

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

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THE only purpose for which power can be rightfully exercised over any member of a civilized community, against his will, is to prevent harm to others. His own good, either physical or moral, is not a sufficient warrant.—*John Stuart Mill.*

It is said that at an educational conference, held in Germany not long since, the Emperor declared that he would make it his sacred duty, as the head of the nation, to promote the inculcation of a moral and Christian spirit in the public schools. However indefinite the expression which the Emperor may have used, it is yet quite sufficient for those who desire to see governmental authority assert itself for the promulgation of religious doctrine and the enforcement of observances accepted by the majority as Christian, to find in this imperial voice much food for gratulation as to the rapid and widespread advance of their crusade for the establishment of a world wide political religion.

THE *Christian Statesman* finds fault with the manner in which President Harrison and party spent the last Sunday of their recent return trip from the Pacific Coast. The train bearing the party did not reach Glenwood Springs, Colorado, until 4 o'clock Sunday morning. At 8 o'clock a committee escorted the President to breakfast at a hotel. At 11 o'clock the President and some of his party attended service at the Presbyterian Church. During the afternoon Mr. Harrison received sev-

eral delegations from surrounding towns, and addressed two meetings held in his honor. On both occasions his remarks were mildly religious, appropriate to the day as it is generally regarded. At 6 o'clock P. M., the train, in harmony with orders from the President, left Glenwood Springs, and the party spent the night in their car on a side track twenty-four miles from the scene of Mr. Harrison's wrecked resolution to observe Sunday according to the most approved Presbyterian fashion. Our opinion, however, is that it is none of the *Christian Statesman's* business how the President spent Sunday.

The Abuse of Civil Government.

IN our article on the "Use of Civil Government" we saw that its only legitimate use was to protect the people in the exercise of their inherent rights, never to dictate to or direct them in the exercise of said rights. On this point, Mr. Buckle, in his "History of Civilization," says:—

To maintain order, to prevent the strong from oppressing the weak, and to adopt certain precautions respecting the public health, are the only services which any government can render to the interests of civilization.

He also adds:—

But the accusation which the historian is bound to bring against every government which has hitherto existed is, that it has overstepped its proper functions, and, at each step, has done incalculable harm.

In this article on the abuse of civil government, I do not propose to speak of those open and flagrant abuses of power, which, lying on the surface of history, are recognized by all; but rather of those more subtle abuses of authority into which the possessor of power is often led even by the desire to benefit humanity. These are the abuses which are in danger of being repeated, and on these rests the whole religio-political movement of to-day, against which THE SENTINEL sharpens its shafts of logic and sarcasm. The idea seems to everywhere exist, that the government is the proper means of reforming

the people, whereas the fact is, that the people are the only means of reforming the government. The National Reformers and all other religio-political organizations, seem to think that if a reformatory law can by any means be lobbied into the statute book, that reform is already far on its way toward completion, whereas I shall show that any attempt of government to reform the people or advance them morally, religiously or intellectually, must inevitably tend diametrically opposite to the desired result.

In any form of government, unless it be an absolute despotism, a law to be enforced must have a strong public opinion back of it. This opinion must represent, at least, the major influence if not the majority in numbers, otherwise the law is a dead letter. Our statute books are crowded with laws which are never enforced simply because the majority of the people have outgrown them. They ought to be repealed, for the open violation of such dead laws, especially if they be newly enacted statutes, tends to create a disregard for all law and a contempt for all government. But it is evident that no such public opinion can ever originate simultaneously on any theme of advanced thought. The history of the world has demonstrated that every advanced thought in science, in art, in literature, or in religion, has always come to some one man first. First there was one, then two, then three who believed it, and the conflict was long and perilous before the majority or the multitude accepted it.

Now, as law without public opinion is worse than useless, tending directly toward disrespect for, and disobedience of, all law; and as public opinion is always necessarily far behind the advanced opinion of the minority on all subjects of progressive thought, it follows that government must always represent the conservative party and never the really progressive party, or party of reform. Therefore, whenever government goes beyond its legitimate sphere of simply protecting people in the exercise of their rights, and

seeks to dictate in the exercise of rights, and to direct the activities of the mind in any department of human thought, it must always tend toward deform instead of reform; for real advance, and therefore all real reform, must come from the people, and if the government legislates on these things at all, by the very law of human progress, it must oppose them, and hinder them. This is proven not only by the laws of human progress, but by an appeal to the historical facts of civilization as well.

Every new truth has had its apostle,—its Jesus, its Luther, its Bruno or its Gallileo, persecuted or put to death for its sake, and all this because governments have not recognized the proper limits of their power.

Whenever the government has sought to hasten the advance of any department of human effort or thought, it has really retarded it. Louis XIV. of France sought, honestly enough, it may be, to stimulate literary activity in France, and to immortalize himself by sending his name down to posterity as the imperial patron of letters. For this purpose he made laws conferring great honors and vast sums of money upon the successful literary man. What was the result? Literature, the representative of intellect, which is progressive, became chained to the wheels of government, the representative of order, which is stationary. Says Buckle:—

In no age have literary men been rewarded with such profuseness as in the reign of Louis XIV.; and in no age have they been so mean-spirited, so servile, so utterly unfit to fill their great vocation as the apostles of knowledge and the missionaries of truth.

Immediately before his reign, the history of France is scintillant with the names of great men whose published works in almost every department of human thought and inquiry, have come down to our own time, and are famous as those who have added to the sum of human knowledge. By this system of State patronage of literature, although much that was artistic and ornamental was at first produced, all advanced thinking was stayed; and gradually the literary men of France, from being bold and free in their thinking, and in the search for truth, were transformed into a mere crowd of fawning courtiers who wrote but to flatter the vices of the king and the court. In France it was as though the sun of knowledge, which had risen clear and bright, was suddenly stayed in its sublime ascent toward the zenith, and receding, set in the east, leaving the world in the shadow.

In England, Newton was at this very time rising step by step to his sublime generalizations; but in France even these wonderful discoveries were not accepted by the teachers of science till forty years after they were demonstrated by Newton. By literature, which should be representative of the people, being thus servilely chained to the court, all its ingenuity and

its influence were used to flatter the king, and blind his eyes to the pressing needs of the people, thus encouraging him to continue that unjust and arbitrary system of legislation which resulted in the terrible French Revolution. Says Buckle:—

Three times in the history of the world has this experiment been tried. In the ages of Augustus, of Leo X., and of Louis XIV., the same method was adopted, and the same result ensued. In each of these ages there was much apparent splendor, immediately succeeded by sudden ruin. In each instance the brilliancy survived the independence; and in each instance the national spirit sank under the pernicious alliance of government and literature.

Such is the inevitable result of government exceeding its just authority, and seeking to encourage literature. As much might be said of the attempt of governments to encourage trade and commerce. Says Buckle:—

It is no exaggeration to say that the commercial legislation of Europe presents every possible contrivance for hampering the energies of commerce.

All this, mark, was done by the paternal care of government, seeking with best of intention, no doubt, to direct the citizens in the exercise of their rights. It was done to build up commerce, but so thoroughly did it break it down, that a very high authority on the subject declares, that if it had not been for smuggling, trade must have ceased entirely.

The whole history of religious legislation is a history of the same thing. The opinion opposed by law is more often the opinion that should succeed, and if the legislation in some particular instance happens to be in favor of truth it is still a curse to that very truth by corrupting its professors, and bringing it into disrepute before the world. On this point Buckle says:—

We have seen that their laws in favor of industry have injured industry; that their laws in favor of religion have increased hypocrisy; and that their laws to secure truth have encouraged perjury; it would be easy to push the inquiry still further and show how legislators, in every attempt they have made to protect some particular interest, and uphold some particular principle, have not only failed, but have brought about results diametrically opposite to those they proposed.

It will be seen by all this that the paternal interference of government has ever been a millstone hung around the neck of human progress. All this because "no government having recognized its proper limits (the mere maintenance of rights), the result is that every government has inflicted on its subjects great injuries; and has done this nearly always with the best intentions." "No great political improvement" even, far less any intellectual, moral or religious reform, "was ever originated in any country by its rulers. The first suggesters of such steps have been, invariably, bold and able thinkers, who discern the abuse, denounce it, and point out how it is to be remedied. But long after this is done, even the most enlightened governments continue to uphold the abuse, and reject the remedy. At length,

if circumstances are favorable, the pressure from without becomes so strong that the government is obliged to give way; and the reform being accomplished, the people are expected to admire the wisdom of their rulers, by whom all this has been done."

From the very laws of human progress, which are as unchangeable as the law of gravitation, this must ever be so. The conclusion is evident, and unavoidable; civil government should recognize its proper limit of authority, which is the mere protecting of individuals in the exercise of their rights, and should ever and always leave all moral, intellectual, and religious progress and reform to the people.

If the National Reformers, the Prohibition party, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, and the American Sabbath Union, would for one moment grasp in their beclouded minds this one evident and unchangeable law of progress, their religio-political schemes would at once and forever vanish into thin air.

G. E. FIFIELD.

The "American" Sunday.

At a Sunday-law meeting recently held in New York City, under the auspices of the American Sabbath Union, the Rev. R. S. MacArthur, D. D., expressed himself after the following fashion:—

The man who lifts his hand against the American Sunday is an enemy of the Republic. He is an enemy of the race. He is an enemy of God.

By the term "American Sunday," we presume the reverend gentleman referred to just the same Sunday that we have all been used to, namely, the first day of the week. Of course, if this is an American institution, to oppose it would be to oppose the Republic that gave it birth. But how is it the American Sunday any more than the German Sunday? Nowhere in the Declaration of Independence do we find that our forefathers were proposing to inaugurate this day as an American institution, and its establishment was evidently just as far from their thoughts in the adoption of our national Constitution. How then can it be said to be the "American" Sunday? We can nowhere find any commandment which says: "Remember the American Sunday to keep it civilly; six days shalt thou labor, and do all thy incivility, but the first day is the American Sunday: in it thou shalt do nothing un-American or uncivil, for in six days the American people established this Government, and all that in it is, and became civil upon the first day. Wherefore this Nation blessed the American Sunday and civilized it."

We have heard of the American flag, of American liberty, and of a host of other American things, but never before knew that *Sunday* was one of them! In fact, it has been generally supposed that anything

essentially American naturally pertained to America. This being the case, what right have other nations with our property? Isn't it about time the Government was sending armed cruisers to the different ports of the world, with the demand that these nations immediately relinquish their claims to our "American" Sunday? Patriotism must not be allowed to degenerate in this country, and it is clearly the height of disloyalty to allow our "American" institutions to be boldly appropriated in this way.

But, according to Dr. MacArthur, it is a crime against the whole human race to oppose this "American" Sunday. How is this? If it is not distinctively American, then it has no business to be so termed, either by Dr. MacArthur or by any one else. If it is American property, then it is clearly unpatriotic in us to allow it to be used as anything else than an American institution by other nations. And yet, whoever opposes it is "an enemy of the race." Does this mean that the sceptre of universal government is to be wielded over all the world by this country? or does it mean that the advocates of Sunday laws blow hot and cold so often on the same question that they can not see the contradictions in their own arguments?

An institution can of right be effective only within the limits of the power which has created or ordained it. This being the case, Dr. MacArthur gets things sadly mixed when he declares that the individual who opposes the American Sunday is "an enemy of God." Why should this be, if Sunday is an "American" institution and simply a "civil matter"? Does Dr. MacArthur believe that God has surrendered his authority into the hands of this Government, that it may thus assume jurisdiction over the rest of the world and enforce its institutions (the "American" Sunday especially) upon all men? This conclusion is so preposterous as to be scarcely worthy of a moment's notice; yet it is, nevertheless, a fair inference drawn from the Doctor's own words. If this be denied, however, then only one other opinion can be held, and that is, that it is the religious observance of the day which is causing him so much concern, after all.

Inasmuch as these words were spoken at a meeting held under the auspices of the American Sabbath Union, which is itself a powerful auxiliary of the National Reform party, and engaged in the same work, we can safely adopt them as outlining the policy of all National Reform work, so called. It is, when stripped of all disguise, simply an effort to pass laws to enable human authority to assume divine prerogatives; to clothe itself with civil power to enforce its own interpretation of the divine will. It is the carrying out of the same principles which gave rise to the tyrannical rule of Romanism in the early centuries of the Christian era, and is a shameful backward step to take by

those who share in the enjoyment of the civil and religious rights of the present century. So surely as these principles are ever allowed to prevail again, and especially in our own Government, so surely may we expect a re-enactment of the scenes which have caused the memory of the Dark Ages to come down to us stained with the blood of martyrs and lurid with the light of the fires which were kindled to coerce the consciences of honest men.

J. W. SCOLES.

Graysville, Tenn.

Sunday Street Cars in Philadelphia.

THE Law and Order Society, of Philadelphia, has inaugurated a new movement against Sunday street cars in that city. The following facts we condense from the *New York Sun*:—

The running of street cars in Philadelphia on Sunday has been rendered possible only through a legal loophole. As far back as April 15, 1859, a local offender named Jeandelle was arrested for driving a Green Street car on a Sunday afternoon. Arraigned for his offense before a police magistrate, the aid of the Supreme Court was invoked under authority of a writ of *habeas corpus*. Jeandelle had been charged with disorderly conduct in having violated the act of 1794. The lawyer contended that Jeandelle violated the law of 1794 in an orderly, and not in a disorderly fashion. The Judge finally discharged the prisoner.

Nothing further was done about the matter for eight years, when a citizen named Sparhawk took the popular agitation in hand, and demanded of the Supreme Court an injunction against the Union Passenger Railway Company, which he alleged was putting the law of 1794 at defiance, by running cars on Sunday, at long and irregular intervals, through the otherwise quiet streets of Philadelphia. Judge Strong granted a temporary injunction, but an appeal was taken to the Supreme Court, and the full bench of Judges heard the interesting argument. Judge Thompson delivered the opinion of the Court, which was, it appears, elaborate in its treatment of the subject. "I fully concede," declared Judge Thompson, "that the opinion of my brother Strong, and the law and authorities referred to by him, establish very clearly that the business of running cars on the Lord's day commonly called Sunday, is a violation of the act of 1794. Driving a public conveyance for hire on Sunday, is a violation of the act inflicting the penalty of \$4 for performing worldly employment on the Lord's day commonly called Sunday. Rest and quiet on the Sabbath day with the right and privilege of public and private worship, undisturbed by any mere worldly employment, are what the statute was passed to protect." "Unfortunately, however," says the *Sun*, "for the cause of tranquility, soberness, and sleep, the in-

evitable Philadelphia lawyer, the paid emissary of darkness, the subsidized champion of corporate recklessness and greed, and the ready apologist for offending drivers and conductors, was on hand with his familiar scheme of legal cunning. He averred that an injunction was an equitable relief in a case where no remedy existed at law; and as, in this instance, there was a remedy at law (\$4 fine) no injunction should be granted. The Court took this view of the case and threw Mr. Sparhawk's suit, so to speak, into the Susquehanna."

Baffled at this point the opponents of street car running on Sunday did nothing for the next fourteen years; but recently Mr. Vail of the Law and Order Society appeared upon the scene and arranged the preliminaries for another tussle with these corporations. His attitude is defined by our learned contemporary, the *Philadelphia Times*, in these words:—

Mr. Vail resolutely contends that there is no necessity for Sunday cars, not even for people who attend divine worship. They should all live near the church they attend or attend the church that is near them. It should never be necessary for a pastor to take a car to deliver a sermon. He should reside near his church.

It is not to be supposed that, concerning a matter of such importance, all minds should be of one accord in Philadelphia, and it is therefore not easy to ascertain how popular sentiment in that town, now fully aroused, against the running of cars on Sundays, will manifest itself, whether in the destruction of the the cars themselves, the tearing up the tracks, the social ostracism of the offending drivers and conductors, the devastation of the homes of the stockholders, or by recourse to more pacific though less promising measures of a more commonplace character. "I do not know," so Mr. Vail is reported, "that any proceedings are, for the present, to be taken against the running of street cars on Sunday." The Rev. Dr. Fernley, however, has called a meeting of the Law and Order Society, and it is stated that he is "determined to push the Sunday movement for all there is in it."

Another Sunday Association.

In addition to the National Reform Association, the American Sabbath Union, the Chicago Sunday Rest League, and a number of allies in the shape of the Sabbath Observance Department of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, and the Sunday planks in the prohibition platforms, the "Columbian Sunday Association, another church organization for the creation of public sentiment in favor of Sunday legislation, has recently sprung into being."

Rev. James P. Mills is advertised as Financial Secretary of this Association, with office at 185 Dearborn Street (fifth floor), Chicago, Ill. This same gentleman in 1886-88 acted as District Secretary of the National Reform Association. In 1889

the North Ohio Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in their annual session appointed him State Secretary of the American Sabbath Union, and in 1890 the same Conference appointed him as general and field Secretary of their "sixth district," which embraces the States of Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Michigan, Minnesota, Ohio, and Wisconsin. It will thus be seen that the National Reform Association, the American Sabbath Union, and the Columbian Sunday Association are, in essence, all one. The success of one will be the success of the others, and a greater calamity will never befall this country, nor a greater apostasy occur to Protestantism, than when the cherished of each and all—the teaching of religion by law—shall be realized.

W. A. COLCORD.

The Scheme of Senator Edmunds.

THE resignation of Senator Edmunds does not take effect until next November, and meanwhile, he says, he will exert his most strenuous efforts and use all his influence to bring about the establishment of a great National University at Washington.

It is an old hobby of his, and a select committee to report on the scheme was appointed through his efforts in the Senate. His main purpose, his controlling motive, according to his own words, is to set up, at the expense of the Federal Government, "a great non-sectarian university, an institution which should make plain the liberality of Protestant as compared with the narrowness of Papal power."

It may be very desirable and very important to make this manifestation; but it is not the business of the United States Government to undertake the job. This Government is not a religious power, either Roman Catholic or Protestant, and it has nothing to do with religious competitions. The sovereignty here rests in the people, and they are made up of Catholics and Protestants, Jews and pagans, and people of no religion at all. Every citizen is free to think as he pleases about religious matters, and the Constitution protects him in that freedom. Any Church can set up a university or as many universities as it likes, and teach whatever religious dogmas it prefers; and the question which are liberal and which narrow, must be left to the people themselves. They can support those they like and reject those whose instruction is offensive to them. It is a free field in which everybody has a chance. The Roman Catholics have as much right in it as the Protestants, the Jews as much as the Christians.

Accordingly, the Government can not enter into the competition by throwing its power in favor of any religious party, without outraging the fundamental principles of our political system. It is not its function to teach any religion or to

oppose any religion, to show Protestant "liberality" or to expose Papal "narrowness." Each of those religious families must do its own showing, opposing, and exposing for itself.

Outside of all questions of religion, too, the scheme for a National University at Washington, founded and maintained by the Government, is impracticable and absurd. What principles of political economy, for instance, would it teach? Should it change them with the changes of political control of the Government? If Congress sets up the university, it must regulate its curriculum and its policy and theory of education. As the political complexion of Congress varies, those would have to vary also.

Moreover, there is no occasion, no need for such a university. What is desirable rather, is the development of the universities which we already have. Non-sectarian education is already provided by most of them, and they carry liberality to its extreme.

If the Pope is to be converted, the conversion must be effected by some other power than the United States. Senator Edmunds will be at liberty next November to take hold of the job on his own account.—*The Sun*.

It Is Un-American.

THE "Pearl of Days," of May 2, has the following relative to the work of the so-called American Sabbath Union:—

The second quarterly meeting of the Board of Managers of the American Sabbath Union was held at No. 23 Park Row, New York, April 27. The following members of the Board were present: Rev. Drs. J. M. King, J. Elmendorf, G. S. Mott, L. Williams, J. H. Knowles, and W. J. R. Taylor, and Messrs R. N. Perlee, W. R. Worrall, A. S. Bacon and W. Irwin. The Corresponding Secretary, Rev. Dr. W. J. R. Taylor, gave a full and interesting account of Sabbath observance in Washington, D. C., and of his labors in that city during the past quarter. The General Secretary reported in respect to the publications of the Union, the official correspondence, the work of organizing the States and recent efforts to prevent obnoxious Sunday legislation. The Board unanimously commended the *American Sabbath*, the new official organ of the Union, and readjusted certain parts of the work in distant States, with a view to increased efficiency. The reports indicated hopeful progress, organizing new societies and establishing those already existing.

The officers of the Union are manifesting a zeal worthy of a better cause, and notwithstanding the bad blood that showed itself at Philadelphia, last December, the organization is making its influence felt.

In discussing the work of the Union the "Pearl of Days" says:—

The most urgent need of this hour is a deeper conviction respecting the holy Sabbath—its divine purpose, its unchanging perpetuity, its necessity to man's highest intellectual and moral development. How may this conviction become universal? The evangelical pulpit of our country is charged with this responsibility. The home and the school may cooperate with the pulpit. Societies organized with this in view may assist in molding public sentiment. In addition to these agencies the public press may

be enlisted. Throughout the whole land these and kindred forces should unite in the all-important work of impressing the conscience. In this way a holier type of Sabbath observance will follow, and God's blessing will abundantly enrich all souls.

The American Sabbath Union seeks this end. It proposes no partisan alliance, no special religious forms, no substitute for the Church. It will inculcate Scriptural sentiments and enforce Christian obligations. It will exalt the Sabbath—God's bright, cheerful day. It will show how the weekly rest is a necessity to our nature, and the security of our civil commonwealth. It will encourage the enforcement of the Sunday laws—earnestly, judiciously. It will especially aim to strengthen the friends of the Lord's day in united effort. We ask for our American Sabbath Union a hearty recognition.

By "the school" we presume the "Pearl" means the public schools; but by what right it would use the public school to create "a deeper conviction respecting the holy Sabbath—its divine purpose, its unchanging perpetuity," does not appear. Certain it is that this is something that the public school has no right to teach. The suggestion shows the dangerous and utterly un-American character of this so-called American Sabbath Union—a Union that would manipulate the public schools in the interest of its dogmas.

They Demand a Recognition of the Day as a Religious Institution.

IF any evidence is still required to show that that which the American Sabbath Union demands, at the hands of the Directors of the World's Fair, is a recognition of the day as a religious institution it is supplied by the following editorial from the *Mail and Express* of May 4:—

OBEY GOD.

For once, we call attention to the text* at the head of this page, and we seriously commend the study of it to the National Commission and to the Board of Directors of the Chicago Columbian Exposition.

They are put to the test by the proposition submitted to them by the American Sabbath Union, that the gates of the Fair shall be closed on the Sabbath, and that they shall immediately announce that decision.

They hold the fate of the Nation in their hands. If they shall decide to trample upon the law of God, by breaking the fourth commandment, which requires all mankind to keep God's day holy, and not to do any work therein, nor to allow their servants, nor their cattle, nor visiting strangers to do any work therein, they may expect a continuance of the querulous and paralyzing counsels that have afflicted their body and the pestilences that have afflicted the city of Chicago.

They may also expect that the Christian people of these United States will both refrain from sending exhibits to the Exposition and also from attending the Exposition themselves; which will inflict a very severe loss upon them financially and greatly detract from the beauty, variety, and completeness of the Exposition.

The Christians of the United States are determined in this matter. Either the Sabbath is to be kept within the precincts of the Fair, or they will in no way lend it their aid and countenance. They have already been sufficiently insulted by the adroit procrastination visited upon the Sabbath, and the pigeon-holing of their respectful petitions, which have rained upon the Commission almost

* Jer. 18:7-10.

without limit, and the sly promises given by various of the commissioners and directors to the rum-sellers, the restaurateurs, the venders of tobacco, the keepers of candy stands, the sellers of soda water, the drawers of lager beer, and those engaged in public transportation, that no notice shall be taken of these petitions, and that, when the proper time comes, the gates will be open the seven days of the week.

There is the highest legal duty imposed upon all those in control of the proposed Fair, both to prevent their own employes from performing the work necessary to keeping the Fair open on the Sabbath, and also to prevent strangers and visitors from performing the work of promenading its galleries, halls, buildings, and grounds, examining and studying and understanding the exhibits, which is a fatiguing work, and which can legitimately be performed in six days of the week.

The theory that workingmen can not attend the Fair on any day but Sunday is utter bosh. The theory that a visit to the Exposition will be one purely of listless amusement and innocent recreation is still more utterly bosh. And the theory that God has nothing to do with the affairs of this world, that he has repealed his Decalogue, and that he will not punish those who break it in any of its parts, is the most consummate untruth of all.

On the other hand God has affixed illimitable blessings to the keeping of the fourth commandment, and if the commissioners and directors will immediately resolve, and so announce to the world, that the gates of the Fair shall be closed upon Sunday, and themselves keep that law individually, they may expect to see a cessation of the pestilences with which so many of them and the city of Chicago have been visited; and that the sentiment of the people will be harmonized and greatly strengthened till it shall pervade all classes of the people, throughout the whole United States, in favor of making that Fair far surpass anything of the kind ever before known to the world.

God constantly repeats to nations the test which he put to the Hebrews by the Prophet Elijah on Mount Carmel, and he now calls aloud in thunder tones by his providence in every sky which limits the human vision in all parts of these United States: Which is God? Is your idol Baal, God? Or, is God the Lord Almighty, Glorious and Blessed for ever?

The Baalites were slain.

History repeats itself.

This shows that there is absolutely nothing in all that has been said about the preservation of the "American Sabbath" and the "civil Sabbath." The American Sabbath Union now demands, through its President, who is editor and proprietor of the *Mail and Express*, not only that Sunday shall be recognized as a religious institution, but that it shall be recognized as a divine institution.

Principle and Expediency.

HUMAN action may be either ruled by principle or swayed by expediency. There are persons whose one great question is, What is right? If they know what is right, they know what to do. "Right wrongs no man." Right will stand. The right road is the safe road, and when once these men have settled what is the right course, they have no further concern in the matter.

There are other persons who consider mainly what is expedient, what will please those whom they desire to please; what course will avoid offense; what will be

likely to make trouble; what will naturally tend to further their personal aims and secure their personal advantage.

Some of the greatest wrongs that have ever been done have been done under plea of expediency. The high-priest said "that it was expedient that one man [Christ] should die," "and that the whole nation perish not." The one Man died, but the nation *did* perish, as a consequence of disregarding righteousness and shedding the innocent blood of that one Man. So, many wrongs have been perpetrated, simply on the ground of expediency, until honest men have warred against them and driven them away. Expediency is the plea of the multitude; principle is the strength of the few.

If matters are to be settled by vote, the majority will carry the day; if they are to be settled on grounds of right, then one who is right is stronger than a thousand who are wrong. Great bodies often proceed on the principles of expediency. They must carry with them a majority; there are vested rights, and ancient privileges, and hoary abuses, and things which render it inexpedient for them to take the course which conscience dictates and which might alienate their friends. They are strong because their strength is numerical. With them the question of majorities and finances are the great questions. If men, no matter how ignorant or incompetent, can be persuaded to indorse a certain course, then they are secure, for they have a majority with them. They can do nothing without majorities, and so they do whatever majorities will approve. The man of principle has one question to ask concerning every matter, that is, "Is it right? Is this thing the right thing to do? If it is, do it; if not, let it alone."

The man of principle may be mistaken, he may sometimes be wrong through error of judgment. The man of policy may sometimes be right, when it seems politic and profitable. The man of principle will correct his wrong when he sees it, but the man of policy is likely to turn from the right if he can make or gain anything by so doing.

It is of the utmost importance that men, who are in unpopular minorities, hold fast to the principles of right, and educate all who are under their influence to steadfast adherence to right principles. This is their only security. If they descend to the lower grounds of policy and self-interest, they are gone. They can not compete with others on those grounds. Others have more friends, more money, and more inducements, and unless their friends and supporters are trained to stand for the right, they will not stand at all.

It is a glorious thing to be on the right side, to know that one's ways please God, and to walk in paths of righteousness, upheld by the faith of Christ and the power of God. The Lord stands by the men who are content to stand with him,

though they stand alone. He who has said, "thou shalt not follow a multitude to do evil," gives honor to those men who are content to accept the losses and crosses, the disabilities and the sufferings, that come through steadfast adherence to the principles of truth and righteousness. Under the lead of expediency great majorities may be assembled, great masses may be organized, and great things may be done; but work done for God single-handed and alone, remains when the work of majorities and of crowds has passed away with the men who did it, and perished with the things that were.—*The Christian*.

Needs no State Aid.

CHRISTIANITY will prosper and do her work for good morals and virtue, without the aid of the State. She will find her way into families, schools, counties, and scatter her blessings through her agencies, and all the better for being left to herself. When she leans on the sword, her side is in danger of being pierced; when she rests her royal head in the lap of a worldly State, she is plundered of the golden locks of her strength. Christianity is of God, and she lives by laying hold of him; and grows by self-denial and self-sacrifice. The State need not distrust her, nor provide for her, for Christianity gains most when she gives most, and she gives most when she feels most the need of giving. Jesus said, "My kingdom is not of this world: if my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight. . . . I am a king. To this end was I born, and for this cause came I into the world, that I should bear witness unto the truth."

Pilate was convinced by the divine bearing and candor of the Son of man, that whatever might be his authority, whether real or imaginary, it had reference to religion, and not to the State; it rested in no degree upon the secular arm, and contemplated in no case an appeal to the secular power. And this testimony of Jesus was in perfect harmony with the whole tenor of his life and teaching. He took no step to connect his cause with the State as such. He threw out no hint that it needed the support of the civil power. He provided for no statesmen or soldiers, or supreme judges to carry on his work as such, but only provided for preachers and teachers.

The kingdom of Christ is independent of the State, ruling in a higher sphere and with a view to higher interests, having laws and forces of its own that agree in character and work in harmony to the same great end, and that any attempt to unite the two will be attended with danger to the higher, if not to the lower.—*Rev. T. D. Peake*.

"BE intolerant of nothing but intolerance."

NATIONAL
RELIGIOUS LIBERTY ASSOCIATION.



DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES.

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

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What They Are Doing.

THE Executive Committee of the National Reform Association lately met in the Young Men's Christian Association parlors, Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, and its Secretary reported, among other things, that a letter "had been manifolded by the typewriter and mimeograph and sent to more than ten hundred and fifty pastors," asking them for "a sermon in behalf of the cause and a collection for its treasury."

There has also been undertaken "a registration or enrollment of the friends of the cause, by States and counties, preserving thus for reference and constant use the names and addresses of those who are reported by workers in the field or are ascertained by correspondence to be devoted to these principles and willing to cooperate in the work. Blanks have been printed and ruled for this purpose capable of enrolling twenty thousand names showing addresses, and church connection of every one," etc.

A letter is also about to be sent to judges of the State and Federal courts, "with reference to the propriety of prayer in courts of justice," and "asking co-operation to make this observance general."

It was also reported that the Sabbath Observance Department of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union had joined with the National Reform Association in a letter to the Evangelical Alliance, at its world's conference, in Florence, Italy, asking that the Alliance unite with them in petitioning for the closing of the World's Fair, in Chicago, on Sunday. Of the movement started by the *Christian Statesman* to establish another powerful and important branch of the National Reform Association in an Association of the Editors of Religious Newspapers, the report says:—

It is believed that such an organization, with an annual conference for the discussion of matters pertaining to our common Christianity, would af-

ford a noble opportunity for the advocacy of important truth. . . . Several of the editors of religious newspapers in Philadelphia united in an invitation to all of their associates to meet in the office of the *Christian Statesman* and consider the proposal. At this meeting nine religious papers were represented, and a committee was appointed to confer with the editors of religious newspapers throughout the United States, and, if the response should be favorable, to call a general preliminary conference to make arrangements for the first general meeting.

Anent this Association the *Christian at Work* remarks:—

A movement having its genesis in Philadelphia, has been started for the formation of an association of editors of religious journals and periodicals. That such a movement contains possibilities for enlarged usefulness is undoubted. During the last score of years religious and social problems have come to the front as never before. . . . With nearly five hundred distinctively religious publications in the country, and with so much influence certainly in the religious press, the suggestion for an association of the editors of these publications seems to be timely and auspicious. It is certainly to be desired that editors should be in closer touch with each other, and be enabled to confer as to the best methods of securing greater efficiency for their work. The organization, we may add, should be practical and not merely ornamental, and should seek to accomplish definite results. . . . We hope to hear from this committee at an early date, and trust we shall soon see the projected association in a fair way to become an accomplished fact.

Reports From the Field.

H. F. PHELPS, of Brainerd, Minnesota, a worker in the National Religious Liberty Association, sends in the following from letters recently received in response to circulars and literature sent out:—

The following is from a lawyer: "Any legislation, either State or national, tending to secure or favor any religious sect or creed, either in church or school, ought to be opposed, and given no rest, by every lover of constitutional liberty, whatever his political or religious faith may be. Make life for it impossible."

Another, a minister, writes: "I will hasten to reply, and it will take but few words either; I can do it all in two; viz., 'I Agree,' or, to use your own words, keep Church and State forever separate."

Another writes: I agree with the principles of the Association. It will be a sad day for the country when the State shall dictate our religion for us.

A County Commissioner writes: "I will do all I can to set this matter before the people in its true light. Anything I can do, be assured, I am willing to do."

Another says: "I am in sympathy with all the principles of the Association."

A postmaster writes: "We should consider that the rights of conscience are a great thing. I received your letter and leaflets. The neighbors took quite an interest in the matter, and wanted me to get petitions signed. All of your papers are grand."

Another County Commissioner says: "I received your letter of a late date, and I thank you very much for the reading matter. It is excellent: just to the point. I am very much interested in this question, and think the Constitution is all right as concerns religion."

MAN may be caged or persecuted by his fellow-men, but thought is free and will still roam at large.—*Sturdy Oak*.

REV. W. F. CRAFTS, in his lecture tour is now making his way through Iowa. A short time since he spoke in the lively little city of Washington, on his favorite hobby of closing all the stores, saloons, etc., on Sunday. The editor of the *Washington Press* made quite an extended comment on his work from which we select the following paragraphs:—

If this one man can make it so that 500 men in this orderly city, representing 3,000 people, can't get a letter or paper on Sunday; that is if he can regulate their conduct in these two respects, he could on precisely the same grounds and methods of procedure go a few steps further and regulate all our doings on that day—pen us up in our grounds, for example, or make us go to church, or make us do anything. We say he has no business to meddle with us in any respect. We are not poor fools; we are not little children unable to prescribe our conduct—Who made this New Yorker a pope, a dictator, a critic, a censor for the people of Washington, Iowa? Nobody, except those among us who fall into his trap. . . .

It makes us tired to see these folks who have such an insatiable passion to regulate somebody. . . . Are we not capable of self-government? of regulating our own conduct? Of doing our duty and of respecting the feelings of others?—Let's stand, each on our own feet, use our own heads, and be men and women.

The *Sigourney, Iowa, Review*, under the caption of "Too Much Brother's Keeper," offered some excellent comments on the article in the *Press*. The following are some of the statements of the *Review*:

This question promises to become a prominent one in the politics of this country before long. Christ told his disciples that his kingdom is not of this world, and again and again warned them against any attempts to advance His spiritual government by force and the strong arm of the law. Christ seemed to prefer the cheerful, voluntary service of free men rather than the blind and servile obedience of slaves. But the Christian world has made rapid strides since the dawn of the Christian era, and the slow process of the elevation of fallen man by the cultivation of the nobler promptings of the heart, as taught by Christ, are becoming obsolete, and the rapid process of rushing mankind through the pearly gates in job lots, by legal enactment, has almost entirely suspended the system of free grace.

It seems, in this generation, that when a man experiences religion, . . . he gets it into his head that he ought to be his brother's keeper, and regulate the life and habits of his fellow man, and make them conform to his own. There is a principle in human nature that makes us delight in having everybody else do as we do, and we are very indignant when they decline our suggestions, and propose to follow the dictates of their own judgment.

This class of reformers is becoming quite numerous just now. They are clamoring for a national law to give them the power to stifle freedom of conscience in spiritual matters, to fine and imprison men like Mr. King, of Tennessee, who have read their Bible by the light of reason, and arrived at a different reckoning, and prefer to be governed by their own individual judgment in such matters, rather than whims that more accomplished wire-working zealots have bulldozed the body politic into engraving into law.

Sunday, May 3, Mr. Crafts was in Des Moines and presented his usual plea for Sunday laws. The friends of religious liberty were on hand with a good supply of literature so that the people might see both sides of the question. He promises to spend several weeks yet in Iowa.

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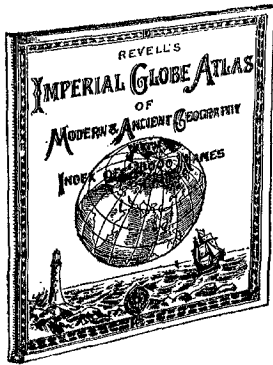
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IS THE PAPACY IN PROPHECY?

BY THE

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, MAY 28, 1891.

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THE Woman's Christian Temperance Union, of Bradford, Pennsylvania, have recently circulated a petition in that place asking the City Council to close all places of business on Sunday. It has created considerable discussion of the subject in that vicinity, but the City Council are as yet undecided.

THE *Mail and Express* finds fault with Professor Briggs because he declared that if the church tribunals decided against him he would appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States. Editor Shepard says:—

What a disgrace it is to the Union Theological Seminary that their whimsical Professor Briggs should throw his arms about the Presbytery and shout out that he appeals to the civil power! . . . Dr. Briggs wishes now to make his attempt to unite Church and State by showing that he can use the sword against his brethren of the Presbytery.

And yet the *Mail and Express* insists that Sunday laws, the exemption of church property from taxation, religious services in the public schools, etc., have in them no elements of a union of Church and State! Marvelous are the distinctions made by National Reformers!

On the 18th inst., the trustees of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, in this city, decided by a vote of twelve to four to open the Museum on Sunday from 1 o'clock P. M. until half an hour before sunset.

The petition for Sunday opening had 30,000 signatures. Among the signers were the following ministers: Rev. W. S. Rainsford, Rev. David H. Greer, Rev. Lyman Abbott, Rev. Theodore C. Williams, Rev. R. Heber Newton, Rev. H. Morton Reed, Rev. Edward B. Brady, Rev. A. B. Hart, Rev. Anthony Lammel, Rev. William C. French, Rev. S. W. Young. The counter petition, that against Sunday opening, bore the names of thirty-eight ministers.

One of the reasons urged against opening the Museum on Sunday, was, that to open the museums on Sunday seems to them to be a perilous experiment opening the way to Sunday theaters and operas, beer gardens, music and dance halls, and the other features of what is called a continental Sunday, thus compelling a large class to work on that day for the pleasure of others, breaking down the principle of the equal right of all to the Sunday rest and impairing that

popular reverence for the Lord's day, which experience in Europe and our Western cities clearly proves to be the one effective defense of Sunday as a rest day.

The petition for Sunday opening was accompanied by a communication from the Central Labor Union declaring that it was approved by all the labor unions. There was also a petition of the Working People's Committee, Charles B. Storer, Secretary. This petition says that "while certain 'ladies' and 'gentlemen'" have been circulating a petition for Sunday opening, workmen and working women, who know what they are asking for, have done the same thing independently and have obtained the indorsement of organized labor. The petition says that "the statement that workmen don't want the Metropolitan Museum open on Sunday is false. To the argument that Sunday opening will tend to make Sunday another day of labor, the New York workman replies that he is prepared to prevent any such intrusion on his rights. As he is now able to determine the number of hours he shall labor a day, so can he also determine the number of days he shall labor in the week."

By Sunday opening, the Museum will lose a few small bequests made upon condition that it should not be open the first day of the week.

ANIMADVERTING upon the President's failure to keep Sunday at Glenwood Springs according to the National Reform order, and the reasons for that failure, the *Christian Statesman* says:—

The highest respect which the people of Colorado could have shown the President would have been by respecting his well known convictions and wishes concerning the Sabbath rest. But they must have their gala day, even at the expense of the man whom they professed to honor. They could not forego the opportunity to press upon his mind their free silver coinage ideas. They invaded his private car with delegations as soon as he had risen in the morning. They pursued him with their attentions all day long, until he felt compelled to make a start on his journey in order to escape them. In so doing he set a much-to-be-regretted example to the assembled thousands who witnessed his departure. And we can not refrain from adding that if the President had halted his train at midnight Saturday, and passed the Sabbath quietly on a siding west of Glenwood Springs, he would have administered a deserved reproof to the crowd who were waiting to rob him of his day of rest. The necessity of law for the protection of every citizen in his right to the boon of the Sabbath was never more clearly illustrated. The very people who cheered the President's remarks in favor of the Sabbath were trampling all day long on his right to the day, and on the rights of all who that day were constrained to serve their pleasure or their convenience.

We may misunderstand the *Statesman*, but it would seem that our contemporary thinks there should be a law forbidding people to call upon the President on Sunday, and possibly a clause forbidding the President to receive visitors upon that day. If Mr. Harrison had been exceedingly anxious to enjoy a quiet Sunday he

might, as the *Statesman* suggests, have had his car side-tracked west of Glenwood Springs instead of spending four hours of Sunday traveling to reach that place. But Mr. Harrison did not see fit to do that way, and we can not agree that the civil law ought to undertake to answer the petition, "Lead us not into temptation." The President spent the first four hours of Sunday in getting into the way of temptation, and we doubt if any amount of civil law would have altered the case in the least.

Or does the *Statesman* wish to be understood as intimating that the President would have had more respect for a civil law than he has for what he understands to be a divine law? If the *Statesman* does not mean this, we fail to see the clearness of the illustration.

THE *Independent* has the following note concerning the World's Fair:—

It is stated that Mr. Thomas A. Edison has used his influence with the Directors of the World's Fair in favor of Sunday opening. At the same time we hear it said that an ex-Postmaster General, who was largely instrumental in having the Fair given to Chicago, regards it as a foregone conclusion that its gates will be opened on Sunday. We believe that the Directors are disposed to decide the matter as Mr. Edison and the ex-Cabinet officer have indicated. It is well for the friends of the Sabbath to know that they must use the most strenuous efforts if they would prevent this intended desecration. The weight of influence on the wrong side is heavy. All who are engaged in Sunday traffic are glad of the opportunity to express their views against Sabbatarianism, as they call it, and the Directors themselves want the gate money which Sunday opening would be sure to bring them. Resistance to Sunday opening must become more resolute, or the enemies will be victorious. The arguments seem to us to be all on one side, and the public should be so plied with them that it will make its opinion felt. The only two classes likely to hail Sunday opening with satisfaction are those who expect to make money out of it and the rumsellers.

It would be interesting to know to which of the two classes, mentioned by the *Independent*, Mr. Edison and the ex-Cabinet officer alluded to belong. The *Independent* does not, however, speak advisedly when it says that only "those who expect to make money out of it and the rumsellers" want the Fair open on Sunday. A closed Fair would insure a Sunday harvest for Chicago saloons, but an open Fair will furnish other attractions for visitors. The zeal of the Sunday-law advocates often runs away with their discretion.

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