



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

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EDITOR, - - - ALONZO T. JONES.

ASSOCIATE EDITORS,

C. P. BOLLMAN,

W. H. McKEE.

READING, writing, arithmetic, and geography are not taught differently by a Methodist and by a Jesuit, but in precisely the same fashion, if they are taught properly. To say that a "godless" instruction in these branches of knowledge, or in any others that are properly within the province of the public schools, is "necessarily immoral," is to make a perfectly meaningless assertion.—*New York Times.*

THE Christian religion made its way into the world in opposition to all human governments. Banishment, tortures, and death were inflicted in vain to stop its progress. But many of its professors, as soon as clothed with political power, lost the meek spirit which their creed inculcated, and began to inflict on other religions, and on dissenting sects of their own religion, persecutions more aggravated than those which their own apostles had endured.—*Col. Richard M. Johnson.*

OF the Saturday half-holiday and the law which makes it such, the *World* says:—

It is difficult to see what can be done, apart from persuasion, to secure a more general observance of the Saturday half-holiday. The law does not compel any merchant or shop-keeper or factory owner to close his establishment on Saturday afternoon. Indeed, there is no power in the Legislature to enact such a law. All that can be done by statute is done. The law makes Saturday afternoon a half-holiday. It compels banks to close, renders the protest of notes and the like illegal, and thus makes it less easy than it would otherwise be for general business to go on. As a consequence most large, and many small, establishments close at noon on Saturday

during the summer. If they decline to do so at other times of the year they violate no law. If employers do not see fit to observe the half-holiday in their own business there is nowhere any authority to compel them.

We have italicized one sentence in the foregoing to call attention to the central thought in it, namely, that "there is no power in the Legislature to enact" a law compelling suspension of business on Saturday afternoon. This we believe to be the truth. Then how is it that laws are not only passed but are sustained by the courts compelling suspension of business on Sunday?

What Is the Guide to Morality?

AT the end of his discussion of the subject of "Ethics for Schools," Mr. Bierbower come to "conscientiousness." In fact this point is touched upon in the very beginning of the introduction of the book, so that the beginning and the end, the first and the last, deals with the question of conscience. In stating "the ground of right," the second paragraph in the book says:—

We recognize right by our judgment of what is best, and by a feeling—conscience—which indicates, as the result of many impressions, what we ought to do, and impels us thereto.

And the last chapter of the book begins with the following paragraph:—

The most general rule of morality is to do what you believe right and good, and to preserve the perpetual consciousness of this by instantly performing your duty, when seen. Goodness is simple when thus reduced to one rule. For you have but to look at your conscience to see your duty, conscience being the sense of what we ought to do, which results from all our thought and information on the subject.—*Page 283.*

This ground of right is just as treacherous as that which was discovered in the previous article on this subject; in fact, it is the same thing only stated in other words; yet as it enters the realm of conscience it touches the real ground of supreme right, and ultimate good. If conscience were a true guide, then this rule would be good enough; but conscience is not a true guide. Conscience as a guide

is as erratic as any other faculty in man. The truth is that conscience itself must be guided. This is admitted by the book now under notice. One statement to this effect is as follows:—

It is important then in taking conscience as a guide, to have it in working order.—*Page 284.*

Yes, we should naturally suppose so. Any kind of an instrument that is not in working order is not of much use; and especially in questions of conscience and of ultimate right. And in this case even to think of taking as a guide an instrument that could ever by any possibility get out of working order, seems a most singular suggestion. Another statement to the same purpose is as follows:—

We can not do right to-day on yesterday's wrongs; so that men should often straighten out their conscience to get its legitimate indications.—*Page 284.*

And again:—

Inspect your conscience as well as your observance of it, or, rather, look after your views of right as well as your conformity thereto.—*Page 290.*

Of what use is a rule of right which goes so much awry and becomes so easily kinked that it needs "often" to be straightened out? And, of what use is a guide that has to be held up for inspection every little while?

Again we read:—

Though conscience may err, it is the best judgment we have—the pointing of the compass after all the conflicting forces which would diversely impel us, and so coming of our knowledge to a head in the will.—*Page 283.*

With how much certainty can a compass be depended upon which not only may, but confessedly does, often point the wrong way? What insurance company or ship-owner would send a ship to sea with such a compass as that? What captain or sailor would think of starting to sea with such a compass? The strangest part of this whole system of ethics, is that conscience would be recommended as a guide, when it is stated repeatedly not only that it may err, but that it does err, often.

There is another question which arises here. How is conscience to be inspected? Who is to conduct the inspection? Who

shall straighten it out? By what standard shall it be compared when it is straightened, to know whether it is straight or not?

As to *who* shall do this, the directions are plain enough. Inspect *your own* conscience. "*Men* should often straighten out *their* conscience." That is, each individual is to be the judge of his own conscience, as to whether it is in working order, or as to whether it is straight or not. This being so, then who is really to guide the individual, or the conscience of the individual? Clearly the individual; but this directly reverses the order of the book. The proposition of the book, is that conscience is the guide to right, and the indicator of what we ought to do. And when the one who is to be guided must needs inspect and straighten out, and put in working order, that which is to guide him; then the one who is to be guided becomes in fact the guide. In other words the one who is guided, must guide his guide. This brings us once more round the circle to the starting point, that whatever each individual thinks to be right, in his own case, that is right.

As to the standard with which the conscience is to be compared when straightened, to know whether it is straight or not; to know whether it is in working order; and to know whether it fitly passes inspection,—this is the same as that discovered in our examination of the grounds of right, namely, whatever each one thinks best for himself. So says the book, as follows:—

Nothing is duty which can not be clearly done. Duty being that course which, in view of all the circumstances, is best. . . . Duty is indicated by the preponderance of interests, which when learned makes conscience clear. It is sometimes difficult, indeed, to learn this and so to determine duty, so that the knowledge of right is not always without effort. We must *work hard* to know our duty, as well as to do it, which labor then becomes part of our duty. But when we once decide what is best, conscience takes it up.—Page 292.

Thus it appears that the individual by "working hard" must discover where the preponderance of interest lies, in order to find out what is best, and so determine duty and attain to the knowledge of right. And this "makes conscience clear"! Without this effort of the individual, conscience is cloudy, it is not in working order, it will not pass inspection. But when all this is done, so that the individual knows just what is right, then conscience becomes clear. Conscience takes it up and says, "Very good, I agree to that." But in such a system, conscience is not only not a guide, it is not even a helper; for all the work must be done and the knowledge of right attained, before conscience is clear, and before conscience takes it up.

Then, according to this system, of what earthly use is conscience? None whatever. In fact, this statement demonstrates that in this system of ethics, conscience really has no intelligent place at all. It is virtually destroyed. And again we are brought

round the circle to the original starting point, that whatever each individual may think best for himself, that is right, and ending in supreme selfishness. By the evidences already given, it will be seen that in the final analysis, this system of ethics comes dangerously near to the fatalistic doctrine that "Whatever is, is right." This would be bad enough if it stopped with going dangerously near, but it does not stop there, it goes all the way, as logically every system of morals without religion must do; and here is the evidence:—

Though conscience may err, it is the best judgment we have—the pointing of the compass after all the conflicting forces which would diversely impel us, and so the coming of our knowledge to a head in the will. *If we go wrong* by following it, *then wrong is inevitable* and *any other course would still more likely be wrong*. If the result is not good, *it is the best we can have*. For, going by conscience, we simply go on our best information.—Page 283.

This is in very substance the doctrine that "Whatever is, is right." It is fatalism, and fatalism only. In fact it can not be anything else, proceeding upon the theory which it does. It proposes to leave religion out of the question and to teach morality without religion. But when man is separated from religion, he is left wholly to himself. Himself is his only resource, and in searching for the supreme right and ultimate good, he starts for himself and whatever course he follows, he is inevitably brought back to himself. This is precisely what this book has done three times. And when men do this, over and over again, groping round and round in the narrow circle of self and finding only "apples of Sodom" at the end of every circle, they are driven to the precise point to which, by this system of ethics, they are driven, that is, to the despairing sink of fatalism.

Another name for it is *paganism*, for it is the identical conclusion to which paganism came in its supremest day. Compare with the foregoing the following from Marcus Aurelius:—

What then is that about which we ought to employ our serious pains? This one thing, thoughts just, and acts social, and words that never lie, and a disposition which gladly accepts all that happens, *as necessary*, as usual as flowing from the principle and source of the same kind. *Willingly give thyself up to Clotho* [one of the Fates], allowing her to spin thy thread into whatever things she pleases.

The final conclusion of Mr. Bierbower's proposed system of ethics for society and schools in the United States, in this nineteenth century, is identical with that of the pagan, Marcus Aurelius, in the second century. And this open and sheer paganism, it is seriously proposed, shall be taught to the children and practiced by society in the United States! And Mr. Bierbower actually seems to have so much confidence in his proposed system, that he thinks that "Catholics, Protestants, Jews, and unbelievers may use this book with equal approval." For our part we should like very much to see a single Catholic, or Protestant, or Jew, or unbeliever who,

having examined the book, would use it with any manner of approval whatever.

Again, we say that which is so often admitted by this book, conscience itself must needs have a guide. *And faith is the guide* and the *only* guide of conscience. Whatever a man believes to be right, to that his conscience will freely assent. Therefore a right faith is essential to a good conscience. Now the only right faith in this world, is the faith of Jesus Christ. Without faith in Jesus Christ, there can be no right conscience; without a right conscience there can be no genuine morality.

This is the logic of the question and it never can be escaped; and it only demonstrates once more by proofs that can not be refuted, the position which THE SENTINEL has always occupied, that *morality without religion is a misnomer*. And more than this, that morality without the religion of *Jesus Christ*, is a misnomer. Jesus Christ is the author of the right faith through which he leads men to the right morality. The teaching of this faith, by which alone right morality can be attained, he committed to the Church. The Church he endowed with the Spirit of God by which the teaching may be performed with power. If the Church or the family does not teach it, it never can be taught. The teaching of it was never committed to the State; the power by which alone it can be inculcated has never been bestowed upon the State.

Therefore as genuine morality can come only from a right conscience, and a right conscience can come only from a right faith, and a right faith can come only by Jesus Christ, it is demonstrated that there is no genuine morality outside of a genuine faith in Jesus Christ. And as the State can not teach faith in Jesus Christ, as the State can not teach the religion of Jesus Christ, the position of THE SENTINEL is impregnable, that *the State can not teach morality*. Civility is the realm, and the conservation of it the prerogative, of the State. Morality is the realm, and the conservation of it the prerogative, of God. "Render therefore unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's; and unto God the things which are God's." A. T. J.

AN English judge at one time set forth that Christianity is part of the common law of England, and several American judges have repeated this dictum. So far as it relates to rights and duties, Christianity is a part of the common law only in so far as it is distinctly embodied in the common law. You can not indict a man for not loving his neighbor as himself. Christianity may require a man to sell all that he has and give to the poor, or when one cheek is smitten to turn the other also to the smiter, but these duties are not enforced by the penal code of any Christian nation in our time.—*New York Times*.

Plain Talk by a Chicago Divine.

In a sermon on the subject of religious liberty, published in the *Inter-Ocean*, of February 9, Rev. Geo. W. Ballenger, pastor of the First Evangelical Church of South Chicago, said:—

"You can fetter the limbs, lacerate the flesh, and torture the body, but the conscience cries, 'I will be free.' The people of God love this freedom of conscience so dearly that in the history of the past they have chosen to suffer every imaginable kind of persecution that blind zeal and satanic hatred could inflict, millions choosing death in the most horrible manner, rather than recant and surrender their right to worship God according to the dictates of conscience. And firmly believing that there are many at the present time who guard the wealth of conscience with as much sacredness, and would suffer equally as much now as did our ancestors in the Dark Ages rather than hush the voice of conscience and surrender their God-given rights, I am in favor of religious liberty alike for all. I am decidedly opposed to the present attempt on the part of many—and some of them high in the church—to secure legislation on purely religious matters, which can not but result in religious persecution. These so-called reforms demand the careful study of the American people at the present time. Especially does it become the pressing duty of the clergy to acquaint themselves with the signs of the times. I am compelled to believe there is a necessity for rallying in defense of the United States of America—which guarantees to every man the right to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience.

"The venomous head of the persecuting monster can be seen to-day in the King case now pending in the District Court of the United States. The treatment which this Christian man and many more of the members of his denomination in Tennessee, Georgia, and Arkansas, have received, is enough to mantle the cheek of every true American with shame, and fire the Nation with just indignation. The evidence in the case proves him a Christian; the law, which is unconstitutional, treats him like a felon; and while the secular press, North and South, and many statesmen, East and West, have in positive terms expressed their indignation at this outrageous persecution, I take shame to myself as a Christian minister that my brethren of the ministry, and members of the Christian churches have not protested in behalf of these our brethren. Have denominational lines so divided us and priestly creeds so separated us that the common brotherhood of Christ is lost sight of? And is the Church of America so great a backslider in heart that it must resort to the civil law in order to protect its doctrines? Beware of that man or body of men, no matter how exalted their

position or high sounding their title, who move in legislative halls, seeking thereby to secure the strong arm of the law to enforce their creed upon a free people!"

Another Sunday-Law Convention.

THE American Sabbath Union recently held a convention in Boston for the purpose of organizing an auxiliary State association. Such an organization was effected, and bears the name of the Massachusetts Sabbath Association. The following officers were elected:—

President, Hon. Rufus S. Frost; Vice-Presidents, Ex-Governor W. Claflin, Rev. A. S. Gumbart, Hon. Newton Talbot, Mr. Robert Gilchrist, Mr. C. B. Botsford; State Secretary, Rev. George A. Crawford, D. D.; Treasurer, Rev. W. C. Wood; Board of Managers, Rev. J. H. Twombly, D. D., Rev. W. R. Clark, D. D., Rev. A. H. Plumb, D. D., Rev. R. J. Adams, D. D., Rev. M. D. Kneeland, D. D., Rev. A. A. Miner, D. D.

After such a striking array of Reverends and D. D.'s as officers and directors, it would seem a trifle difficult for the Sabbath Union to continue as of old, to declare that the movement is not in any sense a clerical one, but that it is only the effort of the poor overworked laboring man to secure his rest. Nevertheless, even this manifestation of assurance has, through much practice, become habitual to the Union, and so, if it should be repeated here in Massachusetts, there would still be "nothing new under the sun." The convention delivered itself of the usual number of speeches against Sunday newspapers and Sunday travel, and all sorts of Sunday work; and resulted in the appointment of a committee to intercede with the Massachusetts Legislature for such a change in the State Sunday laws as will prohibit the publication of the Sunday papers, the great "competitors of the Sunday sermon."

The Chair announced as the committee to petition the Legislature relative to the publication of Sunday papers, the following:—

Rev. Dr. Cook, Rev. Dr. Miner, Rev. Dr. Gordon, Rev. Dr. Thomas, Rev. Dr. Brodbeck, Rev. Dr. Chadbourne, Hon. Jonathan A. Lane, and Hon. E. H. Dunn, with power to fill vacancies.

Another list of Rev. D. D.'s, which makes the poor-overworked-laboring-man plea look as though it were smitten with consumption. When these Reverend gentlemen are lecturing before popular audiences, for the purpose of arousing sympathy and support for their Sunday-law schemes, one would often think, to hear them, that they had so utterly forgotten themselves and their own clerical interests, and had so completely become *en rapport* with the hard-fisted toilers, that they stood there before the people, the personification of the combined interests of organized labor, a sort of a national Knights of Labor combination, boiled down to one man. When, however, you hear them, *in their own convention, tell the real rea-*

son why they want these Sunday laws, this rose-tinted illusion of supernal unselfishness quickly vanishes, and it is seen that they, too, are men of like passions with common humanity, and even (shall I say it?), with all the persecutors and inquisitors of old. Not a word about the interests of the poor toilers then, only in so far as they can twine that so-called interest into the support of their own Sunday-law schemes. All is about the post-offices, and the Sunday papers, and the Sunday trains being *competitors of the churches*, and so for this reason they must be controlled by law.

The first resolution passed by this Boston Convention was as follows:—

Resolved, That we believe that when Christ said, "The Sabbath was made for man," he uttered a principle of perpetual validity. We deprecate that theological instruction which *severs all connection* between the Lord's day and the principle of one day's rest in seven as recognized in the Revelation at the creation, and in the fourth commandment.

And yet, no organization in the world has ever done so much to "sever the connection" between the Sabbath of to-day, and the divine commandment at creation and at Sinai, as the American Sabbath Union. They have everywhere insisted that there really was no necessary connection between them, that there really were two separate Sabbaths, the "civil American Sabbath," and the religious Sabbath, *i. e.*, the Sabbath resting on the divine commandment.

They have everywhere insisted that these two Sabbaths were so totally separate in nature that the civil American Sabbath could and should be enforced by law, without these laws being religious laws or in any way affecting the religious Sabbath. When we have denied that total separation, and have declared that Sunday laws were religious laws in disguise, they have ever said we were unfair, and that we misrepresented them.

Now a convention of the American Sabbath Union, right while it is working for stricter laws to enforce Sunday observance, declares that we are right, and have been right all the time, and that they too deprecate all attempts to sever the connection between the Sabbath and the divine commandment.

Well, we are glad they have acknowledged it; but it must be remembered that this was all done in their own convention before their own people. Undoubtedly the American Sabbath Union will play the civil Sunday-law game *before the public* here in Massachusetts as it has done elsewhere. In fact, one of the prominent speakers in that convention has already done so very adroitly, from the Tremont Temple platform, since the convention.

The next resolution passed by the convention reads as follows:—

Resolved, That we believe that the substitution of the first day of the week for the seventh day, as a Sabbath, with undiminished moral obligation, was intended by "the Lord of the Sabbath" as a per-

petual memorial of his resurrection, and that it was confirmed by apostolic precept and example.

Now this convention evidently met to organize for the purpose of securing stricter Sunday legislation. We would like to inquire what that resolution has to do with the securing of so-called civil Sunday laws in harmony, as they say, with our Federal Constitution? No one doubts their civil right to believe that, or to believe anything else they choose; but the right to force others by law to believe it, or to force them to act as though they believed it, is a very different thing. If they really had a good reason for their belief, they would be content to show that reason to others, and then trust to the awakening of their moral sense for stricter Sunday observance.

Truth has always been willing to stand on its own foundation, trusting to its own inherent strength. The early Christian Church while it remained true to the simple and beautiful principles that Jesus and the apostles taught, needed not the support of the civil power. Strong in the power of truth, which is the power of God, it went forth conquering and to conquer, and in spite of the civil power, in spite of an established and venerable paganism, in spite of the world, the flesh, and the devil, it did conquer till the gospel was preached to the civilized world. It was only after, according to Gavazzi, "a pagan flood, flowing into the Church, had carried with it its customs, practices, and idols," till the teaching of the Church was false instead of true, that the Church sought the support of the civil power. Then an unholy alliance was made with the unholy State, and Christianity and the world darkened down into a night of a thousand years. We repeat, in history it has not been *the true* but *the false* in religion that has ever sought the support of the civil power, and it has sought such support that it might force for a little longer upon the minds and consciences of men dogmas that they were outgrowing.

This is the philosophy of religious legislation, and of persecution. Viewed in this light it is easy to see what relation that resolution has to the effort of the Sabbath Union to secure Sunday laws. "Chambers' Encyclopedia," article "Sabbath," has the following:—

At what date the Sunday, or the first day of the week, began to be generally used by Christians as a stated time for religious worship, we have no definite information either in the New Testament or in the writings of the fathers of the Church. By none of the fathers before the fourth century was it identified with the Sabbath, nor is the duty of observing it grounded by them either on the fourth commandment, or on the precept or example of Jesus or his apostles.

Kitto, in his "Encyclopedia of Biblical Literature," article "Lord's Day," says:—

We will merely remark that though in later times we find considerable reference to a sort of consecration of the day, it does not seem at any period of the ancient Church to have assumed the form of such an observance as some modern religious com-

munities have contended for. Nor do these writers in any instance pretend to allege any divine command or even apostolic practice in support of it.

So we see that, though such a doctrine was never taught by Christ, or the apostles, or by the Christian Church for the first four centuries, the American Sabbath Union now declares that Christ and the apostles changed the Sabbath from the seventh to the first day of the week; and as in the case of all past religious legislation, because they have no better evidence for their belief than mere assertion, they seek to force it upon the world by the civil power. This is the only relation that resolution can have to the object of their convention to secure stricter Sunday laws. Not that they would have any more right to enforce that belief by law, if it were true; but that if it were true, and they could show it to be true by undisputed evidence, that would suffice, and they would not be found trying to compel such belief and practice by law. One more resolution I will notice. It is the third, and reads as follows:—

Resolved, That we will resist all attempts to divest the Christian Sabbath, as a day of rest and worship of the sacredness of the divine law.

Now the inevitable result of all attempts to enforce the divine law by the civil power, is to "divest" that law of the sacredness of divinity, and to lower it to the standard of human civility. The divine law reaches to the thoughts and intents of the heart. The civil power, though backed by all the infernal machinery of an Inquisition; can only occasionally reach the thoughts and enforce that law. It follows that in the great majority of cases its greatest attempts to enforce religion and divine morality result only in the enforcing of a human civility, that is, it takes cognizance of the act only and not of the thought, or if it occasionally does reach the thoughts through torture, even then it fails to bring them to submission. As the State comes to be acknowledged as the authorized teacher and enforcer of religion and morals, and it only punishes the outward act, the conception of the divine law in the public mind is soon lowered to the mere human standard of outward sin.

Even in the theocracy of Israel, after it ceased to be a *true theocracy*, by rejecting God as king, and neglecting the warnings of his prophets, this was the inevitable result. They came to think that unless a man broke the law of the State against murder, however much he might hate his brother and wish to kill him, he had not broken the divine law, which says, "Thou shalt not kill;" and however lustful they might be, unless they committed the open act they were not adulterers. Jesus had to teach them otherwise, and magnified the law by lifting it to its high position in the heart.

So while the American Sabbath Union resolves that they will resist all attempts

to divest the Christian Sabbath of the sacredness of the divine law, if what they call the "Christian Sabbath" ever had any such sacredness, they themselves by seeking to enforce it by the civil power, upon all, whether they recognize its divine sacredness or not, are doing more than all others combined to lower it to a mere civil institution. Verily consistency is a jewel.

G. E. FIFIELD.

Despotism of One or Many—Which?

MANY people seem to think that the majority should always have their own way; that it is only necessary to ascertain what is the will of the majority, and then to carry out that will at whatever cost. If somebody's rights are in the way—why, so much the worse for the rights, that's all. If some one objects to such high-handed interference with that which is most sacred and dear, and without which life itself has no charm—he is confronted with the reply, "The majority has rights as well as you," and then he is treated all the worse for his insolence. Thus it has ever been since power has been with the people. *Vox populi, Vox Dei*, is the cry, and they endeavor to carry out that voice, private rights to the contrary notwithstanding.

It was intended, however, when the American Government was established, to give this theory—as well as the theory of the divine right of kings—its death-blow in this country. In nearly every State paper, notably the Declaration of Independence, and the Constitution of the United States,—the *inalienable* rights of man or the existence of the eternal law of justice was asserted, and the framers of these immortal documents were not at all careful about concealing the meaning of the words used. They asserted, and they meant to assert, that there are certain inherent and inalienable rights in man, given by his Creator, that no power on earth, whether it be a Solomon in all his glory or a majority of teeming millions, has a right to molest or in any way interfere with. Governments may be established for the protection of these rights, but any encroachment upon such rights is an illegitimate use of the power entrusted,—is tyranny, and should be so stigmatized. "The rulers who are guilty of such an encroachment," says Madison in his famous Virginia memorial, "exceed the commission from which they derive their authority, and are tyrants. The people who submit to it are governed by laws made neither by themselves nor by an authority derived from them, and are slaves." Jefferson likewise asserted that "our legislators are not sufficiently apprised of the rightful limits of their power; that their true office is to declare and enforce only our natural rights and duties, and to take none of them from us."

This principle was not only laid down

by the founders of our great political system, but has been emphatically re-asserted by the Supreme Court of the United States, the most august judicial tribunal in the world. "It must be conceded," says our highest court, "that there are such [private] rights in every free government *beyond the control of the State*. A government which recognized no such rights, which held the lives, the liberty, and the property of its citizens, subject at all times to the absolute disposition and unlimited control of *even the most democratic depository of power*, is after all but a despotism. It is true it is a despotism of the many, of the majority if you choose to call it so, but *it is none the less a despotism*. It may well be doubted if a man is to hold all that he is accustomed to call his own, all in which he has placed his happiness, and the security of which is essential to that happiness under the unlimited dominion of others, whether it is not wiser that this power should be exercised by one man than by many.

"The theory of our Governments, State and National, is opposed to the deposit of unlimited power anywhere. The executive, the legislative, and the judicial branches of these Governments are all of limited and defined powers.

"There are limitations on such powers that grow out of the essential nature of all free governments;—implied reservations of individual rights, without which the social compact could not exist, and which are respected by all governments entitled to the name. No court, for instance, would hesitate to declare void a statute which enacted that A and B, who were husband and wife to each other, should be so no longer; but that A should thereafter be the husband of C, and B the wife of D; or which should enact that the homestead now owned by A should no longer be his but should henceforth be the property of B."

Judge Cooley, in his "Constitutional Limitations," also asserts, in part, the principle underlying the foregoing decision of the Supreme Court. It must be borne in mind that rights are just claims according to natural law—the law of justice. Declarations of rights are simply declarations of these claims;—the claims are valid and just, whether recognized in our Constitutions or not. Judge Cooley says:—

The bills of rights in the American Constitutions forbid that parties shall be deprived of property except by the law of the land; but if the prohibition had been omitted, a legislative enactment to pass one man's property over to another would nevertheless be void. If the act proceeded upon the assumption that such other person was justly entitled to the estate, and therefore it was transferred, it would be void, because judicial in its nature; and if it proceeded without reasons, it would be equally void, as neither legislative nor judicial, but a mere arbitrary fiat.

The Parliament of Great Britain, indeed, as possessing the sovereignty of the country, has the power to disregard fundamental principles, and pass arbitrary and unjust enactments; but it can

not do this rightfully, and it has the power to do so simply because there is no written Constitution from which its authority springs or on which it depends, and by which the courts can test the validity of its declared will.

The rules which confine the discretion of Parliament within the ancient landmarks are rules for the construction of the powers of the American legislatures; and however proper and prudent it may be expressly to prohibit those things which are not understood to be within the proper attributes of legislative power, such prohibition can never be regarded as essential, when the extent of the power apportioned to the legislative department is found upon examination not to be broad enough to cover the obnoxious authority. The absence of such prohibition can not, by implication, confer power.

Nor, where fundamental rights are declared by the Constitution, is it necessary at the same time to prohibit the Legislature, in express terms, from taking them away. The declaration is itself a prohibition, and is inserted in the Constitution for the express purpose of operating as a restriction upon legislative power.—*Chapter 7, pages 175, 176.*

These fundamental principles of our Government are too often overlooked. The truth is, according to the American political system, that the rights of man are wholly "beyond the legitimate reach of sovereignty," as Madison says, "*whenever vested or however viewed.*" And it is just as much a citizen's right and a citizen's duty to resist interference by the Government when it tramples on one right as when it tramples upon another. It is just as much his right and duty to disregard a law depriving him of one seventh of his time, as is done by Sunday laws, as it would be to disregard a decree giving to some one else one seventh of his property. Viewed even in a purely civil light, nothing less than this flagrant disregard of his private right can be seen;—and the further disregard of his religious right adds just so much more to the outrage upon the individual.

In this connection is seen the truth of Professor Francis Lieber's statement upon the question of majorities:—

Liberty has not unfrequently been defined as consisting in the rule of the majority; or, it has been said, where the people rule, there is liberty. The rule of the majority, of itself, indicates the power of a certain body; but power is not liberty. Suppose the majority bid you drink hemlock, is there liberty for you? Or, suppose the majority give away liberty and establish a despot. We might say with greater truth, *that where the minority is protected* although the majority rule, then probably liberty exists. But in this latter case it is the *protection*, or in other words, *rights beyond the reach of the majority*, which constitute liberty,—not the power of the majority. There can be no doubt that the majority ruled in the French massacres of the Protestants; was there liberty in France on that account? All despotism, without a standing army, must be supported or acquiesced in, by the majority. It could not stand otherwise.—*On Civil Liberty and Self-Government (London, 1853), page 15.*

It is only by a just appreciation of these principles that liberty can be preserved; for any infringement upon the rights of the minority, if persisted in, always results in trampling them in the dust. There is no longer any danger to America from oppression by a despotic king; but there are far graver dangers against which the American people must stand guarded. A

man can better defend himself against a tyrannical king than he can against a tyrannical majority. "It may be doubted," as the Supreme Court of the United States declares, if we are to have a despotism over us at all, "whether it is not wiser that this power should be exercised by one man than by many."

"From kings, indeed," says John Fiske, "we have no more fear; they have come to be as spooks and bogies of the nursery. But the gravest dangers are those which present themselves in new forms, against which people's minds have not yet been fortified with traditional sentiments and phrases." * Then let us not spend all force against past evils,—evils which have gone down never again to rise;—but rather guard against the actual evils that threaten us. Paternalism, centralization, nationalism, a despotism of the majority, the deprivation of the rights of the minority, are evils coming on with a force in this country, that, if not checked, will yet prove as destructive of individual liberty as any despotism of a single man ever did. The rights of man can not be too securely guarded against the encroachment of any and all tyranny whatsoever. When this is done—when every man is insured his every right, and every individual realizes that he himself is a sovereign—then, and not till then, will the possibilities of a democracy like ours be fully realized.

W. A. BLAKELY.

What People Say about "The Sentinel."

FROM lawyers and magistrates in North Carolina who have received two numbers of THE AMERICAN SENTINEL:—

As well as I can understand the purpose of THE AMERICAN SENTINEL, I am in full accord with its views. I favor allowing the widest latitude in religious opinion, and no interference with the opinion or conduct of others while they conform to the requirement of the law enacted in compliance with the Constitution.

I have perused your paper carefully, and consider it worthy of the attention of all good people. I feel grateful for the numbers sent to me, and would be happy to read more of them. Success to your paper.

I have received THE AMERICAN SENTINEL, and like its contents, and the position it takes. I believe it is the duty of every Christian who is a lover of religious liberty, to keep posted upon all matters and laws that have a tendency to make the least encroachment upon the same. I further believe that every church organization should be free and independent of another, and as a church, should recognize no authority except the Bible, and no law-giver but our Lord Jesus Christ, and that in the New Testament.

Please put my name on your subscription list for THE AMERICAN SENTINEL. I like the principles of the paper very much.

THE SENTINEL was received the other day and carefully perused. I think it is correct on the question of uniting Church and State. Let us have anything before that. You may send me a few num-

* "The Beginnings of New England," page 82.

bers of the paper, as I would like to see what is being said on the subject.

I think THE SENTINEL a first-class paper, and I see solid opinions expressed in it. I think the sacredness of the Sabbath should be left to the people and their common sense, and Church and State should be forever separate. The government that governs the least and with the least expense, I think soundest and healthiest. My best wishes for THE SENTINEL.

Your letter and valuable paper have reached me, and found me in sympathy with your views as regards the union of Church and State. I like to read all such, and if you see fit to send me a few numbers, I will be very much obliged.

A Sunday-Law Petition.

IN 1889 we were obliged to say considerable about the manner in which the petitions for a national Sunday law were gotten up by the American Sabbath Union and the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. Having exposed the thing quite fully, we have not said anything further about it for somewhat more than a year past; now, however, we have to mention it again for the sake of showing that their original manifestations have not yet been abandoned.

Being in the city of Washington, lately, and looking over the petitions for a Sunday law, we found one of which the following is as nearly a perfect copy as we can make with type. On the back of it was the indorsement that it is a—

Petition of 131 persons from the Second Cong. Dist. of Louisiana and elsewhere, collected by the National W. C. T. U., asking for a national Sunday rest law against needless Sunday work in the Government mail and military service, and inter-state commerce.

Following this is the official congressional indorsement:—

Sep. 15, 1890.
Referred to Committee on Labor.

The original we have had in our hands and have had it copied, and can certify that the following is an exact copy of the original:—

Petitions Gathered by the Woman's Christian Temperance Union.

For a National Sunday Rest Law.

The petition which follows was endorsed by a standing vote of— to— (men and women of 21 years of age or more) by a meeting of the citizens of the State (or Territory) of the State of Penn., County of Jefferson, City (or town) of Knox, on the 29th of June, 1890.

Attest: Rev. James Gilbert, Presiding.

The petition which follows was indorsed at regularly called meetings by the following churches, labor societies, temperance unions, and other organizations of the above-named locality:

M. E. Church, 27 members, by vote of 27 to 0. Attest: James Gilbert. R. P. Church, 8 members, by vote of 8 to 0. Attest: Jefferson Co., Pa.

To the House of Representatives of the United States:

We, the undersigned adult citizens of the United States, respectfully petition your honorable body to pass a bill forbidding needless Sunday work and

traffic in the mail and military service of the Government and in inter-state commerce, and in the Territories and District of Columbia, except such private work by those who habitually and conscientiously refrain from work on Saturday as shall not interfere with the rest and worship of others.

Name.	Occupation.
J. S. Himes,	Laborer.
John H. John,	Farmer.
D. N. Wiley,	Laborer.
W. H. Wiley,	Farmer.
Joseph Hawthorn,	Farmer.
C. C. Chitester,	Laborer.
G. G. Chitester,	Laborer.
S. A. McAninch,	Farmer.
C. C. Averill,	Farmer.
Sarah Hunter,	Housekeeper.
Rosa McAnink,	Housekeeper.
Katie Neel,	Servant.
Margaret Hawthorn,	Housekeeper.
Emma Averill,	Housekeeper.
Mary A. Wiley,	Housekeeper.
Ella M. Wiley,	Teacher.
Esther A. Swineford,	Housekeeper.
E. E. Johns,	Farmer.
Minta Johns,	Housekeeper.
Martha Chitester,	Housekeeper.
Jennie Chitester,	Housekeeper.
Katie Rhoads,	Housekeeper.
Katie Fuller,	Housekeeper.
Alice Davison,	Seamstress.
Mertie Eshbaugh,	Housekeeper.
J. S. Davis,	Farmer.
Silas R. Anderson,	Farmer.
Porter Davison,	Farmer.
Wilson Smith,	Farmer.
B. F. McCan,	Farmer.
Craig Fuller,	Miner.
S. R. Anderson,	Farmer.

Petition to Congress against Sunday work.

(To be signed by adults, or indorsed by resolutions of organizations or meetings, and signed by the secretary, giving membership represented. Form of indorsement suggested.—“Resolved, That we indorse this petition against Sunday work.”)

To the House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress Assembled:

We, the undersigned citizens of the United States, respectfully petition your honorable body to pass laws forbidding Sunday work in the mail and military service of the Government and in inter-state commerce.

Name.	Occupation.	Name.	Occupation.
J. S. Himes,	Laborer.	J. S. Himes,	Laborer.
John H. John,	Farmer.	John H. John,	Farmer.
D. N. Wiley,	Laborer.	D. N. Wiley,	Laborer.
W. H. Wiley,	Farmer.	W. H. Wiley,	Farmer.
Joseph Hawthorne,	Farmer.	Joseph Hawthorne,	Farmer.
C. C. Chitester,	Laborer.	C. C. Chitester,	Laborer.
G. G. Chitester,	Laborer.	G. G. Chitester,	Laborer.
S. A. McAninch,	Farmer.	S. A. McAninch,	Farmer.
C. C. Averill,	Farmer.	C. C. Averill,	Farmer.
H. H. McAninch,	Laborer.	H. H. McAninch,	Laborer.
Sarah Hunter,	Housekeeper.	Sarah Hunter,	Housekeeper.
Rosa McAninch,	Housekeeper.	Rosa McAninch,	Housekeeper.
Katie Neel,	Servant.	Katie Neel,	Servant.
Emma Averill,	Housekeeper.	Emma Averill,	Housekeeper.
Margaret Hawthorn,	Housekeeper.	Margaret Hawthorn,	Housekeeper.
Ella M. Wiley,	Teacher.	Ella M. Wiley,	Teacher.
Mary A. Wiley,	Housekeeper.	Mary A. Wiley,	Housekeeper.
Melissa McAninch,	Housekeeper.	Melissa McAninch,	Housekeeper.
Moslica McAninch,	Housek'r.	Moslica McAninch,	Housek'r.
Esther Swineford,	H'keeper.	Esther Swineford,	H'keeper.
S. Swineford,	H'keeper.	S. Swineford,	H'keeper.
E. E. Johns,	Farmer.	E. E. Johns,	Farmer.
M. A. Johns,	H'keeper.	M. A. Johns,	H'keeper.
Martha Chitester,	H'keeper.	Martha Chitester,	H'keeper.
Jennie J. Chitester,	H'keeper.	Jennie J. Chitester,	H'keeper.
Katie Rhoads,	Housekeeper.	Katie Rhoads,	Housekeeper.
Katie Fuller,	Housekeeper.	Katie Fuller,	Housekeeper.
Alice Davison,	Seamstress.	Alice Davison,	Seamstress.
Mertie Eshbaugh,	Housekeeper.	Mertie Eshbaugh,	Housekeeper.
I. S. Davis,	Farmer.	I. S. Davis,	Farmer.
Silas R. Anderson,	Farmer.	Silas R. Anderson,	Farmer.
Melissa Anderson,	Housekeeper.	Melissa Anderson,	Housekeeper.
Porter Davison,	Farmer.	Porter Davison,	Farmer.
Wilson Smith,	Farmer.	Wilson Smith,	Farmer.
B. F. McCan,	Farmer.	B. F. McCan,	Farmer.
Craig Fuller,	Miner.	Craig Fuller,	Miner.

It will be observed that to make the 131 names claimed for this petition, the entire membership of the two churches must be counted, and to this number must be added all the individual names, each of which, with the exception of four, appears three times. It is thus that they are still swelling the number of petitioners for a Sunday law by *triplifying* names.

Their Strong (?) Reasons.

THE following are some of the reasons given by prominent ministers why saloons should not be open on Sunday:—

Lyman Abbott, Pastor Plymouth Church, Brooklyn: The general policy of the State is to prohibit secular business on the Sabbath.

Thomas Stacy, Pastor Brown Memorial M. E. Church: The subject has been considered in our Pastor's Ministerial Association in Syracuse, representing over sixty churches, all of whom are unanimously opposed to opening the saloons on the Lord's day.

William Merle Smith, Pastor Central Presbyterian Church, New York: I wish to assure you of my hearty sympathy in all the work your society is trying to do, and particularly to express the hope that the friends of the Sabbath may be successful in defeating the infamous legislation proposed at Albany.

Vito L. Calabrese, Pastor Italian Mission of the M. E. Church, Varick Place, New York: No friend of the Sabbath, whether he be an American or an Italian, or any other foreigner, wants the saloons open any part of the Sabbath day. In this Christian land the Sabbath day is Sunday, and God has instituted the Sabbath in that he declares in his word that on six days only shall man labor and the seventh shall be hallowed unto Jehovah. The saloon keeper is included in this command. To give him the right to open his saloon on the day thus to be hallowed is to say to him, “you must not hallow that day as God has decreed, but you must work that day and the other six days also.” That will be the meaning of his license under such a law.

R. S. MacArthur, Pastor Calvary Baptist Church, New York: It is almost impossible to overstate the importance of protecting our American Sunday. The man who would destroy the sacredness of the day is an enemy to God, to the Republic and to the race. I trust the appeal which has been made will defeat the proposed legislation. Should this proposed legislation prevail, it would practically destroy the Sabbath. I shall use every endeavor to thwart the enemies of the American Sunday and to defeat their proposed plans.

One would naturally expect that those who oppose Sunday liquor selling would dwell largely upon the evils of the drink traffic, and plead that because of the great numbers idle upon Sunday the evils would be augmented by open saloons upon that day, but instead of that the great consideration urged, the one reason above all others, is the religious character of the day! Do we not well say that the “civil Sabbath” is a fraud? and that were it not for the sacredness, which in many minds attaches to Sunday, none would be found so poor as to do it reverence, or to plead for laws restricting the liquor business upon that day more than upon any other? The disposition manifested by many to compromise with the saloons, giving them six days out of seven, shows that it is the exaltation of Sunday rather than the prohibition of liquor selling that is desired.

“MEN have a great deal to learn before they shall unlearn the lesson of intolerance—that fearful lesson too easily learned, which suffocates the mind and intercepts other good lessons, which the intelligent mind should receive.”—*Rev. O. B. Frothingham.*

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THE *Progressive Age* very properly remarks that "our schools should be so conducted that a child would never be reminded that he was a Protestant or Catholic, Jew or Christian, Unitarian or Trinitarian."

THE *Central Presbyterian* says:—

The truth is, there seems to be a craze in certain quarters for human machinery within the Church. There seems to be a want of confidence in the efficacy of the agencies and means which our Lord has instituted. It is a subtle form of unbelief creeping into the Church.

And in nothing is this unbelief more plainly manifested than in the demand for civil-law props for the tottering faith of the multitude.

THE *Loyal American* complains that "the Governor of Minnesota has appointed priest Ireland, a Roman bishop, chaplain of the State militia." Well, what of it? If chaplains are appointed by State authority why should Roman Catholics be excluded? Of course, the proper thing to do would be to abolish all such relics of a union of Church and State; but is the *Loyal American* ready to take that position?

REV. WAYLAND HOYT, D. D., says in the *Baptist Examiner*, of March 26:—

The State has no right to compel religious teaching, as such. But the State has a right to compel, for its own weal, similar speech, and so homogeneity of feeling and of interest among its citizens.

This is simply an attempt to justify the State in doing that which it clearly has no right to do, namely, to meddle in religious matters. The State has no right to compel religious instruction, as such, nor as anything else. The State has a right to insist that public business shall be conducted in the language of the State, and to this end that those who are to carry on that business for the State shall be familiar with that language, but by no possibility can a justification be wrung from this fact for the teaching of religion by the State, or for the teaching of religion as something else than that which it really is.

CLOSELY akin to this idea that for the sake of homogeneity the State may properly teach religion as something that it is

not, is the theory of the "civil Sabbath." Those who admit, because they must, that the State can not enforce the keeping of the religious Sabbath, turn right around and say, "But the State can enforce the keeping of the civil Sabbath." Upon examination, however, the two are found to be identical in everything except in the sacred regard for the day which resides in some hearts, while it is absent from others. The "civil Sabbath" is simply a fraud, a pretense; it is simply a religious day masquerading in secular garments for the sake of civil support which it could get in no other way. How long will it be before somebody will be explaining that the State has no right to compel baptism, as such, but for hygienic reasons it might properly require the wholesale immersion of the people? Great possibilities are bound up in Dr. Hoyt's suggestion that "the State has no right to compel the teaching of religion, as such."

It is stated that "the severity of the anti-Jewish penal laws, in Russia, has been redoubled in vigor, and, in view of these persecutions, about one hundred thousand of the poorest classes of Jews have embraced Russian orthodoxy." This should greatly encourage our National Reform friends for it disproves (?) the assertion that people can not be made religious by law. These Jews are, it seems, even made Christian (?) by law. Truly, great are the possibilities of National Reform; and the influence of Christian (?) rulers such as the Czar, like the old college professor's momentum, is "simply prodigious"—when backed up by genuine National Reform laws.

THE pastor of a Presbyterian Church, in this State, writes:—

I believe that the State, as such, according to our Constitution, must be neutral as to religion; that religious education must be assumed by the Church; and that much of what is said by church writers on the question of religion and the public school is pure prejudice, and will not stand candid examination. I will add that I believe the real trouble with Protestant churches is their abominable inertia, laziness let us at once say; and that we have come to find it easy to shout, Keep the Bible in the public schools! rather than bestir ourselves and give the children of our parishes real religious instruction.

This is doubtless the real sentiment of many not only in the Presbyterian, but in all Protestant churches. Not all, however, have the courage to say what they think on the subject.

THE *Christian Statesman* declares that the combination of the church members in support of pending and practical measures of reform, is the duty of the hour; accordingly, it advocates an outward, or rather pretended unity amongst the churches, and says:—

Convictions in favor of some form of practical unity among the followers of Christ are deepening and widening every year. The spirit of union has

reached every branch of the Church of Christ, even the most exclusive and the most conservative. It is not the union of particular churches, for the purpose of strengthening kindred denominational interests, but a union of all the churches of Christ, for the discharge of their common and joint responsibility toward the Nation and the world, which engages the attention of the most open and thoughtful minds.

Yes, this is the same kind of unity they had in the fourth century, and then political church leaders palmed it off upon Constantine as though it were real. By this means they succeeded in getting the control of the civil power; but just as soon as political and financial benefits became a certainty, the blessed unity which had been extolled, was dissipated, and neither the State nor the Church ever afterward knew peace. Such unity as is proposed by the *Statesman* can never prove anything else than a curse to the Nation.

THE *Christian Instructor* is a religious paper of the Simon Pure National Reform stripe; consequently, it was very much offended when the President's Thanksgiving proclamation, last fall, did not have the name of Christ in it; and it indignantly inquires, "Has not the time come when the churches should unite in issuing a proclamation of their own in which their Lord should be recognized?"

Well, if the time has not come yet, we should think it high time the churches were finding it out. It is a queer thing, indeed, if the churches can not give a thanksgiving to their Lord, or even issue a proclamation in which their Lord shall be recognized. It is singular, indeed, that the churches must depend on a civilian officer to appoint for them days of thanksgiving. It is bad enough if the churches can not give thanks to their Lord, without having the President of the United States turn himself into a national high priest—Pontifex Maximus—and appoint a day, and tell how to give thanks.

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