

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. MCKER.

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.*

THE great trouble with National Reformers is that they fail to distinguish between moral government and civil government, between the government of God and human governments, between a 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, "drunken with the blood of saints and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus."

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 would be 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. It may be said, however, 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.

The Prohibition Party and National Reform.

IN commenting last week upon certain resolutions passed by the Prohibitionists of St. Lawrence County, New York, we said that "to be consistent every man who demands prohibition *because the liquor traffic is sin*, must with avowed National Reformers demand the enforcement of the whole of the moral law as summed up in the ten commandments; in short, every logically consistent Prohibitionist is, whether he knows it or not, committed already to the National Reform scheme." And this not because proper prohibition is a religious question, but because the Prohibition Party approach the subject from a wrong standpoint.

The whole Prohibition movement, as at present constituted, seems to be instinct with National Reform thought and motives. The basic declaration of National Reform is that—

Almighty God is the source of all power and authority in civil government, that the Lord Jesus Christ is the Ruler of nations, and that the revealed will of God is of Supreme authority in civil affairs.

The first declaration of the convention that nominated John P. St. John in 1884, set forth this:—

The Prohibition Party in National Convention assembled, acknowledge Almighty God as the rightful Sovereign of all men from whom the just powers of government are derived, and to whose laws human enactments should conform as an absolute condition of peace, prosperity, and happiness.

This was the attitude of the Prohibition

Party in 1884, and, judging from the utterances of every convention, county, State, and national, since that time, it is its attitude still; and it is a most dangerous one.

It is true in one sense that the just powers of government are derived from God, and from God alone; but it is not true in the sense in which National Reformers and Prohibitionists intend. By creating man a social being, by placing him in this world, and suffering him to continue in it after sin entered, God made civil government a necessity, and so ordained it; ordained that men should govern themselves in communities; but that God now gives special men or parties authority to rule in his name, that he gives any government or party any divine right, independently of the people, that is, of the governed, is a dangerous, unscriptural, and un-American doctrine. It is, however, the doctrine of both National Reformers and Prohibitionists. Both claim that they are destined under God to effect that for which they are striving; and both assume to act "in the name of," that is, by the authority of God,—God is the Sovereign, and they are his ministers to execute the divine will.

God is the rightful moral Sovereign of all, and all *human acts* should conform to his law; but to declare that all "*human enactments*" should conform to the divine law, is simply to declare that human governments are the proper interpreters of that law; and not only that they should interpret it but that they should enforce it as well.

To some it may seem inconsistent to say that all human acts should conform to the divine law and at the same time to deny that human enactments should conform to the same standard. But the inconsistency is only seeming. God has made every man morally responsible to Him alone; any interference on the part of human lawmakers tends to destroy this responsibility, as also to take away that freedom of action that is necessary in the development of character. Men may, and

in truth have, honestly sought to do God service by endeavoring to model their laws after his law; but this is contrary to the divine plan.

God has reserved moral government to himself, but has left men free to govern themselves in civil affairs; and this for obvious reasons. 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.

All human government is force, and party platforms are simply declarations of the principles which will be crystallized into law, and so enforced upon all by the party in the event of its success. Therefore for a party to say that "all human enactments" should conform to the divine law, is for it to declare that should it come into power it would adopt legislation requiring everything that the divine law requires and forbidding everything that the divine law forbids; in other words to pledge itself to administer the divine law.

The just powers of government are necessarily limited to securing impartially to all the free exercise of natural rights, to the securing of civil order; and it was for this purpose that civil government was ordained. Whatever is less than this falls short of what government may do, and of what it should do; and whatever is more than this exceeds the just powers of government and restricts natural rights.

The National Reform Association and the Prohibition Party both hold that the Government should recognize the law of God "as of supreme authority in civil affairs;" and it involves them both in the same difficulty, namely, in the assumption that they are commissioned to interpret and enforce the law of God, to prohibit sin and to promote righteousness. This leads them alike to decide, not only for themselves but for others, what sin is and what righteousness is, and to seek to mete out rewards and punishments as they judge right. In short, they assume prerogatives which belong only to God. The trouble is, as we have seen, that they start wrong. They approach the subject of government not from the human, but from the divine side.

C. P. B.

No cause, however just, should be supported or defended by unjust means. Doing evil that good may come will always yield evil results.—*Signs of the Times.*

What Rights Have the Minority?

ALL men are created equal. It then follows that each person in the minority has just the same rights as any person in the majority. In other words, the same respect, protection, and natural liberty must be guaranteed to each individual without regard to whether he is one of the many or one of the few. It is the maintenance of this principle (that the weak shall be afforded equal protection with the strong) that marks the free government in contradistinction to the despotic power; and having this principle clearly in view the early American statesmen aimed to incorporate into our political system such a guarantee of the rights of the minority, that those rights would never be trampled upon, no matter how numerous or overwhelming the majority might be.

In order to accomplish this, not only were the fundamental and inalienable rights of man declared, but our Government was organized into three separate, distinct, and sovereign departments for the express purpose of each being a check upon the other should it be inclined to violate the Constitution by infringing in any way upon the rights of the people.

John Adams, while vice-president, in his "Defense of the Constitutions and Government of the United States of America," called attention to the inclination of majorities to oppress minorities, and in so doing fully justifies the executive and judiciary departments of our Government, in addition to the Legislature or representative department. Mr. Adams said:—

Since all men are so inclined to act according to their own will and interests, in making, expounding, and executing laws, to the prejudice of the people's liberty and security, the sovereign authority, the legislative, executive, and judicial power, can never be safely lodged in one assembly, though chosen annually by the people; because the majority and their leaders, the *principes populi*, will certainly oppress the minority, and make, expound, and execute laws for their own wealth, power, grandeur, and glory, to the prejudice of the liberty and security of the minority.

The minority, to secure justice to all, must be protected. Hence, the majority can not be trusted with unlimited power; for a majority would just as surely abuse such power as would a king. Any nation, in order to be free, must place safeguards around each individual, over which the government—be it a monarchy or be it a republic—be it the rule of one or be it the rule of a majority—shall not, under any pretense, pass. The idea of thinking that because we have a Republic, there is no danger of the rights of the people being infringed, is absurd. All experience with human nature is to the contrary.

In the present Sunday agitation it is urged that some of the leaders in the movement are among our best men; that they have too much regard for justice, for their religion, to use the Sunday laws to wrong an American citizen; their Christianity is sufficient warrant that no

injustice will be done. But such arguments as these have been used before. It was necessary for Madison to show this fallacy, and what he said over a century ago is worthy of repetition. He takes up the subject in answer to the question, What is to restrain the majority, when united with a common passion, from unjust violations of the rights and interests of the minority or of individuals? Will their religion? In his comments he says:

It [religion] is not pretended to be such [a restraint as will insure the recognition of rights] on men individually considered. Will its effect be greater on them considered in an aggregate view? Quite the reverse. The conduct of every popular assembly acting on oath, the strongest of religious ties, proves that individuals join without remorse in acts against which their consciences would revolt if proposed to them under the same sanction, separately, in their closets. When, indeed, religion is kindled into enthusiasm, its force, like that of other passions, is *increased by the sympathy of a multitude*. But enthusiasm is only a temporary state of religion, and, while it lasts, will hardly be seen with pleasure at the helm of Government. Besides, as religion in its coolest state is not infallible, it may become a motive to oppression as well as a restraint from injustice.—*Notes on the Confederacy (1787).*

The surest way of having our rights made secure, is to *remove all means by which they can be invaded*. If this can not be done, the next best thing is to come as near as possible to that state of affairs. Hence, the surest way of preventing persecution on account of working on Sunday, is to *have no Sunday laws with which to persecute*. Instead of allowing the Sunday laws of the various States to remain upon the statute books as a dead letter, which may at any time be revived by some religious bigots (as has been done repeatedly lately) the only way to do in order that the security of the Sabbatarian may be assured is to repeal totally and forever every Sunday law in every State of the Union. In this way, and in this way alone, will the rights of the Sabbatarian Christians, and the conscientious Jews, in this country be protected from the fanaticism of the over-zealous Sunday-keeper.

The very object of laws is to prevent oppression—to protect the individual. See then, how the power delegated to government is abused when they enact, or allow to remain on the statute books, laws that are the means of oppression. Some persons seem to think that all government is for is to protect the majority. But this idea is far from the truth. The primary idea of government is to protect the minority—to protect the weak from oppression by the strong—to protect the few from oppression by the many. On several occasions in our history have our leading jurists had occasion to call attention to this truth. In the Ohio decision on the Bible in the public schools, the Court declared that the religious rights of the minority were to receive the same protection as those of the majority. Speaking

of the guarantee of religious freedom the Court said:—

It means that a man's right to his own religious convictions, and to impart them to his own children, and his and their right to engage, in conformity thereto, in harmless acts of worship toward the Almighty, are as sacred in the eye of the law as his rights of person or property, and that although in the minority, he shall be protected in the full and unrestricted enjoyment thereof. The "protection" guaranteed by the section in question means protection to the minority. The majority can protect itself. Constitutions are enacted for the very purpose of protecting the weak against the strong; the few against the many.

The celebrated United States Senate report emphasizes the same idea in the following words:—

It is not the legitimate province of the Legislature to determine what religion is true, or what false. Our Government is a civil, and not a religious, institution. Our Constitution recognizes in every person the right to choose his own religion, and to enjoy it freely without molestation. Whatever may be the religious sentiments of citizens, and however variant, they are alike entitled to protection from the Government, so long as they do not invade the rights of others.

If these American principles are regarded there will be no occasion to allude to the fact that Sabbatarians are only "seventh-tenths of one per cent" in this country; for even if it be so they must be treated as well, and protected as thoroughly by the Government, as though they numbered sixty millions.

W. A. BLAKELY.

The States and Religious Liberty.

To those people who have always believed that there could be no union between Church and State anywhere in this country, a recent decision of Judge Hammond, of the United States District Court of Tennessee, comes as a startling surprise. A resident of that commonwealth had been convicted of violating a State law by working on Sunday. The matter was carried before the Federal court, where an attempt was made to establish that the law was unconstitutional. Judge Hammond, however, declared that the various States have the right to make whatever laws they please on the subject of religion. They may make Sunday laws of the strictest character; not only this, but they may "establish a creed and a church."

Such legislation is forbidden to the national Government under the Constitution, but there is no such prohibition on any State, unless the people of that State have laid it themselves. In any case, however, the United States would have no right to interfere with such laws. Judge Hammond contends that since the national Government is expressly prohibited from dealing with religious matters, while nothing in the Constitution limits the powers of the States in this particular, the legal inference is that such powers are reserved to the States.

If this view shall be sustained by the United States Supreme Court, it will rest

with the people of the States separately to say whether or not they will be true to the spirit in which this Nation was founded, and which has prevailed throughout its life. The fullest liberty has been enjoyed in religious matters, with perhaps some exceptions such as that which has given occasion for Judge Hammond's decision. It would be absolutely certain that no change would follow anywhere if Americans were to remain as they now are and as they have been from the first. If, however, the plans for religious colonization and race isolation such as were recently formulated in the Cahensly programme were to be carried out, it might be readily believed that one or more States of the Union would be provided in time with "a creed and a church."—*America*.

What Is a Christian Citizen?

"So you want to get religion?" "I do." "What do you want to be—Baptist, Methodist, Congregationalist, Presbyterian, or what?" "To tell the truth I hadn't thought of any of them; I want to be a Christian."—*New York Press*.

APART from the intended humor of this little squib, and the possible indication of a commendable sincerity in its last clause, there is much that ought to be very suggestive to National Reformers and their sympathizers. It is fairly probable that a large proportion of these unwisely zealous people "hadn't thought" of their individual relations to a national Christianity (?) in exactly this light. It ought to be worth while to give the subject a careful consideration.

These people emphatically assert that this is a "Christian Nation;" and therefore they are working indefatigably to make it a Christian Nation, by having its Christian character recognized in the national Constitution and laws. Notwithstanding these inconsistencies, they are discerning enough to know that the realization of their plans demands that some "practical" influence be brought to bear upon the individual citizen. But instead of employing the only influence which the Author of Christianity ever authorized to be used for man's reformation—teaching and persuasion, their programme is to legislate men into this "Christian Nation." The most obvious way of carrying out this idea is to compel the individual to conform to an outward appearance of worship in harmony with orthodox Christian teaching. An appropriate time must be set apart for this, and so there must be laws regulating his observance of the "Christian Sabbath"—though to disarm a certain prejudice which Americans have for non-interference in religious matters, it is better to pass such laws ostensibly to "protect the American Sabbath," or the "civil Sabbath." It is true that some will see an apparent incongruity in the first expression, but the latter term is particularly available because it mixes the religious and secular in such inextric-

able confusion that it is sure to deceive those who are to be the elect citizens of this Christian Nation.

With these paternal provisions made for the religious welfare of the individual, the attention of these would-be reformers is naturally directed to a consideration of the influence which this Christian Nation should exert upon nations. We are soon to have a great World's Fair. It ought to be the occasion of exhibiting to the assembled hosts that we are a Simon Pure Christian Nation—because we *are*, you know. So the gates of this great Exposition must be closed through all the hours of the Christian Sabbath, in order that all peoples, kindreds, tribes, and nations may know that in Chicago the "American Sunday" is *not* the "Continental Sunday." Incidentally, too, this will greatly strengthen the faith of some of our own countrymen who are not yet quite sure they are full Christian citizens—though of course this is doubtless a "Christian Nation."

But we stop to wonder whether these zealous reformers have ever thought of these things *this way*. We wonder if they have ever thought what kind of a creed they will all individually subscribe to when their plans are worked out. Who will prescribe it? What will be the final authority in its preparation and interpretation? What the penalty for heresy? Whither shall the spirit of Liberty have flown?

Isn't it worth while to stop and ponder seriously and long the thought suggested in this fact: If a man honestly before God feels to say, "I want to be a Christian," may he not do it by divine help without any assistance or dictation from civil Government? If he does *not* want to be a Christian, can Government do anything more than to make him a hypocrite?

FRANK WILLIAM HOWE.

Lakeside and "National Reform."

THE fifteenth annual encampment, which recently closed at Lakeside, Ohio, like all similar gatherings held this year, was infected with the growing State religion theory of the National Reform Association. Besides a day set apart for the presentation of the views of the Association, Professor Coleman of Pennsylvania, Professor of Political Ethics in the National Reform Association College of that State, delivered daily lectures on the relation of God to civil government.

Professor Coleman is in general, a fair minded gentleman, and it is the prophecy of the writer that he will be among the first to desert the cause he so earnestly advocates, when he sees its practical working, unless his character becomes radically changed. He has too much of the spirit of the Golden Rule, at present, to execute his persecuting theory.

The Professor allowed his hearers to

question him publicly during his lectures, and some of the questions brought forth a frank "I don't know." One of these was, "If the Government should enforce the moral law, as you advocate, what would you do with Catholics and others who violate the second commandment, which forbids bowing before graven images?" Professor Coleman was not prepared to imprison the whole Catholic Church of this country. He also unwittingly acknowledged that the enforcement of the fourth commandment on dissenters would be persecution. In the process of illustrating another point he stated that if the Government were to enforce the seventh day of the week on Christians who keep Sunday, it would be persecution. Later, a listener referred to this statement and asked, "What would it be if the Government should enforce the observance of the first day of the week on Christians who keep the seventh day?"

The Professor acknowledged having made the statement, but answered by saying, "I had in mind an improbable condition of things *i. e.*, a majority of the whole people in the wrong." In this statement he betrayed the supreme arrogance, folly, and wickedness which lie at the root of the whole movement. By paraphrasing this answer its true import is more clearly seen. "When we, the majority, enforce obedience to our views upon you the minority, it is not persecution for it is improbable that we the majority are in the wrong; and it is not persecution for we, who are right by virtue of our majority, to enforce obedience to our views of the fourth commandment upon you, who are wrong by virtue of your minority."

Leaving the particular question of which day is the Sabbath, we attack the infallible majority theory with the prophetic word of God, with all history, sacred and profane; and lastly, we hurl Professor Coleman himself against the theory, for he declared in the same lectures that at no time since the end of Israel's theocracy had the theory or practice of a majority of the Christian world been right, as regards the relation of religion and civil government. Notwithstanding all this, he proposes to use this erring majority to enforce his interpretation of the commandments of God upon others because in this instance he believes with the majority.

"DIVIDED AGAINST ITSELF."

Rev. Wilbur F. Crafts, of the American Sabbath Union, delivered his two lectures here, taking great care to inform his hearers, as usual, that his movement for compulsory Sabbath observance was based entirely upon natural, economical, and sanitary grounds, and not upon religious reasons as Seventh-day Adventists and others ignorantly declared it to be. If Mr. Crafts is sincere in this, and we

will not discuss that question here, then we have the American Sabbath Union, which Mr. Crafts represents, in deadly conflict with the National Reform Association which voted at its Washington Convention to eliminate from its writings and speeches the term "civil Sabbath," alleging that the will of God as expressed in the fourth commandment, was the only true basis of Sabbath laws. How Mr. Crafts can oppose the views of National Reformers, and they in turn attack his views, and yet both labor in blissful harmony, to secure the same end, is, until explained, very strange conduct; but when understood it has in it the wisdom of the serpent. The writer asked a prominent National Reform advocate, at the close of Mr. Crafts's address, why the speaker advocated Sabbath laws based entirely on secular grounds, and opposed the National Reform or religious basis as presented by himself. He answered that he supposed Mr. Crafts presented the question in that light to escape the criticism which would result from placing his desired legislation on a religious basis. In further proof of this a representative of the American Sabbath Union stated recently before a ministers' meeting that for good reasons the representatives of these two views were not to publicly affiliate but to work independently, as both could work to better advantage and with greater success.

This explains why these two organizations do not quarrel. They both want Sunday laws. The vote of the man who wants Sunday laws for secular reasons will count as much as will the vote of the man who wants such laws for religious reasons. So at these summer gatherings both views are presented, and the listener offered a choice between them, and the acceptance of either view is looked upon as encouraging. And why not? When R. M. King is securely locked in a Tennessee prison, it will make no difference to him or to either wing of the Sunday-law movement, whether he was placed there by a Sunday law, secured by a majority of "civil Sunday" votes, or a majority of "sacred Sabbath" votes; in either case he will not be at liberty to plow his field on Sunday, and thus again "give offense to the sense of propriety of those on their way to church," and continue to offer "a willful and intentional slight to the community." (These quotations are not from "Fox's Book of Martyrs," but from a stenographic report of the testimony of Christian witnesses against R. M. King, in the Circuit Court of Tennessee, and published in that form by the National Religious Liberty Association.)

NOT ALL ONE-SIDED.

The writer found a strong sentiment at Lakeside against the views presented by these representatives of legal-suasion reforms. Nearly one half of Mr. Crafts's

large audience left the auditorium before the conclusion of the second address.

A State officer of the Non-Partisan Woman's Christian Temperance Union, of Ohio, stated that Mr. Crafts's manner of presentation, his voice, countenance and general demeanor, reminded her so much of the hanging of witches and Quakers, that she left before the conclusion of the address, and others expressed the same in substance.

There were some prominent Christian workers at this gathering who noticed and deplored the present mania for law as opposed to the Gospel in bringing about reforms.

A. F. BALLINGER.

National Reform Association and Kindred Organizations on the King Case.

THIS heading might lead one to think that quotations were to be made from a number of statements from the various organizations favoring Sunday laws, telling of their deep interest in and sorrow for the trial of Mr. King, of Tennessee.

As the readers of THE SENTINEL are well aware, the National Reform Association, the American Sabbath Union, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, and other organizations that are working to secure Sunday laws and their enforcement, have asserted with great emphasis that such legislation would work no hardships to any, and that no one would be persecuted who saw fit to observe another day. And they are not slow to denounce Russia for her persecution of the Jews, and to say that such oppression is only becoming to a cruel despot.

But R. M. King, of Tennessee, was indicted for quietly plowing in his field on Sunday, after he had carefully observed the previous day as the Sabbath. He has been prosecuted through the various courts of Tennessee, up to the Supreme Court of that State, and has just received the confirmation of the sentences of all the lower courts by the United States Circuit Court remanding him to prison or pay a fine. And all this in a land that boasts of her religious freedom. Yes, and caused by the enforcement of laws that the various organizations that are working to secure such legislation, have gravely told us would never interfere with the rights or religious freedom of any one.

Now if the National Reformers, and allied organizations are the friends and champions of religious liberty, as they insist that they are, why don't we hear of some of them denouncing the persecution of Mr. King? Is there any element of justice in a man being fined and imprisoned for quietly performing honorable labor on Sunday? Even if Mr. King had not sacredly observed the day before, could it be said that any of the principles of equity and right would admit of fines and imprisonment being imposed on him for quiet labor on a day that is religiously ob-

served by some of his fellows? Certainly any one who is free from bigotry and the mediæval spirit of intolerance, will say that such persecution or prosecution, whichever we might please to call it, is wrong in every sense of the word.

In the matters that are purely civil we have it, as the established American principle that majorities are to rule. This is the most perfect of all forms of governmental doctrine, and under its benign influence our liberty is the boast of our Nation. No less important is another of the principles underlying our system of government, and that is, that in matters of conscience the right of the minority is to be sacredly guarded, even if that minority should chance to be a single individual. We could not have religious freedom without sacredly guarding this principle. The Japanese who pays his devotion to Buddha, the Hindoo, who pours out his petitions before the quadruple-faced image of Brahma, the Chinese paying his adorations to Joss, or the Christian who with enlightened understanding devoutly lifts his voice in prayer and praise to the one all-powerful Creator and his Son, Jesus Christ, all these, yea, and even he who disbelieves all religions, stand on an equality before our just laws, and are alike accorded their right to worship or refrain from it as they may choose.

The Christian is pained to see his less enlightened neighbor, worshiping at the shrine of an idol which has been fashioned by the hand of man; he feels sorrowful to hear the blasphemous oath or behold the derisive sneer of him who would reject the world's Redeemer. But all he can do is to instruct, persuade, entreat. God has so ordained it, and our Government has tried thus far to keep the bigot with his intolerant zeal from invading the sacred precincts of conscience.

The case of Mr. King is plainly that of one whose rights of conscience have been invaded. And if Sunday laws are not intended to work hardships to any, why do not their advocates denounce this persecution of Mr. King as unjust and tyrannical? Why spend all their vocabulary of invectives upon the Czar of Russia, when we have cases of oppression right at home, if not so cruel, at least quite similar to that of the Jews in the country of the Russian bear?

Sunday laws are purely religious, no matter what other name we may give them, and their enforcement can do nothing else than end in religious persecution. And the silence of the National Reformers, and kindred Sunday-law associations, upon a case that has attracted such widespread attention as that of Mr. King, speaks volumes in regard to the hidden purpose of Sunday legislation. If they do not intend that Sunday laws shall oppress any one, but only to have them operate for the good of man, why don't some of them come out and denounce the

prosecution of Mr. King as cruel and unjust? The fact that they do not do it, leaves room for many reflections in regard to the real motives of those who are the prime movers in this work of Sunday legislation.

A. O. TAIT.

The Gospel of Force.

PAUL says, "God hath set some in the Church, first apostles, secondarily prophets, thirdly teachers." 1 Cor. 12:28. In Eph. 4:11-13, he enumerates substantially the same classes, and states for what purpose and for how long a time God set them in the Church: "And he gave some, apostles; and some, prophets; and some, evangelists; and some pastors and teachers; for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ: till we all come in the unity of the faith, and the knowledge of the Son of God."

But ambitious and unregenerate professors have been wont to bring another element into the gospel plan,—that of force. They have sought to set kings, emperors, and rulers in the Church. Even in our own day, and here in republican America, this idea is being advocated and fostered. Men are asking for laws requiring all to keep Sunday, and making it obligatory that religion shall be taught in the public school. With this fact in mind it may be well to ask what the end will be, and look for an answer in the history of the past, as history repeats itself. Bower thus describes an attempt of the Emperor Justinian, in the year 532 A. D., to bring all into the unity of the faith:—

While the Arian king was striving, by the most just and equitable laws, to clear the Church from all simony in the West, the Catholic Emperor (Justinian) was employing the most unjust and unchristian means of clearing her from all heresies in the East, that of persecution; and the most cruel persecution any Christian emperor had yet set on foot, or countenanced. By an edict which he issued to unite all men in one faith, whether Jews, Gentiles, or Christians, such as did not, in the term of three months, embrace and profess the Catholic faith, were declared infamous, and, as such, excluded from all employments, both civil and military, rendered incapable of leaving anything by will, and their estates confiscated, whether real or personal. These were convincing arguments of the truth of the Catholic faith; but many, however, withstood them; and against such as did, the imperial edict was executed with the utmost rigor. Great numbers were driven from their habitations with their wives and children, stript and naked. Others betook themselves to flight, carrying with them what they could conceal, for their support and maintenance; but they were plundered of the little they had, and many of them inhumanly massacred by the Catholic peasants, or the soldiers who guarded the passes.—*Bower's History of Popes, Vol. 1, pages 333, 334.*

The gospel seeks to persuade men by the meekness and gentleness of Christ. National Reform seeks to drive men by the power of civil Government. Therefore National Reform is opposed to the gospel.

Are We a Christian Nation?

In a recent issue a correspondent characterizes our country in its present condition as "a Christian Nation ruled by infidelity," yet he tells us that this condition results from the fact that "Christianity" elects the candidates nominated by "the whisky ring of infidelity." Evidently, then, we are not quite a "Christian Nation" yet. Nor ought it to be the purpose of the Prohibition Party to make this a Christian Nation. As individuals we are at liberty to use every proper means to make the whole world Christian, but when we use distinctively political methods for that purpose we make only hypocrites or martyrs. It does the cause of prohibition no more good to bring a railing accusation against infidelity than it does to advertise the hypocrisy of many so-called Christians. Our fight is not against infidelity *per se*, but against the saloon. It is none of our business how much "infidelity gains ground" apart from its representation in the liquor traffic. We can never make this a Christian Nation by legislation—that is the work of the Church, not of political parties—and we can not advance the cause of prohibition by trying to be conscience for somebody else. Our business is to fight the saloon, not to reform hypocrites, nor to defeat Bob Ingersoll for the presidency.—*F. W. Howe, in New Era (Prohibition).*

A DENVER minister, Rev. Kerr B. Tupper, spending his vacation at Long Branch, New Jersey, has been writing some very silly, but by no means original things on the Sabbath question to a Denver paper. Referring to this, the *Colorado Graphic* says:—

Will Mr. Tupper, who is a Hard-shell Baptist, please tell his fellow-citizens which day of the week is the "Lord's day"? If the *Graphic* has not lost its bearings, the Lord rested on the seventh day and blessed it; and the Lord said, "Six days shalt thou labor and do all thy work, but the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God," etc. Mr. Tupper knows that the religious denomination of which he is a member is divided on the Sabbatharian question, and that the two factions have been fighting each other bitterly for years and years; and he ought to know that until he can agree with his brethren on this point he is not competent to instruct others as to their duty on the secular Sunday.

What are we personal liberty advocates to think of Dr. Tupper and the people who cling to his theory of the means of salvation? The Baptist Church is at loggerheads with itself on this very question.

The *Graphic* is right; if Sunday be a civil, a secular day, the preachers have no right to dictate to the people how they shall spend it; if it be a religious day, the State has no right to meddle with it in any manner.

WE can not organize political parties with respect to churches in the land.—*Judge Zane.*

NATIONAL Religious Liberty Association.

Sunday and the Fair.

ON the 3d inst., the National Columbian Commission at Chicago gave a hearing to the advocates of the Sunday-closing of the Fair.

Col. Elliot F. Shepard, as President of the American Sabbath Union, presented the memorial of the Union, praying for the closing of the Fair on Sunday. He also, as President of the Sabbath Observance Committee of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, presented a petition of that body to the same end. He likewise read a telegram from Archbishop Ireland, of St. Paul, giving his acquiescence in the movement, and also the resolution in favor of closing the Fair on Sunday, passed by the Farmers' Alliance Convention at Ocala.

Rev. Sylvester Scoville, President of Wooster College, Wooster, Ohio, gave a brief review of the history of Sunday legislation and Sunday Observance, and their effects on the nations, socially and commercially.

Gen. O. O. Howard presented the question from the patriotic point of view, quoting from Washington, Lincoln, Grant, McClellan, and President Harrison.

Rev. T. A. Fernley, of Philadelphia, laid before the Commission a petition for the closing of the Fair on Sunday, containing nearly 500,000 names.

Col. Alexander S. Maitland, of Brooklyn, urged that Sunday laws were not founded on religion, but on the rights of man, and that no nation could remain permanently free without a day of rest.

Hon. Thomas Coffin, of Iowa, representing the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, presented the subject on behalf of that organization, and of wage-earners in general.

Rev. Francis L. Patton, President of Princeton University, presented the question from the Biblical point of view. He said he had no doubt of the commercial success of the Exposition, but the most important point in success was the moral one.

Mrs. R. L. Carse presented a petition from 10,000 members of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. And then after a few words from Colonel Shepard, claiming that he and others present were representing the Christian churches of the United States, who, with their communicants, families, and affiliations, represented safely at least fifty-seven million of the population, the Commission took a recess.

It is announced that action on the Sunday closing question will be deferred until the local directors of the Exposition have made their rules and submitted them to the Commission for approval.

The opinion is confidently expressed by the advocates of Sunday-closing that the Fair will be closed. The decision may, however, be delayed for some time yet. Meanwhile the interest in the matter grows, and the agitation increases.

Mr. Crafts at Bradford.

AS noted last week, Mr. Crafts has been at Bradford, Pennsylvania, and here is what the *Era* of that city says about it editorially:—

Rev. Mr. Crafts has discovered that Bradford people, as a whole, have less respect for Sunday than any other town in the United States, or the world, perhaps, and wants a law passed to instill a due amount of reverence into our citizens. There is less sniveling hypocrisy here than in many another town, no doubt, but the standard of morality is just as high as you will find anywhere else. Like a cocoon, the rough side of Bradford is out. However, there is nothing here to shock the most refined moral sense, more than in any other town, excepting the fact that cigars, fruits, soda water, etc., are sold openly on Sunday instead of clandestinely.

The fact has been abundantly demonstrated by repeated experiments that you cannot make a man religious by passing Blue Laws. You may succeed

in making a hypocrite of him, but a careful analysis of his heart will not show any stronger traces of true piety than before. But because the Bradford City Council concluded to leave it to the consciences of the people whether or not they should buy or sell on Sunday, Rev. Crafts denounced them as being "worse than the Chicago anarchists—and they were hanged." The real truth is this: The more freedom you give the people the stronger they will develop, both morally and intellectually. Individual responsibility is the best. If the law could make it impossible for all men to do evil, how much credit would they deserve for their abstinence? and how would we distinguish the bad from the good? The intolerance that stifles free thought and dwarfs the heart and brain of man is the worst cannibalism. It consumes the soul instead of the flesh.

THE advocates of Sunday laws are just now making a desperate effort to convince the workingman that he is enslaved by corporations requiring Sunday work, a bondage, they declare, worse than African slavery; but the workingman does not generally join the movement for some reason, probably because it not only promises to secure a law compelling corporations to give their employes rest on Sunday, but promises that the same law will prescribe the manner in which he shall spend the day.

Recently an American Sabbath Union lecturer, after a passionate portrayal of "our modern slavery," Sunday labor, declared with disappointment and disgust in his tones, "I am astonished that the laboring man has never raised his voice against this imposition." This is not astonishing, for laboring men can see a long way ahead of their noses, and while some of them prefer to rest on Sunday if they could do so without losing their job, they don't propose to jump "out of the frying-pan into the fire."

THE *Sunday Gazetteer* of Denison, Texas, after stating the charge against R. M. King, of Tennessee, says:—

His attorney held that his punishment was in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States which says, "No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens in the United States," and it specifies that "all persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States." On the other hand Judge Hammond rules that this amendment did not reach the question at issue. The first Constitutional Amendment says emphatically that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof," but this is construed by the judge as applying only to Congress and as having no binding force upon the States, and he goes so far as to say that there is left to the States the most absolute power on the subject of religious legislation, and any of them may, if they choose, establish a creed and a church and maintain it.

If Judge Hammond's opinion is correct, and the Supreme Court should so decide, religious freedom in this Republic is in danger. Any powerful religious sect might be able to get political control of a State, establish a State religion, and then make it exceedingly unpleasant for dissenters to remain within its borders. It has been the popular belief that the Federal Constitution made it obligatory upon the States to maintain religious freedom for all citizens, and that was the understanding of Madison, Jefferson and other founders of the Government. If they were wrong and Judge Hammond is right, the people will have to carefully watch State legislation if they would keep in check the growing tendency to more closely unite Church and State, a sentiment already pushing its way into politics, through such organizations as the National Reform Association, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Sabbath Alliance, etc. The King case will be taken to the United States Supreme Court, and the result will be looked for with much interest.

REV. MCCLAIRN, in explaining the objects of the American Sabbath Union in a recent Sunday evening address, stated that a movement similar to theirs was inaugurated in England several hundred years ago. We have read of that movement and its sad consequences, and have regarded the present movement as "similar," but until now were without an official statement to that effect.

Lecture Bureau of the National Religious Liberty Association.

THE Lecture Bureau of the National Religious Liberty Association is composed of competent lecturers in various parts of the United States, and any one desiring lectures upon the subject of religious liberty and the relation of Church and State, may secure a lecturer by corresponding with Allen Moon, the Secretary of the Bureau, 28 College Place, Chicago, Illinois.

THE "Pearl of Days" says that ground is being gained for Sunday reform (?) in California continually. "Since June last nearly all the towns of Humboldt County, the great lumber region, have inaugurated Sunday closing."

A PETITION has just been circulated in Pullman, Wash., to have the old Washington Territory Sunday law enforced. When it was presented to the Council, a lawyer who had been reading some good literature on the subject of Sunday laws, gave some arguments against such legislation that kept the authorities from acting in the matter.

No wonder the laboring man does not join the "civil Sabbath law" movement, for it is not only ungenerous and uncivil, but it is tyrannical. A representative of this movement recently stated to a Chicago audience, that the objection made by some that the occupants of crowded tenements ought to have an opportunity to visit the parks and breathe the fresh air, was "mere sentimentalism, without foundation." "There are no tenement houses," said the speaker, "that will not hold all the occupants when assembled on Sunday, and they had better be there than desecrating the Sabbath by going to the parks." The laboring man has reason to fear this return to puritanical narrowness and hypocrisy.

THE American or secular theory of government does not mean the *unchristian 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 relation 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.

THE following is from the May number of the *Christian Press*, a paper advocating Sunday laws and their rigid enforcement:—

Conviction may be forced upon us, but conversion will never be. Does God call me? Does he love me? Does he need me? are questions to which I may be compelled to give an affirmative answer; but, Will I yield to him? is a question which must be decided by myself, and which I am free to decide. Many are making the fatal mistake of waiting for conversion to be forced upon them, and they persuade themselves that they honor God by waiting for "God's own time." God's accepted time and day of salvation is now.

That paragraph has the good old gospel ring. Then why *enforce* Sunday observance? Any Christian should be in favor of the sentiment expressed in the foregoing, and be ready to work for it with all his might. *Enforced* Sunday observance would not be a whit better than enforced conversion. The *Press* can see the one, why can it not see the other just as clearly?

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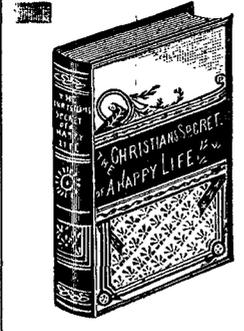
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NEW YORK, SEPTEMBER 10, 1891.

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THE *Sun* expresses the opinion that the same principle is involved in the question of opening the World's Fair on Sunday, that was in opening the Metropolitan Museum of Art in this city on that day, and that it will be decided in the same way.

It is stated that the Mayor of Philadelphia has ordered all the street shoe-blackening stands in that city closed on Sunday. The street cars and excursion boats are still running, however, and the well-to-do church member still reads his Sunday paper, eats his elaborate Sunday dinner, and takes his Sunday drive, just as usual.

It is to the credit of the Pennsylvania Prohibitionists that at their recent State Convention the usual Sunday-law plank was omitted from the platform. A resolution, independent of the platform, opposing the appropriation of the State funds for the World's Fair if opened on Sunday, was offered, however, by a Forest County delegate, and was passed by the Convention. The platform was also given a religious coloring by this introduction:—

The Prohibition Party of Pennsylvania, in Convention assembled, acknowledging Almighty God as the source of all power in government, do hereby declare.

This is all right if rightly understood; but we fear that the Pennsylvania Prohibitionists do not intend it in the only sense admissible without letting down the bars to all the vagaries and abuses of so-called National Reform. The danger which lurks in such resolutions is discussed in an article on the first page of this paper.

THE Prohibition Convention at Albany, on the 3d inst., set forth this declaration:

The Prohibition Party of the State of New York, in Convention assembled, acknowledge allegiance to Almighty God as Governor of the Nation.

There are some necessary deductions to be made from this, that possibly our Prohibitionist friends have not thought of.

If God is the Ruler of this Nation it follows that those who make and administer the laws of the Nation are simply his vicegerents.

The Prohibitionists are striving after

the power to make and administer the laws.

It follows that they propose to rule as God's vicegerents. The claim is neither better nor worse than that of the Papacy, for it is the same.

IF the Prohibitionists wish to acknowledge God in a way that will not involve the monstrous assumption of divine right, let them adopt the immortal words of the Declaration of Independence:—

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.

And let them further declare that as the blessings of civil government are for all men,—for both the just and the unjust, alike for the servant of God and for him that serveth him not,—and that as only a small minority of the race or of any nation have ever been truly the servants of God, and so, for the most part; civil government is necessarily in the hands of men who really know not God, it is manifest that in civil affairs men are to be governed only by the law of natural rights; that this alone is the higher law to which all human law should conform, because it is the only law that the natural man can properly appreciate and rightly interpret; and because God in his infinite wisdom has made it ample for all the needs of human government, and is truly honored by obedience to it.

Two or three weeks since we noted the fact that on certain excursion boats owned by Brooklyn church members, dancing was prohibited on Sunday, but that the boats made their trips to Rockaway Beach on that day as usual, and beer was sold at the bar the same as on other days. The pious (?) owners could tolerate Sunday excursions and even Sunday liquor-selling, but drew the line at Sunday dancing! The same monstrous inconsistency is observable at North Beach, Long Island. The razzle-dazzles, the merry-go-rounds, the toboggan slide, the Wild West show, and numerous other nickel-catching devices run full blast, and even the saloons are open on Sundays as on other days, but the authorities draw the line at dancing, and it is prohibited on Sunday! Such facts simply emphasize the absurdity of Sunday laws in general, and of such Sunday regulations in particular.

SEPTEMBER 1, the Police Commissioners of this city passed a mild resolution declaring that the Board "disapproves in general of any action on the part of the force partaking of the character of sneaks or spies, or of acting in a surreptitious manner in the discharge of its duty."

This resolution which ought to have been passed long ago, will operate to prevent such disgraceful arrests as those noted in these columns two weeks ago. The action had special reference to a contemptible system of espionage upon saloons, a system that while accomplishing nothing for the cause of temperance was demoralizing the guardians of the peace of the city; but it will doubtless serve to protect from police outrage small shopkeepers, and other dealers in useful commodities.

NATIONAL Reformers and American Sabbath Unionists have denied that persecution would result from the success of their movement, but such denials amount to nothing; and the fact remains that the logic of their scheme stops nothing short of persecution for conscience' sake. Of course they would not call fines and imprisonment 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 and the American Sabbath Unionists propose. They would not persecute; no, not they; they would only have the civil authorities punish by fines, imprisonment, and disfranchisement, those who do not readily submit themselves to the proposed *regime*.

EVERY one should read the article on another page, "Lakeside and National Reform." It reveals clearly the knavery of some who are posing before the world and the Church as the apostles of "reform" in the interests of the "poor workingman," but who are in reality seeking to establish on American soil a despotism as cruel as any that ever cursed the priest-ridden countries of Europe.

"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."

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