that it is not the province of legislators to decide whether or not the sacramental wine should be fermented. A law which prohibited the manufacture

of fermented wines for sacramental purposes would go beyond the proper province of law, and cause many sincere Christians either to violate the law or to violate what *they believe* to be the injunction of Christ. There is no necessity for that." This is a serious question, and should give pause to some of the ultra-Prohibitionists who want to enforce upon everybody their ideas not only of temperance, but of religion as well. Even the *Voice* should pause long enough to answer candidly, whether some of the legislation which it advocates would not interfere quite as seriously with religious liberty as would the prohibition of fermented wine in the communion.

THE *World* publishes an interview with a clergyman, whose name it does not give, and prefaces it with this explanation:—

He said, at the outset, that his only object was to correct some popular errors as to the observance of Sunday in Biblical times, and to show exactly how the matter was then regarded.

Then follows an account of Christ's doings upon the Sabbath, and even Nehemiah's words concerning the Sabbath, (Neh. 8:10), are quoted to show how Sunday was observed in Bible times. It would be just as appropriate to quote Herodotus, to show how the Egyptians celebrated the Fourth of July. It actually seems that even a great many newspaper men don't know that Sunday is not the day called "the Sabbath" in the Scriptures.

GERMANY is not only a "Christian country," but it is a Protestant country, and religion is regularly taught in all the public schools, yet D. Adolf Harnack, one of the most prominent theologians of Germany, declares that if the Lutheran Church is not to fall in ruins altogether, she "must change her Confession, her style of sermons, and her teachings, not according to the wishes of the day, but according to the indisputable knowledge we have gained." Infidelity seems to be rapidly on the increase, and the law is vainly invoked to stay the rising tide of unbelief. This proves nothing against Christianity, but it is another demonstration of the utter impotency of a State religion, either to give or to conserve a proper moral tone in a people.

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ASSOCIATE EDITORS,

C. P. BOLLMAN,

W. H. MCKEE.

REFORMS are not to come from political organizations, but from your own individual work and mine. In order to make that example effective we must be on the side of right and justice.—Col. R. W. Thompson, *Terre Haute, Ind.*

AFTER speaking of the adherence of Seventh-day Adventists to the secular theory of government, the *Christian Statesman* says:—

Many other Christian people, including many ministers of religion, are intelligent and thorough-going secularists in their political beliefs.

Certainly they are; and their numbers are rapidly increasing. Nor is this strange, since the attention of thousands is now being called to this question who never before gave it a serious thought.

WE have often said that the great underlying motive of the Sunday-law agitators is a desire to secure the co-operation of the State in making men religious. Mr. Crafts, the founder of the American Sabbath Union, denies this; but Rev. D. C. Knowles, D. D. says that that is the whole "problem in a nutshell." In an article in the *New York Christian Advocate*, of September 4, Mr. Knowles says:—

This Nation needs to cultivate a profound respect for law by showing its true relations to individual and public good. This is especially applicable to Sunday legislation. Multitudes are indifferent to laws relating to secular business on Sunday, because they think men are not made good by law. They feel that moral agencies alone are to be trusted; but how can moral agencies have their fullest influence on the public conscience unless

law shall lay its prohibitory hand on the whirring wheels of business, and command, "Peace, be still?" Human cupidity will destroy that Sabbath calm which is so peculiar to our American Sabbath unless we arrest its action by law. When that religious calm has departed, how can our moral agencies reach the masses? This is the problem we have before us. The soul needs quiet if it would apprehend God and duty, and this quiet is the product of law. Discard the law and the quiet goes with it, and ere long all forms of industry will be in full blast. It is our duty to have conditions most favorable to the saving influences of the Gospel, and this is the Sabbath problem in a nutshell.

This is a plain confession of just that which we have always asserted, namely, that Sunday laws are directly in the interests of religion, and that they are designed to be so.

Those Non-Sectarian Sects.

ON the subject of the appropriation by Congress of public money to church schools, we have already given the history and the facts. We have also noticed the protest that was entered after it was discovered by the Protestant churches involved, that the Roman Catholic Church was getting an increase when they could get none. But, as already shown, there was nothing heard of the protest by any of the Protestant churches so long as they, with the Catholic Church, got their proportionate share of the public plunder. It was only when they discovered that the Catholic Church was getting something that they could not get, that a protest was raised.

This illustrates the beauties of that idea of non-sectarian religion, that is made so much of nowadays, and which is demanded shall be taught by the State and the Nation in the public schools. By this it is seen that the theory of the non-sectarian religion is apparently a very nice thing, and seems to work very well so long as each sect gets its proportion of the public plunder; but just as soon as one denomination gets a little advantage over the other, then the jealousy of all the others is aroused; that denomination instantly becomes "sectarian," and

whatever appropriation is made to it becomes an appropriation for "sectarian" uses. All the other non-sectarian sects then stand up nobly, and in righteous indignation virtuously "defend American institutions" from the encroachments of sectarianism.

In this we speak from the *Record*. Among the protests that were made in Congress on this subject when it was under consideration, was one from that so-called League for the Protection of American Institutions, which has its headquarters in this city. From all that we can gather, it appears that the chief protest was raised and carried on by this League, and the following is a part, if not all, of the protest that was made. It was read by Senator Jones, of Arkansas, as a statement which had been sent to him by an "eminent man, a minister, resident of New York:"—

Last year there was given to the Roman Catholics, for Indian education, \$356,000. They demanded from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs \$44,000 more, making a total of over \$400,000. The request was denied, and the Commissioner announced that he would not extend the contract system, and would make no contracts with new schools. On this the Catholics endeavored to defeat his confirmations, but did not succeed.

Foiled in this raid upon the public treasury, they then attempted to accomplish their ends through Congress. In the Indian Appropriation bill as introduced into the House of Representatives there are two items, one appropriating \$8,330 for a Roman Catholic school at Rensselaer, Indiana, and the other appropriating \$12,500 for a Roman Catholic school to be opened among the Mission Indians in California.

The special appropriations for the Roman Catholics in the Indian bill for last year were, for St. Ignatius school in Montana \$45,000, and for Roman Catholic schools in Minnesota \$30,000. This made a total last year of \$75,000. The total amount this year is \$95,830. In addition to this large sum they will demand of the Commissioner, doubtless, the same amount granted them last year.

It should be remembered that in 1886 the amount of money secured from the Government by the Roman Catholics was \$184,000, and in 1890 it had reached the large sum of \$356,000. Is it not time that this perversion of public money to sectarian uses should cease?

Now that would be an excellent protest

if it were an honest one. It would be a strong one if it were only fair. From this statement alone, nobody would ever get the idea that any church but the Catholic was engaged in this "raid upon the public treasury," or had been a beneficiary of "this perversion of public money to sectarian uses." Yet this statement was written and distributed to United States senators by a minister—clearly a Protestant minister. Was that minister Rev. James M. King, D. D., General Secretary of the National League for the Protection of American Institutions? It was written by a minister who knew the facts; and he knew that last year while the Roman Catholics received \$356,967, the Protestants received \$204,993. He knew that while the Roman Catholics asked an increase of \$44,000, the Protestants also requested the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to increase the appropriation to them. He knew that in 1886 although the Roman Catholics received \$118,343, the Protestants at the same time from the same source received \$109,916; and he knew that although in 1890 the appropriation to the Roman Catholic Church had "reached the large sum of \$356,967," the amount secured by the Protestants in the same time, and from the same source, had also reached the large sum of \$204,993. Yet in the face of these figures showing the large amount of money received by Protestant denominations from the public treasury for church uses, he says not a word about it, and lays against the Roman Catholics only, as though they were the only guilty parties in the whole transaction, the charge of that "raid upon the public treasury," and protests against and denounces this "perversion of public money to sectarian uses."

Now if the Roman Catholics' securing from the national Government \$118,343 was a "raid upon the public treasury," the securing by Protestants from the same source \$109,916 is just as certainly a raid upon the public treasury; and if the continuation and increase of the appropriation to the Roman Catholics up to the amount of \$356,967 was a continuous raid upon the public treasury, then the continuation and the increase of the appropriation from the same source to Protestants up to the amount of \$204,993 was just as certainly a continuous raid upon the public treasury; the only difference being that the raid of the Protestants was not quite so successful as the raid of the Catholics.

Nor is it exactly correct to put it in this way. The raid was not made by the party in two distinct divisions. They were united in solid phalanx in the raid, each division supporting the other. It was only when the Protestants found that the Catholics were securing a little more plunder than they could seize, that there was any division at all among the invading host, or that there was among them any idea that their action was a raid upon

the public treasury. As soon as this was discovered, however, the invading hosts separated in two divisions—the "sectarian" and the "non-sectarian,"—and the Protestants, the "non-sectarian" division, suddenly discovered that there was a "raid being made upon the public treasury," and that there was being carried on a "serious perversion of public money to sectarian uses."

This is a hint, but a powerful one, of what would come of the non-sectarian religion which the National League for the Protection of American Institutions demands shall be taught in the public schools, and established by constitutional amendment. It would soon end in the total destruction of the whole public school system. And that is just what this League means. Instead of the protection of American institutions, it means the destruction of the most sacred of these institutions.

A. T. J.

The Sunday Question.

REV. W. F. CRAFTS makes this statement:—

To put most men where they must choose between losing their position or their rest day, is to "force them into Sunday work."

This, we think, is by no means a necessary conclusion, nor even a logical one. To put men where they must choose between two things is not to force them to choose a particular one of the two, but simply to make a choice. Otherwise there is no choosing about the matter. Many of the early Christians were forced to choose between losing their lives and denying their faith by paying homage to idols in accordance with Roman law. They were forced to make a choice, and the nature of their choice determined their fidelity or infidelity to the cause they professed to love. The same is true of choosing between losing a position, and a day of rest. The choice made would simply determine which had the stronger hold upon the person choosing; and to say that most men, if forced to make a choice between the two, would give up the day, is equivalent to saying that most men would not do what they believe to be right, or that they have very little regard for the day. The former is not very complimentary to the man, nor the latter to the day.

What is needed, is conscience, and not law in the matter. No man is forced to work on Sunday. There is no law compelling him to labor on that day. He can rest if he chooses, though in some instances he might thereby lose his position, which would be a sacrifice he would make to his religious convictions, showing his fidelity to principle. Some man in search of an honest employe would hire him the next day. If all men conscientiously believed in keeping Sunday, and would adhere to their conscientious belief, the forcing would be on the other side.

Factories, mills, and railroads would be forced to stop on Sunday for lack of hands to run them. There are two sides to this question. Let the battle on the Sabbath question be fought out on the line of conscience and moral suasion, and not on the battle-field of a compulsory ecclesiastical law. Such laws come to us with a bloody record.—*W. A. Colcord, in Washington Post.*

The State and Parochial Schools.

ANOTHER most important phase of State interference with church schools is that in which it is advocated that the State must prohibit the Roman Catholic Church from excommunicating members of that church who persist in sending their children to the public school. And of all phases of the question this most betrays the silly blindness and unreasoning dullness of those who advocate the measure.

The facts upon which this claim is based are these: Where there is not a sufficient number of Roman Catholic children to form a school of their own, the parents are allowed to send them to the public school; but where there is a sufficient number a church school is to be established, and Roman Catholics are required, by the church, to send their children to that school. They are required to do this under penalty of church discipline. For instance, if there is a church school, and a Roman Catholic parent sends his child to the public school instead, the bishop or the priest will command him to send his child to the church school. If he disobeys, then the eucharist will be withheld from him. If he persists in sending his child to the public school, the next step will be excommunication, that is, turning him out of the church entirely, and if he should die he would not be buried in consecrated ground.

The claim that is made on these facts is, that in so doing the Catholic Church is making war upon the public schools, and in that is making war upon the State. Therefore the State in self-defense must prohibit the Roman Catholic Church from exercising church discipline upon any of its members who send their children to the public school in disobedience to church orders.

This claim is made up of a whole bundle of absurdities, and is composed of nothing else. First, it is a confession that the public school, and therefore the State, is dependent upon the Roman Catholic children for its existence; and that it is so weak that it cannot bear the effect of Roman Catholic excommunication in opposition. If this be so, neither the Roman Catholics, nor anybody else, can reasonably be blamed for not wanting to send their children to the public school. But such is not the case. The public school is not dependent upon the Roman Catholic children for its existence, and neither

the public school nor the State is in the slightest danger from all the Roman Catholic excommunications that could be pronounced in a thousand years.

Further, this claim demands that the State shall assume control over the discipline of the Catholic Church in this particular thing. But that involves a union of the Roman Catholic Church and the State, and if the State may assume jurisdiction over the discipline of that church it may exercise it also over the discipline of every other church; and if the State may assume jurisdiction over the Roman Catholic Church in this one thing, it may exercise jurisdiction in that church in everything that it chooses; and if in that church, it may do so in every other church, so that a union of Church and State is unavoidable in any attempt to enforce the claim that is made in behalf of it.

Again, this claim is made by those who profess to be Protestants, or at least, if not Protestants in faith, strong opponents of the whole Roman Catholic system. Yet their position is, that the power and authority of the State shall be exercised in prohibiting the Roman Catholic Church from excommunicating any of its members. Therefore the proper thing for them to do, would be to put forth their utmost efforts to make the public school as nearly perfect as possible, so that every Roman Catholic parent would choose to send his child there instead of to the parochial school, and thus get himself excommunicated. This would soon make the Roman Catholic Church so small that even the danger which these parties dread would be utterly dispelled.

As for THE AMERICAN SENTINEL, we believe in the public school, and support it heartily; and we are opposed to the whole Roman Catholic system from beginning to end. But we shall never sanction for an instant, any proposition for the enactment of a law, either constitutional or statutory, to prohibit the Roman Catholic Church, or any other church, from exercising to the fullest extent all the provisions of its discipline upon any church member who chooses to send his children to the public school instead of to the church school, or for anything else. The discipline of the Roman Catholic Church is its own affair. That church has the right to establish, and to exercise upon its members, its own form of discipline; and to excommunicate any member of the church for any offense to which that church wishes to attach the penalty of excommunication. And we should be heartily glad if the Roman Catholic Church would excommunicate every person that belongs to it in the United States. We think that one of the best things that could ever happen to a Roman Catholic would be, to be turned out of that church so far that he could never get back. Therefore we say let the public school

be made so good, that every parent in the Roman Catholic Church will choose to send his children there instead of to the parochial school, and that he will be so persistent in doing so, that the church will inflict its impotent penalty of excommunication.

But it is gravely argued that the Roman Catholic Church compels its members to obey. For instance, Rev. E. H. Ashmun, of the Boulevard Congregational Church, of North Denver, soberly presents the following:—

It is claimed that the parent has the sole authority over the child in education, but it is difficult not to charge Cardinal Manning and Bishop Keene with insincerity when they make this claim, for no Catholic parent is free to choose the education of his child. The church dictates and he must obey.

But why must he obey? What force or what power is there at the command of the church by which he is compelled to obey? The answer must be that *there is no force nor power at all* except such as exists in the *belief* of the individual himself. Therefore if the State is to interfere with the exercise of the authority of the Roman Catholic Church over its membership, it must necessarily enter into the realm of doctrine and belief of the church and its membership. And thus again it is found that a union of the State and the Roman Catholic Church is inevitably involved in any attempt on the part of the State to exercise jurisdiction over the discipline of the church.

Neither Cardinal Manning, nor Bishop Keene, nor any other Roman Catholic prelate or priest, can be charged with insincerity, when he says that in this country at least, the parent has the sole authority over the child in education, and that the Roman Catholic parent is free to choose the education of his child. This is the truth. He is just as free as any other person to do so. If there be any limit to his freedom in this connection it is simply because of his own belief, and this is simply a matter of his own free choice. And therefore we say again that if the State is going to interfere with the exercise of the authority of the Roman Catholic Church upon its membership, then the State will necessarily have to exercise its authority over the doctrines and beliefs of that church and its membership; because in the doctrines and beliefs is where the whole difficulty lies. If the Roman Catholic did not *believe* that the threatened excommunication is a real and forcible thing, he would not be restrained by it from sending his children to the public school. And as his belief is solely a matter of his own free will it is certain that there is where the difficulty lies; and therefore it is also certain that no effort of the State can ever reach the difficulty without sweeping away every safeguard to the free exercise of thought and religious belief.

Yet more absurd than all, it is actually argued by professed Protestant ministers

that there is real merit, force, and power in a Roman Catholic excommunication. For instance, a Congregational minister in Milwaukee (we have lost his name but think it is Caldwell), in a sermon last spring on "The Bennett Law, and American Liberty," discussed the comparative force of the Bennett law and the Roman Catholic opposition to the public schools. After stating the penalty of the Bennett law, which is "not less than three dollars nor more than twenty dollars," he said:—

Bishop Hennessy, of Iowa, issued an edict compelling the people to take their children out of the public schools and put them in parochial schools. The penalty affixed was excommunication which to a Catholic means damnation. Which is the greater penalty?

Well we should say so, too. Which is the greater penalty, indeed! a three dollar fine or a Roman Catholic damnation? Why, a three dollar fine is a heavier penalty in a minute, than ten thousand times ten thousand Roman Catholic damnations would be in all eternity!

But what shall be thought of this professed Protestant preacher in his magnifying the merits of Roman Catholic damnation? For this is precisely what he did in his argument. A fine of from three to twenty dollars is a real, tangible thing, and therefore when he compared to this the force of the Roman Catholic damnation he did thereby distinctly argue that that also is a real, tangible thing and the greater penalty.

Yet this is no more than is argued in this whole theory from which comes the claim that the State shall prohibit the Catholic Church from excommunicating its members for sending their children to the public school. This argues that membership in the Roman Catholic Church is a thing of real, tangible worth, at least equal to that of attendance upon the public school; and the demand that the State shall by law, prohibit that church from excommunicating its members for sending their children to the public school, is a demand that the State shall set its sanction to the idea that there is real, tangible worth and value in membership in that church, and that there is actual force and virtue in the excommunication pronounced by that church.

Of all the wild ideas that are connected with this subject of State interference with church schools, this certainly takes the lead; and yet such laws are gravely demanded in Massachusetts; and in New Jersey even a constitutional amendment is advocated. The proper thing is for the people of every State to keep the statutes and the Constitution entirely clear of any interference, to the slightest extent, with any private or parochial school. Let them put their attention upon the public school and keep it there. Let them make the public school what it ought to be. Then there need be no fear from the

schools of the Catholic Church, nor the Lutheran Church, nor any other, nor all of them together.

A. T. J.

A Lesson From Paine.

INFIDELS of the present day profess to believe that bigotry and intolerance are inseparable from Christianity, that it is indeed part and parcel of Christianity. But they should learn better than this, even from their patron saint, Thomas Paine. In his "Rights of Man," Paine says:—

All religions are, in their nature, mild and benign, and united with principles of morality. . . . How is it that they lose their native mildness, and become morose and intolerant? By engendering the State with the Church, a sort of mule animal, capable only of destroying, and not of breeding up, is produced, called the Church established by law. . . . The Inquisition in Spain does not proceed from the religion originally professed, but from this mule animal engendered between the Church and State.

And again, of governments established by force, Paine says:—

Governments thus established last as long as the power to support them lasts; but that they might avail themselves of every engine in their favor, they united fraud to force, and set up an idol which they called *divine right*, and which, in imitation of the Pope who affects to be spiritual and temporal, and in contradiction to the founder of the Christian religion, twisted itself afterward into an idol of another shape, called Church and State.

Paine, infidel though he was, knew full well, and was man enough to acknowledge it, that the doctrine of Church and State was not *Christian* doctrine in any proper sense of the word, and it would be well if his disciples of the present day had equal discernment, and as great candor.

The "Loyal American" against Facts.

As an illustration of careless reading, and an utter disregard of facts, an article in the *Loyal American*, of September 17, surpasses anything that we have seen recently. The first paragraph of the article runs thus:—

A. J. J. in THE AMERICAN SENTINEL says it is all wrong for the State to dictate what language shall be taught in the schools, public or private. He bases his dictum upon the *private rights* of parents, and like the religious bigots, forgets that the State and child have rights.

In the first place, no such person as "A. J. J." writes for THE AMERICAN SENTINEL. The initials are "A. T. J." in plain Roman type. In the second place, neither "A. T. J." nor any other writer for THE AMERICAN SENTINEL, has ever denied the right of the State to dictate what language shall be taught in the *public schools*. The very article from which the *Loyal American* quotes, in making its criticism, has in the first and second paragraphs these plain words:—

We have not yet seen it denied that the public has the right to teach English solely, in the public schools. That which is denied is that the public has

a right to say what shall be taught in the private schools; and this is not a denial of the right of the State to say that English shall be taught in the public schools. It is not opposition to the teaching of English; but this opposition is to the assumption that if the State can say that English shall be taught in the public schools, that concedes the right of the State to say that whatever it pleases shall be taught in the private schools, and that consequently there is no such thing as a private school; that the State arbitrarily turns the private school into a public school at private expense.

How anybody can say, as the *Loyal American* does say, that this is a denial of the right of the State to say what language shall be taught in the public schools, is more than we can understand. The State has clearly the right to say that English *and English only* shall be taught in the schools supported by the State; but we deny the right of the State to say what shall be taught in the private schools. If the *Loyal American* wishes to do us justice let it quote *all* we said about the right of the State to require the teaching of English, and not make garbled quotations, merely.

But again, the *Loyal American* says:—

It is evident that A. J. J. is under a misapprehension as to what the State really is, he forgets that the American State is a majority of the citizens; that when it undertakes to protect all citizens in certain rights, it cannot be hampered in doing so by cranks, bigots, self-elected censors, or men who fancy that God should resign and call on them to run the universe. The State must first protect itself, this done, it can turn its protecting arms toward men, women, and children. And while the American State is permitting the oppressed of all climes to come here for refuge from tyranny, and to enjoy greater freedom and opportunities, it must take care that the oppressed do not become our oppressors, as is the fact here in Chicago.

"A. J. J." is under no such misapprehension. The editors of THE SENTINEL are all native-born Americans, as were also their fathers before them, and know as much about what constitutes the American State as does the editor of the *Loyal American*, or any other naturalized foreigner. They know, too, that the whole people, and not merely a majority of the people, constitute the State. But this fact does not make justice out of injustice, nor warrant the majority in meddling with the private affairs of the minority. John Stuart Mill never wrote a truer thing than when he said that such "power itself is illegitimate. The best government has no more title to it than the worst. It is as noxious, or more noxious, when exerted in accordance with public opinion, than when in opposition to it." The idea that whatever the majority decrees is right is no more true now than it was when the majority demanded the crucifixion of Christ, or when the majority demanded the hanging of witches in Massachusetts, or when, as in our own day, the commune of a Russian village decrees the exiling of innocent men and women to Siberia. It is possible for majority rule to be just as tyrannical and just as wicked as the rule of a single man.

The vaporings of the *Loyal American* about private schools that "teach children to beg, to steal, to burglarize houses, to perpetrate highway robbery," are unworthy of an answer. There may be "schools" of that kind in Chicago, but they are not under the management of German Lutherans, nor even of German Catholics. We know Chicago did once have an Anarchist Sunday-school, but anarchy can be taught quite as well in English as in German, and we believe as a matter of fact English was the language employed in that "school." We fear that the real animus of the *Loyal American* is religious intolerance. It wants to force its language and its religion, and probably its own cut of collar, and style of cravat, upon everybody else; and it wants the power of the State to enable it to do it. We regard the Lutherans and the Romanists as in error upon many very important points; and not only so, but we deplore the Roman Catholic influence in politics in this country; but it is no more dangerous to our liberties than are the paternal tendencies, and theory advocated by the *Loyal American*.

C. P. B.

Religious Liberty and Polygamy.

RELIGIOUS liberty has become so sacred in the eyes of the American people, and religious persecution so obnoxious, that any man, or body of men, appealing to religious liberty in defense of their practices, will be granted a speedy and impartial hearing. Until recent years, polygamy, unmolested, has been practiced by one branch of the Mormon Church, and every legal step toward its suppression has been opposed by its defenders, on the ground that such interference would be an abridgment of religious liberty; and even now there are those not in sympathy with the practice of polygamy, who doubt the right of the Government to prohibit it.

The object of this paper is to define the basis upon which polygamy may and should be prohibited, and to show that such prohibition is consistent with the principles of both civil and religious liberty.

The first question to be settled, is, whether marriage is a civil or religious relation. For if marriage is a religious relation it cannot be regulated by civil government. But marriage, as we shall prove, is, primarily, a civil relation; and since the few who will question this proposition are found among believers in religion, we will address this portion of the argument to them.

Mutual aid and companionship are among the primary objects for which marriage was instituted (Gen. 2:18); hence marriage is clearly a social relation. Another primary object of the marriage relation is the propagation of the race. Gen. 1:28. But reproduction is

wholly natural. Ps. 51:5; John 3:6. This argues the natural character of the marriage relation. It is dependent on natural conditions for its existence, and must end with mortality (Matt. 22:30; Rom. 7:2); hence is temporal and natural, not spiritual.

That marriage was instituted by the Creator does not prove that it is a spiritual relation. God has instituted government, and commands men to be subject to "the powers that be." But our relation to governments ordained of God is, primarily, civil. If marriage is a religious ordinance, only those are married who are religious, or spiritual. But this principle would nullify all marriages between parties who reject all religion, but who are faithful and happy in obedience to their marriage vows. Further: If marriage is a religious relation, it must be a relation of the true religion, thus confining legitimate marriages to possessors of the true religion, not merely the professors of it. In other words, if marriage were a religious, or spiritual, relation, it would follow that all marital obligations between infidels, hypocrites, and all but the few who profess and possess the true religion, would be null and void. This is the position of the Church of Rome. "Marriage," says the Romish Church, "is purely religious. We alone are the possessors and guardians of the true religion. Hence all marriages not sanctified by the church, are void." This is the logical and inevitable conclusion to which they arrive, upon the assumption that marriage is a religious institution or sacrament. This conclusion, with all its disastrous consequences, is embodied in a formal decree of the Catholic Church. (See records of the Decrees of the Council of Trent, November, 1563.)

While maintaining that marriage is primarily, a civil relation, we would not be understood as excluding from it the benign influences of pure and undefiled religion. The blessings of religion ought to be taken, not only into the marriage relation, but into every relation of life, social and civil.

Having shown that marriage is a social or civil relation, and therefore within the purview of civil legislation, *provided the rights of society demand it*, we will next inquire, *Do the rights of society demand the regulation of the marriage relation?* We maintain that they do, and for the following reasons, among others: The State must regulate marriage, for the purpose of ascertaining the paternity of children. This the State must do, in order that it may impose upon the proper parties the parental care of the child, that the tax-payer who is not responsible for its existence, may not be charged with its support. Hence it is proper and just for the State to require, as it does, that those entering upon the marriage relation shall furnish competent evidence of having en-

tered upon that relation, and that they accept its duties and responsibilities.

Having shown that the government may in right, and must in justice to the tax-payer, regulate the institution of marriage, we next inquire, *May it regulate that relation to the extent of prohibiting plural marriages?* It will be conceded that it is the province and the duty of civil government to protect its citizens; and, if any right of the citizen is invaded by the practice of polygamy, and such practice can be shown to be a menace to the peace and good order of society, irrespective of religious prejudice, it can and should be prohibited by civil law. That polygamy is an invasion of the natural rights of man we shall proceed to prove.

All men are created equal, and are by nature endowed with certain inalienable rights, among which is the right to the undivided companionship of a wife. But, while this proposition will not be disputed, our position is, that for men to take unto themselves a plurality of wives, is abnormal and will invade that right. Polygamy is abnormal, since nature has made no provision for it. For that institution to be normal and within the reach of every man, nature must provide at least twice as many females as males; or, if we take the number of wives associated with Brigham Young in the marriage relation as a precedent (and once admit the principle the number cannot be restricted), nature would have to produce more than twenty times as many women as men. "It is fully established," says the "Encyclopædia Britannica," "that among all races of mankind, the number of male infants born slightly exceeds the number of females, the ratio being about twenty-one males to twenty females." After mentioning the comparative mortality of the two sexes, the same authority says: "Taking the human race as a whole the numbers of married and marriageable men and women are practically equal." ("Encyclopædia Britannica" Supplement, Vol. 4, pages 222, 223). For one half of the male population to take even two wives, or one more than is allotted to each man by nature, would be to deprive the other half of the one wife which nature has provided.

Polygamy is therefore a violation of the natural rights of man, and as such, should be prohibited by civil law. The statement that the supply has always equaled the demand in countries where polygamy has been practiced, even if true, loses its force, when we consider that the practice has been restricted to the wealthy and powerful. Even in Utah among the modern polygamists, the number of wives is restricted by a property qualification, and even then, the supply has not equaled the demand, as will be shown further on. All such restrictions, based on property or other qualifications, are inconsistent with the equal rights of man, and the principles of our free Government.

The Mormon community in Utah is a practical and forcible illustration of the fact that polygamy is an abnormal state of society. It is an acknowledged fact that this community does not furnish the excess of females required to meet the demand for a plurality of wives, their offspring there, as elsewhere, being about equally divided between the sexes. This demand has been met by the efforts of missionaries who have induced women (in some cases wives and mothers who deserted their families), to join the Mormon community and add another wife to the already well supplied Mormon husband. To say that the females drawn from non-polygamous districts to furnish women for polygamous communities do not materially alter the proportionate number of marriageable men and women in those districts, does not in the least militate against the argument. Having shown that in principle it violates the inalienable rights of men, the limited extent of its practice cannot be advanced in support of the institution. The State should not abolish its laws against polygamy (thus giving it legal sanction), and then wait until one half of the male population of the country are deprived of their rights, in order to prove that the practice would invade natural rights. As well wait until the seals are destroyed, to prove that the present method of killing will destroy them, before enacting laws against their destruction. The necessity of the Government thus taking precautionary measures, was advocated by Secretary Blaine in the recent seal-fishery dispute, and admitted by the English Premier. All the Government needs to know, is, that the practice will invade the rights of men; its duty in the matter is then made clear. It must prohibit the practice in order to preserve those rights.

Having shown that the practice of polygamy invades the rights of men to the undivided companionship of a wife, we will next show that it is an invasion of the natural rights of women to the undivided companionship of a husband, which nature by its producing as many men as women, proves to be her natural right.

The husband by taking the second wife, invades the rights of the first wife to the undivided companionship of a husband. To say that both women voluntarily accept the relation, does not place the matter beyond the jurisdiction of civil government, because the Government cannot sanction the invasion of natural rights even though the parties are agreed. It may be objected, that because the Government cannot sanction the practice, it does not follow that it must prohibit it. It is true the Government cannot be regarded as sanctioning a practice by not prohibiting it when the practice does not come within its jurisdiction. But, since the practice of polygamy has been proved to be a violation of natural rights, the very

thing for which governments are established to prevent, this comes within the rightful jurisdiction of civil government, and a failure to prohibit it is to give it legal sanction. *The absence of law prohibiting a practice, when that practice comes within the jurisdiction of civil government, is to give the practice the sanction and protection of government.* To illustrate: The government has no law against murder. A man is murdered, and his friends bring the murderer before the authorities for punishment; but they are told the State has no law against murder, and orders are given that the murderer be set at liberty. By this the government sanctions the act of murder. A failure to prohibit the act makes the government responsible for it.

Thus it is with the invasion of the rights of the first wife by her husband's taking other wives. A failure on the part of the government to prohibit it gives the act the sanction of the government, and, having by its failure to prohibit the act given legal sanction to it, it cannot contradict itself by declaring the marriage illegal at some subsequent time in order to secure to the woman her rights. The law ought therefore to prohibit polygamy that it may be faithful to its duty of securing to its citizens their natural rights.

Neither can the plea that polygamy is practiced as a part of the religion of the Mormon, affect the argument. No religious practices, however sacred in the eyes of the believer, can receive the sanction of a just government, if they infringe upon the rights of others.

Again, to protect the Mormons in their practice of polygamy on account of their religious convictions, and prohibit the same practice among others, would be class legislation, which is opposed to the principles of free government. If polygamy is permitted in Utah, it must be permitted in every State and Territory in the Union. If this permission is granted the Mormon it must be granted the "Gentile;" and, since the "Gentile" has not the religious convictions which alone make order possible in a polygamous society, it would be destructive of the family relation, and, through that, destructive of civilized government itself.

For these reasons, we arraign this whole system as unnatural, an infringement of human rights, a menace to the good order of society, and maintain that it may be suppressed by law without infringing any principle of religious liberty, and must be suppressed in order to preserve civil liberty.

A. F. BALLENGER.

THE opinion delivered by Mr. Justice Cassody is, to our understanding, clear and conclusive. Bible-reading in public schools has the form and intention of religious worship; and this being the fact, then to compel the people by taxation to erect and support public schools, in which such reading is a practice, is to compel them by law to erect and support places of worship.—*New York Independent.*

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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The Massing of the Forces.

IN an address delivered at the Lakeside Assembly, in August, Miss Frances E. Willard thanked God for the marshalling of the National Reform soldiery "marching as for war."

At such a time, when reinforcements are so rapidly joining themselves to the ranks of the party which assumes to be the army of moral reform, it does not come amiss to enumerate the detachments of which this marching host is composed.

Dr. McAllister says of these gathering forces, in the preface to his "Manual of Christian Civil Government:"—

These days of peace do not call patriots to the battle-field. The God of nations is blessing us with rest from war. But the Christian patriot's ear catches stirring calls to more strenuous and momentous conflicts than any "battle of the warriors" with its "confused noise, and garments rolled in blood." The enemies of our national Christianity are both powerful and active. They have begun their attack. Our Christian institutions of Government are at stake. And the same love of country that would summon the patriot to the field of battle, summons him now to the field of moral conflict, where the friends and foes of our American national Christianity are deploying and skirmishing, and must soon come to the decisive engagement.

The issue is stated here. Although by implication, still it is direct implication. What is it? It is between "American national Christianity" and the Christianity of the Bible,—God's religion pure and undefiled, which savoreth not of the things which be of this world.

In whatever country it has been established, and by whatever name it has been called, whether it has been the Church of Rome, the Greek Church, the Church of England, or the American national Christianity, the intent and effect of the organization of a "national Christianity" has invariably been to uphold the "traditions of men," and maintain them in the face of the divinely spoken truth of the word of God. This is the case now. Can the result be expected to differ from past similar conflicts? It cannot, except in de-

gree. And this is the only way in which it will differ. Prophecy shows it surely, clearly, definitely. But then the end comes. Here is the final deliverance, and the right does triumph eternally. Sin and wrong die with the wicked and the unjust, and exist no longer. The joy of eternal bliss and the grandeur of heavenly perfection are then attained. But these hosts, who call to one another with such sounding of the trumpet, and gather with such worldly pomp and pageantry, truly and literally an "army with banners," should stop and ask themselves who is it that will be called "great in the kingdom of heaven?" and who is it that "in no case shall enter" therein?

Did not He in whose name they profess to assemble, accept the crown of thorns as a lowly symbol of his ministering service to mortality? and did He not most sternly reprove his disciples when they spoke the things which savored of this world? And who did He say should be with him in his kingdom? Was it not the persecuted, the peacemakers, the pure in heart, the merciful, the meek, the mourners, the poor in spirit, and those that hunger and thirst after righteousness? Are those terse sentences, in which Christ named the host of the blessed, descriptive of the serried ranks that march as for war in behalf of a "national Christianity?"

Let them who would choose between the mortal error into which the Jews fell at the first coming of Christ, (when they in their vainglory of race, and pride of the world looked for him to assume an earthly scepter, and his true kingdom which is not of time and death), take thought not to fall into such an error at his second coming. At that time the Jews stood for a distinctively national Christianity, with the Messiah as their earthly king. Who is it that stands similarly, for a distinctively "American national Christianity?" It is the National Reform party, that for twenty-seven years has been a growing power in this country.

Who is it with clear-voiced utterance, "local, State, national, and world-wide" in the scope of its influence, says that Christ shall be king of this transitory, sin-defiled world,—King of its despotic and corrupt courts—of its camps of license and violence—of its commercial robbery and injustice,—King of its tyrannical and extortionate customs, and of its imperfect Constitutions,—and that through the gateway of political corruption Christ shall enter the realm of law—human law? It is the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, in unison with the National Reform party.

Next to this detachment from the motherhood of the State, comes a maidenly contingent of human loveliness, fit only for a war of roses indeed, which steps in delicately, stately trippings to the martial music of National Reform.

With the sweetest and loveliest and last

of fashions, graceful concessions to a silken Christianity, they say, with haughty humility which fits so well their perfect manner and easy courtliness of bearing, "We are the 'King's Daughters,' we command you 'In His Name.'"

But who are these who pass as a brook of rippling youthful laughter fit to flow through the golden streets? It is the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor, the children's crusade of the nineteenth century, marching to as pitiful an end, and for as futile a purpose, as were the Crusaders when led by fanatic zeal to the conquest of the holy sepulchre.

As a rear-guard to this marvellous religious army of the world, marches a vast body of churchmen at arms, whose very presence is a benediction, and whose benign graciousness assures to the motley host protection and safety for time and eternity,—the Evangelical and Ministerial Alliance.

As outposts, and flying patrol along the whole line, the Law and Order Leagues are stationed.

This is "the National Reform soldiery 'marching as for war.'"

Does this display of worldly influence and human force tally well with that meek and saintly patience which the Bible says must characterize those who become subjects of our Lord and of his Christ in his eternal kingdom? W. H. M.

It is remarkable that in this country of boasted religious liberty, Christians use the civil courts to persecute other Christians who insist upon obeying the Bible by working six days in the week and resting on the seventh. —Denison (Texas) Gazetteer.

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THE Mayor of Altoona, Pennsylvania, has caused the cigar stores and ice-cream saloons in that city to be closed on Sunday, and expects to keep them closed. Persons who wish ice cream for Sunday, will have to eat it the day before.

ON the 23d ult., the World's Fair Commission referred to a committee, a resolution offered by Commissioner Rush Strong, of Tennessee, declaring that, "as a Sabbath-keeping nation, and being desirous of following in the channel of all great American Expositions, the Commission is opposed to opening, or keeping open, the Exposition on Sunday."

This is supposed to mean that definite action on the question will not be taken for two years, or just before the opening of the Fair.

THE *Truth Seeker* thinks that clergymen should not be disfranchised as they are under the new *regime* in Brazil. It says:—

It is not right, though it may be expedient considering the character of the clergy and their proneness to maneuver for the aggrandizement of the Church. Ministers should be treated the same as other men. . . . Give them freedom and suffrage, treat them as though they were not dependents, and they will come out all right in time.

Government should be purely secular, and should give itself not the least concern about the religion or religious calling of its subjects.

REV. JAMES MCCOSH, D. D., LL. D., ex-President of Princeton College, in discussing the question of the revision of the "Confession of Faith," says:—

There are some ministers and elders who have been speaking very unadvisedly as to revision, and leaving the impression that they are ready to abandon some of the essential truths of religion on which the hopes of Christians depend. They are persons who have not been trained in the severer truths of the Word (we are to "behold both the goodness and severity of God"). A few of them have come from other denominations, where they were not taught the sovereignty of God. The greater number have received their higher training in Germany under professors elected, not by the Church but by the State; in other words, by politicians, and have no fixed faith in the inspiration of Scripture.

This is not a very good testimonial to the benefits of State religion, nor to State teaching of religion; but it is fully justified by the facts. Germany has long been

noted for its infidelity; and, as Dr. McCosh intimates, it is unquestionably due to the fact that its ministers of religion are for the most part trained in colleges supported by the State, and presided over by men selected, not because of their piety, but through political favoritism. A similar state of affairs would produce like results in this country.

FELIX R. BRUNOT, President of the National Reform Association, has issued a call for a conference on "the Christian principles of civil government," "to be held in Nashville, Tennessee, on, or about, the 15th of February next." The conference should also consider the Christian principles of the Golden Rule. A conscientious study of that matchless Rule, in Nashville, might lead to a repeal of the wicked and oppressive Sunday law which now disgraces the State of Tennessee.

SOME time ago the whole plea for the closing of the proposed World's Fair was made on the ground of morals; now the spectacle is presented of ministers and churches uniting as one man to secure Sunday closing in order that the employes may rest! It seems just a little strange, however, that the religious element of this country is never concerned about the welfare of the workingman except in the matter of Sunday observance. Can it be that Sunday rest is the only thing to be desired by the toiling masses

At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the National Reform Association, held in Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, September 5, this, among other recommendations, was adopted:—

That we resume the circulation of petitions to Congress for the Christian amendment to the Constitution of the United States, and that a hearing be secured, if possible, on this subject before the Judiciary Committees of the Senate and House.

The Secretary was also instructed to prepare, and forward to both houses of Congress, a memorial praying for a constitutional amendment forbidding sectarian instruction in the public schools, but providing that it shall not be so construed as to exclude the use of the Bible in such schools.

THE *Christian Statesman* has an editorial note, which says:—

We have never seen the Hebrew theocracy fully and correctly discussed. Foolish and incorrect ideas on the subject pervade our literature, and are heard continually on the platform, and even in the pulpit.

This is quite an acknowledgment. We have long known that National Reform literature was pervaded by foolish and incorrect ideas of a theocracy, but we had scarcely looked for such a frank acknowledgment of this fact from the *Christian Statesman*. What is said of the platform

and pulpit is no doubt equally true; we are well aware that National Reform speakers are very prone to "foolish and incorrect ideas," and not only so, but they have a fondness for parading them before the public.

THAT the present demand for Sunday laws is largely to supply a lack on the part of those who profess to revere that day, is shown by the following editorial note in the *New York Observer*:—

For all this breaking down of Sabbath sentiment the religious people of this country are to blame. It is not the reaction from Puritanism. It is the self-indulgence of nominal Christians that makes them powerless to support by their words and actions the national Sunday.

Just so; "nominal Christians" are so given to self-indulgence that they set a bad example; therefore an appeal is made to civil law to bolster up a tottering morality which, at best, is only skin deep.

DR. JOHN HALL, writing from England, to the *New York Mail and Express*, devotes considerable space in his letter to the consideration of the agitation of the question of the relations of Church and State, now going on in the Old World, Dr. Hall says:—

To an extraordinary degree the questions of the relations of the Church and State are now occupying the European mind. Not in Great Britain only, but in Germany and other sections in which intellectual activity is found, there is, on many grounds, deep dissent from the view of Milton that the Church of Christ is not strong enough to stand unless buttressed by temporal power and civil resources. In some cases the stir is on the ground of taxation without benefit; in some it is on the ground of taxation without representation; in some it is based on direct dislike to the cause of religion, and in some it is unhappily the outcome of religious discussion. "The Welsh Nonconformist ministers are becoming political preachers," say the clergy who are for establishment. "Well" they reply, "the bishops and rectors have always been political nominees; they have no right to criticise us."

Dr. Hall continues for a third of a column to describe the agitation and recrimination upon Church and State questions now going on in England. At the present rate of increase in the general attention paid to this subject, how long will it be before the relations of religion and government will be the all-absorbing political issue of the world?

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THE Maryland State Prohibition platform has the following as one of its planks:—

We approve our Sabbath laws and their enforcement, which secures to the people one day's rest in seven.

This the New York *Voice* calls an almost model platform. But that political platform which approves of Maryland Sabbath laws is as far from model, as the darkest laws of the Dark Ages are from the Constitution of the United States.—*Signs of the Times*.

A CELEBRATED European nobleman says: "The Americans have the best Government, because they are scarcely aware that they have any Government at all." Commenting upon this, the *Christian Advocate* says: "When the inhabitants of a country become able to govern themselves they need no other Government. Without self-control among the citizens freedom is impossible." This is true; but so-called National Reform, which is more or less in favor with the *Advocate*, is not calculated to develop self-control. National Reform is paternalism, and paternalism in government is utterly destructive of self-government.

THE French are noted for going to extremes. In that country, Catholics are now forbidden to walk in procession on Corpus Christi. *L'Univers* says they may blame themselves for it. It further says: "We are Catholics, and the vast majority of the French people are Catholics. Our God

claims to show his universal sovereignty in the streets once a year. It is his right, and our right. We ask no one to join in our peaceful procession, neither the Jew who crucified him, nor the atheist who denies him. We respect their liberty, but we want them also to respect ours." It is possible that there is some justification for such a prohibition, but we can scarcely imagine what it would be. To us it would seem that the forbidding of religious processions, is an exhibition of intolerance, unworthy the officers of a great government. If France fears a procession of Roman Catholics she must indeed be in a sad state.

The State Is of the People.

SOME time ago, Rev. E. H. Ashmun, of Denver, Colorado, preached to the Patriotic Order of the Sons of America, a sermon on what he intended to be, "National Education," but if his views should be carried out, it would be national mis-education. He declared that the education furnished by the public schools "must be to a degree, Christian" and non-sectarian. He did not tell how the State is to find out what Christianity is, without recognizing and establishing a particular religion, nor did he seem to care how the thing should be brought about, only so that his views of Christianity and non-sectarianism should be taught in the schools. And that is all that the argument means about religion and non-sectarianism in the public schools. It means simply some man's particular views of what constitutes religion and non-sectarianism, and in the end this is simply sectarianism in religion.

This is fully demonstrated in Mr. Ashmun's speech, because the whole thing was a continuous onslaught upon the Roman Catholic Church, and its practices, and its opposition to the Protestant Bible in the public schools, all of which he denounces as sectarian. When any man claims that opposition to the Bible in the public schools is sectarian, his claim is in

itself sectarian; because the claim is always in favor of some particular version of the Bible, and in the discussion that is now going on it is in behalf of the King James version, in other words, of the Protestant Bible, but Protestantism is no less sectarian than Catholicism, Judaism, Mohammedanism or anything else. Again, not all of those who are taxed to support the public school believe in the Bible, and would not even if there were but one version of it in the world, and even if it were of all books the only one recognized as the Bible; and to compel men who do not believe in the Bible to submit to the dictation of those who do, is wrong; to compel men who do not believe the Bible to receive it as others believe it, and because others believe it, is persecution and sectarianism too.

Mr. Ashmun says that "to make good citizens, you must make good men." That depends upon the sense in which the word "good" is used. If it is used in the sense of civilly good, then it is only to say that in order to make good citizens you must make good citizens, which is altogether likely. But in the sense in which Mr. Ashmun uses it, that is, if you would make good citizens you must make *morally* good men, then it is not true. A man may be morally bad, and yet he may be a good citizen. It is very doubtful whether either at the time in which he lived, or now, there could be found a man who would say that Benjamin Franklin was not a good citizen. But it would certainly be difficult to find a man, who is acquainted with Franklin's character as a man, who would say that Franklin was a good man. Franklin himself would not say it. Alexander Hamilton is another instance, and there are many others. The truth is that morally speaking, a person may be a bad man, and yet he may be a good citizen. But even though it were the actual truth, as Mr. Ashmun means it, that to be a good man is essential to being a good citizen, and that the State must make men good, there never could be any such thing as a good citizen, be-

cause the State cannot make good men. The State is a natural thing. It springs from men in the natural state, and there is no power in nature, or in any natural process, or thing, to make men good. Nothing but the power of God as revealed in Jesus Christ can ever make men good. But that is a supernatural thing. It was supernaturally manifested in Jesus Christ, and is now supernaturally impressed upon men and cultivated in them. Goodness is a fruit of the Spirit of God; and the promise of the Spirit of God is received only through faith, of which Jesus Christ is "the author and finisher." The State knows nothing of faith, and has nothing to do with faith. It is impossible, therefore, for the State to make good men, and any professed minister of the gospel of Christ who attributes such power to the State as is here attributed by Mr. Ashmun, virtually denies the purpose and the power of Christianity. If the State can make men good, then assuredly there is no need of any other power. If the State can make men good, there is no need of Christianity to make them good, and there was no need of Christ's coming down to this earth to make them good.

But it may be urged that Mr. Ashmun did not mean morally good but only civilly good. This, however, is not true. He means morally good, for he says:—

The State has a right to see that the education is such as to make safe citizens. The education must be moral. This is the most important part. The State has a right to educate in what it most needs. When men of ability prostitute their power to basest evil; when money will corrupt thoroughly educated men; when political leaders are so often unsafe, and when men of no mean intellectual parts are found supporting and advocating the saloon, vile literature and anarchy, it is time for us to awake to the fact that what we want is not so much power as its proper control. That character is first, and not as a work of supererogation. Not as a patch on the garment but as the very warp, the fiber of its being. It is said it belongs to the family and the Church. Yes, but the child is in school during a greater part of its most impressible years, and its character is formed whether you will or not. And with many children the only good moral training they ever receive is in school.

I go still farther and say that the education must be to a degree Christian. I know this is disputed ground, but I am confident of the correctness of my position. Otherwise you leave no real distinction between right and wrong. The only ground of responsibility is the divine law. Expediency changes with public sentiment which fluctuates with desire. You cannot teach good morals successfully, without touching their root. Responsibility roots in the divine law. The object of education is the prime end of man himself. To make good citizens you must make good men.

That shows plainly enough that what he means is moral good, and indeed such moral good as only Christianity contemplates. Then there comes another consideration upon this, which is, that if the State even through the use of the Christian religion in the public schools, can make men good, then what is the use of the Church, and what was the Church instituted for? When men who belong to

the Church, who profess to speak for the Church, and who profess to be ministers of the gospel of Christ, thus put their dependence in the power of the State to make effectual the purposes of Christianity, it is a sorry condition of things.

Mr. Ashmun attempts to have the State make a distinction between right and wrong. This is as wide of the truth as any other of his statements. The State knows no such thing, nor can it know any such thing, as a "real distinction between right and wrong." The State only knows *rights* and *wrongs*, and the distinction between these. Men have rights—in the State they have equal rights. For one to infringe the rights of another is to commit a wrong, and the State deals with it only as this kind of a wrong. The State cannot make of it any question of real right or wrong in a moral point of view.

The prime defect in this whole system is that those who talk thus, and expect the State to accomplish those things, hold 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 of 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 that compose it, or of 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.

Again he says:—

It is not safe to give men liberty unless you make them responsible. You dare not let untamed beasts roam at will.

Here again appears the same blemish that exists throughout the whole sermon. That is, that the State is all and in all, and it gives the people all things, even liberty. The State does not give the people liberty. The people have liberty. It is an inalienable right. "Men are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Despotism may invade this right, but justice still maintains it. The State is not first; the people are first. The State does not make the people what they are; God or the people make people what they are, and the people make the State what it is.

Mr. Ashmun's idea that men are a set of untamed beasts is strictly compatible with his view of what the State is. If men are untamed beasts, of course, it is

necessary to have some power to hold them fast, and if they are ever to be anything more than that, to train them and instruct them so that they may be so. But so long as men are men, and not untamed beasts, there is no need of any such theocratical paternalism as was set forth to the Patriotic Order of the Sons of America, by the Rev. E. H. Ashmun. A. T. J.

Congress of the American Secular Union.

THE Fourteenth Annual Congress of the American Secular Union has been appointed by the Board of Directors to meet at Portsmouth, Ohio, Friday evening, October 31, 1890, and to continue its sessions on the Saturday and Sunday following. The meetings will be held in the Grand Opera House, corner of Sixth and Court streets.

We quote as follows from President Westbrook's published call for the Congress:—

The object of the American Secular Union, as is well known, is to secure the total separation of Church and State, in fact and in form, to the end that equal rights in religion, genuine morality in politics, and freedom, virtue, and brotherhood be established, protected, and perpetuated. While we unite on what is commonly known as the Nine Demands of Secularism, we propose to emphasize the following at the coming Congress:—

1. The equitable taxation of church property in common with other property.
2. The total discontinuance of religious instruction and worship in the public schools, and especially the reading of any Bible.
3. The repeal and prevention of all laws enforcing the observance of Sunday as a religious institution rather than an economic one, justified by physiological and other secular reasons.
4. The cessation of all appropriations of the public funds for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character.

The American Secular Union is strictly unsectarian and non-partisan in both religion and politics, but will use any and all honorable means to secure its objects as above stated. It is not, either publicly or privately, committed to the advancement of any system of religious belief or disbelief, but heartily welcomes all persons, of whatever faith, to its membership, on the basis of "no union of Church and State." The word "secular" is here used in the broadest sense, as applied to the State, and not to any system of religious philosophy.

To discuss these questions in an orderly and friendly manner, and to devise ways and means to promote these objects, let us come together at this Congress as Free Thinkers, Spiritualists, Unitarians, Universalists, Free Religionists, Quakers, progressive Jews, and liberal Christians, and laying aside our peculiar views on religious questions, unite as American citizens on the one broad platform of no union of Church and State, and the complete administration of our secular Government on purely secular principles.

The Nine Demands of Secularism referred to in the foregoing are as follows:—

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall be no longer exempt from just taxation.
2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.
3. We demand that all public appropriations for

educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.

4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the Government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text book, or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.

5. We demand that the appointment by the President of the United States, or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and feasts shall wholly cease.

6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts, and in all other departments of the Government shall be abolished, and the simple affirmation, under the pains and penalties of perjury, shall be established in its stead.

7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.

8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality (as such) shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.

9. We demand that not only in the Constitution of the United States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system, shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly and promptly made.

It will be observed that the four points to be "emphasized" by the Portsmouth Congress, are identical with demands 1, 3, 4, and 7, of Secularism, with this difference, that while the seventh demand of Secularism is the repeal of "all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath," the American Secular Union demands repeal of "all laws enforcing the observance of Sunday as a religious institution, rather than an economic one, justified by physiological and other secular reasons." This we regard as quite an important difference.

Sunday is, and always was, a religious institution. It was such in the old Pagan world, and it is such now in the Christian world, and we deny the right of the State to require its observance upon *any grounds whatever*. True, it is regarded as a holiday by many who have no religious regard for it, or indeed for anything else, and they have a perfect right to so use that, or any other day, so far as their fellow men are concerned; but we deny the right of one portion of the community or State to fasten upon the other portion, that is upon the minority, no matter how small a minority it may be, the observance of Sunday, or any other day, for any reason *either religious or otherwise*.

We do not deny the *right* of the State to make any day or any number of days *legal holidays*, leaving the individual citizen free to observe or not to observe such days just as he sees fit, as is now the case with the Fourth of July, and other holidays; but to require the observance of such days, or to forbid upon one day, acts which are freely permitted on other days, is an abuse of the power of the State. The American Secular Union should lay

the ax at the root of the tree, and "demand that all laws directly or *indirectly* enforcing the observance of Sunday" upon any pretext be repealed. C. P. B.

Why not Teach Sectarianism?

SINCE the contest upon the question of religion in the public schools began, people talk about sectarianism as if it were something worse than small-pox or the plague. Notwithstanding this, every one of them teaches his own children sectarianism, if he teaches them any religion at all. All definite religious doctrines are sectarian, because they are not universally received. No doctrines could be formulated that would be adopted by all; and as surely as they were accepted by only a part of the people, so surely they would be sectarian in their character. A division of mankind formed upon the basis of religious doctrines held by them, constitutes a sect, and the doctrines which they hold are sectarian. Christianity is sectarianism, and it is the right kind of sectarianism, too. And as the Bible is distinctly a Christian book, it is likewise sectarian, and cannot be taught without teaching sectarianism.

"But," says one, "we do not object to such sectarianism as that; we want that in the public schools; but we do not want such sectarianism as is held by the Methodists, the Presbyterians, or the Baptists. We do not want any sectarianism that is narrower than Christianity itself. Of course Christianity is the right kind of sectarianism, and it is that for which we are working."

Now my friend, I have a question to ask. If all you have said is true, why do you belong to the Methodist Church? Why don't you leave it and adopt Christianity instead of Methodism? Certainly you should want the best, and if Christianity is the right kind of sectarianism and Methodism the wrong and dangerous kind, why don't you exchange and get that which is good and safe? Or, if you are a Presbyterian, why do you not exchange your Presbyterianism for Christianity? "Oh, but," you say, "we as a church believe that Methodism is Christianity. You see Christianity has to be defined, and Methodism, Presbyterianism, etc., etc., are simply so many definitions of Christianity." Exactly, you have stated the case very plainly. But do you not see that if Christianity should be taught in the public schools, it would have to be defined? And if a definition of Christianity constitutes sectarianism of the dangerous kind, how could Christianity be introduced into the public schools without introducing dangerous sectarianism?

Wherever Christianity goes, some definition of it must go also; and that definition will be just as truly sectarian as is Methodism or any other creed. If it

were not sectarian, it would not be worth having. A "non-sectarian Christianity" would be a religion so poorly defined, so loose jointed and wishy-washy, that it could be stretched in any direction to suit the ideas of even the infidel and the pagan, so that all would willingly adopt it as their own. Such a religion would not be Christianity at all, and nobody desires any such thing, or intends to have it. Those who are working for religion in the public schools intend to have something that is definite, and that cannot be stretched to mean anything or nothing at all. They intend to have a new definition of Christianity, which in the very nature of things cannot be accepted by all; and this new definition will be as truly sectarian as any which has preceded it, and all those who accept it will, taken together, constitute a sect.

If sectarianism is a bad thing, then all the denominations had better disband and give up their sectarian definitions of Christianity, and never make any more. But if it is a good thing, they had better keep on instructing their own children in their own sectarianism at their own expense, and in their own way. But whatever they do, let them forever cease trying to force their sectarianism upon the public schools, which are not sectarian. A. DELOS WESTCOTT.

How Baptists View It.

A CORRESPONDENT of the *Christian Index*, a Baptist paper of Atlanta, Georgia, has been criticising the position of that paper upon the educational question, and among other things, says:—

The Bible is not abolished, it cannot be, it is not even banished. . . . That the teachers can teach as much of the Bible as they please, provided they avoid dogmas upon which churches differ.

To this the *Index* makes reply as follows:—

Is he not laboring under a "strange misapprehension"?

The Bible and all religious exercises, are prohibited in the public schools of Atlanta, and we think this is practically true of all the schools in Georgia. In many States the use of the Bible in the public schools is prohibited by law. This is as it should be where the children of parents who entertain every imaginable phase of religious belief assemble in the same school.

A Christian has no right to force a Jew to listen to his interpretations of Scripture, neither has the Jew the right to force his interpretation of Scripture upon a Christian. So, of all other denominations entertaining radical differences of opinion. It is not our wish or purpose to compel the use of the Bible in the public school. As Baptists we are unalterably opposed to anything that looks like compulsion in matters of religion, or that gives the slightest countenance to the shortest step towards the union of Church and State.

The Bible and religion must of necessity be excluded from the public schools. Denominational schools are the only schools where the Bible can be used, and where religious instruction can be given without let or hindrance.

But our correspondent says, "The teachers in the public schools can teach as much of the Bible as they please, provided they avoid the dogmas upon

which churches differ."

What does he mean by "dogmas"? It is fair to presume he means those doctrines taught by the various sects or denominations which constitute their cardinal differences.

Let us see how much of the Bible there will be left for one of the teachers in a public school to teach when all these are avoided. The Christian believes that Christ was the true Messiah. The Jew believes he was an impostor. The dogma of the Messiahship of Christ must be avoided.

The Trinitarian believes in the divinity of the Son, and his co-equality with the Father. The Unitarian believes that Jesus was a mere man. The dogma of the divinity of Christ must be avoided. The Baptist and the Presbyterian believe in the doctrine of election and final perseverance. The Methodist rejects both. The dogma of an effectual call must be avoided. Orthodox Christians believe that repentance and faith are essential to salvation. Universalists believe that all men will be saved whether they repent and believe or not. The dogmas of repentance and faith must be avoided. Baptists believe that nothing but immersion is baptism. Pedobaptists believe that rantism or something else will do. The dogma of baptism must be avoided. Baptists believe that regeneration is an essential qualification for church membership. Pedobaptists do not. The dogma of regeneration must be avoided.

So we might extend the list of so-called "dogmas" until every essential doctrine is eliminated from the Bible, leaving little else besides the fly-leaves and the lids.

And this is just the position that every Christian, and every Christian paper, should assume upon the question of the Bible in the public schools. The Book of books can properly have no place in schools supported by the State.

American Principles.

THE AMERICAN SENTINEL is a thorough-going Protestant journal, and is therefore opposed to every form of the Roman Catholic doctrine, and to the Roman Catholic system as a whole; but we do not indorse in any degree this anti-Catholic cry that is becoming so prevalent. Our opposition to Roman Catholic doctrine, and to Roman Catholicism as a system, is confined wholly to the field of reason and discussion. We maintain that the Roman Catholic has just as much right to be a citizen of the United States as any other man, that he has all the rights of any other man, and that these rights are just as sacred as those of any other man. We know that any man or any class of men who would deny the Roman Catholics any civil rights whatever, would deny the same thing to anybody else. It is certain, therefore, that if this anti-Catholic crusade that is being so urgently pressed by many who appropriate to themselves the name, American, would be as thoroughly despotic if it had its way as Roman Catholicism ever was, or as any system could be. And although all these papers and associations boast of their Americanism, the spirit of the whole movement is everything else than American.

Americanism, that is, the genius of American principles and American political doctrine, is the recognition of the equal rights of all,—of the rights of the

Roman Catholic as well as of the Protestant, and of those who are neither, as well as of those who are either. The constant ambition of THE AMERICAN SENTINEL is to be thoroughly loyal to genuine American principles, asserting and defending the equal rights of all the people whatever their religious profession may be—the right of any man to be a Roman Catholic and a citizen at the same time; the right of any man to be a Protestant and a citizen at the same time; the right of any man to be neither and also a citizen,—the right of the Roman Catholic Church to exist as a church, and to have its own church schools free from any interference by the State, as the State has the right to its schools free from any interference by any church; and the same to any Protestant church. We believe in the right of the State to exist, and in the right of the Church to exist, and in the total and absolute separation between them.

A. T. J.

The Veritable Facts.

WHAT we want, and ask for, is facts. We can supply principles, and offer their application; but we must get the facts by information. We cannot invent or deduce them.

We tried to get the facts about the relation of the Roman Catholics to our public schools; but we did not get all of them in our issue of three weeks ago. We gave an account of the more noted cases, those that had come to our knowledge; but some were not included in the many articles then published. We will add a few obtained since from Iowa.

Having seen in the *Advance* a brief reference to the public schools in Dubuque as allowing the Catholic catechism to be taught in some of them, we wrote to the Superintendent of Public Schools of that city, and received from Mr. Hardie, Secretary of the Board of Education, an absolute denial. That seemed conclusive. But it appears that the *Advance* had confused the city of Dubuque with the country districts in the same and an adjoining county, and that what was not true of Dubuque was true of the neighborhood about it. We give the facts as stated to us by a correspondent; and so full and circumstantial are they that we cannot help believing them. Here we have an extraordinary illustration of what the Catholic Church has done in a community of Catholic foreigners cast upon these shores, unaffected by American ideas and American civilization.

The Rev. Charles O. Brown, pastor of the First Congregational Church of Dubuque, writes us the following facts, from his own personal observation and investigation, about which there can be no doubt:—

At Key West, three miles southwest of Dubuque, the public school is in the same yard with the Catholic church, and is taught by nuns, who teach

the Roman catechism as a regular study. At the time of the writer's visit school was dismissed that the children might "go riding with the sisters" to a neighboring convent.

At New Mallory and Prairie Creek, the Roman Catholic catechism is regularly taught, the writer himself having been present at one of the recitations on the observance of mass. At Bernard a similar state of things exists. At Wilton, near Asbury, three miles northwest, several years ago a priest ordered, and secured, the removal of the public school from its own to a building of his selection, where he regularly heard recitations in the Catholic catechism, and where he was accustomed to order the whipping of different pupils.

At Holy Cross the public school building was sold years ago, and the public school is now in a building on church property, taught by nuns. All of the above places are in Dubuque County. The following places are in Jackson County. At Spring Brook a state of things very similar to that in Holy Cross exists. At Spruce Creek, Otter Creek, Butler, and many other places, the catechism is taught. At La Motte the school is a building next to the Catholic church, which the former bishop, Smythe persuaded the directors to erect on church land. This was done and the house paid for with public money. The present bishop upon coming into the diocese, laid claim to the property, and has since controlled it. At one time a lawsuit was imminent; but the Catholic who dared to oppose his bishop died, and so the matter was dropped. It is needless to add that the Roman catechism is taught there. At the time of the writer's visit to that neighborhood, school was dismissed that teacher and pupils might attend a "mission" which priests from Chicago were conducting. But it is reserved for Tete-de-Morte, a little village about eight miles north of Bellevue, to cap this sheaf; for there the public school of District No. 2 is in a four-storied nunnery, which is flanked by a Catholic church and cemetery with a life size image on the cross, in the same yard! Of course, the school is taught by nuns, and equally of course, the Roman catechism is taught. These are only instances. Many more might be given. In many of these schools not only is the catechism taught, but Roman Catholic text-books, filled with exaggerations and perversions of American history, are in use. Facts which have more recently come to the writer persuade him that Clayton and Delaware Counties are also suffering from similar abuses; but to what extent he is not at present ready to say.

Now these facts are just what we wanted to know, and what we wanted the public to know. Here are religious schools, with undoubted sectarian instruction, paid for out of the public funds. The great State of Iowa ought to put an immediate stop to it. We doubt not it is contrary to the State Constitution. If the reading of the King James version of the Holy Bible in the public schools is declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of Wisconsin, what shall be said of the teaching of the Roman Catholic catechism in the public schools of Iowa? We urge the citizens of Iowa to purge out this injustice and to give their children really undenominational public schools.

Catholics have complained, and justly complained, that Protestant religious services were held in the public schools. We have admitted that they were right, and that injustice has been generally ended. But here we have a disheartening example of what the Roman Catholic Church has done with the public schools when it had the power. Can Catholics justify it? Will they not join with us in correcting the abuse?—*New York Independent, Sept. 25.*

Very Apparent.

WORKING people in France are now entitled to rest one day in seven. But inasmuch as the Legislature declined to designate *Sunday* as the legally appointed rest-day, the law is not satisfactory to ultra Sunday-law advocates. It is indeed probable that the result of the law will be less Sunday labor, and that that will be the day generally selected by employes, but that which is really desired by the Sunday people is not only Sunday rest from labor, but governmental recognition of Sunday sacredness. Commenting upon the French law, the *Christian Advocate*, of this city, says:—

Some of the nations of Europe have long tried the experiment of ignoring the divinely established law of a seventh-day's rest, and have found the results unsatisfactory. Gradually but surely steps are being taken toward restoring the Sabbath to its place among the national institutions of government on the Continent. What folly it would be for us to rush into the same error which is now being abandoned by other countries after sufficient trial. Yet this is the tendency in America. No nation can defy or ignore the law of God and escape disastrous results. "God is not mocked."

The inconsistency in this is apparent when we come to consider that if the divine law means simply "a seventh-day's rest," the French law meets it fully; and if it means a definite seventh day, as the Jews, and not a few Christians hold, it does not help the matter in the least, for *Sunday is not the seventh day, but the first*. As before remarked, they want laws which will recognize *Sunday* as the Sabbath, and they will be satisfied with nothing less.

Who Shall Teach That Christian Theology?

THE bill introduced by Senator Edmunds to establish a national university, provides for the study and consideration of Christian theology. If that bill should pass and the university be established, the instructors would be holders of an "office or public trust," under the Government. Now the Constitution declares that "no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under this Government." But if Christian theology be studied or considered in that university there will certainly have to be a teacher, and if a teacher be employed to conduct the study and consideration of Christian theology, that teacher should be a Christian; but to require that a man shall be a Christian in order to occupy that place is to require a religious test as a qualification to the office, and therefore is a violation of the Constitution. Consequently from this point of view, Senator Edmunds's bill is as clearly unconstitutional as it would be possible for any bill to be.

On the other hand, if no such requirement is made as that the instructor in Christian theology shall be a Christian, and thus this clause of the Constitution be

evaded, then it would follow that instruction in Christian theology would be given in that university by a teacher who is not a Christian. But just as soon as that is done, then the teaching of Christian theology is put upon the basis of sheer rationalism. Therefore if this provision of the bill should be carried out from this point of view, it follows that that which would be taught in this university as Christian theology would be but an ungodly mixture, with no Christianity in it.

From whatever point, therefore, this bill may be viewed it is certain that the people of the United States want no such thing as it proposes to establish. The people of the United States do not want to establish a thing which is clearly unconstitutional, nor do they want to establish a system of Christian instruction which shall have no Christianity in it; nor is it right to establish at public expense a system of public instruction which *has* Christianity in it.

As we view the bills, resolutions, etc., introduced by certain United States senators, we are led to wonder whether these are not the very individuals the poet had in mind when he said—

But man, proud man
Dressed in a little brief authority

Plays such fantastic tricks before
High heaven as make the angels weep.

A. T. J.

A Specious Plea.

A PROMINENT Chicago clergyman is credited with this statement:—

Any man with his eyes shut can testify to the violation of the Sunday-closing law. Are these violators of the law to be untouched by penalty? What is the refusal to obey law but anarchy?

This is the value—to the National Reform Association, and the American Sabbath Union—of the movement for the closing of the saloons on Sunday only. It is really of much more weight in the furtherance of their purpose that saloons should remain open the remaining six days of the week if they are but closed on the first. An honest and impartial effort to close the saloons entirely, and do away with the liquor traffic completely, would deprive the Sunday-law party of one of their strongest arguments and most efficient influences for the adoption and enforcement of strict Sunday laws. It gives them an opportunity, which they otherwise would not have, to enlist the numberless "Law and Order Leagues" which are being established throughout the country, and bring to bear their tremendous and cold-blooded force for the enforcement of existing law, irrespective of what principle of civil or religious liberty that law may contravene.

Who can doubt but that so far as its effect upon the liquor business is concerned, Sunday closing is but a specious pretence. It is certain that the strictest closing upon any one day in the week could have no perceptible influence upon the traffic as a whole, or sober any drink-

ing man to a perception of his condition, and save him from his doom. The truth is, the effort to obtain laws for the Sunday closing of the saloon, the store, the shop, the factory, and the office, all stand on precisely the same footing; that is, the enforcement of the religious observance of Sunday.

The closing of the saloon is used as a specious plea because that is acknowledged to be a reform of vital necessity, and is the one most prominent before the public at the present time.

A law to close saloons on Sundays legitimizes the business for the rest of the week; it is another form of license. All forms of business being established, with the saloon, on the same legal basis, he who opens his store or office on Sunday is equally under the ban of the law and public opinion, with the saloon, and, in the ministerial question and denunciation,— "Are these violators of the law to be untouched by penalty? What is the refusal to obey law but anarchy?"

W. H. M.

In the Minority.

AN exchange remarks that "the *Independent* has been gathering statistics concerning church-membership in the United States; finding an aggregate of something over twenty-one millions in a population of sixty-three millions. The *Chicago Times* calls attention to these statistics in view of the demand to close the Columbian Exposition on Sunday; two in three of the population not being church attendants at all, and nearly one half of the remaining third being of some liberal faith and holding very tolerant views of the use of Sunday. It says: 'The attempt of the Sabbatarian to enforce his peculiar views on this country is the attempt of a relatively small minority to coerce a mighty multitude.'"

Some will no doubt think to break the force of these figures by the assertion that the twenty-one million church members are adults, while more than one-half of the other two-thirds are children. But this is not true; the Catholics number ten millions, nearly one-half of the total church membership of the United States, and that includes men, women, and children. The Lutherans, and possibly some other denominations reckon as members all who have been baptized; thus it is safe to say that nearly, or quite, one-third of the twenty-one millions of church members in the United States are children. Were the issue squarely made between voting church members and voting non-church members, the former would certainly be hopelessly in the minority even in this "Christian" country. But even were it otherwise it would not justify the majority in forcing their religious views upon the country. The

small minority of the people of the United States who have any real religious regard for Sunday, are, as Mr. Crafts says, of the Jew and the seventh day, "left perfectly free to keep it"—that is, if they are willing to deny themselves enough to do so; if not we venture the opinion that it makes no difference whether they keep it or not. God requires heart service.

C. P. B.

Compulsory School Laws.

THE editor of the *Loyal American* of Chicago, attempts to criticise THE AMERICAN SENTINEL'S position on the compulsory school law of Wisconsin, which requires that all children between stated ages shall study certain branches in the English language for a given number of weeks each year. It says:—

The State exercising the right of self-preservation can provide to insure homogeneity among its citizens; to do this, it must provide by law that all who are to be voters must learn English in public or private schools.

There is a fatal mistake couched in this. The State has a right to say who may be its citizens, and to make certain tests of citizenship. Likewise it has a right to say who may vote, and to make certain tests to the exercise of franchise. But it has no right to compel any one to meet these tests whether he becomes a citizen or not, or whether he votes or not. Here is where the theory, upon which compulsory school laws are urged, is wrong. It assumes that the State has a right to require all within its jurisdiction to be educated for citizenship, whether they exercise the functions of citizenship or not. This is manifestly wrong. If, from the nature and genius of our Government, a knowledge of the English is indispensable to the proper exercise of the right of franchise, let it be made a test of franchise. Then those who do not meet the requirement cannot vote. This of itself would be an incentive to the learning of the language. But the State has no more right to compel its residents to be educated so that they may vote intelligently, than it has to compel them to vote after they have become thus educated. It may, by establishing free schools, encourage education; but in the very nature of free government it cannot, of right, force any one to avail himself of the privileges thus offered. No State has a right to force its citizens to learn a single letter of any alphabet in the world. When a State to protect itself employs measures which trample on human rights, there must be something wrong with its means of protection. This it certainly does when it forces them to exercise any of their rights or privileges.

W. A. COLCORD.

To follow foolish precedents, and wink
With both our eyes, is easier than to think.

Cowper.

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.
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J. O. CORLISS,

Cor. Sec. N. R. L. A.

Laboring Men and the World's Fair.

NEARLY every church society, and the Prohibitionists, have petitioned the management of the Columbian Exposition not to open their gates on the Sabbath day.

Miss Frances E. Willard has been interviewed concerning the Columbian Exposition. As she may be assumed to speak for a considerable body of her sex her opinions are of some importance. Miss Willard's views cover a large scope. She says the Woman's Christian Temperance Union will oppose, in the interest "of workingmen as well as of Christians," the opening of the Exposition, Sundays.

It is more singular, however, that the temperance ladies should undertake the cruel and oppressive business of closing the Exposition, Sundays. Miss Willard's classification of workingmen and Christians into mutually exclusive groups seems somewhat fantastic, yet may be erroneous; but in the interest of neither can the Exposition be closed Sundays. There are Christians, of course, whose easy position in life will make it agreeable for them to visit the Exposition mornings of the week days. In the Paris Exposition a double admission fee was charged between 8 and 10 in the morning, so as to enable persons desirous of avoiding crowds to have a comfortable time within the buildings and grounds. Avoiding crowds means, under such circumstances, avoiding contact with common people. It might be a good idea for the directors to charge double admission week mornings during the corresponding hours. Then Christians who abhor attendance Sundays might go, and not come in contact with working men and their families.

Employers will not give holidays with pay. The great majority of women cannot afford to lose a day's pay. Their wage is a pittance. Will the women of the Temperance Union undertake to make up their loss if they take a day off now and then without pay? Will the employers of these women, many of whom are contract manufacturers for wholesale houses, be amiable about giving them days off?—*Lincoln (Neb.) News.*

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Rector Christ Church, Los Angeles, Cal.

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NEW YORK, OCTOBER 9, 1890.

NOTE.—Any one receiving the AMERICAN SENTINEL without having ordered it may know that it is sent to him by some friend, unless plainly marked "Sample copy." It is our invariable rule to send out no papers without pay in advance, except by special arrangement, therefore, those who have not ordered the SENTINEL need have no fears that they will be asked to pay for it simply because they take it from the post-office.

THE *Dawn* is a new paper published in Boston, "to advocate and explain Christian socialism, and to favor all measures practically looking to a realization of socialism in the name of Christ." "Christian socialism" is simply another name for so-called National Reform, and the *Dawn* is simply another National Reform organ, with variations.

THE Woman's Christian Temperance Union, having secured an alliance with the National Reform Association, the American Sabbath Union, and the Prohibition Party, is now laying its snares to catch the Salvation Army; but our advice to the Salvation Army is, that if it wishes to continue to do the good work which it has been doing so long, let it diligently refuse to allow itself to be joined in any way with the Woman's Christian Temperance Union.

THE *Convention Reporter*, a new monthly paper, is the organ of the Sixth District of the American Sabbath Union, embracing Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin. Rev. James P. Mills, M. A., District Secretary, is editor and publisher. The *Evangel of Rest*, issued monthly at Colfax, Iowa, under the management of Rev. Charles R. Hunt, State Secretary of the American Sabbath Union, is another paper the mission of which is to mold public opinion in favor of Sunday laws. It seems to be the settled policy of the so-called Sabbath Union to multiply papers in advocacy of the objects of the society.

THE Elkhorn Valley District Methodist Episcopal Conference in session at Oakdale, Nebraska, August 19 and 20, adopted the following resolution:—

Resolved, That we, the members of the Elkhorn Valley District Conference, have learned with regret that within the last five years the Government of the United States has appropriated over two millions of dollars for the support of sectarian and denominational schools, thereby connecting Church and State. This we deem unjust and unlawful, and we as Christian workers in the cause of Christ deem these demands of some of the churches for appropriations, and the acceptance of the same, contrary to the teachings of Christ, our Lord, and the genius of our Government.

This is a step in the right direction. Now if the whole Methodist body would take this matter up, and pass a similar

resolution, and then refund to the Government the \$18,825 that they received for the years, 1889, 1890, and 1891, we might hope to see a radical reform.

IN answering a correspondent, who complained of railroad companies' creating "a class of deliberate Sabbath-breakers," by running their trains upon Sunday, among other things, the *Christian at Work*, says this:—

We deplore the Sabbath desecration that exists. At the same time let us remember that what is necessary and promotive of public good on Sunday, is not a desecration—Christ's declarations as to which, the reader will readily recall.

We confess our inability to "readily recall" anywhere in the Bible, a passage where either the Saviour or apostles referred to the possible profanation of "the first day of the week, commonly called Sunday." Will the *Christian at Work* kindly cite us to the chapter, and verse?

FOLLOWING is one of the "reasons" given in one of the California Sunday-law documents, for a "civil" Sunday law:—

"The sacredness of the Sunday is the laborer's only shield." The Sabbath as a political institution is of inestimable value, independently of its claim to divine authority. There is no danger of destroying the Christian religion so long as the Christian Sabbath is acknowledged and kept as a sacred day.

So after all the great "reason" for Sunday laws is the preservation of the Christian religion. But there was a time in the history of Christianity when it was not only preserved, but when it actually flourished, not only without laws in its favor, but under bitter persecution. Why does it now need the support of civil law? Has Christianity lost its power? or have its professors lost all spirit of self-sacrifice that they now demand laws to remove from the Christian pathway every difficulty?

AND now we are to be afflicted by another form of paternalism in government, or at least by another paternal theory. Mrs. Victoria C. Woodhull Martin's latest idea of government embraces these cardinal points: Only healthy people shall marry; legislators are to be versed in psychology and pathology; courts are to be presided over by scientists, who will study the mental condition of criminals and prescribe proper treatment; cabinets are to be composed of philosophers, representing every branch of science, whose chief duty will be to look after the internal welfare of the people, see to the sanitary condition of all the factories, dwellings, etc., and find employment for all working people. "Mrs. Martin," remarks the *World*, "hopes to live to see this ideal government established, and then die and be known to history as the father of it, as it were."

When will the nonsense of attempting to legislate this earth into a paradise, end?

"FIRESIDE SKETCHES," is the name of one of the most attractive and valuable juvenile books that has ever come to our table. It is a new subscription book of nearly 200 pages, eight by eleven inches, substantially and handsomely bound in blue cloth, ink-stamped, and in red cloth, embossed in jet and gold, the latter being of course the more attractive binding. But beautiful as is the outside of this book, the inside is even more attractive, because of the matter which the book contains, and the illustrations with which it abounds. The following partial list of subjects, all of which are treated in a most interesting and instructive manner, will give a good idea of the scope of the book:—

The Falls of the Yosemite, California Big Trees, General Grant in Siam, The Chinese in California, Columbia River, Salt Lake City, Alaska, The Frozen North, Volcanoes and Earthquakes, Encounter with an Iceberg, Zambesi Falls, Africa, Land of the Midnight Sun, South Sea Islands, Rip Van Winkle, etc.

There is also a "Miscellaneous Department" of unusual interest to both old and young. The whole book is profusely illustrated, containing over 150 beautiful and instructive illustrations, over twenty-five of which are full page engravings. Besides the engravings, there are four excellent maps. Of the illustrations in "Fireside Sketches," the publishers say: "The illustrations have been procured with great care. Some we have been able to find in our own country, but many have had to be engraved especially for the work, or imported from foreign collections. No labor or expense has been spared to make this work as perfect as possible." The book itself bears witness to the correctness of this statement.

Persons who desire to learn book canvassing, cannot do better than to secure an agency for "Fireside Sketches," at once, and thus take advantage of the approaching holiday season. It is a book that will sell at sight, in almost every home where there are children or youth, and even the older people will want it for their own reading.

"Fireside Sketches" is published by the Central Manufacturing Company, Battle Creek, Michigan; Eastern agency, 43 Bond Street, New York, N. Y.

THE editor-in-chief of this paper has been absent from the city for some weeks, and will be till about the first of next year. Personal correspondence should be addressed to him, in care of the Pacific Press, Oakland, California.

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ASSOCIATE EDITORS,

C. P. BOLLMAN,

W. H. MCKEE.

SAYS the *Christian Statesman*:—

The platform of the Prohibition party, in Pennsylvania, retains the familiar pregnant acknowledgment of Almighty God as the source of all power and authority in civil government.

It follows that should that party come into power it would attempt to define and to enforce the will of God, and herein lies the evil of such acknowledgment by parties and by governments.

Every individual should not only acknowledge, but should yield allegiance to God for himself, and should do all that he can, by persuasion, to induce others to do the same, but political parties should do nothing of the kind for they are organized for the express purpose of administering the government, and as government is force, for a political party to make such an acknowledgment as that quoted above, is simply to avow the purpose to force upon all the people their interpretation of the will of God. God has not committed such power to men.

A RECENT decision of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, holding that a barber who kept his shop open on Sunday violated the statutes prohibiting all labor on the Lord's Day except works of necessity and charity, provoked the following comment by the editor of the *Albany Times*:—

Why the Philadelphia judges should hold that it is Sabbath-breaking for a barber to shave a customer on Sunday, but not for the customer to shave himself,

is one of those queer things that none but Philadelphia lawyers could fathom. If the shaving be work and labor, why is it not equally work and labor if performed by an individual upon his own countenance? And again, if Sunday shaving be work and labor, what is putting on one's coat or one's clean shirt to be called? Is not the one as necessary to a decent appearance at church service as the other? Does not a decent respect for the house of worship require a man to appear in it with a clean face, as well as in a clean collar and polished shoes? And if the law will not allow the barber to shave his cheeks and chin, why does it permit his cook to prepare his dinner, his waitress to serve it up, and him to eat it? Where does Sunday work and labor begin, and where does it end?

They Agree on the Main Point.

WE have several times remarked that the only real difference between Romanists and Protestants on the educational question is, that the former want State aid in teaching Catholicism, while the latter want the State to pay for teaching Protestantism. We now propose to offer a little proof directly on this point.

The *Catholic Review*, published in this city, is certainly a representative Catholic paper. In its issue of August 30, appeared an article, entitled, "Why Should Not the State Pay for Religious Instruction?" in which strong ground was taken in favor of that very thing. The *Review* says:—

To make a man truly moral you must reach his conscience, and the conscience can be effectually reached only by the powerful motives and sanctions of religion which looks to the Author of conscience and recognizes the imperative obligation to obey Him. To bring those motives and sanctions to bear upon the life and conduct they must be enforced by definite, thorough and authoritative teaching of the doctrines and precepts of religion. . . . Banish God from your curriculum, or in any degree weaken the ligaments that bind the conscience to the throne of God, and by just so much you let loose the unbridled passions of men, and introduce knavery, insubordination and every evil work.

Now, if religion be so essential an element in the formation of good moral citizens, why should the Government be so unwilling to encourage it in its system of education of the rising generation? Why, evidently, the State ought to encourage it. It ought to hold out every inducement in its power and be willing to furnish every facility to the different religious bodies for making religion the foundation and informing spirit of their system of education.

There is no mistaking the meaning of this language. It is a plea for State aid to parochial schools, for no Catholic would admit for a moment that the State can or ought to teach religion; the State should, however, pay the Church for teaching it, is the Catholic theory.

And now let us turn to the Protestants and see what they say. In the *Christian Statesman*, of August 14, is an article, in which occurs this language:—

Beyond doubt the God of storms is angry. As a Nation we have forgotten him. . . . Him and his word we have ruled out largely from the sphere of Government. We have said, "We will not have this man to rule over us." This is the declaration of the fundamental law of our land, and the effects are to be seen in all the ramifications of our Government. The secular theory of Government is at the bottom of most of America's woes. The Bible is ignored. It cannot be taught in the schools where our youth, who are to manage governmental affairs, are trained. Many of these youth get no religious training at home or in any Sabbath school, therefore they grow up practically heathen; unless they absorb some religion or religious convictions by social contact with good people, they will know but little about Christianity.

The meaning of this is also unmistakable; it is that, as a Nation we ought to see to it that our youth receive religious instruction, and that that instruction should be imparted through the medium of the public schools. And herein is the difference, and the only difference on this question between very many Protestants and the whole body of Roman Catholics, namely, the Protestants want the Protestant Bible and Protestant religion taught in the public schools, while the Catholics want the State to give them a portion of the school funds in order that they may the more easily maintain their own schools in which to teach the Roman Catholic religion. In either event the State would

pay for the teaching of religion, and in effect become a partner of the Church in the business of giving religious instruction. It follows that when they reproach one another for endeavoring to secure some advantage by an alliance with the State, it is nothing more than the pot calling the kettle black. The moral of all this is that there is but one proper course for the State to pursue in the matter of education, namely, to provide facilities for giving not an irreligious, but a purely secular education to all children not otherwise provided for, and leaving to the Church and to the home the teaching of religion. To attempt any other system would be to belittle religion and destroy our common school system. C. P. B.

A Warning for the Clergy.

THE Municipal League is working hard to initiate the clergy as practical politicians, and it seems to be having very fair success in some quarters. The novelty of the business is not without its attractions for parsons who find their religious duties monotonous, and are glad of an opportunity to take a hand in political strategy.

The League is trying to enlist both Christian clergymen and Jewish rabbis; but the *Hebrew Standard* warns the teachers of its faith to be on their guard against the allurements of these banded politicians. "We confidently hope," it says, "that every Jewish minister will refuse participating in the affair." It thinks that the ministers should attend to their appointed functions, and be content to preach religious principles of conduct, instead of electioneering for a political party.

The advice is good. If the parsons can infuse the spirit of true religion into the community, there will be no need of getting up any so-called reform movement in politics. If every individual proceeds to reform himself, the government of the town is sure to be all right; and the purpose of religion is to bring about that individual reform. That is what the churches are for, and so far as they fail there, they fail in their spiritual mission. They cannot compensate for the failure by undertaking to begin at the other end and to teach men how to perform their secular duties. Their function is to purify men's hearts and regenerate their souls, and when that work is done, righteous conduct will follow, necessarily.

Neither is it probable that the parsons will contribute anything toward the purification of politics where politics require to be purified. When they start out to apply the methods of politics in their churches and church convocations, we all know that the devil rejoices over the prospect of a rich harvest of wickedness. The sweetness and harmony of religious fellowship are transformed into the trickery and bitterness of battle. The clergy enlisted by this League are going into politics as

partisans of its particular ticket. Their congregations are divided, the great majority of them supporting the Democracy, against whom the League ticket is to be run. How, then, can there be peace and good will in the churches? Where will the pastors be after election, when the increased acrimony of the strife has left its results in heart-burning and disappointment, triumph and exultation? They will have to remain as political leaders, with such a remnant of partisan followers as they can retain, and their churches will be League churches, not Christian communions. The bond of union will be political, and not religious, agreement. The people who want religion only, will go elsewhere.

Therefore we are not surprised that the Hebrew paper warns the Jewish rabbis to keep out of the trap set for the ministers by this League of self-seeking politicians. They are sure to be harmed if they are caught in it, and will be able to extricate themselves only after having lost in both moral and religious power and influence. Failure as politicians may teach them a useful lesson, but the obstacles in the way of their spiritual prosperity will be greatly increased and multiplied because of it.

Yet many of them seem determined to find this out by actual experience.—*The Sun*.

Keep Church and State Separate.

THE St. Louis *Globe-Democrat* runs into the same way of error with several other papers on the subject of the Bennett law and the opposition to it. It makes the opponents of the law to be "the opponents of the English language," while they are nothing of the kind. They teach English in their schools; their children learn to speak English; they themselves learn it and use it on occasion. It is a total perversion of the question at issue to make the action of the opponents of the Bennett law to be against the English language or its use. The sole point at issue is whether the State shall assume control of the private schools and dictate what shall be taught there, or how it shall be taught.

Again the *Globe-Democrat* misstates the question when it says:—

In the matter of the regulation of the schools the people will not submit to dictation from any church or churches, however widely extended or powerful.

In this contest there is no attempt whatever on the part of either of the churches concerned to dictate to the State in any way in the matter of the regulation of the State schools. It is strictly and really a denial of the right of the State to dictate in the matter of their own, private schools. As the State would be right in resenting dictation from any church in the matter of the regulation of the State schools, so any church is right in resenting the dictation of the State in the regulation of the church schools. Such action on the part of the churches is only allegiance to the

principle of the absolute separation between Church and State. For, for any church to assume control of the State schools or dictate in any manner whatever what shall be taught there, or how, would be a union of Church and State; and it is none the less a union of Church and State when the State presumes to assume control of the church schools and dictate what shall be taught there, and how it shall be taught. Whoever pleads for the separation of Church and State indeed, will be an open straightforward opponent of the Bennett law, and everything like it.

A. T. J.

Sunday-Law Arrogance.

In the *Christian Union* of July 26, Dr. Lyman Abbott, the editor, says on the question of Sunday:—

The current notion that Christ and his apostles authoritatively substituted the first day of the week for the seventh is absolutely without any authority in the New Testament.

This statement is undoubtedly true, as any one may satisfy himself by carefully reading the New Testament. It is also the view held by other leading Protestant doctors, notably Dr. Schaff, and by other leading publications, for instance, the *Christian at Work*.

In the same paper from which we make the above quotation, in "Home Talks about the Word," Emily Huntington Miller on the subject of Christ, says:—

He taught by his example. He always kept holy the Sabbath day.

Now it is absolutely certain that Christ did not keep the first day of the week, but the seventh day according to the commandment, the day which all the Jews were observing. There was never any controversy about whether that day should be observed or not. The contention raised by the Pharisees against the Saviour was not whether that day should be kept, but *how* it should be kept. The day, therefore, which Christ kept holy was not the first day of the week; and, as he taught by his example, it is evident that there is no force whatever in his teaching by example in favor of the observance of the first day of the week.

This is the doctrine and this is the logic of these two quotations from the *Christian Union*. This is the truth as acknowledged by these two writers, and this journal. And being the truth, what basis is there in revelation, religion, or reason, for all these preachers and associations so urgently demanding the enactment of laws and the strict enforcement of the laws already in existence, to compel people to respect the first day of the week as the Lord's day, the Sabbath day, or the Christian Sabbath?

Such statements as these from those who believe in the observance of the first day of the week, plainly shows what THE SENTINEL has always insisted upon, viz.,

that the movement to secure the enactment and enforcement of Sunday laws, is nothing more nor less than a scheme of ambitious preachers to secure control of the civil power to force upon people their own will for the will of God. Such a thing would be bad enough if it were truly the will of God which they sought to enforce; but when it is their own will that they intend to put in the place of the will of God, and compel people to obey it as the will of God, then it is infinitely worse. The scheme is nothing less than an effort to put themselves in the place of God, and so to erect here a living likeness to a power which did that same thing before; that is, the Papacy.

A. T. J.

Should the State Regulate Morals?

This is an important question, and one that every American citizen should understand, and be able to answer intelligently. In order to have a more correct understanding of the question it will be necessary to define the terms used.

"Morality is the relation of conformity or non-conformity to the true moral standard or rule. . . . The conformity of an act to the divine law." The "divine law," is universally acknowledged as being "summarily contained in the Decalogue," written by the finger of God on the tables of stone. From this, it is plain that morality pertains solely to God, having reference to man's relation to his Maker. It must also be just as plain that, with these, civil governments or civil rulers can have nothing to do.

For civil governments were ordained to rule, not in the things of God, but in the things pertaining to civil matters—the relation of man to his fellow-man or to the government itself.

Civil government therefore can have no right to enforce or regulate acts of conformity or non-conformity of its subjects to the divine law. And an attempt, even of this kind, is only an attempt to regulate matters of conscience, and civil government can have nothing to do with conscience.

It is true, in every sense of the word, that, "Sabbath desecration is to be deplored." But, as the Sabbath is an institution of heaven, and the command for the Sabbath is found in the moral law, and all moral questions pertain to God's government, the observance or non-observance of the Sabbath should be left to the individual conscience of every subject of civil government. And farther, if the above propositions are correct, the civil government has no right whatever, even to try to enforce a moral question, a question that pertains to man's relation to his Maker; and it must be clearly seen, that to attempt such a thing is exalting the civil government above God himself, for God never forces obedience from his creatures.

It will never do to say that this is a

temperance measure, for if a person who drinks, knows that he will be prohibited from getting it on any one day in seven, he will get enough on the day preceding, to supply his supposed needs.

Then, again, what may or may not be considered a desecration of the Sabbath, can only be decided by an appeal to divine law. And here, again, we are met with differences of opinion and interpretation. Thus again we see this must be left to the individual conscience, and not to civil authority, unless we adopt the principle that "might makes right," and then let questions of conscience be settled by majorities.

Lord Macaulay ironically says, that in matters of conscience "majorities are all right, when I'm in the majority; but all wrong when I'm in the minority."

To illustrate still farther, we will take the case of the infidel. Has he no rights? He has no convictions or scruples as to the Sabbath. Would it be right for the Christian, who might be in the majority, to compel him to observe a Christian institution? It would be all right and proper if it would be right for the infidel, who might be in the majority, to declare that there was no Sabbath, and compel Christians to labor on the Sabbath. But if one is wrong so is the other.

It must, therefore, be clear to all, that the only position for the civil government, or local authorities, is simply to protect every man in his rights; the Christian in keeping the Sabbath, and the infidel in not keeping it. If we should try to compel a man who is not a Christian, to act as do the Christians, we should only make a hypocrite of him who otherwise might be a good citizen, and thus he would become a dangerous man, and hence a dangerous citizen. Let us be consistent, and look at this question from the standpoint of the Golden Rule. "Therefore all things, whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them."

H. F. PHELPS.

Keep Them Separate.

It seems to me clear that it is better to separate religious instruction from secular instruction, and to place it in a different school—a school connected with the church. . . . If the pupil leaves the secular school and repairs to the church for a religious lesson, the impression made upon him is much stronger than the same lesson given in the secular school in connection with secular lessons. Careful observers of the effects of the religious lessons placed on programmes of schools in Germany, and Austria, and other nations, tell us that where the secular studies are taught according to the true method the pupils are prone to hold in a sort of contempt the contents of their religious lessons. They are apt to bring their critical intellects to bear on dogmas and become skeptical of

religious truth altogether. It is well known that the people of Germany are much given to skepticism. Its educated class is famous for its "free-thinking," so-called. The French educated class, all of which was in its youth under parochial school influence, is atheistic.

All Protestant nations are agreed that there should be a separation of Church and State. The Catholic laity all over the world is nearly unanimous in the same opinion. I think that even the Catholic priesthood, at least in the United States, holds this view. The separation of Church and State implies the separation of Church and school. The Church and State are separated in the interest of the perfection of both. . . . The concession made in Savannah, Poughkeepsie, and a few other places, viz: a compromise which permits Catholic religious exercises before and after school in the school room, or which permits the teacher to wear the garb of some Catholic order—the garb of the sisters or the priesthood—militates against the public character of the school and cannot be conceded as a possible compromise.—*W. T. Harris, United States Commissioner of Education, in Independent.*

Strengthening the Hands of the Enemy.

THE *Truth Seeker*, of this city, occasionally says some very good and sensible things. Here is a sample:—

The State should not pay for religious instruction in the public schools, for the reason that it is not the State's business. Religion is a question for each person to decide for himself. The public schools are for the children of every one, and it could not be otherwise than a wrong inflicted upon some child to have religion taught therein—some Freethinker, some Protestant, some Catholic, some Jew. And for the State to provide schools for each sect would be impossible. It would ruin the people to pay the taxes to support them. There are some two hundred sects of Christians in the world, and the United States has samples of about all of them. Schools would have to be multiplied forty-fold. There is no feasible plan to educate children in public schools that will not work injustice except to make them strictly secular, and leave their religious education to their parents.

This is sound; but not so with this precious bit of baseless assertion from the same article:—

It seems to be necessary to continually remind the priests that morality has nothing to do with religion. Morality appeals to the experience of mankind. It cares nothing about faith, nothing about sacred books. Morality depends upon facts, something that can be seen, something known, the product of which can be estimated.

But morality has much to do with religion, and we doubt not that even the *Truth Seeker* admits it practically, even if it does not as a theory. We have known the *Truth Seeker* to remark upon the immorality of professed Christians as something not in accordance with their profession. Why, if morality has nothing to do with religion? The *Truth Seeker* certainly knows better.

But we quote again from the same article:—

The State should not teach religion for another reason. Religion is the enemy of the State, in that it diverts the attention of men from this world to another, and teaches them to sacrifice this world to that other. This weakens the ties that hold families and States together, and has a tendency to reduce society to anarchy.

The paper that uses such arguments (?) against the teaching of religion, is simply strengthening the hands of those who would make our public schools auxiliary to the Church. Every unprejudiced man knows that true Christianity is not "the enemy of the State." Both Christ and the apostles taught submission to rightful authority; and while Christianity teaches that a good hope of eternal life should be the first and great concern of every man, it also exhorts to diligence in business; and every infidel in the land knows that wherever you find a good Christian, one who is really worthy of the name, you find a good citizen, a good neighbor, and a good husband and father. Christianity guards the family, and cements family ties as nothing else can, and it is surprising that the *Truth Seeker* should deny it. The editor of that paper should read the twelfth chapter of Paul's epistle to the Romans, and learn what practical Bible Christianity is.

C. P. B.

The Divine Basis.

THE *Pearl of Days* says:—

An awakened moral conviction throughout the land must precede civil Sunday statutes, otherwise such legislation will be loose and below the divine standard.

The natural rules of construction upon which language is founded, and the inexorable necessity for a certain consecutiveness in mental action, make it well nigh impossible but that falsehood and misstatement should often bear unconscious and unintentional testimony to the truth.

It is so in this case. Before there is likely to be any legislation upon the Sunday question purely on a civil basis,—that is, before purely civil Sunday statutes will ever be passed, and the religious statutes upon Sunday observance be expurgated from the law books,—there must be "an awakened moral conviction throughout the land;" otherwise such legislation will certainly be below the "divine standard." But what would be the divine standard of "civil Sunday statutes"?

We have the divine standard of religious Sabbath statutes in Exodus 20:8, 9, 10: "Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy, six days shalt thou labor and do all thy work; but the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God." However, this law would not apply in any respect to Sunday, as the day mentioned in the divine statute quoted is the seventh day, and Sunday is the first day; it is manifest, therefore, that we must look elsewhere for the divine standard. No human court of law would accept the assertion in Exodus,

"The seventh day is the Sabbath," etc., as authority for a law on the statute book of any State, that "no servile labor shall be performed on the first day of the week, commonly called Sunday." Certainly not, the discrepancy is too patent. Such an assumption would be preposterous.

A careful search of the divine statute book from the first phrase, "In the beginning," at the opening of Genesis, to the "Amen," which closes the last chapter of Revelation, fails to produce a single precedent; Sunday must therefore stand solely upon its own worth as a secular day, with such extra dignity as human laws may have conferred upon it.

Finding no standard then by which human legislation may regulate itself as to the day in particular, it will be necessary to consider the other branch of the question, and ask what divine standard we are given by which to regulate civil Sunday legislation, as well as all other civil legislation? Upon this we have the authority of Christ himself in Luke 20:25; and Matt. 22:21, "Render therefore unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's." And again in another place, "All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." The divine standard by which all human legislation must be governed is here given. The first principle laid down is that that which is God's is extra judicial, entirely, and cannot be trenched upon by civil regulations, either to be added to, detracted from, or in any way to be made a subject of adjudication.

Civil Sunday statutes, then, must be confined solely to such regulations of civil affairs, upon that day, as is acknowledged to be fit for the maintenance of good order and general civility upon the Fourth of July, and other legal holidays. For if it is a religious regulation it conflicts with the "divine standard," and if purely civil it must contain no religious element. All civil Sunday statutes must also be strictly impartial; there must be in them nothing whatever which might not be equally applicable to any other day; otherwise they will be found to conflict here and there with the standard, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them."

When will there be "throughout this land" such an awakening of "moral convictions" as will raise our civil statutes to the divine standard? And when will the law-makers, and those who appoint them, understand that the statutes of God are his, and that he has drawn an unalterable line of demarkation between them and the civil regulations which he has granted man the privilege and the ability of establishing for himself? If it were possible for that day ever to come, there would be found in it no "loose legislation" in which men would go outside their legislative sphere to enforce or interpret divine laws,

or under the title "Civil Sunday" to enforce a religious Sabbath. W. H. M.

Hits Them Too.

FREETHINKERS have discovered that they, as well as the Mormons, might easily be disfranchised under the Idaho test oath. Commenting upon that oath, and how it would affect seventh-day Christians: should Idaho adopt a rigid Sunday law, the *Truth Seeker* says:—

It occurs to us also that the Freethinkers are in the same boat. It is true that infidels do not teach as a religious duty that labor on Sunday is particularly righteous, but they do teach that it is just as righteous as working on any day. This they do from a common-sense standpoint, which would come under the statutory description of "otherwise" than as a religious duty. Therefore, if Idaho shall by law define labor on Sunday as a crime, and disfranchise all who advise, teach, counsel, or encourage it, the Freethinkers of the State, and they are legion, will have to be hypocrites or be classed with Mormons and deprived of their voting rights.

So it is with a great many other things which are artificially made crimes by legislation. In some States, like New Jersey, for instance, speaking contumeliously of Christ is blasphemy, and blasphemy is a crime. Yet there are thousands of Freethinkers, particularly in the boundless West, who do speak of Christ in just that manner. . . . But suppose Idaho should borrow New Jersey's blasphemy law. . . . And with a prohibitory law, beer-sellers would be disfranchised, and so would all anti-prohibitionists who advise resistance to the law. . . . The oath, therefore, very plainly goes too far. If it should be rigorously administered, the voters of Idaho would be diminished to an extremely small proportion of the population. Most people object to one or more of their State's statutes, and suppose Anarchists Tucker and Pentecost, who object to all laws, should move out to Idaho—why, two of the most intelligent and best citizens of the State couldn't get within miles of the polls.

It is indeed apparent that the Idaho test oath does, as we said a week or two ago, go too far. It ought to be abolished.

An Answer to Rev. Wilbur F. Crafts on the Sunday Amusement Question.

THERE is a class of men lecturing through the country at the present time, who unquestionably take unwarranted positions on the subject of the conduct of the people on Sunday, and what is proper Sunday observance; and they wish to force everybody to conform to their ideas. We use the term force in its most literal sense, that of physical compulsion. That these men have a perfect right to their ideas as to what is proper Sunday observance, and also by tongue and pen to labor to persuade men to endorse and adopt them, no one for a moment denies. But the doctrine of coercion which they advocate is radically wrong, and deserves to be frowned upon by every intelligent citizen and lover of civil and religious liberty. These men are trying to work the people, or one class of people, up to such a pitch of religious zeal that they will demand that their ideas on religion shall be enacted into law, and forced upon all classes,

irrespective of their religious convictions or non-convictions.

Rev. Wilbur F. Crafts is a prominent lecturer among this class of religio-political enthusiasts. He endeavors to prove that all amusements on Sunday should be prohibited by law, and claims that this can be done on a purely civil basis. The way he says it can be done is by asserting that Sunday amusements are not only sins against God, but "crimes against man." Now we submit that when an amusement on Saturday is acknowledged to be a harmless entertainment to mankind, it will be difficult, on a civil basis, to show that it is crime on Sunday. There is no law in logics or physics within the realms of civility by which this can be shown. Such a thing is impossible. It might as well be argued that the sun's rays shining on a certain day are detrimental to vegetation. Divest Sunday or any other day of its religious character, and the absurdity of the claim that harmless amusements, on that day, are crimes against men, will at once appear. Did not some regard Sunday religiously, no one would be heard decrying Sunday amusements. This is confirmed by the fact that none but the religious, or those catering to religious influences, are heard asking for laws to suppress them. This being so, Mr. Crafts's statement that these things are prohibited, or asked to be prohibited, "not because Sunday amusements are regarded by Christians as sinful," is certainly false. The truth told, this is just the reason the prohibition is asked.

Christians have the same rights in civil matters as other men; but they have no right whatever to force, by civil measures, their religious customs and ideas upon those who differ from them on religious questions. They may observe whatever day they please, and the Government protects them in the exercise of their rights, so long as they are civil. But they have no right, whether in the minority or majority, to institute measures whereby they can force all to conform to their religious ideas and practices. In other words, they have no right to deprive other men of their rights.

Sunday amusements will break up no churches if the church members stay away from them, which it is their undisputed privilege to do. And if any of the members persist in attending them, there certainly is no civil law prohibiting the other members from "churching" them. Neither are there any Russian laws in this country to prevent any church from preaching, praying, writing, talking, singing, and pleading against such things as "sins against God;" but they should remember that sins against God are not within the purview of civil government. If they will read their Bible they will find that God says, "Vengeance is mine, I will repay."

The sphere of the Church is moral suasion; but law in civil matters means compulsion. When men talk law they talk force; but the great commission of Christ to his disciples was not, "Go ye into all the world and force men to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you," but to "teach them." The best way we know for Sunday observers to preserve that day as the Sabbath, is for them to keep it and teach others to keep it. And there is nothing to prevent them from doing this; but for them to try and preserve it by forcing others to keep it who do not believe in keeping it, at least as they do, is both un-American and un-Christian.—*W. A. Colcord, in Iowa State Register.*

The Bible in Our Public Schools.

THE following synopsis of a sermon preached at Freehold, N. J., by Rev. W. J. Gill, of Englishtown, is from the Freehold *Transcript*:—

"Let everybody read the Bible," said the speaker—"thoughtfully, prayerfully, earnestly—but not carelessly, presumptuously—perhaps even brazenly—in the school room or elsewhere. Do not secularize the sacred volume. Do not lay unworthy hands upon it, nor force it on the unwilling. Righteousness is not imparted by rule, arbitrarily. But 'the righteous shall inherit the earth.' Do not fear that our public schools will become godless. The Bible will be read and reverently taught in other ways and all appropriate places. It is the business of the religious world to see that it is,—of the Christian denomination to carry it into every consenting household, and popularize it in every wise and proper manner. The work is theirs and they will do it. They cannot delegate it to the secular, or the sinners, the godless or the alien. Nor should they seek to. Interpretation of the inspired word should be committed only to competent, I had almost said, to consecrated instructors. Cherishing it, and holding it in reverence themselves—interpenetrated and enthused by it, they will teach it in the love of it, and commend it to others because of the beneficent influence it has visibly exerted upon their own lives."

Mr. Gill premised by saying that he had something to say on what might be termed "*State Religion in our Public Schools.*"

"Bible reading," he said, "and prayers in our public schools are a relic of the old State religions. The Puritans of New England, have in the main, the honor of originating our common schools, and with them they established a State religion in these schools as well as in the church; and by extreme severity they enforced conformity so long as they could. The public finally refused to tolerate the Congregational Church as the State religion

supported by enforced taxation. The public school is a State institution and therefore its religion is a State religion, a State church. Its minister is the school teacher who is paid by the State for conducting certain specified religious exercises and devotions.

Now, it is a generally admitted principle in America that religion should be voluntary, and not imposed by the State, and the support of it enforced by penal legislation. That principle demands the extinction of State churches in our public schools. Religious exercises should not be enjoined on the teacher; for if enjoined they are to be paid for by taxation. Therefore let all laws requiring prayers and Bible reading as a religious exercise be repealed.

If we are to have a State religion in our public schools we shall always have the poorest religion in the largest quantity, for the religious body which has the lowest grade of spiritual life, and the most developed spirit and organization for political action and influence, will have its creatures and adherents most largely in these places, and receive the largest proportion of public money. Thus in proportion to their numbers the Catholics are now receiving from five to twenty times as much as the Protestants, all over this country; and they are annually increasing that proportion, and anticipate a coming time, not far off, when they shall have all; and nothing else is their aim and demand.

In practical meaning and force the Bible is a sectarian book. It is Protestant and anti-Papal. This the Papists have confessed by their hatred and fear of it, and by their steady and cruel persecutions of its readers, for more than a thousand years. Therefore it is not right to force them to hear it read in the public schools and to pay for the reading.

Besides, a growing number of these public school teachers of religion are Catholics, and to require them to read the Bible is a species of persecution; and they will read it in such a way and select such passages, as will make a burlesque of the whole affair.

The same may be said of all who have not a true spirit of devotion, and a loving reverence for the sacred book; and very many are lacking here, who are otherwise excellent teachers. They are not educated to be religious, but secular, teachers; and only as secular are they hired, or should be. It is their secular knowledge and ability which determine their grade and standing. And for a bad or irreligious man to be the leader of public worship, is not only absurd and offensive, but deleterious to religious life and feeling.

Next, consider also who it is that usually appoints these teachers—'ward politicians,' a phrase which has become a synonym for what is beneath even the average moral and spiritual worth. These

men are the directors of our State religion. They are, or they appoint, the trustees of our public schools, and so they appoint the ministers of our State church. How much will they be concerned for the religious qualifications of these ministers, and how well qualified are they to judge of fitness for such an office? Clearly the whole affair is absurd, as a method of fostering religion, and utterly contrary to the spirit of our free institutions. It is an anachronism which ought to be corrected."

An Unwarrantable Attempt.

THE SENTINEL is not partisan in any sense, and, therefore, upon the reference to the Republicans in the following extract from the *Sun*, we have nothing to say. We print the item solely for the value of the point which it makes so clearly, without reference one way or the other to the Republicans, as such:—

"I think," said Governor Hoard in a speech delivered at Waukesha, the day after the Milwaukee election, "I see the interest of the American State hanging in the balance in the discussion, and I wish to see exhibited the patriotism that knows enough to defend the house in which it lives. This law may be imperfect, but what new law is not? It may require to be perfected, but we should stand by the right of the State to prescribe the secular education of the State." Unfortunately for Governor Hoard and the Republicans, the Bennett bill undertakes to prescribe what shall be taught in schools supported by religious bodies and private means, and not by public taxation. The position of the opponents of the Bennett bill is clearly defined by Mr. George Brumder, proprietor of the *Germania*, the organ of the German Lutheran Church. "It is not," he says, "because the Lutherans are adverse to the teaching of English in the Lutheran schools, that we oppose the law, but simply because the State attempts to dictate to us what we shall teach in our private schools."

The Republicans are raising the cry of the State against the Church, and they are taking the rather ticklish course of representing the opposition to the Bennett bill as the work of Catholics, Lutherans, and foreigners generally. In reality the opponents of the bill are fighting for the good and sound principle that the State shall mind its own business. They are not attacking the common schools. They are defending private and parochial schools, and they are resisting the unwarrantable attempt of the State to direct the instruction in institutions which it does not support."

HIM whom they would make King of this Nation by the manipulations of corrupt politicians, said, "My kingdom is not of this world."

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Sunday and the World's Fair.

THE question of closing the World's Fair on Sunday is being agitated at the present time. It is insisted by a numerous and influential class of citizens that the Columbian Exposition to be held in Chicago in 1893, shall be closed to all the world on Sunday.

It is not the purpose of this leaflet to discuss whether the Fair shall or shall not be closed on Sunday, but to inquire what motive prompts the making of such a demand. On what ground is the demand that the Fair be closed on Sunday, based? Why not ask that it be closed on Monday? or why ask that it be closed on any day?

Sunday is regarded by a large majority of Christians as a religious day, and from these, and for religious reasons, comes the demand that the Fair be closed on Sunday. This is the reason the demand is made,—their religious views of the character of the day. The demand, then, is made by a class of religious people, from religious motives, and for religious ends. To their religious views they certainly have a right; but when it is insisted that the religious views of some, even though they be largely in the majority, shall be made a rule of action for all, another question at once arises,—

CAN A LAND OF RELIGIOUS LIBERTY ENFORCE RELIGIOUS VIEWS?

The World's Fair is not a religious concern. Others beside those who regard Sunday as a sacred day will visit it, and contribute to its support and success. Thousands may wish to attend it on Sunday who will not have an opportunity to do so on other days. Should the Fair be kept open, those who regard Sunday religiously need not visit it on that day. Their action in the matter would depend solely on their own choice. But to demand that the World's Fair shall be closed to all the world on Sunday, because some good people regard that day religiously, is unreasonable. What right have

those who regard the hours of Sunday as holy time, to dictate how or where those who do not so regard them shall or shall not spend their time? With all respect to religion, it must be said that when its devotees assume such an attitude, they are taking unwarrantable ground.

This demand is not made in the interests of the Fair, or of the Nation, but to secure national sanction to certain religious views. It is prompted by the same spirit which demands a national Sunday law, and an establishment by law of a national religion. But—

IS CIVIL GOVERNMENT THE PROPER CONSERVATOR OF RELIGION?

The object of civil government is not to make its citizens religious, but civil. Religion pertains to a man's obligations to God and his well-being in another world. Civil governments are instituted to protect men in their rights in this world. It is not the province of religion to run civil governments. The Church has never assumed control of the State without persecution quickly following in its train. Forgetting their high calling, religionists have sometimes made it their chief business to meddle with worldly affairs, and sought to place civil governments on a religious basis; but all such efforts have invariably proved disastrous, both to religion and the governments.

The success of Christianity does not depend upon the closing of the Columbian Exposition on Sunday. Christianity is a great deal larger than Columbia or the Exposition, and Sunday-keeping is not all there is to Christianity. Christians differ as to which day is the Sabbath, some claiming the first, and others the seventh day of the week, and it is not the province of the Government to say which is right.

Aside from divine revelation, the strongest argument any one can make in favor of the day he regards as sacred is for him to keep it. The consistent course for those churches to pursue which regard Sunday as sacred time, is for them to prohibit their members from attending the Fair on that day, and discipline those who do. This they may do, and this is as far as they can consistently go. The membership of a church is the extent of its jurisdiction. It is not the business of churches to demand of nations, States, or principalities, that everybody shall be required to conform to their ideas and customs in religious matters. Any attempt in this direction is but a step toward a union of Church and State.—*N. R. L. A. Leaflet.*

THE State is not an exhorter, or a persuader, or a debating club, but a positive law power for secular purposes; and hence, when it attempts to administer religion, it must of necessity give to it the law force, deciding what religion is true, and by what method it shall be promoted. There is no escape from this result, if we admit the principle from which it springs.—*Samuel T. Spear, D. D.*

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NEW YORK, OCTOBER 16, 1890.

NOTE.—Any one receiving the AMERICAN SENTINEL without having ordered it may know that it is sent to him by some friend, unless plainly marked "Sample copy." It is our invariable rule to send out no papers without pay in advance, except by special arrangement, therefore, those who have not ordered the SENTINEL need have no fears that they will be asked to pay for it simply because they take it from the post-office.

REFERRING to the Lutheran declaration that the "underlying principle of the Bennett law is needless interference with parental rights and liberty of conscience," *America* says:—

The best refutation of this false charge is to be found in the fact that, although the law has been in force nearly two years, there has not been a single prosecution under its provisions.

Indeed, simply because a law is not enforced it is a just and humane law! It must be then that the Tennessee Sunday law was a perfectly righteous statute, till R. M. King was arrested and fined under it, simply to gratify the intolerance of his bigoted neighbors. Strange logic, that!

THE "Metropolitan Church and Choir Directory," for 1890, gives the number of churches in New York and Brooklyn as 759. This is an item of importance, as well as interest, when it is considered that effort is now being made to show the strength of the churches as a factor in local politics in the city of New York. How long is it possible for the Church to exert itself in politics in New York City, without becoming a full-rigged political machine? Have the political bosses in the past shown themselves too highminded to steal the livery of the Church to serve their master the devil, and Mammon, in? Certainly this is what they will do the very hour these noble-purposed, but mistaken gentlemen succeed in making the Church a political power.

THE *Christian Statesman*, of August 7, has the following, which is interesting, especially in view of some of the so-called arguments in favor of compulsory Sabbath keeping:—

A well informed authority says that Columbia College, New York, is largely carried on for the benefit of the Jews. They take five times as many prizes, in proportion to their numbers, as other classes; and in the annex to Columbia College, seventy per cent. of the pupils are Jewesses. The Jews control journalism in Germany, and are very largely influential in journalism all over the world.

This ought, certainly, to disprove the claim so confidently made in justification of Sunday laws, namely, that a regular day of rest is a physical necessity, and that in order for a portion of the community to take the necessary rest all must rest. The Jews do not rest habitually on Sunday, and it must be confessed that but

few of them observe with any degree of strictness any other day; yet it is a fact that in point of both mental and physical vigor they excel. This fact, coupled with like facts concerning the Japanese, a people who keep no rest day, ought to effectually dispose of the fiction that a regular weekly rest is a *physical* necessity.

WE find the following in an exchange, credited "*Voice*;" we doubt if it is from the paper of that name published in this city, but it may be:—

For our part we want to see less useless and hopeless tinkering with the Federal Constitution, and more of an effort to secure a government in conformity with the spirit of that still grand document. The changes the people of America most need are not changes in the Constitution. That is about the only thing left in our Government to be proud of.

We, too, believe that our Constitution is as nearly perfect as it can be made, certainly much more nearly so than it would be if amended according to the programme of the various and numerous Constitution tinkers. Let it remain as it is; and obey it as it is.

It has been proved by actual demonstration in Boston, that Sunday opening of their Museum of Fine Arts is appreciated by the general public. A writer in the *Independent*, of this city, says:—

The Boston Museum gives free admission to visitors two days in the week, Saturdays and Sundays. On Saturdays the average number of visitors last year was 776. The Museum is open on Sunday afternoons from one till five, at hours not conflicting with church services. The average number of Sunday admissions last year was 1,317.

The admissions for four hours Sunday afternoons, were almost double that of the ten hours of Saturdays,—though both are free days.

If the museums are designed to be instructors of the people, why not give laboring men and women the benefit of them without at the same time requiring them to make a financial sacrifice, which they must do if they go upon working days?

PRESIDENT WOODRUFF, on September 24, published a manifesto denying that plural marriages were still solemnized in Utah, and saying:—

Inasmuch as laws have been enacted by Congress forbidding plural marriages, which laws have been pronounced constitutional by the court of last resort, I do hereby declare my intention to submit to those laws and use all my influence with the members of the church, over which I preside, to have them do likewise. There is nothing in my teaching to the church or in those of my associates during the time specified, which can reasonably be construed to inculcate or encourage polygamy, and when any elder of the church has used language which appeared to convey such teaching he has been promptly reprov'd; and I now publicly declare that my advice to the Latter-Day Saints is to refrain from contracting any marriage forbidden by the law of the land.

On the 6th inst., the Mormon Conference, in session in Salt Lake, resolved by a unanimous vote to sustain President Wood-

ruff in his action in abolishing polygamy. Not a dissenting voice was heard in the entire assembly of 10,000 persons.

Many will still doubt the sincerity of the Mormons in thus renouncing polygamy, and the Government will doubtless still keep them under surveillance for some time to come, or until they bring forth in this respect "fruits meet for repentance;" but so long as the Mormons abstain from plural marriages the Government cannot properly treat them differently from other religionists. Polygamy is rightfully prohibited by civil law, but aside from the practice of polygamy, the Mormons have just the same rights as the Catholics and the National Reformers, whom they resemble in their ideas of Church and State.

THE September *Arena* has an article from Thomas P. Gorman, in which, enumerating the grave problems which confront Canadian statesmen, the writer says:—

Then as to the separate school question, the Legislature of Manitoba has passed an act abolishing the existing school system in that province,—which is similar to that of Ontario,—and substituting therefor a public school system such as prevails in the American States. Although the British North American Act, the Constitution of the country, expressly declares that provincial legislatures have not the right to deprive the Protestant minority in Quebec, or the Roman Catholic minorities in other provinces, of any rights or privileges, with respect to education, which they enjoyed at the time of the union; the Manitoba Legislature, backed no doubt by popular opinion in the province, has undertaken to do something which the Constitution declares it shall not do. Not only does the British North American Act prohibit the local legislature from interfering with the separate school system, but it expressly declares that, in the event of that legislature failing to provide the money and machinery necessary for the carrying out of such a system, then the federal Parliament shall intervene and supply whatever is wanting. Then a new party has been formed in Ontario for the purpose of securing for that province full control of educational matters in that province, including the right of abolishing the separate school system.

Thus it appears that the mistaken zeal which leads men, calling themselves Protestants, to violate charters for the sake of gaining advantage not only in politics, but in religious propaganda, is not confined to the United States.

ANY one who can give any information concerning the whereabouts of John N. Fearon, who was in Colorado when last heard from (ten years ago), will be *duly rewarded* for his trouble by addressing his mother, Sarah B. Fearon, 409 E. Main Street, Lock Haven, Pa.

THE AMERICAN SENTINEL.

AN EIGHT-PAGE WEEKLY JOURNAL,

DEVOTED TO

The defense of American Institutions, the preservation of the United States Constitution as it is, so far as regards religion or religious tests, and the maintenance of human rights both civil and religious.

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C. P. BOLLMAN,

W. H. MCKEE.

“THE right arm of the American Sabbath Union,” says Mr. Crafts, “is the promotion of the religious Sabbath; its left arm the preservation of the civil Sabbath. These two things—the Christian Sabbath on the one hand, and the American Sabbath on the other hand—are as distinct as my two arms, that resemble and co-operate, and yet are by no means the same.” And as it is usually the office of the left arm to assist the right, so the office of the “civil Sabbath” is to assist in forcing the observance of a religious institution upon the American people.

A CHURCH paper says: “There are ten million pupils in the Sunday-schools of the country. A better showing ought to be made in morals, but the fact is, thousands leave the Sunday-school for the saloon, and the downward path in other directions. There is certainly a failure somewhere.” Yes, there is a failure; and the reason is found in the fact that too many depend far too much upon the Sunday-school to give their children religious instruction. No school instruction can possibly take the place of the religious instruction that should be given in the home.

COMMENTING upon Mr. Crafts’s proposed Sunday legislation, the *Denver News* says:—

Religious freedom to the churches and church people consists in the right to be protected from annoyance, and to others in the right to enjoy Sunday rest according to their own judgment. . . . But according to the best estimate less than half

the population of the United States have any kind of association with the churches. Would it not be just to consider the rights of the other half in formulating laws for Sunday observance? Is not this especially true if Mr. Crafts is correct in basing his proposed legislation wholly on civil authority?

This is a pertinent question, but as usual Mr. Crafts ignores it. He wants only a civil Sunday law—but he wants it so framed and so enforced that it will incidentally contribute to the religious observance of the day. He says: “Take the religion out and you take the rest out.” And so he proposes that his “civil” law shall “incidentally” guard religion. A fine scheme truly!

Who Are the Traitors?

A CORRESPONDENT of *America*, who signs himself “An American from Choice,” in reproving the Lutherans for their objections to the Bennett law of Wisconsin, says:—

It is quite evident from this objection to the compulsory school law, that no amendment, short of a repeal of the compulsory feature, will satisfy the German Lutheran Committee, and that those same Lutherans do not consider the American public school adapted to the educational needs of a Christian family.

The Lutherans are not the only ones, by any means, who do not consider the American public schools, or any other public schools, adapted to the needs of a Christian family. He would be a queer kind of a Christian indeed who would consider it so. The American public school is not a Christian school. America is not a Christian nation. The education which it proposes to give is not a Christian education; and in the nature of the case it is impossible for it to give such education. Consequently the American public school never can be adapted to the educational needs of a Christian family.

But the opponents of religion in the public school are not the opponents of the public school. On the other hand, they are the friends of the public school and the best friends it has; because just as soon as it becomes a settled thing that

the public school shall undertake to supply the educational needs of a Christian family, or teach religion in any way, it ceases to be a public school and becomes but a mere sectarian thing, through which the power of the State is exerted to compel the people to receive the dictates of a certain class in matters of religion. Then the public school becomes of no worth whatever to anybody, but only a channel through which a religious despotism can be exerted. Therefore, those who favor the teaching of religion in the public school do, in fact, favor the destruction of the public school, and in that the destruction of the American State, that is, the free State; and the substitution for it of the European State, that is, a despotism.

Yet, this correspondent admits that “the public school has not of itself an absolute claim upon the attendance of all children living within its jurisdiction.”

But at the same time he argues that the private school shall be subject to public control, which virtually makes all schools public, and contradicts his admission that the public school has not an absolute claim on the attendance of the children; and he says that “from such control there shall be no exemption on any pretense whatever.”

This is again a contradiction to the admission that he had already made, because if a public school has not an absolute claim upon all the children living within its jurisdiction, then what right has it to exert an absolute control with no exemption whatever? This is only to say that the State can exercise absolute control where it has no absolute claim.

Next he argues that the public school is a part of the Government, and says:—

If the public school is a part of the Government, then any sect or other body of men, denying that the public school is a place where their children can be educated without violating their consciences, must be considered as hostile to the Government—in this case, the people of the United States—and, if they claim citizenship in the United States, as traitors to their Nation.

Such despotic principles as these need no comment. They furnish their own comment. It would be well if those

"Americans from choice" would learn what American principles are, before they begin to assume the prerogative of asserting the despotic principles of the Government which they failed to leave behind them.

A. T. J.

State Aid in Alaska.

PROFESSOR WILLIAM WELLS gives in the *Christian Advocate*, of September 18, a very interesting account of mission and educational work among the Alaska Indians. We quote a portion of three paragraphs of his letter, as follows:—

Alaska has been fearfully neglected in regard to its schools. It was a strange fact that while the real owner of the country did nothing for the education of its wards, Russia has continued to devote comparatively large sums for this purpose; but Russia did this for her church rather than for the schools, and as the United States could do nothing of the kind for a church, and nothing was done by the State, the whole matter remained for a long time in a state of total neglect.

But at last the Government, by an appeal of the Alaskans, was spurred on to duty, and arrangements were made to establish district schools. A Territorial Board of Education was formed, and Dr. Jackson, of the Presbyterian mission work, was placed in the post of General Agent of Education in Alaska. He soon found that the only practical and immediate way of advancing the interests of the charge was to take advantage, so far as possible, of the work already accomplished by the missionaries, and to adopt, to a certain extent, the schools already established and in successful operation. And thus sprang up a system of assisted schools and contract schools, the former receiving a certain sum to aid them in their work on the condition of making it more general, and the latter taking a contract with the Government to perform a work aside from the mission, though in connection with it, that would impart to a certain number of children, or indeed young men and women, the elements of education and a teaching of the trades, etc. One hundred dollars annually given by the Government will support, clothe, and train pupils in these schools, only those being chosen who show an aptitude for the work.

The great question now is, "How does the present system succeed, and what are its wants?" Dr. Sheldon Jackson, at the head of the work as agent, is a thorough worker and a most efficient official. There is naturally a complaint that as the leader of the Presbyterian mission work he will be partial in his patronage of the schools. But he is under the control of the Territorial Board, composed of the Governor and the chief officials of the capital, and accountable to our General Educational Commissioner, Dr. Harris, at Washington. This naturally ties his hands and keeps him within a line acceptable to these gentlemen.

And so it seems that this purely secular Government, a Government which has no connection with any church, a Government whose fundamental law says that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof," has formed a partnership with several denominations in Alaska. And of this union, Rev. Nathaniel W. Conkling, D. D., a Presbyterian minister, who has just returned from a trip to Alaska, has this to say in a letter to the *New York Observer*, of September 11:—

Our own mission at Sitka is the most important and flourishing of any of the others. Some one

hundred and fifty boys and girls are in the schools, and are there trained for usefulness and good. The baneful feature of Government aid is here found, making a sort of union of Church and State. It is to be found not alone here, but also in connection with the whole Indian school system; it should be found nowhere. It would be well if the Presbyterian Church would decline to accept Government aid in connection with any of its Christian missions.

Just what these evils are, Mr. Conkling does not say; but a remark from another paragraph of his letter gives a sufficient hint of what he had in mind. He says:—

The spoils system extends its wonderful sway even to these far-off shores, and the lust of office induces men to leave their homes in the States and take petty positions in this distant and isolated country. Alas, alas! there are many abuses yet to be remedied before our country becomes what it should be in accord with its name and fame throughout the earth.

So long as human nature remains what it is now, the abuses which the Doctor deplures are practically unavoidable to some extent, in civil government; but the Church might be kept comparatively free from them by keeping it entirely separate from the State. State aid corrupts the Church and does not improve the State, indeed, it corrupts both Church and State.

C. P. B.

The Purpose of Sunday Laws.

IN discussing the Sunday newspaper, Rev. George P. Hays, D. D., reveals the purpose of all Sunday laws. Dr. Hays says:—

Now, the Sabbath was given to them for religious thoughts and spiritual improvement. When that Sabbath is taken for secular reading and business affairs, it is as distinctly perverted as if it were used for hoeing corn or spading the garden. These Christians go to church for the avowed purpose of hearing God's ambassador discuss moral and spiritual subjects for their religious improvement. What chance, however, can a minister have to reach a soul which has rusted itself all over with the affairs of this world, by the Sabbath morning's reading of the fluctuation of stocks, murders and robberies of the past night, and the schemes of politicians? Every thoughtful minister would very much prefer, so far as his opportunities of influencing his congregation are concerned, that his people should come to church from the hay-field or the work-shop rather than from the Sunday newspaper. They would not be so likely to have their minds filled with their physical labor to the exclusion of the sermon, as they are to have the sermon expelled in the sensationalism of the Sabbath journal.

That shows plainly enough that all Sunday laws are directly in the interests of the church. The only earthly object in stopping men from labor is that they may go to church, and then when they read the Sunday newspapers that must be stopped also in order that they may go to church with minds fitted to receive the sermon. If these Sunday-law advocates be allowed to go so far as that, and men choose to read books or something else on Sunday, the next thing in order will be a law prohibiting them from engaging in any kind of reading at all on Sunday, except such as the American Sabbath Union demand, that is, only the reading of the word of God.

But suppose the reading of the word of God should keep them from church, and especially should lead them to think differently from what the minister preaches, which in many things they will have to do in order to be right; and suppose they should thus be led to choose not to go to church; then will follow a law prohibiting even the reading of the Bible, and if after all that men still refuse to go to church and to be benefited by the sermon, the next thing will be a law to compel them to go to church.

And all this is out of the abundance of the sympathy of the preachers for the workingman, and their anxiety that he shall enjoy physical rest and the benefit of a civil Sabbath! It is the same kind of sympathy that in the Middle Ages tormented men to death to save them from hell. The spirit of the Inquisition is inseparable from Sunday laws. A. T. J.

Chicago Correspondence.

AN INTERESTING CASE.

A NOVEL and very interesting case is to be tried at the present term of the Illinois Supreme Court, which involves the question of compelling students in institutions of learning supported by the State, to attend the devotional exercises which precede the regular work of the day.

A student of the University of Illinois, —established under the laws of Congress and the State of Illinois, in the years 1866 and 1867, "to teach in the most thorough manner such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and the mechanic arts, including military tactics, and not excluding other scientific or literary studies,"—absented himself from the morning devotional exercises, for which absence he was expelled.

He has brought action against the trustees of the University, and will rest his case on Sec. 3, Art. 2 of the Constitution of the State, which says: "No person shall be required to attend or support any ministry or place of worship against his consent; nor shall any preference be given by law to any religious denomination or mode of worship."

NON-PARTISAN TEMPERANCE WORK.

Mrs. J. Ellen Foster, President of the Non-Partisan Woman's Christian Temperance Union, of Iowa, spoke in Central Music Hall, Sunday, October 5, on the history of the temperance movement in this country, the principles on which it is now based, and the relation of the organization which she represents to that reform. She gave this, among other reasons, why the Woman's Christian Temperance Union could not be partisan, that the organization was born of the Church, nourished by the Church, and could not consistently unite, as a body, with any political party any more than could the Church.

In the course of her address, she had occasion to refer to majorities, in the following words, which show that she does not accept the prevalent idea of the infallibility of majorities: "Majorities when right are magnificent, but when wrong are dreadful."

Her address was characterized by a spirit of Christian fairness and honest conviction born of truth.

THE BIBLE IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

The following petition is now being circulated in the city, by the Woman's Moral and Educational Union, and thousands of signatures are being secured:—

To the Honorable Board of Education of the City of Chicago.

Petition for the Reading of the Bible in the Public Schools.

WHEREAS, the Bible is the great fountain of public and private morals, and contains the most exalted literature ever produced;—and,

WHEREAS, the effect of reading appropriate extracts therefrom, to and by the pupils in the public schools would be to elevate their minds, and strengthen their moral character,

Therefore, The undersigned citizens of Chicago respectfully pray that the proper order may be made to require the reading of such extracts in the opening exercises each day, of all departments of the public schools in Chicago.

The undersigned regard the claim that such reading would be an infringement of just personal or religious liberty, as wholly destitute of merit, and insist that such reading would still leave the mind and conscience of every pupil entirely free from any improper bias.

Name.

Address.

At a meeting of the Methodist ministers of the city, held October 6, the movement was indorsed. Several prominent clergymen of the city are opposed to the movement, among them Rev. H. J. Jackson, of the Mansfield Avenue Methodist Church; Rev. William Lawrence, of the Independent Baptist Church; and Rev. John L. Withrow, of the Third Presbyterian Church.

A committee waited on Archbishop Freehan to secure his indorsement of the movement. They took with them a copy of a book of Scriptural extracts, which read alike in both the King James and the Douay versions, used in the schools of Toronto, Canada, and asked the Archbishop if he would agree to such a compromise in Chicago schools. He replied that the conditions here were different and that he could not indorse the proposition. They called also on Rabbi Hersch, who refused to sign the petition and promised to give his reasons in writing.

Some of the agitators are willing to select their quotations from the Old Testament only, in deference to the Jews. They go even further, and state that they are willing to confine the selections read, to the Proverbs, that both the Catholics and the Jews may be satisfied. No attention is paid to the views of infidels.

Without doubt the majority of those who are agitating this question are actuated by the purest of motives. They see

the moral degeneracy of the rising generation, and in casting about for a remedy they decide that the Bible read in the public schools is one, and not following the logic of the movement to its legitimate conclusion, they, with more heart than wisdom, enthusiastically set out to accomplish their object. That they are wofully in error concerning the province of civil government, is shown from the position taken by the president of the Union, in conversation with your correspondent. "I am opposed," said she, "to teaching sectarianism in our public schools, but there is a national Christianity upon which all can agree. The Government establishes a standard of weights and measures, and for the same reason should establish a standard of religion."

Your correspondent is more than ever convinced that THE AMERICAN SENTINEL has entered upon its mission none too soon. These movements are but the vanguard of a large and rapidly organizing army, or as one of the editors of the Chicago *Evening Journal* stated it, "They are the ripples on the surface of a great sea."

We will speak of the agitation to close the World's Fair on Sunday, in our next.

A. F. BALLENGER.

He Tries to Fix It Up.

In a four-page leaflet entitled "Sunday Opening of the World's Fair," which Mr. Crafts has recently gotten out, he attempts to extract himself from the dilemma in which his Sunday-law theory involves him. When advocates of Sunday laws are informed that men are free to observe Sunday without Sunday laws, and hence, to enact such laws, for the purpose of giving men the privilege of keeping that day, is unnecessary, they feel that a damaging argument has been made against their Sunday-law-for-the-poor-laboring-man theory, and that it must in some way be fixed up. Mr. Crafts, it seems, has met with this argument, and hence, in his leaflet, he says:—

If it be said that every man is at liberty not to work on Sunday, the answer is that the liberty is rather the liberty to give up his "job" when jobs are few and hard to get. He ought to give up his job rather than his conscience, but he ought not to be placed where he has to give up either.

In reply to this it is necessary only to quote and carefully note Mr. Crafts's own words in his work, "Sabbath for Man," page 258. He here says:—

It is not sufficiently emphasized that the Jew is left absolutely free to observe the seventh day. He can close his shop, he can refuse to work.

Now, as every one knows, there is no seventh-day, or Saturday, law in this country; and yet Mr. Crafts says—and is correct in saying it—the Jew is left absolutely free to observe that day. All that is necessary for him to enjoy this freedom is that he have the privilege of closing his shop and refusing to work. Now, we ask, Cannot the Christian do the same,

and be just as free to observe the day of his choice? Certainly. "He can close his shop, he can refuse to work." This in the case of the Jew, according to Mr. Crafts, is absolute freedom. Are not the same privileges in the case of the Christian absolute freedom as well? And if so, is he not absolutely free to observe Sunday or any other day he may choose, and, consequently, in no more need of a Sunday law than the Jew is of a Saturday law?

By refusing to work, the Jew may, of course, lose his "job;" yet he is "absolutely free to observe the seventh day." Under such circumstances he will be obliged to decide between giving up his job or his conscience; still he is "absolutely free to observe the seventh day." Now, who is not as free to observe the first day, or any other day, as the Jew is the seventh? He is *absolutely* free. What more than absolute freedom can any one ask?

Says Mr. Crafts, "But he [every man] ought not to be placed where he must give up either" his job or his conscience. Will Mr. Crafts tell us, then, how he expects to fix things up so that the Jew will not be placed in just that position? The fact is, by this statement Mr. Crafts evidently means that the *Sunday keeper* ought not to be placed where he must give up either. But why discriminate thus, and legislate simply in favor of the Sunday keeper? Are the Sunday keepers the only ones entitled to the attention and protection of the Government? While protection of person and property is declared to be the paramount duty of government, it is a principle of this Government, and all good governments, that this shall be "impartial and complete;" that all laws of a general nature shall have "a uniform operation" they "shall not grant to any citizen or class of citizens privileges or immunities which upon the same terms shall not equally belong to all citizens;" that no State shall "deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws." (See Constitutions of Georgia, Iowa, and the United States.) Are jobs any fewer or harder to get with the observer of Sunday than with the observer of the seventh day? Or is the conscience of one more sacred than that of the other?

Manifestly, the making of such laws as Mr. Crafts would have enacted would be nothing more nor less than class legislation. The trouble with his whole argument and plea for a Sunday law for the working man is, it will not hold. Sunday laws are not made in the interest of the laboring man, neither are they wanted for the laboring man; they are religious laws, made in the interests of the Church.

It is not the business of the Government to make laws to prevent a man, in living up to his convictions of religious duty, from being brought into a place where he must decide between giving up his job or

his conscience. Such laws, if made to apply equally to all, would require every man to shape his business affairs to suit the religious convictions of every other man, which would be an impossibility. If limited to a certain class they would be unjust, and would result in religious intolerance and oppression.

Why should not the observer of Sunday be allowed to exercise his conscience as well as other men? What is his conscience for? Why should the Government see that he is shielded from pecuniary loss in following out his religious convictions, and not other citizens who may observe some other day in compliance with their religious views? If the Government undertakes to protect one class in this way upon this ground, it is bound, in dealing equally with all, to protect every other class in the same way upon the same ground. This, however, would be an undertaking implying, as we have seen, an utter impossibility in its adjustments. And such an undertaking is not contemplated by Mr. Crafts and his coadjutors. It is simply the observer of Sunday they propose now to relieve from making a choice between violating conscience and losing cash. We wonder if they never read the passage which speaks "of the trial of your faith being much more precious than of gold"? It would seem that they did not wish any one's faith in Sunday-keeping tried. They would want the Sunday-keeper "carried to the skies on flowery beds of ease," and let others get along as best they can. Our opinion of any Sunday-keeping that comes from such inducements as this, is, that it will not count for much at the great tribunal above. If this be true, Sunday laws are not only superfluous in this world, but will insure no one a passport to the world to come, in which case Mr. Crafts might as well go home and hang up his "Damascus saw."

The proper solution of this question is, to let every man observe whatever day his religious convictions dictate, and whatever inconvenience or pecuniary loss this may cause him is a sacrifice he makes to his religion, and one which he should make and not another. For any one to seek to evade this is for him to ask that another bear the crosses of his religion, a thing which no true Christian will do. If a man wishes to observe Sunday, he must not engage in business or hire himself out to an employer requiring Sunday work. And every man is free not to do this. If the Government provides that one man must not be refused work or be discharged because he keeps Sunday, then, upon the ground of equality, it must likewise provide that no other man shall be refused work or discharged who keeps any other day. But how many Sunday-keeping merchants, bankers, and business men, would submit to a law compelling them to retain any employes who might turn

Mohammedan and keep Friday, or seventh-day observer and keep Saturday? This shows the injustice of such a demand. The man who wishes to keep Friday must not engage in business requiring Friday work; the man who chooses to keep Saturday must not engage in business requiring Saturday work; and, likewise, the man who desires to keep Sunday must not engage in business requiring Sunday work. If he does, he alone is responsible for the use he makes of the day. Let this rule be carried out, and there will be no difficulty, no class legislation, no injustice, and no one's rights infringed, in the matter. Religious profession and practice will be free, and capital and labor will stand upon an equal footing.

W. A. COLCORD.

Paternal Tendencies.

It is astonishing to contemplate the growing tendency toward paternalism in government in our country during the last ten years. The demand is that the Government shall be everything and do everything. In a recent discourse before the Young Men's Christian Association, Rev. Thomas Dixon, appealed for the legal abolition of strikes. He would have the Government raise its hand against them, even to the expediency of bringing the railroads and their operations and responsibilities, including the actions of their employes, under its indisputable power of management and restraint. "The public has the right to demand the cessation of strikes," Mr. Dixon thinks, and the simplest way would be for the Government to enforce this demand by depriving the strikers of the freedom that now makes strikes possible.

Commenting upon this, the *Sun* says—

This would be the tyranny of slothful despotism—There is nothing that a despot hates so much as disturbances of any sort, except those of his own making, and force is his means of preventing or suppressing them. If there is a principle established in great manufacturing countries, it is the right of men to organize labor unions. The right to strike and to exert all the pressure upon employers which a strike carries with it, is just as incontestable. It would be a fine commentary on a land like the United States, if we should extend the rigor of military discipline over our various great enterprises; with the result that a man might be shot for leaving his post. The freedom which lies beneath the right to strike is one of the most vital concerns to the public. Its preservation, and seeing that strikes are conducted according to the rules of public order, constitutes the State's entire duty.

The Hon. James G. Blaine, at the time when the commotion of the Missouri Pacific strike of 1886 had scarcely subsided, laid down a remarkably concise form of the fundamental law by which all labor unions and their demonstrations must be regulated. It was: "One man's right ends where another man's right begins." While that principle is observed strikes represent a right at the very root of liberty.

And this is sound. The Government cannot undertake to regulate all the business of the country, but it can and should protect from violence the person and property of all its citizens.

May the State Rightfully Prohibit Polygamy?

THERE are many people who oppose polygamy on what are commonly called moral grounds, but who are quite uncertain just how to frame their objection so as to justify the Government in suppressing it. They are conscientiously opposed to it, and yet cannot quite satisfy those same consciences that the State has an indisputable right to prohibit the institution. In other words, they are assured that polygamy is morally wrong, but feel unable to point out the exact basis on which the civil power may rightfully prevent or rectify this wrong. As it was in the days of slavery, so is it in these latter days in respect to the general uncertainty of opinion as to the right of Government to correct acknowledged and widely-extended evils. And as in those days the time came when men were obliged to take a positive stand, so the time now is when every intelligent man and woman should have clear-cut opinions upon this question.

Some have already taken their position, and would seek to defend governmental interference with polygamy on the ground that the institution is disgraceful, and opposed to the spirit of progress and civilization. Others, more radical, would justify the State in prohibiting it on the specific ground that it is an absolute moral wrong.

It may be freely granted that the objections of both of these classes appear to be direct and natural; but it is not so apparent that these objections are sufficiently strong in those characteristics which properly give it jurisdiction, to justify the Government in interfering with polygamy. The first objection is itself objectionable for the reason that it is too vague and irrelevant; the same theory would require the State to prohibit the use of tobacco on the ground that it also is a relapse into barbarism. There is no such thing as a spirit of progress of sufficient legal proportions to justify Government in interfering with what are held to be the private rights of conscience. The sooner men disabuse themselves of this idea, the fewer will be the evils arising from too much government.

The same objection, in general, applies to the position of the second class of objectors to polygamy; though their argument deserves a more specific refutation. That a certain practice is absolutely wrong morally, is not an adequate reason why civil government should prohibit it. The prohibition must be made for other reasons, if the State maintains individual personal rights.

Civil government can know no moral right or wrong; it takes cognizance of only civility and incivility, since it cannot look into the inner secret motives of an individual. This view is strongly opposed by a large number of people who would be pleased to see the Government made

sponsor for the moral and religious training of the individual; but that is only an additional reason why all patriotic citizens should be intelligent upon such questions as the subject of this paper. An act may be morally wrong, a sin, and yet be civilly permissible or it may be morally right, and yet civilly wrong and a crime. Any thinking person can readily suggest to himself numerous examples of each class of acts, or of the same act as being determined in each of these classes under differing circumstances. The sole distinction lies in those elements which characterize, or do not characterize, the act as a proper subject of governmental control. The State cannot know the individual motives to an action,—except as they may possibly be indicated by other acts—and hence it cannot judge of the absolute morality of a particular act or system of practice, nor pass prohibitive enactments based upon such judgments. The State is constrained by the impossibility of determining real moral conduct, and by the very spirit of free government. The originative principles of our republican system are expressed in assertions of these inalienable rights of the individual to be free from civil dictation in certain clearly defined particulars; and our Constitution specially and emphatically prohibits the Government from touching him in any of those relations which properly exist between man and his Creator, exclusively. No apology can be offered for reiterating and defending these principles were it not so popular, in many circles of society, to give at least a tacit acceptance to the growing theocratic and paternal idea in Government. The subject should be timely to every citizen who has not yet scrutinized his opinion upon it.

But it cannot be concealed that polygamy is an institution which our Nation would gladly be rid of. Indeed, we are placed already—by the suppressive policy of the Government—under the logical necessity of offering a valid defense of our present national enactments against it. The ground of mere expediency is insufficient and unjustifiable. Is there, then, a highway along which the State may proceed, with honor to itself and justice to all its subjects, in sweeping this evil from our land? May the State rightfully prohibit polygamy? It is believed that there are consistent and just reasons why it should and must do so, and that the following paragraphs answer the question affirmatively.

Marriage is a civil institution. It is divine only in the sense that it was instituted by the Creator, and is the expression of his will concerning the relation of man and woman as parents. It has this significance to all who believe in the obligation to obey the will of God as indicated in revelation, regardless of any constraint or liberty which the State may allow. But all do not recognize divine obligation,

and it is the province of the State to compel men to be *civil* who will not voluntarily be moral. It is in this consideration that marriage is a *purely civil* institution, for the State cannot touch it in its divine relations. No interference or regulation can properly come to it from Government except through the channel of a strictly secular policy.

This civil control must be wholly in the line of protection to the rights of the individual and of the State. In this matter, as in all others, the State cannot go into the realm of morals unless the moral act of an offender constitutes a crime, by infringing the *civil* rights of others. Even then, to be more accurate, the State does not overstep its own limits of rightful authority, but the criminal himself brings his act within the domain of proper civil jurisdiction. With these principles constantly recognized, the exact civil status of marriage can be unmistakably ascertained.

The rights of marriage are natural and inalienable; and the individual cannot be deprived of them by another, nor by the Government, except as punishment for crime. The individual may not choose to assume these rights, or the despotic power of society, of parents, or of the State, may invade them; but when once acquired they cannot be destroyed, or surrendered, so that they no longer exist as rights.

But polygamy, as practiced in our country, does interfere with these rights of the wife. The woman who must share the marriage relation with several other wives of the same husband certainly is not protected in her rights to the same degree that he is. *Polygyny* thrives only in conditions that assume the inferiority of women, and ought not to be tolerated for a moment in a government founded upon the equal rights of mankind. Our Government does guarantee this equality of rights to all its law-abiding subjects, and ought, therefore, to impose the same marital restrictions upon man as upon woman; and upon a man in one district of its domain the same restrictions that it imposes upon all other men in all other districts. It is a disgrace to the basic principles of our Government—rather, it is a cowardly abandonment of them—that the State did not long ago recognize its duty to suppress polygamy.

But it may be asked, May the Government rightfully interfere in a community in which all the parties have voluntarily accepted the polygamous relation; where each wife freely consents to surrender the major part of her rights? To this it should be answered that the State cannot recognize any such surrender. To every citizen the State guarantees personal liberty in all things which do not infringe the equal rights of others. Personal liberty means freedom of choice in the pursuit of happiness. A man might voluntarily attempt

to sell himself into irredeemable slavery, but if the deed should be accomplished, his freedom again to choose liberty would be gone; so the State sanctions no such surrender of the natural rights of the individual. That they are, indeed, incapable of being surrendered, is expressed in the fact that they are inalienable rights. The same protective principle which punishes the murderer also restrains the suicide. The Government can permit no violation of natural rights, whether the danger comes from inward consent or outward compulsion. Indeed, in the case of polygamy, a first wife might readily be forced to give a *legal* consent to the subsequent marriage of her husband with others. In justice to all, the State must prohibit relations which can exist only with violence to human rights.

But again, it may be questioned, ought the civil power to interfere with a practice which is held as a religious right or duty? In the light of preceding principles, the answer should be direct and positive. Government *cannot know* the inner motive of an act, be it religious or otherwise; and certainly it cannot allow an *avowedly* conscientious motive to justify an act infringing others' rights, without throwing down all restraint to license of every description. Even if it were possible for human government to discriminate infallibly between hypocrisy and genuineness, it could execute no law based upon this faculty except by favoring one class of individuals above all others, and *for religious reasons*. This is not only contrary to the genius of our Constitution, but would result in the speedy annihilation of all just government. The only safe principle, both for the State and for the individual, is that which gives the civil authority jurisdiction over every act which constitutes a civil offense to the rights of all. The rights of conscience are never violated by a government which *confines* its operations strictly within this distinctly bounded sphere.

The State long ago very properly assumed the regulation of monogamous marriage, insisting that it shall not be temporary, but permanent; both to preserve to each the individual rights of the parties entering into it, and to place upon them the responsibility of supporting their offspring. Any other course would inevitably impose upon the State the care of numerous minor subjects whose parentage would necessarily remain in legal uncertainty. The result would be the same if polygamy—which actually includes *polyandry* as well as *polygyny*—were legalized in our country. This were a consummation devoutly to be deprecated by all moral men; and all should unite in opposing the least introduction to its possibility, on the *purely civil* ground that it would impose upon the whole people burdens which parents alone should bear.

So it may be clearly seen that, in every

phase, this disgraceful institution is more than a menace to the perpetuation of rightful civil authority. The ground of objection to it is as broad and solid as our Constitution. Our present national policy toward polygamy ought to be a source of gratification to every lover of government which conserves the inalienable rights of man.

FRANK WILLIAM HOWE.

University of Michigan.

Important.

THE *Pearl of Days*, some weeks since, printed what it called "two important letters," one of which was from Bishop Littlejohn, of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and the other from Patrick T. O'Hare, Rector of St. Anthony's Catholic Church. Both letters were written to the Sunday Observance Association, of Kings County. Mr. O'Hare says:—

With regard to the observance of the Lord's day, you will kindly permit me to give you an extract from the decrees of the Third Plenary Council, held by our bishops a few years ago, in Baltimore. The decree may be found under title 3, chapter 3, and No. 113. It is known as the decree on the "Liquor Traffic and the Observance of Sunday." It reads as follows: "A Christian should carefully avoid not only what is positively evil, but what has even the appearance of evil, and more especially what commonly leads to it."

This is an important letter, and it touches upon a matter that will prove in the end to be much more important than these so-called Protestant advocates now imagine. Mr. O'Hare simply does in this letter what all the Roman Catholics do when referring to Sunday observance; that is, for authority he quotes the decree of the Baltimore council. And when Protestants receive these letters as official communications, and put their indorsement upon them by printing them, and otherwise, they will find that one of these days they will be held as subject to the authority which they have thus recognized; and if they undertake to reject that authority they will be held strictly to answer for it. If Protestants would not be held amenable to the Roman Catholic Church, they must keep as far from any recognition of it as the east is from the west. It is true they do not intend this, but that matters not; the Roman Catholics intend it, and if the Protestants do not, the thing for them to do is to let this be known by keeping far from it.

A. T. J.

What constitutes a State?

Not high-raised battlement and labored mound,
Thick wall and moated gate;
Not cities proud with spires and turrets crowned.
Not broad-armed bays and ports,
Where laughing at the storm, rich navies ride;
Not starred and spangled courts,
Where low-bred baseness casts perfume to pride;
No, men, high-minded men—

Men who their duties know,
But know their rights, and knowing dare maintain.
These constitute a State.—*Sir William Jones.*

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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THE American Sabbath Union, of the United States, has its peer in the "Lord's Day Alliance," of Canada, in which most of the Protestant denominations of the Dominion are said to be represented. The Presbyterian Church seems, there, to take the initiative, as it does here. At a late meeting of the Presbyterian General Assembly the Committee of Sabbath observance presented a set of resolutions which were adopted. The following are the fourth and fifth resolutions in the series:—

4. That the Assembly records its approval of the effort now being made to obtain from Parliament a Sabbath law for the whole Dominion, recommends presbyteries and kirk sessions to take action in support of it by petition or any other way that may be deemed efficient, and that the Assembly again forward to Parliament a petition in favor of such legislation.

5. That the Assembly expresses its gratification at the cordial co-operation of all the Protestant denominations, as manifested in the Lord's Day Alliance of Canada, and appoints as its representatives in the Alliance the members of the Sabbath Observance Committee.

THE Young Men's Christian Association of Trenton, New Jersey, has committed itself to an open affiliation with the American Sabbath Union. The following item is published by the *Pearl of Days*:—

Last Sunday was a field day for the Sabbath cause in the capital city of New Jersey. In addition to sermons and addresses by the secretaries of the American Sabbath Union, the Rev. Drs. Knowles and Taylor, and by Rev. Dr. Dunn, a great meeting was held at 4 P. M. in Taylor's Opera House, under the auspices of the Young Men's Christian Association, at which Col. E. F. Shepard, president of the American Sabbath Union, eloquently addressed over two thousand one hundred men, on "The Sabbath for man." Resolutions were unanimously adopted in favor of changing the inauguration of the President of the United States from the 4th of March to the first Wednesday of that month, and also for the closing of the Columbian Exposition on Sundays. The last resolution was adopted by a rising vote of the whole assembly. This series of meetings was marked by the profound interest and enthusiasm of the thousands of hearers. Similar meetings will also be held in other cities during the coming season.

It is by these slow approaches and imperceptible degrees, that the Young Men's Christian Association will be at last captured for the National Reform party. In Chicago it has allied itself with the movement for the closing of the World's Fair on Sunday. Through their gradual advances, beginning first with those things which seem in themselves so harmless, and, in fact, from a mistaken view, so necessary to be consistent in their profession of Christianity, the Young Men's Christian Association will be led into the realm of politics at last. Heretofore they have steadfastly avoided an alliance so fatal to the true Christianity of the Association, but the American Sabbath Union and the National Reform Association are proving too subtle and too strong for them.

A Candid Prohibitionist.

WRITING to the *California Voice*, Mr. John Robinson, of Guerneville, California, says:—

The Adventists do not ask that their day be selected as the day of rest, but demand that legislation on the matter be omitted entirely.

To this the *Signs of the Times* adds this comment:—

Adventists consistently oppose all Sabbath legislation. They have the privilege and right of a day of rest; no one ought to ask more. What hinders our Sunday-law people from resting on Sunday, if they so desire?

Again, Mr. Robinson, who, by the way, is a Prohibitionist, and not an Adventist, says:—

The "toiler" does not ask for this legislation, and no effort is being made to prevent the masses from resting one day in seven.

And this is simply a plain statement of a well-known fact: the demand for Sunday laws comes not from the working masses, but from those who are inspired by a mistaken religious zeal.

Of the Sunday-law plank in the Prohibition platform, the same gentleman says:—

You may proclaim as long and loudly as you desire that this plank does not mean Sunday law, but simply a day of rest, on Monday, Tuesday, or on any day, but so long as the masses believe it means Sunday, the effect will be the same, viz., to prevent the success of our party. The fact is, Sunday is the day generally intended; there is no use denying this. Sunday is a religious institution; laws to enforce a religious institution is religious legislation and will not be indorsed by a majority of the voters of this country.

Would that all Prohibitionists were as candid.

"It is this 'innocent recreation,'" says the *New York Observer*, "advocated by Cardinal Gibbons and Liberal Protestants, that destroys the idea of Sunday being a holy day." The inference is that the State should forbid innocent recreation. It is this thought that inspires the demand for Sunday laws on the part of churches and church papers.

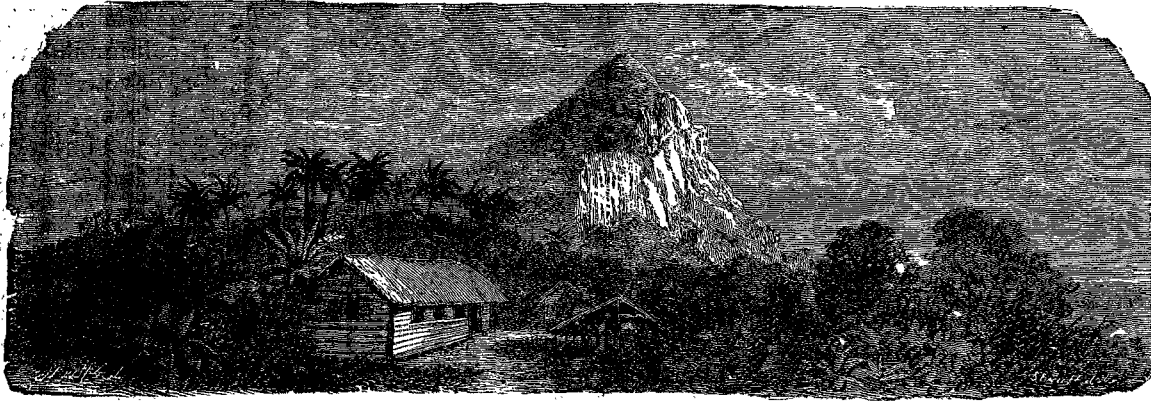
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most handsome of the oceanic people. The higher classes of natives are well educated. Vices have come in with civilization. The drinking of rum, with its attendant evils and the former corruption, is fast diminishing the population.

with their Tahitian wives. It was not until 1808 that an American ship touched the island, and in 1814 a British man-of-war came, and then the long-forgotten story of the mutineers was revived in the world.



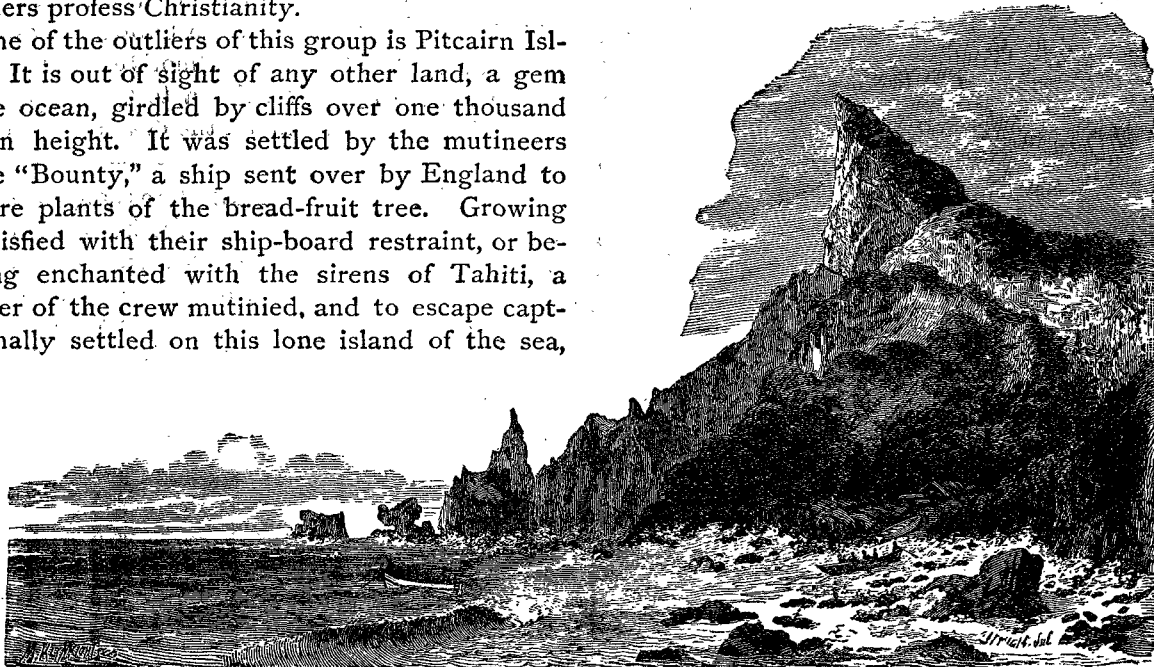
COTTAGE OF JOHN ADAMS.

The Hervey, or Cook, Islands are five hundred miles from Samoa. They are of volcanic origin, and the population numbers about 20,000. Although missionaries found them very ferocious, they are now nearly all Christianized, and have the Bible and other books translated into their language.

The natives of the Austral Islands, numbering about 3,000, are all Christians. The Low Archipelago consists of eighty-one islands. Most of the islanders profess Christianity.

One of the outliers of this group is Pitcairn Island. It is out of sight of any other land, a gem of the ocean, girdled by cliffs over one thousand feet in height. It was settled by the mutineers of the "Bounty," a ship sent over by England to procure plants of the bread-fruit tree. Growing dissatisfied with their ship-board restraint, or becoming enchanted with the sirens of Tahiti, a number of the crew mutinied, and to escape capture finally settled on this lone island of the sea,

The Pitcairners became so numerous that a colony was removed to another island. At the time of their discovery, only one of the mutineers was alive, a man named John Adams. He had sincerely repented of his evil course, and was not only living a model Christian life himself, but by his example and instruction, he was leading the children of the deceased mutineers into an upright, Christian life. John Adams died, honored and



LANDING PLACE, PITCAIRN ISLAND.

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NEW YORK, OCTOBER 23, 1890.

NOTE.—Any one receiving the AMERICAN SENTINEL without having ordered it may know that it is sent to him by some friend, unless plainly marked "Sample copy." It is our invariable rule to send out no papers without pay in advance, except by special arrangement, therefore, those who have not ordered the SENTINEL need have no fears that they will be asked to pay for it simply because they take it from the post-office.

TROUBLE over the reading of the Bible in the public schools is reported from the Western Reserve, in Ohio. A parent complains that the teacher to whom his children are sent, persists in devoting a portion of each day to scriptural reading, and as his children are compelled to be present, according to the school-room rule, he demands to know whether he cannot legally withdraw his children during that hour.

In an article in the *Evangel of Rest*, Rev. J. M. Hamilton quotes Lev. 19:30: "Ye shall keep my Sabbaths and reverence my sanctuary," and applies it to Sunday-keeping and attendance upon church services! Ps. 87:2, and 132:14, are wrested in like manner; while Isa. 66:23, is tortured into a command for everybody to go to meeting upon the first day of the week! And that he calls teaching divine truth!

COMMENTING upon the Tennessee Sunday-law cases, a London, England, paper says:—

"All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them: for this is the law and the prophets." Matt. 7:12. If this rule of conduct were followed, we should have no occasion to report such cases as these prosecutions in Tennessee under the Sunday law. This State has had a bad record for a few years past, in this respect.

This is true, but the Golden Rule has no place in the code of those who make and enforce Sunday laws.

At the semi-annual meeting of the bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church, in this city, in May, the *Pearl of Days* says the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:—

Resolved, That we are gratified at the information received concerning the organization of the American Sabbath Union and approve of the work thus far accomplished, and we look to it for efficient aid in rescuing the land from the curse of Sabbath desecration.

Resolved, That we respectfully call the immediate attention of the officers of the society to the growing evil of Sunday receptions and Sunday dinner parties in Washington, D. C., and in other cities of the Republic.

It is in order for the bishops next to state how they intend that the American Sabbath Union shall stop, or even check, Sunday receptions and Sunday dinner parties. The object of the Union is to secure laws for the preservation of Sunday

observance. Do the bishops intend that the American Sabbath Union shall secure the enactment of laws forbidding the giving of receptions or dinner parties on Sunday? This shows plainly enough that a law prohibiting work on Sunday, would not be by any means the end of the Sunday tale.

ONE of our exchanges, the *Loyal American*, notes the fact that "the prisoners in the Stillwater prison, Minn., publish a weekly paper, the *Prison Mirror*, at one dollar per annum. It is edited and printed by the convicts." And yet like a great many other people, the editor of the *American* insists that the State should educate its citizens to prevent crime! Education is a good thing, a very good thing, but as a preventive of crime it is not much of a success. Thousands of men in the penitentiaries of the various States, and thousands more who ought to be "doing time," are educated men. If only the illiterate were dishonest and vicious, the amount of business transacted by our criminal courts would be very much less than it is.

It is stated that Secretary Dickinson of the World's Fair Commission, is deluged with letters and protests against Sunday opening. So numerous are they that he has been compelled to have circulars printed acknowledging their receipt. In the number of petitions the Christian Endeavor Society heads the list, half the petitions and remonstrances coming from branches of that organization; then comes individual churches, then the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. "Already," says the *Mail and Express*, "it is evident that the opposition to Sunday opening will be the most formidable demonstration of its kind ever made in the country." We wonder if in this, as in the matter of a national Sunday law, the petitioners are to be counted several times.

SOME time since, Mr. Crafts visited Denver, and delivered several discourses upon the Sunday-law question. In an editorial notice of his work, the *News* of that city says:—

The difficulty arises when we come to define rest, and to specify what may and what may not be done. It would be interesting to catechize Dr. Crafts on that subject in the presence of one of his large audiences. When he approaches it he has a habit of generalizing, and if he becomes specific he hastens his gait and touches his points lightly. It needs no analysis, however, to see the drift of the legislation he advocates. He would have the civil power enforce a religious conception of Sunday observance, save that he would forego compulsory attendance at church. He would ostracize Sunday amusement, no matter how innocent, and entertainments, no matter how instructive. He would interdict the masses of city population from going to any suburban resort on the only day of the seven when it is in their power to breathe country air. Just where he would draw the line who can tell? Modern rapid transit has wonderfully favored metropolitan resorts, and our cable and electric lines would clearly have to stop on

Sunday to meet Mr. Crafts's requirements, or at least shorten their run on that day so that the toiling classes should not be taken beyond the murky atmosphere that characterizes most of our large cities.

The *News* is in favor of a Sunday law that would close saloons, factories, etc., but it is not prepared to agree to Mr. Crafts's so-called "civil Sunday" scheme. It sees very plainly that what he is really working for, is, as it says, a law that would enforce a religious rest, and it wants nothing of the kind. And this opposition, it appears, is not because of opposition to religion, but simply from opposition to State interference in matters of religion.

THE *Sabbath Harbinger* is the name of a new 24-column monthly, "religious family paper, devoted to missionary work and Sabbath reform in the South." It is published by the Southern Sabbath Publishing Association, Beauregard, Miss. "It will be," says the publishers, "uncompromisingly opposed to anything tending toward the encroachments, usurpations, and assumed authority of a hierarchy, either in name or in fact, let it come from whatever source it may." If this promise is redeemed, the *Harbinger* will oppose the work of the American Sabbath Union, and the schemes of the National Reform Association.

A REPORT of a committee at a recent Sunday-law meeting in California, contains this statement: "The public ought to be thoroughly informed of the reasons for the Sunday closing of saloons." Well the reason is not far to seek, nor hard to state; it is simply a desire on the part of one part of the community to honor the first day of the week because they regard it as the Sabbath by divine appointment. If the motive were purely or even primarily a temperance one they would demand the closing of saloons on all days.

ARE there many people in this country who would be pleased to see the United States governed as Ecuador is? Perhaps not, but there are many thousands of people among us who are striving to bring about a union of Church and State, and if they are successful it will only be a question of time—a comparatively short time—when the only difference between the United States and Ecuador, will be in the number of population and the area of territory.—*American Standard*.

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C. P. BOLLMAN,

W. H. MCKEE.

A SOUTHERN paper complains that "the common council of Augusta, Georgia, has resolved to exempt from taxation a large private bridge, that had been constructed by a land company, on the ground that it was a public convenience." And why not? Church property is exempted from taxation on the ground that churches more or less directly benefit the State. If there is any force in the argument why not carry the exemption of property to its logical conclusion, and exempt it all?

"CALIFORNIA is the only State in the Union without some form of Sunday law, or legal rest-day," is the plaintive wail of the Sunday-law advocates. But do they not know that a man may legally rest in California whenever he has a mind so to do? And as a matter of fact as large a proportion of the population of that State do rest from their ordinary avocations on Sunday, as in States having Sunday laws. It is not true that in America a lack of Sunday laws "leads to Sunday slavery of the masses."

A LATE London dispatch states that as a result of the irritation aroused in Russia by the cordial and closer relations between Austria and Germany, the German language is prohibited on public signs over shops, and its teaching forbidden in the schools. The arguments in justification of these repressive measures are substantially the same as are used in Wisconsin in support of the Bennett law. "The Germans live in Russia," it is urged, "and it is their duty to know the language in which

the laws are printed." "If they want to be Germans," say the Russian officials, "let them pack up and go over into Germany." In Russia this is despotism; in the United States, it is by some supposed to be Americanism.

Religious Proclamations Unconstitutional.

THE time for the usual annual Thanksgiving day of the American people is approaching, and undoubtedly the President will issue the usual thanksgiving proclamation. This is a reminder of the manner in which principles are trodden under foot and how a wrong by custom may become a matter of course, and soon be considered as entirely legitimate and right. The drafters of each of our greatest political documents,—and there are none greater—the Declaration of Independence, and the Constitution of the United States, were radically opposed to this deviation from American principles. After speaking of the violation of these principles "in Congress when they appointed chaplains," Madison says:—

There has been another deviation from the strict principle in the executive proclamations of fasts and festivals.*

President Jefferson was even more decided. While he occupied the executive chair, he would not, under any circumstances, nor with any amount of persuasion, issue thanksgiving proclamations. In a letter to the Rev. Mr. Millar, during his second term of office, he gave his reasons for his firmness in reference to the question. In the letter he said:—

I consider the Government of the United States as *interdicted by the Constitution from intermeddling with religious institutions, their doctrines, disciplines, or exercises.*†

Seven years previous he had declared the same thing in reply to a Baptist address. In a letter to his friend, Mr. Lincoln, dated January 1, 1802, he said:—

*Quoted from a letter of James Madison to Edward Livingston, dated Montpelier, July 10, 1822; see "American State Papers," (1890), page 75.

†Quoted in "American State Papers," page 56 et seq.

The Baptist address, now enclosed, admits of a condemnation of the alliance between Church and State, under the authority of the Constitution. It furnishes an occasion, too, which I have long wished to find, of saying why I do not proclaim fastings and thanksgivings, as my predecessors did. The address, to be sure, does not point at this, and its introduction is awkward. But I foresee no opportunity of doing it more pertinently. I know it will give great offense to the New England clergy; but the advocate of religious freedom is to expect neither peace nor forgiveness from them.

Chief Justice Waite, in discussing the meaning of the First Amendment to the Constitution, says that, to ascertain its meaning we must go "to the history of the times in the midst of which the provision was adopted;"‡ and then he proceeds to quote Jefferson who, in connection with Madison, was mainly instrumental in securing the adoption of that amendment among the others. No other individual, excepting, perhaps, Madison, was so well qualified to interpret the meaning of that provision; and Jefferson states positively that "the Constitution has directly precluded them [the United States] from" assuming an authority over religious exercises.

"But it is only proposed," says Jefferson, "that I should *recommend*, not prescribe, a day of fasting and prayer. That is, that I should *indirectly assume* to the United States an authority over religious exercises, which the Constitution has directly precluded them from. It must be meant, too, that this recommendation is to carry some authority, and to be sanctioned by some penalty, on those who disregard it; not, indeed, of fine and imprisonment, but of some degree of proscription, perhaps, in public opinion. And does the change in the nature of the penalty make the recommendation less a *law* of conduct for those to whom it is directed?"

Jefferson not only considered that these religious proclamations were thus an infringement on the rights of the individual, but that they were also injurious to religion and to the State as well. "I do not

‡Reynolds vs. United States, a case decided in 1878.

believe it is for the interest of religion," he continued, "to invite the civil magistrate to direct its exercises, its discipline, or its doctrines; nor of the religious societies, that the general Government should be invested with the power of effecting any uniformity of time or matter among them. Fasting and prayer are religious exercises; the enjoining them an act of discipline. Every religious society has a right to determine for itself the times for these exercises, and the objects proper for them, according to their own particular tenets; and this right can never be safer than in their own hands, *where the Constitution has deposited it.*" Thus emphatically does President Jefferson declare the proclamation of religious fasts and festivals to be unconstitutional.

Madison, in his letter to Livingston, said, in continuation: "I know not what may be the way of thinking on this subject in Louisiana [*i. e.* in reference to appointing a festival which was not recognized by the Catholics]. I should suppose the Catholic portion of the people, at least, as a small and even unpopular sect in the United States, *would rally*, as they did in Virginia when religious liberty was a legislative topic, to its broadest principle." Madison thus asserts that the "broadest principles" of the Constitution would entirely preclude the chief Executive from thus interfering in the religious affairs of the Nation, and suggests that Catholics would have the right to demand that the Constitution should be strictly adhered to.

"Notwithstanding the general progress," continues Madison, "made within the last two centuries in favor of this branch of liberty, and the full establishment of it in some parts of our country, there remains in others a strong bias towards the old error, that without some sort of alliance or coalition between government and religion, neither can be duly supported. Such indeed, is the tendency to such a coalition, and such its corrupting influence on both the parties, *that the danger cannot be too carefully guarded against.*" Yet, instead of guarding against this danger, we see the practice becoming more and more common, and even see the people petitioning by the thousands for further encroachments by the Government on the religious rights of individuals. Madison seemed to foresee this, and emphasized the importance of educating public opinion on the subject.

"And in a government of opinion, like ours," he said, "the only effectual guard must be found in the soundness and stability of the general opinion on the subject. Every new and successful example, therefore, of a *perfect separation of ecclesiastical and civil matters*, is of importance and I have no doubt that every new example will succeed, as every past one has done, in showing that religion and government will both exist in greater purity the less they are mixed together. It was

the belief of all sects at one time that the establishment of religion by law was right and necessary; that the true religion ought to be established in exclusion of every other; and that the only question to be decided was, Which was the true religion? The example of Holland proved that a toleration of sects dissenting from the established sect was safe, and even useful. The example of the Colonies, now States, which rejected religious establishments altogether, proved that all sects might be safely and advantageously put on a footing of equal and entire freedom; and a continuance of their example since the Declaration of Independence has shown that its success in the Colonies was not to be ascribed to their connection with the parent country. If a further confirmation of the truth could be wanted, it is to be found in the examples furnished by the States which have abolished their religious establishments. I cannot speak particularly of any one of the cases excepting that of Virginia, where it is impossible to deny that religion prevails with more zeal and a more exemplary priesthood than it ever did when established and patronized by public authority. We are teaching the world the great truth that governments do better without kings than with them. The merit will be doubled by the other lesson: that religion flourishes in greater purity without, than with, the aid of government."

Thus closes Madison's dissertation on the subject of appointing religious observances, and these opinions coming, as they do, from the principal framers of our political system, show how unwarranted and unconstitutional it is, on the part of the President to assume the authority to appoint a day of thanksgiving or any other religious festival.

They Understand It Already.

To the Lutherans of Wisconsin and Illinois, in their opposition to the Bennett law and its counterpart, *America* proposes to teach a lesson. It proposes to instruct the Lutherans in their duty in the matter of the education of their children, and in order to do so more effectually it goes to Germany for the principles which it wishes to inculcate. It might be well to say to *America* that perhaps the Germans know as much about the system in Germany as *America* does, and that if they had wanted to follow that system they would have staid there instead of coming here.

America presents the fact that in the German schools, the German language is taught; that religion is taught; and that State inspection of schools is universal in Germany, private schools not being excepted; and then argues that as the Lutherans at home "had to submit" to that, they ought not to complain when

required to submit to the same thing in this country.

If the principles of monarchy, of paternalism, not to say of despotism, that characterize the German government, are to be the model for the States of this Union to follow, then there is no use of talking any longer of American principles. That the defenders of the Bennett law in Wisconsin and its counterpart in Illinois have to appeal to foreign principles to sustain their cause is the strongest indictment that could be made against the laws which they try thus to sustain. Any law or any movement which cannot be sustained without appealing to European principles, to principles of monarchy, to principles of Church and State governments, and of paternalism generally, has no place among American institutions, and is not worthy of recognition by the American people. And to call a paper "*America*" that does so, is a misnomer.

A. T. J.

What Are the Facts?

IN 1885 Rev. W. F. Crafts published his book, "The Sabbath for Man," in which he relates that in order to obtain a world-wide view of Sabbath observance he corresponded with more than two hundred persons residing in nearly every nation of the world. One of the questions which he asked was:—

Where have you seen the best Sabbath observance?

To this, a San Francisco pastor responded:—

Among the Christian people of California.

Mr. Crafts's question and the San Francisco pastor's answer to it are found on page 95 of his book before referred to. On the preceding page occur these words:—

Both laymen and ministers say that even in California the Sabbath is, on the whole, better observed and Christian services better attended than five years ago.

"Five years ago," from the standpoint of 1885, was three years before the repeal of the California Sunday law. Therefore, taking into consideration all that Mr. Crafts said upon this subject, we concluded that according to testimony published in his own book, California had in 1885, when the State had been without a Sunday law for two years, better and more general Sunday observance than it had under a Sunday law.

But in a recent article in the *Christian Statesman*, Mr. Crafts complains that we have been unfair in this matter. He says:—

A single Christian minister of that State wrote me that he had seen no better Sabbath observance than in some Christian families in California. This remark, quoted by me, among two hundred answers to the question, "Where have you seen the best Sabbath observance?" is used with characteristic dishonesty . . . as my own verdict that California itself—not some of its Christian homes—has the best of Sabbath observance. If Christians were as scarce and morals as bad in the rest of the land

as in that State, our country would be a Continental Sodom, without righteous men enough to save it.

It will be observed that with characteristic recklessness Mr. Crafts misquotes his own book. The San Francisco pastor did not say, "In some Christian families," but he did say, "Among the Christian people of California." Mr. Crafts should practice what he preaches. He should be fair himself before he demands that others treat him fairly. But we fail to see wherein our use of the quotation from Mr. Crafts's book was unfair. Both laymen and ministers in California testified three years after the repeal of the Sunday law that on the whole the Sabbath was better observed and Christian services better attended in California than five years before. This we still understand to apply not to "some Christian families," but to the whole community. And it is evident that Mr. Crafts himself so understood it, for the facts which we have quoted from his book are prefaced with the following, set in italics:—

Another element of hope in the United States is that the West has improved in Sabbath observance (except in the largest cities), as the communities have changed from frontier Territories into settled States.

Then, after only four and one-half lines relative to Dakota and Wyoming, follows the statement quoted, that "both laymen and ministers say that even in California the Sabbath is, on the whole, better observed, and Christian services better attended than five years ago." This Mr. Crafts gives in his book as an encouraging fact. He made it his own then; now he seeks to repudiate it, and likens California to Sodom. But we feel sure that in this he does that State injustice. Personal knowledge of the State, and of the people of that State, justify us in expressing this opinion; but we prefer to let the fact rest upon the testimony of another. In a letter to the New York *Observer* of October 2, "Holloway," a correspondent of that paper, writes as follows of Sunday observance in San Francisco:—

True, there are some drawbacks here as there are in all the cities of our land. Attractive as the city is, and in its main features very desirable as a place of residence, yet the good people who have come from the East regret the absence of some things with which they have always been familiar. There are no Sabbath laws in California and no recognition of it on the statute books of the State. Labor of all kinds can be carried on without hindrance, stores may remain open for the transaction of business as on any other day of the week, places of amusement may be open without interference from the authorities, while noisy demonstrations can go on as usual. But while there is the absence of all Sunday laws we must not draw the conclusion that there is no respect paid to the Lord's day. Truth compels us to state the fact that San Francisco is a Sabbath keeping city. The drift is plainly in that direction. The moral sentiment of the people is largely in its favor, and with very rare exceptions you will find as much order and quiet in the streets as in some of our most favored Eastern cities. Those who knew California twenty years ago, now witness a far different order of things. The mass of the people respect and keep the Lord's day. No merchant of any respectability keeps his store open on the Sab-

bath. The wharves are deserted. The Italian fruit dealers in many localities close up their places of business, and even in the Chinese quarter of the city there is some recognition of the fact that this one day calls for a regard to decency and order, if not for religious reverence.

"Holloway" has stated the facts just as we know them to exist in California. Truth, he says, compels him to say that "San Francisco is a Sabbath-keeping city. "Truth is mighty," but it seems to be powerless to compel Mr. Crafts to do California justice. Sunday work and Sunday business instead of being on the increase in that State are on the decrease even in the cities. The drift is in the direction of more general rest upon that day. We do not say that this is due to a growing regard for the day; indeed we incline to the opinion that it is right in line with the general tendency of the times, which is toward shorter hours and more holidays; but that does not alter the case. Mr. Crafts insists that civil law is essential to the preservation of the working man's rest day. The growth of Sunday rest in California in the absence of a Sunday law is a complete refutation of Mr. Crafts's arguments in favor of "a civil Sabbath;" hence the anxiety of himself and his friends to secure as soon as possible the passage of a Sunday law in that State. The drift is now toward more general rest on Sunday. Now if they can only secure a Sunday law they can in a year or two claim that the improvement is due to the law.

According to Mr. Crafts's theory California ought to be just what he represents it to be, a veritable Sodom; but according to the facts it is as the *Observer's* correspondent represents it. The trouble with Mr. Crafts is that he cannot at the same time be loyal to the facts and to his theory; therefore he remains true to the theory, regardless of the facts. He cannot conceive of the possibility that he is mistaken, as he must be if the facts are as we know them to be, and as "Holloway" states them; therefore he closes his eyes to the facts, and accuses those who decline to do the same thing, of dishonesty.

C. P. B.

The Work of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union.

WITH that which its name indicates to be the legitimate work of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union we have ever been in the most hearty sympathy. But we regret to say that the Union has not always confined itself to Christian temperance work; it has turned aside into politics, and instead of relying for success upon the power of God as manifested through the gospel, it has invoked the power of the State to enforce what it understands to be Christian duty. In short, neglecting the power of the gospel, the

Woman's Christian Temperance Union has allowed lust for political power to become its ruling spirit. This has been a source of sincere regret to us, as it has been to other friends of Christian temperance work, and we have from time to time, as we have observed these digressions, criticised the Union. Nor are we alone in this. This same lust for power has lead the Union to demand an important change in the fundamental law of the Methodist Church, and to accompany that demand by a threat of establishing a rival church. This threat the *Christian Advocate*, of this city, makes the occasion of administering a rebuke to these good women, quite as sharp as any criticism that we have ever made. We reprint, for the information of our readers, the following somewhat lengthy extract from the *Advocate's* article:—

THE WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION.

With the history of this powerful organization we have been familiar from its beginning, nor has it ever been referred to in the *Christian Advocate* except in words of commendation. To its internal controversies no reference has been made; none of its principles or proceedings have been criticised, directly or indirectly, in this paper. Its editor has on various occasions presided at its meetings, introduced its speakers, and served it according to his measure and the desire of its members.

In his capacity as a member of the General Conference of 1880 he strenuously opposed the granting of permission to Miss Frances E. Willard to address the Conference—not because she was a woman—for he has listened to her, spoken on the same platform with her, and never has been opposed to women speaking in public on religion or any other subject in the proper time and place. The opposition was upon these grounds, that she did not represent an ecclesiastical body; her admission would require the admission of representatives of another similar association; and that there were a large number of non-ecclesiastical bodies desiring to obtain admission. On these principles he has ever acted, both in the Annual and the General Conference, opposing the admission of men on the same grounds, and is ready to do so again in any ecclesiastical executive or legislative body of which he may be a member.

But it now becomes necessary to show that the Woman's Christian Temperance Union has adopted female suffrage as a principle in both State and Church, and that it discusses and as an organization has committed itself to the promotion of changes in the Methodist Episcopal Church, using its societies, which obtain access to

our churches and congregations on the ground of its temperance and other moral reformatory work, to interfere with the management of the said church.

The evidence of the truth of this statement is now to be submitted. Its *State Conventions* are in the habit of passing resolutions commending female suffrage; its *National Conventions* have done the same. It is so closely connected with the original Female Suffrage Association that the assistant editor of the *Woman's Journal*, Alice Stone Blackwell, is also the Assistant Superintendent of the Department of *Franchise* of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. (One of the principal text-books, if not the chief, in the Department of Franchise in the Woman's Christian Temperance Union is John Stuart Mill's *Subjection of Woman*, whose author repudiated Christianity as a supernatural religion, and on various occasions denounced it as an oppressor of women.) Female suffrage has become one of its chief corner-stones, so that temperance and its allied moral questions, according to the prophet whom we heard in San Francisco, are now made the draft-horses to bear the female suffrage movement onward.

In harmony with this partnership we find a long article in the *Woman's Journal*, organ of the old-line Female Suffragists, for September 13:—

This is a subject of great moment, not only to the church in which the important action is to be taken, but also to the cause of woman's emancipation in all its various phases. All the friends of woman's advancement, whatever their religious views may be, should do their utmost to rouse those upon whom the decision devolves to an active and intelligent interest in the question.

The resolution does not involve the question of licensing and ordaining woman to preach, but the relation of women to the legislative councils of the church will eventually determine their positions and privileges in the ministry.

Great is the change which has taken place in the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, and most interesting is the method by which it has been brought about. When these ideas—never thought of in the incipency of the organization—were first broached, some who were positively and uncompromisingly opposed to them were gradually displaced; others who were more malleable were surrounded by "an influence," were spoken of as "true and good," but as "not having yet seen the heavenly vision which had been revealed" to the leaders. If in process of time they saw this vision, according to their gifts and usefulness they rose; but if they still continued in darkness, gradually they were frozen out until it came to be understood that only those who hold these principles and adhere to them should be admitted, whatever their interest in temperance and the reformation of men, to important positions. Hence it has come to pass that this organization is an active propagandizing power for woman suffrage and allied questions.

We have now to show that the *Union Signal*, its official organ, loses no opportunity of discussing the Methodist Episcopal Church and its movements in relation to the ecclesiastical position of women.

The attempt is made to connect the deaconess movement in our church with the ordination of women in the ministry. Observe this, and a declaration of the faith of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union in the following, taken from a recent copy of that paper:—

The training school for Deaconesses in Chicago, under the care of Mrs. Lucy Rider Meyer, is on a broad plane, and deserves the study of all interested in this great problem. *Its evolution will naturally conduct to the final emancipation of woman, by which she will enter the pulpit on the same plane with her brother man, and they two will prove that, inspired by the Spirit of the Highest, they are adequate to the conversion of the world; that life in wickedness can never be saved by the ministrations of one-half the unit.* This is the faith of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, firmly held and frankly stated.

Various of its organizations passed resolutions condemning the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church by name for its rejection, on a point of law, of women from membership in the last General Conference;—in one instance classing it in a paragraph of condemnation with certain liquor dealers.

Soon after the adjournment of that General Conference the National Convention of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union was held in the Metropolitan Opera House, in the city of New York, and at that Miss Frances E. Willard delivered her annual address as President, from which we quote what to us is an astonishing passage. Quoting what persons have said to her, she said:—

"Stay in the church, and help reform it," says one "No; that is impossible; old churches and old parties are equally crystallized," comes the reply. "Let the Woman's Christian Temperance Union organize a church; and we will join it, every man of us," is the declaration of an influential group of earnest men. "No, we have too many churches already," objects a listener; "let the wheat and tares grow together until the harvest."

But for myself I love my mother-church so well, and recognize so thoroughly that the base and body of the great pyramid she forms are broader than its apex, that I would fain give her a little time in which to deal justly by the great household of her loving, loyal, and devoted daughters. I would wait four years longer in fervent hope and prayer that the great body of her ministers and of her membership may make it manifest to all the world that the church of Lady Huntingdon, Barbara Heck, and Phebe Palmer does not hesitate to march with the progressive age it has done so much to educate, nor fear to carry to their logical sequence its life-long teachings as to woman's equality within the house of God. I say this frankly, from my present outlook, though so often urged, and not a little tempted, and sometimes quite determined to take a new departure. The time will come, however, and not many years from now, when, if presentation is still denied us, it will be our solemn duty to raise once more the cry, "Here I stand, I can do no other," and step out into the larger liberty of a religious movement where majorities and not minorities shall determine the fitness of women as delegates, and where the laying on of hands in consecration, as was undoubtedly done in the early Church, shall be

decreed on a basis of "gifts, graces, and usefulness," irrespective of sex."

[The italics in the above quotation are the *Advocate's*.]

This is a professedly undenominational body, and it has had remarkable assistance from the Methodist Episcopal Church in resolutions passed by the General Conference, in the use of church buildings, and in the giving of its notices by the pastors. When the Woman's Christian Temperance Union discusses the church in this way, and in such a spirit, after it had submitted the question to a vote of its ministers and members, and interferes by a declaration which has the force of a threat, we are compelled to say, that—while it shows how many are the ramifications of this movement—it does not furnish ground for the presumption that the legislation or the real interest of the Methodist Episcopal Church would be benefited if the change called for were made.

It must be true, for Miss Willard declares it, that "an influential group of earnest men have called upon the Woman's Christian Temperance Union 'to organize a church!'" It is not wonderful that such things should affect the judgment of the recipient of such confidence.

If such a spirit exists, the church should know it. With genuine admiration for Miss Willard's gifts, and full recognition of her varied services, but with the faithfulness of friendship, we assure her, that were the Woman's Christian Temperance Union to attempt to "organize a church," that "group of influential men" would fail to stand by it or her, and if they did the organization would simply add another to the successors of Jonah's gourd, instead of continuing a growing power for good.

It is a matter of astonishment and grief to us, that our old friend, Professor Luther T. Townsend, whose intellectual gifts and personal character we have always admired, should strengthen such dangerous advisers by writing thus in his article on "Woman in the Pulpit," addressed to and published by Miss Willard:—

These noble women should knock only once more at the doors of the Methodist General Conference, and if their signals and entreaties are again uncivilly disregarded, they should never knock again; they should call together some of the noblest Christian women of the land, and in solemn convocation, by the laying on of hands and by prayer, they should set apart for pulpit and parish work those who trust that they are inwardly moved by the Holy Ghost to take upon themselves the office of the ministry of the Church of Christ, to serve God, for the promoting of his glory and the edifying of his people. . . . When that step is taken, if these women are willing to extend an invitation, they will be surprised at the number of clergymen who, with a noble Wesleyan spirit, will hasten to render assistance at the ordination.

It is such passages which have, as we regret to have to say, led the justly distinguished and worthily loved woman into such utterance as this quoted from her annual address of 1888.

In Miss Willard's address in 1889 at the National Convention she called for a res-

olution asking "the laymen of the Methodist Episcopal Church, who will in the fall of 1890 take action on the question of making women eligible as delegates to the General Conference, to 'do as they would be done by,' and the laywomen to remember that 'there is neither male nor female in Christ Jesus,' and 'who would be free, himself must strike the blow.'"

But a larger scheme of a Woman's Council has been devised, the attempt being made to induce all woman's societies, such as the Woman's Foreign and Home Missionary Societies, to send delegates so as to come under the influence of the same principles. The King's Daughters also were solicited to join the Council, that young and old might be indoctrinated with these aspirations and ambitions.

It is due to many private members of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union and a few remaining leaders in State organizations to say they do not agree with these views. Many of them, however, have not fully awakened to the real condition.

Our readers may now *in part* see what is the meaning of the movement. If the Methodist Episcopal Church in the first quarter of its second century desires to become a "Woman's Christian Temperance Union" Church, or a mere adjunct to that organization, it needs only to proceed in the direction to which it is urged.

The Sunday Campaign in California.

THE political campaign incident to the State election is now in full blast. The Sunday-law campaign is not really a part of the political strife. The two leading parties are letting the subject alone as hard as they can; and the Prohibitionists, although carrying a State Sunday law as a plank in their platform, are not united in urging it upon the people. Some of them are decidedly opposed to it, and one of their leading speakers told me that he did not refer to the subject at all. Furthermore he said that some of their candidates for legislative honors, if elected, would not vote for a Sunday law.

There is, however, a Sunday-law movement on foot on the outside, and it is being vigorously pushed. The American Sabbath Union is working its game of secretly extorting pledges from candidates in return for pledges of votes. They issue a monthly document of eight large octavo pages, for the purposes of their campaign. The Union labors to enlist the interest of the ministers, and work through the churches; and in all the public efforts the ministerial character of the movement is plainly manifest.

Rev. Dr. Thompson, Pacific Coast Secretary of the Union, was in Oakland on the 12th inst., and spoke his piece in the First Methodist Episcopal Church, in the morning, and in the First Congregational Church, in the evening. He read from the book of Nehemiah, chapter 13, verses 15-

21, with an air that betokened a strong desire to be the Nehemiah of California, and squelch somebody for Sunday-breaking.

In his discourse he reiterated the old "chestnuts" about this being a Christian Nation, and ought, therefore, to have a Christian Sabbath; that the framers of the Declaration of Independence recognized that the Nation derived its powers from the Almighty; that Benjamin Franklin demanded that a minister of the gospel be brought in to ask God's blessing upon the Constitution Convention; that the Constitution of the United States contains a Sunday law in its provision that the President shall have ten days, exclusive of Sundays, in which to sign bills, etc., etc.

He argued that a nation may be religious or non-religious; that it may be Christian, pagan, or Mohammedan; but our fathers chose to make this a Christian Nation. He seemingly forgot that his Union denies any thought of, or belief in, a union of Church and State; and if his argument amounted to anything, such an election on the part of the founders of the Government would have established a Church and State oligarchy at the very beginning.

In his glorification of the virtues of Sunday legislation, Mr. Thompson declared that the Sunday law is the *magna charta* of religious liberty. Without it men are held in slavery; there are now in the United States three million of men *compelled* to work on Sunday. If this were true, it would not argue much for the efficiency of the "great *magna charta*;" for the three million workmen asserted to be in slavery, cannot all be in California, and the few sparsely settled Territories where there are no Sunday laws. But it is not a fact that any hired man is compelled to work on Sunday; he may leave if he wants to. The law will protect him from being compelled to work any day, except as a punishment for crime.

Who ever heard of a seventh-day keeper being compelled to work on Saturday? Hundreds of them, laboring men, have given up their situations rather than work on the Sabbath-day, and not one of them ever starved. None of them ever dreamed of asking for a law to compel men to hire them and let them off on Saturday.

The Doctor's sentimental story about the young man in a Los Angeles County village who could not get off on Sunday to hear him lecture, is considerably spoiled by Mr. Crafts's book, which was so urgently commended at the close of the discourse. In this the author takes special pains to show wherein a conscientious determination not to work on Sunday works to the advantage of the laborer, by increasing the employer's confidence.

A rather novel challenge was thrown out to California young men. It was this: The speaker proposed to show, by contest, that a young man of twenty-five years brought up in a strict Sunday-law village would prove more intellectual than one

brought up in a California town without a Sunday law. Of course everybody knows that such banter is all sheer bluff; but I take space to mention it here as showing to what straits Sunday-law stump speakers are driven to make a show of argument.

The speaker's effort was closed by calling attention to sundry specimens of Sabbath Union literature, among them being the document sent out from Washington to signers of the petition, against religious legislation in Congress. This is a deceptive effort to convince the signers that they had not sense enough to know what they were doing, when they signed the petition, although it was couched in the plainest language.

He also had the house canvassed for subscriptions to his monthly document, and advertised some other literature designed to work up a sentiment among the people in favor of his pet scheme. A lady in the audience, who acknowledged that she had become somewhat "confused on the subject," asked an individual near her how it was the Doctor was doing such business in church on Sunday, if the day were so sacred as it was represented to be. He gave it up, but supposed it was because laborers in the Sunday-law interest have generally had poor success in getting audiences on other days.

I cull the following, from the Sabbath Union's Pacific Coast monthly document, accredited to the *Century*:—

If this were a Jewish country, the Jewish worship on Saturday should be peculiarly protected from molestation. If it were a Mohammedan country, Friday should be in a like manner protected. This is simple common sense applied to things as they are, and no action of *Doctrinarian* theory. Where there is a conflict of sacred days, as among Jew, Christian, and Mohammedan, all cannot be protected, and hence the majority must determine the question.

If the majority must determine such questions, why does not the American Sabbath Union, whose mouthpiece Dr. Thompson is, let the majority alone in California? An acknowledged majority of twenty thousand have said that they do not want a Sunday law; yet the Union is secretly endeavoring to bribe legislative candidates, by promises of votes, to violate the will of the majority and enact such a law at the next session of the Legislature.

But why is it that "all cannot be protected"? This is a republican Government, and guarantees religious freedom to all. If all cannot be protected in their religious privileges, then the Republic is a failure. If all cannot be protected, it is because those who chance to have the power covet a monopoly of religious privilege, and are selfish enough to deny equal rights to all who do not follow them. If this sentiment had emanated from a pagan or Mohammedan source, it would not have been surprising; but to throw it out as representative Christian principle, is libelous upon that faith whose Founder commanded to "love thy neighbor as thyself."

W. N. GLENN.

Oakland, Cal., Oct. 13, 1890.

Majority Rule.

THE following upon majority rule is from a speech by Hon. Joseph Wheeler, of Alabama, in Congress, February 13, the House having under consideration the report of the Committee on Rules. While all will not concede the honorable gentleman's implied claim that the Democrats have greater regard for the Constitution than the Republicans have, all must, laying aside political prejudices, acknowledge the truth of the principle laid down. Commenting upon the statement that "the rule of the majority is at the very basis of our Government," Mr. Wheeler spoke as follows:—

While it is true that the majority should rule, all that the Democrats desire is that they shall rule under the Constitution. Judge Cooley in his Principles of Constitutional Law says:—

So far, then, from the Government being based on unlimited confidence in majorities, a profound distrust of the discretion, equity, and justice of their rule is made evident in many precautions and checks; and the majority is, in fact, trusted with power only so far as it is absolutely essential to the working of republican institutions.

Since the first dawn of civil liberty the wisest statesmen of all nations have agreed that an unbridled and unrestrained majority is the most dangerous foe of liberty, and therefore, in perfecting systems of government, the greatest care was taken to devise means by which a majority could be checked by certain powers given to the minority, and the history of civilization has proven the wisdom of maintaining such checks and balance.

If a man perfect in all respects and of unquestionable and infallible wisdom could be found, a people would be fortunate in giving such a person absolute power, because undoubtedly his rule would be wise and perfect in all respects, and that is all that was ever asked for or is desired by any people, but the history of the last eighteen hundred years shows that during that period no such man has existed, and therefore it has been demonstrated that the only way to preserve liberty is for the people to govern themselves.

If ages of experience demonstrate that one-man power is destructive to liberty, how much more dangerous is an unrestrained rule of a majority. It contains all the evils which follow from the concentration of all power in one man, without a single element of the advantages of such a system of government. It is the existence and presence of absolute power and the absolute absence of any tangible responsibility. It is possible for such a government to exist for some time without becoming tyrannical and despotic, but it is impossible for such a government to exist without finally overthrowing all the safeguards of liberty.

America vs. Europe.

[THE following lines—written some thirty years ago—depict from the standpoint of liberty the principles on which the United States Government was founded as compared with the principles of the European governments. The author is Count A. de Gasparin, a fearless advocate of liberty, and a warm admirer of the American institutions. This extract is translated from the author's French work; "Un grand Peuple que se Releve," and may serve to awaken new love and vigilance for the immortal boon of religious and civil liberty.

JOHN VUILLEUMEIR.]

THE United States is not a Latin nation; a nation clad in the robes of a Roman or Greek civilization; a nation having according to the ancient fashion, a religion and a set of customs blindly admitted by all. This Republic of the New World is not at all one of the republics of the ancient continent, where the citizens loved to talk about public affairs, but where nobody was foolish enough to raise questions of conscience respecting the public belief, pagan life,—with its compulsory worship, its uniform education, its suppression of the family and the individual for the benefit of the State; pagan life,—where the citizen supersedes the individual, and where the calm uniformity of the ages gives every one a national mold,—has no likeness to moral and social life in the United States.

Here you will not find the least vestige of that system which tries to make nations, and forgets to make men. These States can truly be said to have originated out of a protest of the human conscience. How many things are explained by this noble origin! Yes, it was the reaction of religious independence against compulsory uniformity and against the State church, that created this country, two hundred years ago. I do not need, here, to examine the intrinsic truth of the Puritan belief; I simply affirm that it landed in America in the name of liberty, and that its mission here was to establish liberty, and to build the true wall against democratic tyrannies.

At the very outset, the State was denied the direction of the intellectual and moral man. Notwithstanding the unavoidable inconsistencies and hesitations which attend all our beginnings, the Colonies, which were to become the United States, were walking steadily on the road which leads to liberty of belief, of thought, of speech, of press, of association, of teaching. The highest, the most important rights, were stripped, at the very start, from the province of democratic deliberations; insuperable limits were laid to the sovereignty of majorities; the rights of minorities, of the individual, the right of standing alone against all, the right of being of one's own opinion, was distinctly affirmed.

More than that, it was not very long before the bands between Church and State were completely severed, thus destroying the last pretext for the official administration of belief; *self-government* was founded, that is to say, the most

explicit denial of democratic bondage. While democracy pleads for a maximum of government, American individualism pleads for a minimum of government, the *par excellence* definition of liberalism. And it did not contemplate bringing this about, as in the Middle Ages, through anarchy, absence of national ties, and by depriving the individual of his rights of conscience and thought; no, American individualism has other means of action; while restraining with a wise energy the province of government to its true limits, it was enlarging all the more the purview of the human soul.

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SOME weeks ago, we printed the following item from one of our Western exchanges, together with the subjoined comment:—

"The voice of the people is the voice of God," is as true to day, as when spoken in a city of Greece two thousand years ago.

"Just about as true! For instance, when, a century later, the people crowded around the Son of God, shouting, 'Crucify him! Crucify him!'"

The item has come back to us with this question from the *Orleans Herald*:—

Then will you please tell us what is the voice of God? Was not the crucifixion a fulfillment of the prophecies?

The word of God as contained in the Scriptures is, properly speaking, the voice of God, because it expresses the will of God; but can we believe that the unchangeable One who said, "This is my beloved Son in whom I am well pleased," could also have said, "Crucify him, crucify him"? True, the crucifixion was in fulfillment of prophecy, but prophecy is simply an announcement of future events, which may or may not be according to the will of God. It is the *will* of God that "all men should come to repentance," (2 Peter, 3: 9); but prophecy tells us that all will not repent, that on the contrary, "evil men and seducers shall wax worse and worse, deceiving, and being deceived." 2 Tim. 3: 13.

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Rev. Thomas W. Haskins, M. A.,
Rector Christ Church, Los Angeles, Cal.

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NEW YORK, OCTOBER 30, 1890.

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In an editorial on Sunday laws, the *Colorado Graphic* says: "The people will resist these invasions of their personal rights, and with the example of other countries before them will bitterly resist ecclesiasticism. They fear the result of the union of Church and State, which means the oppression of personal liberty. As Dean Milman said, 'In proportion as the ecclesiastics became co-legislators, heresies became civil crimes and liable to civil punishments.' Such a result would be disastrous to the corner-stone of American independence. Our 'great' dailies are cowards who fear to defend a principle in deference to an uneducated sentimentalism."

UPON President Woodruff's promise that the Mormons will obey the anti-polygamy laws of Congress, the *Christian Advocate* remarks:—

Mormonism has such a bad reputation that promises to obey are suspected of covering a plan to disobey. But we are inclined to think they mean this; if so, or if not so, let them be watched. If they break no laws in this country, they have the same right to be Mormons as others have to be Roman Catholics, Spiritualists, or Methodists.

This is in refreshing contrast with the utterances of some papers which insist, not only that polygamy, but that *Mormonism* must be stamped out. But all of Mormonism, except the practice of plural marriages, has just the same right not only to exist, but to be protected, that any other ism has, and it will be a sad day for the country when this fact ceases to be recognized.

THE *Central Christian Advocate* says:—

It is not to the public school that we must look for the religious education of our children. The most we can do in this respect, so far as the public school is concerned, is to see that all the teachers are religious men and women. The public school cannot be maintained except as a secular school.

The *Observer* quotes this, and comments as follows:—

The one proper place for the Christian training of children is the home. Neither the day school nor the Sunday school can fully take the place of a Christian home. Where the home is not a Christian one children are reared at a terrible disadvantage. But the same considerations which would make our schools secular, and solely secular, would certainly prevent our being able to ensure that only religious teachers should teach in them.

The first part of this paragraph is sound.

"The one proper place for the Christian training of children is the home." And it is because Christian training is so much neglected in the home that professedly Christian parents imagine that it is necessary to give, or rather to attempt, such training in the public schools. Our schools should not be irreligious, but they should be kept strictly secular, and no such qualifications as that suggested by the *Advocate* should ever be permitted to be required of our public school teachers. The State has no way of determining that one teacher is religious, and that another teacher is not, except by the profession which they make, and such professions are too cheap in these days to be of any value in such a case. Besides, such a requirement would be utterly opposed to the spirit of our institutions, and to sound public policy.

THAT "drowning men catch at straws," is exemplified in the case of the Sunday-law advocates. In the hearing before the Senate Committee on the Sunday Rest bill, Rev. T. P. Stevenson, D.D., said:—

The law of the Sabbath is binding on nations and governments as well as on individual men. This obligation is recognized through our whole history by the general cessation of business in our courts and legislatures, and in all other parts of the Government on the first day of the week.

The argument which this is supposed to contain is about as weak as distilled water. Public business is properly suspended on Sunday because the State has no right to drag before courts of justice, on that day, people who regard it as sacred. The law of the State of New York likewise exempts observers of the seventh day from attendance at court upon that day; the Legislature did not, however, in enacting that law say that the State is bound to keep the seventh day; no more should it say that the State shall keep Sunday.

A Correction.

WE have received the following letter, which we take it is designed for publication. We cheerfully give it place:—

Merrill, Wisconsin, Oct. 18, 1890.

EDITOR AMERICAN SENTINEL: "They Agree on the Main Point," is one of the articles in your last paper. Therein is stated that also the *Protestants* hold that, "as a Nation we ought to see to it that our youth receive religious instruction." Commonly the Lutherans are also called *Protestants*. According to this, your statement, the Lutherans also would be in favor of religious teaching by the State. But this is not so. We Lutherans, or better, we German Lutherans, do not ask such a thing of the State or Nation; on the contrary, we believe in a total separation of Church and State. We never asked nor will ask the State or Nation for any such thing. You have judged *all* *Protestants* according to the views expressed in the *Christian Statesman*. You forgot or did not know that this paper is not representing the views of *all* *Protestants*, not even on this subject. There are, no doubt, *Protestants* favoring such religious instruction, but they are not Lutherans. The Lutherans deny the right of any civil government to legislate on religious questions. And on this principle we are making

the fight against the Bennett law. We perfectly agree with you on this principle, and are glad to have such an able paper as yours working for such a noble end.

To me, personally, your paper has always been of great interest, and I wish you the greatest success.

Please correct your statement, and oblige all Lutherans.

Yours truly,

H. DAIB.

We must confess to some inaccuracy in statement, in the first part of the article referred to. We should have said in the outset, as we did in the latter part of our article, "many *Protestants*," etc. We had in mind only those *Protestants* who demand that some measure of religious instruction shall be given by the teachers in the public schools. We are ourselves *Protestants*, and are well aware that *all* *Protestants* are not in favor of teaching religion in schools supported by the State.

THE following from the *Rome Sentinel* of October 11, relative to the proceedings of the Central New York Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, is significant:—

The Rev. Dr. Torry of Utica, a fine-looking old gentleman with snow white hair, was introduced and gave an address of some length on the subject of religious education.

The Rev. Cortland Myers, of Syracuse, also spoke in regard to the religious education in our common schools. He talked very earnestly on the subject, stating that the Methodists, Presbyterians, and Baptists, should not have their children attend schools at which religion was not taught. He also read some testimonials from different clergymen relating to this subject. Chancellor Simms immediately offered a resolution that the Bishop appoint a committee of three to consider a project for securing the introduction of a course of religious study in the common schools. The resolution was adopted. The Bishop appointed Brethern Simms, Vernon, and Oran as the committee.

We shall watch this matter with interest. With the Catholics on the one hand demanding a division of the school funds, and on the other hand the most influential *Protestants* demanding that the public schools give religious instruction, it is not too much to say that the future of our schools is not bright. Roman Catholics, and such mistaken *Protestants* are alike the enemies of the public schools.

LACK of knowledge as to the powers of civil government is leading our country into grave and compromising positions. Leave religion alone, is the spirit of our Constitution.—A motto that comes down to us in blood and flame from the past ages.—*Moral and Scientific Companion*.

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EDITOR, ALONZO T. JONES.

ASSOCIATE EDITORS,

C. P. BOLLMAN,

W. H. McKEE.

MR. CRAFTS argues that California should have a Sunday law because "in its capital city there are only five or six churches; mostly small." Just so; we have repeatedly said that the real purpose of the demand for Sunday laws is to benefit the churches, and we are glad of another virtual admission of the fact by one who is in a position to know just how it is.

"MERE education," says the New York *Christian Advocate*, of October 23, "will not make a man either moral or religious. Burchall, just found guilty of murder, a few days after the body of his victim was found, applied for a school, in which he said, 'I am twenty-nine years of age, and was educated at Oxford University, England, where I took a high position in mathematics, English subjects, and natural science. I am a good classical and French scholar, and passed high examinations in Holy Scripture.' This is all true, and yet there is no doubt of his having committed a most cold-blooded, cunningly conceived murder for money."

A PRESBYTERIAN lady, of Indianapolis, writes to a friend in California, as follows:—

Look at the Sunday question. Why! I think the ministers are now more interested in looking out for its "proper observance" than in preaching the gospel.

Indianapolis is all aflame, because the street-cars run to the suburban resorts, the ministers all meeting, and resolving, and organizing, through the hot weather, except one. He and his wife, who could sing, and play the organ, went out to one of these resorts in a little spring wagon, used it for a

pulpit, and preached to the people, and had a quiet respectful audience.

Now why can not the others do the same thing,—go where the poor and the vicious are, and teach them the divine law, and stop clamoring for human laws to compel them to come to the churches?

Certainly, why can they not? It is because they are possessed with the idea of "Nationalism" in religion. This "Christian Nation" having become an accountable being, all individual responsibility is to be shouldered upon its "moral person."

The Secular Theory of Government.

THE American or secular theory of government does not mean the *un-Christian theory*; but rather the contrary. The secular theory is the *true* Christian theory; for the first promulgator of the theory known to the world, was Christ himself, the founder of Christianity. Bancroft, speaking of the adoption of these principles by our early statesmen, says: "The new Nation dared to set the example of accepting in its relations to God the principle first divinely ordained in Judea." He says, too, that it was "not from indifference, but that the infinite spirit of eternal truth might move in its freedom, and purity, and power."* And through all the ages since Christ there have been here and there Christian men—caring more for truth than for worldly gain, caring more for the purity of Christianity than for worldly power—who have nobly upheld the principles first enunciated by their Master.

Even in our own short history, the secular theory of government has received some of its strongest support from Christian ministers and laymen in the various denominations of America. In our earlier history Roger Williams nobly espoused the theory, for which, among other things, he was compelled to flee to the Indians for refuge in mid-winter. "He fearlessly asserted that compulsory worship of God was an abomination; that, where the spirit was not a willing one, worship compelled

was an offense to the Deity. . . . The civil magistrate," he says, "may not intermeddle even to stop a church from apostasy and heresy; . . . his power extends only to the bodies and goods and outward estate of men."* He said boldly that "it is the will and command of God that . . . a permission of the most paganish, Turkish, or anti-Christian consciences and worships to be granted to all men, in all nations and countries; and they are only to be fought against with that sword which is, in soul matters, able to conquer, to wit, the sword of God's Spirit, the word of God."† In his controversy with Colton he said: "For me I must profess, while heaven and earth lasts, that no one tenet that either London, England, or the world doth harbor, is so heretical, blasphemous, seditious, and dangerous to the corporal, to the spiritual, to the present, to the eternal good of men, as the bloody tenet . . . of persecution for the cause of conscience."‡ He maintained that it is "a monstrous paradox that God's children should persecute God's children."§ And again: "Persecutors of men's bodies, seldom or never do these men's souls good."|| Mr. Eben Greenough Scott says that "no man has ever had a clearer view of the true relations existing between the civil and ecclesiastical powers."

A century and a half later, when the theory was struggling for the supremacy, and Jefferson and Madison were putting forth their energies in its behalf in Virginia, Rev. Isaac Backus and other ministers were engaged in a like work in Massachusetts. Ministers both North and South, some of them in the State Conventions on the adoption of the Federal Constitution, used their voices and influence in favor of the secular principles of our national Constitution.

In Massachusetts, one of the States where this theory was the most unpopular, several ministers espoused its cause. Some of the speeches delivered and the principles

* Scott's "Development of Constitutional Liberty," 113.

† Quoted in Tyler, 1, 254.

‡ From "Bloody Tenet yet more Bloody," etc.

§ Publications of the Narragansett Historical Society, 319.

|| *Ibid.*, 327, 328.

* "History of the Formation of the Constitution," v. 1.

enunciated are in striking contrast with the argument of the religio-political statesmen of to-day. The following summaries are from Elliot's "Debates on the Federal Constitution":

"In the Convention on Thursday [January 31, 1788], on the sixth article which provides that 'no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office,' etc., several gentlemen urged that it was a departure from the principles of our forefathers, who came here for the preservation of their religion; and that it would admit deists, atheists, etc., into the general Government; and, people being apt to imitate the examples of the court, these principles would be disseminated, and, of course, a corruption of morals ensue. Gentlemen on the other side applauded the liberality of the clause, and represented in striking colors, the impropriety, and almost impiety, of the requisition of a test, as practiced in Great Britain, and elsewhere.

"In this conversation, the following is the substance of the observations of the—

REV. MR. SHUTE: Mr. President, to object to the latter part of the paragraph under consideration, which excludes a religious test, is, I am sensible, very popular; for the most of men, somehow, are rigidly tenacious of their own sentiments in religion and disposed to impose them upon others as the *standard* of truth. If, in my sentiments upon the point in view, I should differ from some in this honorable Convention, I only wish from them the exercise of that candor, with which true religion is adapted to inspire the honest and well-disposed mind.

To establish a religious test as a qualification for offices in the proposed Federal Constitution, it appears to me, sir, would be attended with injurious consequences to some individuals, and with no advantage to the *whole*. By the injurious consequences to individuals, I mean that some who, in every other respect, are qualified to fill some important post in Government, will be excluded by their not being able to stand the religious test, which I take to be a privation of part of their civil rights.

Nor is there to me any conceivable advantage, sir, that would result to the whole from such a test. Unprincipled and dishonest men will not hesitate to subscribe to *anything* that may open the way for their advancement, and put them into a situation the better to execute their base and iniquitous designs. *Honest men alone, therefore, however well qualified to serve the public, would be excluded by it, and their country be deprived of the benefit of their abilities.*

In this great and extensive empire, there is, and will be, a great variety of sentiments in religion among its inhabitants. Upon the plan of a religious test, the question, I think, must be, Who shall be excluded from national trusts? Whatever answer bigotry may suggest, the dictates of candor and equity, I conceive, will be, *None*.

Far from limiting my charity and confidence to men of my own denomination in religion, I suppose, and I believe, sir, that there are worthy characters among men of every denomination—among the Quakers, the Baptists, the Church of England, the Papists, and even among those who have no other guide in the way to virtue and Heaven than the dictates of natural religion.

I must therefore think, sir, that the proposed plan of Government, in this particular, is wisely constituted; that, as all have equal claim to the blessings of the Government under which they live, and which they support, so none should be excluded from them for being of any particular denomination in religion. The presumption is, that the eyes of

the people will be upon the faithful in the land; and, from a regard to their own safety, they will choose for their rulers men of known abilities, of known probity, of good moral characters. The Apostle Peter tells us that "God is no respecter of persons, but, in every nation, he that feareth him, and worketh righteousness, is acceptable to him." And I know of no reason why men of such a character, in a community of whatever denomination in religion, *ceteris paribus*, with other suitable qualifications, should not be acceptable to the people, and why they may not be employed by them with safety and advantage in the important office of Government. The exclusion of a religious test in the proposed Constitution, therefore, clearly appears to me, sir, to be in favor of its adoption.

"Colonel Jones (of Bristol) thought that the rulers ought to believe in God or Christ, and that however a test may be prostituted in England, yet he thought if our public men were to be of those who had a good standing in the church, it would be happy for the United States, and that a person could not be a good man without being a good Christian.

"Colonel Jones said that one of his principal objections was the omission of a religious test.

REV. MR. PAYSON: Mr. President, after what has been observed relating to a religious test, by gentlemen of acknowledged abilities, I did not expect that it would again be mentioned as an objection to the proposed Constitution that such a test was not required as a qualification for office. Such were the abilities and integrity of the gentlemen who constructed the Constitution, as not to admit of the presumption that they would have betrayed so much vanity as to erect bulwarks and barriers to the throne of God. Relying on the candor of this Convention, I shall take the liberty to express my sentiments on the nature of a religious test, and shall endeavor to do it in such propositions as will meet the approbation of every mind.

The great object of religion being God supreme, and the seat of religion in man being the heart or conscience, *i. e.*, the reason God has given us, employed on our moral actions, in their most important consequences, as related to the tribunal of God; hence, I infer that God alone is God of the conscience, and, consequently, attempts to erect human tribunals for the consciences of men are impious encroachments upon the prerogatives of God. Upon these principles, had there been a religious test as a qualification for office, it would, in my opinion, have been a great blemish upon the instrument.*

Rev. Dr. Backus, the New England historian, also delivered the following in the same Convention, on Monday, February 4:—

REV. MR. BACKUS: Mr. President, I have said very little to this honorable Convention; but I now beg leave to offer a few thoughts upon some points in the Constitution proposed to us, and I shall begin with the exclusion of any religious test. Many appear to be much concerned about it; but nothing is more evident, both in reason and the Holy Scriptures, than that religion is ever a matter between God and individuals; and, therefore, no man or men can impose any religious test without invading the essential prerogatives of our Lord Jesus Christ. Ministers first assumed this power under the Christian name; and then Constantine approved of the practice, when he adopted the profession of Christianity as an engine of State policy. And let the history of all nations be searched from that day to this, and it will appear that the imposing of religious tests has been the greatest engine of tyranny in the world. And I rejoice to see so many gentlemen who are now giving in their rights of conscience

in this great and important matter. Some serious minds discover a concern lest if all religious tests should be excluded, the Congress would hereafter establish popery or some other tyrannical way of worship. But it is most certain that no such way of worship can be established without any religious tests.*

As a result of the unselfish labors of these liberal Christian ministers, united with the great statesmen of the times, our Nation to-day has the secular theory of Government established upon a firm foundation; and this liberal Christian theory is silently influencing the world. Every government on earth feels its effects; and as a result all religions are tolerated more or less by nearly every government on the face of the earth. These liberal principles are the outgrowth of the doctrines taught by Christ and put into our national political system by the joint efforts of liberal Christian ministers and philosophical statesmen, and the good done to religion and humanity will be an everlasting monument to those noble men whose efforts were not put forth in vain.

Seeking Improvements.

THE *Christian Advocate* has the following excellent note, upon Christianity and those who imagine that it is their mission to improve upon it:—

Certain modern thinkers are diligently applying their minds, to the task of improving Christianity. They consider it a development. According to their theory, Paul was far in advance of Isaiah, but far behind the religious teachers of this age. They believe that every thinker adds some new ideas and elements to the accumulating truth. And now they have set themselves to find some crudity of Christian doctrine which they may cut off, and some new phase of Christian thought never published before. Instead of searching for the truth in Christianity, they are searching for it in their own brain and proposing to add to the Christian system something new. Some things cannot be improved by any manipulation or thinking of ours. They are the same yesterday, to-day, and forever. The atmosphere cannot be improved. The glory of sunlight cannot be increased. It is ours to let it into our dwellings and use it. The light that shines from the gospel can never be made fuller and brighter and clearer than it is now.

It gives a light to every age;
It gives, but borrows none.

The people thus described by the *Advocate* must be pretty closely related to the National Reformers, who propose, not indeed to improve upon original Christianity, but to improve upon the Saviour's method of evangelization. Christ commissioned his people to preach the gospel in all nations, and assured them that by that means a people should be gathered out and saved; but the National Reformers regarding that method as too slow for this age of railroads and telegraph, propose to convert whole States and nations by legislative enactment and constitutional amendments, and thus not gather out a few comparatively who shall be saved, but entire peoples. Surely they are controlled by the same master-mind that inspires

* Elliot's "Debates on the Federal Constitution," ii, 117-120.

* Elliot's "Debates on the Federal Constitution," ii, 148, 149.

the efforts of the reformers who want "to add to the Christian system something new."

What Is Rightful Authority?

THE *Truth Seeker* quotes us as follows: "Both Christ and the apostles taught submission to rightful authority;" and then triumphantly asks, "Is not a State Legislature rightful authority?" It also inquires why we do not "submit to the Sunday laws of the various States instead of resorting to the courts to oppose them."

We scarcely think that the *Truth Seeker* is candid in asking these questions. It certainly knows that we did not use the term "authority" in the sense of "a body exercising power or command," but in the sense of "power" itself. (See Webster's first and second definition of "authority.")

In one sense a properly constituted legislative body is a "rightful authority," but it does not follow that all its acts are necessarily a legitimate exercise of authority. Legislatures not infrequently violate the Constitution under which they are supposed to act; and when they do, it is the right of any citizen to appeal to the courts for that protection which the Constitution guarantees him. This is just what the friends of THE AMERICAN SENTINEL do in the matter of Sunday laws. They oppose, not rightful authority, but a most unwarranted usurpation by the State of power that belongs alone to God. They "render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's," and refuse to obey the State only when, like the magistrates referred to in Acts 4:5-19, it commands that which involves the violation of the law of God. We utterly repudiate the pagan theory to which the *Truth Seeker* seems to be wedded, namely, that the State is supreme in all things.

The editor of the *Truth Seeker* does not like to have us array Thomas Paine, the great infidel, against him, nevertheless we will venture to remind him that infidels who practice what they preach, who are willing to grant to others the same liberty to obey God that they claim *not* to obey him, admit the very principle for which we contend, namely, that no human power has any right whatever to come between the individual soul and his God. On this point Paine, says:—

There is a single idea, which, if it strikes rightly upon the mind, either in a legal or a religious sense, will prevent any man or any body of men, or any government, from going wrong on the subject of religion; which is, that before any human institutions of government were known in the world, there existed, if I may so express it, a compact between God and man, from the beginning of time; and that as the relation and condition which man in his individual person stands in toward his Maker cannot be changed, by any human laws or human authority, that religious devotion, which is a part of this compact, cannot so much as be made a subject of human laws.

Does the *Truth Seeker* admit this prin-

ciple? If not, it stands on substantially the same ground with the National Reformers, and the only question between them is as to the truth or falsity of the Christian religion. If conscience is not a realm that human government has no right to invade, then the majority may properly dictate to the minority in matters of religion as it does in matters of finance. But conscience *is* such a domain, and every individual has a perfect right as far as human authority is concerned to choose that religion which suits him best.

C. P. B.

"The Sunday-Sabbath and the World's Fair."

"THE Sunday-Sabbath and the World's Fair," was the subject of a sermon preached by Rev. Mr. Utter—one of the most popular Chicago preachers—Sunday evening, October 19.

Mr. Utter begun his sermon by reading an extract from a former sermon, preached last March, immediately after the decision was reached in Congress locating the World's Fair in that city. This extract was read both to show his present position upon the subject of opening the Fair on Sunday, and that he had been first, at least among the ministers, in Chicago, to advocate this.

During the discourse, he also took occasion to say that he believed he stood almost, if not quite, alone among the clergy in the advocacy of Sunday opening, even now. The scheme of having religious services in a great temple on the Fair grounds for the accomodation of those who might like to attend, which has been recently proposed by Prof. Swing and others, was also set forth at length in this sermon of the second of March.

But let the extract speak for itself:—

I would have the exhibition open on Sunday, if not all day, at least in the afternoon. And on this day it should be free, or the price of admission should be exceedingly low at least to all people with children, and certainly to all people who could show that they had worked the six preceding days. I think this might be arranged in some such way as this, have all employers of labor furnished with tickets to give freely to their employes.

And I think it would be a great and good thing to have a sort of object lesson in religion continually before these visitors to the Fair, and for that I hope we might arrange for a continuous series of religious services in a great temple built for the purpose on the grounds, the services to begin at about one o'clock on the Sunday, and continue, it might be a service every hour, until nine o'clock in the evening.

There should be a committee consisting of representative men from each country in the world, which might be called the Central Committee on Religious Services, whose duty it should be to arrange that representative men from all countries, men speaking all languages, should preach to whomsoever would hear them on the exhibition grounds. It might be found practicable to have several halls or chapels, and to have five or six of these services going on each hour from one to nine as I have said, in as many different languages.

And for myself, I would be glad to have every doctrine under heaven, the doctrine of every sect of religion I mean, preached here by the ablest repre-

sentatives. To be sure some of the great religions do not do much at preaching, theirs would be the loss, and perhaps ours the gain. The Brahmins do not preach much, nor do the followers of Confucius, but I have an idea that the Buddhists could furnish some good preachers, and the Parsees would send us some men who would preach well, I am sure. Mr. Mazoomdar should come to represent the Brahmin-Somaj of India, and the Mohammedans should send somebody to represent them, and so we could have every Sunday afternoon and evening well occupied by able men who should speak to us, in many languages, the thoughts of the Old World and the New on the greatest themes that have ever occupied human thought.

If this programme is too broad to be successfully carried out, if we are so sure that we are right that we must have only representatives of the Christian religion; if we are so sure that we have the truth that we are unwilling to hear what others think is true, why then I shall be sorry, but even if the programme must be narrowed, still let it be carried out in a measure. Let us have the Roman Catholic, the Episcopalian, and so on through all the sects of the Christian Church, and let each have his appointed time of service, and conduct the service in his own way, and preach and give reasons for the faith that is in him.

No danger that the exhibits of the arts and industries and products of men would take the people away from these religious services on the Exposition grounds. There is no subject lies so near to the hearts of men as this of religion, none which, when presented ably and eloquently, can so move the souls of men towards high resolve and stimulate high attainment, so command attention for the time and intention and work in the future, as the preaching of religion. And so I say, whatever else the exhibition is, becomes or does, let it be open on Sunday free, and let provision be made for what might be called an international exhibition of religious speech, a declaration of religious faith and hope and teaching of all the world.

This scheme seems to me a practical one, and I believe in my heart and soul that it is good. And if you, my friends, think so, then let us say it and work for it and accomplish it, and then we shall see, perhaps, more fully than we do now, that from a religious standpoint the International Exposition of Chicago is a great and worthy subject of contemplation by thoughtful and earnest men everywhere.

Mr. Utter then continued without notes, in substance, as follows:—

"In that sermon I also urged that all saloons in the city should be closed on Sunday at least, if not during the entire period of the Exposition, and that no liquors or strong drink of any kind should be sold at any time on the exhibition grounds.

"My reasons for believing, when I preached the former sermon, that it would be good policy to have the Exposition open on Sunday still seem to me as forcible as ever. It is, if not the only day, yet the best day for the working people to attend the Fair. There are thousands of people in this city who work so continuously, to whom holidays come so seldom, that they really have no other time in which they could afford to visit the Fair. For they would on any other day have to lose the salary for that day, as well as pay the price of admission.

"But it is not my intention to repeat the arguments, as all arguments, *pro* and *con*, have been so well stated in the public press. I allude to them now to say that

they are all founded upon what we believe to be good policy simply.

"But I freely grant that nothing should be done because in some aspects it might seem to be good policy, if it was really wrong. There are those who think it would be wrong to open the Fair on Sunday, because they say there is a divine command forbidding anything or everything on Sunday, except rest and worship. I do not think there is any such command. Minister though I am, and interested as I am in having Sunday in general spent as we people in Chicago spend it, using it for a day of worship, a day of rest and of intellectual culture and recreation, yet I cannot see that there would be anything wrong in opening the Fair on Sunday, for purposes of rest and recreation to those who would find both in attending the Fair.

"But nothing really wrong should ever be done because it might be thought to be good policy. If it is wrong to do any manner of work on Sunday, then let us do no manner of work. Let us agitate the matter until all shops are closed. Let us no longer use the steam-cars or the street-cars, nor read Sunday papers, nor even Monday papers, since they involve work on Sunday. Let us be consistent about it if it is wrong to do any work on Sunday.

"But is it wrong? And if so, why? To answer these questions, or to show why it has been thought contrary to the divine will to use Sunday for any purpose except for worship and for rest, involves a great deal of history, the discussion of a long and somewhat complicated question. I will not go into the matter very deeply, and there is no need that I should, as you have all doubtless been over it again and again. I will only 'stir up your pure minds by way of remembrance.'

"The origin of the Sunday Sabbath begins with the origin of the Sabbath of the Jews, and that is connected with the origin of the week, and that goes back beyond all human history.

* * * * *

"Recurring to the matter of the Sabbath and Sunday, I need not pause to explain the way in which the Jews kept their Sabbath day, but will only say that their day was the seventh of the week, Saturday. But as we are not Jews but Christians, the question for us is, first, how did Christ regard the Sabbath? He seems to have been quite liberal in his views of the day and its uses. Nearly every difficulty or dispute that he had with the Jews of his time, as recorded by the evangelists, began in or involved accusations made against him as a violator of the Sabbath. To be sure they were very particular, extreme, even to the point of foolishness, in their requirements in regard to the day. But Jesus annunciated the principle, that the Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath.

He said also that it should be lawful always to do good on the Sabbath day.

"What did Jesus say in regard to Sunday? Nothing whatever so far as we know. What is taught in the New Testament in regard to the change, abrogating the old Sabbath and transferring the sacredness of one seventh of the time from Saturday to Sunday? Not a word, not a syllable in the New Testament.

* * * * *

"Where then is there any divine authority for making Sunday a holy day? The Catholic Church can consistently show some authority, but not such as will satisfy Protestants. They can show that the 'mother church' has, during all of its history kept Sunday as a sort of Sabbath, kept it holy in the way in which they keep it to-day. That the 'mother-church' tradition is authority, the church is an infallible authority, her word is final. But the Catholic way of keeping Sunday is not strict enough for Protestants, and neither is the Catholic authority sufficient. Protestants believe in the religion of the Bible, and in that book is not one word to show the sacredness of Sunday.

"The early Christians were undoubtedly, the majority of them, keepers of the seventh day during the first, and at least a part of the second century. As the new religion progressed westward, and was embraced by people not of Jewish birth, the Sabbath of the Jews was less and less regarded. And as the Church spread more and more widely into different countries several days were kept sacred. Friday was perhaps the most popular day of all as a day of fasting, prayer, and worship, then Saturday, the Jewish Sabbath, was also kept as a day of rest and worship. Sunday was the feast celebrating Christ's resurrection. Tuesday was also kept as a holy day in some places.

"Uniformity in regard to the day to be kept holy by Christians was secured, as every one knows, under the edict of Constantine. His word was that upon the 'venerable day of the Sun' all courts of justice, all workshops, and people of villages should be at rest. He made an exception in regard to agricultural laborers, saying that sometimes it was necessary that their work should be done. But even under Constantine the Sunday did not become a Sabbath in the sense in which it was made a Sabbath in New England by our ancestors. There, for the first time in the world, or there at least more completely than ever before, except perhaps in some few places in old England, Sunday was made after the exact pattern of the Jewish Sabbath. No manner of work to be done therein, no recreation, simply rest and worship were allowable. This our forefathers did because of their literal manner of interpreting the Bible. They felt obliged to take it all as one book and make it all consistent one part with another. And so they must obey the deca-

logue of Moses, and yet they could not adopt the Jewish seventh-day Sabbath. So they made the Sunday Sabbath, although neither they nor anybody else was ever able, consistently or clearly, to show when or why or where the sacredness was transferred from one day to the other.

"This glance at the history of the case will suffice to indicate my reason for saying that there is no divine command prohibiting the use of the first day of the week in any human and entirely rational way. I believe, as I have said, very earnestly and sincerely, in using the day for religious purposes, for intellectual purposes, in using it as a day for social and literary culture and improvement, a day for writing letters, for seeing one's friends, for walking or riding, or finding healthful and quiet recreation and rest in whatever way is best for body and mind.

"And I deem it not inconsistent with this that we should open the great Fair, police it properly, have it all orderly and safe, and allow people to visit it on the Sunday. And I believe that the more we come to see that this day is sacred simply because of the good human uses we make of it, the more clearly we see that it is sacred to human use as well as to divine service, the more cheerfully and the more truly holy we will keep it. The truest service of God is very often, if not always, that which is most helpful to man. So should it be with our keeping the Sunday. And it will help rather than hinder this rational use of Sunday to understand that we keep it as we do rather for our own good than for the sake of pleasing God."

Mr. Edmunds's National University Bill.

If the plan which Senator Edmunds proposes seems weak, the weakness must not be laid upon him. It is innate and essential in the scheme itself. The government of the university is to be vested in a Board of Regents consisting of the President, the Chief Justice, the Cabinet *ex-officio*, and twelve members appointed by a concurrent resolution of Congress. Of course, the *ex-officio* members would have little or no time to take part in the government of the university. Their duties to the Government of the United States would be enough to occupy their time. The other members would, probably, be appointed with regard to their politics rather than their attainments. The patronage of an institution with an endowment of \$5,000,000 would be a plum not to be despised. Politics is an excellent thing, but in literature, in science, in art, in learned research, and investigation there is no place for politics. What a queer set of professors and fellows, a national university, the creature of Congress, would be likely to turn out!

A whimsical part of Mr. Edmunds's bill is the provision that no sectarian doctrine or belief shall be taught or promoted in the

university, but this prohibition shall not exclude the study of Christian theology. Hebrews, not to speak of agnostics, and atheists, would be justified in objecting to the teaching of Christian theology in a national university. And where does Mr. Edmunds expect to find a theological faculty that can teach Christian theology without maintaining doctrines and beliefs that will be regarded as sectarian by some body or other of Christian believers? His only refuge must be in some vague phrase about "the fundamentals of the Christian religion," but what seems vital and fundamental to one religious communion may seem accidental and unessential to another. Not even a theological faculty composed of scholarly and indifferent agnostics could avoid the teaching of some special doctrines.—*The Sun*.

A Republic Indeed!

THE following is from an article by Rev. R. C. Wylie, in the *Christian Statesman*. It was, so far as we are able to judge, written in all seriousness, and evidently with the expectation that some, at least, would receive it as true. Mr. Wylie says:—

The Hebrews had neither rulers nor laws until they themselves elected the first and enacted the second. The people by a popular vote ratified the Constitution and laws given to Moses at Sinai. The people also elected their rulers, and these too by divine command. It is somewhat amusing to find a certain class of people in modern times denying that Israel was at first a republic. The only rational method of accounting for this denial is on the supposition that the people are the special agents of the prince of the power of the air to antagonize the National Reform movement, and so zealous are they in the service of their Satanic master that they do not hesitate to deny anything that we may assert. No scholar, and in fact no person who has read twenty chapters of the book of Exodus, would ever think of denying that Israel was a republic, if he had any regard for the truth.

How to fitly characterize such statements we know not. Nothing but the blindness of bigotry and superstition could ever cause any sane man to write such stuff with the expectation that it would meet with any credence whatever. The theory that Israel was ever a republic, or anything akin to a republic, is a new theory coined and given to the world solely for the purpose of concealing the native iniquity of the so-called National Reform movement. "No scholar, and in fact no person who has read twenty chapters of the book of Exodus," would ever think of asserting that Israel was a republic, "if he had any regard for the truth." It is not the commonly accepted view, nor is it the view held by anybody except National Reformers who are driven to take that position by the necessities of the case. Several papers, whose editors have shown more zeal than discretion or knowledge of the Scriptures, have been attempting to strengthen the claims of women to seats in the Methodist Episcopal General Conference by the following arguments *a la* National Reform:—

Miriam was in the General Conference of God's church, for it is said: "He led forth the people by Moses, Aaron, and Miriam."

In annihilating this so-called argument, the *Christian Advocate*, of this city, incidentally deals Mr. Wylie's claim a heavy blow, as follows:—

There is no such passage of Scripture. If there were it would mean nothing, for *in Miriam's time there was no representation, no law-making by human beings, but laws came direct from God*. Miriam had great ability, and was a stronger character than Aaron, but her last public appearance was in the capacity of claiming more authority than God gave her; for that she was made leprous.

We have italicized the sentence bearing directly upon this question. The *Advocate* has stated the truth; in the time of Moses, Aaron, and Miriam, there was no representation, no law-making by human beings. The Hebrews neither elected their own rulers, nor enacted their own laws. Even Moses, so often called, "the law-giver of Israel," was not such in fact, for he never made a single law; but only enforced those that he received directly from God. The seventy elders of Israel were not elected. They represented Israel only because they were heads of families. As one writer on this subject remarks: "The patriarchal system existed to the time of the exodus. 'Elders' were aged men, heads of families or tribes. The father of the family was priest and ruler, no matter how old his sons might be, nor how numerous their families. And his prerogative descended to the first-born. This order continued until the Lord chose one family to serve as priests for the nation. At first, elders were such in this sense only."

These, and similar facts are known to everybody except National Reformers, and they too might know them if they would only study the Scriptures instead of the perversions of Scripture which drizzle from the pens of their District Secretaries, and acquire some claim to consideration by reason of being printed in a paper bearing the name "Christian." C. P. B.

Opposed to the Bible in the Schools.

THERE is being put forth in Chicago a strong effort to raise again the question of the Bible in the public schools. But all signs point to a definite refusal of the Protestants to enter upon the discussion. Minister after minister has refused to have anything to do with the movement. It is felt very generally that the superficial reading of a chapter by a teacher, who is often not in sympathy with the Book, would avail nothing, and that the complaints of the Roman Catholic parents would be justified, if the King James version were used. And any such movement would only serve to strengthen the hands of those who constantly point to the public school as an enemy to their faith. Indeed, it has at best the decided disadvantage of relieving, in appearance, the parents of responsibility in the matter

of the religious training of their children.—*Rev. T. C. Hall, in New York Observer, Oct. 23.*

Are Sacred Books Unsectarian?

WHILE there remains a sect on the face of the earth that claims to follow the teachings of an inspired book different from the Scriptures, or while there remains a people who deny its inspiration, the Word of God must be sectarian.

If the Christian Bible is not sectarian, the Koran is not, nor any of the books regarded sacred and peculiar to other sects than that of Christianity.

It is a fact that worldly opinion holds the reins of government on this earth; and that, as the Scripture teaches, we are in the land of the enemy. It is not because worldly opinion says so that makes the Testament sectarian; but the fact of existent conflicting beliefs is what makes the guide book of any one of these sectarian.

Therefore to try to force the Bible as non-sectarian in the public schools supported by atheists, infidels, Jews, and Christians alike, is contrary to civil law; and a reflection on those who should above all others be familiar with the Golden Rule.

If the Christians can place the book of their exclusive belief within a public institution, then by the same logic the disbeliever has the right to be heard in his defense, and the Mormon also, and the Jew, and the Buddhist, and every other religion that contributes to the school, has the right of representation. They are all good citizens, and no one religion has any right above another in our land of freedom.

It was because one religion was favored above all others by legislation, that nearly two thousand years ago the civil law condemned Christ; since which time kingdoms and nations have crumbled and disappeared, while the Christian religion has for the first time, because our Nation looks on all alike, found here full freedom for its immeasurable works of good. Let not our Nation be the first to invade these rights of equality.

"The Bible," a contemporary truly says, "has outlived and triumphed over all other books, and is to-day gradually ascending as never before, taking on itself 'new tongues' and spreading open its pages to every land, and islands of the sea." As a book for the church, the home circle, and the individual, it has blessed and been blessed, marvelously. But why not let it continue these glorious achievements? Why leave its sacred realm, to invade the property belonging to all creeds alike, to violate the grandest system of religious equality that ever existed?

The Bible is in its proper sphere. Let it remain where it stands, and do not make it a public-school text book.—*Moral and Scientific Companion.*

Sunday Legislation in Canada.

THE following extract taken from a letter published in the *Review and Herald*, and written by R. S. Owen, of Canada, shows in a very clear light the attitude of the rank and file of the Catholic priesthood toward Sunday legislation and religious laws:—

"We called on several priests to interview them in regard to their attitude toward Sunday legislation in the Dominion Parliament. There seems to be a general feeling of hostility among them toward the Sunday bill introduced in the last session of Parliament. They are not opposed because of love for religious liberty, but because it is too strict, and would prohibit games and amusements, as well as work, on Sunday. 'A little hunting, a little fishing, and playing cards, is not wrong,' say they, 'after the devotional exercises of the Sunday are over.' But the ordinary work, the 'grand hunting and grand fishing,' they would have prohibited. We inquired: 'Do you regard Sunday as standing on the same basis as the other holy days of the church?' 'Yes,' was the reply, 'they are all alike.' 'Then would you have the observance of all those days enforced by law?' 'Yes,' said one priest, 'that is just what we want.'

"They want the Government to interfere with religious matters, only when requested to do so by the Catholic Church. 'When the church requests the aid of the Government, then it should stand ready to come to its assistance.' It is evident that when Rome gets the civil powers to do her bidding, she will not stop with Sunday laws. When Protestants succeed in securing religious legislation, they will have opened a door for Catholics to enter, which, they may find to their sorrow, will be hard to close again."

Above All Human Law.

THE religion of the Bible needs no legal enactments in its support, its charms are unmatched, its morals inimitable, and its power over those in whose hearts it dwells unequalled by anything in this world; and those who ask for laws to enforce compliance with it give evidence that they are devoid of its principles, and have little idea of its practical effects. To ask for civil laws to support any religion is a tacit admission of the weakness of that religion. It is saying that the religion is no stronger than the laws which support it. But the Christian religion is high above all human law, hence needs none in its support. And he who says it does, degrades Christianity and puts its Author to "an open shame."—*Southern Sentinel*.

LET religion be taught in the churches and Sabbath schools, and not in the public schools.—*Leadville Argus*.

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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PURSUANT to the provisions of the Constitution of the National Religious Liberty Association, the annual meeting of that Association for the election of officers, and such other business as may come before the Association, is hereby called to meet in the city of Battle Creek, Michigan, on Wednesday Dec. 3, 1890, at 4 o'clock P. M.

Members of the Association are especially requested to be in attendance at said meeting, as, at that time, a change of Article 4 of the Constitution, relative to officers is contemplated.

By order of the Executive Committee.

C. ELDRIDGE, *President*.

The National Reform Sword.

THE *Washington Star*, of October 20, contains a "special" from Baltimore, dated Sunday the 19th, which says:—

A great crowd of the best German citizens are to-night excited and very indignant over the action of the police in stopping the lecture which was to have been given at Germania Mannerchor Hall, by Arthur Koebner, of New York. For some reason an old law was resurrected yesterday, and to-night the authorities stated that no entertainment of any sort for which an admission was demanded could take place in Baltimore on Sunday if any one objected thereto. The crowd denounced the decision and the authorities. The statute has been practically dead so long that even the District Attorney knew not of its existence until yesterday.

In a late utterance, Wilbur F. Crafts, speaking in reference to Sunday closing of the Exposition at Chicago, warned those who are opposing religious legislation not to say, that "law is useless because unused. The sword is there ready whenever Chicago's citizens reach out the hand to wield it."

Mr. Crafts is right, the sword of religious law, rusty and stained with the blood of over fifty millions of Christian martyrs, is lying sheathed in the statutory crypts of almost every code of laws in the United States. The sword awaits "the hand to wield it." What can be more evident than the purpose of the National Reform party,

and the American Sabbath Union, to find hands willing to wield this unused sword.

In the same connection it is also said that to open the coming Exposition on Sunday would be to break "the common law of the whole country." This is an echo of the utterance of the Commissioners of the District of Columbia, that, as Blackstone declares "Christianity to be part of the laws of England," therefore, it is a part of the laws of the United States, and to be enforced as such.

If we are to accept this as a truth, we must define the scope of the common law on this subject by Blackstone's words, "Such crimes and misdemeanors as more immediately offend Almighty God, by openly transgressing the precepts of religion either natural or revealed." Under this, apostasy, renunciation of Christianity, or perversion to Judaism, paganism, or other false religion, is punishable with three year's imprisonment, and deprivation of the right to bring any action as guardian, executor, legatee, or purchaser of lands.

The offense of heresy at common law consists of a public denial of some of the essential doctrines of Christianity, and although just what heresy definitely is seems always to have been more or less uncertain, nevertheless we have by the statutes 9 and 10, Wm. II. c. 32., the same penalty as for apostasy pronounced upon those who, educated in or professing the Christian religion, shall "deny any one of the persons in the Holy Trinity to be God or maintain that there are more gods than one."

Blasphemy or profanity, "denying the existence of God or scoffing at the Scriptures . . . are offenses punishable at common law by fine and imprisonment or other infamous corporal punishment."

Witchcraft, and the telling of fortunes, "is still deservedly punished with a year's imprisonment and standing four times in the pillory."

"Profanation of the Lord's day, vulgarly (but improperly), called Sabbath breaking," is a finable offense by the statutes 27 Hen. VI. c. 5., and 29 Car. II. c. 7.

All religious impostors, also, who claim a "commission from heaven or terrify and abuse the people with false denunciations of judgments," may be subjected in the civil courts to fine and imprisonment.

The authority of these ancient English laws was invoked to stop a Sunday game of baseball in the District of Columbia. In Pennsylvania, a forgotten statute of 1794 has been used to close barber shops on Sunday, and now in Baltimore, a law of the existence of which even the prosecuting attorney was in ignorance, so antiquated was it, has been resurrected to prevent a Sunday evening lecture.

It is true, the sword of the Sabbath Union is hidden in every pile of law books.

W. H. M.

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NEW YORK, NOVEMBER 6, 1890.

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THE *Spokane Falls Review*, in speaking of W. F. Crafts and his lecture, says, "The best way to answer such sophists is to let them alone. Notoriety is what such men court."

THE Seattle Secularists have sent a remonstrance to the mayor against a proposed ordinance fining barbers for Sunday work. Such a law, they hold, would "relegate honest work to the realm of crime." And that is just what all Sunday laws do; they make to be a crime on one day that which is commendable upon all other days.

WE publish this week the sermon of Rev. Mr. Utter, of Chicago, on "The Sunday-Sabbath and the World's Fair." This we do, more to show the division which exists among Sunday observers upon this question, than because we fully agree with the scheme which he proposes. We see no reason why the Fair should be made a monster exhibition of the religions of the world. Indeed, it is not clear to us that Mr. Utter's plan does not embody features quite as objectionable as those involved in Sunday-closing.

Of the paternal tendency of the times the *Colorado Graphic* says:—

Now enforce the eight-hour law in all industries—for none can be omitted, to reach final results—at ten-hour wages; close all places of business at 6 o'clock P. M., and close gateways, doors, and shutters to every business and every amusement and recreation on Sunday except walking, or riding in one's private carriage, and you will establish an aristocracy with an emphatic stop which would startle the most stupid into a realization of the fact that the middle of the street is the best side of the highway when fanaticism is abroad.

And there never was a time in the history of this country when fanaticism was so general and pronounced as now.

THE *Christian Advocate*, of this city, objects to political meetings on Sunday. It says:—

Political meetings in churches, with bands, stirring music and applause "that makes the old church ring," are not good meetings for Sabbaths, no matter what the cause is. The great foes of the American Sabbath in settled communities are excursions, Sunday newspapers, Sunday camp-meetings with open gates, political meetings, comic lectures under the guise of sermons, and concerts profanely called sacred.

This indicates very clearly the drift of

the Sunday-law movement. Where they have no Sunday law such laws are demanded, professedly, in order to give the workingman a day of rest. Where such laws already exist the demand is that they be so amended as to forbid everything on Sunday not recognized by the churches as religious.

THE Baptist Ministers' Conference closed at Lockport, New York, on the 29th ult., with a direct blow at the effort of certain misguided religionists to create a public sentiment in favor of introducing religious instruction into the public schools of the State, by refusing to co-operate in this attempt, and holding that it would tend to the establishment of schools at State expense, in which would be taught the principles of many creeds. If the State may direct religion in schools, the Conference holds, it can in churches.

MR. CRAFTS says: "In other countries, where Church and State are mixed, and in our own country in other days, the ground of Sunday laws has been not always clearly perceived; but in recent years legislation on this subject has been based, not on God's will, but on the general welfare." It is true that within the last few years an effort has been made to keep in the background the real reason for demanding Sunday laws, but that the effort has not been eminently successful is shown by every discourse which Mr. Crafts gives. His declaration, "Take the religion out and you take the rest out," upsets all his fine spun theories about the civil basis of Sunday legislation.

At the Indian Conference at Lake Mohonk, N. Y., October 10, Dr. James M. King, of New York, Secretary of the National League for the Protection of American Liberties, spoke earnestly against the granting of appropriations to religious denominations for public educational work. General Armstrong argued that there is no better way than to give aid to the contract schools. Bishop Whipple said that the influence of the contract schools had been to uplift the whole character of the Government schools. The position of Bishop Whipple was sustained by General Howard, of Chicago, Rev. Mr. Mitchell, of the Presbyterian Board of Missions, and others. A speedy separation of Church and State in the matter of Indian education was advocated by Rev. Dr. Foster, of Boston, and very strongly by Dr. Lyman Abbott.

THE ministers of Omaha have declared themselves opposed to funerals on Sunday. Upon this fact the *Investigator*, Atlantic, Iowa, remarks as follows:—

These ministers doubtless think if a man is so heedless as to die upon Friday or Saturday, he must wait until Monday for interment "with the benefit of clergy." What right has a man to depart this

life at such time that his burial must take place on the day of rest? Why shall he not go on Monday or Tuesday, and thus save all danger of offending the pulpit by his being entombed on the Sabbath? He who would thus break in upon the rest of the preachers and deacons, deserves not to die at all. If he may do this with impunity, this day will soon be "secularized," and turned into one of wholesale interment. It behoves the friends of the Sabbath to rise up as one man in opposition to the reprehensible custom among people, of dying when they are ready. But, seriously, cannot the Omaha gentlemen of the cloth find evils more deserving of their attention than this one?

Well, "seriously," it seems not; for the mint, anise and cummin are receiving the lion's share of attention, while the weightier matters of the law, judgment, mercy, and faith, are neglected. And this is true in more places than Omaha.

A DECISION has been rendered lately by the Supreme Court of the State of Indiana, which holds that the carrying of passengers to and from a picnic on Sunday is unlawful.

As, by this decision, the highest judicial authority of the State has declared, in effect, all labor, other than works of necessity and mercy, to be illegal on Sunday, therefore, according to the National Reform doctrine, the Hoosier State has become a Christian commonwealth and has instituted a local millennium. The eyes of the world will now be turned upon this favored State. Henry George will hasten to become a citizen where every man will sit under his own vine and fig tree with no tariff bill to molest or make him afraid; and Edward Bellamy will pack up his fountain pen and case of pencils, and immediately betake himself to the land where religious nationalism is ushering in the age so aptly termed, "Looking Backward."

"SIBERIA and the Nihilists," consisting of an able lecture by Hon. William Jackson Armstrong, late Inspector General of United States Consulates, and some exceedingly interesting correspondence between Mr. Armstrong and George Kennan, is one of the most intensely interesting books which has ever found its way to our table. Everybody should read this book because no one can be intelligent upon the subject of which it treats without a familiarity with its contents. Twenty-five cents, Pacific Press, Oakland Cal., and 43 Bond St., New York.

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EDITOR, - - - ALONZO T. JONES.

ASSOCIATE EDITORS,

C. P. BOLLMAN,

W. H. MCKEE.

THERE is nothing which so fully illustrates the foolishness, and injustice of a union of Church and State, as this extract from a law enacted by the Puritan Parliament of England: "No person shall be employed but such as the House shall be satisfied of his real godliness." This precluded the employment of any one who was not indorsed by the priests of the State religion.—*Loyal American.*

THE *Ironclad Age* observes that "Archbishop Ryan says he doesn't want any more union of Church and State than there is," and remarks the fact that "Catholicism has got a safe hold upon the public treasury and it is content." Sure enough, so long as they have the game without the name, why should they not be satisfied? Their property is exempt from taxation, the Government supports their mission schools among the Indians; and in some of the States, notably in this State, they have their arm in the public treasury up to the elbow, with every prospect that they will soon be in all over. There is, indeed, little left to be desired.

OUR liberal exchanges don't seem to like our "Lesson from Paine." *Freethought* and the *Truth Seeker* both protest that Paine didn't know what he was talking about. The *Truth Seeker* says: "Paine made his point as a Deist, and made a mistake" We are aware that Paine was a Deist, and that he made many and grievous mistakes, but his estimate of the benign nature of the Christian religion,

and of the origin of Church and State was not one of them. An important difference between Paine and many of his modern disciples, is, that, whereas he conceded to others the same freedom of opinion that he claimed for himself, the average "Free-thinker" of the present day is about as intolerant as a Jesuit.

Religion in the Public Schools.

"SHALL religion be taught in the public schools?" is a question that is receiving more attention, and being more generally discussed in this country than is almost any other subject. The press, the pulpit, and the people generally are more or less occupied with this important query; and while the general sentiment is clearly against what is known as "sectarianism," it is urged by many that the State ought to give "unsectarian instruction in the fundamental truths of Christianity." But even if this proposition were granted the problem would be very far from a satisfactory solution; these questions would still remain as troublers. What is unsectarian instruction? and what are the fundamental principles of Christianity?

It has been urged by some, and the idea has been accepted by many with little or no thought, that the moral law as contained in the ten commandments, and the principles of morality as laid down in the Sermon on the Mount, embody all that is really essential, and should be taught in the public schools. This, we are assured by those who advocate it, would be strictly unsectarian. But let us see if indeed the ten commandments and the Sermon on the Mount could be taught without giving sectarian instruction.

To be unsectarian, even in the restricted sense of being common to all Christians, any portion of the Scriptures would have to convey to all claiming to be Christians the same meaning, that is, all Christians must understand such portions of Scripture alike. The question naturally arises, Is this true of the ten commandments and the Sermon on the Mount? Take for example

the fourth commandment: "Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy." As between Protestants and Catholics even this rendering of this commandment is sectarian, and the numbering of it is sectarian. In the Douay Bible it reads, "Remember thou keep holy the Sabbath day;" and in Catholic catechisms it is not the fourth commandment but the third.

But that is not the only, nor indeed the most serious difficulty. All do not understand the fourth commandment alike. Some take it just as it reads: "The seventh day is the Sabbath;" others that it now enjoins the keeping of the first day of the week, while others think that it is now of no binding force whatever. Now suppose that it is read in a school in which "non-sectarian religious instruction" is to be given. A pupil reads: "Remember the Sabbath day, to keep it holy. Six days shalt thou labor, and do all thy work: but the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God: in it thou shalt not do any work, thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, thy manservant, nor thy maidservant, nor thy cattle, nor thy stranger that is within thy gates: for in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is, and rested the seventh day: wherefore the Lord blessed the Sabbath day, and hallowed it." Ex. 20:8-11. He then asks: What is the Sabbath day? or, What is really required by this commandment? or, Is this commandment now binding upon us just as it was upon those to whom it was given at Sinai? Must the teacher answer, "I am not permitted to tell you?" Well has another remarked, "If anything in the world is calculated to bring both the teacher and the Bible into ridicule, we think that such teaching as this would surely accomplish that result."

Turning to the Sermon on the Mount, we are confronted by difficulties no less serious. Even professed Christians differ widely as to whether this sermon is a divine or only a human utterance. The difficulty is thus stated by a Roman Catholic writer of some prominence:—

The Unitarians, not believing in the divinity of

Christ, only look upon that sermon as a human production, while other Christian denominations accept its every word as the infallible teaching of infinite wisdom; so that the teacher cannot undertake to tell his pupil in the public school, after reading to him that sermon, whether he is to accept it as the word of God or only as the word of a man, without invading the realms of denominational teaching. And all will admit that there is an infinite difference between the weight to be attached to the language of an all-wise God and even the wisest utterances of a mere man when giving expression to the deductions of his own finite and feeble reason. There are many passages in that sermon which are very differently construed by people of different religious denominations. For example, it is there said, "Ye have heard that it was said to them of old, Thou shalt not forswear thyself, but shall perform unto the Lord thine oaths; but I say unto you, swear not at all." This passage is by many very conscientious people interpreted as prohibiting the taking of an oath as a witness or otherwise, and hence they never swear, even in our courts of justice, but affirm.

"Again," says the same writer, "Christians of some denominations interpret the Sermon on the Mount as authorizing the absolute dissolution, by divorce, of the valid bonds of matrimony for certain causes, so as to allow one of the divorced parties to marry again during the life of the other, while other Christians maintain that all such second marriages during the lives of both the divorced parties are, morally speaking, invalid and wrong."

These examples might be multiplied almost indefinitely, but it is quite unnecessary; the fact is that there is no such thing as "unsectarian teaching of religion" possible. Even the most elementary truths of the Christian religion cannot be taught without teaching things which are sectarian as between different bodies of professed Christians to say nothing of the beliefs of those who are not Christians, but whose rights are just as sacred, and to be just as jealously guarded by the State, as are the rights of Christians.

The State is composed of people of all religions and of no religion. The public schools, are supported by a tax levied upon all property alike, and it is but just that it should be expended in a manner approved by all, or that, at least, men should not be compelled to indirectly contribute to the support and propagation of religious tenets which they do not believe, by being taxed for the support of schools in which religion is taught.

C. P. B.

THE *Christian Union*, an influential journal, would like to see the Bible used in the public schools simply as a text book of literature and history, but adds that "if our Catholic, Jewish or Agnostic brethren object to opening schools with acts of worship, such worship should in our judgment be discontinued." We can speak in behalf of Jewish-American citizens who, without exception, are unalterably opposed to teaching sectarian doctrines of any kind in our public schools. We are for an absolute divorce of Church and State in every sense of the term.—*Jewish Times and Observer*.

"Just As the Chinese."

THE following paragraph is from a recent editorial in the *Mail and Express*, of this city, whose editor and proprietor is President of the American Sabbath Union. It reflects the intolerance of the man, and, indirectly, of the organization at whose head he stands:—

Let Mormons be prevented from entering our country, just as are the Chinese, and for the same reason, that they are heathen. The Mormons worship Adam as God, they have laid our Lord Jesus Christ on the shelf, they have lords many and gods many, they sing praises to Joseph Smith in Christian songs stolen from our hymn books, substituting Smith's name for Christ's; they blaspheme the true God. Thus the main reason that reconciled the Christian sentiment of this country to the exclusion of the Chinese, that they are heathen, should also operate to secure from Congress a law to prohibit the importation of Mormons. Then the miserable "elders" and "bishops" and "high priests" of Joe Smith, Bacchus, and Lewdness could not arrive here with harems of Scandinavians or other deluded foreigners. We earnestly commend this suggestion to the powerful support of Mormon-preventing Senator Edmunds, of Vermont.

In our opinion Mormonism is very far from the truth; and we have spoken in no uncertain tones on the question of the suppression of polygamy; but we dissent from the proposition to exclude any man from this country on account of his religion. The Mormon has no right to practice polygamy, and the Government has a perfect right to demand that he shall obey the marriage laws of the country; but with the "worship of Adam," and their "praise to Joseph Smith in Christian songs stolen from our hymn books," the Government can have nothing whatever to do, any more than it can with the Roman Catholic worship of the Virgin Mary.

C. P. B.

Dishonorable and Dangerous.

IN 1784 a bill was introduced into the General Assembly of the State of Virginia, entitled, "A bill establishing a provision for the teachers of the Christian religion." About a century later, in 1889, Senator Blair introduced into the Senate of the United States a joint resolution proposing an amendment to the national Constitution establishing a provision for the teaching of the principles of the Christian religion. The former, if passed, as Madison said, would have been "a dangerous abuse of power."* Is the latter any less so? The former, Madison wrote to Jefferson, was "chiefly obnoxious on account of its dishonorable principle and dangerous policy."* This is equally true of the latter. The former was defeated because it was an infringement of our religious equality and thus subversive of American principles. The latter, with slight modifications, is re-introduced into Congress from year to year, and is now before the American people.

The similarity of the principles under-

lying the two bills and the objects sought to be accomplished, bring them both under the same condemnation. There is one point in comparing them, however, that is in favor of the Virginia bill; it allowed the tax to be paid to whatever society the individual taxed might desire; or, if he did not desire it to go to any it would "be applied to the maintenance of a school in the country."† The Blair educational amendment makes no such liberal provision; but the taxes of the Jew, Mahomedan, Infidel and Atheist, are all to be used to teach the "unsectarian principles of Christianity," and if people do not want their children taught what the Government says is Christianity, they can suffer the consequences. And there is no telling how severe the consequences will be, for these very same persons at the same time are intending to pass compulsory educational laws that will *compel everybody to attend a school, be taught the Christian religion, and, what is more, pay for it out of the public treasury!* It is thus evident that the former bill was more liberal, more nearly just, and far less extensive in its consequences, than is the latter.

Both make provision for the use of money raised by the Government for the propagation of the Christian religion—the religion of the dominant cult. Both virtually say that the religious rights of the minority need not be respected by the majority. Both try to avoid opposition by making certain concessions;—the former by allowing each person to name the religious teacher to which his money is to go, and the latter by providing that the "unsectarian principles of Christianity" shall be taught (although the truth is, there is not a single unsectarian principle in the whole system of belief peculiar to Christians). Both violate the principles of religious equality by favoring Christianity above all other religions. The Virginia bill, Madison says, was supported by "many petitions;" so is the Blair educational amendment. The former was favored by certain sects and clergy; so is the latter. Some denominations are putting forth all the energy at their command to crowd petitions onto Congress for the passage of this and other religious measures.

The Virginia bill was defeated only by the untiring efforts of Madison, Colonel Nicholas, Colonel George Mason (drafter of the Virginia Declarations of Rights), and Jefferson, who labored faithfully during the year 1785 to circulate their adverse "Memorial and Remonstrance." In that memorial written by the future "Father of the Constitution," are stated the true principles of the American political system; and in that memorial we find the true interpretation of American institutions as established by the great statesmen of the eighteenth century. Those were the principles that were incorporated

* Quoted in "American State Papers," (1890), page 27, et seq.

† Quoted in "American State Papers," (1890), page 27, et seq.

into the Federal Constitution two years later.

In criticising this species of legislation Madison says "we are bound as faithful members of a free State to remonstrate against it." In declaring the reasons why such legislation is "a dangerous abuse of power," he says:—

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.

. . . 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. . . .

It is proper to take alarm at the first experiment upon our liberties. We hold this prudent jealousy to be the first duty of citizens, and one of the noblest characteristics of the late Revolution. The freemen of America did not wait till usurped power had strengthened itself by exercise, and entangled the question in precedents. They saw all the consequences in the principle, and they avoided the consequences by the denying the principle. We revere this lesson too much soon to forget it. *Who does not see that the same authority which can establish Christianity, in exclusion of all other religions, may establish, with the same ease, any particular sect of Christians, in exclusion of all other sects? that the same authority which can force a citizen to contribute three pence only of his property for the support of any one establishment, may force him to conform to any other establishment in all cases whatsoever?*

Because the bill violates that equality which ought to be the basis of every law, and which is more indispensable in proportion as the validity or expediency of any law is more liable to be impeached. If "all men are by nature equally free and independent," † all men are to be considered as entering into society on equal conditions; as relinquishing no more, and, therefore, retaining no less, one than another, of their natural rights. Above all, are they to be considered as retaining an "equal title to the free exercise of religion according to the dictates of conscience." ‡ Whilst we assert for ourselves a freedom to embrace, to profess, and to observe, the religion which we believe to be of divine origin, we cannot deny an equal freedom to them whose minds have not yet yielded to the evidence which has convinced us. If this freedom be abused, it is an offense against God, not against man. To God, therefore, not to man, must an account of it be rendered.

The bill implies either that the civil magistrate is a competent judge of religious truths, or that he may employ religion as an engine of civil policy. The first is an arrogant pretension, falsified by the contradictory opinions of rulers in all ages and throughout the world; the second an unhallowed perversion of the means of salvation.

Because the establishment proposed by the bill is not requisite for the support of the Christian religion, to say that it is, is a contradiction of the Christian religion itself; for every page of it dis-

avows a dependence on the powers of this world. It is a contradiction to fact, for it is known that this religion both existed and flourished, not only without the support of human laws, but in spite of every opposition from them; and not only during the period of miraculous aid, but long after it had been left to its own evidence and the ordinary care of Providence. Nay, it is a contradiction in terms; for a religion not invented by human policy must have pre-existed and been supported before it was established by human policy. It is, moreover, to weaken in those who profess this religion a pious confidence in its innate excellence and the patronage of its author; and to foster in those who still reject it a suspicion that its friends are too conscious of its fallacies to trust it to its own merits.

These are some of the reasons why every Christian in the land should oppose any bill whatever of the nature of the Blair educational amendment, or any other bill favoring Christianity or any other religion. It is both a usurpation of power on the part of the Government and detrimental to the religion it pretends to aid. Further on in the memorial Madison said "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."

Madison saw the continual tendency of public men to endeavor to legislate, in one way or another, in favor of the Christian religion. So he, in his friendliness toward the Christianity in which he believed, always used his influence against such a pernicious movement in this country. In a letter later in his life, he said that notwithstanding the general progress made by some toward religious liberty, "there remains in others a strong bias towards the old error, that without some sort of alliance or coalition between government and religion, neither can be duly supported. Such, indeed, is the tendency to such a coalition, and such its corrupting influence on both the parties, that the danger cannot be too carefully guarded against."

Yet, notwithstanding his grand work in framing the national Constitution in accordance with these principles, we find would-be reformers to-day trying to tear down this work and amend that very same document by inserting in it provisions for teaching the "unsectarian principles of the Christian religion" in our public schools! The Christian people of America who venerate the names of the noble men who obtained for us our liberties should hesitate before they give their voices and votes to eradicate the institutions which were so difficult to establish. Better, far better, will it be to throw our influence on the side of pure Christianity, by not allowing the State to have anything to do with prescribing or teaching its doctrines. Madison truly declared: "We are teaching the world the great truth that governments do better without kings than with them. The merit will be doubled by

the other lesson: that religion flourishes in greater purity without, than with, the aid of Government." W. A. BLAKELY.

University of Michigan.

The School Question.

"WHY, my friends, the free school-house was established and in full operation long before the Republican party was born. Schools will be in successful operation all over this country long after it is dead. It was utterly impossible to maintain a republican government without education, as it would be impossible for a bird to hang in the air with all the feathers plucked from its wings. It is a part, and an essential part, of the existence of any republican government. It has got to stand in the intelligence and virtue of the people. It cannot stand any other way. The power comes from them; they must know how to exercise it wisely and well. They must have the virtue to do what they know is right, and have the virtue to shun what they know to be wrong. The school-house is the place, and provisions were made for it at the very foundation of the Government, and made by the men that ordained and established the Government. What we oppose is the prostitution of the school-house, just as Christ opposed the prostitution of the temple. The temple at Jerusalem had been a house of prayer, dedicated to the pure worship of God, but had been defiled by the money-changers and thieves, and when he entered it with a scourge of plaited cords, he whipped away the thieves and said it should not be a den of thieves but a house of prayer. We stand by the school-house, and in it and around it, and we are going to stand under it and support it, but we don't intend, if there is intelligence and virtue enough left in the hearts of the people, that the school-house shall be made an instrumentality for proscribing any class of our people. We don't intend that the school-house shall be an instrumentality for invading the sanctuary of the homes of the people and compelling one class of people to send to one school in preference to another, if they prefer that other.

And if the Church and State were united, it would be impossible to preserve liberty to the people. Hence we believe in liberty; we believe in a man sending his children to whatever school he pleases. He is the guardian of that child during non-age. God has appointed him, and the mother, and we will stand guard over that right. We don't propose that a Methodist, if he wants to send his child to a Methodist school, shall be compelled to send it to a Catholic school. He has a right to have it educated in that faith if he wants to do it. We are all governed by our faith. Why should the Government be substituted for the father and mother, and compel the Methodist family to send their child

* "Declaration of Rights," Article 16.

† Declaration of Rights of the State of Virginia, Article 1.

‡ Declaration of Rights of the State of Virginia, Article 16.

to the Catholic school or who take the Catholic child and send it to the Methodist school; or why take anybody's child and send it to the infidel school? We stand on the right of family government. We stand believing that the father and mother have the right to superintend and supervise the education of their children; to select the teacher and select the school; and it is the right of the State, and the duty of the State, to provide the means of educating all the children in the State, but the parents have the right to select the school; and if they don't want to avail themselves of the opportunities that have been afforded by the State, and they want to incur the additional expense, and thousands and hundreds of thousands of good people do it every day, and have the right to do it—let them send their children to their church schools."—*From Speech of Hon. Roger Q. Mills.*

Church Talks and City Tangles.

JUST now a very singular phase of public sentiment is to be observed in this metropolitan community [New York City]. Several of the more prominent clergymen are openly engaged in a political movement, the object of which is to overturn one of the two great parties bodily and cast it out of power. One makes a speech in a public convention on a prayer-meeting night, which is openly ridiculed by an editor who did not hear it. Another is [was] mentioned as a prominent candidate for the office of mayor and has his "interviews" like a boss. A third writes a letter in which he represents Divine Providence as throwing its (no "her") watery arms around this island—which is really quite good for a Baptist—and the political newspapers are gibing to their hearts' content.

On the other hand the great secular journals are engaged in a determinate onslaught upon the Rev. Dr. C. A. Briggs, as a professor in the Union Theological Seminary, for laxness in doctrine, injury to the interests of the institution on one of the foundations of which he stands, departing from the teaching he promised when he was elected, and without moral or legal right to his chair. One of them, in two very plain editorials, calls upon him peremptorily to "abdicate" his position, to resign his charge, and cease his "underhanded course of polishing up his crude unscriptural theories to classes of unsuspecting young men, locked in his class-rooms." Another continues in the same strain, and reaches the cheerful conclusion that, as the great majority of Presbyterians have declared themselves in favor of revising their old creed, and some of the most noted and most popular of the Presbyterian pastors in New York and other great towns have thoroughly indorsed the movement, the ministers of the denomination "do not know themselves what they believe," and are in the frame

of mind of "the agnostic who has no faith to propagate;" and a third gives as the reason for the reluctance of the clergy to "move against" Professor Briggs, "the dissension that would follow such a step;" and it adds also that, if a charge of heresy were brought against him, "the presbytery would be the scene of a fierce battle."

It becomes a question of interesting consideration whether matters would be bettered in such a state of things if the ministers would just take on themselves the management of politics, and the editors of the secular journals would assume the care of the orthodoxy represented in the Seminary and the pulpits.—*Every Thursday.*

Sunday-Law Contest in Washington.

THE emissaries of the American Sabbath Union having been thwarted in their efforts to have enacted in Seattle a municipal ordinance closing barber shops on Sundays, have fallen back upon the State Sunday law to gain their end. That statute is as follows:—

SECTION 2,067. It shall be unlawful for any person or persons of this Territory, to open on Sunday for the purposes of trade, or sale of goods, wares or merchandise, any shop, store, or building, or place of business whatever: Provided, That this chapter shall apply to hotels only in so far as the sales of intoxicating liquors are concerned, and shall not apply to drug stores, livery stables, and undertakers.

SEC. 2,068. Any person or persons violating the foregoing section shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and on conviction thereof be fined in any sum not less than twenty-five dollars nor more than one hundred dollars.

The history of the movement is told substantially as follows, by a contemporary in this city:—

They propose however to make some exceptions in enforcing the law upon barbers. At one of the meetings, after considerable discussion, it was decided not to interfere with the proprietors of barber shops who should keep their bath open on Sunday. That is to say, they propose to dictate to business men as to who shall and who shall not violate the Sunday laws. The possibilities of blackmail in such a scheme are large, and if they are allowed to carry out their programme, their organization, or at least the executive officers, will probably wax rich. The absurdity of the distinction is well depicted by the *Seattle Morning Journal*. "It seems," it says, "that the carefully balanced moralists who want to reform things in this neighborhood have made a review of the barber-shop controversy, and they decree that it will not be wise to make war on such shops as have a bathroom annex. These can open on Sunday with perfect propriety, because cleanliness is next to godliness, and it will never do to crush any agency that will put a man in a more moral frame of mind. To a personage up a tree, however, it looks as if this thing has reduced itself to a ques-

tion of anatomy. If a man's piety is to be encouraged on Sunday by a bath—if he can take a dip without offending the religious sense of the community, he certainly should have the right to clean his nails, cut his hair, and keep his chin in repair, for all these things contribute to good citizenship and prepare him for communion with his Christian brethren. The right to have the stomach keyed up to concert pitch on Sunday keeps the restaurants sacred from the pious crusade of reformers, but this delicate distinction between the sinful qualities of a bath-tub and a razor is rather too rich for our Liberal blood." The *Journal* adds: "If this sort of cross-eyed reform is to be the watchword of the hour, the *Journal* desires to say that it would like to see the authority by which these hair-splitting distinctions are drawn. Who gave it? Where did it come from? Does the Constitution of the State of Washington vest the power in any clique or faction to declare that a Sunday bath in a public house is a moral institution, while a Sunday shave in the same shop is an agency of the devil? Such ridiculous and arbitrary and fanatical decrees are as much out of place in Seattle to-day as a polar bear in the orange groves of Florida. We believe in law and order, and a decent respect to the honest convictions of every class, but the disposition of some folks to recognize no class as honest and conscientious but themselves is a species of slavery which no liberal citizen can indorse."

The Washington Secular Union announces its determination to have something to say about this style of enforcing laws. Two sections of the Sunday law read as follows:—

SEC. 2,069. And it shall be the duty of any and all public officers in this Territory, knowing of any violation of this chapter, to make complaint under oath, to the nearest justice of peace from where the offense was committed.

SEC. 2,070. Any public officer who shall refuse or willfully neglect to inform against and prosecute offenders against this chapter shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and on conviction shall be punished by a fine of not less than twenty-five dollars nor more than one hundred dollars, and the court before which such officer shall be tried shall declare the office or appointment held by such officer vacant for the balance of his term.

After a test in the courts as to the constitutionality of the Sunday law, if the decision shall be adverse to the Secular Union's claim, the Union will see that the law is impartially enforced, with a view to its repeal. Mr. Reynolds, the Secretary, declares: "Since the best way to insure the repeal of a bad law is to rigidly enforce it—let it be known there can be no more open stores, no more sales by the publishers of newspapers on Sunday, nor can the necessary work be done on Sunday to get out the Monday morning edition—no more business of any kind that comes within the scope of this law."

The statute (§2,070) provides a means of doing this, for any officer refusing to in-

form and prosecute is liable to fine and deposition from office, and the Washington Secular Union can put the machinery of law into motion. The statute was made for the use of the "Sabbath" fanatics, but it cuts both ways. Let everybody observe the law or none.

The first man singled out by the Sunday people for prosecution is a member of the Secular Union, which promptly retained counsel to defend him.

Is the Bible Sectarian?

EX-PRESIDENT JOHN BASCOM, in a recent address before the graduating law class of the Wisconsin University, took occasion to criticise the decision of the Supreme Court of that State, which excludes the Bible from the public schools. In the course of his remarks, Dr. Bascom said:—

The Court excluded religious instruction in order to get rid of sectarian instruction. Under a direct interpretation, the Bible is not a sectarian book. All Christian sects assign it distinctly a central position.

A division of the people, cut off and separated from the rest of mankind by reason of the religious doctrines which they hold, constitutes a religious sect, and the doctrines of a sect are sectarian. Anything, therefore, which is accepted by a part of the people, and not by the whole people, is sectarian in its character. If a religious doctrine was received with favor by every one in the world, of course there would be no one to oppose it, and such a doctrine would be non-sectarian. On the other hand, if there is any opposition to a doctrine, that very fact shows that it is not acceptable to the whole people, but that it is indorsed by only a part of the people, a sect, and is therefore sectarian. The fact that the Catholics of Wisconsin made complaint against the religious instruction which was formerly given in the public schools of that State, is all the evidence that is needed to show that such instruction was sectarian, and was not acceptable to the whole people.

And further, it is an undeniable fact that no religious instruction could be given which would be indorsed by the whole people. And as surely as it was accepted by only a part of the people, a sect, so surely would it be sectarian in its character. Hence, the only way to exclude sectarian instruction, is to exclude religious instruction of every description.

Dr. Bascom says of the Bible, "All Christian sects assign it distinctly a central position." Suppose this were true of the King James version, does he not know that there is the most wide-spread difference of opinion as to how it should be interpreted? Another important question which the Doctor seems to have overlooked, is this: Are Christians the only people in the world? Is it not a fact that a majority of the people in this country do not even profess to be Christians? Do

non-believers assign the Bible "distinctly a central position"? If they do not, then, according to the Doctor's own argument, the Bible is a sectarian book. For to prove that it is not sectarian, he offers the statement, that "all Christian sects assign it distinctly a central position." Consequently, if there were any sects which do not assign it a central position, he would have to admit that it is sectarian. But the Bible is just as sectarian to all who do not believe in Christianity, as it would be to any professed Christian sect if they rejected it. A sect is a division of the people, and not necessarily a division of Christians; and unbelievers are people the same as Christians are. It may be convenient to ignore people and their rights, when they do not agree with us, but it does not show a love of honesty and justice to do this. But such is the only process by which religious instruction can ever be maintained in schools controlled by the State, and supported by public taxation.

No one will deny that the Catholics are a sect, yet they do not assign the King James version of the Bible a central position, or any position at all.

The fact is, all Christians taken together constitute a sect, a division of the people, distinct and separate from the rest of mankind. And this is right. God's people have always been sectarian in their belief and practice, and it is by the command of God that they are so. "Come out from among them, and be ye separate," saith the Lord, "and touch not the unclean thing, and I will receive you." As Christians are a sect, and Christianity sectarian, the Bible, which is the exponent of Christianity, must also be distinctly sectarian in its character.

A. DELOS WESTCOTT.

"Covenanter War."

A PITTSBURG paper, of the 18th ult., contains, under the above heading, a two-column account of the trouble which, owing to the efforts of the Covenanter Church to control the political action of its members, has, for some months past, been causing its leaders not a little anxiety. The following statement of the facts is abridged from the *Pittsburg Gazette*:—

One evening in last July, several ministers of the Reformed Church,—Presbyterian, or Covenanter Church,—held a meeting to formulate their views on certain topics connected with church matters. The result of that meeting was a circular denominated a "Platform of the Friends of Christian Union in the Reformed Presbyterian Church." The platform is as follows:—

The platform adopted by the recent Conference of the friends of Christian Union in the Reformed Presbyterian Church on July 22, 1890. We, the undersigned, agree together in maintenance of the following principles:—

1. That while we hold it to be the duty of the church to maintain the most advanced testimony in behalf of truth and against error, yet the terms of the communion ought to be limited to the plain requirements of the Scriptures—namely, faith in Christ and obedience to his revealed will.

2. That persons who make a credible profession of Christ should be received into church membership, on their acceptance of our testimony and the testimony of communion,

without binding them to any explanation in the matter of political dissent, or any other questions.

3. That restricted communion, and not close communion nor open communion, is the teaching of the Bible and of our standards.

4. That interchange of pulpits should be allowed among those who preach the evangelical doctrine of the gospel.

5. That there should be organic union of the whole Christian Church upon the basis of the plain teaching of the Scriptures.

6. That free discussion should be allowed of our subordinate standards and of deliverance of synod, testing them by the Bible, which is the only rule of faith and manners.

This was signed by the following named ministers: J. T. Carson, N. M. Johnston, S. D. Johnston, A. U. McClurkin, H. P. McClurkin, J. K. McClurkin, J. C. K. Milligan, J. R. J. Milligan, J. S. T. Milligan, O. B. Milligan, E. M. Milligan, Hugh W. Reed, H. W. Temple, S. G. Shaw, J. R. Thompson. Elders: S. R. Mitchell, J. McCullough, and A. Ennis.

In a few days, the matter had become known by the radical elements in the church, and the progressive clergymen were at once marked for official censure. Professor D. B. Wilson, D. D., R. J. George, D. D., and Moderator David McAllister, D. D., were the recognized leaders of the unchangeable element.

When the presbytery met, Professor Wilson presented papers designated as a "form of libel" against Rev. Henry W. Temple and Rev. Hugh W. Reed. Professor Wilson charged in his paper that the ministers named had been guilty of heresy and political teachings; of a violation of the vows of their ordination and the breaking of the church's solemn covenant. These offenses were because they had circulated and caused to be printed the platform given above. The charges were about to be referred to a committee when Rev. O. B. Milligan objected to them being received by the presbytery, as they were unsigned and therefore ineligible as libels in the court. After some discussion it was decided before formally proceeding against the accused to hear them in their own defense. Rev. J. R. J. Milligan, who spoke first, stated that his remarks would be few. Said he:—

Of this whole affair there seems to be more misapprehension than anything else. Individually I want a speedy action. I want this matter settled at once, as a matter of justice to myself and my congregation. All this distrust must be removed. I was at the East End Conference. I helped to adopt the platform and send it out, but since that time it has been misunderstood if not misrepresented. If these charges of covenant breaking, heresy, and apostasy are true then I am unfit to be a minister in the Covenanter Church, or in any church.

On these matters my views are set, and if I cannot keep them within the church I will take the other alternative and get out.

Rev. E. M. Milligan said that there was nothing in all their course of which he was ashamed. He denied that either at that meeting or at any other time he had been guilty of insubordination, covenant breaking, or apostasy. Mr. Milligan traced the church history since 1833, and declared that the church herself had been inconsistent, in that she had in 1871 admitted to be right what in 1833 was condemned as wrong and sinful, and caused the split in the Presbyterian Church. In 1871 the legitimacy of the United States Government was recognized by the Covenanter Church. If this is true, then they were bound to support and defend this Government, he said. In regard to the incorporation of the church with an immoral government, Mr. Milligan said that if voting on amendments was one of those things, then very few members of the church believed it. At this utterance, Rev. Dr. Thomas Sproull, one of the presbytery fathers, who had been listening intently, jumped to his feet and demanded that it stop.

"Mr. Moderator, when will this stop? How long must I listen to it?" He was ruled out by the Moderator under the terms by which the offenders were allowed the fullest explanations. Continuing, Mr. Milligan said that on that point and on others he defended his privilege of holding a private opinion, "And I will stick to it," said he.

Rev. A. W. McClurkin also denied his guilt as charged. Said he, "If we refuse to advance, to go higher in the development of the truth, then we shall be false to our teachings, and until we do move higher we shall be false to the trust that God hath given unto us."

Rev. O. B. Milligan indorsed the sentiments of the preceding speakers, and declared that instead of the meeting in his church being to disorganize or disintegrate the Covenanter Church, it was for the purpose of promoting church unity.

Rev. W. L. C. Thompson took up the platform, and after a strict comparison with the church laws showed that in his opinion they were in harmony.

I have always held private opinions on church unity and on other church affairs and they have not been questioned until now. If guilty of heresy I will stand the censure, but, understand me, my private opinions must not be governed by the private opinions of other men. I have not preached these doctrines, nor have I spoken of them in private unless they were first broached to me. My views are known and plain and there I stand, and I cannot do otherwise.

Rev. H. W. Temple, who was mentioned as the leading spirit of "the seventeen," next took the platform, and picking up the circular, said:—

For my connection with this I am branded as an apostate, as a breaker of covenants, as a violator of my sacred vows of ordination as a minister of the gospel; as a heretic and a teacher of wrong. Is it possible, is it possible that a minister of this church or any other is cited for crimes because he subscribed to these doctrines? I do not deny anything; I do not defend myself, and I have nothing to explain. The invitation of this committee to have a free and frank discussion is very open, but it may have been intended to draw us out with the intention of using our own language as testimony against us. I believe it to be so. Nevertheless, with the expectation that what I say will be used against me, I repeat that there is nothing that I have to defend. It is true that I did have this platform printed.

Mr. Temple concluded with a few remarks that were rather defiant in tone and which moved several of the members of the court to interrupt him.

Rev. Dr. R. J. George, Rev. Dr. McAllister, Rev. Dr. Thomas Sproull, and Prof. Wilson then took the floor successively and endeavored to convince the young men of their errors. After a hearing of both sides without getting near a satisfactory conclusion, Rev. Dr. McAllister offered the following as a basis of settlement:—

The undersigned members of the Pittsburg Presbytery of the Reformed Presbyterian Church, with a view to the restoration of brotherly harmony and confidence, agree to the following declarations concerning the position and duty of the Reformed Presbyterian Church:

1. While the word of God is the only supreme standard of faith and practice, the authoritative interpretation of that word by the church must be accepted as the rule to be practically applied for the regulation and conduct of her members as well as the statement of their profession.

This admits of the probability of error in the church's interpretation of God's word and leaves the way open for the most full and candid and at the same time orderly discussion of our doctrines and laws in the light of the only infallible standard, and for the orderly revision of her doctrines and amendment of her laws, to bring them whenever necessary into close harmony with the divine word.

2. The Reformed Presbyterian Church has interpreted officially and authoritatively the divine word as forbidding her members to become parties to the compact of the Constitution of the United States either by accepting office to administer the compacts of Government or by the exercise of the elective franchise in sending men as representatives to administer it, because that compact does not acknowledge the law of Christ as the supreme standard of morals for the Government, but places the people in that place instead of the word of God. This interpretation is the law of the Covenanter Church to-day.

3. That the members of the Covenanter Church have always held this position and still hold it with the purest Christian patriotism, and with most cordial readiness to perform every duty to their country, and to sacrifice in the future, as in the past, not only their property, but, if necessary, their lives for their beloved country's highest good.

The paper presented by Dr. McAllister failed to meet the views of the accused, and it was withdrawn. As a last resort, after several other plans had been proposed and rejected, the report of the Committee on Discipline recommending a judicial committee with full power to try the case was adopted. A committee will be appointed by the Committee on Supplies and confirmed by the presbytery. The presbytery will meet again on the second Tuesday in April, 1891.

THE man who is afraid to do right, is as bad as the man who is not afraid to do wrong.—*San Francisco Weekly Star.*

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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Stirring the Whole Country.

THE American Sabbath Union, with the National Reform Association, and all their numerous allied organizations, are stirring the whole country to bring to bear such an influence upon the managers of the World's Fair that they will give religious recognition to Sunday, not by permitting the closing of such exhibits as it pleases the exhibitors to close, but to compel the exclusion of the public and the entire cessation of all the business of the Exposition on that day, whether such an arrangement shall coincide with the wishes of the exhibitors and the public, or not.

The effect of the agitation for the Sunday closing of the World's Fair, is evidently to cement the forces of religious nationalism in a more compact body, acquaint them more fully with their own power and numbers, and give them assurance to drop the specious plea for a "civil Sunday" entirely, and concentrate their entire effort openly, and without reserve, upon the securing of the enforcement of a religious observance of Sunday.

The following, from the "Pearl of Days," will show how, as that publication says, "there has never before been such an awakening" of a desire to secure the enforcement of a religious form:—

"The mails are bringing us daily a great number and variety of petitions to be forwarded to the Columbian Commission against opening the World's Fair on Sundays. Some are very short and general, others are longer and more in detail, and others are carefully elaborate in argument but all manifest one and the same earnest, decided and urgent spirit of patriotic, and Christian opposition to the opening of the Exposition on the Lord's day. Many of them are from the Young People's Societies of Christian Endeavor, and from Sunday-school officers, teachers, and scholars, and from county and State Sunday-school conventions. Others come from pastors, officials, members, and adherents

of congregations of nearly all denominations—and often these have been authorized by a rising vote.

"Then follow numerous resolutions, appeals, protests, and petitions, by the unanimous action of ecclesiastical assemblies of all grades, and which represent hundreds of thousands of the best people of the whole country. Temperance organizations, patriotic orders, labor unions, and similar societies also wheel into line. Young Men's Christian Associations are working faithfully for the cause. Outside of all these, we are constantly receiving petitions from citizens of important places without distinction of sect, sex, or race, and covered with hundreds of signatures of reputable persons. The reasons assigned are legal, historical, patriotic, humane, benevolent, moral, and religious. They insist upon the divine institution, the permanent obligation, the blessings and privileges of the Sabbath of God and man. They deprecate the desecration of the Christian Sabbath at the Exposition as an affront to its Lord, as a wrong to the Nation, as a disgrace to the fair name of our country, as a transgression of the laws of Illinois, and of every State that has any Sabbath laws. . . . And finally and supremely, in all these documents, the warm Christian feeling of the country is expressed in ardent love for the hallowed day, in loyal obedience to the fourth commandment, and in deprecation of God's judgments upon this generation for the violation of his law of the rest day."

All this is significant, not indeed of a revival of fervent piety, but of a religious feeling which manifests itself in formal observances while neglecting the weightier matters, judgment, mercy, and faith. Sunday is fast becoming recognized as "the badge of all religion," that is of all form religion, and those who so regard it will never rest till they secure for it formal recognition from the national Government.

W. H. M.

By its persistent appeals for sumptuary laws the *Rocky Mountain News* is inviting its party to defeat. It goes so far as to say that to open barber shops on Sunday is "the violation of a divine law," and "that, if necessary, a city ordinance should be adopted to keep the shops closed on Sunday." Of course on the same principle the *News* would advocate a State and national Sunday law, which is at variance with one of the vital principles of our national Government. . . . If the journeymen barbers desire to rest on Sunday there is no law to prevent them from doing so, and they have a perfect right to refuse to work on that day. Sunday rest is a question which every American citizen should be allowed to determine for himself. He may desire to rest on the seventh day of the week in accordance with his religious belief or from personal choice; or on the second day of the week for like reasons.—*Colorado Graphic.*

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A GENTLEMAN at West Sunbury, Pennsylvania, sends us these encouraging words:—

"I am a Presbyterian, and worship on Sunday, and believe it to be the right day, but would force no one to believe or practice as I do. I have been reading THE AMERICAN SENTINEL for two years. It is doing a good work; God bless it."

"THE work of converting the heathen world goes on apace," says *America*. "One of the latest steamers to leave London for the west coast of Africa had on board four hundred and sixty tons of gunpowder, eleven cases of gin, ten thousand casks of rum, and fourteen missionaries." But, then, England has a National Sunday law, and acknowledges that its sovereigns reign by the grace of God, it is, therefore, according to the National Reform idea, a Christian country, and critics should keep their hands off!

In a speech in the Senate on the 30th ult, Mr. Carlisle denounced the new tariff bill as "an entirely new departure in the application of the principle of protection in this country copied from the paternal governments of Europe." How true this is is not for us to say; but that this country is copying from the paternal governments in many things does not admit of a doubt. The effort seems to be to make the Government everything and individuals and States nothing. And in this aping of European methods of government most of the several States are not one whit behind the general Government; paternalism is in the air.

WE are asked by a correspondent to answer the following question:—

If the seventh-day people who now object to being compelled to keep Sunday were in the majority, would not the fourth commandment, which says, "In it thou shalt not do any work, thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, thy manservant, nor thy maidservant, nor thy cattle, nor thy stranger that is within thy gates," require them to make laws compelling the Sunday people to keep the seventh day?

Not as we understand the commandment. "Within thy gates," means only upon property under your immediate control; not the whole of any country. It is the duty of every man to see to it that no

work is done on his own premises upon the day that he regards as the Sabbath; but the commandment gives no warrant whatever for Sabbath legislation. Were they in the majority, seventh-day people might, like others have done before them, apostatize from God and appeal to the State, but in so doing they would prove recreant to the very principles which they now maintain.

"THE National Reform Association," says the *Union Signal*, "has started a 'Citizens' and Business Men's Protest,' and requests all citizens, especially those engaged in active business, to write to the Columbian Exposition Committee, Chicago, using preferably their own printed letter heads, and saying simply, 'I join,' or 'This firm joins, in the protest against the proposed opening of the World's Columbian Exposition on the Sabbath.'" It is suggested that there are few towns where such letters cannot be secured from a majority of the business men. This seems very likely, when we remember that the boycott is to be used, if needs be, to secure Sunday closing of the great Fair.

THE following is from the *Christian Advocate*, of this city:—

The religious notices in our Sunday papers quite frequently afford suggestive reading. Some of them are cheap, frivolous advertisements, and better adapted to a Bowery show than a Christian church. But the desire to get a crowd is almost a disease with some men. Success to them is a matter of camp-stools and extra chairs, and a full church an evidence of genius. It is a matter of profound thankfulness that the Methodist ministers of this city are singularly free from blame in this matter. Perhaps they have the crowd already and do not require startling topics and sensational head-lines to fill their churches. But churches filled in this way are soon emptied, and even when filled, they are empty.

We are glad that the *Advocate* can say that the ministers of the denomination which it represents are free from blame in this matter. But there is another matter in which they are not thus free, namely, in the demand for laws which they imagine would drive people to the churches, by depriving them of Sunday papers, and by closing to them the various places of secular resort. It is true that rigid Sunday laws strictly enforced might fill the churches, but it is also true that if filled in this way they would still be empty.

"INTOLERANCE," says *Public Opinion* of San Francisco, "should not manifest itself in any quarter on the day of election. The American people, should not proscribe any citizen on account of either his nationality or his creed. Particularly careful should they be not to send a candidate, who is to the manner born, out of their own party because he does not belong to their church. It was broadly hinted at San Jose that the delegates from the interior would have no candidate who

does not belong to the American religion, whatever that may be." We are afraid, however, that the drift is in the direction of a religious test for candidates. The "American religion" may not as yet be very clearly defined, but nobody knows how soon it may be, and how soon men must profess the "American creed" in order to secure votes. It is certain, however, when the time does come every man who is in politics for office will be a Christian after the straightest sect of the "American religion," whatever it happens to be.

THE real dignity and worth of a book are not always indicated by its title; this is true of "Jack the Conqueror," No. 2 of "The Young People's Library." The subtitle, "Overcoming Difficulties," is, however, really descriptive of the book and relieves, in a measure, the somewhat unpleasant impression created by the more sensational appellation.

The book contains three stories, all well calculated to beget worthy ambitions and stimulate to praiseworthy effort. It is probable that none of the narratives are unvarnished recitals of the experiences of a single individual, yet they are exceedingly true to life, and will tend to correct rather than give those false views of life which are so common in story books, and so harmful to the young. Altogether, "Jack the Conqueror, or Overcoming Difficulties" is a very readable and worthy juvenile book which can be safely placed in the hands of the young. "The Young People's Library" deserves, and should have, the support of all who really desire to secure unobjectionable reading for their children. The numbers are of uniform size, style, and price. Each volume contains 160 pages 5 x 7 inches; the cheaper binding is paper, the more expensive, cloth embossed in jet and gold. The volumes sell for 25, and 50 cents, according to binding. Pacific Press, New York, N. Y., and Oakland, California.

THE same cause which restrained the vigor, polluted the character of the Church; for, being unable immediately to repress its own spiritual weapons, the violent animosities of its ministers, and impatient of the gradual influence of time and reason, in a dark and disastrous moment it had recourse to that temporal sword which was not intended for its service, and which it has never yet employed without disgrace or without impunity.—*Waddington*.

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ASSOCIATE EDITORS,

C. P. BOLLMAN,

W. H. MCKEE.

OUR public schools are secular, and must ever remain so if religious freedom is to abide. Let the churches look to the matter of religious education; we Presbyterians will do our part to it, and we ask no subsidy. Let the fathers and mothers do their part; "an ounce of mother is worth a pound of priest." And let the State attend to its own business in the non-sectarian education of the children of the land.—*Rev. Dr. Burrell.*

A CHURCH known to be the slave of the State would not have much influence with the mass of the people in restraining anarchy and making them good citizens, and politicians would ever be tempted to turn aside the Church from its proper spiritual work. The heresy, for it is a heresy, of making the Church subservient to the State, is called Erastianism because inculcated by Erastus, a learned physician in Heidelberg toward the end of the sixteenth century, who claimed for the civil magistrate the power of exercising discipline and of excommunication in the Church.—*James McCosh, D.D., LL.D., Princeton, New Jersey.*

THE Czar of Russia, in the exercise of his paternal sovereignty, has ordered the Protestant missionaries to leave Russia, to cease proselyting. He has also ordered all Jews to leave his dominions, and the order is being carried out with great severity. In the Baltic provinces he is crushing out Lutheranism and the German language. It is evident that the

paternal ruler has taken his cue from the dethroned Pope, who secured uniformity of religion and language by the same tyrannical, oppressive means. By the way, the Czar is head of the Greek Church. This is another fact that illustrates the folly, or, more properly, the crime of uniting Church and State. Politics and religion, when mixed in a ruler, bring misery and poverty to the people.—*Loyal American.*

Is It Unsectarian?

PRESIDENT WESTBROOK'S call for the Congress of the American Secular Union, recently held at Portsmouth, Ohio, contained the following statement, which we wish to examine a little in the light of the Congress itself, and of the official utterances made there:—

The American Secular Union is strictly unsectarian and non-partisan in both religion and politics. It is not, either publicly or privately, committed to the advancement of any system of religious belief or disbelief, but heartily welcomes all persons, of whatever faith, to its membership, on the basis of "no union of Church and State." The word "secular" is here used in the broadest sense, as applied to the State, and not to any system of religious philosophy.

The object of the Union is thus stated, by Mr. Westbrook, in the same call:—

Its object is to secure the total separation of Church and State, in fact and in form, to the end that equal rights in religion, genuine morality in politics, and freedom, virtue, and brotherhood be established, protected, and perpetuated.

With this we have no fault to find. On the contrary we hold that this is a worthy object. We fear, however, that instead of being *the* object it is only *an* object, and possibly a secondary object at that. In giving an account of the opening of the Portsmouth Congress, the *Truth Seeker* says:—

The hall was filled to hear J. L. Treuthart welcome his fellow-Freethinkers. The Portsmouth Union, he said, welcomed the Congress as a child receives a visit of a parent. There was also a large public sentiment favoring the objects of the Union. He also welcomed the Union on behalf of the school children who were entitled to know that facts never

contradict truth. For two thousand years the astronomers had been making almanacs, and calculating eclipses and other movements of the heavenly bodies. What would become of astronomy, he asked, if some Joshua could take hold of the spokes of the wheel of time and stop the revolution of the earth?

Now we do not deny Mr. Treuthart's right to say just what he pleases about the story of Joshua; but why he should address a "strictly unsectarian" Congress in that manner does not seem clear. Nor do we understand what it has to do with the separation of Church and State. However, this was unofficial, and we will leave it for something from one of the officers of the Union. In her official address, the Corresponding Secretary, Miss Ida Craddock, said:—

At this time the American Secular Union is confronted with two distinct lines of policy from which to choose. One is the policy which it has steadily maintained during the past year, of strict non-partisanship in religious matters, and open-handed hospitality to all who believe in total separation of Church and State, whether the applicant for membership be Deist or Atheist, Freethinker or Churchman.

The other policy looks further than the mere separation of Church and State. It demands perpetual and unflinching hostility to the Christian religion, and an aggressive warfare whose aim is finally to cripple the Church, if not to kill it off entirely.

This states that there are two lines of policy, but is non-committal as to which one the Union has adopted; nor does it say which one Miss Craddock herself thinks the better one. The following from the same address, however, supplies the lack, and is a declaration of war on religion:—

But my great concern is: How shall we reach the young? How shall we save them from falling into that religious superstition which puts the cross higher than their moral duty as good citizens, and which teaches them to consider what the Church sneeringly calls "mere morality" as of little account in the sight of the Deity whom they worship?

How shall we fit them to take the vacant places in the Liberal ranks—places left vacant almost monthly by the death of our gray-haired veterans?

That is, "How shall we" (the Secular Union, of course) "make infidels of the

children?" And this in the face of the statement of the President that the Union is unsectarian and "not either publicly or privately committed to the advancement of any system of religious belief or *disbelief*."

Nor is this all; Miss Craddock's subject was "Organization," and she not only pointed out work to be done by the Union, but she proposed plans. The following is one of them:—

Personally, I should like to see established throughout the country Freethought Sunday-schools, where children could be saved on Sunday from the allurements of the Church. We may be quite sure that, if we don't look out for our children on that day, the Church will draw them in.

Now we have no fault to find with this plan, nor with Miss Craddock for proposing it. The Secular Union has just the same right to teach infidelity that we have to teach Christianity; but they have no right to do it and at the same time insist that the Union is unsectarian, and that it "is not committed to the advancement of any system of belief or unbelief."

We are surprised at the attitude of the Secular Union, and especially are we surprised at the Corresponding Secretary, who at another stage of the meeting, said:—

The policy of strict non-sectarianism in religion, which we have zealously striven to maintain during the past year, is already bearing good fruit, notwithstanding the gloomy prophecies of some few of our more radical friends throughout the country. By adopting a moderate and persuasive tone, we have succeeded in getting our principles advertised prominently in several of the leading Christian papers of the country, thus bringing our ideas before thousands of Church people who would not otherwise have known how very reasonable are the demands we make; and we have some more work of the same sort in hand now, of which we are not at liberty to speak.

So long as the Secular Union remained purely a secular affair, there was no reason why Christian journals should not advertise its principles, for "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; and to this end they can co-operate with all who are laboring for the same object; but every Christian and every Christian paper must defend the Christian religion when it is attacked, or else cease to be Christian. It follows that when as an organization, the Secular Union proposes to strike down Christianity, it cuts off the co-operation of all Christians.

And not only so, but by assuming such an attitude as this, the Secular Union is strengthening the hands of the National Reformers, for they virtually say that did they believe in Christianity they too would be National Reformers. That is, opposing

State recognition of religion *because they do not believe in religion* is only to say that did they believe in religion they would favor such recognition. They thus abandon the broad principle of religious liberty, the common ground upon which the purest Christians and the most pronounced infidels have in the past fought side by side for their God-given rights, and assent that the question instead of being one of inalienable human rights is one of fact. But to this we can never agree. We maintain that the truth or falsity of the Christian religion has nothing whatever to do with this question. This we believe to be the only consistent position, and to take any other is to abandon the principle of religious liberty and concede that the whole matter is only a question of majorities.

We hope to say more upon this subject next week; at which time we shall examine some of President Westbrook's reasons for opposing the reading of the Bible in schools supported by the State. We shall likewise have something to say about the proposed manual for the teaching of morality in the public schools. C. P. B.

Why We Oppose Sunday Laws.

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. For these and similar reasons we oppose and would oppose all such measures. Disguise their motive 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. And not only so, but Sunday laws are unjust to man. There are in every State, and indeed in almost every neighborhood, three classes, namely, (1) Christians who regard Sunday religiously, (2) Christians who do not regard Sunday, but who do regard the seventh day, and (3) non-religious persons who regard all days alike. Sunday laws necessarily discriminate between these classes. If, as is sometimes the case, the seventh-day Christians are exempted from the provisions of the law, then it is a fact that they are favored above others simply because they are Christians. They are granted certain privileges on account of their religion, and that is contrary to the spirit of American institutions. If they are not exempted and are required to obey the law and refrain from Sunday work, they are deprived of one-sixth of

their God-given time for conscience' sake. But in any event the non-religious are forced to observe, to some extent, a religious institution in which they have no faith. C. P. B.

Memorials of 1829-30. No. 1.

A MEMORIAL FROM SENATOR BLAIR'S STATE.

IN the interesting Sunday agitation of 1829-30, petitions, both for and against the discontinuance of Sunday mails, were sent to Congress from all parts of the country. Considerable interest was aroused, and even in Congress politicians were found to champion both causes. Several reports were written; but the most influential, and the ones receiving the approbation of Congress, were those written by Colonel Johnson, of Kentucky, afterwards Vice-President of the United States.

As the same question has been again introduced in our National Assembly by Senator Blair, of New Hampshire, whose Sunday Bill is now in the committee rooms of Congress, perhaps some of the old documents which aided so materially in the defeat of Sunday legislation sixty years ago, will be of interest to the readers of THE AMERICAN SENTINEL. The first I shall send you is a memorial from Senator Blair's own State. It reads as follows:—

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

The subscribers, citizens of the United States, and inhabitants of Portsmouth, in the county of Rockingham, and State of New Hampshire, having been informed that petitions have been, and are about to be presented to Congress by many of our fellow-citizens, in various sections of the country, praying that the transportation of the mail upon the first day of the week may be discontinued, we beg leave respectfully to remonstrate against granting the prayer of said petitioners, for the following, among other reasons:

We believe that the measure proposed by said petitioners, if carried into effect, would operate unfavorably upon the interests of the Post-office Department, and would occasion much inconvenience to our citizens generally; that it would wholly fail of effecting its avowed object, and would, in the end, *injure rather than promote the cause of true religion*; that, however pure and patriotic may have been the motives in which it originated, the measure has found its support among a majority of its friends more in their zeal than in their knowledge: yet we cannot but regard the steps they are taking as movements hostile to the liberties of the people, and we are persuaded that the *original movers* of the measure designed it as a stepping-stone to more sensible inroads upon our religious privileges. By establishing the principle it involves, *they hope to silence remonstrance against their future enterprises*, and contend successfully with weapons furnished them by Congress.

The supporters of the measure are sufficiently protected in their worship, and in the enjoyment of their religious privileges, by the laws of their respective States, and this is all they have a right to demand; while others are not permitted to disturb them, they should not, as we humbly conceive, be permitted to disturb others; they have not, to our knowledge, been appointed by the Almighty the defenders of his honor, or the avengers of his injuries. The experience of all ages fully testifies the deplorable consequences of arming religion with the power of the laws. Church and State were never united,

but the articles of their union were subsequently sealed with blood.

In an enlightened community, blessed with free and liberal institutions, *religious despotism can only be established insensibly, and by degrees. Every approach to it should be vigilantly guarded against by the Government.* Knowing that in all ages, down to the present time, the clergy have been enterprising and ambitious, seizing eagerly upon power, and exercising it without reason and without mercy, it would be arrogance in those of the present age to claim an exemption from similar propensities; and, even were they to claim it, their claim would not be credited by careful observers of their conduct. When we consider the number, talents, and influence of this body of men, their zeal and activity, the intimate union that exists among them, and the concert with which all their movements are accomplished; the astonishing credulity of many of their adherents; the support they derive from numerous religious corporations and societies, rapidly increasing in numbers and in wealth; the almost unlimited control which they exercise over our colleges and other literary institutions, with no power but the laws, which they are ambitious to control, to watch or check them—we see reason to dread even their unassisted efforts to deprive us of our liberties; but especially should we deprecate arming them with powers which properly belong only to the people and the rulers of their choice—powers, like in other days, to tread on the necks of kings, dictate laws to nations, and murder millions with impunity. *We cannot shut our eyes to the visible fact that the clergy are the prime movers, the life and soul of the measure prayed for by the petitioners.*

With these views and feelings, we deem it our sacred duty respectfully but solemnly, to remonstrate against the measure prayed for by said petitioners, and we feel conscious that *in so doing we shall best subserve the cause of true religion and the interests of our beloved country.**

These reasons, urged so forcibly and so successfully against Sunday legislation sixty years ago, are equally applicable today. What was the "life and soul" of that movement, is the "life and soul" of the present movement—and now, as then, the move is simply a stepping-stone to further legislation in the same line.

W. A. BLAKELY.

University of Michigan.

Is the State Supreme?

A CORRESPONDENT sends us a long defense of Sunday laws, from which we take the following extract:—

The question involves nothing more nor less than the conscience of the individual in conflict with the will of the State, and the decision heretofore by eminent jurists, has been, that "the State must not waver." Why? Because "the State is supreme." If the will of the State is to be bandied about "by every wind of doctrine," then it will be plain to every reasoning mind, the State can never proceed upon any well-regulated system of law, and "without system there can be no rule of action," which will not do for a State. Well, but, you will now say, the State has nothing to do with conscience. Indeed! I have just shown that where the will of the State is opposed by the conscience of the individual "the State must not waver."

Certainly "the question is nothing more nor less than the conscience of the individual in conflict with the will of the State;" it does not follow, however, that "the State must not waver." In its legitimate sphere "the State is supreme and must not waver;" but the domain of con-

science is a domain that the State has no right to invade. By "conscience," we mean, as defined by Webster, "the faculty, power, or principle which decides on the lawfulness or unlawfulness of our actions [the divine law being the standard], and approves or condemns them."

This domain, we say, the State has no right to invade; and it needs no extended argument to prove this proposition. It has been truly said of civil government, that "the domain which it invades it dominates; the jurisdiction which it takes it keeps." This fact alone should forever exclude it from the sacred precincts of the soul, for no man can ever surrender his conscience to the keeping of another and maintain his own self-respect, to say nothing of his loyalty to his God.

Governments have in past ages assumed to dominate the realm of conscience; the sequel is the history of the Inquisition. The thumbscrew, the rack, and the fagot are inseparable from the theory advocated by our correspondent. He may affirm that he would not carry it so far as that, but it is impossible for him to stop short of it without abandoning his theory. It is for this reason that we oppose all Sunday laws; they are the beginnings of intolerance; they necessarily trench upon the most sacred right of man, namely, the right to worship (which carries with it the right not to worship) just as seemeth him good.

Sunday is, and always was, a religious festival. It was originally sacred to the worship of the sun god, and is now very generally regarded as commemorating the resurrection of Christ, and is by many held to be the Sabbath. If it were not regarded as sacred there would be no demand for laws enforcing its observance. It is therefore a matter that the State has no right to touch.

It is true that the friends of Sunday legislation have learned wisdom by past experience, and endeavor as much as possible to keep in the background the fact that their motive is religious, but they can never get away from the facts. They demand a "civil Sabbath;" but what they mean is a religious Sabbath enforced by civil law. Mr. Crafts himself says: "Take the religion out and you take the rest out;" and right in harmony with this utterance is the following "plank" from the platform of the Pennsylvania Prohibitionists:—

The Sabbath must be preserved by the due enforcement of existing laws and the speedy enactment of such additional legislation as may be necessary to insure its due observance.

The words "Sabbath" and "due observance" are not civil, or secular, but religious terms, and the thought back of them was a religious thought. It is not physical rest but spiritual worship that is the object of Sunday laws. The plea that "all must rest or none can," is negated by the fact that thousands do rest

upon days when the majority are at work. All told, our country contains probably fifty thousand seventh-day Christians, who conscientiously and habitually rest upon the seventh day, the busiest day of all the week, and they find no difficulty in doing so, and desire no law compelling others to rest at the same time.

Again, this is a question with which majorities and minorities have nothing to do. The rights of a single individual are just as sacred, and should be just as carefully guarded as the rights of a multitude. The State properly protects from interruption religious meetings upon every day; and it very properly does the same for other meetings. Such laws are right, they apply to all people and to all days, but laws setting apart certain days for religious purposes and stopping on those days all the ordinary avocations of life, are opposed to the spirit of our institutions, and to the spirit of true Christianity; and should be opposed alike by the patriot and by the Christian.

This is the principle upon which we stand; we could not, with our understanding of the word of God, do otherwise and maintain our Christian integrity.

C. P. B.

Is It Personal Rights or Selfishness?

THE *Young Men's Era*, of Chicago, in an article relative to the opening of the World's Fair on Sunday, says:—

Much of the outcry against the enforcement of laws pertaining to Sabbath observance, the Bible in the public schools, etc., is based on the claim of interference with personal rights and religious convictions. Is it not about time the rights and religious convictions of the other side shall be taken into consideration? Shall there not be some assertion that the rights of the Christian people in this country, rights and privileges which we have inherited from our forefathers, and that are vouchsafed to us by the laws of the land, shall be respected?

This is another instance of the prevailing ignorance of what constitutes personal rights. The idea seems to obtain quite generally that the rights of different people always clash, and that for one class of people to have their rights, another class must yield theirs. This is a great mistake. Human rights are equal. If no man grasps more than he has a right to, every man will have all that he has a right to. Take the case of Sunday rest. It is stated that every man has a right to it. That is true, if he wants it; and it is just as true that every man has a right not to rest if he does not want to. The right of choice implies the right of refusal. If a man has not the right to refuse to do a certain thing, then he has no right to choose to do it; it is then no longer a matter of right, but of compulsion, and in that case the rights of some are certain to be trampled upon.

Moreover, the right of one man to refuse to do a certain thing does not interfere with the right of another to do it. The

fact that one man does not observe Sunday, does not interfere in the least with the right of another man to keep it. The fact that one man objects to hearing the Bible read, or to having his children hear it read, does not in the least interfere with the right of another man to read it for himself, and to his children. So the opening of the Fair on Sunday will not in the least degree interfere with the personal rights and religious convictions of those who regard Sunday as the Sabbath, since none will be compelled to visit it on that day. On the other hand, to refuse to have it opened on that day would seriously interfere with the right of thousands who have no conscientious scruples in regard to the day, and who cannot see the Exposition on any other day, yet who have as much right to see it as others have; and while these are being deprived of a right, those who regard Sunday religiously will not be having anything added to their rights and privileges, since the closing of the Fair will not enable them to rest or go to church any better than if it were open.

In these days professed Christians have need to beware lest they confuse personal rights and selfishness, and while they deprive others of what is their right, add nothing to themselves.—*Signs of the Times.*

Danger to Our Civil Institutions.

THE common sense of the people sees very plainly that if religious instruction is introduced, the school system as it is cannot remain. It will be broken up and church schools substituted. There will be Catholic, Protestant, Jewish, and infidel schools, and each division will have to support its own. The proposition has been made that the school fund be distributed among Catholics and Protestants according to their numbers; but the State can make no such religious discrimination. A great part of the population, also, are of no religious belief and convictions, and the number of Jewish children in the schools is large, much larger proportionately than the number of Jews in town. Neither is there any agreement among Protestants as to what is the true religion to teach. Schools that would suit Episcopalians would not suit Baptists and Methodists. If there is to be any religious instruction, each party will demand that it be after its own tenets. Each wants to hold its own children in its own fold, for on them chiefly depends the perpetuation of its strength.

The only way to escape discord is to keep the instruction purely secular, and it is the only course consistent with our theory of Government. Otherwise we should have to give up the public school system altogether, and turn over education to private enterprise wholly. If there were as much dissatisfaction with this divorce of religion among parents generally as there is among theologians, such a

result would be unavoidable. The people would not support the public schools. But the census every autumn shows that there is no such popular discontent. In spite of many Catholic and Protestant parish schools, the public school-houses are not large enough and numerous enough to hold the children who are sent to them. The great mass of the people seem to take no interest in the discussion which is so active in many religious quarters. They are not disturbed because religion is out of the schools.—*New York Sun.*

Christian Morality.

IN reply to our advice to "read the twelfth chapter of Paul's 'Epistle to the Romans,' to learn what practical Bible Christianity is," the *Truth Seeker* devotes nearly a page to an attempt to discredit the Scriptures, and after quoting a number of texts which infidels generally regard as objectionable, says:—

We trust that our religious contemporary will be kind enough to say whether it approves of the practical Bible Christianity outlined in the passages we have quoted; and if it does not to say why.

Space forbids any extended answer to the *Truth Seeker's* effort. It is not the mission of this paper to discuss Bible truth, further than it bears directly upon the proper relations of Church and State. Nevertheless, believing that a courteous question demands a candid reply, we will say that THE SENTINEL is a Christian paper, and that its editors heartily accept the Scriptures as the revealed will of God. We do not, however, accept the interpretation put by infidels upon the texts quoted by our Lafayette Place contemporary. For instance, the *Truth Seeker* says:—

In chapter twelve of the 'Epistle to the Romans,' Paul recommends honesty (ver. 17); but in the third chapter he says:—

For if the truth of God hath more abounded through my lie unto his glory, why yet am I also judged as a sinner?

Perhaps Paul was trying to make the truth of God abound when he recommended the providing of honest things; for he admits to the Corinthians that he caught them with guile (2 Cor. 12:16). That, we suppose, is "practical Bible Christianity," as the vote buying, slandering of opponents, and deception of the people nowadays by Christian statesmen is "practical politics."

We dislike to impute to anybody wrong motives, but in this case we can scarcely think that the editor of the *Truth Seeker* does not know that Paul was arguing against the very thing of which infidels accuse him, namely, of doing evil that good might come. The apostle says that this was "slandrously reported" of him then; and it seems that some are still circulating the same old slander.

Of guile, Webster says: "Craft; cunning; artifice; duplicity; deceit;—usually in a bad sense." But the apostle does not use it in a bad sense; indeed, he did not use the word "guile" at all, but a word meaning "artifice." The Diaglott renders it: "I did not burden you; but being cunning, I took you by artifice." Paul

simply used good judgment in dealing with men; he combined the wisdom of the serpent with the harmlessness of the dove. This is well illustrated by his sermon on Mars Hill (Acts 17:22-31); instead of preaching to them from the Jewish Scriptures, he took for his text an inscription on one of their own altars and quoted to them their own poets; it was thus that Paul used guile.

The difficulties which the *Truth Seeker* finds in the other texts cited are only imaginary, as we have shown them to be in Rom. 3:7 and 2 Cor. 12:16, and we must still insist that it is unjust for that paper to charge upon Christianity all the faults of much of that which to-day is called Christianity. Men professing to be Christians are guilty of "vote buying, slandering of opponents, and deception of the people," but they are not Bible Christians, and we want the *Truth Seeker* to recognize the fact. The Bible standard of morals is infinitely higher than is the practice of many who call themselves Christians. The *Truth Seeker* may deny this, but fortunately its *ipse dixit* does not make true that which it asserts. The idea that Christianity is immoral is negated not only by the facts, but by the admission of infidels themselves; and it is too late in the history of the world for unbelievers to oppose the religion of the Lord Jesus Christ because it is immoral. The world knows better; and we think that the *Truth Seeker* must certainly know better too.

C. P. B.

The Public Schools.

It is not the business of the public schools to give a complete education, or even an approximation thereto. The principles upon which they are founded is simply to go so far as within reasonable limitations, may be deemed necessary for the protection and safety of the State. Beyond this we have no business to go. Religion is an individual want or realization, which pertains to the individual alone, or, distinct from his rights and duties, as represented in the State—a part of which he is, and in all of which he bears a responsible share, over and above any allegiance which he owes to his own spiritual nature or the religious powers which represent this element in the ecclesiastical organism which gives form and force to the outward acts of man.

If there are any deficiencies they should be supplied in some other way. If religion could be taught, it should be taught by the church, where each can be represented in its own way, and where each can be cared for without interference from the other. The public school is the creature of the State, and the State, in this country, is inherently and distinctively republican. So that if you want to set aside or modify the school, in this respect, to suit the special religious views of any

sect or church, the first thing will be to break down the principle upon which they rest. That is, republican government. If that is legitimate and right they must stand intact, and perform their duties in perfect harmony therewith. And, in this respect, there can be no distinction. All are equal and all are entitled to receive whatever education may be legitimate with this end in view.

Therefore, it must be common, in which all agree, as far as it goes. And hence all who agree in republican government must be supplied with an education that simply conforms therewith. And so the schools being creatures of the State, which is itself secular, must be of a secular character; and their secular character must not be tampered with or encroached upon by any religious body, Catholic or Protestant.

The public schools are for all creeds, or no creed—Catholic, Protestant, or Agnostic; for all nationalities, native-born and foreign—for the American, the Irishman, the German or Italian. This makes them impartial, secular and comprehensive. No other system can exist in this country so long as it is republican in manner and form.—*The National View.*

Work of the Church.

IN matters of political economy the church is not authorized to expound God's will. Every time she has tried it she has done no end of mischief, and never any good. Our Lord refused to be a judge in the distribution of property, and he never gave to his church an authority he would not assume for himself. What Jesus did was to forbid oppression, but what oppression was in a particular case he did not decide. Solomon might have done that, Caiaphas might do that, but it was not for Him to do it. He asserted principles of love, unselfishness, order, but particular cases under those principles he never decided. He cried out for justice, mercy, and truth, but which brother had the right on his side was for the civil courts to determine. Who made me a judge over you? What right have I to decide these questions?

There is the guiding light for the Church in all ages. It lays down great principles, but it throws upon men the responsibility of deciding what is best and right under those principles. In the old slavery days in this country it was the duty of the Church to speak about the iniquity of human bondage, to speak of the sacredness of man, but it left men to decide how that iniquity was to be abrogated. It had no right to say that its members should go to the polls and vote with one political party as against the other. It is its duty to talk about the evils of intemperance, to urge men to sobriety in every possible way, but it has no right to say because a certain governor is commonly believed to be in

league with the saloons that no man can be a Christian and vote for him, nor has it any right to bind all its members to vote for prohibition or high license. The Lutherans of Illinois, according to recent papers, are making a political issue, fighting out at the polls a certain matter which they think nearly concerns them, and in my view it is a great mistake.—*Rev. John K. Allen, in Christian at Work.*

Let the Verdict Hasten.

IT is well that the case of R. M. King, Seventh-day Adventist, of Obion County, Tenn., is to be carried to the Supreme Court of the United States for adjudication. It will be remembered that he was heavily fined in the lower court for quietly working on his farm on Sunday; and that his defense as a Sabbath-keeper was disregarded. The decision has been sustained by the higher courts in the State, and hence the final appeal to the Supreme Court of the Nation. There have been several similar cases in which Seventh-day Adventists, and Seventh-day Baptists have been thus persecuted. Prejudice and ignorance have thus combined to produce a state of things like that which existed in the Middle Ages. Such cases denote a revival of the bigotry which burned Protestants and Papists in the stormy days of the English Reformation. It seems incredible that such things can be in the last decade of the nineteenth century. They are part and parcel of the new crusade represented by the American Sabbath Union, and the attempt to save the failing fortunes of Sunday by civil law. We are glad that the highest tribunal of the Nation is to pass upon this case. Every Sabbath-keeper is directly involved in the results which are likely to flow from that decision. The whole status of the Sunday laws of the United States is also likely to be much affected, *pro* or *con*, by the verdict of the court. Let that verdict hasten.—*Sabbath (Baptist) Recorder.*

Let the Churches Teach Religion.

THE unsectarianism of our public school system is the secret of its whole power, so that to sectarianize it would be to utterly destroy it. It is an American axiom that the perpetuity of our civil and religious freedom depends on a complete severance of Church and State. No loyal American who is acquainted with the theory and history of our Government will question that postulate for a moment. The First Amendment to our national Constitution is in these words: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion." That settles the matter. Our public schools must be carried on consistently with that idea; there must be no sectarianism there; there must be no "establishment of religion" in connection with any of our national institutions;

certainly not in the public schools, where children are being trained for citizenship at the public expense.

I believe in parochial schools. We have hundreds of Presbyterian schools, and the Baptists have hundreds more, but these are not sustained at the public expense. We expect to go on teaching the Westminster Confession of Faith in our denominational schools, but we have not the brazen effrontery to ask the commonwealth to foot the bills. If we choose to have a Presbyterian dance we will pay the piper with Presbyterian money. And that, too, while loyally supporting the non-sectarian public schools. There is room for both. The public schools, however, must always and everywhere be of such a character that parents may send their children to them with a definite assurance that their rights of conscience shall not be violated by the propaganda of any sect. Only so can our religious freedom be protected and secured for coming days.—*Rev. Dr. Burrell.*

German Lutherans and the English Language.

SOME alarm has been felt in some parts of the West lest through the influence of parochial schools the rising generation should be kept in ignorance of the English language. We regard this fear as utterly groundless. How German Lutherans themselves look at the question will be seen from the following article from the *Vindicator*, a Lutheran paper, published in Pittsburg, Pennsylvania:—

The opinion is freely expressed on all hands that the German language in this country will, sooner or later, die out. At the meeting of the Kansas District of the Missouri Synod, in Atchison, Kansas, last September, this opinion was expressed—not by young men and unthinking enthusiasts—but by aged men of wide and varied experience. Everybody seems to become gradually reconciled to the inevitable; so then all that remains to be done is to draw the legitimate conclusions and to act upon the hint.

Well, then, if that comes to pass what the wisest among us predict and concede to be inevitable, what is to become of our German Lutheran Church? Shall it die with the language? Perish the thought! No true Lutheran can bear even to think of such a thing! And yet this must inevitably be the fate of the church unless sufficient provision is made to preach our doctrines in the English language. Or are we waiting for the precise moment when the climax shall have been reached, then all at once make German congregations English? We all know that such a thing is impossible. A change like the one in question must be accomplished gradually. There will be no discharge of artillery to warn us of the necessity of a change. No

angel will appear to tell us; "now is the time, up and change your tactics!" We are bidden to read the signs of the times. Some of the German churches being emptied of young people ought to be sign sufficient that the time has come. Therefore we believe that English Lutheran congregations should be established *wherever an opportunity offers*. If we will not do so now the opportunity may be past by the time we are ready to act. Difficulties? Certainly the work is difficult, but so is all work worthy the effort of an honest man and a Christian. We cannot say that it is impossible, for we have not yet made an earnest and vigorous effort. We ought not to complain of small success, because, being new in the work we naturally make many mistakes. But then the Lord has not promised us brilliant success, nor any certain degree of success; but has said that his word, if preached faithfully shall not remain without fruits, and that ought to be sufficient for us.

Some will fear the danger that English Lutheran congregations will swerve from the standard of true Lutheranism. If this hitherto has sometimes happened, it is not to be wondered at. For they were exposed more than the German congregations to the influence of the sects around them, while they had but few truly Lutheran books and papers. But this ought not to discourage us, but rather act as an incentive to vigorous exertions in order that we may make the writings of the fathers of our church accessible to English speaking people. And when that has once been accomplished, doubt not that there will be as good English Lutheranism as there ever was in any other language.

The work may not be exactly such as we would choose were a choice left open. But it is thrust upon us, and seeing that it is, as all admit, either an English Lutheran Church or no Lutheran Church at all in this country, shall we any longer rest content with weak, half-hearted, tentative efforts? Will we continue to allow ourselves to be pushed and forced by dire necessity and by the force of circumstances? In several cases the opportunity was just slipping away from us before we were aroused. Already, in several places we are too late—not too late to do any good, but too late for the greatest measure of good. When the most favorable opportunity had passed then we arrived upon the scene. Too late! May it never be the fate of the Lutheran Church, nor of any section of it, to say of the performance of her duties—too late!

"WHEREVER religion organized in any church has sought or consented to receive any alliance with the civil power, it has corrupted her purity and shorn her of her strength, and it will be so till the end of time."

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"Songs of Freedom."

IN the recent call for poems designed for use in "Songs of Freedom," the time was limited to November 10; but as circumstances render the publication of the book impossible before the latter part of January, the time is extended to December 10, before which date all competing poems must be received. J. O. CORLISS.

THE *News-Banner*, of Troy, Tennessee, in its issue of November 6, publishes the following item:—

Robert M. King, the Seventh-day Adventist, who was tried in the circuit court, and sentenced to pay a seventy-five dollar fine for working on Sunday, and who appealed to the State Supreme Court, and had the decision affirmed, is in trouble.

Lawyer Richardson, of Dyersburg, is going to appeal the case to the Supreme Court of the United States, and has telegraphed to get Don. M. Dickinson, Post-master General under the Cleveland administration, to take charge of the case.

The time has come when King must pay the seventy-five dollar fine or go to jail. He says that it is religious persecution, and that he will go to jail before he will pay one cent. King is now in charge of Sheriff Jackson, awaiting the result of Colonel Richardson's efforts towards securing an appeal.

Mr. King writes a very interesting personal letter from the Obion County Jail, at Troy, narrating his experiences in confinement, his opportunities for conversation on Biblical truth, etc. He says of those who have him in charge, "I am treated just as kindly by the jailer as possibly could be expected," and mentions unexpected courtesies shown him by others.

While in jail he has been "interviewed" by a representative of the county paper, and this is his crisp account of the conversation:—

The editor of the *News-Banner* came down yesterday, and I had quite a talk with him. He asked me if the Judge would turn me out would I go home and quit work on Sunday? I told him that I could not promise that. I told him that I thought that I had a God-given right to work six days if I chose to do so. He also asked me if I would leave

the State if the Governor would pardon me? I told him, No, sir!

In the United States of America, during the last decade of the nineteenth century, a man, without known fault as a Christian and a citizen, is fined and imprisoned because in his devout simplicity, he reads in his Bible the commandment of God, "Six days shalt thou labor and do all thy work, but the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God, in it thou shalt do no work," etc., and acts accordingly. Is it possible to imagine a more ludicrous travesty on justice, true religion, and common sense?
W. H. M.

The National Reform Association.

THERE is no doubt that there is a class of people in America whose aim is to subvert our American institutions. This class are now working in Idaho for the purpose of establishing a theocracy. The green-eyed monster has fastened its covetous eyes upon our infantile commonwealth, and as an entering wedge it proposes to introduce a Sunday bill into our Legislature.

We have just been divorced from one church that demands of its adherents implicit obedience in matters both temporal and spiritual, and thank God and our worthy politicians, that we are free. Let not our Legislature be deceived. The National Reform Association is a foe to our form of Government. Article II of their Constitution reads as follows:—

The object of this society shall be to maintain existing Christian features in the American Government; to promote needed reforms in the action of the Government touching the Sabbath, the institution of the family, the religious element in education, the oath, and public morality as affected by the liquor traffic and other kindred evils; and to secure such an amendment to the Constitution of the United States as will declare the Nation's allegiance to Jesus Christ and its acceptance of the moral laws of the Christian religion, and so indicate that this is a Christian Nation, and place all the Christian laws, institutions and usages on an undeniably legal basis in the fundamental law of the land.

Let these principles prevail and our Government becomes a theocracy. There is in reality no such thing as a union of Church and State; both claim to be supreme, and they both should be supreme, but in their own realm. Let the Church dictate in secular matters and the bloody scenes of the Dark Ages will be re-enacted. Men and women would be imprisoned for conscience' sake. The history of Church rule is a history of bloodshed, a history of persecution. Men and women were burned at the stake for their belief. It was the Church that burned John Rogers at the stake, cut out Quaker's tongues, drowned witches, burned Servetus, condemned Joan of Arc, delivered her to the British soldiers to suffer death, then washed its hypocritical hands in innocency. If the Church would follow Christ, let it attend to its spiritual affairs and let the State manage the temporal matters.—*Idaho World*.

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"A REST day is justified," says Dr. McDonald, a prominent Sunday-law advocate, "upon the principle that the privilege of rest for each citizen depends upon the observance of one day of rest in seven, by everybody." But the assumption is false. Mr. Crafts himself says that "the Jew is left absolutely free to observe the seventh day." True enough; and so is every one else left absolutely free to keep the first day.

ACCORDING to the *Morning Journal*, Colonel Ingersoll says that "if we should finally invent some means of traveling by which we could go a thousand miles a day, a man could escape Sunday all his life by traveling west. He could start Monday, and stay in Monday all the time." The Colonel will have to invent some better argument than that against Sunday laws or they will, we fear, remain on the statute books of the several States. We don't wonder that Ingersoll said this, but we are surprised that any paper would think it worth printing. To escape Sunday all his life one would have to travel about twenty-five thousand miles a day.

THE standard argument used to win the masses to Sunday closing for the Columbian Exposition, is "that Sunday opening is not a boon to the working people, for it means unremittent toil for thousands of them—seven day's work for six day's pay." These words are from the *Union Signal*, but the *Observer* of this city, comes nearer the truth when it says: "Sunday opening is opposed solely in the interests of the Christian Sabbath, of rest from toil, and of holy occupation." And that is just what we have said all the time, namely, that were it not for their religious regard for the day not one of the champions of so-called civil Sunday laws would lift his voice, or wield his pen, in advocacy of a day of rest for the working man. "Take the religion out and you take the rest out," says Mr. Crafts, and it is equally true that take the religion out and you take out all the interest that the ministers and churches have in the matter. The Sunday movement is not a movement for the amelioration of labor, but for the bolstering up of emasculated Christianity by civil law.

"ISN'T it strange," says a Western paper, "that the laboring men, who are represented by the Sunday-law lecturers as consuming with desire for a Sunday law, are in mortal dread of saying anything about it, lest they should lose their places, and yet they will strike for an advance of twenty-five cents a day in wages, or even when they have no personal grievance, if a fellow-workman is discharged?" Well, yes, it would be strange if the representations of the Sunday-law advocates were all true; but inasmuch as they are not true the only strange thing about it is that men professing godliness will resort to duplicity to accomplish what they imagine to be a great moral reform. The Jesuits should be awarded a monopoly of "doing evil that good may come."

WE learn from the *China Mail* that a law forbidding Sunday labor in the harbor of Hong-Kong is among the probabilities of the near future. At a recent meeting of the Mercantile Marine Officers' Association held at Marine Hotel on Saturday evening, Captain S. Ashton, the President, addressed the members on the Sunday labor question. After alluding to "the good work" done by Rev. A. G. Goldsmith, with a view to bringing about a cessation of Sunday labor in the harbor, President Ashton said that he was a firm believer in the fourth commandment, and he thought those who obeyed it would "be healthier, wealthier, and wiser in the end." As in this country, the great plea for this Sunday law is that the laboring man may have opportunity to rest, and, as here, it appears that the real motive of the prime movers is their religious regard for the day. Were Sunday not religious the plea for a rest day for the "poor working man" would never be made.

A MEMBER of the Shaker Order, at Mount Lebanon, New York, writes to us saying:—

I wish that you could see, as I do, that the God of Israel was only a created being—a tutelary deity.

Well we can't see it; and furthermore it has nothing to do with the question of governmental regulation of religion and religious observances. We are Christians and believe most sincerely that Jehovah, the God of the Jews, is a self-existent being, that he created all things by Jesus Christ, and that the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments are his revealed will; but with Paine, the infidel, we would say to all who assume to dictate to their fellows in matters of religion: "Who art thou, vain dust and ashes! by whatsoever name thou art called, whether a king, a bishop, a Church, or a State, a parliament or anything else, that obtrudest thine insignificance between the soul of man and his Maker? Mind thine own concerns. If he believest not as thou believest, it is a proof that thou believest not as he be-

lievest, and there is no earthly power that can determine between you." Nevertheless we hold that it is the duty of all men to "fear God and keep his commandments;" "for God shall bring every work into judgment, with every secret thing, whether it be good, or whether it be evil." Eccl. 12:13, 14.

THE Sunday question seems to be just as perplexing in Hong-Kong as in America. The advocates there of enforced Sunday rest get just as badly tangled in its intricacies as they do here, and in a very similar manner, as is witnessed by the following extracts from an article in the *China Mail* in advocacy of a Sunday law for the harbor of Hong-Kong:—

I do not think there is one man in the Colony who would support compulsory Sunday observance throughout the Colony. Even if it were possible to enforce such a law, it would be a curse instead of a blessing.

Thus readeth extract No. 1. Number 2 is as follows:—

It would no doubt be well if this rest could be secured by voluntary co-operation, but that I fear is impracticable. Compulsory measures—always objectionable in themselves—have been sanctioned at home, and will I fear have to be resorted to in Hong-Kong.

Just so! It has been so; therefore, it must be so. This is the logic of Sunday laws the world over.

REFERRING to the Sunday closing of the Columbian Exposition, the *Union Signal* editorially says:—

The Woman's Christian Temperance Union, acting in conjunction with the Sabbath Observance Associations, has a great educational work to do along this line, and now is none too soon to begin. Educate by petitions, by mass-meetings, through the press; educate and agitate, till the Sunday-closing victory is won. Then plan and work for the best possible utilization of the Sabbath time during the Exposition; it will be the opportunity of the century for preaching Christ to those who know him not. So broadly should we plan and work that at the close of 1893 we can truthfully say, "Not one soul in the Columbian Exposition did not have salvation offered; no tried, tempted one need go away in chains to drink because a way out of temptation has not been shown him."

Thus again, it appears that the real object of the Sunday-closing movement is religious. It is right that the women of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union should plan to do all the good they can upon the occasion of the Exposition; but they have no right to invoke the aid of the civil power in the matter of offering salvation.

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The American Sentinel.

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EDITOR, - - - ALONZO T. JONES.

ASSOCIATE EDITORS,

C. P. BOLLMAN,

W. H. MCKEE.

THE *Union Signal* notes the fact that "the closing work of the Woman's Temperance Alliance (non-partisan) was to vote down, after thorough discussion, a resolution in favor of Sunday closing of the Columbian Exposition, upon the ground that it had nothing to do with temperance." And the Woman's Temperance Alliance did just right.

THE *Burlington Hawk-Eye* was not far wrong, as to the purpose of the National Reformers, when it placed over one of the Sabbath Convention reports, in large headlines, these words: "*The Fourth Commandment! A Series of Conventions to Secure its Observance.*" "We are convinced," says another Iowa paper, in commenting upon this, "that this 'Sabbath-rest' movement originated in a fanatical, religious zeal, and that its success will depend upon the continuous manifestation of such a spirit. Force is the method sought to be employed. The persuasive elements of the gospel have no place in such schemes." And this is the truth.

MR. CRAFTS says:—

When it is asserted that the movement to secure a law of Congress against Sunday work in Government service is really an effort of ecclesiastics to unite Church and State, I am accustomed to hold up some of the petitions that have been smutted by the hands of the toilers as they have signed them while at their work.

Well, when Mr. Crafts denies that the movement which he represents is primarily, and indeed almost wholly, a religious one, we are accustomed to quote his own

words: when asked if the needed physical rest could not be secured without any reference to religion, his answer was, "Take the religion out and you take the rest out." And so we say, Take the religious motive out of Mr. Crafts's work and there would not be energy enough left to move a thistle-down.

The Civil Sunday.

AT the National Reform Convention held in Washington City last spring, Judge M. B. Hagans, of Cincinnati, gave a long address upon the "civil Sabbath." The first half of it was devoted to a historic parallel which he finds between the time of Nehemiah and our own. And of the time of Nehemiah, he says:—

Both Jews and Gentiles were guilty of performing what the American statutes on this subject denominate common labor on the Sabbath, and were clearly violating the command of God which subjected the Jews, at least, to the severest penalties and direst judgment.

But, says Mr. Hagans:—

Nehemiah was not troubled with the modern contrivances of police courts, grand juries, witnesses and jury trials, and I may add lawyers, in enforcing his authority as both mayor and chief of police, so to speak, in Jerusalem.

Indeed he was not. The form of government under which Nehemiah acted was a theocracy. It was a government of God and the laws were the laws of God. Nehemiah was only the representative of God, and needed not to be troubled with the modern contrivances which Judge Hagans mentions. After showing the summary effects of the triumphant result of Nehemiah's action, it seemed to dawn upon the mind of Mr. Hagans that his example was proving too much both for the "civil Sabbath" and for all systems of government; consequently he attempted to apologize after this sort:—

Now, I am not here to commend or approve such proceedings against our modern violators of Sabbath laws, except in so far as they may find authority in the statutes of several States of this Union. Under our institutions the wielding of such summary power would be highly dangerous, indeed im-

possible and wrong to the last degree. But, oh, that we had mayors with the resolution and backbone of Nehemiah!

Well, if under our institutions the wielding of such summary power would be dangerous, and impossible, and wrong to the last degree, what in the world does he want with mayors, with the resolution and backbone of Nehemiah, who he says was both mayor and chief of police? Suppose they had in Cincinnati such a mayor as Nehemiah, what could that mayor do so long as he was "troubled" with "the modern contrivances" of police courts, grand juries, witnesses, jury trials, and lawyers? What then would become of his resolution and backbone? And if Nehemiah had been troubled with these contrivances would it have been possible for his resolution and backbone to accomplish the summary result which Judge Hagans applauds?

The Judge's apology is as bad as the presentation of the example for which he found it necessary to apologize. The trouble is that he endeavored to fit two things together which are absolutely incongruous. The example of Nehemiah never can be cited as a precedent on any subject under any form of government but a theocracy, and when it is cited as an example in any instance in the United States, it can be so only upon the theory that the government of the cities or States of the Union and the Union itself should be a theocracy, and should dispense with such "modern contrivances" as police courts, grand juries, witnesses, jury trials, and lawyers. In other words, dispense with the modern contrivance of government by the people.

This also shows the utter impossibility of advocating Sunday laws upon any other than a religious basis. A theocracy is essentially a religious government. Sabbath laws belong only with a theocracy. Sunday laws being advocated upon a theory that Sunday is the Sabbath, likewise are inseparable from a theocratical theory of government. In such a theory Sunday laws originated—with such a theory they belong, and every argument in behalf of Sunday laws is, in the nature of the case,

compelled to presuppose a theocratical theory of government.

Nor can this result be avoided by calling it the "civil Sabbath." To call it the "civil Sabbath" and then attempt to support it as such by arguments, everyone of which rests upon a theocratical basis, is simply to demonstrate that the title of "civil Sabbath" is simply a contrivance to save appearances, and is essentially a fraud.

After having argued what he called a "civil Sabbath," through nearly fourteen columns of the *Christian Statesman*, persistently asserting all the time that it is civil, yet being forced by the necessity of the case to argue for it as religious, he closes his long disquisition with these words:—

Such a day, if no more than the civil Sabbath, observed according to the requirements of law, will furnish a perpetual education to the soul, bringing refreshment to the body, and turn the hearts of men to Him who made the Sabbath for man.

If such a result as that can follow the observance of a "civil Sabbath" according to the requirements of the law of the States of this Union, then what need is there of any other means to furnish perpetual education to the soul and turn the hearts of men to God? And if that would be the effect of statutes enforcing a civil Sabbath, what could be the effect of statutes enforcing the religious Sabbath? The education of the soul and the turning of the hearts of men to Him who made the Sabbath for man are religious exercises. Any law or any effort which will accomplish this is religious and nothing else, and when a statute, though called civil, is intended to accomplish any such purpose it is a religious statute.

When such a long disquisition, by such a man, upon the civil Sabbath, follows such a course and ends in such a way, as does this by Judge Hagans, it is as clear a demonstration as needs ever to be, that Sunday legislation is religious legislation, and that only; that Sunday laws are religious laws and nothing else, and that the "civil Sabbath" is only a mask for the religious Sunday.

A. T. J.

Old Time Moral Laws.

THIS was a period when the so-called "blue laws" were most rigorously enforced, not only in Connecticut, with which tradition associates them, but in Massachusetts. In the former colony no food or lodging could be given to a Quaker, Adamite or other heretic. No one could run on the Sabbath day or walk in his garden or elsewhere, except reverently to and from meeting. No one could travel, cook victuals, make beds, sweep house, cut hair or shave on the Sabbath day. No woman could kiss her child on Sabbath or fasting day. Whoever brought cards into the colony paid a fine of five pounds. No one could read the Book of Common

Prayer, keep Christmas or saints' days, make minced pies, dance, play cards, or play on any instrument of music except the trumpet, drum, or jewsharp. Liquor drinking was regulated, and the use of tobacco was tinkered incessantly. No one under twenty-one years, nor any one not previously accustomed to it, could take tobacco without a physician's certificate. No one could take it publicly in the street or in the fields or woods, except on a journey of ten miles. Nor could any one take it in any house in his own town with more than one other person taking it at the same time. This last injunction was leveled at the so-called "tobacco parliaments." About 1645 the Massachusetts magistrates were greatly troubled that the people would tell lies.—*Weeden's "First One Hundred Years."*

That was paternalism in government pure and unadulterated! And that is what the National Reformers are using their untiring efforts to again bring into force in this country in the ostensible interests of the "poor workingman." Their paternal care for him seems to be more in the matter of resting on the first day, than in providing work for him the other six days in the week, as thousands of men in enforced idleness can testify.

President Westbrook on the Bible in the Schools.

"SHALL the Bible be read in the public schools?" was the subject of a speech by President Westbrook, at the Portsmouth Secular Congress. He, of course, gave a negative answer to the question, and supported it by the following reasons (actual and so-called), which he dwelt upon at considerable length:—

1. Because there is no common agreement as to what constitutes the Bible.
2. Because there is no common agreement as to what parts are historical and what parts are allegorical.
3. Because there is no common agreement as to what doctrines are taught in the Bible.
4. Because it contains so much that is cruel and obscene.
5. Because the moral is so mixed up with the immoral that there is great danger of contamination by contact.
6. We might just as well go one step further and say that we object to the reading of the Bible in our State schools because of its defective morality.
7. Because the teachers can so manipulate it in reading as to favor their own particular views.
8. Because it would not secure the object contemplated.
9. Because it is a violation of the secular principle of the Constitution of the United States, and of the Constitutions of the several States, which forbids the teaching of sectarianism at the public expense.

We quite agree with Doctor Westbrook in his conclusion, namely, that the Bible has no proper place in the public school; but must dissent from several of his "reasons." Indeed, the last three are about the only real reasons given, and one of them will hardly bear investigation. We

will examine the several reasons by number.

1. It is true that there is no common agreement as to what constitutes the Bible, but that fact is not a *reason* why it should not be read in the schools. There is universal agreement as to what constitutes the Book of Mormon and the Westminster Confession of Faith; yet it would not be proper to read them in the public schools. The reason that the Bible is rightfully excluded is because it is a religious book, and the State cannot properly teach religion.

2. The Doctor's second reason is of no more force than the first. It is true that the difference of opinion to which he alludes does exist, but even if there were perfect agreement on this point the reading of the Bible in schools supported in whole or in part by the State, would be no less objectionable than it is now. Were this not the case a book of selections might be compiled embracing only such passages as are universally admitted to be either historical or ethical. But the fact is that the entire value of the Bible is due to the fact that it is religious; it belongs therefore to a realm beyond the jurisdiction of the State, and therefore the State should let it alone.

3. A common agreement as to the doctrines of the Bible would not alter the case one particle. It is not the business of the State to teach religion, and no agreement, however perfect, could possibly give to civil government a jurisdiction that does not naturally belong to it.

Reasons 4, 5, and 6, are substantially the same, and are utterly false and misleading. The Bible is so far from being an immoral book that it contains the purest morality. But it is not our purpose to dwell on that phase of the question. The Bible is not a football to be kicked about between contending parties and to be judged by school-boards. The State has no right to sit in judgment upon it and to decide that it is too immoral to be read in the public schools. Even President Westbrook must admit this, for if one State or one school board could properly exclude the Bible because in its opinion the book is immoral, another State or another school board might properly admit it because in its opinion it is moral. The very nature of the book places it above the jurisdiction of States and of school-boards. It comes to us as a supernatural thing, a revelation from God, and thus appeals to the consciences of men, and binds them under penalties entirely beyond the power of human governments either to enforce or to remit. This it is that places it beyond the domain of civil government and removes it far beyond the jurisdiction of school-boards and town meetings.

Each man must accept or reject the Bible for himself, and the consequences of his decision he must abide. It is a matter

between his own soul and his God, and the State has no right to exert its influence to turn him either this way or that.

To put it in the most concise form, President Westbrook and those who hold with him, object to the Bible in the school *because they do not believe it*; this being the case did they believe the Bible they would stand shoulder to shoulder with those who demand that it shall be read in our public schools. But by assuming this position, they virtually demand that the State shall decide that the Bible is not the word of God; but the State has no more right to make such a decision than it has to decide the contrary. To say that the State shall decide that the Bible is not the word of God, that it is, on the contrary, an immoral book unfit to be read in public, is to assent that it might properly decide that it is a moral book and decree that it shall be read in the schools. The only tenable and consistent position is to demand that the State shall let the question severely alone.

C. P. B.

Sunday Laws of Europe.

AN earnest effort will unquestionably be made this winter to secure a re-enactment of the Sunday law by our Legislature.

Rev. N. R. Johnston of this city is one of those most actively engaged in this project of reviving the old penal Sunday legislation, which some years ago was abolished. Mr. Johnson sends to an evening paper a summary of recent legislation in some European countries on this subject, and seems to think that we in California should follow suit. From this summary it appears that in Austria, in order that the printers may have a rest day, it has been decreed that no newspapers shall publish a Monday morning issue, and in Germany the Socialists have introduced a bill before the Reichstag "forbidding all industrial occupations on Sundays and holidays."

Despotic governments, in which there is an established religion, may with some consistency enact such arbitrary laws, but in this free country, where the Constitution provides against the establishment of any religion, they are absolutely out of place. Does Mr. Johnston imagine that our people would enact a law like that in Austria forbidding the issue of a Monday morning paper because work on it has been done on Sunday? Or does he suppose it would be possible here to secure and enforce a law like that which the German Socialists ask for, forbidding all industrial occupations on Sundays and holidays? Mr. Johnston is an intelligent man and he is well aware that our Constitution, as it stands, does not favor but opposes such legislation as this which, though nominally in the interests of the laboring man, is really in the interests of a religious creed; and it is for that reason, undoubtedly, that

he has joined the "National Reform Society," as it is called.

The avowed object of this Society is so to amend the United States Constitution as substantially to make what is called "Evangelical Christianity" the established religion. Mr. Johnson is doubtless honest and sincere in his opinions favorable to such changes, but he will find that the people do not want and will not have them.—*Morning Times, Oakland, Cal.*

Sound Advice.

It seems that out in Oregon some barbers have sent up a petition to the Legislature, asking it to compel them to close their shop on Sunday; and upon this the *Free-thought*, of San Francisco, pointedly comments as follows:—

The barbers of Oregon ought to have more sense than they display in the petition for Sunday-closing laws which they are circulating. Some of them desire to close their shops on Sunday, as they have a perfect right to do, and for that reason they ask that those who do not share their wish shall be forced to coincide with them. Here is the petition to the Legislature, circulated for signatures in Portland, East Portland, Albina, and Astoria, and which is to be presented all over the State:—

We, the undersigned, being engaged in the business of barbering in the State of Oregon, and wishing to have one day of rest each week, most respectfully petition your honorable body to enact a law making it unlawful to keep open any barber-shop or to carry on or conduct the business of barbering on Sunday.

The Legislature of the State should reply to this petition somewhat as follows:—

Gentlemen of the Barbering Business:—Your petition asking that a law be passed making it unlawful to keep open any barber-shop or to carry on or conduct the business of barbering on Sunday, has been received. In reply this honorable body would state that it will do nothing of the sort, for the following reasons:

First, It does not own the barber-shops of the State, and therefore has no control over them.

Second, This honorable body has no power to declare any business unlawful on one day of the week that is lawful upon other days of the week.

Third, It is beyond the scope of this honorable body to provide rest-days for barbers or for those engaged in any business or calling; but, on the other hand, this honorable body will not interfere if the barbers choose to rest not only one day of the week but seven. We would respectfully refer the matter to the gentlemen engaged in the business of barbering.

Fourth, This honorable body would respectfully suggest that there may be persons engaged in the barbering business who would prefer to accommodate their customers by shaving them on the first

day of the week, commonly called Sunday. This is their right, and we cannot interfere with it.

Fifth, Those of our petitioners who desire to rest on Sunday are cordially invited by us, and not only invited but urged to do so. It is clearly within their right, and we will protect them in it. To this end, it would be advisable for proprietors of barber-shops to carefully lock the doors of their places of business on Saturday night, and to refrain from unlocking them on Sunday morning or at any time throughout the day. It is already provided by law that any person forcing or breaking his way into a barber-shop is liable to arrest and punishment for felony.

Sixth (and lastly), We should regard such a law as you propose as an impertinence and an invasion of individual rights. As aforesaid, we respectfully decline to pass any such law. It is our function to protect liberty, not to outrage it.

Religion in the Schools.

A CONFERENCE of the Protestant denominations of the State of New York, called to discuss the question of "moral instruction in public schools," and to devise methods for its furtherance, was held in the council room of the University of New York, on November 17 and 18, with Rev. Howard Crosby in the chair. Delegates to the number of about fifty were present from all parts of the State, representing different denominations. The Baptists, alone, refused to take part in the Conference, taking occasion, in declining the invitation, to express themselves as unalterably opposed to the teaching of religion in the public schools of the State. The Secretary of the Conference in reporting the attitude of the different denominations toward the purpose of the meeting attempted to break the force of this positive expression of opinion from the Baptists by saying that they had evidently misapprehended the purpose of the Conference, but the clear and succinct statement of their reasons for failing to send delegates, contained in their reply to the call, was sufficient evidence that they understood the ultimate result to which these movements tend even better than those who planned and called the meeting.

The views and purposes which the Conference was intended to develop may be drawn from the subjects of the addresses upon the programme, which was accurately followed. The following are the topics for discussion:—

1. "The problem before us;"
2. "How can religious teaching in public schools be secured and rendered effective?"
3. "Statistics of moral instruction and religious exercises in the public schools of the State;"
4. "What do our Constitution and laws hold as to religious teaching in public schools?"
5. "What does expediency dictate as to any religious exercises in public schools?"
6. "How far does expediency dictate that State-supported schools should inculcate the principles of

morals and religion?" 7. "What should be the ground and character of the instruction in morals in our public schools?" 8. "What should this Conference do to carry out its views upon this subject?"

William Allen Butler struck the keynote in sympathy with the feeling which was apparently held by the majority of those present when he said:—

We find that while there is in this State an absolute divorce of Church and State and a controlling mandate against interference by the State with the freedom of religious opinion and worship, there is not and never has been, any divorce between Christianity and the State, or between the State government in its administration and the Christian religion as revealed in the Scriptures. On the contrary, it was settled long ago, and cannot now be disputed, that Christianity is a part of the common law of this State, as it was a part of the common law of England, at the time when New York ceased to be a Colony of Great Britain and became a sovereign State.

It was Mr. Butler's conclusion that the laws of the State would uphold the Department of Public Instruction in requiring religious instruction in the public schools to a specified extent. This address was extremely well received by the Conference and voted to be published and given a wide distribution. The address, however, did not meet the views of all. One delegate took exceptions to it in an able speech during which he very properly characterized the argument drawn from Blackstone's declaration that "Christianity is part of the law of the land," as arrant nonsense in fact, however strong it might be in legal precedent. Rev. W. H. Ward, editor of the *Independent*, also shocked the general sense of the meeting by saying:—

We may consider it as settled that religion is not to be taught in the public schools. The American people will not trust the State to teach religion.

Although these unexpected differences of opinion threw something of a damper upon the enthusiasm of the meeting, still the business committee reported favorably a series of resolutions, which were adopted, in which it was declared that the State and religion were inseparable, and that the practical truths of religion should be inculcated in the public school system. A committee of from one to three from each Protestant denomination in the State was appointed to carry on the work, and further the interests of "moral instruction in the public schools." W. H. M.

Deference to Public Opinion.

THE Christian will do *his duty* regardless of public opinion. Though not indifferent to the good opinions of his fellowmen, and carefully avoiding all appearances even of wrong, yet he will never allow the views of his fellows to become a motive for action or non-action. Public opinion must not become conscience. Whatever the Word of God, and our conscience in obedience to the Word of God and the exigencies of the time demand, that must be done whether the world look

sweet or sour. Every one is individually responsible to his God, he is not accountable to public opinion. Nearly everything good and great which has benefited the race, has been done, at the time in direct violation and contradiction of men's preconceived notions and opinions.—*The Vindicator*.

Memorials of 1829-30. No. 2.

SUNDAY LEGISLATION AN ANTI-REPUBLICAN UNION OF CHURCH AND STATE.

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

The undersigned, memorialists of the town of Newark, county of Essex, and State of New Jersey, being apprized of the numerous petitions presented to your honorable body, praying a repeal of the present laws for the transportation of the mails and the opening of the post-offices on the first day of the week, beg leave (in accordance with their sense of duty) humbly to memorialize your honorable body, and pray that no such repeal be made, nor any law be enacted interfering with the Post-office Department, so as to prevent the free passage of the mail on *all* days of the week, or to exclude any individual from the right to receive his papers on the first, as well as on the seventh day.

Notwithstanding, your memorialists have the fullest confidence in the wisdom and integrity of our national Legislature, they are induced to memorialize your honorable body at this time, from a fear lest the reiterated efforts of bigotry and fanaticism should finally prevail on your honorable body to legislate upon a subject which your memorialists consider is, by the Constitution of these States and the laws of nature, left free; and which, for the welfare of mankind, should be maintained so. Nor can they at this time refrain from expressing their astonishment at, and their disapprobation of, the reiterated and untiring efforts of a part of the community, who, through misguided zeal or ecclesiastical ambition, essay to coerce your honorable body into a direct violation of the principles of the Constitution, by the enactment of laws, *the object of which would be to sustain their peculiar tenets or religious creeds*, to the exclusion of others; thereby uniting ecclesiastical and civil law, and leading ultimately to the abhorrent and anti-republican union of Church and State.

Your memorialists would not presume to remonstrate, were it not that their opponents (after a most signal defeat in last Congress) have renewed their petitions with a vigor increased by disappointment, and a spirit as perseveringly determined as their premises are illiberal and unwarrantable.

Your memorialists approve of morality, reverence religion, and grant to all men equal rights, and are governed by the principles of our Constitution and the laws of our land; but we deprecate intolerance, abhor despotism, and are totally opposed to all attempts of the religions of any sect to control our consciences.

Nor can your memorialists perceive wherein their opponents are deprived of their liberty of conscience by the uninterrupted course of the mails, for if it be right for them to travel on the first day of the week, it cannot be wrong for the mails; if it be consistent for them to do *their* business on the first day of the week, it cannot be inconsistent for the mails to be made up and opened, and papers delivered, on the same day; if the traveling *they* do, and the labors *they* perform, are matters of necessity, and therefore admissible, your memorialists humbly suggest whether the interests of a *vast majority of the citizens of the United States*, conveyed by mails, are not matters of as great necessity?

Your memorialists, in accordance with these views, beg leave to protest against any interference with the transportation of the mails, or the distribution of letters at the post-offices, on the first day

of the week. And your memorialists, as in duty bound, will ever pray, etc. January 8, 1830.*

It will be seen from the foregoing that the reasons for the opposition of these petitioners to Sunday legislation was not on account of any opposition to the Christian religion, but like Madison's memorial in Virginia in 1775, these memorials were prompted by reverence for, and interest in that religion. There is no doubt whatever that the religious denominations are in a much better condition morally in the United States, unaided by Government, than they would have been had they all these years received assistance from the civil power. W. A. BLAKELY.

The Source of Government.

PUBLIC sentiment is a greater force, sometimes, than law; it compels more perfect obedience. In actual fact, there are people who would and do break laws to which the public are indifferent, who are most careful to respect public sentiment. The question may be asked, What is public sentiment? It is public intelligence. As the honest old Greek declared centuries ago, the character of a city is shown by the men elected to control its affairs; or, as a recent political economist puts it, "You complain of the character of the men in your State Legislature; they represent the average character of the people who placed them in power." So it is true that the standards of any community express the average character of that community. There may be a few whose standards are higher than the public standard represents, as there are sure to be some below the standards expressed; but the social, educational, sanitary conditions of every community are up to the standard that the greatest number in that community desire—no better, no worse.—*Christian Union*.

Should Be Taxed.

A CHICAGO paper has the following relative to untaxed church property in that city:

There is a vast amount of untaxed property in Chicago controlled by religious denominations. Although there are fewer Catholics than Protestants in the city, the former own 1,108 lots to the latter's 866. The average sites of the Catholic churches are larger than those of the other denominations. Fifteen lots are occupied by the Catholic Church of the Nativity. St. Columbkil Sisters of Charity have sixty-eight lots; the Jesuit Church of the Holy Family eighty lots. Nearly one-third of all the Catholic land in the city is the property of the archbishop. Of this, much is unimproved; some of the land is occupied by tenants from whom a revenue is received. A very moderate estimate of the value of all the lots in the city held by

* Published by authority of Congress in 1834.

religious bodies puts it at \$2,094,000, with the statement that it is probably twice that amount. All this property is exempt from taxation under the laws of the State of Illinois. The value of these lots is increasing rapidly, and the "unearned increment." in a few years, will make the societies that own them enormously wealthy, like the Trinity corporation in New York, for instance; and yet while the people are groaning under the burden of taxation imposed by the city government, these valuable lots enjoy the protection of the law and the advantages of a great city, without paying one cent of taxes. In other words the people generally who own property are taxed to enrich religious societies. This is most unjust and will result in evil.

Is It so Doubtful?

"THERE is not," says the *Denver News*, "one chance in a thousand that the legislation advocated by Mr. Crafts will be enacted. It is very doubtful if five million adult persons could be found in the United States to favor it, when its scope is understood. The misfortune is that in trying to stamp Sunday with a character that is repugnant to our civilization, there is danger of repelling millions of people from its support as a day of national rest from toil. No more efficient means can be found for antagonizing all Sunday laws than an attempt to force the religious convictions of one class on another in respect to Sunday observance."

"Dr. Crafts refers to the Sunday legislation on the statutes of many of the State as proof that public opinion would sustain the legislation he wants. It is true that many laws are in existence which do not accord with the grand conception of religious liberty that was entertained by the founders of our Government, and that was given expression in the national Constitution for Federal guidance. But Mr. Crafts might have added that in most cases such laws have no force, no attention being paid to them—which is a truer indication of popular sentiment."

Church and State.

SAID Andrew Melville, a Scotch Presbyterian, to King James VI. of Scotland (James I. of England):—

I must tell you there are two kings and two kingdoms in Scotland. There is King James, the head of the commonwealth, and there is Christ Jesus, the King of the Church. It is to be understood of these two kingdoms they are both of God. But they have different provinces and jurisdictions and are not to be confounded. One of these is of this world, is set up for the protection of life and property, and uses for this end temporal rewards, pains and penalties. The other is spiritual, and contemplates the spread of the knowledge of God, the promotion of morality, and the production of such graces as faith, and hope and charity. Its rewards and penalties stretch beyond this world into the other.

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.

OFFICES.

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C. ELDRIDGE, - - - - - President.
 W. H. MCKEE, - - - - - Secretary.

A Rabbi on Religious Liberty.

[The following paper is a speech delivered by Rabbi David Phillipson before the late Secular Congress at Portsmouth, Ohio. It has not previously appeared in print, and at our request was furnished to us by the Rabbi for publication in THE SENTINEL. The paper is a manly discussion of the question; the introduction, a merited rebuke to those who would make secularism and infidelity synonymous terms. Space has compelled us to somewhat abridge this paper.]

It may appear strange to many to see a preacher on this platform. I must confess that after some things I heard last night, it appears somewhat strange to me also, but as I have never been given to running away I shall stand my ground here, too. When I was requested to deliver an address before this body I was informed upon inquiry as to the purpose of this Union, that it had been formed with the object of emphasizing the necessity of the separation of Church and State in all their departments. Being in thorough accord with this, I consented to come, and I expected that all the addresses would be devoted to elucidating the principles of religious liberty in its various lights. I was not prepared to hear statements such as were uttered here last night: fierce attacks upon the Bible, upon religion, upon the preachers, etc. I feel inclined to cry to the speakers, "Shoemaker, stick to your last."

If this society has been formed to promulgate the principles of the separation of Church and State, then why not stick to this text? It seems to me that well-nigh anything but this was spoken about. For example, last night we heard the Bible called a barbarian book. If the Bible were understood, no such expression would be applied to it by even the greatest extremist. It is true, and I do not for a moment deny, that there are passages in the book which designate a lower state of morality than we have reached to-day. It is true that there are sections which we would not have our children read, but

with all that there is no justification for calling it a barbarian book.

If it were fully understood that the Bible represents in its various books a religious development, that it is the record of the religious progress of the Jewish people from idolatrous and anthropomorphic beginnings to the religion of the prophets, one God and one humanity, a point that the world has not come to even to-day, no one would be guilty of naming it a barbarian book. It says among other things in that Bible, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." Would you call this a barbarian book? It says in that Bible, "Thou shalt not oppress the stranger." Would you call this a barbarian book? The fifteenth psalm in that Bible, in answer to the question, "Who shall dwell in God's holy place?" answers, "He that walketh uprightly, and worketh righteousness and speaketh the truth in his heart; that uttereth no calumny with his tongue. Doeth no evil to his neighbor and bringeth no reproach on his fellow-man; in whose eyes the despicable is despised, but that honoreth those who fear the Lord; that sweareth to his own injury and changeth not; that putteth not out his money for interest and taketh no bribe against the innocent." Would you call this a barbarian book? The prophet Micah states as the highest object of life, "To do justice, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with God." Would you call this a barbarian book? These are but a few sentences which occur to me as I stand here; numberless others of like import could be quoted. Surely they do not sound very barbarous.

It must never be forgotten that the Bible is at once a historical record of the Jewish people, and the storehouse of eternal truths. The portions of the book dealing with the life of the people in Palestine are of historical value only; the other parts are the everlasting and undying truths by which, and through which, mankind has been helped onward and upward; they will endure forever, for truth is undying, and they express the truth of religion and morality, the truth of God. Whatever else they are they are not barbarian, for in many instances the words of the prophets and psalmist still stand above our vaulted civilization, and not the most bitter opponent of the Bible will call our civilization barbarian. But enough of this.

Another speaker of last evening made a savage attack upon the preachers. (Here the speaker took occasion to answer this also, and to show how this had nothing to do with the subject in hand). After this introduction, called forth by what I heard here last night, I will proceed to a discussion of the theme for the consideration of which I came to this meeting.

The principle of the separation of Church and State lay at the foundation of this Government, and if during the hundred

years of its constitutional existence the American Nation has grown false to its inheritance, if there is any danger that this bulwark of our liberties be overthrown (and the very foundation of a society of this kind is proof of the existence of this danger), then can we none too strongly by word of mouth and of pen, and by active interference protest against it, for it is the mission of the American Republic the duty it owes to itself and to the world, to the present and the future, to realize the fullest demands of liberty, and among the very first of these demands is the erection of a separating wall between Church and State in all their departments, as is so well set forth in the platform of this society. But you will pardon me if before I discuss the bearings of this subject in the present, I ask you to transport yourselves with me to the closing half of the last century, for then it was that the spirit of liberty awoke, and the beginnings which resulted in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of this country were laid in thought.

If we look to England we find the speeches of Burke, Fox, and Chatham, full of statements asserting the rights of man and emphasizing the necessity of separating religion from civil government; if we look to France, there are the writings of the Encyclopediac philosophers, of Diderot and Rousseau, there are the speeches of Mirabeau, the leaders of thought who were largely instrumental in hastening the coming of the cataclysm, the French Revolution, which marks the commencement of a new era in European history; the writings of these Frenchmen also largely influenced the minds of the founders of this Government. If we look to Germany, there was Kant in philosophy, whose reasonings inaugurated a new philosophical *regime*; there was Schiller, the literary apostle of freedom; there was Lessing, the noble and pure, who, in his beautiful drama, Nathan the Wise, preached the strongest sermon on religious toleration that the world had yet heard.

It was a remarkable period; men were throwing off the influences of old traditions; there was a wondrous activity of thought everywhere, a restiveness as though men were conscious of a vast impending change; the weight of ecclesiastical authority had rested most heavily upon mankind; there had been no such thing thought of as the separation of Church and State until this time; and even now, though many a voice was heard, yet few dwelt distinctly upon the proper province of each, and I wish to bring to your notice this morning one of these forgotten advocates of the principle that forms the basis of this Union.

I refer to the German Jewish philosopher, Moses Mendelssohn, who died in the year 1784. The Jews had no rights whatever in the Germany of that day—no

rights as citizens, no rights as men. I will not dwell upon their condition, the same in Germany as all Europe; for the treatment of the Jews by men and governments forms one of the blackest pages in the history of the world.

In spite of all the disadvantages to which he was subject, Mendelssohn rose to a very high position in the world of thought. He contested successfully with Kant, Germany's greatest philosopher, for the prize offered by the Berlin Academy of Sciences for the best philosophical treatise; he wrote the *Phaedon*, modeling it after Plato's work of the same name and treating the same subject, the immortality of the soul; his nature was so pure, his disposition so gentle, that he was called the German Socrates; his style and diction were so clear that Kant wrote that Mendelssohn's style seemed to him more fitting than any other to convey philosophical ideas clearly. One of the last books that he wrote he called "Jerusalem," and in the first part of this book he discusses the relation between Church and State. . . .

The following sentences are extracts from Mendelssohn's treatise: "One of the greatest problems of politics is to determine the proper relation between Church and State, between civil and religious rights, so that they may not encroach upon one another nor become burdens of our social life, encumbering it with greater difficulties than attach to it naturally." "Church and State both have the mission to further human happiness, each in its own way." "Neither Church nor State has any right to prevent any man from enjoying the free exercise of his opinions." "The State has no right to appoint men to teach and enforce certain special religious opinions. Its duty in this respect consists only in appointing teachers who shall instruct the children in wisdom and virtue, and who shall spread such useful truths as the happiness of human society depend upon." "The State has nothing to do with opinions which any ruling or any subjected church or synagogue accepts or rejects; it has only to be mindful that no doctrines be spread which are subversive of the public weal; it must be watchful only of the observance of these principles in which all agree, without the realization of which in the life of the people happiness would be only a dream and virtue itself no longer virtue. Naturally the State has no right to exclude any person from the enjoyment of political right on account of his religion, because, properly speaking, if each will cultivate its own premises there can never be any collision between Church and State. Neither Church nor State has any right to arrogate to itself in matters of belief any further right than the right to teach, any further power than the power to convince, any further weapon than the weapon of reason."

All these sentences which I have quoted

are commonplaces now. . . . But we must not forget that these thoughts were expressed over one hundred years ago, and that in Germany, at least, the Jew, Mendelssohn was the first who raised his voice calling for the separation of Church and State. He felt and knew of how much unhappiness and misery, of how much war and bloodshed, of how much intolerance and fanaticism, this unholy alliance had been the cause, and in the name of pure reason and clear philosophical insight he protested against it; and it was because of this protest, uttered in this little work, that Mirabeau, the French intellectual giant, who lived and died for man's freedom, declared that this book, "Jerusalem," deserved to be translated into every language of Europe."

That book was written over a century ago, in the days of Washington and Jefferson, of Franklin and Madison, the same thoughts were agitating men in entirely different quarters of the globe. Has the world made as great progress as it should since that time? Have men become thoroughly and perfectly imbued with the idea that Church and State have each their own proper work? To those who observe and think, a backward movement is apparent in this our own day. Attempts have been made time and again to foist religion upon the Constitution, and although I am a minister of religion I shall always raise my voice in warning against any such attempt, for the world has never known any greater curse than this intermeddling of the Church in the affairs of the State.

For centuries men labored beneath this Atlas-load, and now that at last, in this country, at least, the laboring giant, man, has succeeded in throwing it off from his shoulders, who dare move one step toward placing it there again? This nation has, I believe, reached its present point of prosperity because it has kept these two departments distinctly separate. We have rested in the calm security that the liberties we have gained in this respect can never be wrested from us. Perhaps we have been too confident; perhaps we have not been wide enough awake to the attempts of so-called religionists in Washington and elsewhere.

(Concluded next week.)

To legislate for the promotion of the religious observance of any day as a Sabbath, is contrary to the Bible, to the Constitution of a free country and the rights of conscience.—*Sabbath Recorder*.

WHOSOEVER is afraid of submitting any question, civil or religious, to the test of free discussion, is more in love with his own opinion than with truth.—*Bishop Watson*.

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AT a Sunday-law Convention recently held in Burlington, Iowa, President Blanchard, of Wheaton College, said:—

I would like to see the Christian people of this land stand aloof from political men and measures, until office-seekers agree to represent Christian principles in Christian government. If the churches would do this, political aspirants, to a man, would soon send up the cry, "What shall I do to be saved?"

No doubt of it; and the question would have no reference whatever to eternal salvation, but to salvation from political death.

"THE Evangelical Alliance at Boston," says the *Mail and Express*, "demands the closing of the Chicago Fair on Sunday. Religious public opinion all over the country is a unit on the question. The managers of the Fair cannot afford to disregard this potent fact." Certainly that is the verdict of "religious public opinion," but how about the "civil Sabbath" of which we hear so much? What is the matter with the American Sabbath Union's adjustable religio-civil rest day for the poor workingman who doesn't want to rest?

THE *Cumberland Presbyterian*, Nashville, Tennessee, is credited with the following concerning Sunday and the World's Fair:—

We heartily join the protest against the proposition to keep open the coming World's Fair at Chicago on Sundays. It may be that these protests and petitions can be made emphatic and overwhelming enough to prevent this contemplated insult to the Christian religion, this formal abolition of the Sabbath, for it will amount to that.

What a confession for a Christian paper! That which it sets forth as a divine institution, dependent upon the action of the Commissioners of the World's Fair! But bad as this is it is not all that the *Presbyterian* says:—

Those who are to decide the matter are supposed to be Christian men, and they may respect the united voice of Christian people. But to make our protests certainly effective they should carry with them something more than words. Make it certain that a Sabbath-breaking Exposition will not pay, and the Exposition will not dare to break the Sabbath. Some stronger leverage than words and entreaties should be brought to bear on the managers. These managers must make the Fair a financial success. The financial question with them is the tender nerve. The protest that touches that will be effective. If we believe in the Sabbath strongly enough to demand its preservation, to boy-

cott a fair that refuses to preserve it, it will be preserved.

If this means anything, it means, taken in connection with the previous quotation, that the preservation of "the Sabbath" depends upon the success of a threatened boycott!

A LETTER from Fayette, Missouri, dated November 16, contains the information that "William Fritz and Robert Gibb, members of a Seventh-day Adventist Church in Howard County, near Armstrong, Missouri, have been indicted and arrested for performing common labor, on their farms, on the first day of the week, commonly called Sunday. The cases are docketed for trial in the Circuit Court at Fayette, Missouri, on Tuesday, December 2, 1890." By this it would seem that Missouri is anxious to put herself on record by the side of Tennessee, Georgia, and Arkansas as among the first to inaugurate a persecuting enforcement of religious laws.

THE *Chicago Times*, of the 9th inst., says:—

All attempts upon the part of the State to interfere with individual rights are inimical to that personal liberty which the Republic engaged to protect, and without which it would be the veriest mockery. When an American shall not have the legal right to follow, without wronging his neighbor, his own bent, observe his own customs, do what he will with his day of rest, worship according to the dictates of his conscience, or, if he so incline, worship not at all, and direct the education of his children, he will be in no better plight than a subject of the czar of all the Russias. Such a day will never come.

We hope our contemporary will prove a true prophet; but R. M. King's recent experience in Tennessee would lead us to think that "such a day" is not so very far in the future, even in this land of boasted freedom.

THE "Pearl of Days," of October 17, has the following from the late Rev. Austin Phelps, D.D., professor in Andover Theological Seminary:—

We live in an age in which individualism in matters of religion has run wild. The waning of authority in the Church has carried with it, on the downward grade, the restrictive duties and courtesies of Christian morals which were once subject to the common conscience of believers, in which now every one does that which is right in his own eyes.

The "Pearl of Days" does not point out the moral, but as the subject of the Doctor's paper, from which these words are taken, was Sunday observance, we presume our contemporary thinks that the State should break down this individualism by civil law and establish a standard for Sunday keeping. Certain it is that the whole work of the Sabbath Union is opposed to individualism. But unlike other systems of religion, Christianity seeks to develop individual character. It teaches men to be men, and to do that which they regard as right, whether others do it or not. It

will be a sad day for both the Church and the country when the power of the State is successfully invoked to destroy this individualism, and to bring all to a common standard regardless of their convictions.

MR. CRAFTS says:—

It is admitted, by our opponent, that it is the province of civil law to enforce man's duties to man, and especially to punish crime against man. It is exactly on this ground that Sunday laws forbid Sunday work and Sunday dissipation, namely, as crime against man. It is grand larceny to take away the toiler's weekly rest day. Ceaseless toil is slow murder.

What is it then to imprison men and take away from them by fines and costs the fruits of their labor for quietly working from choice on their own premises on Sunday, and that after having conscientiously observed another day as they believed in obedience to the law of God? This has been done repeatedly in several States, and laws which make such things possible are still on the statute books of more than one commonwealth. It is a crime against natural rights to rob a man of anything, therefore Mr. Crafts should beware of robbing men of the right to labor on Sunday if they choose so to do. Those who want to keep Sunday have just the same right to keep it that others have not to keep it, but no more.

OF the "Leland Stanford Jr. University," a California paper says:—

The articles of endowment prohibit sectarianism and direct that there shall be taught that there is an all-wise intelligent God, and that the soul is immortal. The sexes will be admitted to equal privileges in every department of study, and preparatory schools will be established for children to bring them up to the standard required for entering upon the University course.

We have no fault to find with this; Senator Stanford has established and endowed the University as a monument to his dead son whose name it bears, and he has a perfect right to have taught in it whatever he sees fit; but the proposed instruction is not unsectarian. Tens of thousands of Christians in the United States do not believe in the natural immortality of the soul, but that immortality is the gift of God, and that it is received only as a gift. The doctrine of the immortality of the soul is sectarian.

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ASSOCIATE EDITORS,

C. P. BOELMAN,

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"THE company of Bellamyites recently organized in Des Moines will locate," says the *Nebraska State Journal*, "at Lake Arthur, Louisiana, on a tract of 2,000 acres of land. Their experiences will be interesting, but will add nothing to the sum of human knowledge on the subject of co-operation. They may flatter themselves that their scheme is new, and will have a tremendous influence in reforming the country and converting it to Nationalism, but they are doomed to disappointment. Communism of this kind is as old as the race, and the people who join the colony are simply going back to the methods discarded by their ancestors hundreds of years ago."

Nationalism makes the State everything and the individual nothing. It is impracticable, and it is well that it is, for its adoption would mean utter stagnation in all human affairs.

THERE is no question that the education furnished by parochial schools is generally of an inferior character, and it is a matter of regret that they should be established. The public schools do the work for the children far better. But an attempt to prevent the establishing of parochial or private schools by constitutional amendment or otherwise, would, in our opinion, be extremely unwise. . . . It is asking the State to do a very tyrannical and unnecessary thing. It is the right and duty of the State, undoubtedly, to provide a system of public education and to insist by compulsory laws and

otherwise that all children of sound mind shall receive instruction in the rudiments of learning; but to insist that they shall not receive this instruction in private or parochial schools or at home would be to invade individual rights. The effect of such a proposition would be a hot sectarian war. It would unite Catholics solidly, and it would arouse no small proportion of Protestants to strenuous opposition. Many Lutherans believe in parochial schools and maintain them, and so do other Protestants.—*Independent*.

Religion and the Schools.

In the *Independent* of September 4, there is given a symposium on the subject of religion in the schools. Howard Crosby; Cardinal Gibbons; the Decrees of the Council of Baltimore; John Jay; Archbishop Ireland; Prof. W. T. Harris, the United States Commissioner of Education; the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of New York; Superintendent of the Public Schools of the State of New Hampshire; Deputy Superintendent of Pennsylvania; State Commissioner of Common Schools of Ohio; Superintendent of Massachusetts Board of Education; Wayland Hoyt, D. D.; Principal Bancroft of Phillips Academy, Andover; Father Nylan, of Poughkeepsie; Father McTighe, who, two or three years ago, made an attempt in Pittsburg to turn a public school into a Roman Catholic one; with a considerable number of others from different parts of the country all give their views upon the subject. And although there is much difference and considerable antagonism among the views presented, the *Independent* has done a good work in setting before the people at one view so full a discussion of the question as it has in this symposium.

Cardinal Gibbons advocates the application of a denominational system in our public schools, as is now done in Canada, that is, when there is a sufficient number, that may form a denominational school

supported by public money. The Decrees of the Council of Baltimore are that "it may sometimes appear that parents may sometimes, and in good conscience, send their children to public schools, but this they will not be able to do unless they have sufficient cause for so doing, and whether such cause may be sufficient for any particular case must be left to the judgment of the bishop." This instruction is given by command of the Congregation for the propagation of the faith, which sits in Rome. This Sacred Congregation says that the method of instructing youth employed in the public schools has seemed to the Sacred Congregation "to be full of peril, and hostile to the Catholic faith." And one objection to the public school is that it is "conducted without any authority of the Church, and that no care is taken by the law that teachers do not injure the youth." But above all other things, the objection of the Sacred Congregation to the public school is that "a definite corruptive force results from the fact that in most of the public schools, youth of both sexes are gathered in the same recitation and in the same class-room, and males are directed to sit in the same bench with females," and "as a result the youth are sadly exposed to damage as to faith, and their morals are endangered."

What a pity it is that the Lord did not have the Sacred Congregation to advise him in the matter of the creation of man! For then he would not have fallen into the grievous error of having males and females both in the same family, or even in the same world. This view, however, is perfectly characteristic of the whole system of papal doctrine, and that is that instead of inculcating principles of virtue and the love of right and the power to do right because of love of it, that system accounts every person as essentially devilish, and would have them made good by taking away every opportunity for any freedom of action whatever.

Professor Harris, United States Commissioner of Education, presents a valuable

article. One passage, which is worthy of much study, we quote:—

The separation of Church and State implies the separation of the Church and School. The Church and State are separated in the interest of the perfection of both. The Church regards the disposition of the individual man, considering it in respect to sin and holiness; the State regards the individual man, in respect to his overt act, whether law-abiding or criminal. Crime is a matter of overt act. Sin is a matter of disposition—of thought and feeling, as well as of volition. If the State goes behind the overt act and punishes the disposition of the individual, civil government will be destroyed. If, on the other hand, the Church considers the overt act instead of the disposition of the soul, religion will cease. Crime can be measured, the deed can be returned on the individual; but sin can not be measured, its consequences can be escaped only by repentance. Sin is infinite and no finite punishment can wash it away; but repentance without punishment will do this just as well as repentance with punishment. The exercise of ecclesiastical power by the State tends to confuse its standards of punishment and to make its penalties too severe at one time, and too lax at another, and thus renders the whole course of justice uncertain by considering the disposition of the criminal rather than his overt act. Religious persecutions have arisen by the State assuming ecclesiastical functions, and the Church has had to bear the obloquy of them. On the other hand, the exercise of civil power on the part of the Church tends to introduce finite standards, thus allowing expiation for sin and permitting the substitution of penance for repentance. This makes the expiation of sin an external matter. The Government acting on an ecclesiastical basis, would say to the criminal: You have committed murder. Well, are you sorry for it? Do you repent of it? Very well, go and sin no more. Or it might say: You have been angry with your brother and wish to kill him. You have not planned to carry this into execution, it is true, and have done no overt act, but you have wished this in your heart. Then your punishment is death. Only disposition can judge of disposition. When the State undertakes to judge of disposition a reign of terror follows.

Another point, which is well made by Professor Harris, is that where the State attempts to teach religion, infidelity is the result. He says:—

Careful observers of the effects of the religious lessons placed on the programmes of schools in Germany and Austria and other nations, tell us that where the secular studies are taught according to the true method, the pupils are prone to hold in a sort of contempt the contents of their religious lessons. They are apt to bring their critical intellects to bear on dogmas and become skeptical of religious truth altogether. It is well known that the people of Germany are much given to skepticism. Its educated class is famous for its "free-thinking," so-called. The French educated class, all of which was in its youth under parochial school influences, is atheistic.

Another point worthy of serious reflection, a point to which we have called attention in THE SENTINEL several times, is made by Mr. E. P. Powell, of Clinton, New York, and that is that education is no surety for the prevention of crime. He endorses the statement of Mr. Reece in a recent paper in the *Popular Science Monthly*, that "we are confronted by facts which leave a condition of decreasing illiteracy and increasing crime." He says: "Illiteracy is on the increase in our older States, and crime is not decreased by our present system of education. I find on every hand graduates of our district

schools utterly ignorant of any facts or truths bearing on life, citizenship, or character. The young men will sell their votes, and are not afraid to deny truth." "It is a fearful fact," says Mr. Bowker, at the National Prison Congress, "that a large proportion of our prison population is of the educated class."

Yet this fault can not be laid to the public school system, at least to the *theory*, while it may be in a measure to the *practice* of it. Practically an effort is made to have the public school system do what it is impossible for it to do, while it neglects to do that which it may and can properly do. The public school can rightly give only a secular education, in other words, give an education which aims at good citizenship and whose object is to make good citizens. This, however, is almost wholly neglected in the public school system, and the attempt is made to make good men rather than good citizens, with the result that neither object is accomplished. The office and object of the teaching of the Church is to make good men, while the office and the object of the teaching of the State is to make good citizens, and the failure of the Church so to carry on the instruction as to make good men will never justify the State in going beyond its sphere to attempt that itself.

The only means that the State has with which to accomplish its purposes are the principles of government on which the State is founded and according to which it continues. But these things are not taught to any effective purpose whatever in the public school system of the United States. Mr. Powell says: "I can find you a dozen lawyers in a single township who never read the Constitution of the United States." And this is probably true of many, if not a majority, of the townships in the United States. From considerable personal observation, we should not be at all surprised to find that there are men in State Legislatures, and even in Congress, who never read through the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence.

Neither the principles of the Declaration of Independence nor the provisions of the United States Constitution are generally taught in the public schools of the country. In higher grades in some city schools something is taught in regard to these documents, but even that is very poorly done. These things which are essential in the work of the public school system, and which may be properly taught in the public school, are almost totally neglected, and instead, an attempt is made to inculcate goodness by the cold formal reading of a portion of Scripture or repeating the Lord's Prayer.

On the other hand, the professed Church, instead of strictly confining her efforts to the inculcation of principles of goodness by the power which belongs to her and which can be used by her alone, neglects

this and takes up different forms of political agitation to secure legislation by which she can compel men by law to be good.

If the State would confine itself to the principles and system which properly belong to it, and conduct the course of education in public schools according thereto; and if the Church would confine herself to that which properly belongs to her, if there were indeed in our system of public education a positive and total separation of religion and the State, then there would be much less difficulty with the question of public education, and far better results would come to both religion and the State, to both morality and good citizenship. But in the present condition of things, instead of there being a prospect of improvement, we see no hope of anything but a closer union of Church and State principles, and through that of still greater degeneracy.

A. T. J.

The Plea Is a Fraud.

THE following is from the "piece" which Mr. Crafts is reciting to audiences in various parts of the country, from Maine to California:—

The right arm of the American Sabbath Union is the promotion of the religious Sabbath; its left arm the preservation of the civil Sabbath. These two things—the Christian Sabbath on the one hand, and the American Sabbath on the other hand—are as distinct as my two arms, that resemble and cooperate, and yet not the same. This distinction is itself an answer to most of the objections to Sunday laws, which rest chiefly on the false assumption that Sunday laws are enforcements of a duty to God.

Let us examine a little the claim that Sunday laws are religious, not civil, and see if it is indeed a false assumption as Mr. Crafts asserts that it is. How have the courts regarded this matter?

In the case of *Bramhall vs. Van Campen* (8 Minnesota Reports, 13), Judge Flaudrau, of the Supreme Court of Minnesota, gave the opinion that "the Sabbath laws of that State can have no other object than the enforcement of the fourth of God's commandments." In the Supreme Court of Texas, Judge Caldwell held that "the object of the Legislature was to forbid all secular employments on the Sabbath, not excepted in the act. The disregard of the Sabbath, the refusal to recognize it as a day sanctified to holy purposes, constitutes the offense." (*Elsner vs. the State*, 30 Texas Reports, 524.) In deciding one of these Sunday cases the Supreme Court of Alabama also said: "We do not think the design of the Legislature in the passage of the act can be doubted. It was evidently to promote morality and advance the interests of religion, by prohibiting all persons from engaging in their common and ordinary vocations." (*O'Donnel vs. Sweeney*, 5 Alabama Reports, 467. See also *Wright vs. Geer*, 1 Root, 474; *Fox vs. Able*, 2 Connecticut Reports, 548; *George vs. George*, 47 New Hampshire Reports, 27.)

The "civil Sabbath" is simply the religious Sabbath enforced by civil law. Were it not for the fact that Sunday is a religious day, a day regarded as sacred by a large portion of the community, nothing would ever be heard of the "civil Sabbath." The plea is a fraud.

B.

A Question of Rights.

THAT the Roman Curia and the authorities of the Roman Catholic Church are intensely hostile to the public school system of this country, is a fact that requires no demonstration. Comprising, as the Roman Catholics do, about one-ninth of the population of this country, and open as the mass of the Roman Catholics are on all sides to the influences of a Protestant environment, they clearly perceive their danger and have resolutely addressed themselves to the work of mitigating it.

The especial aspect of the question that concerns Protestants and Catholics at the present time, is that presented by the public schools. These schools as established in the different States are in the main non-sectarian: and as no distinctively religious instruction is imparted in them, they are by the Roman Catholics called "godless schools." In order to offset the danger to the Roman faith of having the children attend these public schools, the Roman Catholic authorities establish parish schools of their own; and it is the command of the high church authorities as voiced at the Plenary Council recently held at Baltimore, that such schools be established in every diocese, and that the children of the church be required to attend them. This order of the Plenary Council is being carried out in the different States. The action of the Roman Catholic Bishop of New Jersey has, however, led to the introduction in the Legislature of New Jersey, of a proposed amendment to the Constitution of that State prohibiting any local power from compelling or preventing the attendance of children upon any particular school, — the object being to prevent the church authorities from commanding the children to attend parochial schools on pain of denial of the sacraments.

With every sympathy for our public schools, and opposing to the fullest extent the division of school money between Protestants and Romanists, it does not appear to the *Christian at Work* that New Jersey should enact any such prohibitory statute. Yet argument is advanced in favor of this legislation; and we have not seen so strong a presentation of the case for the amendment anywhere as in that put forth in one of the ablest and best of our secular papers — *Harper's Weekly*. That journal puts the matter in this wise:—

The members of the Roman Church, like other American citizens, are protected in their civil rights by the Government. One of these rights is the choice of schools for their children, and any other citizen or combination of citizens interfering with that

right, whether they call themselves priests or churches, may be justly restrained.

Plausible as this may seem, we cannot accept it as conclusive or satisfactory. For the statement in *Harper's Weekly*, quoted above, to our view involves the fallacy that one class of rights can be guaranteed to the exclusion of another class: that is to say, Roman Catholic parents are to be guaranteed in some way the right of sending their children to the public school in defiance of the church to which they have promised allegiance, but the church authorities are not to be guaranteed the rights of administering ecclesiastical government in their own way; in fact these rights guaranteed since the establishment of the Government, are to be suddenly extinguished by an amendment to the Constitution of the State. This we take it is the position occupied by the advocates of the proposed constitutional amendment, and by journals holding the view on this question maintained by *Harper's Weekly*. To such a position the *Christian at Work* is unable to assent.

And here let us take a hypothetical case by way of illustration. In Louisiana, as is well known, the lottery is legally established, and any one has the right to buy a lottery ticket—a right presumably guaranteed by the State. Well, it coming to the knowledge of certain Protestant churches that some of their members are investing in this lottery, and as the church authorities hold, to their spiritual injury, the authorities hold a conference, and as a result declare that the membership of these churches are prohibited from buying lottery tickets, with the admonition that those who do will be expelled from the church. Now, will it be claimed that the State may in equity prohibit these church authorities from enforcing their prohibition by withholding the sacraments from the offenders? Admitting that there is the widest possible difference between the public school and lotteries, it is yet to be noted that by one party the schools are regarded as "godless," as by the other party the lottery is held to be devilish. Yet shall liberty on the part of the church to deal in the one case be denied and in the other case allowed? May churches not exercise their ecclesiastical functions in the one case, but have full liberty to do so in the other? If so, we have no information as to the grounds upon which this discrimination is exercised by the State.

This journal, it is not necessary to say, believes thoroughly in the public schools. It wishes every Roman Catholic child might attend them; it believes thoroughly in compelling Romanists to pay their full school tax, *volens volens*. But just here, as it seems, the province of State authority ends. The Roman Catholic Church has its rights, just as Catholic parents have theirs. If these parents are not willing to send their children to the parochial schools let them send them to the public schools, as many

Roman Catholics of New York are doing, and abide the consequences. But for the State to step in and interfere as between the clergy and the laity of a religious sect, is to infringe upon guaranteed rights, interfere in matters with which it has no rightful concern, and to establish a dangerous precedent. The less we see of this interference on the part of the State, the better for the cause of religion and religious liberty, and the better for the State itself.—*Christian at Work*.

"Freethought" and Free Thought.

THE following letter explains itself. We give it place as a matter of courtesy to a lady:—

Philadelphia, Nov. 20, 1890.

EDITORS AMERICAN SENTINEL:

Your issue of November 20 contains some criticisms upon my attitude at the Portsmouth Congress of the American Secular Union,—criticisms which, despite their kindly tone (for which I thank you), call for some reply upon my part.

You quote from my speech on "Methods of Extending Our Work," and charge me with committing our society officially to a sectarian stand in favor of infidelity.

Allow me to say, before all, that I detest the word "infidelity," in whichever of three meanings it be taken—*i. e.*, (1) unfaithful, (2) without faith, (3) opposed to the prevailing faith of the community. The first meaning, no one who is at all acquainted with me will ever apply to me; the second, I deny emphatically, as I am a Liberal Unitarian, with a very well-defined belief; and the third, I maintain, cannot with justice be applied to any moderate non-Trinitarian Liberal, since those who really uphold orthodox Christianity are in the minority in this country. (See statistics in my speech.)

As for my "declaration of war on religion," I fail to find such in a single sentence of my speech. I did, however, recommend that children be taught to realize "the evil that *priestcraft* and *religious superstition* have been from the days of savagery down." But what have these things to do with the "two great commandments" of love to God, and love to one's neighbor, which are the sum and substance of every true religion, pagan as well as Christian? You seem to object to my anxiety to prevent the young "from falling into that religious superstition which puts the cross higher than their moral duty as good citizens, and which teaches them to consider what the Church sneeringly calls 'mere morality' as of little account in the sight of the Deity whom they worship." Can it be that you would place church observances above your duty to the truth and to your fellow-men? Not so, gentlemen; the moral tone of THE AMERICAN SENTINEL forbids even the suggestion of such a thing.

I did, however, recommend Freethought Sunday-schools for children, and Freethought Lyceums for young people. But what does "Freethought" mean? Simply the right to freedom of thought—the right to seek truth wherever we can find it. Is that irreligious? So much the worse then for that sort of religion, I should say; and I think you would agree with me. In regard to the methods which I advocated, I was careful to advance them as my personal views, not as my official utterance, as you will see if you read my speech throughout; and in delivering these parts of my address, I emphasized the personal pronoun. I took the liberty of advancing these more radical views of my own, because I knew that the majority of the delegates would expect me to outline work for the most ultra among us, as well as for the most conservative. Moreover, our people are different from yours. They are, many of them, impatient of working in

harness; they can do their best as scouts, as guerrillas. That I, as Secretary, should not take into consideration this class of our members, which comprises many of our most active workers, would indeed have been an official blunder. But, as for committing our society to any ism, even the ism of denouncing the church, which is the bulwark of the National Reformers, I have never done so; nor, so far as I know, am I likely to do so while I remain Secretary. Unofficially, I shall probably continue to protest against some dogmas which perhaps you and others believe in, as I do not intend to allow even our non-sectarian society to shut off my right of free speech. I trust, however, that I shall never be lacking in the parliamentary courtesy due to the opinions of those who differ with me. I trust that I shall always remain broad-minded enough to give intellectual hospitality to every earnest seeker after truth, be he Churchman or Radical.

You are quite right in saying that the truth or falsity of the Christian religion has nothing to do with the question of separating Church and State. Nevertheless, mankind has usually been swayed by likes and dislikes, rather than by simple justice. In the case of your own organization, while your paper firmly maintains its unsectarian stand, are not most of your people upheld in their struggles against persecution by a feeling of devotion to their Master? In our own organization, numbering among its membership so many Freethinkers, Atheists and Individualists, can it be wondered that the impelling motive of the majority should be one of hostility to a church which they blame for being a hindrance to progress? Moreover, as Mr. T. B. Wakeman said at our Congress: "As long as our theological fellow-citizens will insist upon the infraction of secular Government by forcing the Bible into our public schools, chaplains into public bodies, and the exemption of churches from taxation, certainly we are bound to inquire, what are their Bible, their prayers, and their churches worth?" He also refers to the disadvantage under which we labor, in having to invite "those of extremely divergent views on every other topic except political secularization, to take part in our Congresses held for that purpose;" and he adds: "We must try to get over that difficulty by mutual intellectual and spiritual hospitality."

Although your organization and ours are working for the total separation of Church and State from entirely different motives, the object of our struggles is the same; and I trust that the day will come when we shall co-operate effectively as allies, without any sacrifice by either of us of our impelling motives.

We were glad to have Professor J. O. Corliss, of the National Religious Liberty Association, with us at the Congress. His ringing speech hit the nail on the head, and pleased our people generally, even where they did not agree with him from a religious standpoint. I earnestly hope that your people will be represented at next year's Congress also. Meanwhile, let us hold out a helping hand to one another in the good work wherever we can, even though we be not ready to become formal allies. And last, but not least, please remember that the officers of the American Secular Union, whatever their private or personal views, commit themselves and the society officially to the promulgation of no ism whatever.

With best wishes for the success of THE AMERICAN SENTINEL in its noble work, I am

Yours very truly,
IDA C. CRADDOCK,
Cor. Sec. American Secular Union.

We have no extended comments to make upon this letter; but we must say that we cannot see that we did Miss Craddock any injustice in our criticism upon her utterances at Portsmouth. Our use of the term "infidel" is justified by common usage, and by Webster's definition of the

word. It means "one who is without faith, or unfaithful; hence, a disbeliever, a freethinker," etc. A freethinker, Webster says, is "one who disregards revelation; an unbeliever." The synonyms are "infidel, skeptic." Moreover, freethinkers themselves use the word "infidel." Our correspondent should go to the root of the matter and change the facts, the dictionary, and the practice of the world at large, before finding fault with us; if she is a freethinker she is also an infidel, however much she may dislike the name.

"Freethought" is not a dictionary term, but according to the usage of freethinkers themselves it is a synonym for infidelity. The assumption that freedom of thought is "freethought" is unwarranted. The Christian is just as free to think, and thinks to quite as good purpose as the freethinker; there is "freethought" and free thought; but they differ in this, that while the former implies disbelief, or skepticism, the latter means free exercise of the mind.

We would not place "church observances" above duty to the truth and to our fellow-men, but we do say that faith in Christ is essential to the perfect discharge of these duties. Miss Craddock, in common with other freethinkers, would doubtless dissent from this proposition as she has a perfect right to do. We criticise her only because such suggestions have no proper place in the Secular Union if it is unsectarian. The Union though not a party is a political organization to influence the State in the direction of secularism; and "secularism" does not mean opposition to Christianity, it simply means opposition to union of Church and State, or religion and the State. But when the Secular Union arrays itself against Christianity and devises plans for the instruction of the youth in "freethought" it really assumes to array the State against Christianity. The Secular Union agrees with us that the State has no right to favor Christianity; is it not equally true that the State has no right to antagonize Christianity?

Miss Craddock can no more separate herself from her office, and as an individual outline work for the radical members of the Union, than the American Sabbath Union can separate Sunday from the religious sentiment that sustains it, and transform it into a civil institution.

C. P. B.

THE *Mail and Express* says editorially that "the Sabbath is emphatically an American institution." We had supposed that it was a divine institution; certainly that is true of the Bible Sabbath, but there may be a Sabbath that is an American institution; if so, that fact would explain the demand for laws to maintain it; every country of course should bolster up its own institutions.

Memorials of 1829-30. No. 3.

PRINCIPLES INVOLVED IN SUNDAY LEGISLATION.

"To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress Assembled:—

"The memorial of the subscribers, residing in Philadelphia County, Pennsylvania, respectfully sheweth:

"That they approach the Supreme Legislature of their county, not for the purpose of infringing on the privileges of others, but to secure that liberty which, in their apprehension, is now endangered. When these United States became independent of the British crown, and assumed their just station among the sovereign States of the earth, the delegates appointed to represent the different provinces were not unmindful of the great trust confided to them by the people. To guard against any abuse in matters of religion and civil policy, the wise framers of the Constitution of our Government, after defining with unexampled accuracy the rights of the citizens, and limiting the authority of Congress, expressly prohibited the latter from interfering with the religious opinions of the people.

"Your memorialists have, therefore, regarded with abhorrence the diligent and untiring efforts of a combination of religious sects, made to obtain an ascendancy in the administration of public affairs. To them, it is obvious that *the ultimate object* proposed to be attained is the *recognition by Congress of certain specific doctrines*, and thereby to enslave the consciences of the free citizens of this great Republic. It is now contemplated to fill all the public offices with men who shall, either directly or indirectly, accept the faith and doctrine of a powerful party. The subject of which they now speak, the memorialists are aware, has frequently been the occasion of much painful thought to some of the most eminent statesmen who have adorned our country with the luster of their talents.

"Your memorialists regret the necessity which compels them to intrude on your deliberations at the present juncture. Silence upon their part would be construed into approbation of the measures pursued by those whom they are resolved to oppose. They will, therefore, address you in language suited to the emergency, and with a sense of the responsibility thus voluntarily assumed.

"At the last session of your body, great efforts were made to induce you to pass a law, the object of which was to suspend the transmission of the mails on what is called the Sabbath. But a patriotic Legislature then decided that it was incompetent for them to approach an undetermined question in religion. It was with great astonishment your memorialists heard that the attempt was again to be renewed, and a new attack to be made

on the rights of conscience. They have received with sorrow the information that petitions are daily presented to both houses of Congress in relation to the present mail establishment. *To have proposed an open union of Church and State would have been so manifest a violation of republican principle, as must have drawn upon its authors the just resentment of an indignant people. But the subject now adopted as suitable for the legislation of Congress, can be discussed with less danger and*

WITH AN EFFECT EQUALLY CERTAIN.

"Your memorialists have in vain endeavored to discover any reasonable motive for the selection of the Sabbath as peculiarly proper for legislative support. There is no small diversity of opinion among mankind regarding the propriety of keeping one day in seven holy. The Jews, and some sects of Christians, aver that the *seventh*, and not the *first* day of the week, is the true Sabbath. A large number of pious persons believe that the Jewish Sabbath, with its ceremonial observances, has been abolished; and that, in its place, the first day of the week must be held equally sacred. Another class of mankind maintain that the institution is utterly abrogated, and that neither day should be observed.

"Your memorialists believe that if Congress possess the power to designate what day shall be the Sabbath, and to define its appropriate duties, it would be equally within the scope of their authority to decide other disputed points. If the Constitution has imposed on Congress the duty of discriminating what mode of faith shall be adopted, it must, as a consequence, give the power to compel obedience. Hence all the religious obligations of men must become the subject of legislation to the ruin of families and the destruction of personal comfort and convenience; for if the law can enforce *one* religious duty, it can, by parity of reasoning, insist on the performance of *all*.

"Your memorialists would say that, when the Congress of the United States shall prefer an arrogant and domineering clergy, heaping upon them privileges and immunities not enjoyed by other citizens, then will be formed *as powerful an ecclesiastical establishment as can be found in any other nation on earth*. The doctrines of the favored party will then become the creed of the country, to be enforced by fines, imprisonment, and perhaps death.

"The historian Gibbon utters an important warning upon this point. He says: "It is incumbent on the authors of persecution previously to reflect whether they are determined to support it in the last extreme. They excite the flame which they strive to extinguish; and it soon becomes necessary to chastise the contumacy, as well as the crime, of the offender. The fine which he is unable or unwilling to discharge, exposes his person to the severities of the law; and his contempt of

lighter penalties suggests the use and propriety of *capital punishment*." *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, chap. 37, Par. 23.*

"Superstition and bigotry will paralyze the steps of genius, and, the further improvement of our now happy country must be suspended. If the sun of her glory shall now set, it will, perhaps, never again rise to cheer a benighted world with the splendor of its rays.

"Your memorialists would further represent that, in their present appeal to the justice and magnanimity of the constituted authorities of their country, they are actuated by no irreverent motive. Nor do they cherish other than feelings of respect for their fellow-citizens who differ from them in sentiment. They do not ask you to throw any impediment in the path of those who, in sincerity of heart, would worship the God of their fathers. Their design in now appearing before you is to preserve the liberty of conscience inviolate; and to ask that the Constitution of the Government may not be infringed in this particular.

"On no consideration would they wish to restrain the right of free discussion in relation to the matter now pending before you. That liberty they ask for themselves, they devoutly desire may be enjoyed by all mankind. They are, however, aware that the Sabbath is a part of the Jewish law, and it is for that people to advocate its sanctity. These are, however, satisfied in the enjoyment of their own rights, without intruding on those of others. The declaration has gone forth from a sect of Christians, that the due observance of the Sabbath is essential to the moral health and existence of the Nation. They have arrogantly usurped the right to determine in what the Sabbath shall consist, without having the least regard for those who conscientiously differ from them.

"Your memorialists have considered the importance of your deliberations to the welfare of the Nation, and that something more than an ordinary occurrence is necessary to justify them in thus obtruding on your attention. Their inclinations would have induced them to keep silence, had they not felt themselves urged by a sense of imperious duty to oppose the daring schemes of the day. The zeal with which the plans of different sectaries have been prosecuted, and the pertinacity of design manifested by their continuing to force their views of religion on the people, must be accepted as an apology. The great political doctrine, that all men have a natural right to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of their consciences, is now denied. It is said that religion requires compulsory laws for its security,* and the extension of its influence

over the conduct and characters of men. The truth of this position is denied in the most unqualified manner by those who now address you. They are clearly of this opinion that there is no just cause of complaint on the part of the petitioners, and that their intolerant zeal has evidently destroyed their judgment.

"Your memorialists feel no disposition to submit to compulsion in matters which rest exclusively between themselves and the God who made them. Besides the attempt now being made on Congress, numerous other arbitrary measures have been adopted, with the intention of holding up to public odium those who cannot think in conformity with the doctrines avowed by your petitioners. Whatever fanaticism may have anticipated in former days, or zealous bigots in the present may predict, no great danger is to be feared of the stability of our Government, except from the combinations of a corrupt clergy. More than half a century has elapsed since the day when a large and fruitful Nation was given to the world. The prosperity of our country is unparalleled in the annals of history; peace and plenty have united to bless her inhabitants. Every description of creeds and endless varieties of faith have their votaries, and flourish under the protection of a generous system of laws. Learned institutions are encouraged and thrive among us; and there is reason to believe that the hour is rapidly advancing in which every individual in our extensive territory will be properly qualified to exercise the great functions to which he is eligible. From Maine to Mexico, and from the Atlantic to the Western wilds, the same smiling scene is displayed.

"Your memorialists would inquire if, in this general prosperity, the friends of religion and morality have any well-founded cause of discouragement? The countless evils that must flow from the least interference of the general Government with the view of favoring a religious party are such as, in their consummation, would prove destructive to our national existence. It is impossible, on an occasion like the present, not to advert to the misery which has flowed from the assumption of ecclesiastical dominion in other countries. There are regions where persecution even now erects her blood-stained banner, and demands unnumbered victims for her unholy service. The past history of the Church furnishes a melancholy demonstration of the danger to be anticipated from an alliance of the ministers of religion with the civil magistracy. There is no language which can adequately describe the abuses which have been practiced, the diabolical cruelty which has been perpetrated, and the immense amount

*This Church and State doctrine is quite generally held among Sunday-law advocates. Judge Scott, in delivering the opinion upholding the Sunday law in Missouri, said: "Long before the convention which framed our Constitution was assem-

bled, experience had shown that the mild voice of Christianity was unable to secure the due observance of Sunday as a day of rest. The arm of the civil power had interposed." So, what the mild voice of Christianity cannot do, these Sunday agitators are determined to accomplish at any cost by the iron hand of law.

of suffering which has been inflicted, under the plea of defending the cause of religion. The beauty of youth, the venerable decrepitude of old age, and the power of rank, were equally incompetent to relax the iron grasp of the Church.

"Your memorialists would also suggest that the liberal provision made by our Constitution for the exercise of individual rights, and the encouragement given to enterprise and talent, have invited to our shores multitudes of honest and ingenious artists. Fleeing from persecution in the land of their nativity, they have sought a home in the only country under heaven where liberty can be said to dwell. Here they calculated to be delivered from those galling restrictions which had rendered existence wretched; and here they have not, as yet, been disappointed. We owe it to them, as well as to ourselves, to employ every energy to perpetuate our excellent Government, and to defend it from the attacks of insidious enemies.

"Your memorialists repose, with the fullest confidence, in the wisdom and integrity of their representatives in Congress. They cannot, however, leave the subject without the expression of their sincere approbation of the manner in which the question now under consideration was disposed of in the last session of your body. They would, therefore, respectfully ask that, not only should the prayer of the petitioners be rejected, but that such order shall be taken on the question as will forever preclude its revival."

Individualism.

THE last Legislature of this State passed an act relating to married women, which reads as follows:—

A married woman shall have a right of action for injuries to her property, injuries to her person or character, and injuries arising out of the marital relation, in all cases in which an unmarried woman or a husband now has a right of action by law. A husband shall not be liable in damages for his wife's wrongful or tortious acts, nor for injuries to person, property, or the marital relations caused by the acts unless the said acts were done by actual coercion or instigation of the husband: and such coercion or instigation must be proved in the same manner as any other fact is required to be proved: but in all cases embraced in this section the wife shall be personally liable for her wrongful or tortious acts.

This statute is in the line of numerous other acts passed by the Legislature of this State with reference to married women, the design of which is to put a wife, as to legal independence and responsibility, on the same footing as that of her husband, or as that of an unmarried woman. Under the old common law the wife was largely a mere chattel, and had but few rights and only a very limited protection. Her personality, so far as she had any, was chiefly merged in that of her husband, who virtually owned her, just as he owned a horse. She could neither sue nor be sued. She really had no legal personality attaching as a status to herself. The legislation of this country has for years been sweeping away this

antiquated nonsense and injustice, and giving to married women their proper rights as persons, and holding them to their just responsibilities. The move is in the right direction.—*The Independent*

Such legislation is to be approved for the reason that it tends to render those affected by it self-reliant and self-governing. But it is strange that while our law makers see the evil of merging the personality of the wife into that of the husband, they apparently see no impropriety at all in the State's swallowing up the individuality of both men and women, making the State everything and the individual citizen nothing.

Opinions on Sunday Closing of the Fair.

ONE of the Chicago papers has been inviting and publishing opinions relative to the Sunday closing of the World's Fair; the following are a few of those opinions. We expect to print others next week:—

Cosmogony teaches that through all nature runs a mystic seven. A mysterious, never-changing arrangement pervades everything. There seems to be always a space, a stop, a hiatus. The six days' work and then one day's rest is only an example in perfect harmony with the wondrous whole. All that grows is better for rest. Even machinery, they say, runs more smoothly if not kept running all the time. Sunday is to the week what the rest is to music or the period is to the sentence. We have the testimony of many employers that men are able to do as much work in six days with a day's rest as in seven without any recuperation. A workingman has only a certain amount of vitality, and if it is spread out over seven days its force in each day is weakened.

No one will dispute the value of Sabbath rest from a hygienic point of view, I trust, so the matter should be viewed from the standpoint of expediency. The men on railroads and street-car lines, the thousands of laborers in and around the Exposition grounds, and many more, would be kept from their Sabbath rest.

MISS FRANCES E. WILLARD.

It is true, of course, that keeping the World's Fair open on Sunday will keep many men at work on that day. Miss Willard is right enough on that point, but will not each of those men work of his own free will, and has he not a right to do so if he chooses? Thousands of men will be willing to do the Sunday Exposition work for the double pay that will be offered.

WASHINGTON HESING.

I would not even have the Art gallery opened. I would have every crack and crevice shut closely and have a sign hung out which would herald to the nations of the world that the American people, as a people, and the American Government recognize the Sabbath as an institution, the value of which is inestimable.

REV. E. P. GOODWIN.

A World's Fair, a universal Exposition, is to be held in Chicago. Exhibitors from all parts of the globe are to be invited guests. The Mohammedan comes bringing his wares, he has a day which he regards as the Sabbath; he of the Semitic race has another, and we, as Christians, still another. Here are three different days of rest and worship, as sacred. It is manifestly neither fair nor feasible to force our peculiar observances upon our guests. A simple and equitable adjustment of the matter is to have the Fair open each and every day, and thus make freedom of conscience possible to every exhibitor. Let it be as in Tunis. When I was there I observed that there were three days observed each week. That is, the Christian, the Turk and the Jew, each closed his place of business and devoted himself to rest and worship on the day he recognized as sacred. The representatives of the Women's Christian Temperance Union at the Paris Exposition closed their "chalet" on Sunday. They were not compelled to continue their Exposition on Sunday because it was possible to do so, no more than the Jew was to keep open his exhibit on our Saturday, which he regards as sacred. It seems to me that nothing less than the broad tolerance of the Fair open every day in the week will insure success.

MISS DICKINSON,
Member of Chicago Board of Lady Managers
World's Fair.

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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C. ELDRIDGE, President.
W. H. MCKEE, Secretary.

A Rabbi on Religious Liberty.

(Concluded.)

[A speech delivered by Rabbi David Phillipson before the late Secular Congress at Portsmouth, Ohio. Somewhat abridged.]

THE blessings we enjoy we rarely appreciate to their fullest extent, until we are in danger of being deprived of them. Full religious liberty, and freedom of conscience is one of the greatest, if not the greatest blessing enjoyed by the people of this country.

We have no favored, no recognized, no State Church. There is nothing in the Constitution of the country that can be interpreted to the advantage of any one religious denomination or to the disadvantage of any other. The land has been blessed indeed during the century and more of its existence, blessed on this very account. There has been full amity and comity before the law among all religious denominations. Nor has religion suffered, for there is no people in the world in which the religious sense is so fully developed or so deeply imbedded as in the American people.

Smoothly and without friction have the wheels of the religious life revolved in all this time, but during the past year or so strange voices are making themselves heard, and fanatics, if not hot-headed, then cool-headed ones, who are all the more dangerous on that account, urging a recognition by the Government of this country of the claims of a special religion, of Christianity. There were, during the last session of Congress three measures before the legislative bodies sitting in Washington, all having the same purpose in view, the Blair Sunday bill, and the Blair Educational Amendment before the Senate, and the Breckinridge Sunday bill before the House.

These attempts may well fill us with alarm, even though these measures did not gain the sanction of Congress, yet the very fact that they were presented shows

that there is danger ahead, and that among a certain portion of the community (and that no small one) sentiments are abroad which are thoroughly at variance with the intentions of the founders of the Government, and with the teachings of true religious liberty; these teachings are the complete separation of Church and State, and full freedom of every individual to worship and to think as he will. . . . These ideas held in the closing decades of the last century; they have held during this century, but now there appears to be a retrogression; we are seemingly going back to those darker days when one religion was recognized by the State to the exclusion of others.

Listen to this sentence from a section of one of these bills: "Each State in the Union shall establish and maintain a system of free public schools adequate for the education of all the children living therein, between the ages of six and sixteen years, inclusive, in the common branches of learning, in virtue and morality, and in a knowledge of the fundamental and non-sectarian principles of Christianity."

The fundamental and non-sectarian principles of Christianity! What are they? Those principles in which all Christians believe; a few of such principles are the divinity of Jesus, original sin, justification by faith, etc.; see you not the insidious attempt to force Christianity upon the State, and have it acknowledged as the national religion, no matter though there are hundreds of thousands who do not believe in the fundamental and non-sectarian principles of Christianity; let not that term "non-sectarian" mislead; it is not applied in a general sense, the non-sectarian principles of religion, but the non-sectarian principles of Christianity. . . .

A Government, one of whose foundation stones is this principle of the absolute separation of Church and State, may not for a moment entertain any such resolution, but it is sad to think that we have retrograded so far, that religious narrowness has found its way even into the halls of Government. What individuals do without in the different walks of life is their own concern, but when a man is elected to the Legislature of the country he becomes representative not only of the people who coincide with his private religious views, but of the people at large; and the moment he assumes these large duties, these small individualities must be laid aside, or else he is not the man for the place.

Another foundation-stone of the Government is individual liberty of action, as long as it does not interfere with the like liberty of others. This, the so-called Sunday laws tend to subvert. The Government may not officially recognize any one day upon which it prohibits freedom of action.

These bills are obnoxious but not because they designate Sunday as the day to be particularly observed. They would be just as obnoxious if they would

name the Saturday or any other day. The State may not interfere with the freedom of the individual conscience; once begun who can tell where it will end; the encroachments will grow more and more until in all probability we will get back to the old Blue Laws, which prohibited any man to walk in the field on Sunday, or to smile or listen to any music except the dreary hymns, which the gloomier they were the more religious they were supposed to be. The State has its proper work, the Church has its own sphere. "The civil power ought to be not only neutral and impartial as between different forms of faith, but ought to leave these matters entirely on one side, regarding them no more than it regards the artistic or literary pursuits of the citizens."

Such has been the policy of the Government; it is a late day now to begin to subvert it; but I believe it may truly be said that the majority of the men and women of the land protest against even the least encroachment of the State upon the religious sphere or the smallest interference with the inalienable rights of the individual conscience and thought, and if they do not so protest it only shows that the narrow-mindedness of days that we had thought long past still exists to-day. Senator Blair, for example, is not a representative of the people, but of a class of men, who, though living in the last years of the nineteenth century, belong to the spirit of the seventeenth. They must still learn, all men and women of this kind, that sectarianism is not religion, that the bond of mankind is broader than the bond of the Church, that no single body of men has any rights, as such, over any other, and that the God of mankind is much more loving than the God they profess, who is at best only the God of a sect, all others except those who believe and think with them being placed out of the pale of his regard. This sectarianism represents the spirit that breathes in every law or resolution which is brought forward in the interest of any religion in the councils of the State; this is the spirit that dominates some of our so-called statesmen at this late day.

I would like you to contrast with these expressions the words of him whom Americans honor above all men—of Washington. With a century of experience back of them the Sunday agitators and Church-in-the-State advocates see not as clearly as did the American fathers with no further experience than their own good, common sense and their mighty intentions of the right, what are the natural rights of man, what religious liberty means. Washington was what is called a good church member, being a vestryman of the Episcopal Church; but this did not blind him to the fact that there might likewise be truth in other systems, nor did it prevent him from perceiving the necessity of keeping religion out of the State, nor of accord-

ing full liberty of thought, worship and action to all.

All this is the more wonderful when we remember that these men had all been British subjects, and in no country in Europe was there closer connections between Church and State than in England; also in the Colonies in this country had there been an established Church, which was recognized by the laws of the State, all the more glory and honor to them that they should see beyond the ideas in which they grew up, as it were, and free themselves from the conceptions that were so prevalent around about them. It was a wonderful age and they were wonderful men. What clearer statement has ever been made of the religious rights of man than the following words of Washington: "Every man who conducts himself as a good citizen is accountable alone to God for his religious faith, and should be protected in worshiping God according to the dictates of his own conscience." Let the latter-day apostles, who are now living, hear and take instruction from such sentiments. No word here about the fundamental and non-sectarian principles of Christianity to be taught to the children in the public schools, but each man should be protected in worshiping God according to the dictates of his own conscience, and not according to the rules and laws set and prescribed by men. . . .

Religious liberty is the brightest jewel in the crown of American institutions; it has placed the man above the sectarian; it has placed manhood upon the highest pinnacle. God Eternal has created men of many minds; in nothing do these minds differ as much as in religious thought; each one unto himself, than, in this. Jew and Christian, agnostic and infidel, will find perfect peace and live in perfect harmony only so long as private convictions are not interfered with, only so long as the State will attend to its own, the Church to its own, as was the thought of the great Americans whose names we honor and whose thoughts, which are also our thoughts upon the subject in hand, may be gathered into the few terse words: "Religion must always be kept separate from civil government."

THE pretension is always set up in behalf of arbitrary government that the ruler can do better for the people than they can do for themselves. This idea of paternalism in government was discarded by our fathers when they ordained for themselves and their posterity that they would be a self-reliant, self-supporting, self-governing people. Under our theory of government the people are no more dependent on their rulers and law-givers for their support in their industrial pursuits than they are for food and clothing, or for their consciences and their religious creeds—*Senator Morgan.*



NEW YORK, DECEMBER 4, 1890.

NOTE.—Any one receiving the AMERICAN SENTINEL without having ordered it may know that it is sent to him by some friend, unless plainly marked "Sample copy." It is our invariable rule to send out no papers without pay in advance, except by special arrangement, therefore, those who have not ordered the SENTINEL need have no fears that they will be asked to pay for it simply because they take it from the post-office.

THE Chicago *Evening Post* has for some weeks past been receiving ballots for and against the Sunday opening of the Columbian Exposition. November 15, the vote stood, for Sunday opening, 7,542; against Sunday opening, 3,301.

THE *Mail and Express* says:—

Let the pure religious fire caught from heaven by the clean hands of the fathers ever brightly burn upon the altar of American liberty. May every foreigner, who visits our shores of freedom during the World's Fair, return home with the conviction that true religious devotion is not only compatible with, but essential to, the highest form of individual independence and national liberty.

But what becomes of "individual independence" if the individual is so hedged about by civil law that he has no independence?

A LONDON secular paper remarks that "it is hardly fair that a ship-owner who encourages his crew to respect Sunday should suffer in the competitive struggle," and says that the Government should "secure for all alike the rest and quiet which in the self-governing Colonies is enforced by law."

Commenting upon this, the *Present Truth*, an English religious paper, says: "That is, compel men who do not believe, so that those who do will have no sacrifices to make, and will not suffer in the competitive struggle. This would be compensation with a vengeance. That religious papers should be making such appeals as this is not a hopeful sign of the times. They only show how utterly antagonistic to the spirit of the gospel is the spirit of Sunday laws and all other religious legislation."

REV. NATHANIEL W. CONKLING, D.D., writes a letter to the *New York Observer*, descriptive of Alaska and some of its people, in which speaking of the Metlakahtla Indians, he says:—

These so-called Indians are Christianized. Mr. Duncan acts in the belief that to educate them without Christianizing them is to give them a bane rather than a blessing. All information goes to show that they are consistent Christians. In this Sabbathless country, every Metlakahtla Indian who makes a contract to work in mines, canneries, or forest, insists on the distinct agreement that he does no work on Sundays.

Who can doubt that these Indians are altogether more self-reliant and better

able to meet all temptation under such circumstances than they would had they been hedged around with a Sunday law, and required to keep the day to avoid arrest and imprisonment? The fact that these Christianized Indians keep Sunday in a country where there is no law requiring them to do so, shows that others could keep it also if they were only sufficiently Christianized to be willing to practice a little self-denial, and suffer loss if necessary, rather than violate their conscientious convictions of duty.

"THE history of Protestantism has nothing to boast of over Catholics," says the *Catholic Review*. "They know very well—at least some of them do—that we can more than match them in every charge they bring against us, especially in the charge of persecution for conscience' sake. If we were so disposed we could appeal to the whole history of Protestantism, and especially to that of our Puritan forefathers, to prove conclusively that the country is in danger of the supremacy of that element." This is all too true; but it don't prove that persecution for conscience' sake is right. It is equally evil come from what source it may. Intolerance masquerading as Protestantism is just as wicked as when wearing the badge of Rome.

In the United States District Court, November 4, Judge Hanford rendered an opinion in the suit brought by Catholic Bishop of Nesqually to obtain the title of 340 acres of land occupied as a military reservation by the United States Government at Vancouver, Wash. The claim brought by the plaintiff is based upon the establishment of a missionary station at Vancouver with consent of Hudson Bay Company. The property is now estimated to be worth nearly \$1,000,000. The Court holds that the claims of the United States Government to the lands, as a reservation, is prior in time and for that reason, if no other, superior in equity to that of plaintiff. An appeal was taken to the United States Supreme Court. This is simply history repeating itself; favors once granted the Roman Church have invariably been subsequently demanded as rights; and in this respect many so-called Protestant bodies are not one whit behind Rome.

THE *Christian Advocate*, referring to the Louisiana Lottery, says:—

It takes from New England more than three million dollars annually. It draws over long distances and its drafts are immense. How much does it return? If it did no other mischief than swallow the people's millions without yielding any adequate return it might be endured. The demoralization of consciences and manhood which it produces is infinitely worse.

This is a very common but a very erroneous idea. The legitimate business of the Government is to protect the per-

sons, property, and reputation of its citizens; and to do this properly requires the prohibition of such swindling concerns as lotteries.

The fact that lotteries are demoralizing does not justify their prohibition. The same argument would justify the suppression of a great deal of literature with which probably even the *Advocate* would not insist that the State should meddle. When the State begins to regulate morals there is no place for it to stop short of absolute paternalism with all its objectionable features.

THE *Independent* has the following:—

A colporter of the American Bible Society, Penzotti, has been imprisoned in Peru, near the capital, for circulating Spanish Bibles. At the latest advices he had been lying in jail two months awaiting trial. It was his expectation when he last wrote that he would be sentenced shortly to four months or a year's imprisonment. The only crime of which he was guilty, so far as the American Bible Society has learned, was that of selling Bibles. It seems incredible that such a case should occur in any of the South American countries, and particularly in a State like Peru. In Argentine and in Chili full liberty of worship is allowed, but not yet in Peru nor in Bolivia.

Yes, it does seem strange that such an outrage upon human rights can be perpetrated in this enlightened age anywhere outside of Russia—or rather it would seem strange did we not know that in more than one State of our own glorious Union, honest, industrious, and God-fearing men have within the present year been imprisoned, not for selling Bibles, but for reading the Bible and obeying it just as it reads rather than as expounded by the dormant religious sects.

A LITTLE pamphlet on the Sunday question has reached our table. We are at a loss to understand why a man who professes to reverence Sunday should use such suicidal means. The book begins by claiming that the day is a *religious* Sabbath, but ends up by the oft-repeated assertion that it is not; that it is a *civil* Sabbath. The argument simply overthrows itself. It is a new form of the story about the Irish woman who didn't want to lend her tub:

"A tub is it! Sure an' I niver owned sich an article," and seeing a doubtful expression on her neighbor's face, added, "An' baysoids, wasn't it Mrs. O'Rafferty that borried it jist this blessed minit?"

—*Moral and Scientific Companion*

THE AMERICAN SENTINEL.

AN EIGHT-PAGE WEEKLY JOURNAL,

DEVOTED TO

The defense of American Institutions, the preservation of the United States Constitution as it is, so far as regards religion or religious tests, and the maintenance of human rights, both civil and religious.

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

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W. H. MCKEE.

THE Sabbath is emphatically an American institution.—*Mail and Express*.

How long since? The Christian world has for nineteen hundred years had an idea that the Sabbath was intended for the observance of all mankind. There is no national peculiarity about it.—*New York Press*.

HAD God commissioned men to administer his law, and to require of their fellows the discharge of duties due to the Divine Being, it would have destroyed responsibility to God, and have put man in the place of God. On the other hand, had God not committed to men the power to regulate to some extent their relations with each other, to enforce and preserve their own rights, one of two things would have followed: either punishment would have been so long delayed as to afford no protection to those in need of it, or else vengeance would have been so swift and certain as to defeat the very design of God in making man a free moral agent.

THAT the adoption of the National Reform creed is that which is demanded by the Conference on moral instruction in the schools, is evident from the following from Rev. G. S. Payson's account of that meeting:—

The first address, delivered by Professor George R. Crooks, was a most eloquent and persuasive presentation of the reasons why morals should be taught in every public school in the Union, and why reverence for God and responsibility to him should in every case be made the basis for such instruction. . . . The State is divinely ordained;

it is a moral being, and the subject of a moral government, for we hear of "a corrupt State," and of "the just retribution which may be visited upon a State;" all this the State should teach.

And yet we suppose that the gentlemen who demand that this instruction be given at public expense, would to a man insist that it is purely non-sectarian. It must be that only that which the other fellow believes is sectarian; "that which I hold myself is the 'simon-pure,' unadulterated article absolutely essential to that morality which is absolutely essential to the well-being of the State."

An Anti-Christian Scheme.

WE have stated several times that the Sunday-law movement and, in fact, the whole movement in general for religious legislation, is directly contrary to the gospel of Christ. The theory, the methods, and the purposes of the movement are the opposite of those that pertain to the gospel of Christ. And that this is so we propose to demonstrate by proofs that cannot be questioned. To begin with we quote from Mr. Crafts's book, "The Sabbath for Man," a passage from under the heading, "The Improvement of Sabbath Observance." It is written to show how Sunday observance can be improved; to show how that good for which the Sunday-law advocates are working may be promoted. It is as follows:—

The best way to keep young men in the Sabbath school at the very age when they need it most, is to put a hedge of adult classes, filled with their parents, between them and the door.

Mark, this is given as the *best* way to keep young men in the Sabbath School. To any one who knows anything about the gospel of Christ, it is easy to see that the method here recommended as the best is directly the opposite of the gospel method. This "best way" proceeds wholly upon the idea of force, it recognizes no other means, whereas the sole theory upon which the gospel of Christ proceeds is that of loving persuasion. The idea of the gospel is by careful, tender instruction to implant

in the minds of people such a love for the day, and the place, and the forms of worship, and the service of God, as shall take precedence of everything else, being in itself such a constraint as to utterly dispense with every such machine-made method as is here recommended by the chief factor for promotion of Sunday observance, and a noted Sunday school instructor as well. The word of the gospel of Christ is, "The love of Christ constraineth us." When such is the case, all the service of God, all the times of worship, are a delight; but by such a method as is here recommended it would be but a very little while indeed until it would be perfectly in order for the author of this "best way" to tell what would be the best way to get the young men into the house at all, as well as to keep them in 'after they are there.

But this is not all. The writer continues:—

The next best remedy for the truancy of Sabbath school boys is for every superintendent to provide his teachers with blanks by which the attendance and contributions of each scholar, except adults, may be reported through the mail quarterly or monthly to parents. A third remedy which may be used, with or without the second, is to provide each member of the school quarterly with small numbered envelopes such as are used for weekly collections in churches, in which parents may put the missionary dime or nickel and seal it up, so that it may not get lost on the way to Sabbath school, and so that the treasurer of the Sabbath school can at his home credit each person by their number with what is paid. Where such an envelope system has been adopted collections have been doubled, which means more than the saving of money—it means prevention of Sabbath breaking and conscience breaking by little embezzlers who were not before sufficiently protected against temptation.

The whole quotation proceeds upon the same theory as that above noticed. Parents must first suspect their children of being rascals, and count them as embryo thieves, and are therefore not to trust their children with loose money, but must "seal it up" lest it be embezzled. Instead of teaching what he chooses to call these "little embezzlers" to be honest enough not to embezzle the missionary money, Mr,

Crafts teaches the parents that the money must be sent by the children to the Sunday school, carefully sealed up; and then, in addition, there must be a system of checks and balances by reports of the superintendent to the parents, so that they can be certain that their children are honest. To teach honesty as well as all the other virtues is supposed to be the very object of the Sunday school. It is certainly the object of Christianity, and it is likewise supposed that parents who are sufficiently interested in the cause of Christianity to give money for missionary work, and to teach their children to give it, are at least, professed Christians, and are therefore, supposed to instruct their children in the Christian virtues and graces. At least all this ought to be, but from Mr. Crafts's statement, and from the whole tenor of his book, it would appear that such is not his understanding of what the purpose of the Christian religion is, and that the instruction in Sunday schools under his guidance would not take this direction.

For ourselves we have more respect for both the parents and the children in the Sunday schools of the United States than to think for an instant that they are such characters as he pictures. But this is the theory upon which he would have them proceed, and this is the theory upon which the whole scheme of Sunday legislation is based.

But this is not all of that quotation that is objectionable; this is not the only point that is contrary to the gospel of Christ. The last expression in that quotation reveals another important point, in which the teachings of the Sunday-law workers are directly opposite to the teachings of Christianity. He says that such a "system, more than the saving of money, means prevention of Sabbath breaking and conscience breaking by little embezzlers *who were not before sufficiently protected against temptation.*"

The idea of protecting people from temptation, and of taking away all prospect of temptation, rather than to instill into the individual a courage that can meet temptation, and a power that will overcome it, is the point to which we refer as being contrary to the teachings of Christianity. This is not peculiar to Mr. Crafts. This theory runs through all the movement, of which he is but a part, notably in the work of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union.

Not long since, in Washington City, we went to a meeting of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. Quite a lengthy speech was made upon the work and the aims of the Union. The whole idea of the speech, and the one point of it all was the object of taking away temptation from the people of this world. The speaker with much enthusiasm described the peace and glory of "the good time coming," when, by the work of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, all evil shall have

been suppressed by law and all temptation removed; when the mothers can take their little boys in their arms and dandle them upon their knees in the blessed assurance that that they will never have to meet any temptation.

Now there is no such time ever coming in this world as that speaker described. The time will never be in this world when people will be free from temptation; and, aside from this, the theory of morals that would take away temptation for fear that a person will do wrong, is utterly false. Virtue can never be inculcated nor cultivated by any such process. Morality can never be developed by any such means. If such a theory were true, then the proper thing for the Lord to have done would have been to have staid in Heaven and killed the devil at once. He certainly had the power to do so. It would have been easy enough for him to have destroyed Satan at a breath, and with him to have swept away every vestige of evil and temptation in the world, but nobody in the world would ever have been any better by it. Such a proceeding as that would never have fitted a single soul for the society of angels, nor to dwell in the presence of God. Instead of doing such a thing as that, the Lord came to the world himself, took upon him man's nature; stood in this world as all men stand; met all that men meet; was touched with the feeling of our infirmities, and was tempted in all points like as we are; and by his divine power conquered every temptation in order that men may by the same divine power also conquer temptation, and build up by his grace such characters as will love the right only, and will do the right which they love, in the face of all the temptations that can ever be invented in this world.

The theory of the gospel of Christ therefore is, not the taking away of temptation for fear that men will do evil, but the implanting in man of an enmity to evil, the implanting of a supreme love of right, and a power to do the right which they love. The theory of the gospel is not to keep men in perpetual infancy by taking away every form of difficulty or trial, but to build up strong, courageous, manly men, by the divine power which it brings to them. Consequently the Scriptures make no promise to take away temptations from men, but, instead, exhort, "My brethren count it all joy when ye fall into divers temptations," and pronounce, "Blessed is the man that endureth temptation," and, again, speaking of the living hope into which God has begotten us by the resurrection from the dead, the apostle says: "Wherein ye greatly rejoice, though now for a season, if need be, ye are in heaviness through manifold temptations."

The Lord has not promised to the Christian that he shall have no fighting to do, but instead, the command is, "Fight the good fight of faith." The Lord has not promised the Christian that he shall have

no race to run, but instead, the command is, "Run with patience the race that is set before us," and "So run that ye may obtain." The Lord has not promised a triumph to those who have done no fighting, but to those who have *conquered*. "To him that overcometh [conquereth] will I grant to sit with me in my throne, even as I also overcame [conquered], and am set down with my Father in his throne."

It would be easy to fill one of these columns with scriptures clearly showing the same thing, but these are sufficient to show that those who are working for religious legislation are proceeding upon a false theory wholly; that, although they profess to be Christians, they employ methods and hold ideas that are the opposite of Christianity; and that, although they profess to be ministers of the gospel, and gospel workers, their whole movement, its methods, its theories, and the very idea of it, are directly contrary to the gospel of Jesus Christ.

It is for this reason, as the chiefest of all reasons, that we are opposed to the movement in behalf of religious legislation to any extent whatever, and for this reason every Christian ought to be opposed to it. Every person who loves the gospel of Christ ought to denounce such a movement. It is of itself evil, and nothing but evil can ever come of it. A. T. J.

"Secular Morality."

LAST week we examined very briefly a number of the so-called reasons given by the President of the American Secular Union for opposing the reading of the Bible in the public schools. The conclusion was that President Westbrook and those who hold with him, object to the Bible in the schools *because they do not believe it*; and that did they believe the Bible they would stand shoulder to shoulder with those who demand that it shall be read in our public schools. That this is true is further shown by what they themselves demand.

In the address before referred to, President Westbrook said:—

The American Secular Union, more than a year ago, offered a prize of \$1,000 for the best essay or manual to aid teachers in our free State schools to thoroughly instruct children and youth in the purest principles of morality without inculcating religious doctrines. . . . We suggested that this essay should contain a comprehensive and suggestive exhibit, with familiar and practical illustrations of those universal foundation principles and axiomatic truths which underlie all sound morality and rightfulness, thus developing and educating that inherent moral sense which is more or less common to all rational human beings. In short, that it should show how to teach children the natural and essential difference between right and wrong, and the reasons therefor, without reference to sacerdotal creeds and sectarian dogmas. Authors of every grade have earnestly entered into friendly competition for this prize, and not one has found any difficulty in showing how to teach morality without offense to persons holding the most diversified and extreme views in religion. There is no difference of opinion in regard to morality. Jews and Gentiles, Mohammedans and

Greeks, Catholics and Protestants, Agnostics and Atheists, are all agreed in commending what is good and right, and in condemning what is bad and wrong, and one and all agree in the reasons therefor. Let us therefore teach morality in our State schools, but let us not attempt to introduce religion, concerning which scarcely any two persons agree.

We dissent most emphatically from the statement that "there is no difference of opinion in regard to morality." *There is very wide difference of opinion both as to what constitutes morals and also as to the standard and sanction of morals.* "Morality," Webster defines thus:—

The relation of conformity or non-conformity to the true moral standard or rule; the quality of an intention, a character, an action, a principle or a sentiment, when tried by the standard of right; the quality of an action which renders it good; the conformity of an act to the divine law, or to the principle of morals.

"Moral," used as an adjective, is defined by the same authority, as follows:—

1. Relating to duty or obligation; pertaining to those intentions and actions of which right and wrong, virtue and vice, are predicated, or to the rules by which such actions and intentions ought to be directed; relating to the practice, manners, or conduct of men as social beings in relation to each other, as respects right and wrong, so far as they are properly subject to rules,

2. Conformed to rules of right, or to the divine law respecting social duties; virtuous; just.

The definition of "right," as applied to morals, is:—

Conformed to the constitution of man and the will of God; never deviating from the true and just; according with truth and duty; unswerving; just; true.

In the light of these definitions, it is not too much to say that there is no such universal agreement as to what constitutes morality as Dr. Westbrook seems to imagine. In fact, opinions differ just as widely upon morals as upon religion, and that for the reason that the two are so closely related that it is impossible to teach the one without teaching also the other. As even Paine acknowledges in his "Rights of Man," "All religions are united with principles of morality." Indeed, principles of morality are a part of every religion, and religion has reference invariably to the practice of morality, and all religions appeal to some real or supposed supernatural power as authority on morals and for sanction for their codes of morals.

To teach morals is to teach rules governing action, and the reasons for those rules. Morals must have a sanction; and in every age and in every clime that sanction has been found in religion. Consequently the higher the prevailing conception of Deity, the purer and more perfect the code of morals of any people. The Apostle Paul simply states a truth when, in the first chapter of Romans, he shows that in proportion as the heathen forgot God, their morals became corrupt.

By "morals," President Westbrook probably means no more than civility, or courtesy. Possibly he might carry it further than this and enforce a practical

recognition of the self-evident truth that all men are created equal, and that they are by nature endowed with certain inalienable rights, and that it is the duty of every man to recognize the equal rights of his fellows. This is all good, and no one can come short of it and be truly moral; but it is very far from being the *sum* of good morals. All this can be, and is, practiced more or less fully with no reference to the divine law; but the morality of an act is determined by its "relation of conformity or non-conformity to the divine law." That which leaves the divine law out of the question cannot be recognized by Christians as morality.

This brings us to another point, namely, that while it is true that the State cannot properly teach Christianity it has no more right to teach that which is contrary to Christianity. Morals must have a sanction, that is, the moral standard must rest upon, or be supported by, some authority. That standard, Webster says, is the divine law; and so Christians hold. It follows that to carry out the Secular Union scheme for teaching morals a different standard must be established, and the children must be taught that it is *the* standard; this at once places the State in antagonism to Christianity.

But as before intimated, the State has no more right to antagonize Christianity than it has to foster it. It follows, therefore, that the State must let *morals* alone; it may teach civility and civil justice upon the basis of the self-evident truth that all men are by nature endowed with certain inalienable rights, but it must not teach that this is morality, and that morals rest upon no higher authority than the mutual obligations of human beings. The Secular Union would better take the position that the State should confine its educational work to giving instruction in the exact sciences.

C. P. B.

A Reason for It.

THE Sunday-closing law of Denver seems to be a dead letter.—*Salida Mail.*

No Sunday-closing law can be made a live letter. We have studied the subject for thirty years from personal observation, and know the history of the fanaticism for a century. No ecclesiastical law has ever been successful. Its failure is most pronounced, however, when the law applies to every vocation in life. Saloon and barber-shop closing have both been tried in Denver, and both have fallen under the pressure of public disapprobation. Now try to close drug stores and confectioneries and bakeries, and stop the street sale of newspapers. What result would you look for, particularly in large cities? Revolution? Yes, and very decided revolution. There are several reasons for this sentiment. One is the growing spirit of liberalism in religious matters. Another, the fact that this Government

was founded on equal rights and personal liberty. Another, that hundreds of thousands of citizens believe that the Lord ordained the seventh, and not the first, day of the week for his worship and for rest. These believers, in the true spirit of the Declaration of Independence, must be protected in their belief—personal liberty, equal rights; and no one church—no one dogma—no one priesthood—no one ism should prevail against another. The Church and the State must forever remain separate in the United States of America, or down goes the proud structure.—*Colorado Graphic.*

The New Standard.

THE *Christian Statesman* seems to have addressed the Secretary of the World's Fair, inquiring if the Fair will be open on Sunday or not, and it says that the Secretary gave the information "that the question whether it should be open or closed has been left to the Executive Committee." "This," says the *Statesman*, "implies that it is regarded by the Commissioners as an open question," and it declares that under the laws that govern the enterprise this is not an open question. It argues from the law of the State of Illinois, and the Act of Congress creating the World's Fair Commission, that it will be an open violation of law to open the Fair on Sundays, and because, that Illinois has already a strict Sunday law, and because, the Act of Congress says, "that nothing in this Act shall be so construed as to override or interfere with the law of any State." The *Statesman* quotes from Revised Statutes of Illinois of 1845, the following:—

260. Sunday shall include the time from midnight to midnight.

261. Whoever disturbs the peace and good order of society, by labor (works of necessity or charity excepted), or by any amusement, or diversion on Sunday, shall be fined twenty-five dollars.

262. Whoever shall be guilty of any noise, rout, or amusement on the first day of the week, called Sunday, whereby the peace of any private family shall be disturbed, shall be fined not exceeding twenty-five dollars.

It then reins up the World's Fair Commission in the presence of these statutes, and declares that there is no escape from the verdict that "if the Exposition is thrown open on Sunday, it will be in direct violation of the law." From the efforts that have been made the past few years to secure Sunday laws in Illinois, we rather doubt whether these statutes of 1845 are still in force, but the *Statesman* can easily find out whether they are or not when the time comes to open the Fair.

The *Statesman* appeals to the Commissioners with this question: "Gentlemen, can you afford, on a question in which the Christian people feel so deeply," etc. From our own observation throughout the country, we find that there are a good many people who are not Christians who feel quite deeply on this question, and in

the opposite direction. These want the Fair open on Sunday, and feel just as deeply over the idea that it should not be open as these Christians do over the prospect that it may be open. Now what is there about the feelings of a Christian that should require the respect of the State of Illinois, or of the United States, more than the feelings of anybody else? What right have these Christians to make their religious feelings the standard of public action, to which the feelings and actions of all other people shall be compelled by law to conform?

When laws and public actions are demanded upon such a basis as that, as State action is but the action of a majority, then these Christians have no right to complain if the people whose feelings lead them to demand the opposite of this, should compel them to conform to the feelings of that majority. Yet, if any such attempt were made, no person would exclaim more loudly against such action as being oppression, and an invasion of the rights of conscience, than would these same men that now demand that their feelings shall be made the standard of law and public action. That is the mischief of the whole matter; they demand that their feelings in a matter of religious sentiment, shall be made the supreme rule of action, with no reference or respect whatever to the feelings of anybody else in the world. And the principle of it is that all things whatsoever ye would that men should not do to you, do ye that to them. The principle of Christianity is the opposite of this, and never asks for itself what it does not freely yield to all others; this principle is: "All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them."

A. T. J.

Memorials of 1829-30. No. 4.

A PROTEST FROM SABBATARIANS.

In the Sunday-mail agitation sixty years ago, the Sabbatarian* Christians were not asleep any more than they are now. Among the memorials sent up then and preserved among the public documents of the Government is one signed partially by them. Thus we see that these seventh-day people, though small in numbers, have always made themselves felt when religious liberty was endangered. The truth is, that in all the world's history, it has been the small and unpopular denominations—the dissenters and "heretics,"—that have done most for religious liberty. For this reason, if for no other, these small sects should be encouraged by affording them equal protection and privileges with the dominant sect, that we may ever have a people jealous of the least infringement upon our liberties, and fully alive to the danger when the first attempt

* The term "sabbatarian" is frequently, but improperly, applied by the newspapers to those who advocate Sunday laws. According to Webster, the word means, "One who regards the seventh day of the week as holy, agreeably to the letter of the fourth commandment in the Decalogue."

is made to encroach upon our natural and constitutional rights.

The remonstrance was from New Jersey, and reads as follows:—

To the Honorable, the Senate and House of Representatives in Congress Assembled:

The subscribers, inhabitants of the county of Salem, in the State of New Jersey, respectfully represent:

That your memorialists belong to various religious denominations of Christians, and some of them are conscientious in the belief that the *seventh* day of the week, commonly called *Saturday*, is the *true Sabbath*; that they have learned with regret that attempts are simultaneously making in different sections of the country to get up petitions and memorials to Congress to pass a law for stopping the United States mail on Sunday. While your memorialists acknowledge, with the most devout reverence, that "the earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof," and do most solemnly disclaim all idea of "robbing Jehovah of the worship which is his due," as Christians and republicans they are constrained to remonstrate against the passage of such a law, which they believe would be pregnant with serious evils to our country. We are of the opinion that the report of the committee of the United States Senate of the last year, on this subject, is conclusive, and that the first article of amendments to the Constitution which declares that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press," has virtually prohibited Congress from legislating upon this subject.

In the opinion of your memorialists, errors of opinion, whether of religion or politics, may be safely tolerated in our country, and no *surveillance* is required to control them other than that of "reason, a free press," and "the free course of the gospel." From the judicious arrangement of the Post-office Department, there is no reason to dread any disturbance of religious societies in their devout worship on that day; and the passage of such a law would, in the opinion of your memorialists, by occasioning *numerous expresses* and other modes of conveyance, defeat the *ostensible* object of the law itself. Such a measure would be the result of a "zeal not according to knowledge," and is not warranted by the benevolent spirit of our holy religion, which is "gentle," and not coercive; which is "without partiality and without hypocrisy;" which inculcates an *active* benevolence; which discovers to us a Deity who delights not in "sacrifices and vain oblations," but in the offering of an humble and a contrite heart, and whose goodness is over all his works.

The proposed measure would tend to circumscribe and restrict the benefit of a free press, which is the palladium of our liberties, and to check or retard the diffusion of knowledge, which, in the order of Providence, is the surest means of spreading the gospel, and would obscure or render less refulgent "the light of Bethlehem's star." Works of mercy, and of private and public necessity are always excluded from the general prohibition. The divine Author of our religion has shown us, by his own example, that it is lawful to do good on the Sabbath day. The proposed measure would lessen the good man's opportunities of doing good. Many religious tracts, pamphlets, and newspapers "devoted to the interest of Zion and the prosperity of the Redeemer's kingdom," are transmitted by mail; and why not "mail carriers," equally with "illiterate fishermen," become the heralds of salvation? Why attempt to restrict or limit the Almighty in the methods of his grace? To stop the mail would, in the opinion of the memorialists, be repugnant to a wise maxim, which applies to morals and religion, as well as to economics, "not to put off till tomorrow that which can be done to-day," and would resemble the conduct of "the slothful servant who hid his talent in a napkin."

It is an invaluable privilege, for which, as Chris-

tians and republicans, we cannot be too thankful, that the Constitution of the United States guarantees to every one the rights of conscience and religion; and, in the opinion of your memorialists, the proposed measure would operate as a violation of these rights; would be made a precedent for others of the same kind, and more alarming; would pave the way to a union of Church and State; against which our horrors are excited by the awful admonitions of history; which would be the deathblow to our *civil* and *religious liberties*, purchased by the virtue and valor, and sealed with the blood, of our fathers; and end in the worst of all tyranny—"an ecclesiastical hierarchy."

January 20, 1830.*

Well they knew, as people always ought to know, that human nature is ever the same; and if the ecclesiastics to-day had been in the places of the ecclesiastics a few centuries ago, the sufferers would not have fared much better. If you want liberty, never place a tyrant over you and then trust to his liberality.

W. A. BLAKELY.

They Understood It.

IN reply to an invitation to send representatives to the late Conference of the Protestant denominations of the State of New York, called by the Presbyterians to discuss the question of moral instruction in the public schools, the Baptist pastors assembled at Lockport, adopted the following resolutions:—

We believe that it is a manifest injustice to tax those who do not believe in religion, for the maintenance of schools in which are taught religious principles which they do not wish their children to learn; and further, the inauguration of such a system of religious teaching in our public schools forms a valid argument for the division of the school funds with those who might not relish such teaching, thus resulting eventually in State support of schools in which the creed of Agnosticism, Buddhism, Confucianism, Judaism, or Romanism might be taught.

We believe that the State ought not to teach religion, because this would mean, in our age, religious instruction by unregenerate persons who do not know what true religion is, and whose instruction would, in a large degree, be marked by hypocrisy, formalism, irreverence, and error. We do not wish such persons to instruct our children religiously. The State should teach only that on which all are agreed, and should not invade matters of conscience or religious opinion. If the State may teach religion in schools the State may teach religion in churches of her own establishment. It is only on this broad ground that we can oppose those who would subtly instill Romanism or the creed of Agnosticism into our public instruction.

This answer though plain was, it seems, misunderstood by those to whom it was sent, for in his account of the Conference in this city, Dr. Payson said:—

The Baptist Pastors' State Conference declined the invitation in a resolution, unanimously adopted by a rising vote, in which the secular view of the functions of civil government was vigorously set forth. . . . It is plain that in some way the Baptists misunderstood the object of the Conference, for the Presbyterian Synod of New York and the General Assembly would never have taken a position in this matter inconsistent with the Presbyterian form of Government (Chap. I., sec. 1.), or with repeated utterances of both of those bodies protesting against any union of Church and State, and they are in ac-

* Published by authority of Congress, in 1834.

cord with the Committee which called the Conference.

To this, a Baptist pastor makes reply as follows, in the *Examiner* of November 20:—

As a member of the Committee which presented the resolutions, I wish to say that the Committee thoroughly understood the position of our Presbyterian brethren, as set forth by Dr. Payson, and that, after reading his letter in the *Examiner*, still wish our resolutions to be interpreted literally.

We are sorry that any one should infer from our utterance that we believed the Presbyterian Synod advocated the union of Church and State. It would hardly be a fair inference. What we did say was this: "If the State may teach religion in schools, the State may teach religion in churches of her own establishment;" thus pointing out that the principle underlying State instruction in religion in public schools is the very principle which underlies State churches. To protest against the one and to advocate the other is a position dangerously inconsistent.

Dr. Payson fears that our Committee failed to get the distinction between "religion" and "sectarianism," and understands us to say, "The State shall not invade matters of conscience or of religious (sectarian) opinion." Now, we meant just what we said. We did not understand the Synod as advocating sectarian instruction in the schools. We object to that, and we object to any sort of religious instruction by the State. We cannot agree with Dr. Payson, that the State should teach in its public schools "the existence of God, and the responsibility of the human soul to him here and hereafter." We most thoroughly believe these truths, but we do not believe they have any proper place in public school instruction. Dr. Payson tells us that "these truths are common to all sects and distinctive of none." We think he is mistaken. The sect of the Infidels, of the Agnostics, of the Buddhists, and of the Necessitarians do not accept these truths in the sense in which the Presbyterian Synod understands them. We may not agree with these unbelieving friends of ours, but they have their sacred rights, and one of them is the right of freedom from taxation in the support of public schools in which religious tenets obnoxious to them are taught, and another is the right to public instruction for their children, without the necessity of having forced upon them doctrines they do not believe. We claim these as our rights. Has not the Infidel and the Agnostic the same rights? Or does it make a difference whose ox is gored?

We believe with Dr. Payson that these truths "are the indispensable foundations for the morality which belongs to wholesome citizenship," but that does not prove to us that they ought to have a place in the public school curriculum for we believe, too, that faith in Jesus Christ is the essential

thing in building up the best character in the citizen, and surely no one advocates putting the teaching of that into our public instruction.

It seems strange that Dr. Payson should say, "If the State cannot teach these fundamentals of what we consider true morality, it would better not teach at all." Surely education, general intelligence, and culture have a value independent of religion. Religion is the great good, but there are some other good things too, viz.: water, steam, civilization, gentility, honesty. Why should the State not teach arithmetic, geography, reading, and writing, even if it does not give didactic instruction in morals? In short, we believe that, as citizens we should do all in our power to divorce the public schools from politics, and to secure the appointment of pure-hearted persons as teachers, but we do not believe the State should give formal instruction in morality. Let that be taught in the home, in the church, by the personal influence and character of the public school teacher. Is it said that many have no such instruction at home or at church? Very well, let the Church redouble her efforts and not call on the State to help her out.

We take this broad ground for two reasons. The ordinary public school teacher is not competent, intellectually, to teach morals. And again any thorough teaching must involve moral philosophy to a greater or less extent. The questions must come, "Why ought I?" and "Ought I always to follow my conscience?" and "What do you mean by conscience?" These are questions on which learned and Christian men radically disagree. On such subjects, I wish to instruct my own child. I do not care to be forced to unteach at home what is taught in the school.

Just one more point. Are all Christians agreed about the "existence of God and the responsibility of the human soul to him here and hereafter"? The God I worship and love is a very different being from the God of the Hyper-Colonist, of the Unitarian, or even of the Romanist. Nor do I believe in the milk-and-water God of the sentimentalist. Surely Dr. Payson does not suppose that he can confine discussion on the existence of God in a schoolroom full of questioning children to the bare fact of being. The children will ask what sort of a being he is, and will get their answer too, sometimes from an infidel teacher, sometimes from a Unitarian, sometimes from a Romanist or a Jew, and the practical effect will be either dead formality or the spectacle of a set of unregenerate and ignorant people teaching theology. I shall keep my children at home if this plan succeeds. And when we go on to moral responsibility to God, involving, of course, the matter of rewards and punishments, would it be possible to avoid a teaching of universalism, restorationism, annihilation, second probation, purgatory, and what not?

I have written this letter with the high-

est appreciation of the Christian character and generous courtesy of Dr. Payson, but I cannot agree with him. I should say in closing that I do not pretend to speak for our Lockport Committee, but I believe I have in the main expressed their sentiments.

Yours truly,

FREDERICK L. ANDERSON.

Rochester, November 13th.

Our Chicago Letter.

THE BIBLE IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

THE interest in the question of the Bible in the public schools has not abated since my last letter, although a marvelous change has taken place. When the question was first introduced by the petition work of the Woman's Moral and Educational Union, the Protestant ministers of this city were almost unanimous in favor of placing the Bible back in the public schools. There were, however, a few able men in nearly all the denominations who protested in the name of justice. Nevertheless, it is safe to say that nine-tenths of the Protestant ministers of Chicago either openly favored the enforced reading of the Bible in the city schools or gave tacit consent to the movement which had that in view. It now appears that a majority are opposed to the movement.

The first radical change was made by the Baptist ministers. Dr. Hensen, one of the leading Baptist ministers of the city, and a man of national reputation, and one who had signed the petition to reinstate the Bible in the public schools, recanted and delivered a powerful address before the Baptist ministers' Monday morning meeting, taking the position that the movement was a menace to religious liberty. He settled down on the historical Baptist position of entire separation of Church and State for the good of both. The address was enthusiastically applauded and elicited no opposition.

Among the Methodists a marked change has taken place, though not so unanimous as among the Baptists. Dr. H. C. Jackson, of the Mansfield Avenue Methodist Church, should be regarded as the pioneer in the agitation which brought about this change. As early as last spring he preached a sermon from the text, "Render therefore unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's and unto God the things which are God's," in which he argued against everything savoring of a union of Church and State. His present views of this question are the result of a careful study of Romanism, and he regards the present movement to force the Bible into State schools as partaking of the Roman Catholic idea of a union of Church and State. With these clear views of the question, it is not to be wondered at that his voice should be among the first to be heard protesting against the movement. In my last communication I stated that a resolution

passed in the Methodist meeting, without a dissenting vote, endorsing the movement to enforce Scriptural reading at the morning exercises in all the schools. This was the state of affairs when Dr. Jackson, Dr. Bennett, and Rev. J. P. Brushingham began the agitation of the question. Last Monday morning, Rev. Brushingham, the young and talented pastor of Ada Street Methodist Church, read a paper before the Methodist minister's meeting which was an eloquent and logical discussion of the relations of Church and State and its application to the question in hand. Through the kindness of the author I was furnished the manuscript for publication in THE SENTINEL, but owing to its length and the fact that quotations from it would not do the author justice I have withheld it.

There was but one minister who opposed the paper on the main issue, and who argued the right of the State to teach religion, and he was so thoroughly answered by such men as Dr. Jackson, Dr. Frank Bristol, of Trinity Methodist Church, Dr. Bennett, of the Garrett Biblical Institute, and Dr. Grey, of the Freedman's Aid Society, that the principles of the paper were practically triumphant.

THE WORLD'S FAIR AND SUNDAY CLOSING.

The question of opening or closing the Fair is occupying the attention of all classes of society and the representatives of every phase of religious belief. The Chicago *Evening Post* recently closed a six-weeks' discussion of the question, in which all were requested to participate, and to express their wishes regarding the matter of closing, by casting a ballot either for or against. The discussion brought out the fact that there were many orthodox Christians who, while regarding their attendance at the Fair on the Sabbath objectionable, argued that they had no right to ask that the Fair be closed against those that differed from them.

It was gratifying to notice that the most intelligent agitators of Sunday closing were careful to state that they did not ask that the Fair be closed because of religious reasons, but on civil grounds only, thus showing that the principles of absolute separation of Church and State are recognized in theory, if not in practice. The ballot in the *Post* resulted, for opening on Sunday, 10,316; against opening on Sunday 5,102.

At the recent session of the Ladies' Columbian Commission, a vote was taken to ascertain the sense of the committee on the question of opening of the Fair. The ballot stood twenty-one to twenty-eight in favor of closing, many refusing to vote. Later the matter was reconsidered and the vote rescinded.

The National Commission decided to leave the matter of closing to the local committee, and information has gone out to the effect that this committee will take no action in the matter until the formal

opening of the Fair. This is accepted by the friends of closing as an indication that the Fair is to be kept open, at least portions of it; the delay in deciding the question they consider to be a policy to prevent the dampening of enthusiasm in the enterprise which would result from deciding the matter either way at present.

Another one of the "signs of the times" as regards the Sunday-closing agitation was noticeable in the interest taken in a mass-meeting, projected by the Sunday-rest League, which was ostensibly called in the interests of a civil rest day and which was attended by nearly five thousand people, who paid an admittance fee of from twenty-five cents to a dollar and a quarter; and the lack of interest in the recent meeting of the American Sabbath Union, whose basis is the "divine authority and perpetual obligation of the Sabbath," which was attended on an average by about twenty-five persons. It is evident from the comparative interest taken in the two meetings that the future basis, if it be a basis, for the enforcement of Sunday laws will be the need of physical rest.

THE KING CASE.

The practical workings of Sunday laws were recently exposed by the Associated Press Dispatch, published in all the leading papers in this city, announcing the release from jail of R. M. King, of Troy, Tennessee, on a writ of *habeas corpus*. Mr. King was imprisoned in default of the payment of seventy-five dollars imposed on him by the Circuit Court of Tennessee, and confirmed by the Supreme Court of the State, for plowing his field on Sunday. This case is now regarded with universal interest. The following is a copy of a letter addressed to Mr. King, by a well-known business man of the city:—

MR. R. M. KING.—*Dear Sir*: I hope you will for these few lines excuse a stranger, as I never saw you and doubtless never shall as I am seventy years old and near the end of my race.

I see by the *Tribune* this morning, which I send you, that you have been forced into an oppressive lawsuit, alike disgraceful to Tennessee and her Courts. Fight it out to the bitter end. You have the sympathy, and if necessary shall have the aid, of one who gave the life of a brave nephew at Chickamauga for the liberty you have, and must preserve. If you should deem anything I send you worthy of notice, you can address me at ———— where during the World's Fair you and your's will find a home beneath the roof that protects your unknown and obtrusive friend.

It would doubtless have little consoling effect on Mr. King to inform him that his past year's experience in being dragged from court to court, was the result of a "civil" Sunday law and not a religious enactment.

A. F. BALLENGER.

MAN has a right to speak, think, and write with freedom upon all subjects; but he has no right to force his opinions upon others, or to persecute those who differ with him in belief.—*Machavel*.

Violation of Sunday Laws.

At the present term of the court Judge Young had some cases before him, presented by the Grand Jury, charging certain merchants with violation of the Sunday law. This is the second term of the court within eighteen months, at which the violation of this law has been called to the attention of the court. At the first term the fines imposed by the court were nominal. At this term the court sentenced the parties violating the law to fines as high as fifty dollars, and costs. It is to be presumed that Judge Young intends not only to punish those who may violate the law, but to deter others from violating it. This manner of enforcing the law, will secure its observance in this parish.—*Tensas (Louisiana) Gazette*.

It would be well if at our next term of court an investigation should be made into the prevalent way of keeping the Sunday law in this parish.

There is a good deal to be said against this law, but if the Government of the country is to take charge of the morals of the people, then the Sunday law should be rigorously enforced everywhere. In fact there seems no reason why the New England "Blue Laws" should not be revived and put in force.—*Madison (Louisiana) Journal*.

THE *Lutheraner*, of St. Louis, Mo., thus defines the attitude of the German Lutherans toward the use of the English language in their schools:—

Not only has the English a place in the curriculum of our schools, but it is treated as a second mother tongue, and in a number of branches is the medium of instruction. It may be that here and there in the country districts this plan is not fully carried out; but these are exceptions to the rule, the removal of which is our constant endeavor.

The synods which urge the duty upon parents of having their children educated in the Christian schools, at the same time emphasize the duty of providing such instruction in English, that the children may be able take their place in a community in which the English is the prevailing language. When it comes to statistics, it may turn out to be that, on the whole, the public schools accomplish no better results in the English than do the parochial schools. The German Lutherans are opposed to the Bennett law, *not because it demands a certain amount of English*, but because this law is a gross interference of the State in the domain of the Church.

For, according to the Bennett law, it is possible to compel parents to educate their children in the public schools, where no religious instruction is imparted, even if the children in the parochial schools know three times as much English as the law demands.

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SENATOR BLAIR'S friends are hopeful of his re-election.

Now that Congress is again in session we may expect a renewal of efforts to secure from the law-making power some substantial recognition of Sunday sacredness.

A PACIFIC Coast exchange says that at the next session of the Legislature of California, a Sunday-law bill will be introduced, and the people are being generally solicited to petition for it.

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. Are the American people ready for that sort of thing?

REV. DR. WILLIAM T. MELOY, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, Vinton, Iowa, says: "Keep the Bible out of the schools and our children are deprived of moral instruction." This might be true of Dr. Meloy's children, but we are persuaded that most ministers give their children moral instruction at home; indeed we do not see how it could be true of any children in Christian homes. Homes in which moral instruction is not given are not Christian, even though the head of the house may publicly minister in sacred things.

THE Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, *Press* of the 23d ult., has the following editorial notice of the late Law and Order Convention in that city:—

Although the Law and Order Convention has been condemning in unmeasured terms the "desecration" of Sunday in any manner, including the running of railroad trains, yet all the delegates to the late Convention here, save three, left the city last night or this morning. Some went last night to distant cities, so they will be traveling all day Sunday, while others did not even make a pretense of avoiding a start on Sunday, but leave Pittsburg this morning. It is possible the gentlemen do not consider that they are amenable to the moral laws they expounded so diligently all the week. They may think that anything that they do is sanctified by the fact that they do it, and that the wicked engineers, firemen, conductors, ticket-sellers, and other railroad officials who are forced to labor that the Law and Order people may reach home, are ab-

solved because they are doing evil in a holy cause.

This may be the way the Law and Order delegates look at it, and then again, perhaps they do not give the matter any thought at all. The general public, however, will wonder at the presumption and inconsistency of those people who dare to condemn others for sins they commit themselves.

The *Press* should understand that the Sunday-law advocates want Sunday laws in order that they may not be tempted to travel on what they regard as sacred time. In short they want civil laws to restrain them from sin, just as the judicious mamma puts the preserves upon the top shelf of the pantry in order that Johnny may not be tempted to pilfer them.

ON a recent Sunday evening, a prominent Sabbath Union orator was holding forth to a small audience in a church in this city; on the opposite corner Gilmore's band was discoursing sweet music to a crowded house. The situation was not to the orator's liking, and, in the bitterness of his soul, casting a sad look upon his handful of hearers, he remarked, "If you would close up that synagogue of Satan over there you would have more people in here." And that desire—the wish to fill the churches—accounts for the milk in the American Sabbath Union cocoanut.

A GENTLEMAN, of Alabama, recently wrote to the Albany *Law Journal* asking: "What legally-constituted tribunal ever decided that one day in the week was more 'holy' than another? If so on what authority?" The question was called out by the remark of the *Journal* that a man who shaves on Sunday "cheats the Lord out of his time." The *Journal* responded:—

We really are not competent to answer the inquiry, and we turn the inquirer over to the *Independent*, which is much better informed on the point than we are. The idea of the "Lord's time" is simply a notion which we hold in common with a good many other superstitious people.

The *Independent* also evidently felt unequal to the task of answering the question, for instead of discussing the query, it launched out upon a long justification of Sunday laws upon so-called civil grounds. Why not answer the question and tell the Alabama man where, when, and how Sunday was made holy?

AT a recent Teacher's Institute in Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, the subject of religion in the public schools was discussed. "Dr. Noss," says the Pittsburg *Dispatch*, "paid a high tribute to the German system, which he said cultivated the pupil's thinking powers, physical powers, and moral powers. He did not think that the Protestant teachers should be greatly offended when their Catholic contemporaries speak of the godlessness of the public schools. He was of the opinion that religion should go hand in hand with secular training, and that the result would be that the moral education of children would be greatly furthered."

Superintendent Luckey took issue with Dr. Noss in regard to religion in the schools. He said that if intense religious instruction would produce a nation of infidels like the Germans, he did not want religious instruction in American schools. It was impossible, he said, to give secular and religious instruction in the public schools.

THE *Christian Index*, of Atlanta, Georgia, comments thus upon the election of a Baptist as Governor of that State:—

The Baptists are a very considerable folk numerically, in this State, and it is pleasant to know that they are able to contribute, from their ranks, men fitted for eminent station. Indeed the affairs of State, are often safer in the hands of a Baptist than any other, if they are true to their denominational training. This demands that they be exact and true and never for one moment seek to use power for the special benefit of their denomination. Baptists draw the line between the Church and State with a broad pen, and look with suspicion upon any trenching upon either side. The influences which Baptist doctrines have doubtless had upon our new Governor will protect the general body of the people from anything like an undue pressure from the denomination with which he is allied. So the State is to be congratulated in its chief officer, who true to himself and his principles will rule equally among all his people and in the interest of the general good alone.

If the Baptists of Georgia are as true to their principles as the *Index* expects Governor Northern to be, there will be no such pressure for the Governor to withstand.

AMONG the bills introduced in the Vermont Legislature is: "A bill prohibiting traveling on Sunday, except to church, or on errands of humanity and charity." The people of the whole United States ought to go to the expense of presenting a large leather medal to those Vermont Solons.—*Western Herald*.

EX-MINISTER PHELPS is authority for the statement that the number of foreigners using English has increased one hundred fold the past thirty years. Yet some people are alarmed lest a knowledge of the language becomes practically extinct in some of our Western communities!

FOR men to cease to cry out against injustice is as if they thought that God was dead.—*William T. Stead*.

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ASSOCIATE EDITORS,

C. P. BOLLMAN,

W. H. MCKEE.

THE public schools are for all creeds, or no creed—Catholic, Protestant or Agnostic; for all nationalities, native-born and foreign—for the American, the Irishman, the German or Italian. This makes them impartial, secular and comprehensive. No other system can exist in this country so long as it is republican in manner and form.—*National View.*

“BOTH the Decalogue, and codes of the most advanced governments,” says Mr. Crafts, “forbid murder, thefts, adultery, false witness, and Sabbath work. Religion renders to God the things that are God’s by forbidding these things chiefly as sins against God; governments renders to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar’s by forbidding them only as crimes against man.” But a failure to keep Sunday is not a crime against man, and should not be made so by law. Sunday is religious, and to require its observance is to require the observance of a religious institution.

“UNLESS morality is rooted in a reverent love of God, it will be driven before the sudden gusts of temptation like ‘rattling autumn leaves’ before the winter’s winds. If it looks upon religion as the best ‘Chief of the police’ merely, and not as the interpreter of everlasting verities it must of necessity be destitute of force. Short of the willing sacrifice of self to the righteous claims of God, and the cheerful movement of the mind within the limits of a supreme law, there is no pure or durable morality. Religion is the root

of which the purest morality is the flower. The flower cannot exist without the root; and the root cannot exist and have vitality without the inflorescence in morality.” And yet men imagine that the State can teach morality, and that it can teach morals without teaching religion at that!

National Reform and the “Civil Sabbath.”

WITH its issue of October 2, the *Christian Statesman* began a series of articles, to continue for three months, by Rev. W. F. Crafts, the “founder of the American Sabbath Union.” It seems that the *Statesman* is making a sort of a campaign out of it. Last year Mr. Crafts could say that he was not connected with the National Reform system; now, however, he is a thorough convert. He has gone the whole course. He has adopted the National Reform organ as principal channel of communication; he advocates the National Reform Amendment to the Constitution of the United States to make this a Christian Nation, while asserting all the time that *it is* a Christian nation. In short, he advocates the whole National Reform scheme. This will appear as we proceed because we intend to notice from time to time such portions of the matter which he presents as may seem worthy of attention.

The articles are to form a supplement to the two books already published by Mr. Crafts on the Sabbath question. The first article is entitled, “Is the Sabbath Surrendered?” After mentioning a number of publications on the Sabbath question, he says that “the unanimity of these numerous books in recognizing the Decalogue as the basis and guide of Sabbath observance, at once represents and strengthens the general conviction of British and American Christians that the Lord’s day is also the Christian Sabbath.” Two of the books which he mentions amongst the valuable ones are “The Abiding Sabbath,” by Rev. George Elliot, of Washington City, and the “Lord’s Day,” by Professor

A. E. Waffle, of Jamestown, New York. These are two prize essays, the former \$500, and the latter \$1000. We have at this office a pamphlet of 173 pages, written by the editor of THE SENTINEL, which gives a thorough review of both these books. Anybody who will carefully read the books or this pamphlet either, will see clearly enough that so far as these books are concerned, the Sabbath of the Decalogue has certainly been surrendered. This pamphlet will be sent any where in the United States or Canada on receipt of twenty cents.

Mr. Crafts says that the Sabbath organizations which have recently multiplied in numbers all recognize the perpetual authority of the Sabbath law of the Decalogue, and that the lecturers on this subject have “made the fourth commandment their leading theme,” and “every lecturer for the Sabbath stands on that platform.” Under the circumstances this is a grand admission. The last Sunday book which Mr. Crafts has issued is “The Civil Sabbath.” During his whole campaign of the present year he has made the civil Sabbath his constant theme, and now, at the end of his tours round about and across the Continent, he makes this positive announcement, that every lecturer for the Sabbath stands on the platform of the fourth commandment and makes that his theme. This demonstrates by his own words that which we have constantly held, and which we have told the people all the time, that the plea made in behalf of the civil Sabbath is a fraud; and this shows also that they know it to be a fraud. But they know that they cannot win the favor of the people for their movement if they present it as it is, and as they know it is, in fact, in behalf of the religious Sunday; and therefore in their *words* they plead for the civil Sabbath, while in their hearts they know it is the religious Sunday that they have in view.

By this means they are enabled to win favor that it would be impossible for them to gain if they should plead for what they really want. And strange to say they

have won favor in the very quarter where it would naturally be supposed there would be the least possible hope of it. That is amongst the Liberal Leagues. Even the the American Secular Union acknowledged itself ready to sanction "Sunday laws enforcing the observance of Sunday" as "an economic" institution—at which Mr. Crafts laughs slyly in his sleeve and replies to the Secular Union that there are even now no Sunday laws of any other kind, and that they do not want any other. But when they get the Sunday laws which they do want, and the enforcement of the Sunday laws which already exist as they want them enforced, then the Secular Union and everybody else will find out that there are no economic reasons for Sunday laws, nor any other than religious reasons. Then the people who have allowed themselves to be wheedled with the purring notes of the "civil Sabbath song" will find that they have sold themselves to the despotism of a *religious Sunday*. They will then also know that which we have always said, and still do say, that the pretensions of ecclesiastics who grasp for civil power can never be trusted.

There never was a Sunday law made that was not religious; and there is not one now on the statute books of any State in the American Nation that is not religious and that was not intended to be religious when it was put there. We know full well that in some cases judges have said that these laws are civil, and that they are not religious; but not only is this not true, but every judge who has ever said it has clearly violated one of the fundamental principles of the interpretation of law. That principle is, that, the meaning of a statute is fixed when it is adopted and it is not different at a subsequent time when a court has occasion to pass upon it. A statute is not to be made to mean one thing at one time and another at some subsequent time when the circumstances may have so changed as perhaps to make a different rule in a case seem desirable.

The foundation, the meaning and the intent of every Sunday law that has ever been enacted has been, *at the time of its enactment*, religious and religious only. And now when the progress of the American people under the enlightening influences of the national Constitution has carried them beyond any recognition of laws enforcing religious observances, judges on the bench endeavor to subject to a religious statute, the free spirit of the American people *by making these statutes civil*, and reading into them a meaning that is not there, that was not intended to be there when the statutes were made, and that never can truthfully be put there.

Civil Sunday laws are judge-made laws, and that only, and that in direct violation of one of the soundest principles of jurisprudence. Even though every judge in the United States should say that Sunday laws are civil only, it would not be

true. It would not be true even though the laws in question were enacted with that intent. But it is doubly false when every one of these laws is not only religious in itself, but was enacted with religious intent. There is no such a thing as a civil Sabbath. Sunday laws never enforce the observance of Sunday as an economic institution, nor can Sunday laws be justified by physiological, secular or any other reasons. They are a connecting link in the union of Church and State. They are religious only and are the relics of the religious despotism that is in the past, and at the same time are ominous signs of the one to come.

A. T. J.

Religion in the Public Schools.

A CONFERENCE, which was held in this city, of ministers from twenty-three ecclesiastical bodies called by the Presbyterian Synod to consider the necessity of introducing moral instruction into the public schools, revealed about as many different views as there were speakers. Of course, nothing is settled by such a discussion; certainly the public school system of the State is not likely to undergo any material change as a result of the Conference. It serves, though, a useful purpose in classifying ideas and stimulating thought; while from the general course of the discussion we may learn what to accept and what to reject.

Perhaps the most elaborate address was delivered by Mr. Wm. Allen Butler, who argued for the absolute divorce of the Church and State, and the freedom of religious opinion and worship as fundamental ideas in our system of constitutional Government as embodied in the Constitution of this State. So far, well. But when our speaker declares that "the legal status of the public schools in this State includes the existing and controlling power of the Christian religion," and further, that "the Constitution and law of this State authorize religious," but not as he says, "doctrinal teaching in the public schools," we cannot accept the statement. It is true that by general consent the Bible was for a long time, yet is, and may continue to be, read in the public schools. There is no objection to this when read by general consent. But on the other hand, as the Code of Public Instruction in this State says, "there is no authority in the law to use as a matter of right any portion of the regular school-hours in conducting any religious exercises at which the attendance of the scholars is made compulsory;" and again says the Code, "Neither the common school system nor any other social system can be maintained unless the conscientious views of all are respected." In such utterances and others that might be quoted the legal status of the public schools in this State is shown to be different from that stated by Mr. Butler.

We cannot as a people too strongly insist that religion in the public schools shall not be taught against the opposition of those who support the schools. We indeed hear not a little—and the plea went in the Conference—about teaching "non-sectarian Christianity," as being the common law of the land. Touching this we remark, first, there is no such thing as non-sectarian Christianity; and secondly Christianity is not the common law of the land. As to the first, reading a Protestant version of the Bible is sectarian as against the Douay or Roman Catholic version. As to the second, even in England, whence the common-law theory is derived and applied to this country by its advocates, Lord Coke declared "the common law adapted itself to the religion of the country just so far as was necessary for the peace and safety of civil institutions, and only where by their inevitable effects they became offenses against *man and his temporal security*. In like tenor was the decision of the Massachusetts Supreme Court [*Commonwealth vs. Kneeland*]; of Justice Clayton of Delaware [*State vs. Chandler*]; while the Supreme Court of Ohio [*Bloom vs. Richards*], declares, "Neither Christianity nor any other system of religion is a part of the law of this State." We could quote at greater length but have not the space.

To conclude: We have religion, but the State may not teach it. . . . We must keep our public schools as they are—that is, keep them from sectarian teaching. In this way alone will the State preserve the school against the assaults of the Roman Catholics who would disestablish the system if they could. It will be an evil day for the State that sees the downfall of the public school system through the machinations of the Roman Catholics, and that is the way its downfall will be compassed, if, indeed, it ever is, which God forbid.—*Christian at Work*.

Troublesome Questions.

A REVEREND gentleman in a Western town, discussing the question of religious instruction in the public schools, plaintively asks:—

Suppose some little boy reads a paragraph about the star of Bethlehem; he raises his little hand and inquires of the teacher, "What is the star of Bethlehem?" Is the teacher to answer that the enemies of Protestant Christianity have removed that star from heaven?

Certainly not. To say that anybody has removed the star of Bethlehem from heaven would be a falsehood, and no teacher would be justified in lying to his pupils. In such a case the teacher should refer the pupil to his parents or guardian for the desired information.

But let us carry the supposition a little further: Suppose the Bible is used in the school and some little boy reads Mark 16:16, and asks, "What is baptism?" Shall the teacher undertake to instruct

him upon that subject? Or, if the little fellow reads from Eze. 18:20, the words: "The soul that sinneth, it shall die," and asks the teacher to harmonize it with the doctrine of the immortality of the soul, shall the teacher undertake to instruct him in the various doctrines of future rewards and punishment? Or suppose the pupil should read 1 John 5:7, 8, and ask some question on the doctrine of the trinity, shall the teacher undertake to instruct him in regard to that? and if so, what particular doctrine shall he teach the child? Such questions instead of being avoided by the use of the Bible in the public schools are only multiplied, and nobody will pretend to say that it is the duty of public school teachers to undertake to answer them. C. P. B.

"The Religion of Humanity."

THE New York Press, of the 29th ult., has an editorial notice of the late Conference on moral education in the public schools, from which we quote as follows:—

There is rather more of a theological tone than is desirable about the discussion that has been conducted by some very good Christian ministers this week, about moral education in the public schools. There is the same old tendency to identify religion with theology, and to assume apparently that if common ground can be found on which Protestants and Catholics can stand, the humanitarian end of the Unitarian Church, the Hebrews and Ethical Culturists and Agnostics will accept the teachings of theology in the public schools, on the general theory that "this is a Christian Nation."

Now this Nation, or any other nation, can be Christian in its religion without being Christian in its theology. The word "religion" has the same root "*lig*," as the word "obligation." It signifies something binding, and that something is a sense of duty. All learned students of the science of morals admire the Christian system of morality. It is imbedded in our national Constitution itself. The recognition of the rights of another to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, the Anglo-Saxon doctrine of fair play, is an application of the Golden Rule enunciated by Jesus of Nazareth.

Those who worship Jesus of Nazareth as God incarnate ought to be the readiest of all, in view of these his plain teachings, to come together with Hebrews and Liberals and Agnostics on a humanitarian application of his moral teachings to the purposes of public instruction. The rights of the minority, who, while accepting his supremacy as the world's greatest teacher of morals, are not agreed as to his theological status, require that theology should be kept out of the question. We can no more have a State theology than we can have a State Church. The "religion of humanity" is unsatisfactory as a theology, but that and nothing more is all the religion that the public schools have any business to teach. The point where humanitarian religion stops and theology begins is just the right place for the public schools to draw the line.

It seems to us that the writer of the foregoing attempts to make a distinction where there is no real difference. It is true that religion and theology are not synonymous, yet there is not, we apprehend, that distinction which some imagine that there is. "*Religion*," says Webster, "as distinguished from *theology*, is subjective, designating the feelings and acts of men which relate to God; while *theology* is objective, and denotes those ideas

of God which man entertains respecting the God whom he worships." That is, theology is the theory, while religion is theory reduced to practice.

"The word 'religion' has," says the Press, "the same root as the word 'obligation.' It signifies something binding, and that something is a sense of duty." Very good; but according to Webster's statement of the difference between *religion* and *theology* this root means more than a sense of duty in the abstract; it means a sense of duty toward God. "*Re*" means "back again, or anew," and "*lig*" means, as the Press says, obligation, or something binding; it follows that the Christian religion means binding again to the Christian's God. The sense of duty is religion; but before there can be that sense of duty there must be some knowledge of God, or at least some mental conception of Deity, however false that conception may be.

Again, the Press says, "a nation may be Christian in its sense of duty without being Christian in its theology." But that this is impossible appears from the fact that the sense of duty is Christian only as it springs from an acknowledgment of the authority of the Christian's God; but without Christian teaching or Christian theology, there can be no proper conception of the true God, hence no sense of duty to him.

The whole idea of the Press writer evidently is that the morality inculcated by Christ should be adopted and taught in the public schools without any reference to its Author, and without giving it the added prestige of the name of Christ; that is, it would be Christianity with *Christ* left out. But there can in reality be no such thing as Christianity without Christ. Acts are *Christian* only as they spring from Christian motives. The New Testament teaches that even the common everyday acts and duties of life are to be done "to the glory of God." It is the motive as much as the act itself which constitutes an act Christian. There can be, therefore, no such thing as Christianity with Christ left out; and no Christian would be satisfied to teach the "religion of humanity" even as Christ taught it, without telling who it was that taught it, and thus adding to it the influence of his name and nature.

Christianity is vastly more than a code of morals; it is a divine scheme for the moral elevation of men who have sinned. It not only teaches men how to live, but it teaches them how to become free from past transgression; it promises pardon for sins that are past, and gives assurance of power to overcome temptation and avoid sin in the future. Both the pardon for the past and the power for the future come through Christ. It is manifest that to leave Christ out of Christianity is to emasculate the whole system, and leave man to struggle in the slough of his own moral corruption without pardon for the

past or strength for the future. The Press says that a nation can be Christian in its religion without being Christian in its theology; but such Christianity as that would be no better than the paganism described by the Apostle Paul in the first chapter of Romans. It is true that the State cannot properly teach theology; it is equally true that every Christian should insist that it shall not teach as Christianity or as religion, the morality inculcated by Christ, but with Christ left out. The State must in justice to all let both religion and theology alone. C. P. B.

An Iniquitous Measure.

THE Blair Sunday-rest bill is still before Congress, waiting the opportune moment when it can be pushed forward by its friends with hope of success. It was introduced in the Senate by Hon. H. W. Blair, December 9, 1889, read twice, and referred to the Committee on Education and Labor. This bill has been repeatedly published, and is familiar to most of our readers. To those who have not given the matter thought, the law contemplated in the bill seems reasonable, and the arguments advanced in its favor plausible. We wish, at this time, to point out some of the reasons not only why the bill should not become law, but why every citizen of this Republic ought to raise his voice against it.

1. It is unconstitutional in that it is religious legislation. We know that it is claimed that it is not religious legislation; only a "civil Sabbath" is desired. But the Sabbath is not a civil institution; it is a religious institution, and the bill recognizes repeatedly that phase of the question. The bill is, according to the title, to secure to the people not only the privileges of rest, but of "*religious worship*." Among the prohibitions of Section 3, are works which are not the "observance [of the first day] as a day of *religious worship*." Thus the bill has a religious object, as shown in the title and the exceptions made. It is therefore religious legislation, and is contrary to the First Amendment to the Constitution, which declares that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." The first-day Sabbath is a so-called Christian institution, and its establishment by law is the recognition and establishment of that religious system to which the institution belongs. The Constitution is right, as proved by the history of all religious legislation of the past. The bill is unconstitutional, and therefore wrong.

2. The bill, if it became law, would subject many people—good, honest citizens—to the whims and caprices of their neighbors. The first section declares that no person, etc., "shall perform or authorize to be performed, any secular work, labor, or business *to the disturbance of*

others; . . . nor shall any person engage in any play, game, or amusement, or recreation to the disturbance of others on the first day of the week, commonly known as Sunday, or during any part thereof." See also section 6. There are many professed Sunday-keepers who believe in recreation on Sunday. There are many men, whose work confines them through the week, who find rest and recreation in working in their garden on Sunday. There are those who observe some other day as a Sabbath who, to support themselves and families, are compelled to work on the first day at their regular business, which they, of course, under the Constitution, have the right to do.

But why mention these classes? asks one. The law would not interfere with them if they did not "disturb others." But that is just the point. They could do no known work, they could indulge in no game or exercise on Sunday without disturbing some bigoted Sunday-keeper. Whether such an one saw his neighbor at work or not it would disturb him just as much as though that neighbor was hammering on his door-post. Many consciences are easily disturbed by the acts of others. The good Sunday-keepers of Scotland were so disturbed a few years since that they could leave their devotions on the day which they held as holy, to stone some fishermen who attempted to land fish on that day. Some good Sunday-keepers of the East are greatly disturbed because California has no Sunday law. Well-meaning and merciful men might, through mistake, pass such a law, but religious bigots would make it cruelly operative.

3. The bill is also a bid for injustice and oppression. Section 5 reads:—

That it shall be unlawful to pay or receive payment or wages in any manner for service rendered or for labor performed or for the transportation of persons or of property in violation of the provisions of this act, nor shall any action lie, [hold good] for the recovery thereof, and when so paid, whether in advance or otherwise, the same may be recovered back by whosoever shall first sue for the same.

A more iniquitous measure has not been framed in the nineteenth century. A man may be honestly employed by an honest man to do honest work on Sunday which interferes with no one but the men engaged. These men are there from choice. But under such a law as this the employer has no right to pay for the profits he has received from the poor man's labor; the poor man has no right to receive the compensation which is his due for service rendered and strength and time expended in legitimate, honest toil. His family may be suffering for the wages earned, but he has no right to receive them, and if he does, any vagabond, bigot, or rascal has the right to sue him and recover the same. The bill is worthy only of the Dark Ages. It is a sad thing that one man can be found to frame such a measure; it is sadder still to know that there are so many who will advocate and support it. But as it has

been framed and supported, so certainly would it be enforced if it should become law.

4. The passing of such a bill would destroy not only religious equality but civil, or political, equality. It would divide by law the people of the United States into classes, so far as the law has jurisdiction. The first class, the highly honored, would be Sunday-keepers, placed in position by a mere majority. These would be granted absolute freedom. The second class would be those who observe another day, for whom a sort of exemption is made, which really is no exemption, and which would soon be swept away for obvious reasons, as soon as the law was enacted. The bill does not prohibit their laboring on Sunday, neither does it sanction it, but it makes its legitimacy depend on so frail a foundation as the "disturbance of others." The third class will be those who do not believe in the sacredness of Sunday or religious legislation, and who do not regard any day as the Sabbath. The law counts these as criminals, however faithful or conscientious they may be. This class discrimination does not come because one class is better citizens or better men, but solely on account of a religious tenet or institution. The Sunday would therefore be the sole difference. A matter of conscience (?) with the majority is made the matter of a crime in the minority. And the man who observed another day than Sunday, whose labor disturbed the consciences of others, would be compelled by the law to render one-sixth of his income for the sake of the majority. That is, the Government would exact from him one day in the week, which it would not from the Sunday-keeper. The foregoing is a sample of Rev. Wilbur F. Crafts's boasted "equality" and "justice" of Sunday laws.

5. Such a law as contemplated by the bill would place the Government against God. The Sabbath and religious worship belong to God alone. The observance of the one and the rendering of the other are duties which men owe to their Creator, and for which they will have to give account at his tribunal. When Government, therefore, attempts to regulate, limit, or define such duties, it arrogates to itself powers and prerogatives which belong only to God, and becomes a usurper. Jesus said, "Render therefore unto Cæsar the things which be Cæsar's, and unto God the things which be God's." The Sabbath belongs to God; to him it ought to be rendered, not by constraint, but of one's own free will.

The foregoing are some of the reasons why the Blair Sunday-rest bill should be opposed by every good citizen, every lover of liberty, and, more than all else, by every Christian. The gospel of Christ has naught to do with civil law.—*M. C. W., in Signs of the Times.*

Memorials of 1829-30. No. 5.

A PROTEST FROM THE LEGISLATURE OF INDIANA AGAINST SUNDAY LEGISLATION.

THE interest aroused in the Sunday agitation of 1829-30 can only be fully appreciated by those who went through the Sunday campaign in California in 1883, or who have read the theological conflict between Arianism and Athanasianism in the Roman Empire. Mr. Ben: Perley Poore, an old official of the United States Senate, in his "Reminiscences" (page 101), says: "The members of several religious denominations were prominent in their demonstrations, and in Philadelphia, chains secured by padlocks, were stretched across the streets on Sundays to prevent the passage of the mail coaches." Is it a wonder that such fanaticism called forth the remonstrances which are here being presented?

The "reiterated and untiring efforts" of these religio-political agitators, who were flooding Congress with petitions, began to assume a serious aspect. So much so that the Legislature of the State of Indiana considered that a formal remonstrance on its part was demanded. It accordingly passed the following memorial, which was transmitted by the Governor, February 15, 1830, to the parties mentioned in the resolution:—

MEMORIAL OF THE STATE OF INDIANA.

The memorial of the General Assembly of the State of Indiana respectfully represents:

That we view all attempts to introduce sectarian influence into the councils of the Nation as a violation of both the letter and the spirit of the Constitution of the United States and of this State, and at the same time dangerous to our civil and religious liberties, inasmuch as those charters secure to every man the free exercise of his religion and the right to worship the Almighty God according to the dictates of his own conscience, and inasmuch as any legislative interference in matters of religion would be an infraction of those rights.

We, therefore, most respectfully remonstrate against any attempt, by a combination of one or more sects, to alter the laws providing for the transportation of the mail, and against the passage of a law to regulate or enforce the observance of religious duties, or which may interfere with what belongs to the conscience of each individual.

That all legislative interference in matters of religion is contrary to the genius of Christianity; and that there are no doctrines or observances inculcated by the Christian religion which require the arm of the civil power either to enforce or sustain them.

That we consider every connection between Church and State at all times dangerous to civil and religious liberty; and, further,

That we cordially agree to and approve of the able report of the Hon. R. M. Johnson, adopted by the Senate of the United States at its last session, upon the petitions for prohibiting the transportation of the mail on Sunday; and while we protest in the most solemn manner against every attempt to enforce, by legislative interference, the observance of any particular day, yet we believe that both the spiritual and temporal interest of mankind is promoted by setting apart one day in the week for the purpose of rest, religious instruction and the worship of God.

Resolved, That his excellency the Governor, be requested to transmit a copy of the foregoing memorial to each of our Senators and Representatives

in Congress, and to the President of the Senate and Speaker of the House of Representatives." *

The result of these memorials was to bring forth the celebrated report of the House Committee on Post-offices and Post-roads, of which Colonel Johnson, of Kentucky, was chairman at this time. The report was even more emphatic than that which the Senate had adopted the previous session. Thus meeting a signal defeat again, the movement considered that the opposition was too strong at that stage of our history, and reluctantly retired to the background until a more convenient time and a people less jealous of their liberties should come upon the stage of action; and then, profiting by their former defeat, to enter the struggle with renewed vigor, and to tear down as far as possible the secular features of our Government. May their present and all future attempts be as successful as was the celebrated Sunday movement of 1829-30 is the patriotic wish of

W. A. BLAKELY.

Sound Opinions.

THE *Christian Inquirer*, a Baptist paper published in this city, has in its issue of December 4, a symposium on the proper attitude of Baptists as to religious instruction in the public schools, from which we take the following extracts:—

Baptists have stoutly maintained from the beginning the doctrine of the independence of Church and State. Loyalty to that doctrine forbids the teaching of religion by the State as clearly as it forbids the the assumption of civil functions by the Church. "Religion" is a word which needs definition, and if the State be allowed to define it she will always do so in the interests of the dominant ecclesiasticism, which may be, as it often has been, godless. That we may keep God in the State let us keep religion out of its control; and rather than sanction the authority of civil Government as a religious teacher we shall do well to adopt the parochial school system, and transfer control of all education from the State to the churches. But the public school system of the American Union is the direct outgrowth of religious liberty, and its most glorious expression. It furnishes a common sphere in which religion can be illustrated but not taught, adorned, but not enforced, and if the churches are half alive within their proper domain society can receive only blessing from such so-called secular schools.

EDWARD BRAISLIN.

Brooklyn, N. Y.

Church and State are separate, though each reacts upon the other. The functions of the State are civil, of the Church religious. The public school is a civil institution supported by the State. No religious instruction, therefore, can be given in it. The State can no more teach religion than the Church can make laws. Through the home and schools of its own the Church must care for the religious training of the young. Intelligence being the basis of true citizenship the State must educate, but for the State to attempt to teach religion is simply to furnish a valid plea to any sectarian body to demand a division of the school fund.

W. W. BOYD.

Newark, N. J.

Our convictions and teaching in regard to "religious liberty" compel us to hold that no religious tenets of any sort shall be taught in the public

schools. Absolutely equal rights must prevail in an institution supported by public taxation.

NATHAN E. WOOD.

Brooklyn, N. Y.

I strongly favor giving up the reading of the Bible in public schools. That seems to me clearly the Baptist policy—separating Church from State. Equally clearly is it the best policy, disarming all reasonable opposition to the schools. Much has been lost in not resorting to it earlier.

E. BENJ. ANDREWS.

Brown University.

For the public school teacher as such to teach religion as a part of his duty to the State is for him to usurp a function which does not belong to the State; to concede the claim of the papal Church; to play the tyrant; to degrade religion by unholy alliance. The formal teaching of religion in State schools is not Americanism, not Christianity, but Hildebrandism, State-Churchism.

T. EDWIN BROWN.

Philadelphia, Pa.

Sunday Mails.

A WESTERN Pennsylvania clergyman has been criticising Wanamaker as an ungodly public servant for allowing the mails over which he has the supervision to be carried on Sunday. To this charge Wanamaker has made a reply, in which he repudiates responsibility for the offense and refers the clergyman to Congress as the body with whom authority in the matter resides. He also takes occasion to say that in his opinion Sunday rest for mails in transit is impracticable. "To stop the handling of Sunday mails," he says, "means to stop the wheels of the railroads throughout the country at twelve o'clock on Saturday. In that event there would be no protection for mails in transit. Hundreds of thousands of dollars pass through the mails every day, and the custody of the mail in a car standing on the track, while crossing the prairie, or even at a small village, would be a serious matter. It would be a great accomplishment for Sunday rest if the mail dispatched from Omaha or San Francisco could lay up at twelve o'clock Saturday night, but what would become of the postal clerks, engineers, and train hands is not clear."

We have not seen the full text of Wanamaker's reply to the clergyman; but he is abridged as saying that if any community, by the petition of a considerable majority of its population, would ask for the absolute closing of its office on Sunday the request would receive favorable consideration. "Still," he adds, "it must be remembered that the post-office is not a private office, and that it is the duty of its servants to serve according to law," and he admits . . . "that those who have different views of Sunday keeping have a right to consideration."

Mr. Wanamaker's recognition of the truth that the post-office is not a private office, to be open or closed according to the religious prejudices of the postmaster and his fellow church members, marks quite a long step in the direction of sense. . . . He might now go farther and declare that

the post-office is not a religious office, and that therefore religious reverence for Sunday cannot be regarded as a good excuse for stopping mail trains on that day. People who do not want their mail carried on Sunday should deposit it on Monday morning. It is not practicable for ships to lay-to over the holy day, but mails will go anywhere from the Atlantic to the Pacific between one Sunday and the next.—*Freethought.*

The Trend of the Age.

THE *Washington Post* recently published the following New York letter, under this heading:—

PATERNALISM THE END.

A WESTERN PROPHET OF EVIL.

"It is generally conceded, I believe," said a well-known Western lawyer of prominence, "that we are not only growing more powerful as a Nation year by year, but that we are drifting slowly and surely toward what is called a paternal Government. Both of the political parties have contributed to that end. We have only to study the record of recent Congresses to note the rapidity with which we are travelling in that direction. The whole tendency of national legislation is to the enlargement of the powers and the extension of the duties of the general Government. Of late years my legal practice has involved some of the broader constitutional questions, and this gradual change has forced itself upon my attention. The political complexion of the new order of things does not disturb me. On the contrary, this gradual modification of our original system must be regarded as the legitimate and beneficial result of a higher state of civilization.

Whether it is so regarded by all men or not, we may as well admit that such a change is in progress. There are those who lament the change. I do not. There are those who think this departure from the early tenets of our fathers is the forerunner of national decline and dissolution. But they are growing fewer every year. Even the great body of the Democratic party has cut loose from State rights and strict construction and become converts to the paternal school. In my section of the country the proposition for the general Government to assume ownership and charge of the telegraph lines and railroads is no longer looked upon as undesirable, but if put to vote in a general election it would receive the sanction of three-fourths of the people. If you and I live ten years longer we'll probably see it accomplished. Postal savings banks will follow. And—"

"The loaning of Government money on farm mortgages?" was suggested.

"Very likely. Why not? Why shouldn't the farmers have an equal right with the national bankers?"

"Are they all Socialists up there in the Northwest?"

"If you call that Socialism three-fourths of us are Socialists. Not in the sense of wishing to turn things over at once by force, but as desiring a paternal Government by law, yes—nearly all.

This frank avowal from the lips of a hard-headed lawyer and wealthy citizen, who makes his temporary home at the Hoffman House, was enough to deprive a man of his breath. He continues:

"My statement is not a speculative one at all. Nor has it any political significance, in the narrow and common acceptation of that term. I am a Republican, but never was in politics, and never will be. I am speaking now as an independent citizen. I am speaking, too, only of the people of the section of country I know something about. Perhaps there are other sections where the sentiment is the same.

*"American State Papers," class vii, page 240; published by authority of Congress in 1834.

From what I read of the Farmers' Alliance in the South, and from the recent action of the railway employes in this State, and from general report of sentiment elsewhere I should say this idea was becoming general—but I do not insist on that. The cry of paternal Government is no longer a bugbear. In principle it is not a new departure. It is now only a question of growth. We begin to recognize this from the Supreme Court down."

"Do you think this change in our system is the way to reach the greatest good to the greatest number?"

"Ah, now you want an opinion!" he exclaimed. "My opinion on this point is worth no more than any other man's. To the public it is worth nothing. I have been merely stating facts that have come under my observation. I would not call it a change in our system—the system remains the same—elections by the present process, officers and terms of office the same. It is more properly a change in the application of the system and one contemplated as possible by the framers of the Constitution. It is the national progression of a great people. We improve on the old model as we go along. The war of '61 demonstrated that the original plan needed a vigorous overhauling. I think it improved things materially. Even those who opposed it, arms in hand, think so now. So the paternalizing of the Government—the bringing of it nearer to the new wants of the people—may result in increased personal happiness and national prosperity.

"The question of farm mortgages is a very serious one in the Northwest. People who pay eight and ten per cent. on their borrowed money begin to feel the hopelessness of their situation. The source of all national wealth is in the producer, and the agriculturist is the great producer. In times of financial stringency from over speculation, the Treasury of the United States comes promptly to the rescue of the Wall Street operator. Why should not the Government come to the assistance of the farmer when he gets in a financial hole? I do not suggest any particular way; but let it find some practical way."

"What's the matter with the Government leaving the money with him, instead of taking it by taxation and loaning it back to him?" was inquired.

This query rather floored the political economist from the Northwest, but he recovered in time to observe that it was a scheme worthy of consideration.

"And in this progressive system of paternal Government where do you draw the line of demarcation, where the Government shall stop, and where the people may think and act for themselves? Will it be at the governmental control of the telegraph lines, the railroads, the establishment of postal savings banks, the taking up of the farm mortgages at a nominal rate of interest? Or will it extend its uniformed hand to the running of flouring mills, breweries and manufactories, &c."

"I would draw no line. The representatives of the people in Congress assembled would presumably represent the views of their constituents in the matter. This Government is supposed to be by the people, of the people, and for the people. The trouble is that you consider the Government as something apart from, something not of, the people—it is the people, acting for themselves. The Government belongs to the people, and not the people to the Government. I have just been trying to enforce this idea in an argument before the Secretary of the Interior, at Washington, in a big land case. If the people want their Government to stand in its official capacity between them and poverty and ruin, they have the right to demand that it shall do so, and this without reference to preconceived theories, or of governmental systems of other countries. There is a legal way to express this demand, and that is through the ballot-box and the impartial administration of the laws made by their representatives."

The open expression of such sentiments as these, coupled with a clear view of the social, political, and legislative tendency of

the times, is an evidence of the beginning of the end. Month by month it becomes more certain that there are increasing numbers of able, influential men throughout the country, who not only see the political storm-cloud rising, but hail its coming as a coveted opportunity for action and the profitable exercise of their abilities.

W. H. M.

Petty Persecution.

THE *Truth Seeker* relates the following story of petty persecution for opinion's sake, illustrative, also, of the folly of making criminal upon one day that which is held to be perfectly legitimate upon other days:—

Returning from the American Secular Union Congress, Mr. L. K. Washburn stopped to lecture at Alliance, Ohio. There he learned of an attempt to preserve the "Sabbath" holy by persecuting a Freethinker. Mr. P. L. Dattlebaum, in common with other dealers, has kept his cigar store open on Sundays for years. He carries, in connection with cigars and tobacco, a line of gents' furnishing goods. His Sunday trade, however, has been mostly in cigars. One Sunday in October he sold a linen collar, and was notified the next morning by the police authorities to close his place of business on the following Sunday. He did so, but noticed that every other cigar dealer kept open store the same as usual. Not thinking all were treated alike, Mr. Dattlebaum opened his doors when the next Sunday came around and was arrested on Monday morning. He was again arrested in two weeks for the same offense. He appealed his case, and we shall await with interest the decision of the higher court. What makes the case look like persecution is that not another person has been ordered to close his cigar store or has been arrested for selling his goods on Sunday. Mr. Dattlebaum is an outspoken Freethinker, and thinks that religious prejudice has prompted the action against him. But imagine the authorities of a city or town giving a license to sell tobacco, cigars, etc., on Sunday, and prosecuting a man for selling a linen collar on that day, exclaims Mr. Washburn. It seems that cleanliness is not next to godliness in the opinion of some people. We are at a loss to understand how a Christian can strain at a linen collar and swallow a plug of tobacco or a cigar on his Sabbath day. It would seem as though a man with a clean collar would make a better appearance on and do greater honor to the Sunday than a man with a cigar in his mouth, but evidently the Christian conscience is more wounded by the sale of clean linen on the Sunday than by the sale of a filthy weed.

Is it any wonder that infidels abound when such things are done in the supposed interests of Christian institutions?

THE *Young Men's Era* says of THE SENTINEL that it "is evidently published in the interest of those who oppose the general observance of the Sabbath day." It is evident that the editor of the *Era* knows nothing about THE AMERICAN SENTINEL. The editors of this paper keep the Sabbath, and use their influence to persuade others to keep it also, but they are opposed to all laws requiring anybody to keep either the Sabbath or any other day for any reason whatever. The Sabbath is a religious institution, and Sabbath-keeping is a religious observance; and both should be absolutely free from the trammels of civil laws.

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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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To the Honorable, the House of Representatives of the United States:—
We, the undersigned, adult residents of the United States, 21 years of age or more, hereby respectfully, but earnestly, petition your Honorable Body not to pass any bill in regard to the observance of the Sabbath, or Lord's day, or any other religious or ecclesiastical institution or rite; nor to favor in any way the adoption of any resolution for the amendment of the National Constitution that would in any way give preference to the principles of any one religion above another, or that will in any way sanction legislation upon the subject of religion; but that the total separation between religion and the State, assured by our National Constitution as it now is, may forever remain as our fathers established it.

To the Honorable, the Senate of the United States:—
We, the undersigned, adult residents of the United States, 21 years of age or more, hereby respectfully, but earnestly, petition your Honorable Body not to pass any bill in regard to the observance of the Sabbath, or Lord's day, or any other religious or ecclesiastical institution or rite; nor to favor in any way the adoption of any resolution for the amendment of the National Constitution that would in any way give preference to the principles of any one religion above another, or that will in any way sanction legislation upon the subject of religion; but that the total separation between religion and the State, assured by our National Constitution as it now is, may forever remain as our fathers established it.

THE *Minneapolis Journal* reports a dispatch from Winnipeg, Manitoba, which says: "The most important judgment ever given in Manitoba was delivered by Judge Killam, November 24, in the celebrated appeal of the Roman Catholics against an Act passed by the last Legislature abolishing separate schools. The decision is against the Catholics, but the case will be appealed to England, as the Catholics will not be satisfied until a decision is obtained there."

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JOSEPH COOK says: "With a glorious American common school system and a glorious American church, there can be a glorious American Republic; not otherwise." What does Mr. Cook mean by "a glorious American church"? Does he mean a church established by law and supported by the State as the schools are established and supported?

A LETTER from Salem, Oregon, brings the intelligence that Mr. Crafts has arranged to have a Sunday bill introduced into the Legislature of that State at its next session, which begins January 12, 1891. If we mistake not the gentleman who is to have charge of the bill will find that he has a big job on his hands. The friends of religious liberty are awake in Oregon.

AUSTIN, Minnesota, is agitated over the fact that Sunday work has been done on the new public school building in that town. The Methodist Sunday school recently adopted a series of resolutions denouncing the work as "a flagrant violation of the law, and an outrage upon the religious sentiment of this community, and an open assault upon the American Sabbath."

THE *Christian at Work* remarks that "the Baptists, the only evangelical denomination that was not represented in the recent meeting in New York, at which it was unanimously agreed that church property should not be taxed, considered the question at a meeting in Baltimore on the 24th ult. All the Baptist ministers in Baltimore agreed that church property should be taxed, but differed as to the manner in which the tax should be imposed."

OUR readers will remember that in our issue of November 27, we made brief mention of the arrest of two men, Robert Gibb and William Fritz, in Howard County, Missouri, for doing farm work on Sunday. They were placed under bonds for their appearance at the Circuit Court December 2, 1890. The State Attorney, in his official zeal, forgot, or was ignorant of, an exemption clause for seventh-day observers in the legal code of Missouri. In the interim he seems to have informed himself upon this point, for when the day

set for the trial arrived, he entered a *nolle prosequi*, the State paying the costs. Large delegations had come from the surrounding country to witness the trial.

MONDAY, December 1, the American Sabbath Union filed its certificate of incorporation. Its object is "to have the Sabbath generally observed as a day of rest and worship." "The founders of the Union are General O. O. Howard, Postmaster-General John Wanamaker, Col. Elliott F. Shepard, J. F. Hurst, J. M. King, Edward G. Andrews, Robert S. MacArthur, A. C. Widekind, Leighton Williams, Robert C. Alexander, W. R. Worrell, Alexander S. Bacon, and Chief Justice Noah Davis."

It will be observed that in stating the object of the Union its incorporators say, "To have the Sabbath generally observed as a day of rest and worship." They appeal to the law-making power to enable them to accomplish their object, therefore they appeal to the State to cause men to worship.

THE second annual session of the American Sabbath Union was held in Philadelphia on the 8th and 9th insts. The session was a stormy one and anything but creditable to the management. Mr. Crafts, who made the Union, broke with it several months since, and labored independently in the West during the summer and fall. The meeting was, it appears, appointed early in the week, to shut out Western delegates, who were, as a rule, favorable to Mr. Crafts and hostile to the New York management. Nevertheless the Crafts men were there in sufficient numbers to seriously divide the flock, notwithstanding the fact that they had a Shepard (Colonel Elliott F.) over them.

Colonel Shepard was re-elected President; the incorporation secured before the meeting was approved; a board of twenty-one directors were elected; and the Constitution amended in several important particulars; but the outlook for the Union is not promising. Jealousies and dissensions are weakening it, and unless wiser counsels prevail during the coming year than appeared in the Philadelphia meeting, their bond of union may prove a rope of sand.

THE Sabbath Association of Pennsylvania seems not to have had perfectly clear sailing at its recent meeting in Pittsburg. Rev. D. S. Kennedy had been placed upon the programme for an address, which would probably never have been made had the managers of the meeting known beforehand just what Mr. Kennedy was going to say; for he vigorously opposed Sunday legislation; deprecated the idea of making people moral by civil law, and asked the assembled delegates if their interest in the Sabbath was due to any human enactment. We regret that we have not a copy of

Mr. Kennedy's speech, as we should like very much to publish it. If all ministers had as clear views of the proper relations between Church and State, and of the appropriate sphere of civil law, THE SENTINEL would not need to be published, and the so-called Sabbath Unions might go out of business, and the energy required to run them could be devoted to legitimate Christian work.

WE not only admit, but we maintain the right of the State to establish an educational qualification for voters. But it would not purify politics. Educated men are pretty equally divided between the two great parties, and so are the ignorant and the vicious; indeed the latter are dangerous to the country only as they are manipulated and used by the former. Many of the ignorant are honest, and many of the educated are dishonest.

THE King's Daughters, an organization which, we regret to say, is hand in glove with the National Reformers, has a membership of over one hundred and sixty thousand. This order comprises an "unsectarian body of Christian women," having for their original object the advancement of religion and charity. But like the Woman's Christian Temperance Union they are spending time, money, and energy on side issues.

ARCHBISHOP RYAN is credited with the following: "If all the people of the country were Catholics, and all politicians good, pious men, then such union [union of Church and State] would produce good effects, but as the world is at present, it is better to have them separate and let them work out their ends."

No Paper Next Week.

AS the present volume of THE AMERICAN SENTINEL is to consist of fifty numbers, we will issue no paper next week. No. 1, Vol. 6, will bear date of January 1, 1891.

Index for Volume V.

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