



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

VOLUME 6.

NEW YORK, OCTOBER 29, 1891.

NUMBER 42.

The American Sentinel.

PUBLISHED WEEKLY, BY THE

PACIFIC PRESS PUBLISHING COMPANY,

No. 43 BOND ST., NEW YORK.

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

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

SUNDAY laws, and the whole line of religious legislation which goes in the same category, are alien to the letter of American fundamental law, and to the spirit of American institutions. They are a survival of the English Church Establishment, and should have existed, after the Declaration of Independence and the adoption of the Constitution, no more than the laws governing the control of livings, and the maintenance of the Church of England. They have rightly no more place in our statutes, than law for the regulation of the royal succession.

THE series of religious congresses which have been planned to be held during the World's Fair in Chicago will, if carried out as projected, be the most widespread in its immediate influence of any religious effort ever inaugurated by man. In the enumeration of the different religious interests to be subserved by these meetings is mentioned that of making "prominent the value of the weekly rest day on religious and other grounds;" and the *Christian Statesman*, in commenting upon this, says that "the most impressive lesson as

to the influence and the value of religion would be the closing of the Exposition itself on the Sabbath." The fact is that the enforced closing which is here meant would prove just the contrary, namely, that the "influence and value of religion" had been insufficient to cause the exhibitors and sight-seers to observe a religious rest day. And the very fact that the hand of the law had been called in to enforce a religious idea would prove to the world the absence of true religion and conscientious principle.

The Divine Right of Dissent.

IN the extracts which have so far been given from Judge Hammond's *dictum* upon the subject of freedom of religious belief, there has been no recognition whatever, of the right of the individual to differ from the majority in any question of religious belief or observance; no recognition whatever of any right of the individual to think for himself religiously, to believe according to convictions of his own conscience, or to worship according to his belief; if in such things he disagrees with the religious ideas of the majority, or dissents from the religious observances practiced by the majority. There is no recognition of any right of dissent.

Nor have the extracts which we have presented been selected for the purpose of making this feature especially prominent. Indeed, no such thing is necessary, because this is the prominent feature of the whole discussion. There is no recognition of any such thing in the whole course of the Judge's opinion. And the source from which this discussion comes, will justify us in presenting further extracts, showing that such is the nature of the discussion throughout.

This characteristic of the discussion is made the more prominent too, by the fact that the Judge holds constantly that Sunday is a *religious institution*, and its observance is essentially *religious observance*. He gives no countenance whatever

to the pretense that has recently been made considerable of by the Sunday-law advocates, that it is "the economical value of the day of rest, and not the religious character which they would preserve by civil law." His statement as to the nature of Sunday observance is as follows:—

Sunday observance is so essentially a part of that religion, ("the religion of Jesus Christ") that it is impossible to rid our laws of it.

This again utterly ignores the fact that according to American principles, as declared both in the Constitution of Tennessee and the United States Constitution, religious observance can never rightly be made a part of the laws, nor any religion recognized by the laws. The supreme law of the United States declares in so many words, that "the Government of the United States is not in any sense founded upon the Christian religion." And the Supreme Court of Tennessee declares that "no preference shall ever be given by law to *any* religious establishment or *mode* of worship."

Further, this statement, just as far as it is possible for Judge Hammond's authority to go, sanctions that act by which he himself declares that the observers of Sunday have not only secured the aid of the civil law but continue to hold it in spite of every demand for religious freedom, and in spite of the progress which has been made in the absolute separation of Church and State. The Judge therefore knows that Sunday legislation is religious legislation, and that the enforcement of Sunday observance is the enforcement of a religious observance. He knows, also, that this is contrary to the individual freedom of religious belief, and that it is contrary to the principle of absolute separation of Church and State; for he plainly says that this "sort of factitious advantage" which the observers of Sunday have secured in the control of the civil law is "in spite of the clamor for religious freedom, and in spite of the progress which has been made in the ab-

solite separation of Church and State."

But as we have seen, he sanctions this pertinacious action of the Sunday observers, and then justifies the sanction in the following words:—

Civil or religious freedom may stop short of its logic in this matter of Sunday observance. . . . Government leaves the warring sects to observe as they will so they do not disturb each other: *and as to the non-observer he cannot be allowed his fullest personal freedom in all respects.* . . . There is scarcely any man who has not had to yield something to this law of the majority, which is itself a universal law *from which we cannot escape in the name of equal rights or civil liberty.*

It may be indeed that men have been and still are, required to yield something to this law of the majority in matters of religion. Yet it is *certainly* true that no such requirement ever has been, or ever can be, just. It is *certainly* true that neither civil nor religious freedom can ever stop short of its logic in any question of religious belief or religious observance.

Religious belief is a matter which rests solely with the individual. Religion pertains to man's relationship to God, and it is the man's personal relationship of faith and obedience, of belief and observance toward God. Every man has therefore the personal, individual, and inalienable right to believe for himself in religious things. And this carries with it the same personal, individual and inalienable right *to dissent* from any and every other phase of religious belief that is held by anybody on earth.

This right is recognized and declared by Jesus Christ, not only in the words in which he has commanded every man to render to God that which is God's, while rendering to Cæsar that which is Cæsar's, but likewise in the following words: "If any man hear my words, and believe not, I judge him not, for I came not to judge the world, but to save the world. He that rejecteth me and receiveth not my words, hath one that judgeth him. The word that I have spoken, the same shall judge him in the last day."

The word which Christ spoke was the Word of God. The one who is to judge, therefore, is God; and in the last day he will judge every man for the way in which he has acted. To this judgment the Lord Jesus refers every man who refuses to believe and rejects his words. If any man hears Christ's words, and believes not, but rejects him and his words, Christ condemns him not, judges him not; but leaves him to the Judge of all, who will render to every man according to his deeds, in the last day.

In this, therefore, the Author of Christianity, the Saviour of the world, has clearly recognized and declared the right of every man to dissent from every religion known to mankind; and even the religion of Christ itself, being responsible only to God for the exercise of that right. He wants every man to believe and be saved; but he will compel none. Christ

leaves every man free to receive or reject, to assent or dissent, to believe or disbelieve, just as he chooses: his responsibility is to God alone, and it is the individual who must answer for himself in the last day. "So then every one of us shall give account of *himself to God.*" Rom. 14:12.

Whoever therefore presumes to exercise jurisdiction over the religious belief or observances of any man, or would compel any man to conform to the precepts of any religion, or to comply with the ceremonies of any religious body, or would condemn any man for not believing or complying—whoever would presume to do any such thing, puts himself above Jesus Christ, and usurps the place and the prerogative of God, the Judge of all.

Such is the doctrine of the free exercise of religion, as announced by Jesus Christ himself. And such is the doctrine upon this point that will ever be held by everyone who respects that glorious Being. Thus is declared and established by the Author of all true religion, *the inalienable, the divine, right of dissent.* And such is the *divine right* of the freedom of religious belief.

Nor is this all in this connection. The makers of the Government of the United States recognized this divine right as such, and established the exercise of it as an inalienable *civil* right, "by refusing to treat faith as a matter of government, or as having a headship in a monarch or a State;" by excluding all religious tests; and by forbidding Congress ever to make "any law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." In short, by prohibiting the law-making power from making any law whatever upon the subject of religion.

The people of Tennessee following this example of the makers of the national Government, established in that State this *divine* right, as also an inalienable *civil* right, by declaring that "no human power can in any case whatever control or interfere with the rights of conscience; and no preference shall ever be given by law to any religious establishment or mode of worship."

And thus the people of the United States, in harmony with the people of the several States, followed the principle first divinely ordained of God in Judea.

Therefore, it never can be true in the United States, that either civil or religious freedom may of right stop short of its logic in this matter of Sunday observance, nor in any other matter of religion or religious observance. A. T. J.

"SABBATH observance can and must be secured through education and persuasion only, and not by coercion. The gospel persuades men to reverence sacred things from motives of love, and not to compel them by force; therefore to do by law what ought to be done by the gospel is antichristian."

Count Tolstoi on Church and State.

RUSSIA is not left entirely without a witness for religious liberty. One of the greatest writers of Russia has just published a short disquisition on "The Relations of Church and State," which shows that the connection of religion with the Government—the so-called "Christian nation" idea—is not only opposed by Christians in America, but by Christians in Russia as well. It would be well for those who are clamoring for laws to show that this is a "Christian nation," to read and ponder what is said by one who knows what it is to have such laws put into practical operation. His article appeared in the April number of the London *Fortnightly Review*, and after speaking of those who have themselves once been oppressed, he said:—

"Can anything be more incomprehensible than the fact that the class thus proscribed and persecuted and hounded to death, should, as soon as an opportunity offers, go and do likewise, anathematizing, torturing, slaying every refractory man and woman upon whom it can lay hands without reasonable fear of speedy reprisals, and that a third category of persons should imitate the second, a fourth should vie with the third, and so on without end? And all of them solemnly curse, cruelly maim and mutilate, ruthlessly slaughter each other in the name of the principle that all men should believe as they believe, and not otherwise. . . .

"What motives, desires, necessity, can there be to impel me to insist that any person whatever should express his truth, his relations to the Deity, in precisely the same terms as I do? I cannot force him to change his belief by means of violence, cunning, or fraud (pseudo-miracles). If his faith be his very life, and the proposition is one from which it is impossible to withhold our assent, how should I seriously think of depriving him of it, and proposing to give him another in its stead? As well might I take out his heart, and amicably offer to put another and a better one in its place. Action of that kind would be feasible if the man's faith and mine were mere words and not the solid basis of our lives, an excrescence on the body, and not the living, palpitating heart within.

"But such interference is also impossible for another reason: it is not feasible to deceive a man or compel him to believe in that in which he does not believe; because he who believes (*i. e.*, he who has already determined and regulated his relations to God, and consequently perceives that faith is the relation of each man to God) cannot wish to determine the relations of another man to God by means of violence and fraud. This, I maintain, is

impossible; and yet to all seeming it is precisely what is being done now, and was always and everywhere practiced in by-gone times.

"Let me explain; it is impossible, and therefore cannot be done; but something extremely similar has been and still is being perpetrated. What really takes place and has for long ages past been continually taking place is this: people force upon their fellow-men a semblance of faith which the latter, much against their will, accept; this likeness, however, is but a counterfeit. Real faith cannot be forced upon any one, nor can its acceptance by others be the result of extrinsic considerations, such as violence, fraud, or lucre. What people propagate by means of violence and accept from fear or cupidity is not faith, but faith's counterfeit, and this counterfeit was the old condition of the life of humanity.

"The notion of the true Church was also occasionally made use of as an argument against those who dissented; but down to the reign of Constantine and the meeting of the Nicene Council it was still a mere notion and had not got beyond this embryonic stage of its evolution. From the time of Constantine and the Nicene Council, however, it became hardened and crystallized into a thing—a thing of fraud.

"The causes that led to this deception were of an evil nature. 'By their fruits ye shall know them.' They consisted of hatred, human pride, hostility to Arius and others, and an evil incomparably greater than any of these: the unholy alliance of Christians with the temporal power. Constantine, the Emperor, who personified that power, and had attained at that time—according to Pagan notions—the summit of human greatness (he was enrolled among the gods), embraced Christianity, gave an example to all his subjects, converted the people, lent a helping hand against heretics, and by means of an ecumenical council built up a 'united, true Christian faith.' In this wise the Christian Catholic faith was fixed for all times and countries.

"It was so natural to allow oneself to be thus imposed upon that even at the present day people continue to believe in the salutary effects of that momentous event. And yet, interpreted by the light of simple reason unclouded by theological prejudices, the effect of it all was that the majority of Christians there and then abjured their faith. It was the epoch of the parting of the waters, when the rank and file of Christianity turned round from right to left, and moved off in the direction of Paganism. Charlemagne and Vladimir rallied the stragglers later on; and the people have continued to march steadily in the same direction ever since. The ecclesiastical fraud consisted in the adoption of Christianity by the temporal

power, an act which was desirable and useful only to those who, understanding the letter of Christianity, failed to comprehend its spirit. For to embrace Christianity without first renouncing the temporal power, is either to deride the doctrines of Christ or to falsify them. The consecration of the power of the State by Christianity is blasphemy; nay, it is more than blasphemy,—it is the ruin of Christianity itself.

"Having lived fifteen hundred years under this sacrilegious union between pseudo-Christianity and the State, it needs no slight effort on the part of mankind to forget all the specious sophisms by means of which, during that protracted period, the teachings of Christ have been garbled and twisted and contorted for the purpose of fabricating arguments to prove the legality and sanctity of the State and the possibility of its becoming truly Christian. But underneath these heaps of sophisms lies the hard fact that the words 'Christian State' have about as much meaning as the words 'warm' or 'hot ice.' Only one of two alternatives is possible: either there is no State or else there is no Christianity.

"Putting on one side the history of all other nations, let us cast a glance at the history of that State which was the first to make an alliance with Christianity. In Rome a nest of highwaymen had come to be established in the course of time, of men who thrive on the proceeds of robbery, murder, violence of all kinds, and had become so powerful that they subdued whole nations. These robbers and their progeny, led by ringleaders commonly called Cæsars, plundered and tortured the population in order to glut their lusts and passions. One of the heirs of these robber-chieftans, Constantine by name, having read a large number of books and cloyed his passions with life's pleasures, came to the conclusion that he preferred certain Christian dogmas to his former beliefs, the mass to human sacrifice, and one God and his Son Christ to the worship of Jupiter, Venus, and Apollo; and he accordingly issued orders that his faith be introduced and spread among the people under his sway.

"'Ye know that the princes of the Gentiles exercise dominion over them . . . but it shall not be so among you.' Thou shalt not kill; thou shalt not commit adultery; lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth; judge not; resist not evil. There was no one to call his attention to these teachings; but what was said to him by those whose duty it was to accentuate the main doctrines of Christ, practically amounted to this: 'You wish to call yourself a Christian, and to continue at the same time to be a robber chief, to strike, burn, go to war, live lewdly, slay, and repose elegantly in the lap of luxury? All this is feasible enough.'

"And they adjusted Christianity to his wants and wishes, arranging it far more pleasantly than could have been expected. They were sagacious enough, however, to foresee that when reading the gospel he would, sometime or other, become painfully aware of what the new faith does really demand of all men who embrace it, viz., a Christian life, and not merely the construction of churches and frequent visits to them. This they anticipated and duly provided for by adding to and abstracting from Christianity in such an ingenious way that he might continue to call himself a Christian, to live as a Pagan, and not perceive that there was any contradiction between his profession and his acts. On the one hand, Christ, it was clear, had come solely for the purpose of redeeming him and all men; and, on the other hand, the fact that Christ had died gave Constantine the right to live in harmony with his tastes; nay, more, he had only to repent and swallow a morsel of bread and wine, and behold he had salvation in his clutches, and everything was forgiven him.

"Nor was this all. They actually blessed and consecrated his power and influence as robber chief, declared that it was from God, and anointed him with oil. In acknowledgment of this he, on his part, arranged to their liking the gathering of the clergy, he decreed the nature of each individual's relations to God, and ordered the decree to be read over and repeated to each man for his guidance. And every one was satisfied, and the faith thus trimmed and arranged has prevailed on earth for more than a thousand years.

"The main question is the evolution of the deceivers, the pseudo-Christians. We find, then, that they degenerated from what they were or might have been, in consequence of their unnatural union with the brigands. It could not be otherwise, for they left the right road from the moment that they consecrated the first king and assured him that by using violence he could assist the faith whose essence lies in meekness, self-denial, and endurance of evil.

"All this is not the story of a fantastic church, but of the real church such as it has been ever since its hierarchy fell under the power of kings and Czars; and its history is made up of a long series of vain efforts on the part of this unfortunate hierarchy to preserve the truth of Christ's doctrine intact, while preaching it by means of lies and deviating from it by their acts. The significance, the *raison d'être* of the hierarchy is founded upon that of the doctrine which they undertake to teach. This doctrine speaks of meekness, of self-denial, of love, of poverty; and is preached and propagated by means of violence and lies.

"In order that something should be left for the members of their hierarchy to

teach, it was absolutely necessary for them to hold fast to (*i. e.*, not formally repudiate) the doctrine of Christ, but in order, on the other hand, to be in a position to whitewash themselves and their illegal union with the temporal power, they were forced to resort to the most ingenious devices to hide the essence of that doctrine, and for this purpose deliberately shifted its center of gravity from the essence to the outward form and expression. And this was done by the hierarchy, *i. e.*, one of the sources of that counterfeit faith which is preached by the Church. The source itself is the union of the hierarchy, under the name of Church, with that form of violence known as temporal power. And the reason why people are so eager to teach their faith to others is because the true faith would convict them of apostasy; hence, they seek to set up a concocted creed of their own in its place, the sole advantage of which is that it acquits them of all crime.

"Now true religion may be present anywhere, everywhere; except, of course, where manifestly false religion holds sway over men; that is to say, when the faith which is allied with violence—the State religion—prevails. Thus all so-called schisms and heresies may be in possession of the true faith, whereas of a certainty it will not be discovered in the creed that is united with the temporal power. It may appear paradoxical, but it is none the less true that the appellations, "Orthodox," "Catholic," "Protestant" faith, as these words are used in every-day language, mean neither more nor less than religion allied with the temporal power, mean State creeds, and therefore false religions.

"From the time of the Nicene Council, called together by the Emperor . . . being united with the temporal power, it [the self-styled church] began to act like that power, and it is a proven fact that every form of religion that ever allied itself with the secular power ceased by that same act of alliance to be a religion, and became a fraud."

Not a Christian Nation.

It would be difficult to use language in a looser way than by calling this "a Christian Nation." In all the Nation there is not a single town, nor a village even, in which the people are all Christians. A single family in which all are Christians is seldom found; and individual Christians are not abundant. We do not say these things to find fault; we are simply stating the facts in the case, as every person knows who looks at things as they are. Let any person anywhere in the land honestly ask himself the question, and honestly answer it, How many of my immediate neighbors and acquaintances actually show in the works of a godly life that they are real, consistent Christians?

In the face of facts as they are, the answer only can be, Very few. How many are really separate from the world, and conformed to the will of Christ?

Take even the churches themselves, and everybody knows, and the churches themselves confess, that many of their members will not bear the test of the precepts of Christ. Many of them love the opera or the circus more than they love the prayer-meetings; and the excursion more than the services of the church; and the newspaper more than the sermon; and pleasure more than God; and the world more than Christ. Then, while it is thus with the Church, where is the sense of calling the *Nation* Christian? and while the Church is nearly half full of worldlings, what is the use of talking about this being a Christian Nation? The trouble is that they put upon the term "Christian" a construction so loose that there is scarcely any discernible distinction between many of those who bear it and those who do not, and then spread the term over the whole mass, and thus they have a "Christian" Nation. But so long as the term "Christian" means what the word of God means—so long as it means strict conformity to the precepts of Christ—just so long it will be that this is not, and cannot be, a Christian Nation, except by each individual's becoming a Christian by an abiding, working faith in Christ.

"Politics and Religion."

WITH the foregoing phrase for a subject, Col. Geo. W. Bain, a leading Prohibitionist and temperance worker, is credited with the following, in the *Organizer*, Indianapolis, Ind., of September 17:—

I know there is a cry going up continually, "do not mix temperance with politics," and yet the very men who make this cry go to the polls and vote for politics soaked in beer and whisky. If a convention acknowledges "Almighty God as the source of all power in government," these men cry out "union of Church and State," yet the same men go to the polls and vote for union of State and saloon. Christian men have joined in this cry until a minister is compelled in many churches by the sentiment thus created to keep silence on all political questions. He may apply the test of religion to the merchant and banker, but not to the voter. If a member of his church gets drunk he must exhort him, and if necessary expel him; but if another member votes to make a whole community of his neighbors drunkards it is none of the minister's business. He can tell his hearers to live right, but he must not tell them to vote right. He can tell them to pray for good government, but he must not tell them to vote for good government. So the pastor must hear some of his members pray "Thy kingdom come," and see them vote it shall not come; pray "give us this day our daily bread," and vote bread out of the mouths of women and children; pray "deliver us from evil," and vote for the greatest evil of earth; and yet the pastor must not mix religion and politics. The result is a man can be one thing in social life, another thing in politics. What is a sin in a church conference, whether high or low license, is a source of revenue, and is policy in politics.

Mr. Bain seems to have the idea thoroughly fixed in his mind that the minister

is the only one in the community that knows just how a man should vote. But as long as our Government holds to its principles of freedom the clergy will not be allowed to dictate how we shall cast our ballot. The Colonel seems to want to take the matter right into church, and have the minister tell his members just how they shall vote; and in case of a failure to comply, "cast them out of the synagogue." If such a plan as that is to be followed, why have any voting at all? Why not just let the ministers manage things?

Those of us who are Christians believe fully that "Almighty God is the source of all power in government." But has not that same Almighty power instructed us that certain things belong to Cæsar, or the civil government? And that he has ordained the powers that be? When Paul wrote "the powers that be are ordained of God," the powers then in existence were purely civil powers; and instead of either the Church or the ministers dictating what the State should do, we often find the early disciples before the civil courts to answer for their faith, and severely dealt with many times because they refused to give up their belief in Christ. It would hardly be reasonable to suppose that God ordained powers to persecute his own Church. Yet we find that the civil power, which it is expressly stated was ordained of God, doing that very thing. Then the only thing to conclude is, that since man has rebelled against God's government, the next best thing to be done for him was to ordain that he should govern himself. But in this civil or human government he has never given man the power to rule in matters of conscience toward the God of Heaven. And no matter how much we may desire to please God by introducing religion into politics, the result is only to develop a deeper rebellion against him; and hinder his work rather than advance it, by giving religious bigots an opportunity to wage the most cruel persecutions against those who desire to do God's will. And it is safe to venture the statement that if pastors attended more to the strict preaching of the word, and would not gloss things over to meet the approbation of those who only enter the Church for popularity, or to advance their business, there would be fewer members in the Church to complain of for praying one thing and voting another. And if ministers looked more to the power of God for help in his work and sought the aid of the State less, it would not be long till the Church would be an exceedingly unpleasant place for those who are holding so many inconsistencies. But just as our churches are made schools of politics, the religion of the Lord Jesus Christ will be neglected. Let the Church attend strictly to the work of the gospel, and as the great lessons of morality, found only in Christ, are woven into the minds and lives of men, politics

will of necessity be purified. The morality of the State cannot possibly rise higher than the morality of the people. And if the minister gives himself wholly to the work for which he was ordained, he need have no fears about how the people of his charge will vote. Christianity, if it be real Christianity, makes men of principle; and men of principle always act in harmony with their convictions.

A. O. TAIT.

More Than Physical Rest Required.

It is a notable fact that for all that is said about a Sunday rest being so much needed for the poor laboring man, but few laboring men are putting forth exertions to obtain it, or are heard in the lecture-field championing it. If they are undergoing an Egyptian bondage, as would seem from the claims of some, it indeed seems strange that their cries and groanings should not be heard. If they are so sorely oppressed would not the labor organizations strike for Sunday rest, the same as they have for higher wages and shorter days? The ministers are about the only men who are heard clamoring for a compulsory Sunday law. Not, however, to make men religious. Oh, no; but they only want a civil Sunday law, to protect the day as a religious institution. So they say.

One clergyman in the city said: "A reaction is setting in, in favor of a God-fearing observance of Sunday." Another said: "But unfortunately the trains are moving, mails are being sent over the land, machinery is in motion, men are working incessantly, and we Christians are patronizing their employers." Which way is the reaction setting in? Is it a fact that the world is growing more in favor of a God-fearing observance of Sunday? and that with church members a reaction to patronize Sunday breaking institutions is setting in? It looks this way, according to these statements. It also looks as though the call for this Sunday rest law is to stop trains, the mails, etc., so that Sunday keepers cannot go on excursions or get the mails on the Lord's day. Are Christians so weak in moral character that a civil Sunday law must be enacted to remove all temptations, so they will not break the holy day? How much better would they be at heart if the Sunday trains were stopped, the post-offices and the gates of the baseball grounds closed, and all quiet within?

Again, it was said by a pastor of this city, in speaking on this question: "The world's health, both here and hereafter, depends upon it," and then added, "respect for the Sabbath is the beginning of a true regard for eternal things." Of course he was pleading for the law on a civil basis, with purely sanitary ends in view; but at the same time argued that it will work a true regard for eternal things, and then

would not have us think for a moment that the law is to be enacted for the religious observance of the day, or especially in the interest of religion. Religion is a good thing to have, and everybody ought to have it, but no one wants any religion or religious institution forced upon him by law, openly or disguised. Such action would work injury to both parties.

Now let us look at it from the standpoint of physical rest. If a man must be compelled to rest one day in the week for his health, why not enact a law to this effect, allowing him to choose his own day? I will guarantee that there are thousands of people that can just as well rest on Saturday, and feel as fresh on Sunday morning to work, attend or play baseball, as they would to rest on Sunday and work or play on Monday. There are some in the Nation who observe the seventh day Sabbath, which they believe to be commanded by the Scriptures, and who would get just as much physical rest on that day as on Sunday. The work they perform on Sunday is just as civil as though it were performed on Monday. Why should work or recreation that is civil on Monday be considered uncivil when done on Sunday? It is not, and every minister in this world knows it is not. If a Sunday law is made and enforced it is because Sunday is regarded as the Lord's day, and the making of such a law would be legislating for the Lord, and can be nothing less than religious legislation. A civil Sunday rest law cannot be consistently argued from any other than a religious basis. The day is a religious institution, set apart for religious purposes by the Church; and when she calls for a civil law to protect a religious institution it is incompatible with reason, and the Church is overstepping the limits of her jurisdiction.—*E. H., in Duluth News.*

Conflicting Resolutions.

REV. J. S. COLVIN, reporting in the *United Presbyterian* of September 24th, 1891, the meeting of the Kansas Synod of that denomination, says:—

This year, as last, the Kansas Synod met in Forest Grove, Ottawa, and spent nine days in synodical business and Chautauqua exercises.

The following, on the signs of the times was very heartily adopted:

1. Let us, as a synod, while other churches have been threatened with destroying heresy and disruption, stand by the old Bible and vindicate its claims in word and works, in a way that wisdom may be justified of her children.

2. Let us, as a synod, stand by our Christian Sabbath and its civil observance in a faithful recognition and observance of the fourth commandment.

Now, by the adoption of the second resolution, they mean that they will be earnest in their efforts to have civil laws made for the enforcement of the observance of Sunday. But in their first resolution they propose to "stand by the old Bible" and promulgate its teachings in a way "that wisdom may be justified of her children."

If they *would only* do that, they would not be threatened with destroying heresy and disruption, nor would they apply to the State to have all the people compelled to observe Sunday, or resort to the civil power to compel their members to observe Sunday in the name of the "fourth commandment," for they would have the law of God with the fourth commandment, and the *seventh* day with it, written in their hearts, and would obey it because they loved to. S. H. CARNAHAN.

Civil Society a Social Compact.

CIVIL society rests upon a social compact between individual men acting in obedience to a law of their being, and under the impulse of their common nature. . . . For man is essentially a social and political, as well as a moral and intellectual being. There is a law of his nature which impels him toward political society. He has certain well-defined faculties and capacities which not only seek, but depend, for their highest development, upon association with his fellows: and while the social impulse is confirmed and justified by certain obvious advantages which belong exclusively to such association, yet, in the movement toward society, his whole nature is operative; and he attains the highest development of his whole nature only in the manifold relations of such society.

There is a sense, indeed, in which the individual concedes something of personal liberty and advantage in exchange for the advantages which accrue to him from his social compact with his fellows. But there is a higher sense, in which every such concession not only secures a gain, but is in itself a gain, to the individual. The obligation of society, then, is in the direction of the highest development of the individual; and the tendencies of individual progress are not toward the disintegration of civil society, but toward the better establishing and perfecting of it.

Only let it be freely acknowledged that the basis of civil society is a social compact between men acting as free, but social and moral, beings, and we reach the great conclusion that all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed; and that civil society becomes more and more authoritative in the true sense of that word, and more and more secure, as men advance in the development and appropriation of civil liberty.—*S. S. Harris, D.D., LL.D., Bishop of Michigan.*

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

NATIONAL Religious Liberty Association



DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES.

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

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THE 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.

LOUIS FINEBERGER, a grocer, at Forsyth Street, this city, sold a quart of potatoes on the 13th ult., was arrested, and the next morning was held for trial in the Essex Market Court, on a charge of violating Sunday.

A "LAW and Order League" of one hundred members has just been formed in Chattanooga, Tennessee. Their special aim, it is said, is the better enforcement of Sunday laws. It is likely that the recent decision in the King case in that State has given them encouragement to that kind of work.

THE workingmen of Minneapolis recently adopted a resolution protesting against the closing of the World's Fair on Sunday, and demanding "that the board of managers shall refrain from any action that will shut out workingmen from the Fair on the day which, under existing conditions, is the only available one for them and their families."

Historic Baptist Principle.

"COMPULSORY Sunday Observance" was the subject discussed by the Rev. John R. Grow, of the Chicago Hyde Park Baptist Church, at his morning service, Oct. 18. True to the historic Baptist principle of complete separation of Church and State, he declared himself opposed to compulsory Sunday observance. The speaker traced our Sunday laws back to Constantine's famous law enforcing the observance of "the venerable day of the Sun," and stated that that law and subsequent Roman legislation touching Sunday observance, came as the result of spiritual dearth; that the Church shorn of the power of the gospel could not successfully cope with the circus and theater, and the power of the State was consequently invoked.

The speaker paid an eloquent tribute to the pow-

er of the gospel of Christ as opposed to legal compulsion in extending the influence and practice of religion, and declared that the laxity of Sunday observance in France was not the result of a laxity in Sunday laws, but the result of centuries of ecclesiastical corruption and tyranny; that the difference between the "continental Sunday" and the "American Sunday" was not a difference effected by civil legislation, but was the result of a difference in the spiritual life of the people.

Touching the Sunday closing of the World's Fair the speaker said the way to exhibit Christianity at the coming Exposition was not by means of a compulsory closing of the Fair, which would drive the people on excursions into the country, to the parks, or the saloons, but by presenting to our visitors a living Church whose vitality comes not from the State but from Christ, the living head of Christianity.

A. F. BALLENGER.

THE People's Trade and Labor Party, at a meeting held in Chicago, have memorialized the World's Fair Commissioners asking that the Fair be opened on Sunday at half rate for admission. The last two of the series of resolutions show that some of the reasons given for asking that the Fair be closed on Sunday are distasteful to the workingmen. These resolutions read as follows:—

Resolved, That we repudiate with scorn the statement of certain so-called and self-alleged Christian ministers, deacons, and deaconesses, and defamers of workingmen in general, that "disgraceful conduct of the dangerous masses would ensue if the Fair be opened Sunday."

Resolved, That we hereby declare to those traducers of men and women who earn their bread by the sweat of their brows, that their absence from the Fair, Sunday, will only add to the pleasures of a visit by workingmen and their families on that day.

THE action taken upon the Sunday question at the great convention of the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor, held at Minneapolis some time ago, is already bearing fruit, not only in the line of organized influence to secure the closing of the World's Fair on Sunday, but, as was to have been expected, in favor of Sunday closing, by law, in general. The Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor, of Detroit, through its President and Secretary, has addressed several imperative requests to the Mayor and Chief of Police there, desiring them to undertake the enforcement of the Sunday laws in that city, and suggesting that if it is not done by the authorities they will themselves bring complaint, and compel prosecution.

The originators of this organized Christian effort among the youth little thought that they were preparing so strong and so zealous an agent for the propagation of error and the establishment of a civil ecclesiasticism in the place of the gospel of Christ, which it was their first mission to publish and practice.

THE organization of associations for the furtherance of legislation to secure the observance of Sunday has gone so far that there is an "International Federation of Lord's Day Societies," with an office in London. The Secretary of this Federation publishes a circular stating that in Austria Sunday newspapers, and Monday morning papers as well, have been prohibited, because of the Sunday labor necessary to their publication. This is consistent; for if the Sunday newspaper is an evil the Monday morning newspaper is a much greater evil; but with what jealousy the Sunday Unionists and National Reformers must view Austria becoming a Christian nation, according to their definition, in advance of the United States. However, the National Reformers are doing their best to secure the necessary centralization of power in this country to enable them to despotically enact all the religious laws they wish; and when they have done this they will not be behind any Old World despotism in rendering the formal observances of religion compulsory.

THE movement for Sunday rest continues to gain ground in France. The managers of a large porcelain manufactory at Limoges, a plate-glass works at St. Gobain, and a milling establishment at Puaucé, have voluntarily relieved their employes of the Sunday work previously required of them.

The methods employed in so called "Atheistic France" to secure Sunday rest seem to be in marked contrast to those used by the Sabbath Union and Law and Order Leagues of "Christian America." So far it would appear that, if the National Reform theory is correct and a nation is a person with a religious responsibility, then, France, according to the teachings of the gospel, is much nearer the kingdom of heaven than the United States.

The unchristian theory of Sunday observance enforced by the civil law has probably a greater number of enthusiastic supporters in the United States to-day than in all the rest of the world together. That fact is an evidence of what may be expected in this country in reference to the entire body of religious forms professed by the majority of the citizens.

THE *Highway and Banner*, a paper devoted to the subject of "holiness," published in Des Moines, Ia., heads an article on Judge Hammond's decision in the King case, "A Needed Legal Decision." In a short editorial in the same paper the editor exhorts his brethren not to break camp, when leaving their camp meetings, "on the Sabbath." He says, "If we are a holy people we ought to keep the Sabbath holy, and give the enemy no occasion to complain." How shall we interpret the *Banner* on this Sunday question? Does the *Banner* find that those who are now "holy" still persist in not keeping "the Sabbath holy"? And so to give the appearance of holiness to those who are holy, it is necessary to have a "needed legal decision" to compel holiness in those who are holy? Or is the *Banner* so holy that it is entirely different from the long-suffering Heavenly Father, and so wants to crush the refractory sinner by civil law without bearing with him any longer? Or is the *Banner* aware of the fact that King had observed one day as the Sabbath, and in working on Sunday was following out his honest convictions; and knowing these things is it so intolerant that it will not accord to others the rights of conscience that it asks for itself?

THE American Sabbath Union, and the National Reform Association have been bewailing the fact that they have not, as yet, succeeded in organizing in Michigan. But the ground has at last been broken. Mr. Crafts has recently spoken in Hillsdale and several places in that vicinity, and organized local unions. Rev. Francis W. Ware, one of the field secretaries of the Union, is also busy in this line of work. On Tuesday, Oct. 9, he spoke in Lyons, and organized a local union, and is still prosecuting the work elsewhere. The vigorous and persistent efforts of these organizations should open the eyes of the people to the work being done to bind the State under the decrees of the Church. The efforts of these organizations are precisely the same as the work that led to the persecutions of the Middle Ages, when the Church was mistress of the State.

In his book, "Sabbath for Man," page 258, Mr. Crafts says: "It is not sufficiently emphasized that the Jew is left absolutely free to observe the seventh day. He can close his shop; he can refuse to work." In view of this a member of the National Religious Liberty Association asks: "Is not every other man just as free to observe the first day? Cannot every person who desires to keep Sunday close his shop and refuse to work? Where, then, is the need of Sunday laws? What more can consistently be asked than absolute freedom?"

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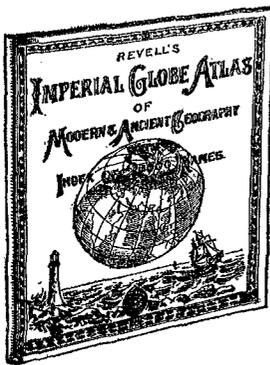
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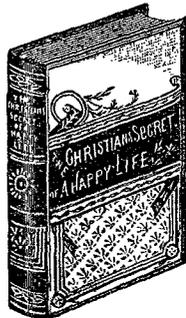
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NEW YORK, OCTOBER 29, 1891.

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THE very use of the terms, "American Sabbath," "civil Sabbath," "Christian Sabbath," etc., is a confession that the institution described by them is distinct from the Sabbath. The Bible knows only the Sabbath.

THE municipal corporations of Colon and Panama have adopted Sunday closing regulations, "following the example of other Christian countries," as the ordinance narrates. The Isthmus of Panama has thus become a Christian country, and should receive official recognition from the National Reform Association.

THE Sunday agitators confidently expect to secure from the Fifty-second Congress some substantial recognition of Sunday sacredness; something that can at least be plead as a precedent for still more religious legislation and governmental meddling in questions which the founders of our political system supposed they had forever left with the individual conscience.

THERE is reason to believe that the monster sensation which Mr. Crafts promises soon to spring upon the country, will prove to be a concerted action on the part of the "Rest-day Leagues," which he has been organizing all over the United States. Their system of secret committees of picked spies makes this feasible. Their possible achievements would be limited only by the ability of their Loyola.

THE *Christian Press*, an advocate of Sunday laws and their rigid enforcement, recently said: "Conviction may be forced upon us, but conversion will never be." To this we responded saying:—

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?

The question thus raised by THE SENTINEL is answered by the *Colorado Graphic* in these words:—

Because it [the *Christian Press*] is blinded by its ecclesiasticism. It wears dogmatic glasses. It can see no good in an Adventist, a Jew, a Seventh-day Baptist or a conscientious Agnostic. It would

persecute all other religious dogmas to enrich its own. It does not believe in the personal liberty of the individual, and no doubt delights in the persecution of Mr. R. M. King, of Tennessee, who was indicted for plowing his field on the first day of the week (commonly called Sunday), after having carefully and devoutly observed the seventh day of the week as the Sabbath, as directed in Ex. 20:8-11. Away with your hypocrisy and your miserable cant! Be honest! That THE SENTINEL always is.

And that is about the view of the question generally taken by the unbiased secular press. True religion gains nothing by attempted coercion. The spirit of the gospel is opposed to force, and everybody but the bigot knows it.

IN the last issue of THE SENTINEL reference was made to the sitting of the Second Ecumenical Methodist Conference, at Washington, D. C., and to the fact that much interest would attach to the action taken by the Conference on the religious-political questions which would be brought before it.

The subject of memorializing the World's Fair Commissioners in regard to the Sunday closing of the Exposition was called up and subsequently referred to a committee of six which brought in a report embodied in a series of seven resolutions unqualifiedly petitioning the Commissioners to "prevent the proposed opening of the World's Columbian Exposition on the Lord's day;" and presenting this memorial to them as representing the voice of "the Methodist Churches throughout the world." The resolutions are reported as having been unanimously adopted and no hint is given of any discussion on the legal, civil, and constitutional questions involved in thus enforcing a religious rest by civil law upon all the world at the World's Fair.

THE County Court of Green County, Ky., has assessed \$900 and costs, against the Louisville and Nashville Railroad Company, for the violation of the Sunday law, by labor done in the repairing of tracks on Sunday; and the Frankfort Court of Appeals, on Oct. 13, affirmed the judgment. It is a significant fact that the majority of the prosecutions under religious laws are in the southern States, and that the vote of the Board of Lady Managers of the World's Fair in favor of Sunday closing would have gone largely the other way had it not been for the Southern members. Sam Small and W. F. Crafts also speak boastfully of the attitude of the southern States upon the Sunday law question as being uncompromisingly for a strict enforcement. Why is this? Have these States, which are now so ready to prosecute and persecute, been the cradle in which has been bred and from which has gone forth to the world an intelligent, broad, evangelical, Christian spirit in greater degree than from other communities which are slower

in appeal to the civil law to enforce their religious beliefs? Is this so, or is it not so? And if it is, or is not, what does the fact teach?

ON the question of the Sunday closing of the World's Fair, the *Sentinel* of Laramie, Wyoming, says:—

We don't care very much about the matter, either way, and it is not likely anything we might say would have much influence in deciding it. . . . But it looks to us very like pharisaical fanaticism that would close the Fair and open the saloons and beer gardens on Sunday. It is our private opinion that nine-tenths of those who would visit the great Exposition on Sunday—if they had a chance—would, if it is closed, put in their Sunday in a very much worse place. Anyhow, if we were running a saloon or a beer garden in Chicago, we would be in favor of closing the Exposition on Sunday for fear it would, if open, attract our patrons away from us.

This is a sufficient answer to all the "civil" pleas made for Sunday closing. Of course it does not touch the religious phase of the question, which after all is the only phase there is to it; for were it not for the religious character of the day, nobody would want the Fair closed on Sunday, except it might possibly be the saloon-keepers.

IN a recent sermon in Duluth, Minnesota, Rev. George W. Morrison said:—

The greatest Sabbath-breaker on record is the Sunday newspaper: it is one of the most violent forms of Sabbath breaking. Some people say it is the Monday paper which is responsible, but that is not so—it is the Sunday sheet. There is more necessity for a saloon seven days in the week than there is for a paper every day.

And why does this minister think the Sunday paper worse than the Sunday saloon? The answer is not far to seek; the Sunday paper keeps people from church who would probably go were it not for the paper; they read the paper and "let the hour of public worship go by unheeded," while scarce one in a hundred of those who frequent the saloon on Sunday would go to church if the saloon were closed. The Sunday paper is the foe of the Sunday preacher, because it reduces his congregation by offering greater attractions than he has to offer.

THE Kansas City correspondent of a Pittsburg paper claims that although "the laws of the State are admirably adapted to suppress all Sunday desecration, yet the officers positively refuse to interfere."

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