



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

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LIBERTY and freedom should be understood by all alike. To the American people, it means liberty of action, freedom of thought restricted only by a conscientious determination to do right, to be honest and honorable.—*American Standard.*

THE Ohio Senate has passed the Schulte bill which provides that the question of closing the saloons of Cincinnati on Sunday, shall be submitted to popular vote. By such measures as this thousands will be deceived into giving adherence to Sunday laws under the delusion that they are voting for temperance and civil order.

PUBLIC education, the education given at public expense, by and in accordance with the provisions of law, is a part of the Government, and should in the essential particular of which we write, be entirely in harmony with it. Neither the forms, ordinances, nor sentiments of any religion have any proper place in the public school room.—*Independent Patriot, Lamoni, Iowa.*

IN an article in the *United Presbyterian*, Rev. W. F. Crafts says:—

Our Sabbath laws, though bitterly attacked in many legislatures since April of last year, have not, in a single instance, I think, been even weakened. The courts have decided in Maryland, that Sunday baseball, as a money-making show, violates the law against Sunday "labor;" in Pennsylvania, that Sunday opening of a barber-shop is not a work of necessity or mercy. President Spaulding, of the National Base Ball League, has forbidden Sunday games for 1891, as before. Sunday saloons have

been closed in Los Angeles, and the contagion of its courage has secured the same result all over Southern California. As a result of lectures, literature, and organization, the Sunday opening of the post-office has been discontinued in some places. Sunday newspapers, have, in at least one instance, been suppressed by law, and in another by public sentiment.

Mr. Crafts recommends a wholesale petitioning for the closing of the World's Fair on Sunday, suggesting that eight copies of each petition be prepared in duplicate, to be sent to both houses of the next Congress, to the Columbian commission, to both the commissioners and both the alternates of the State where the action is taken, and to the World's Fair directory.

American Principles.

MUCH has been said on the proposed national Sunday legislation, and religious amendment to the Constitution, as being subversive of the principles of our Government. None too much has been said on this, and none too much can be said. But the Sunday-law workers, and the religious workers generally, are not the only ones whose aims and workings are subversive of the principles of the United States Government. All those who look to the Government as being the great general parent of the people, which must feed, and clothe, and nurse, and coddle the people, are engaged in the same business.

The Sunday-law workers proceed upon the theory that the people are so completely babyish that they are incapable of deciding for themselves when they are tired or when they should rest, and that therefore the Government must take the place of a parent and decide for them, and compel them to conform to the decision whether they are tired or not, or whether they want to rest or not. The great governmental parent says you are tired, and that is enough, if you are not tired you ought to be and, therefore, must invariably rest on Sunday.

More than this, the Sunday-law workers and the religious legislationists generally

proceed upon the theory, that the people are incapable of deciding for themselves whether they ought to be religious, and to what extent, and after what manner; and therefore the great governmental parent must decide this for them, and compel them to be religious, to whatever extent she chooses, and after the manner of heathen.

The Farmers' Alliance movement, which is just now causing more trepidation than any other one thing, proceeds upon the theory that the farmers are incapable of conducting their business in such a way as to make sufficient money out of it, and therefore the Government, as a good and indulgent parent, must furnish them money in such quantities as they need.

There are other quotations of the same thing, but the nationalist movement sums up all of them, by proceeding upon the theory that the people are incapable of doing anything at all for themselves, and therefore the Government, as the universal parent, must do absolutely everything for them, even to choosing the very tunes that they shall hear.

Of course all who are engaged in these different movements, do not put their respective cases just in this way, that would be rather too raw, but this is precisely what these things amount to from beginning to end. The secret of the whole matter is in the two elements—the incapability or rather the babyishness of the people, and the personality or rather the deity of the Government. Either of these things lies in the other, and both alike are antagonistic to the principles which are the basis of American institutions.

The first of all American principles, and the grandest of all governmental principles, is *the manliness* and in that *the entire capability of the people*. And the second is like unto it, namely, *the absolute subordination*, and in that the *total impersonality of the Government*.

Both of these things are plainly asserted by the Declaration of Independence. That reads as follows:—

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all

men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundations on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.

This presupposes that men are men indeed, and as such are fully capable of taking care of themselves; and that instead of needing to be taken care of by the Government, the Government is to be taken care of by them. It presupposes that the people are capable of deciding for themselves as to what is best for their happiness and how they shall pursue it, without the Government's being set up as their guardian to tell them when or how they shall rest, or be religious, or anything else that may pertain to their personal affairs.

This statement clearly shows also, that the Government is but a piece of political machinery, which is created by the people to secure their rights and to assure their safety in the exercise of their rights. This is the doctrine of the national Constitution also, for says the preamble:—

We the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union to establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

And Article IX, of Amendments says:—

The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

And Article X, of Amendments says:—

The powers not delegated to the United States by this Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

Thus, is clearly announced by both the Declaration and the Constitution, the doctrine, that the people are supreme, as the source of power and authority; that the Government is but a piece of political machinery set up by the people, by which they would make themselves secure in the enjoyment of the inalienable rights already possessed by them in full measure; and that whenever this piece of machinery fails to accomplish the purpose for which the people made it, it is their "right" to smash it and make another one. Nothing could more plainly show the utter subordination and impersonality of the Government, than do these statements of the Declaration and the Constitution.

Then, these are the American principles, the fundamental American principles, of Government. This, as long as it shall continue, is genuine civil freedom and the conservation of the rights of the people. Thus and for this reason was this established, "a Government of the people, by the people, and for the people."

Any doctrine, therefore, that tends to set the Government above the people, to make it the parent of the people, or to give it a personality, is directly contrary to American principles as announced in the Declaration and in the Constitution; is subversive of Republican government; and is a step toward monarchism. In short it is to renounce the principle of freedom and to advocate that of despotism.

This is precisely what is done in the movement referred to at the beginning of this article, and in a still more dangerous place which we shall notice in our next. Let the reader preserve this copy of THE SENTINEL until he receives one of the next number.

A. T. J.

NOTE.—By a legal fiction Government is given a kind of personality for legal purposes; but such personality only exists in the legal fiction and is the same as that of a steamboat, or joint stock company.

On Moral Legislation.

THE ex-editor of *Freethought* does not like our criticism of his statement that "if religion is a good and beneficent thing, the more places it can be found the better," and "that only people who know that Christianity is a fraud can have sufficient excuse for objecting to its enforcement so long as they advocate the enforcement of anything;" and not only does he not like it but says we are "guilty of untruth." It is sad that he has so poor a memory as to enter such a denial, for his words were certainly quoted just as they appeared in *Freethought* the last week he presided over its destinies. But hear him in his own behalf; he says:—

Something more than a month ago, in discussing religious exercises in public institutions, I submitted the following:—

"If religion is a good and beneficent thing, the more places it can be found the better."

The drift of my remarks was that religion is a fraud, and ought not to be found anywhere, but the editor of THE AMERICAN SENTINEL makes me say:—

"If religion is a good thing it ought to be enforced."

I do not understand how any argument against what I did not say can possibly apply to what I actually did say. The editor is replying to his own statement—not to mine—which is why I remark that he is having a discussion with himself. I did not say that any opinion, belief, disbelief, or practice ought to be enforced. I have not, therefore, admitted, as the editor says I have, that did I believe in religion I would be in favor of enforcing it; and I respectfully call his attention to the fact that he is guilty of untruth.

The words that he says we put in his mouth were simply the gist of what he did actually say, and it was plainly stated so. Our statement was that in substance he said, "If religion be a good thing it ought to be enforced." And we would like to see anybody show that this is not the substance of what he said. But the ex-editor denies our conclusion, viz., that had he the power he would enforce infidelity, to the extent of putting it wherever the State has power to put it, and we are willing to believe that he would not, now

that he says so plainly. But he should be more careful in his words, and withal more consistent; and above all things he ought, if possible, to make up his mind what he believes, and then when he writes be sure that his words properly express his belief; which they certainly did not do in *Freethought* of March 7, if they do in the same paper of April 11.

But the ex-editor does not relish this phase of the question, and remarks that we need not discuss it further; but adds: "I would be glad to hear what he [the editor of THE SENTINEL] has to say as to the charge that, in favoring moral legislation he is just as great a religious bigot as I should be had he told the truth about me."

To this we reply that the ex-editor should have said, as great a religious bigot as he would be had his words which we quoted, properly represented his sentiments; for we must certainly disavow any responsibility such as he attributes to us in this matter.

Further we would say, and the ex-editor should certainly understand this, that we do not, and never have, favored moral legislation. We have earnestly opposed all legislation that is not justifiable on purely civil grounds. We have been specially guarded in this particular, and no one can point to anything that we have ever written that is in the least out of harmony with this statement. We have constantly maintained that the State has no right to deal with moral questions, and that it can prohibit, only for civil reasons, those things which are uncivil; that is, such acts as trench upon the rights of others. Not only so, but we have been criticised from time to time by the religious press for taking this position, and now this gentleman, who is evidently guilty of writing with only limited knowledge of his subject, accuses us of doing just the opposite.

The ex-editor says that the claim is made that morals and religion are different; yes, so it is; but we have not made such a claim. In fact our contention has been that while not identical in every respect, morals and religion are so closely related that it is impossible to distinguish clearly between them, and that for this reason the State should let moral questions alone just as it is supposed to let religious questions alone, and for the same reason, viz., that such questions belong to the domain of the conscience.

But the gentleman asks, "If the State may legislate on temperance, education, and morals, why not on belief?" We give it up. If the State may properly legislate on morals we do not see how anybody could draw the line and say that it should not legislate upon belief. However, we think there is a difference between moral legislation and legislating upon temperance and education, that is, if by temperance legislation is meant the

regulation or prohibition of the liquor traffic, and if by education is meant making provision for the secular instruction of those who are to become members of the body politic.

If the State has the right to exist it has the right to perpetuate its existence; and this it can do in a republic only by maintaining a good degree of intelligence among the people. To this end it seems to us that it would be proper for the State to provide facilities for the education of the children, though we are not of the number who believe that the children are the wards of the State, and that the right of the State is equal to that of the parents.

The principle of the regulation of the liquor traffic is universally admitted. That which the State may properly restrict it may properly prohibit; and the justice of the restriction of the liquor traffic is admitted by everybody. The man who pays a license to sell liquor thereby admits the right of the State to impose that license; and he likewise admits the right of the State to prohibit the traffic by those who pay no license. He not only admits this right but after paying his own license he demands that the State exercise the right. What right then has he to find fault should the State the next year refuse to give him license, and prohibit him from engaging in liquor traffic?

But there is another and even better reason to be urged in defense of temperance legislation, viz., the duty of the State to protect the lives and property of the individuals who compose the State, and to do this at the smallest expense consistent with the public safety. The records of our courts and prisons show that three-fourths of the crime of the country is caused by the liquor traffic, that a very large per cent. of the taxation is due to the same cause; and whatever may be said of the right of the individual to use intoxicating liquors, there can be no question of the right of all the people to prohibit a traffic that makes rich the few at the expense of the many; that puts into the treasury of the State a few paltry dollars, while it draws out indirectly a hundred-fold as much.

Again, Mr. Macdonald assails us for having defended the legal suppression of polygamy. It is true that we have done so, but never upon moral grounds; we have defended it solely upon civil grounds. We have defended it because to permit polygamy is to take away the right of some men to have wives. Taking the world over, and indeed in the United States, the number of males and females are practically equal. To permit polygamy is to permit a monopoly in women. Again, to permit polygamy is either to discriminate unjustly between the sexes, or else it is to permit polyandry also. But this would cause utter confusion in families, and would make necessary a practical application of the pernicious

doctrine that children are wards of the State, because the State would be burdened with the care of numerous children of unknown paternity. These reasons may not seem sufficient to the ex-editor, who is somewhat tinctured with the doctrines of Herr Most, but they are the reasons we give, and they are certainly not moral reasons, they are purely civil reasons, and if they and others of like nature are not sufficient we must admit that the State is not justified in interfering with polygamy; but to us they seem conclusive; and with this we dismiss the matter, trusting that our critic will absolve us from the charge of having told an untruth, and he will in the future better understand our position in regard to moral legislation.

C. P. B.

Notes from the University of Michigan.

A MOST interesting lecture was delivered in the University, April 4, by Mr. A. F. Ballenger, of Chicago, on the history of State-churchism during the Christian era.

The lecture consisted of a drama of seven acts. The first act was the stoning of Stephen, in Jerusalem, in A. D. 34. The second act was the persecution of the early Christians, by the pagans, under Nero and his successors. The third act was the persecution of Christians (non-Catholic) by Catholic Christians. The fourth act was the persecution of Christians (Catholic) by Protestant Christians (in England under Elizabeth). The fifth act was the persecution of Protestants by Protestants (the case of Servetus being used as a striking illustration). The sixth act was the persecution of American Christians (Baptists, Quakers, etc.), by American Christians (Puritans). The seventh act was a vivid portrayal of the persecution of Sabbatarians in Tennessee, by American Christians of to-day.

While, as the speaker portrayed his subject, he passed from act to act, and depicted scene after scene of the tragic drama; as he carried his listeners from mediæval Europe to the wilds of the New World; from intolerant New England of a century and a half ago, to the America of to-day; as he opened the doors of some of our American prisons and visited Christians imprisoned there for their faith; as he knelt on the prison floors and prayed with them, and then turned to the desolate home where loving wife and child await day by day the return of the husband and father;—it was almost with a chill of horror that the listeners realized the final act was being played in free Protestant America, in the closing years of the enlightened nineteenth century.

The speaker stated that the times were some excuse for the persecutions of former days. But what excuse was there for America, after a century of prosperity, unparalleled in the history of the world, to again enforce the unchristian, un-

American laws interfering with a person's religious belief? As a logical deduction the speaker asserted that "Neither Protestantism, Americanism, nor the civilization of the nineteenth century, unaided, is able to cope with the bigotry and intolerance of the human heart. Every persecution presented here was made possible by a union of Church and State; I bring them all, martyred Catholic, and martyred Protestants, martyred Puritans and martyred Quakers,—all from the death of Stephen to our own time—their beast-torn forms, their rack-tortured bodies, and their sacred ashes, and lay them at the door, not of Christianity as taught and practiced by its Author, for I challenge the world to prove that by word or act the great Author of the Christian religion ever sanctioned the propagation or defense of his teachings by means of the civil arm; no, I lay them at the door of civil and ecclesiastical union, and charge them, not upon the religion of the meek and lowly Nazarene, but upon that engine of tyranny which has written the pages of ecclesiastical history in blood and disgraced the name Christian."

A more vivid lecture, or a more convincing presentation, would have been indeed difficult. At the close of the lecture, Mr. Thompson, of the law department, one of the finest bass singers in the University, rendered "The Prisoner," which was quite touching, and a very appropriate song to follow the lecture. The music was Lady Carew's famous piece, "The Bridge," and the words were as follows:—

"I stood in a Southern prison, and held a comrade's hand;
Not when the war cloud sullen, hung o'er that sunny land.
The Nation's strife was over, and Peace with gentle hand,
Round blue and grey was weaving Love's shining, golden band,
My friend was not war's prisoner; nor of his own misdeeds;
But victim of passions more cruel, of cold, relentless creeds.

"I asked the kindly jailor to loose the iron door;
And there in that loathsome prison we knelt upon the floor.
Not often, no, not often, is heard the voice of prayer
In a dark and loathsome prison with its poison laden air.
Yet often, ah, too often, has the scene I witnessed there
Made Freedom's cheek blush crimson and tarnished her name
so fair

"Ah, what, I asked the jailor, as he barred again the door,
What deed of shame committed, the prison records bore?
What crime against his fellows now barred him a prisoner lone,
And left a wife and children in a widowed, orphan's home?
'O shame,' he muttered sternly 'the crime is of the State,
Your friend is another victim of a bigot's cruel hate.'

"For obedience to his Maker, he lay in that prison cell,
Till the shadow of death came o'er him the sun could ne'er dispel.
My comrade and brother is sleeping, he lies buried where he fell;
Awaiting the roll-call of heaven: 'a mansion for a cell.'"

Just before the ballad was sung, Mr. Ballenger stated the facts which caused the writing of it which, in brief, are as follows: In 1886, Mr. W. H. Parker, a Sabbatarian, living at Springville, Tennessee, was prosecuted for laboring on his own premises on Sunday, by some whose religious views were disturbed. His case was taken to the Supreme Court of the State; but getting no relief there, and refusing to pay the fine and costs imposed, amounting in all to \$69.81, which he believed to be unjust, he was taken from his wife and child, and put in jail to

serve a period of two hundred and eighty days. From the foul odors that permeated the place, he contracted malarial fever, from the effects of which he finally died.

At the last business meeting of the Religious Liberty Society the following resolution was unanimously adopted:—

WHEREAS, Mr. A. F. Ballenger, of Chicago, has delivered in the University a most interesting lecture on "Religious Freedom," setting forth in a clear and forcible manner the American political ideas of the relation of Church and State, and the dangerous centralizing tendencies of some so-called "reform" movements, injurious alike to both the Church and the State, therefore,

Resolved, That we, the Religious Liberty Society of the University of Michigan, extend to him our appreciation of his interest in the cause of liberty, and heartily thank him for the lecture delivered in this place.

* *

The oratorical classes have "tackled" the Sunday-law question now, and recently two debates were held in which it was discussed. The first one, "Resolved, That the World's Fair shall be closed on Sunday," was lost in the Junior law class by a vote of one to eleven. The second question, "Resolved, That the University library shall be open Sundays," was won in the Senior law class by a vote of fourteen to twelve. Public opinion is even much more strongly in favor of it.

W. A. BLAKELY.

The Hypocrisy of the Sunday-Law Movement.

THE recent Boston Convention of the American Sabbath Union, seemed to devote the lion's share of its attention to the Sunday newspapers, calling them "demons in disguise," and loudly demanding a law to suppress their publication. As has already been noticed in THE SENTINEL, the Convention resulted in the appointment of a committee of D. D's. and LL. D's., to petition the present Legislature for a hearing on the subject of so changing the State Sunday laws as to make the publication of Sunday papers unlawful. This petition was presented to the Legislature, and by that honorable body, was referred to the next Legislature. So it seems that these clerical gentlemen will not have their inordinate desire for speech-making before the Legislature of Massachusetts immediately gratified. Meanwhile, however, they are busy here, as elsewhere, with the old threadbare plea for a civil Sunday, and are emphatic in their declarations before the public that they do not in any way favor *religious laws*, but only ask the enforcement of the "civic day."

It is an old and true saying that you never know a man or a woman till you see them at home, and become familiar with their home life. "If you want to really know a fox, trace him to his den." All this is as true of societies and organizations of men as of individuals. The consummate hypocrisy, and attempt at

fox-like cunning, of the whole Sunday-law movement is never fully realized till these people are visited in their own conventions, and the *real* reasons there given for desiring these Sunday laws, are compared with the false and hypocritical reasons given to the public. Before the public it is continually declared that the movement is in the interests of "liberty." That the poor and weary toiler is *compelled* to labor seven days in the week, and his right to rest must be granted him by law.

They seem to forget that every Sunday law always was and always must be a direct infringement on human liberty, by compelling all to rest even against their will and need. They magnify the importance of Sunday rest till one is reminded of the old cry, "Great is Diana of the Ephesians!" It would seem from their logic (?) that all our glorious civilization, the public school system, the Declaration of Independence, and all, had grown directly out of Sunday keeping. In fact, one would think if the Lord had only understood the matter as well as they do, instead of making the world in six days, he would simply have made Sunday and Sunday laws, and they would have worked everything else that is good. Having thus exerted all their eloquence and ingenuity to magnify the civil benefit of Sunday, they unite in crying for "civil Sunday laws." *All this before the public.*

Now visit them at their own conventions where their object is not to gain Sunday-law support from the public, but to talk over among themselves why they want these laws, and how best they may get them. How quickly the laboring man, and the cause of liberty, and the civil Sunday are all forgotten! The recent Massachusetts Convention is a fair sample of this. Not a single reference is made to any of these things. Let us see what reasons they give here for desiring and demanding Sunday laws, especially laws to prevent the publication of the Sunday papers. Is it that the weary toiler is thereby compelled to work on the rest day? No, for it is well known that the work on the Sunday papers is mostly done on Saturday. Is it that these papers threaten any of our *civil institutions*? No. There is one institution, and one only, that it is claimed they threaten, and that is the modern Church. Because the churches can not stand the competition of the Sunday paper, the churches must be "protected" by law, and the Sunday papers suppressed. Every single reason given for such laws is a religious and not a civil reason.

Hear them. Mr. Lewis R. Dunn, New England Secretary of the American Sabbath Union, says:—

The Sunday press is a demon in disguise.

Supposing that were so, the Bible way to expel the demons, is to exorcise them in the name of the Lord, and not in the name of Cæsar. Paul recommends us to

prepare for the conflict with Satan by putting on the whole armor of *God*, not of the State, and by taking the *sword of the Spirit*, not of the civil power. That is the way Christian conquered Apollyon, but it seems the Church has wandered far from the good old way.

But why is the Sunday press "a demon in disguise"? The very next words plainly tell:—

The young are absenting themselves from church on the Sabbath, and if the best interests of the community are to be conserved, *these must be turned.*

When THE SENTINEL has declared that the real object of such laws was to induce people to attend church, and that if they failed, the logical tendency of all such legislation was to culminate in compulsory church attendance, many have said it was an exaggeration, and the American Sabbath Union has always been the first to sneeringly deny it. But here it is in plain words from their own lips, "*These must be turned.*" The young stay at home to read the paper, so the papers must be stopped by law. They go off on excursions, so the Sunday trains must be stopped by law. If that fails there must be some other law devised to head them off and drive them into the church, for in some way, "*these must be turned.*"

Rev. Dr. Chadbourne, in this same Convention, said:—

The Sunday paper is the foe of the Church and the Sunday school.

We think this proposition needs to be proven, but they evidently believe it is true. Supposing it is true; so is all sin, everywhere and always, the foe of the true Church of Christ. Shall it all be suppressed by the civil law? This Sunday-law logic justifies all the religious legislation and all the persecution the world has ever seen, and would repeat them.

Again, Rev. Dr. Chadbourne says:—

The Sunday paper is a *secular* intrusion upon *sacred* time. It is an open and defiant violation of the purpose of the day. It is an open door for every secular enterprise, for it has no especial rights. It does not aspire to benefit and elevate but only to please.

All these are the Doctor's reasons for asking for laws to suppress the publication of the Sunday paper, and all these are religious and not civil reasons. Let it be remembered, however, that they are the *real* reasons why the American Sabbath Union, of Massachusetts, petitions for stricter Sunday laws. The reasons given the public are only the sham reasons, and in their vast contrast with these they stamp the whole work of the Union with the brand of consummate hypocrisy.

In the same Convention, on the same day, Joseph Cook said:—

The Methodist pastors, who are appointed by the bishops, and do not owe their positions to their congregations, might arraign church members for advertising in the Sunday papers, but I fear such action would unseat any Congregational minister in the State. . . . I am not disposed to say Con-

gregationalists are cowards, but they have more at risk.

This is equivalent to saying that no minister who depends for his place and salary upon his popularity with the people, (and what minister does not, Methodist as well as others?) can dare aim to benefit the people by elevating them above their present way of thinking and acting, but must confine his efforts to simply trying to please them where they are. "They do not aim to elevate but only to please." This is precisely one of the reasons why the same Convention declared that the Sunday paper should be discontinued by law. Should the Sunday sermon also be discontinued for the same reason, and the minister silenced? It actually seems as though, if we would only stand back and give these Sunday-law ministers time enough and rope enough, they would hang themselves. It would not be anything new under the sun if they did. Religious laws often react upon those who clamor for them.

Before this Convention closed, it passed three resolutions declaring the religious origin and nature of the Sabbath, and that that religious nature was transferred by Christ and the apostles to Sunday, and pledging themselves to resist all attempts to divest said Sunday, as a day of rest and worship, of the sacredness of the divine law. So it seems that the American Sabbath Union, *when it is by itself alone*, does not think that the Sabbath is a "civil institution," and it does not intend to preserve simply our "civil American Sabbath," and it thinks very little about either the cause of liberty, or about the poor over-worked laboring man, but only about the interests of the Church, and the power of the clergy. And yet *these same people* since the Convention, are busy before the public with the old civil-Sunday-law plea. Nor is all this peculiar to the Massachusetts American Sabbath Union; it is a true and fair setting forth of the Union's underhand method of working wherever it operates.

As has often been shown, their method of obtaining petitions is unfair and deceptive. They ask for laws to "prevent people from being *compelled to labor on Sunday*," and under cover of such a specious plea, they try to get a law to compel all to cease laboring on Sunday whether they wish to or not. As in the case of the Breckinridge bill, before the people they try to make it appear that if the law is not passed the District of Columbia will relapse into barbarism; but when by themselves, they admit that the reason they want the law is not for the District of Columbia at all, but that the United States may thereby establish a precedent for a national Sunday law. Every gentleman and every Christian knows that truth and right do not have to employ such methods of advancement. It is the old jesuitical doctrine that "the end justifies the means."

Connected with this movement, there are undoubtedly many honest people, whose eyes are blinded; but the best that can be said of the movement, as a whole, is that it is full of insincerity and hypocrisy.

G. E. FIFIELD.

Protestant and Catholic Politics in Prison Religion.

"A SHAMELESS Surrender," and "Eternal Vigilance Needed," are the headlines of editorial articles, in the *Mail and Express* and the *Christian Advocate*, on the Freedom of Worship bill which has passed the Assembly of this State, by a vote of eighty-seven to eighteen.

In the words of the *Mail and Express*, "The bill applies to all incorporated and unincorporated reformatory societies securing State and municipal moneys. It forcibly opens these institutions to the sectarian services of all sects and denominations." The question is further characterized in the same editorial as an "ugly sectarian controversy," and the prophecy made that "if this measure becomes a law, resistance to sectarian and ecclesiastical aggressions upon our civil and religious liberties will be forced into politics, and somebody will get hurt." In the closing paragraphs, the sword of the political headman is freely waved and the Republican members of the Legislature called upon to note the keenness of its edge. "Free American sentiment is an element to be considered by men seeking the suffrages of the people, as novel as this statement may appear to those who can hear more easily whispers from the Tiber than thunders from the Hudson. The Republican Senate must defeat this measure. Any Republican senator whose political future is not all behind him had better not say 'yes' on the roll-call, if this iniquitous foreign-born and unnaturalized bill ever gets out of committee and is put upon its passage."

The *Advocate* declares that "the passage of this bill will raise a religious issue," and warns us that "the Roman Catholics are working with tact and vigor" to secure the passage of this measure. The *Mail and Express* also tells us "these bills were skillfully drawn, under the direction and with the approval of Archbishop Corrigan, and they are consequently in the interest solely of the Roman Catholic hierarchy." And upon this the writer is evidently beset with a vision of the dragon of the twelfth chapter of Revelation, for he cries out in terror, "and the horrible visage of the oft-defeated monster, which has for years been clutching at the throat of unfortunate childhood, and striking at the vitals of Christian benevolence, in our unsectarian institutions, emerges from the dark chamber of the Assembly Committee on Revision, under the leadership of Mr. Blumenthal."

The *Observer* also devotes almost two

columns to this same subject, beginning with the question, "Do the Protestant people of this State realize that the old jesuitically framed and named 'Freedom of Worship' bill has passed the Assembly by a vote of eighty-seven to eighteen?" Extended statistics are quoted to show that by far the greater proportion of prisoners, prostitutes, and rumsellers are Roman Catholics, thus showing "the practical folly of yielding to the demand of that religious institution which furnishes the least evidence of being entitled to special denominational recognition."

The fact in regard to this bill is that the unprejudiced mind will fail to find in it a shadow of favoritism or partiality toward any creed or denomination. The reason why the Roman Catholics father the measure evidently is because they find themselves only *tolerated* in public institutions, and not on an equal footing with the denominations which constitute the "national Christianity" of the United States.

The *Christian Advocate* says, "priests can be admitted. There has never been any trouble on the subject of religion at the House of Refuge, on Randall's Island, except with the Jesuits. Priests can go there now. . . . The Roman Catholic priests are allowed to visit the children, converse with them, teach them, confess them, visit them in sickness, and bury them when dead." Notice the language, "can be admitted," "can go there," "are allowed to visit." The situation is evidently one of toleration not of equality.

The whole question resolves itself into a contest between Protestantism and Roman Catholicism. Protestantism has now the superior place and influence in public institutions, and to yield equal place to Roman Catholicism would be, in the minds of those who hold that this is a Protestant Christian Nation, "A Shameless Surrender."

In a sentence intended to describe the Roman Catholic position, the *Observer* unwittingly characterizes the Protestant bigotry which this discussion has unexpectedly uncovered. The expression is this: "It is absolutely nothing but the old arrogance that despises anything religious that does not include its own ecclesiasticism."

What right has the Legislature of the State of New York to say that any form of worship shall not be accorded a perfect equality with every other form of worship, either in penal institutions or in any other place within its jurisdiction? And if it be true that any creed or form of worship arrogantly assumes to itself to be the national Christianity and only tolerates any other creed or form without acknowledging its equality, why may not the Legislature say authoritatively that no such distinction or discrimination shall be made in public institutions?

This discussion is but another loud-voiced witness to the supreme error of permitting ecclesiasticism to have any influence whatever in the control of civil institutions.

W. H. M.

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THE Star Museum, of this city, has been closed for violation of the Sunday law, and the information is published that the Mayor has promised to discontinue its license; supposablely, for no other reason is given, because of its persistence in opening on Sunday.

SOME slight agitation of the question of the Sunday opening of museums in this city, has called forth from the New York Presbytery, and the New York East Conference, both of which have recently been in session, sets of resolutions protesting against any such action on the part of the city.

REV. W. F. CRAFTS has published his appointments for the next three months as follows: May 1, Cresco, Iowa; May 4, Winchester, Iowa; May 6, Waverly, Iowa; May 10, Marshalltown, Iowa; June 22, etc., Fremont Chautauqua, Neb.; July 21, etc., Winona Chautauqua, Wis.; August 1, 2, Lakeside Chautauqua, Ohio; September, Western Pennsylvania.

THE trial of the Eighth Avenue Dime Museum proprietor, indicted for opening his museum on Sunday, has been twice postponed. The "Pearl of Days" takes upon itself to speak thus dictatorially upon the case: "The reason for postponement ought to be made public. Do the authorities propose to let him off? The matter is in the hands of Assistant District Attorney McIntyre."

AT the formation of a "Rest Day League" in St. Joseph, Missouri, not long since, a series of resolutions were adopted of which the following extract is a sample:—

Resolved, That we deplore the fact that our city, in other respects said to observe the Sabbath better than many, east or west, still falls below Pittsburg, or New York, or Chicago, in allowing the noisy

hawking of newspapers upon the Sabbath to the disturbance of home life and Sabbath worship, and we will call upon our public officers to suppress this affront to Christian sentiment and State law.

Resolved, That we assure our public officers, whose sworn duty it is to prevent and punish the opening of saloons and other infractions of our humane Sabbath law, that we will heartily support them in enforcing it, and we earnestly request our Mayor to publish the Sabbath law of this State, that no violator may plead ignorance of its provisions, etc.

The prominence which is given to the idea of "law" is worthy of note, as well as the peculiar and significant juxtaposition of the expression "Christian sentiment and State law." Steadily, by gradual insistence, the general impression is being conveyed that to affront religious "sentiment" is an infraction of the civil law which public officers must be called upon to punish.

MR. CRAFTS'S late injunction to the faithful National Reformers is noteworthy. Referring to the April week of prayer, he says:—

The world's week of prayer for the Sabbath should be a week of practice as well as prayer, of enforcing the laws we have as well as petitioning for better ones. They pray best who are busiest between prayers in working with God in the answers.

A more terse expression of the idea contained in this paragraph would be "pray and prosecute."

IN the cable news from Berlin, of April 19, is to be found the following spicy paragraph:—

The Kaiser is much annoyed by the disregard of his wishes shown by a number of cavalry officers in attending the Hurdle Society's races on *last Sunday*. The Emperor's brother-in-law, Duke Gunther, of Schleswig-Holstein, who was among the delinquents, received the full measure of the imperial resentment. So loud and menacing was the language in which it was conveyed that the Empress ran into the room to protect her brother, whom the Emperor was denouncing as a *blasphemous* jockey. The Duke and his partners in *guilt* spent this Sunday in the barracks, deprived of tobacco and liquors, and in other respects treated as prisoners.

Certainly the National Reform principles are making rapid progress when crowned heads enforce Sunday observance in members of their own family by military discipline.

IN an editorial on the late Dr. Spear, one of the editors of the *Independent*, who has lately died, occurs this paragraph:—

Here also occurred his account of the Federal Judiciary; and of even more interest to the lay mind, his thorough discussion of the relation of religion to the State. This volume is the best exponent of the doctrine, which was earnestly his and ours, that Church and State should be absolutely separated, that church property should be taxed, and that the Bible should not be required to be read in the public schools.

Yet, notwithstanding this clear expression of policy from the *Independent*, the following tacit indorsement of the enacting and enforcing of religious laws by the

State is to be found in the same issue, having reference to the violation of the Sunday laws in New Jersey:—

But encouraged by the recent expression of public sentiment throughout the State, there has been a rising of the people in Camden, and the result is a change for the better on Sunday, and the prospect of a vigorous enforcement of the law.

Can it be that the *Independent* is blind to the inconsistency between the statement that "Church and State should be absolutely separated," and an expression of satisfaction at the "prospect of a vigorous enforcement of the law" for the observance of a dogma of the Church by the civil power?

THE AMERICAN SENTINEL and the National Religious Liberty Association have not been, and are not, alone in the advocacy of sound principles as to the relation in which human government stands to religion, but how few are willing to carry these principles unswervingly to a consistent conclusion.

CHICAGO has organized a Columbian Sunday Association, with an Executive Committee of eighteen members for the purpose of bringing sufficient influence to bear upon the management of the World's Fair to secure its closing on Sunday, and for the exploiting to the world of the "American Sunday." A number of committees and sub-committees have been appointed and their work systematically laid out.

The following are the published objects of the Association:—

1. To prevent by every practicable means the calamity to our country and the injustice to the fifty thousand or more employes of the Columbian Fair and related industries, by opening the Exposition on Sunday.

2. To distribute literature showing the advantage that has come to America from the observance of the American Sunday, this literature to be printed in all languages, and to be especially distributed during the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893.

3. To arrange for and carry on great mass meetings on the Sundays during the season of the World's Exposition, to be addressed by distinguished speakers on themes appropriate to the day, chorus singing to be a feature of this meeting.

4. To assist in securing occasional holidays for all working people—men, women, and children—that they may, from time to time, attend the World's Exposition, and particularly to this end, to make more nearly universal the weekly Saturday half-holiday.

The Columbian Sunday Association, the American Sabbath Union, and the Chicago Ministerial Committee have joined in the publication of an address to the country at large, setting forth the dangers to the Nation, which, in their opinion, will result from the opening of the World's Fair on Sunday, and calling for an organized demonstration from all classes, directed to the National Commission and the Chicago Directory.

THE Methodist ministers of Cincinnati, have memorialized the Mayor in regard to the suppression of baseball in that city the coming summer.

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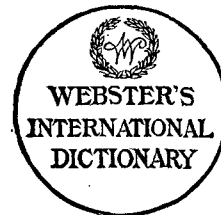
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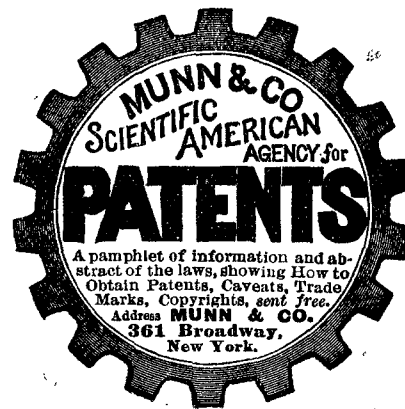
Rev. Thomas W. Haskins, M. A.,
Rector Christ Church, Los Angeles, Cal.

The above is the title of a treatise written by the author at the request of the Ministerial Union of Los Angeles, California. It grew out of a discussion upon the present aspect and aims of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States, the author taking the ground that the rise, progress, present and future condition of the temporal power known as the Papacy, or Vaticanism, is outlined in the prophecies of Holy Scriptures with sufficient accuracy to determine what the "Papacy" is, and what is to be its future development and ultimate end.

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NEW YORK, APRIL 30, 1891.

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THE *Independent* has obtained the views of ninety-seven Roman Catholic and Protestant archbishops and bishops upon the question of opening the World's Fair upon Sunday. Of course a large majority of the Protestant prelates are opposed to Sunday opening; while out of twenty-two Roman ecclesiastics fourteen would admit the public to the Fair on Sunday, only in the afternoon. Out of twenty-five Episcopal bishops only two favor Sunday afternoon opening. Of the Methodist bishops only one, a colored man, favors Sunday opening.

A WRITER in the *Daily Herald*, of St. Joseph, Missouri, says, "The progress made in the education and refinement of the people since the heyday of the Puritan Sunday, would hardly place in the hands of Mr. Crafts and his associates such dangerous tools as gibbets and stakes to enforce their notions, but the barbarous Sunday legislation still on our statute books gives them the conveniences and facilities of mulcts, jails, and policemen's clubs." That Mr. Crafts and his disciples will use these means there is little doubt—provided the people at large choose to let them.

AN observer of the seventh day, in Texas, writes to the organ of the denomination, the *Review and Herald*, that he has recently been served with the following notice:—

We the undersigned, citizens of this community, inform you that if you keep Saturday for the Sabbath, you must keep Sunday also, thus conforming to the customs and habits of the people. If you refuse, we will whip you within an inch of your life for the first offense; and on the second we will hang you until you are dead, dead, dead.

Judging from this, National Reform has secured a pretty good foothold in the Lone Star State. These zealous Christians (?) ought, however, to know that in this way they will speedily bring their cause into bad repute. They should take the more respectable, but not more Christian, method of invoking the power of the State to coerce those who do not agree with them in religious matters. If they should actually carry the matter so far as to hang somebody, even some of the leading spirits of the American Sabbath Union might be roused to say that "it would seem to be a harmless kindness to permit

observers of the seventh day to do private work on Sunday." Mr. Crafts actually said as much as this in regard to the persecutions in Tennessee, where Sabbatarians have died of fevers contracted in prison; and if somewhere a man should be hanged for Sunday work even the President of the Sabbath Union, who has thus far remained silent, might be provoked to say that a county jail and typhoid fever would have been a more respectable means of execution.

WE are glad to note the following in an account in the *Sabbath Recorder* of a Ministerial conference:—

In the paper, "Sabbath-keeping Women and the Woman's Christian Temperance Union," by H. D. Clarke, we have a long-felt want; that which will make it evident that our Seventh-day Baptist women can not consistently belong to the Union. It is hoped that the paper, in full, will soon be published in the *Recorder*. Other essays were presented which were of interest and instructive to all who heard them.

We are glad to see this, not because we are opposed to the original object of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, but because the Union has largely lost sight of that object, and has espoused so-called National Reform. That which affiliates with National Reform can be Christian only in name.

It is said that it was the intolerance and bigotry of his rector that drove Charles Bradlaugh into atheism. Young Bradlaugh, who was particularly bright "found some difficulties in the Thirty-nine Articles, which did not seem to him in accord with the New Testament. His rector was a man totally deficient in tact, and on learning of the boy's state of mind, treated his incipient skepticism as a proof of depravity, and scolded him furiously. Young Bradlaugh, with the hasty logic of youth, concluded that Christians could not answer by argument objections made to their faith, and soon became a complete disbeliever in Christianity or any other form of religion." A more Christian course would probably have saved to the cause of Christianity a man of rare talents. This is simply another illustration of the fact that those who attempt to do Christian work by non-Christian methods only mar the work of God and destroy souls.

WE have received from the publishers, Sweet & Sturdy, Brattleboro, Massachusetts, a copy of "Right and Wrong," by William A. Sturdy. The book contains 404 pages, six by nine inches, is well printed, and is neatly bound in cloth, with gold letters. We are not informed as to the price, but that can be learned by writing to the publishers.

"Right and Wrong" relates to "literal ethics and a popular form of government," "showing," the title page says, "the defective character of 'Webster's Diction-

ary,' with its influence upon the disturbances between the ruling class and the common laborer." At first thought, it seems a little unkind on the part of the author of this book to attempt to demolish an old and recognized authority in the English language, just as it has been thoroughly revised at great expense to the publishers; however, "truth is mighty," and if, in the light of Mr. Sturdy's book, a discriminating public shall decide that a particular dictionary does not contain the maximum of truth, as dictionaries go, why, so much the worse for that dictionary. But inasmuch as we have a new Webster's, we shall not decide hastily to discard it. That is to say, compositors and office boys permitting, we shall still follow Webster as closely as possible in the mazes of, it must be confessed, a somewhat perplexing orthography and orthology.

THE *Baptist Examiner* says:—

The total abolition of Sunday travel is not to be hoped for. Especially in the neighborhood of our great cities, facilities of transit are needed on Sunday as on the other days of the week. It is, however, generally admitted that the volume of Sunday travel could be sensibly reduced without serious inconvenience to the public and injury to business.

Certainly "the volume of Sunday travel could be sensibly reduced," and in a very sensible way, namely, by the voluntary action of those who profess a religious regard for Sunday; if all such would cease to travel on that day, the volume of travel would, indeed, be sensibly reduced. This would be not only sensible, but honest, and according to the Golden Rule, in which respect it differs radically from the "civil" Sunday law method.

It is very strange, indeed, that in this day of progress and general enlightenment, any person, or sect of persons, should be so narrow-minded as to set forth and teach doctrines and principles that characterized the Dark Ages. To compel people to do a thing on the first day of the week, and in which they do not believe, is but one form of tyranny. Is this synonymous with the American boast of free Government? We think not. Although we were brought up to revere and keep the first day of the week, we feel it would be wrong to force our views upon those who might differ with us in a religious point of view, or holding to contrary convictions.—*Yolo (Cal.) Democrat*.

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