



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

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THE trouble with National Reform is not that the Bible is not the word of God, nor that the Christian religion is not true, nor that Christian morality is not superior to all other morality; but that the practical application of the theory would destroy free moral agency, without which Christianity would be utterly meaningless.

THE *Register-Gazette*, of Rockford, Ill., publishes this news item:—

Four Sunday schools up to date have boycotted the steamer *Arrow* on account of Sunday business, Court Street, First Congregational, First Presbyterian, and Westminster.

Such a course as this is the legitimate result of the advice of Mr. Crafts and others to boycott the Columbian Exposition if it opens its doors on Sunday. Sunday laws are un-American, and it is but natural that the imported un-American "boycott" be used in their interest.

"AFFAIRS have taken a curious turn at the Indian Office," says the Washington correspondent of the *Baptist Examiner*. "I told you some time since that about half a million dollars are annually paid out to Catholic contract schools through this bureau. There is a self-constituted organization in our city called the Bureau of Catholic Missions that has been making it pretty hot for Commissioner Morgan ever since he came into office. The result of this was a war between them and a loss of school money to the bureau. The Bureau of Missions through the Catholic press made much capital of this, but its

guns have been spiked by Commissioner Morgan's ignoring the Mission Bureau altogether, and paying the contract money all to the schools. Hitherto it has been understood that the bureau was kept up by commissions drawn from this school money. If that be so it will be hard for them in the future to pay off their clerks, as the contract schools pay out on sworn vouchers."

"Sanitary" Benefits of Sunday Rest, and of Exemptions From It.

QUESTION and answer number four, of that Woman's Christian Temperance Union Leaflet No. 31, which is considered by the Union of so much importance that even a funeral must be made the occasion for its distribution, are as follows:—

4. If one has conscientiously refrained from his work on Saturday, is it not oppressive to make him abstain also on Sunday?

Answer.—To secure the greatest good to the greatest number is, or should be, the aim of law. If to secure this, requires a good building to be exploded to prevent the spread of fire, or compels a man to remove his slaughter house as a sanitary measure, we say it is not oppressive. If to secure a rest day for all, it were necessary to compel all to rest, it would not be oppression; but law is as lenient as possible, and the bill for the national Sunday rest law, following State laws, expressly exempts those who, having conscientiously observed another day, do not by their work disturb others on Sunday.

The governmental principle announced in that first sentence is fully worthy of the cause in behalf of which it is propounded; that is to say, it is utterly false, and the carrying out of it is only wickedness and oppression. It is the same principle that has characterized the oppressive governments of the past, and which was totally revolutionized when our fathers in their immortal Declaration announced to all the world that governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, and to secure the inalienable rights of the people who compose the government. The aim of law and government "is, or should be," ever to secure and maintain the in-

alienable right of each individual to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. The theory of the greatest good to the greatest number is simply that by which a certain class who call themselves the "good" secure control of the governmental power, and compel everybody else to conform to what those persons say is good for them. It is simply the principle of class legislation, and in practice it never can be anything but oppression.

The second sentence simply argues that honest occupations engaged in on Sunday are as dangerous as a raging fire, or as much of a nuisance as an ill-smelling slaughter house. When honest occupations are put in such a category as that, and are forbidden in consequence, then what possible fruit ever could come from it other than confirmed criminality made universal by the law; yet such is the demand that is made in order that Sunday may have free course to run and be glorified. Any institution that requires the employment of such arguments to justify it and such means to uphold it is unworthy of respect or consideration by any human being—and such is just the nature of Sunday from beginning to end.

Mrs. Bateham says that "if to secure a rest day for all, it were necessary to compel all to rest, it would not be oppression." But that does not answer the question. The question is as to whether it is not oppression to compel a man to rest on Sunday who *has already rested* on Saturday. The question is, When a man *has rested*, is it not oppression to compel him to rest over again? When a man has rested to please himself and to please God, then is it not oppression to compel him to rest over again to please somebody else? Upon what sanitary principle is it that the people who observe the seventh day as a day of rest must be compelled to take an additional day of rest? while for those who do not observe the seventh day only one day of rest is sufficient for all sanitary purposes? Are the sanitary benefits of rest on Sunday so transcendent that that single day of rest is not only equal to it-

self but to an additional day of rest by those who observe another day? It is most singular that these people do not get ashamed of that "sanitary" Sunday-rest plea. The phenomenon, however, is explained by that Scripture which declares that "The unjust knoweth no shame."

Yet the answer says that the law is as lenient as possible, and that therefore the national Sunday bill expressly exempts those who have conscientiously observed another day. Now an exemption clause, while it continues virtually destroys the force of Sunday laws. So certainly is this true, that the Sunday laws which now exist with exemption clauses are not enforced to any material extent. In fact the exemption clause so certainly defeats the purpose of the law that the only hope which they have of securing the intent of the Sunday law is to repeal the exemption. The State of Arkansas has the most zealous Sunday observers of any State in the union that has an exemption clause. They secured the repeal of the exemption clause in 1885. Then until 1887 they persecuted those who observed the seventh day to such an extent that one of the chief lawyers of the State said it "shocked the bar of the whole State." In the Legislature of 1887 the bar of the State succeeded in restoring the exemption clause; but in the Legislature of 1889 a strong effort was made again to repeal it, as likewise a similar effort was made in the Legislature of 1891; and although the law so far as it enforced the observance of Sunday upon others, still reads as it always did, yet no effort whatever is made to enforce it; but just as soon as they succeed in repealing the exemption clause, the Sunday will be enforced again in the same old persecuting way upon those who choose to observe the seventh day.

Mrs. Bateham herself knows that if they will have a Sunday law to prove effectual, they will have to secure the repeal of the exemption which they propose, in a very little while. This we know that she knows because it was stated to her personally in such a way that she will never forget it. It was at the hearing before the Senate committee, December 13, 1888, and the following is the record:—

Mr. Jones.—Suppose an exemption clause were given. There are people who would profess to be Seventh-day Adventists for the express purpose of getting a chance to open saloons or houses of business on Sunday. Therefore in outright self-defense, the majority would have to repeal the exemption clause.

Senator Blair.—Call Mrs. Bateham's attention to that.

Mr. Jones.—Let me repeat it. If you give an exemption clause—it has been tried—there are reprehensible men, saloon keepers, who know they will get more traffic on Sunday than they can on Saturday, and they will profess to be Seventh-day Adventists, they will profess to be Sabbath-keepers. You cannot "go behind the returns," you cannot look into the heart, you cannot investigate the intention, to see whether they are genuine in their profession or not. They will profess to be Sabbath-keepers, and then they will open their saloons

on Sunday. Then in outright self-defense, to make your position effective, you will have to repeal that exemption clause. It will last but a little while.

Senator Blair.—I agree with you there.

Mr. Jones.—For that reason these people cannot afford to offer an exemption clause; and for the reason that it puts the majority in the power of our conscience, we deny their right to do anything of the kind. I ask the organizations represented here to think of this after the hearing is over. It will bear all the investigation they choose to give it.

Senator Blair.—I should like to call everybody's attention to the point. If you need any legislation of this kind, you would better ask for legislation to carry out your purposes, and be careful that in the effort to get the assistance of the parties against you, you do not throw away the pith and substance of all for which you ask.

Perhaps some one may remark that if the exemption clause virtually defeats the purpose of Sunday laws, why does not THE SENTINEL, in its opposition to Sunday advocate an exemption. Ah! the same power that can enact an exemption clause can repeal it; and when any one advocates an exemption clause, he allows the principle; and when he allows the principle of the enactment of an exemption clause, he gives the whole case away and robs himself of the right to protest against the repeal of it. If the right to legislate on the question be recognized even to the extent of an exemption clause, then the right having been recognized, the legislative power can proceed to whatever extent it chooses in the exercise of the right which has been conceded.

Next week we shall have a word farther to say upon the exemption which they propose, and will show *why* they propose it, in the face of the knowledge which they possess concerning it.

A. T. J.

Mr. Henry's Sermon.

REV. J. Q. A. HENRY delivered a sermon which has been quite widely circulated in the newspapers under the title, "A Review of God's Day, and What It Should Be to Man." In it he lays down some excellent principles which we wish to compare with others that are about as flatly contradictory as statements could well be made. The article shows conclusively that Sunday laws are wholly in the interests of religion and the church. He began by saying:—

Our appeal for the proper observance of what is familiarly known as the Christian Sabbath, or the Lord's day is based upon the following propositions:

The American Sabbath is a civil institution, recognized and embodied in our law as a conservator of public morals, and as conducive to public order.

How can an appeal for the observance of a Christian institution be based upon the fact that American institutions are civil institutions? Did Christian institutions originate in America? And must we regard the civil power in America as the authority for their observance? Is the United States Government Lord of

the Sabbath? if so, where did it get its authority? Certainly not from the Bible, for that says Christ is Lord of the Sabbath? To plead for the observance of the Christian Sabbath on the authority of civil law, is to argue that the civil power has rightful jurisdiction over the Christian religion; and this is just what Mr. Henry has done. Then he says:—

The claim of the Sabbath as a day of religious culture and worship is laid only on the individual conscience, and is not and can not be enforced by legal statute. It is no part of the Sabbath movement to make people good by law. Sabbaths are not kept by legislative enactments. No attempt is being made to force religion down the throat of men. God only is Lord of the conscience, and has lifted it entirely from the doctrines and commandments of men.

These are sound principles, but they squarely contradict what he said at first, and overthrow the whole theory of Sunday legislation. For, if "the claim of the Sabbath as a day of religious culture and worship is laid only on the individual conscience," and "God only is the Lord of the conscience," then no State has a right to constitute itself Lord of the conscience by requiring such observance. And if "Sabbaths are not kept by legislative enactments," if they "are not, and can not, be enforced by legal statute," it is manifestly wrong to "appeal for the proper observance" on the authority of civil law.

In his argument, Mr. Henry shows very clearly that all Sunday legislation is a direct attempt on the part of the State to control the consciences of men. The only way he can avoid this conclusion is by claiming that the "proper observance" of the "Christian Sabbath" does not mean its religious observance. But there is no observance of any religious institution that is proper, except a religious observance.

In the last quotation the speaker said, "It is no part of the Sabbath movement to make men better by law." Practically, he contradicted this when he said that the Sabbath was "recognized and embodied in our law as a conservator of public morals." To be a conservator of morals, is to be a preserver or keeper of morals. It means that the State, through Sunday laws, undertakes to keep people from growing any worse morally. But whether the State tries to make men better by law, or undertakes to keep them from getting worse, the principle is the same. In both cases, the State assumes jurisdiction over the subject of morals. Here is another proof that Sunday laws have to do with the conscience. Morality is conformity to God's moral law, the ten commandments. This law requires us to love God with all the heart, and our neighbor as ourselves. Thus morality is love and immorality is hatred. These are matters of conscience, conditions of the heart, over which the civil law has no jurisdiction. In his closing paragraph, the speaker him-

self said, that "moral law is but the transcript of the divine nature." This is true; and we hold that it is impossible for the State to put the divine nature into anybody, or to preserve it after it is there. And to undertake such a thing is an insult to conscience, and blasphemy in the sight of God.

Notwithstanding all this, the speaker coolly says, that "no attempt is being made to force religion down the throats of men." O, no; simply an effort to keep the "divine nature" from leaking out of them; that is all. And you might as well cork up a bottle to keep the light in when you are about to carry it into a dark room.

Sunday laws are not "conducive to public order." Those who are compelled to stop work against their will, will make Sunday "a day of deviltry," as has already been complained of in Kings County, New York. Besides, there are laws to enforce public order on all days of the week. The more people who are idle, and are bent on mischief, as the result of Sunday laws, the harder it will be to enforce the laws of public order.

Another argument contained in the sermon was this:—

The Constitution insures a legal right to enjoy the Sabbath day. Every individual, according to the Supreme Court, has the right to the enjoyment of the Christian Sabbath, without liability to annoyance from the ordinary secular pursuits of life, except so far as they may be dictated by necessity or charity.

Yes, the Constitution does insure the right to every man to enjoy the Sabbath day. The Constitution leaves him free to rest, or work, or fish, or to do anything else that will contribute to his enjoyment, so long as he is not uncivil. And no one has the constitutional right to deprive him of his enjoyment by compelling him to rest when he does not want to. To compel one man to lay aside his "secular pursuits" on Sunday in consideration of the religious feelings of another, is to establish the principle that every person has a right to have his religious feelings protected by law. To carry out that principle would absolutely stop all religious work, and shut every man's mouth on the subject of religion; for nothing could be done or said that would be in harmony with the ideas and feelings of everyone; and as surely as their opinions were crossed, their feelings would be disturbed. No error could be rebuked, no truth could be advocated, because somebody's feelings would be disturbed.

The United States Constitution is based upon the principle that "all men are created free and equal;" and it says that no State shall "deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws." According to this principle, if the Christian has a right to keep Sunday "without liability to annoyance from the ordinary secular pursuits of life," the Jew has an equal right to observe Saturday without liability to such annoyance.

"That government under which the rights of all citizens are not equally protected, is organized injustice."

Would Sunday-keeping Christians be willing to lay aside their secular pursuits on Saturday that the observance of the Jews and Seventh-day Christians might be free from all disturbances? Are they ready to apply the Golden Rule, and do as much for others as they ask others to do for them? Here is an excellent chance for them to test themselves, and see whether they are actuated by the spirit of Christianity, or whether they are controlled by a spirit of selfishness and bigotry. Whoever asks another to show more respect for his religion than he is willing to show in return, thereby admits that the other religion is superior to his own. He expects the other man to be more of a gentleman than he is, and to exhibit more benevolence and charity in his deeds. What he admits may or may not be true, but it is an admission, nevertheless

Mr. Henry annihilated the authority of the "civil Sabbath" by the closing words of his sermon. He said:—

All plead, therefore, for the American Sabbath, that it may become a day of rest, of innocent recreation, and of devout worship.

The supreme source for the observance of this day is to be found in the claim of religion and of Christian faith. Moral law is but the transcript of the divine nature. The Sabbath is God's institution; it was made for man; it is the one ordinance which reminds man that he is facing eternity. Sabbath desecration and intemperance are the keenest blades that the enemy of souls has forged against the well-being of humanity. If we can keep the family right on Bible lines, then we shall keep the Church right; and if we keep the Church right, the State will be safe indeed.

Hardly does the speaker finish his plea for the "American Sabbath" before he gives positive proof that it is neither American nor civil. He says that "the supreme source for the observance of this day is to be found in the claims of religion and of Christian faith." If it were an American civil institution, the supreme source of authority for its observance would be found, not in the claims of religion, but in the claims of American civil law. Again, if the Sabbath were a civil institution, there would be no sense in making it a day of "devout worship," unless one desired to worship the State by religiously honoring its institution. But that would be idolatry. There is a vast difference between worshiping God on any day of the week, and worshiping him because the State has set apart that day. Such worship is directed to the State more than it is to God. "know ye not, that to whom ye yield yourselves servants to obey, his servants ye are to whom ye obey?"

To ask that an institution "of devout worship," which finds its supreme source of observance "in the claims of religion," shall be recognized and embodied in law, is to ask that religion be forced upon the

people by law. And that is the purpose of the whole Sunday-law movement. If "the Sabbath is God's institution," as Mr. Henry says, then it does not belong to America; render therefore unto America the things which are America's, and unto God the things that are God's

Finally, Mr. Henry admits that the whole trouble after all is with the family and the Church. If these can be kept right on Bible lines, then, he says, "the State will be safe indeed." Sabbath reform, then, should begin where the difficulty lies, namely, in the family and in the Church. And to ask that the State shall enforce by law the proper observance of the Sabbath, is to request that the State shall undertake to do a work which belongs to the family and the Church, and which they will not do for themselves.

But, further, as all the good that is ever accomplished for Christianity, either by the family or by the Church, comes through the power of God, it is manifest that every effort to have the State undertake such a work, is an effort to substitute the power of the State for the power of God. It puts the State in the place of God as Lord of the conscience; and those who recognize such substitution by rendering obedience to the State in a religious matter, thereby become worshipers of the State instead of worshipers of God. Thus the logical effect of Sunday laws, as well as of all other laws designed to enforce a recognition of religious institutions, is to make the Government an object of worship, and enforce idolatry upon the people.

A. DELOS WESTCOTT.

Where the Difficulty Lies.

A GROWING disregard of Sunday is by no means confined to the United States, nor is it limited to those countries having little or no legislation upon the subject. A late number of the *Christian Commonwealth*, a leading English paper, says:—

Slowly but surely the Continental Sunday is coming to England. The number of Sunday newspapers is steadily increasing; and, what is more to the point, the number of readers of these papers is rapidly multiplying. Now a new departure is about to be made at the New Gallery. It is proposed to institute a series of "Sunday afternoons," when the gallery will be opened to a limited number of subscribers and their friends. The gallery will be opened from two till seven during the continuance of the annual summer and winter exhibitions, tea being provided for the visitors.

This is only one of the many facts that might be cited in England to show that the same tendencies are seen there as in this country. And even Scotland, that country far-famed for its strict Sunday observance and for rigid laws upon the subject, is relaxing something of its old-time strictness, or rather the people are, and yielding to the seductions of the "Continental Sunday." A recent report to the General Assembly of Scotland, the highest church court in that country

where Presbyterianism is the established religion, declares that football and cricket have done much harm "by the Sabbath indolence and neglect of ordinances which exhausted nature exacts from their votaries."

The report also says that in one county especially "the pernicious custom of visiting friends and places of interest on the Lord's day is rapidly spreading." And in another section "frivolous and purely worldly conversation on the Lord's day is common." The liquor traffic too seems to be active there as elsewhere, while the "sin of half-hearing" (going to church only in the forenoon) and neglect of the prayer meeting are sapping the life of the church.

A similar condition of affairs in this country is attributed by many to lax Sunday legislation, and to a total or partial failure to enforce existing laws upon the subject; but this is a mistake. As before intimated, neither England nor Scotland is lacking in the matter of Sunday laws, nor in official recognition of God as the source of civil authority. So far as civil law can make nations Christian these countries are Christian.

The truth of the matter is that civil laws have nothing to do with morals or religion, and instead of Sunday "desecration" being due to the absence of Sunday laws it is due to the low religious condition of the people; and no amount of civil law can possibly improve that condition or make the people more religious. Of course it naturally follows that the only way to secure better Sabbath observance is to make the people more religious, and this can be done only by teaching them the gospel.

C. P. B.

"Explorations."

THE careful attention of the reader is invited to this article from the *Christian Nation*, and also to a brief comment upon it on the last page of this paper:—

"Ever since the bold navigators pushed across the Atlantic and discovered a new world beyond the Pillars of Hercules, men have sought through polar ice, the North West Passage. One after another they have made the trial and the wrecks which strew those frozen shores remain as a monument to blighted hope.

"Such a quest has long been carried on to find a religious acknowledgment in the Federal Constitution. Notwithstanding the fact that the Constitution itself directly prohibits such a feature the search has been continued under discouragements which would have dissuaded a Kane or a Franklin.

"The Constitution is not a large territory. It is composed of seven articles and fifteen amendments. This is all there is of it. It is shorter and more instructive than the President's message, more talked

of and less read than any document in the country.

"It is given by the people for the direction of the Federal Government. From this document alone it receives its authority to act. Cooley states, 'It (the Government) derives its powers from the grant of the people, made by the Constitution, and they are all to be found in the written law and *not elsewhere.*' Webster says, 'powers are enumerated but not defined.' Chief Justice Marshall writes, 'Every power alleged to be vested in the national Government, or any organ thereof, must be affirmatively shown to have been granted.' From these the rule may be deduced that every power not enumerated is forbidden. Where then is the enumerated power in the Constitution, which 'compels' Christian legislation?

"It might be well first of all to consider the clause of the Constitution which prohibits any Christian feature in the fundamental law, for it is the rock on which those explorers, who escaped the other perils of the voyage, have met their fate. 'No religious qualification shall ever be required for any office or public trust under the United States.' Some have claimed that this clause means 'no denominational test,' etc. Its interpretation at the time of framing the Constitution is well set forth by an amendment proposed by South Carolina. The Legislature of this State wished to amend this clause so that it would read, 'no *other* religious qualification,' holding that the so-called oath which precedes was a 'religious qualification.' Could an oath be considered as a 'denominational' qualification?

"What Christian denomination would consider the oath a 'test'? The oath as it should be, is not a denominational but a religious act. But South Carolina was shown that the oath as administered had not a religious character and the clause remained unchanged.

"To whom would a religious clause in the Constitution become a test?—To the infidel, to the atheist, to the Jew. Every one who holds 'an office or trust under the United States' swears to this Constitution and all that it contains. If it had a single Christian feature, no unbeliever could hold office under the general Government. Would these classes swear to the very thing which they deny? It is an impeachment on their honesty. The infidel framers of the Federal Constitution who considered prayers 'unnecessary' did not propose to make one that would disfranchise themselves. They made such a thing impossible by express prohibition of religion. But the 'supreme law of the land' does not leave us without another witness for this interpretation. As the 'test' clause prohibits religion in the Constitution, the treaty with Tripoli states the fact in the case. It reads, 'As the Government of the United States of America is not in *any sense* founded on

the Christian religion; it has in itself no character against the laws and religion of Mussulmen.'

"It is necessary to go no further to show that without amendment, there can be no Christian acknowledgment, much less authority for Christian legislation in the Federal Constitution. But it may be interesting to examine some of the alleged discoveries.

"The first in frequency and unimportance is the date in the Constitution and in various parts of the 'supreme law.' This is an unquestioned fact. The Constitution itself goes so far as to say, 'In the year of our Lord.' This it is claimed is a Christian acknowledgment.

"One can imagine the religious feeling with which Jefferson would date the Declaration of Independence after having written his Creator's name as 'god' in the body of that paper. What a solemn emotion must have thrilled the soul of Ingersoll as he dated the contract by which the Star Route thieves made over to him a large tract of land in New Mexico, in return for efforts in their behalf. If this be true, every time an infidel dates a letter he acknowledges the Lord.

"But there are some other dates in the 'supreme law.' The Treaty of Tripoli just quoted is dated, 'the 3d day of Jumad in the year of the Hegira 1211.' Another with Morocco is signed, 'At our court of Morocco on the twenty-fifth day of the blessed month of Shaban.' Now, if one dating recognizes Christianity, the other does the same for Mohammedanism. This is a dilemma for the explorer.

"The second discovery of Christian acknowledgment is in Section VII., 'If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sunday excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law.' It is evident that this has no reference to Congress but to the President alone. It does not refer to him in all his duties, but only in one, that of considering a bill. It does not even authorize much less compel him to give that day to others. Where is his grant of power for such action? All his powers are 'enumerated' in the Constitution. Where is the clause which 'compels' him to give 'Sunday' to any one? It allows it to the President and that is all.

"But is it a Christian acknowledgment? 'Sunday' is not the Christian name of any day in the week. If there is anything in the name it must be an acknowledgment of some heathen religion. Certainly not Christianity.

"Sunday is simply a legal holiday allowed to the President himself, in one of his functions. It rests on no higher basis than the 'Sunday laws.' Is that any recognition of the Lord of the Sabbath? Let the decisions of the courts answer the question. That which the courts have regarded as the basis of these laws Judge

Cooly condenses in a sentence in which they are regarded 'as a sanitary regulation based on the demonstration of experience that one day's rest in seven is needful to recuperate the exhausted energies of mind and body.' Is 'a sanitary regulation' a Christian acknowledgment? The 'Sunday' allowed to the President rests on the same basis as a small-pox quarantine. Tekel.

"The third discovery to be noted is that clause usually termed the oath. 'I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States and will to the best of my ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States.' This is not a form but the prescribed constitutional form of the oath. A proper oath has a religious character. Webster defines it 'as a solemn affirmation or declaration made with an appeal to God for the truth of what is affirmed.' In this prescribed form there is no such appeal, it has no religious character, and is not properly an oath at all. The President may mentally or aloud add 'so help me God,' or 'Gambinus,' if his internal constitution demands it, but he does it on his own responsibility. The Constitution of the United States makes no reference to God or religion. 'We the people' are the only god of the Constitution.

"Another equally important 'find' is in Amendment I. 'Congress shall make no law respecting religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.' A late writer in the *Christian Nation* speaks of this clause as 'directly maintaining the sway though free in its exercise of the Christian faith, etc.' This is not complimentary to Congress. How can prohibiting Congress from legislating on a subject 'maintain its sway.' Why did not Blair find out that the way to maintain the sway of education was to keep Congress from making laws on the subject? It is not yet too late.

"Some have taken 'religion' in the sense of 'denomination' which would make the last clause read 'prohibiting the free exercise' of a 'denomination.' The 'exercise' of a horse is reasonable but the former use of the word may be doubted. The meaning here is the same as in the 'test clause.' Religion means religion. The framers of the Constitution knew what they were talking about. This clause declares that Congress shall 'make no laws respecting religion.' As shown before, Congress cannot legislate on any subject without a grant of power. Where is that grant? The 'test clause' prohibits it. The treaty quoted shows that it does not exist. Religion meant the same one hundred years ago that it does to-day.

"The Constitution forbade Congress to make laws respecting religion. That belongs to the sphere of State legislation. Cooley says, 'The making provisions for

education, for the protection of personal liberty, and liberty of worship—all these powers were withheld from the jurisdiction of the Federal Government, and retained by the States.'

"A somewhat remarkable religious acknowledgment is claimed to lie in that region known as Amendment VII. The clause in question reads, 'No fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States than according to the rules of common law.' This recognizes that in certain cases the common law rules in the courts. Christianity is said to form a part of the common law. Through this means the Constitution recognizes Christian precepts as binding on the Government.

"This looks plain enough but there are some difficulties to be explained. The common law of Louisiana is largely derived, through its early inhabitants, from the Roman law. Heathenism formed a part of the Roman law and therefore of the common law of Louisiana. So if the Constitution through this amendment recognizes Christianity it must recognize heathenism as well. The Constitution is not partial in such a matter as religion. The next objection is found in the fact that this gives no 'power' to President, Congress, or the courts. It refers only to the latter and is a *restriction* of power.

"If further proof be needed for the statement that this amendment neither 'compels' nor authorizes Christian legislation on the part of the Government of United States, it is found in the fact that the common law is no part of the Federal Constitution. Let it be bound as a frontlet between the eyes that the Federal Constitution is all comprised in seven articles and fifteen amendments. Here alone is there to be found any grant of power to the Federal Government. The common law is no part of it, common laws belong to the States. Cooley states 'Each of the several States has a common law of its own, the United States as such can have no common law.'

"Concerning the latest and most original discovery it is stated: 'Amendments in consistency with the moral principle of Christian precept alone recognized in Sec. IX. clause I., prohibiting the slave trade after 1808, etc.' Surely the wheels of progress have rolled backward a thousand years to find in this grant to slave dealers of another generation of traffic in the bodies of men a 'moral principle of Christian precept.' To what age does it belong? But did this cause prohibit the slave trade? The framers of the Constitution did not know it. Congress did not know it, for it passed in March 1807 a law making it unlawful after January 1, 1808. The best refutation of the discovery is found in the clause referred to which reads, 'The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit shall

not be prohibited by Congress prior to the year 1808.'

"Nigh unto seventy times seven have these claims been reported and as often proved false, yet to-morrow some American Archimedes will shout 'Eureka' and appear with some resurrected claim of Christianity in the Constitution.

"It is not the intention of this article to deprecate what is commendable in the Constitution. As a purely secular Constitution of government it has no superior among the nations; but its value is not enhanced by ascribing to it a character which it never had nor was intended to have. The fact remains, that if by some Circean spell the people of this country were suddenly changed into followers of the Prophet of Medina it would not necessitate any change in the 'supreme law of the land.' To the enemies of the Nazarene this is its glory.

"With due deference to the explorers of the past and of the future, it must be said that all discoveries of Christianity in our present Constitution are what Ingalls, in a happier time before the Kansas breezes brought to him the 'winter of his discontent,' might have called 'an iridescent dream.'"

"IN 1879," said Colonel Shepard to a reporter, "I was in Paris with a party of friends one Sunday; they invited me to go with them to Longchamps to see a review of the races. I declined, saying I would rather go to church, and I did. My friends went. The day being a drizzling one, one of the ladies took sick. . . . Now, the next year in Paris I attended a review of the troops. It was a week day, and a beautiful day it was. . . . I did not catch cold, and I was paid for keeping the Sabbath."

These characteristic remarks were with reference to the impropriety of opening the Museum of Art on Sundays. Perhaps no one but the bluff, plain-spoken Colonel would have stated the argument so simply and directly, but there are, probably, many worthy people who are unconsciously influenced by somewhat similar reasoning. An immediate interposition of Providence is seen in the ordering of the weather, which is not seen in the appointing of horse-races. The hand of God is in the one, while the hoof of the devil is in the other. Then there follows, to the minds of unlearned but devout persons, a logical connection between the weather and the races, and finally a providential relation between these two happenings and the casual presence or absence of the devout person himself. Is not this, too, one of the infinite and protean manifestations of human vanity?—*New York Sun*.

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NATIONAL
Religious Liberty Association



DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES.

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

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THE Spanish Prime Minister is interesting himself in the passage of laws by the Cortes "securing Sunday rest for workmen."

THE *Christian Nation* opposes the use of cars on Sunday even for the purpose of going to meeting. It is, says the *Nation*, "paying the devil toll to get to church."

A CORRESPONDENT from Atchison, Kansas, writes:—

Rev. W. F. Crafts spent June 21-24 at Atchison. The friends of Religious Liberty greeted him with a supply of good literature, to which he responded with warmth. He seemed to regard the opposition of the principles he advocates as an unwarranted personal insult that should not be tolerated.

THE liquor interest may yet array itself on the side of Sunday laws, and the Sabbath Observance Department of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union find in it an unexpected ally. As an evidence of this possibility the liquor dealers of Tacoma, Wash., when compelled to close on Sunday assisted zealously in the enforcement of Sunday closing upon all business men of the place. Are Miss Willard and Mrs. Bateham ready to usher in the National Reform millennium hand in hand with the saloon keeper, and for a mess of Sunday pottage sell out the birth-right of the temperance cause?

A SUBSCRIBER writes from Excelsior, Wash., that the Sunday question is a live issue there. A new organization has been formed, called the "Anti-Sunday Saloon Association," composed principally of ministers and church people. A number of saloon-keepers have been indicted for violating the State Sunday law. The saloon men in town say they will enforce the law against all other kinds of business

forbidden by it. When they have accepted this alliance with the saloonists to secure general Sunday observance, how will the ministers and church people and Christian Temperance Union women have the face to turn upon their friends, made respectable by association with themselves in the zealous enforcement of Sunday laws and by the discrimination of that law itself, and antagonize them?

In the *Arena* for May is an article from the pen of B. O. Flower, in which he says:

In the sunshine of liberty I see a growing world. In the radiance of her smile man triumphs over error and superstition. But in the shadow of paternalism progress has ever withered, science has been a fugitive, and the vanguard of civilization have suffered ignominious death. No lesson is more impressively taught by the ages than that science, progress, and human unfoldment move in the wake of liberty. I have no faith in any theory of government that distrusts human freedom. I believe that no enduring progress or true civilization can be builded on other foundation than liberty and justice.

THE South Dakota Sabbath Observance Association has elected twelve vice-presidents, eleven county secretaries, and a legislative committee of five. Eleven ministers were "authorized to hold Sabbath reform meetings and form local rest-day leagues or Sabbath committees in the name of the State association all over the State." This systematic organization is progressing continually. When it is too late the people of this country will discover, with astonishment, that their city councils, town and county boards, legislatures, and even Congress itself, are controlled by the Church committee.

THE American Sabbath Union will hold a "Sabbath observance" meeting in the auditorium, Chautauqua, Sunday, August 9; and on the 11th the State Sabbath Committee of New York will meet on the assembly grounds to complete the organization of the committee. These associations are making themselves heard in the different Chautauqua assemblies, in the Christian Endeavor Conventions, and everywhere throughout the country where instrumentalities are at work for the promotion of mental or religious growth. Do those who realize the errors which they teach appreciate the meaning of this?

REV. L. W. MUNHALL says in the *New York Observer*:—

Together with my family I spent two weeks in New Orleans nearly six years ago, at the time the Great Southern Exposition was in full blast. Not one of us went near it, and only because it kept open doors on Sunday. When the question of Sunday opening of the Columbian Exposition was first broached, I resolved never to visit it though I expect to be in Chicago a number of times during the year 1893, and to use my personal influence against it if it is opened on the Lord's day.

How innocently, deliciously egotistic this is! One remembers the financial disaster which befell the New Orleans Exposition, and trembles for the World's Fair.

Dr. George and the Sunday Law.

THE Utica Auxiliary of the American Sabbath Union has been holding a series of meetings at Utica. The *Daily Press* gives reports of the addresses. It quotes Rev. H. H. George as saying in reference to the business man, who receives letters on Sunday:—

Why doesn't he act on the letters and bill the orders they contain?—Because the law won't allow him to do it.

Will business men universally plead guilty to Dr. George's indictment, and confess that the only question in their minds as to what they may or may not do is, Will the law allow it? If the word of this minister, who is Assistant Secretary of the American Sabbath Union, and a man who has had opportunity of extended observation among the church people of the country, is to be taken, then there is indeed a serious lack of conscientious principle among church members in the business world, which Sunday laws, however strict, can scarcely be expected to remedy.

Dr. George says further of the Sunday mail:—

Congress should stop it. It can be done and should be. When we have such men as Mr. Wanamaker in the post-office, and Mr. Harrison, an elder in the Presbyterian church, as President, it can be done if the fifteen million Christians of the country will stand by them.

This is equivalent to saying that because the Postmaster-general is a Sunday-school superintendent, and the President a Presbyterian elder therefore they should enforce the religious beliefs of their supposed following, irrespective of the principles of civil rights, or the views of the remaining fifty million.

Dr. George "also spoke against the Sunday excursion trains which run to the Thousand Islands from Utica, and said they were clearly illegal. He quoted from the law as follows: 'Nor shall any person travel on that day [first day of the week, commonly called Sunday], unless in cases of charity or necessity, or in going to or returning from church or place of worship, or going for medical aid,' etc. He said: I believe it wholly feasible to go down to that train next Sunday morning and arrest every man in it. Cries of 'amen!'"

The "amens" were a sufficient evidence of the willingness of these enthusiasts to enforce any law, whatever its character, which shall compel obedience to their interpretation of divine will. But their enthusiasm on this occasion shows a zeal without knowledge, for the Doctor read from the Revised Statutes of 1875 instead of the Penal Code of 1881, which contains the law as it now stands, and by which the clause in reference to traveling is repealed. The law as it stands in the Penal Code of 1881 is a marked survival of the religious laws of mediæval Europe, but still not quite so favorable to these self-constituted constables and sheriffs of the Almighty as they thought. W. H. M.

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NEW YORK, JULY 23, 1891.

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MR. MOODY thinks that the best way to induce people to go to church is to "do away with Sunday newspapers and give the people a chance to attend." In the fourth century the bishops said: Close the Sunday theaters and the people will resort to the churches.

So far is National Reform from taking a summer vacation that it is utilizing the season to the utmost, transforming the various Chautauquas into training schools for National Reform workers. Never in the history of the world were the enemies of religious liberty so universally active as now.

A PUBLIC meeting, said to have numbered three thousand persons, has been held at Ramsgate, England, in favor of "Sunday Observance," at which the magistrates were called upon to interdict all street cries and public noise on Sundays, to close the fish market, and stop the excursions from London. Advices do not state what influence, if any, the recommendation of the meeting had with the authorities.

THE American Sabbath Union had a special representative at the Christian Endeavor Convention at Minneapolis. As a result several meetings were held in the interest of legal Sunday observance, at one of which a resolution was passed looking to the "securing of speedy action from our State Christian Endeavor Unions to bear upon their several commissioners in favor of closing the World's Fair on Sunday." The Christian Endeavor Societies little realize that they are becoming a vast National Reform kindergarten.

THE *Catholic Review* remarks that Catholic educators and others interested in the peaceful settlement of the present difficulties of popular education will find matter for useful discussion in the fact that five Catholic high schools in the State of New York are now integral parts of the State University.

And we may reasonably conclude that the end is not yet. The State and the Church are already in partnership in a good many ways in the State of New York. Every year millions of dollars are paid to various religious institutions, and for years the

matter has been a bone of contention between Catholics and Protestants. The strife has however not been for principle, but for State cash. The contest has been sharp, but the only question has been, Who should have the lion's share of the spoil?

THE Liquor Dealers' Association of Norfolk, Virginia, have joined hands with the Sabbath Union and National Reformers in enforcing the Sunday laws. They have given notice that detectives employed by them have reported several parties selling liquor on Sunday, also that witnesses have been secured, and that competent counsel will be immediately employed to prosecute these Sabbath breakers among their number. So another organization must be added to the long list of those affiliated with the National Reform party,—the Liquor Dealers' Association of Norfolk, Virginia.

THE City Council of Utica, New York, recently suspended the ordinance forbidding Sunday baseball, and again at a subsequent meeting reconsidered their action. As reported, the aldermen seem to have been mainly influenced in this course by the religious feeling and sentiment of fellow-townsmen and church members, instead of a considerate investigation of the civil principles involved. Among all the instances of the agitation of this Sunday question but one City Council has yet discussed the matter as becomes intelligent men and responsible law-makers—that of the city of Bradford, Pennsylvania.

THE article "Explorations," which appears on another page of this paper, is from the *Christian Nation*, of July 8, and is a complete refutation of the constitutional arguments of the Sabbath Unionist and the National Reformers. It is a knock-down blow from their own ranks. Let them all come frankly forward now and acknowledge that it is their intent to subvert the Constitution and present form of Government of the United States, and establish in the place of this "purely secular Constitution," which "has no superior among the nations," a government by religious dogma. The candid among the National Reformers are not attempting to escape from this inevitable dilemma.

There are but two errors noticeable in the article, one of omission and the other of misstatement. The first exists in the failure to show that Sunday and other religious laws had no more place in the State statutes after the adoption of this "purely secular Constitution" than laws concerning the succession to the throne, for they were a survival of the English union of Church and State; and the other is in the next to the last paragraph where it is said, if "the people of this country were suddenly changed into followers of

the Prophet of Medina it would not necessitate any change in the 'supreme law of the land.' To the enemies of the Nazarene this is its glory." This last sentence should read, "To the enemies of the Nazarene this is confusion." It ought not to take much study of Christ's words to prove this to every one who desires to practice the Golden Rule. How much more then should they understand it who wish to be counted devout followers of the humble Nazarene?

THE Industrial Brotherhood of Canada demand among other things "that voting at elections shall be obligatory, no person to have more than one vote, and that the present system of canvassing the electorate be abolished, and it shall be an offense punishable by law to solicit a vote or in any way to try to influence the decision of a voter." Nothing could be more utterly destructive of liberty than this. Some people, as for instance the Reformed Presbyterians in this country, think it wrong to vote. It is their privilege not to do so. Again, to forbid all efforts to influence voters would destroy at once all liberty to discuss political subjects either by voice or pen. Every political speech and every political newspaper article is an attempt to influence voters; and liberty to exert such influence is absolutely essential to free government.

CONTRARY to general expectation, Sunday closing of saloons has not reduced drunkenness in Los Angeles, California. On the contrary it seems to have the opposite effect. A dispatch from that city, dated July 5, and published in the *San Francisco Chronicle*, says:—

During the past few months, in which the Sunday saloon closing ordinance has been in effect, the police report that drunkenness has largely increased. Last month there were one hundred and two arrests for this cause, a greater number than in any month during the past three years. Most of these arrests were made on Sunday.

Commenting upon this an Oakland paper remarks that "Sunday-law agitators are wont to frequently tell us that we can do as much in six days by resting Sunday as we could to work the entire seven; and it will be demonstrated—we wish to their satisfaction—that when Sunday is made a day of enforced idleness, as much whisky will be sold in six days as otherwise would be in seven."

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