



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 Hing 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 87.

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 worshipers 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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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 interstate 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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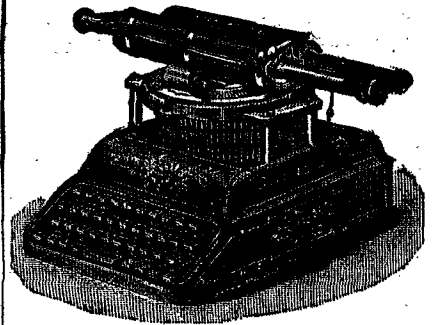
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SUNDAY, April 20, in Salt Lake City, what seems to have been a sort of mass-meeting was held to consider "The obligation of the civil authorities to protect the American Sabbath." The meeting was addressed by Rev. Doctors Vincent, Iliff, Thrall and 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 irrevocably 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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