

Equal and Exact Justice to all Men, of Whatever State or Persuasion, Religious or Political.—*Thomas Jefferson.*

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THE State knows no such thing as a real distinction between right and wrong. The State only knows *rights* and *wrongs*, and the distinction between these. Men have rights—in the State they have equal rights. For one to infringe the rights of another is to commit a wrong, and the State deals with it only as this kind of a wrong. The State can not make of it any question of real right or wrong in a moral point of view.

I do not believe it is for the interest of religion to invite the civil magistrates to direct its exercises, its discipline, or its doctrines; nor of the religious societies, that the general Government should be invested with the power of effecting any uniformity of time or matter among them. Fasting and prayer are religious exercises: the enjoining them an act of discipline. Every religious society has a right to determine for itself the time for these exercises, and the objects proper for them, according to their own particular tenets; and this right can never be safer than in their own hands, where the Constitution has deposited it.—*Thomas Jefferson.*

THE National Reform theory is that civil government is not a voluntary association, but a divine institution, and that it is clothed with authority and power that transcend all human institutions. Its design, they assert, is not the securing of human rights, but the suppression of wrong and promulgation of good. "Civil government," says Rev. J. M. Foster, one

of the National Reform secretaries, "is the keeper of both tables of the law." But this is most mischievous, for the reason that it makes men judges of that law, and destroys direct individual accountability to God. If God has made the State the custodian of his law, he has also made it the interpreter and expounder of his law, and it is the duty of the people to receive the law from the State. This is substantially the claim made by the Papal Church, a claim which Protestants hold to be blasphemous. But if it be blasphemy when made by a church, is it not even more so when made in behalf of the State?

Constitutional vs. Statutory Law.

In the article entitled "A Constitution Divided Against Itself," in the last issue of this paper it was shown that the fundamental law of the State of Tennessee contained a fatal discrepancy in the antagonism between those sections of the Bill of Rights, treating of freedom of religion and conscience, and sections of a following article which directly contravene these sacred rights which were again, in the sections of a succeeding article, doubly assured by the most solemn legislative reaffirmation known to constitutional form. So serious a flaw as this in the fundamental guaranty of the rights and privileges of the citizens must necessarily extend into that body of statutory law, which is supposed to grow up in complete consonance, in spirit and technical legal agreement, with it. That the statutory law of Tennessee has sections diametrically at variance with Sections 3, 4, and 6 of Article 1, and Sections 15 and 16 of Article 11 of the Constitution of the State, no evidence is needed to prove, other than their quotation. The code of 1884, and the laws of Tennessee 1889, contain the following, bearing upon religious observance:—

Chap. 2, Sec. 2289. If any merchant, artificer, tradesman, farmer, or other person, shall be guilty of doing or exercising any of the common avocations of life, or of causing or permitting the same to be done by his children or servants, acts of real ne-

cessity or charity excepted, on Sunday, he shall on due conviction thereof before any justice of the peace of the county, forfeit and pay \$3.00, one half to the person who will sue for the same, and the other half for the use of the county.

Sec. 2290. Any person who shall hunt, fish, or play at any game of sport, or be drunk on Sunday, as aforesaid, shall be subject to the same proceedings and liable to the same penalties as those who work on the Sabbath.

Sec. 5671. No licensed grocer or other person in this State shall retail spirituous liquors on Sunday. The punishment of this offense shall be fine and imprisonment at the discretion of the court.

Chap. 31, Sec. 1. [Laws of 1889.] *Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Tennessee:* The law of this State prohibiting the sale of liquor on Sunday as compiled in section 5671, of Milliken and Vertree's compilation, be so amended as to prohibit the sale on Sunday of any malt, vinous, fermented or other intoxicating liquors, or to keep open on Sunday any place where such liquors are sold or dispensed, and any person offending shall be punished as provided in said act; provided, that the provisions of this act shall not apply to druggists selling on the prescription of a practicing physician; provided, further, that restaurants and eating-houses where spirituous, vinous, and malt liquors are sold under the license of the law of the State on week days, shall be allowed to conduct their eating department on Sunday, but the barroom shall be closed, and no drinks of any kind sold.

Sec. 3529. Civil process may be issued on the Sabbath, on the application of any party, supported by oath or affirmation, that the defendant is removing, etc.

Sec. 3612. Actions may be abated by plea of the defendant in the following case: Where the process is issued or served on Sunday, except in the cases prescribed in section 2529.

As might be expected, from the constitutional example set, these statutes and laws are not strictly consistent with each other, but while the one forbids the exercising any of the common avocations of life, the other discriminates in favor of law itself and permits the issuance and serving of legal processes in certain specified cases. But this lack of consistency is immaterial, for, in a question of conscience, the interference of civil law is equally an error whether it forbid or enjoin. In this case the statutes do both, and so between the Constitution and the statutory law the entire neutral field is covered, and it has been so contrived that together they have completely nullified that clause of the

Constitution which asserts the freedom of conscience, and the right of the citizen to worship as he wills.

The declaration of rights says, in words which none can mistake, that it is the natural and inalienable right of all men, and of every man, to worship as they will, while the statute declares that all men shall not worship as they will but as the law wills, and it is the will of the law that they shall render the homage of their weekly rest on Sunday, the first day of the week. If the conscience of the Jew, the Seventh-day Adventist, or the Seventh-day Baptist, dictates to him that he shall worship his God by resting from labor on the seventh day, which is the Sabbath of the Lord his God, the statute law of Tennessee interferes and declares that he shall render homage to the statutes of Tennessee, by refraining from work or amusement on Sunday, the first day of the week, the sacred day of the code of Tennessee. Thus the code does "interfere with the rights of conscience" which the Constitution has said is outside the scope of human authority. Ever since the Sabbath law was given to Adam in Eden there have been those upon the earth who have observed it. They who follow that custom belong to the most ancient "religious establishment" and follow the most venerable "method of worship" upon earth, and yet in spite of this, and in defiance of its constitutional declaration, the State of Tennessee not only gives preference to another mode of worship, but at the same time by so doing, selecting the distinguishing difference between the two as a subject of legislation, distinctly discriminates against the older form. Not only therefore are the rights of conscience contravened, but a preference is given, by law, to one religious establishment and mode of worship over another.

Under these statutes numerous convictions have been had of those who profess no religion and have no respect for the sacredness of any divinely appointed rest day; of those who acknowledge a nominal fealty to what they understand to be the Christian religion, and recognize Sunday observance to be its distinguishing outward mark, though they themselves have failed in strict obedience to it; of those who, in spirit and truth, are loyal to their religious convictions, and render their worship to God upon the seventh day which He commanded, thus remembering the Sabbath day—and, holding in mind the frequent divine remonstrances against sun worship, refuse homage to the day which is the sign of that idolatry, and has been from all time the "wild solar holiday." Upon these three classes the statute law of Tennessee bears with equal inequity; so far as the civil discrimination is against them, and in favor of that class, which recognizes the power of the State to establish a religious rest day and acquiesces in the selection of the day of the

sun in which to yield that observance. That the framers of the Constitution of the State of Tennessee dimly perceived the injustice, of which they had convicted the statute law, is in evidence through the insertion, in the Constitution of 1870, of a clause which the previous Constitution did not contain.

ARTICLE 11, SEC. 15. No person shall in time of peace be required to perform any service to the public on any day set apart by his religion as a day of rest.

The perceptions of these legislators were obtuse to the abstract truth of the principles expressed in Section 3 of the Bill of Rights, and they were unequal to a comprehension of their breadth, but they did see that under the existing statute law an injustice was liable to be done, therefore they inserted this clause in the fundamental law. While this only multiplied still farther the legal inconsistencies of civil interference in religious matters, it shows conclusively that they realized wrong might be done under existing laws, and desired to cure the error as far as they saw it.

Under this section equal and exact justice to all, would of course require that no one be compelled, by law, to rest on any day not set apart by his religion as a day of rest, for this clause establishes by inference the fact that, to the minds of those who drew it, whatever day a man's religion set apart for a rest day was his legal Sabbath, and in their minds the one stood in the same relation, legally, to his Sabbath as the other to his Sunday. The logical deduction from this then is, that as no preference can be shown to either religious view, therefore, if one party is restricted from labor on the rest day of the other, then the other must be restricted from labor on the rest day of the first. The legal obligation is mutual, and if the restriction applies in one case it must in the other. But the reduction of this, to its necessary resultant, only adds to the maze of inconsistencies and antagonisms.

The Constitution of the State of Tennessee is, consequently, divided against itself and the statute law of the State is in antagonism to a principle declared constitutionally fundamental. Decisions have been had along the line of these legal deflections, and a body of precedent has grown up in the State reports, which is the accepted law of the courts, and is now upheld by the decision of the Supreme Court of the State, and the Circuit Court of the United States, irrespective of the question of whether it is in conflict with constitutional principles or not. The conditions resulting from such a legal and judicial situation must deviate more and more from the normal as they develop. It is a question worthy of the serious consideration of constitutional lawyers and jurists, as to where such a course is leading. The people will find the result of vital importance to them when the error has had its perfect work.

W. H. M.

Christ's Kingdom Not of This World.

IN arguing, as the National Reformers, of various schools do, that Christ is now this world's king, they utterly ignore the teaching of the Scriptures upon the subject, and make utter confusion among the many texts that refer to the subject.

It is true that very many scriptures do speak of Christ as king. He is declared to be "King of kings, and Lord of lords;" but that he is such now in the sense of ruling over the nations of this earth, other than by his divine providence, the word of God does not teach. In fact it does directly avow the contrary, as it is the purpose of this article to show.

Certain texts in the book of Daniel are frequently referred to to prove that Christ is now king of this world, for instance, Dan. 4:17, and yet no book teaches more plainly the contrary. In the second chapter of Daniel is recorded a vision which was given to Nebuchadnezzar, the king of Babylon, by means of a dream, which was subsequently interpreted by Daniel, a prophet of the most high God. In his dream the king saw a great image with head of gold, breast and arms of silver, belly and thighs of brass, legs of iron, and feet part of iron and part of clay.

The different parts of this image, the prophet declared, represented kingdoms. To Nebuchadnezzar he said, "Thou art this head of gold." Not that Nebuchadnezzar as an individual or even as king was the head of gold, but that he stood for the kingdom which was represented by the golden head; for the prophet immediately added (verses 39, 40), "And after thee shall arise another kingdom inferior to thee, and another third kingdom of brass, shall bear rule over all the earth. And the fourth kingdom shall be strong as iron," etc.

It is, however, unnecessary for the purpose of this article to take time to identify these kingdoms; they are almost universally held by Protestants to be Babylon, Medo-Persia, Grecia, and Rome. Even the historian Gibbon recognized this fact, and describing Rome uses almost the language of the prophet, thus:—

The arms of the Republic sometimes vanquished in battle, always victorious in war, advanced with rapid steps to the Euphrates, the Danube, the Rhine, and the ocean; and the images of gold, or silver, or brass, that might serve to represent the nations or their kings, were successively broken by the iron monarchy of Rome.

But it is, as before stated, unnecessary to dwell upon this point. The reader will grant at once that the empires named were the ones symbolized by the image, and probably ask what this has to do with the National Reform theory that Christ is now this world's king. Very much; for in the vision of the image is brought to view also the division of the Roman empire into ten parts, which was not accomplished till more than four hundred years after the first advent of Christ; and it is

declared (Dan. 2:44) that "in the days of these kings [or kingdoms] shall the God of heaven set up a kingdom which shall never be destroyed; and the kingdom shall not be left to other people, but it shall break in pieces and consume all these kingdoms, and it shall stand forever." That is the everlasting kingdom of Christ which is in the Scriptures so often promised to him, but which has not yet been set up in the earth; and which is never to be established by human agency, but by divine power. And until that time comes it is folly to talk of Christ as this world's king. Nothing has occurred this side the breaking up of the Roman empire that could possibly be the setting up of the everlasting kingdom of God, and until that event does take place the dominion of earthly governments must remain in the hands of men, just where God himself has placed it, and declared that it shall remain until he come "whose right it is." Then, and not till then, will Christ be this world's king.

Christ himself, while distinctly avowing his kingship, declared that his kingdom was not of this world (John 18:36). As a priest-king upon his Father's throne, as appears from Heb. 8:1, he rules over a kingdom of grace, a purely spiritual kingdom, the subjects of which are candidates for his future everlasting kingdom, which the Apostle Paul locates at his second coming, when he says, "I charge thee therefore, before God, and the Lord Jesus Christ, who shall judge the living and the dead at his appearing and his kingdom, preach the word." 2 Tim. 4:1. As a priest upon his Father's throne, Christ is now gathering out of every kindred and nation, a people who will serve him, whom he will make immortal, that they may be subjects of his eternal kingdom. And it is that they may be left perfectly free that he forbears now to rule over the affairs of men. But National Reformers are impatient of God's methods, and seek, as did some anciently, to take Christ by force and make him king. But to all such he says, "My kingdom is not of this world; if my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight; . . . but now is my kingdom not from hence."

C. P. B.

Sectarian Politics.

IN the foundation of our Government one of the corner-stones was, that "no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States," and while this principle has not as yet been set aside, yet there are some indications of a move in that direction.

The Prohibition Party in Lynn, Mass., has just been deeply agitated over the nomination, in that city, of a Catholic prohibitionist alderman. No fault was found with his prohibition faith and record; he seemed to

be sound along that line. But as soon as it was ascertained that he was a Catholic, then, behold, a split in the party over that matter at once. Now the Catholic faith, from the standpoint of us who are Protestants, is, to say the least, very objectionable. But what has that to do with a political party, and whether or not the Catholic may serve in civil offices?

Have we not taken the position in this country that the Church and State are two entirely separate institutions? And that as long as he conducts himself as a good citizen, it is no person's business what system of religious faith a candidate holds, or whether he believes in any religion at all?

But the prohibitionists in Lynn, in withdrawing their support from a man, simply because he is a Catholic, show that, in their minds at least, Church and State are not separate in this country; and while they object to a union of the State with Catholicism, they would not raise the same objection if the union was only with Protestantism. Whereas the American principle is that the State shall be allied with no religion.

Much is being said in prohibition circles in regard to making it a church party, but happily there are some earnest protests against it. The principles of prohibition are good, and the country would be benefited if they could be enforced. But when the Prohibition Party builds a platform too narrow to contain citizens of all persuasions and beliefs, as far as religion is concerned, it is too narrow to be worthy the name of American politics.

A. O. TAIT.

A State Can Not Be a Theocracy.

THAT injustice to citizens and final governmental destruction arises from ecclesiastical assumption of power in the civil sphere, or vice versa, has been fully demonstrated in the history of the Roman Government. In the fourth century the bishops of that time adopting the theory that the Roman Government was, or could become, a theocracy, brought about a union of the Church with the civil power, in order to receive support from the State in bringing the world to the religious faith held by themselves. In his History of the Christian Religion and Church, vol. 2, sec. 2, part 1, Neander says of that time:

There had in fact arisen in the Church . . . a false theocratical theory, originating not in the essence of the gospel, but in the confusion of the religious constitutions of the Old and New Testaments, which . . . brought along with it an un-Christian opposition of the spiritual to the secular power, and which might easily result in the formation of a sacerdotal State, subordinating the secular to itself in a false and outward way. . . . This theocratical theory was already the prevailing one in the time of Constantine; and . . . the bishops voluntarily made themselves dependent upon him by their disputes, and by their determination to make use of the power of the State for the furtherance of their aims.

It may be readily supposed that when a worldly church thus prostitutes itself to the civil power in order to accomplish its ends, the civil government will in turn, to secure the political influence of the church, yield to its demands, although it may be evident that the granting of such demands will lead to a flagrant abuse of the concessions made.

In this case, it is well known what followed. Decrees were issued by the emperor regulating the conduct of all Roman subjects in matters of religious faith, and that, too, without consulting those outside of the Church with whom the government had made the political compact. Penalties so severe were attached to these edicts, that all feared to disobey who desired to preserve their lives. Hence, nearly all conformed to the decrees, even though at heart they were not in harmony with them. Such a course made hypocrites, from whom were chosen the chief dignitaries of the Church and empire. The result was that the bishops became ambitious, bold, and unscrupulous. But the government having bargained with the Church for its influence, could not well withdraw from the compact, because the political influence for which it had bargained had become the dominating one. To combat it, at that stage in the drama, meant the loss of the empire to the civil power, yet to let matters still go on was sure to bring the same result at some future date.

As the rapidly growing influence of the Church in secular matters was a dangerous thing to oppose, it was allowed to strengthen year by year, till the Church clearly gained the ascendancy in political intrigue. In fact, the emperors, in order to maintain their authority, had themselves recognized as bishops of the Church, in order to administer affairs of the Church as well as those of the State. The result of all this was most natural—men who desired some rich benefice became extremely servile before those from whom they expected favors, and were ready to bestow upon their anticipated benefactors the most flattering titles. This in turn placed the suppliants where they were ready to be used as tools of the bishops to do the vilest work.

Not only were appeals made to the bishops to settle religious controversies, but Rome being the first city in the empire, other bishops appealed to the bishop of Rome to arbitrate their differences. Then Constantine enacted a law "permitting judgment to be passed by the bishops when litigants preferred appealing to them rather than to the secular courts; he enacted that their decree should be valid, and so far superior to that of other judges as if pronounced by the emperor himself; that the governors and subordinate military officers should see to the execution of these decrees; and that sentence when passed by them, should be irreversible."

Sozomen's "Ecclesiastical History," book 1, chap. 9.

Neander says that this furnished to worldly-minded bishops "a welcome occasion for devoting themselves to any foreign and secular affairs, rather than to the appropriate business of their spiritual calling; and the same class might also allow themselves to be governed by impure motives in the settlement of these disputes." Vol. 2, sec. 2.

Thus the way was open for the Church to exalt itself above the civil power, and the dignitaries of the Church were not slow to seize the opportunity. This point gained, the highest offices in the Church were filled by political methods, and through intrigue and bloodshed the worst characters became bishops, sometimes before any formal initiation into the Church. With these, no opposition of whatever kind was tolerated, and any who dared to be out of harmony with a bishop, paid the penalty with his life.

All this naturally grew out of the false notions of theocracy entertained by the Church of that time. If the State was a theocracy all government must be moral, as the government of God. In this way the Church became the State, and the State the Church. This accomplished, the Church of Rome was not long in securing an empire, known as the estates of the Church, and its bishops lived in a style of luxury and pomp rivaling that of the emperor himself. But when the Church thus permitted itself to surrender the power of the gospel for that of regal splendor, it was the stepping-stone of the nation's downfall. Corruption of the most fetid kind permeated the government and enervated the people. This made them an easy prey to the barbarians of the North who dismembered and destroyed the empire.

The Dark Ages followed, and for hundreds of years religious wars, and religious persecutions afflicted the people of Europe. Not one of these were necessary had the great truth been recognized, "that the State has no concern with the opinions of men, and no right to interfere, even in the slightest degree, with the form of worship which they may choose to adopt." Buckle's History of Civilization, vol. 1, page 190.

The theocratical theory has in fact always wrought mischief when introduced into human governments. It could not be otherwise; for that theory undertakes to make the Bible the rule of government, and to administer the rule according to the interpretation placed on the Bible by the officers of the government. This takes away the right of private judgment, extends the authority of law to opinions, as well as to acts, and so invades the individuality of every subject of the government, which always was, and always will be, extremely wrong.

J. O. CORLISS.

Which One?

THERE is a saying that when the nuptial knot is tied and the twain are pronounced one, then the struggle begins to know which one. This is not true when man and woman are truly married, and love ties the knot. The reason this is not true is because God made the woman for the man, out of a part of the man, to be a part of the man. Either one alone is incomplete. God said, "It is not good that man should be alone." If this was said of man before the woman was made, time, and the average experience, and development of ancient maidenhood, has proved it to be, at least equally true of the woman. The two go together, and it takes both to constitute a whole man, capable of fulfilling all the functions, and realizing the ideal for which the race was created.

Now it is by no mere chance that the Church in the Bible is always represented as a woman. The metaphors of the Bible are more subtle and far reaching in their meaning, than our highest comprehension of them. The true Church of Christ, with its longing love, and tender sympathy and gentle ministrations, is in the world as a true woman in a plague stricken hamlet. The sympathetic voice, the tender touch of grateful ministration to the suffering soul, are essentially feminine. The world and its kingdoms are fitly represented in the Bible by the cold metallic image of a man; also by the lion, the bear, the he-goat, and the ram,—all masculine.

Surely why not marry the Church to the world? Because she was not made for the world. Said the Saviour, "Ye are not of the world even as I am not of the world. If ye were of the world the world would love its own; but because ye are not of the world, but I have chosen you out of the world, therefore the world hateth you." Again the admonition is, "Love not the world, neither the things of the world. If any man love the world the love of the Father is not in him." It is therefore evident that the Church was not made for the world, as the wife for the husband; on the contrary, the true Church has been won by God's mighty love out of the world, and espoused as a chaste virgin to Christ. 2 Cor. 11:2. She completes man not by uniting *herself* to *him* to minister to his earthly ambitions and passions, but by lifting him above these, and uniting him to Christ, in whom is all the fullness of the Godhead, and in whom only, we can be complete. To unite the Church to earthly governments is, therefore, not only to rob Christ of his bride, and drag her down through infinite depths of pollution, to the adulterous commerce of the world, but it is to bring about a union where there can be no genuine love.

The world hates the Church, and the true Church can not love the world. She may love the individuals in the world, and

long to lift them up to union with Christ, but she can not love the world. Such a union can only be at the dictation of ambition and passion; and when marriage takes place for these reasons, it is to the lowering, and not to the lifting of both the uniting parties. Moreover, when such a union takes place, the struggle always begins, at once, to know *which* shall be *the one*, for they are not *really united*, not *both one*.

Their aims and objects and ambitions are different, and not only different, but conflicting. The conflict is imminent in the union and it can result in only one of two ways. While the conflict is on, the best that can be is a compromise between the Church and the State,—a compromise which neither party regards as satisfactory and final, and so, with plotting and counterplotting, the struggle goes on. If it is ever settled at all, it is either by the total subjection of the Church to the State, or by the total subjection of the State to the Church. The former is paganism, as in Rome under the emperors, where religion was utterly prostituted to political ends; the latter is the Papacy of the twelfth century, with the so-called vicar of Christ, but the real vicar of the devil, supreme. The world knows what both of these systems are too well to wish either experiment repeated. Either of them if carried out to complete success is the utter destruction of the true Church from the earth. It is either a false State, and no real Church where the soul of man can live the life of God, or it is a false Church, and no State where the bodies of men can be protected from persecution and death. No wonder Roger Williams called this a body-killing, soul-killing, and State-killing doctrine. G. E. FIFIELD.

The Toronto Baptists and the Sunday Street Cars.

IN the discussions in Toronto, Ontario, over running the street cars on Sunday, the Baptist ministers of that city have dissented from the ministers of the other denominations. As is well known the street cars do not run in Toronto on Sunday. The city council recently said to the people that if they would secure a given number of names to a petition, praying that the cars be run on Sunday, they would submit the question to the vote of the people. To this action of the council the Ministerial Association strongly dissented, saying that the question was not one to be submitted to the people. The Baptist Ministers in the Association took exceptions, as voiced in an editorial in the *Canadian Baptist*, of December 24; of which the following is an extract:—

It must have required not a little courageous loyalty to conviction on the part of the Baptist ministers of this city to take and maintain the stand they did, in opposition to the views of most of their brethren of other denominations, at the recent

meetings of the Ministerial Association. Yet, in view of the important principles involved, no clear-headed Baptist could have done otherwise, even if the danger of being misunderstood had been twice as great.

The question involved was, as we understand the matter, two-fold. First, would it be morally right for the members of the Association to advise and use their influence to induce the members of the city council to violate their distinct promise, given some months since, that in the event of their receiving a petition, signed by a certain number of citizens, asking them to refer the question of running the cars on Sunday to the people, they would do so and abide by the result? It is not necessary to our purpose to inquire whether the members of the council were well-advised in making such a promise under the circumstances, or not. It is not, we believe, denied that the pledge was distinctly given. As honorable men the councillors were surely bound to keep it, and honorable advisers would seem bound to encourage them in doing so.

The other question at issue is fundamental and far-reaching. It involves the germ of the whole question of the union of Church and State. On what ground may a body of Christians, ministers or laymen, properly appeal to the State or municipal authorities to prohibit Sunday labor of any kind? . . . In this case the majority of the ministers and several of the councilmen advocate their resolution on distinctly religious grounds. We are citizens, they say in effect, of a Christian State. The obligation to keep the Sabbath is imposed upon us by a divine command. The running of the street cars on Sunday is a violation of this command and a desecration of the Lord's day, and should not be permitted in a Christian nation.

At first thought it may be a matter of surprise to many of our readers, as it evidently was to many members of the Ministerial Association, that any Christian, minister or layman, could take exception to such an argument or refuse to join in such an appeal. But a little reflection will, we are sure, make it clear that the Baptist ministers present at the meeting were justified on scriptural and on Baptist grounds in doing so.

Let us suppose that the views of the majority of the Ministerial Association had prevailed with the council. What logically follows? The city council of Toronto take it upon themselves in the first place to decide that the particular kind of work involved in running, or in riding in the street cars, is a desecration of the Sabbath, and contrary to Scripture, and therefore to be forbidden without reference to the will of the people. They can not accept this interpretation of Scripture—for such it is, since many good Christian people do not regard the fourth commandment as binding upon the Christian conscience in respect to the first day of the week—upon the authority of the ministers, though it would be easy to show that the thing would be none the less objectionable if they could. But that would be clearly to shirk responsibility and abdicate their own proper functions. The councillors themselves then must first decide for the whole body of citizens what is the requirement of the Bible in the given case, and, in the second place, must enforce by legal pains and penalties their decision or opinion in regard to that requirement. No Baptist could for a moment submit to the usurpation of such authority in religious matters by any civil power. If a government or municipal council may rightly prescribe and enforce this religious observance, why not any other which may seem to them desirable or obligatory?

It will be understood, of course, that the Baptist pastors, and the Baptists of the city generally are as strongly opposed to the running of street cars on Sunday as their pedobaptist brethren can possibly be, and are fully prepared to support their opinions by abundant arguments of the kind which come properly within the purview of the council. The only difference is that they deny that the council has any right to forbid their running, on reli-

gious grounds, or to enforce Sabbath observance as a religious ordinance. The religious aspect of the question is beyond and above their sphere. From this it follows that the Baptists will probably recognize the right of the citizens to decide the question. Happily, there is every reason to believe that the majority will decide in favor of preserving our quiet, Christian Sabbath.

The Baptists have made a good record in the struggle for religious freedom. And every friend of liberty will rejoice to see them on the right track in Toronto, they need to take one step further, however, and see that Sunday is purely and entirely a religious institution, and that any civil legislation whatever in regard to it, whether by the whole people or by a city council, is wholly in the interest of religion. But religion can not be advanced by compelling its observance under the pains and penalties of law, else God would long since have resorted to that method, and not left it a matter of free choice. Hence all Sunday laws, considered from whatever standpoint, are wrong.

More Moral Legislation.

AND NOW Mr. Alexander, of North Carolina, comes forward with another bill, intended to put an end to "gambling" in agricultural products. "Gambling" is defined as the purchase or sale of a contract to deliver or receive at some future time any product of the soil, such as cotton, corn, wheat, oats, rye, etc., the contractor not being at the date of the contract the actual owner of the product in question.

Of course, anything that has been said against any preceding bills of the same kind applies with equal force to Mr. Alexander's bill. The end sought in all or any of them is quite beyond the reach of legislation not actually destructive to commerce. A law really capable of suppressing contracts for the future delivery of cotton would cripple every milling business in the country, and a law capable of achieving the same consummation as regards other agricultural products would render impossible all wholesale transactions in those lines. We would revert to the spinning wheel and the family loom, and our commerce would be done without any agency larger than a peck measure. The whole thing is preposterous and impossible.

Mr. Alexander, however, does not stop at merely prohibiting the traffic in question. He adopts the example already set up in the case of the lotteries, and provides for the exclusion from the mails of all letters, postal-cards, circulars, and other literature relating to this "gambling" in agricultural products, and of all newspapers, prospectuses, pamphlets, etc., containing advertisements of such business and of market reports of quotations and transactions therein. He even orders that a tax of \$2 per word shall be levied on all telegram or telephone messages

used in pursuance of the aforesaid gambling. He does not arrange to take charge of the express companies in the same interest, but that will doubtless be done later in an amendment; unless, indeed, he regards his bill as being comprehensive and stringent enough already, as well he may.

We are not surprised at Mr. Alexander's bill. As the *Post* has had occasion to observe on various occasions hitherto, the country seems to be passing through a paroxysm of foolish and mischievous legislation, or proposed legislation, the object whereof is to make people moral by statute, and the effect whereof is to efface the sovereignty of the States and to destroy the Federal feature of our form of Government. Congress has just as much right to say that newspapers shall not publish "future" quotations as to say that they shall not publish anything else, and it will have the same right later on to say that they shall not advertise liquor houses or horse-races or private banking concerns that deal in stocks and bonds, or life insurance companies where the policy holder gambles on his own death. Upon the whole, we are not sure that it wouldn't be as well to have all these points covered by legislation at once. The sooner the country realizes the folly of it, the sooner we shall return to wholesome and rational methods.—*Washington Post, January 17, 1892.*

God the Moral Governor.

THE State has nothing whatever to do with interpreting and administering the law of God. Every man must answer for himself to God; which would not be the case if the State was permitted to come between the individual and God. In that case men would be responsible to the State, and the State to God; there would be in that case no direct accountability to God; the citizen would inquire, what does the State say, and knowing and doing the will of the State, the individual would be free. But such is not the plan of God. He has ordained civil government to regulate the civil affairs of men, and in civil matters men are responsible to the State; but in morals, men are answerable alone to God. He is the only moral governor, and his law is the only moral law.

THE State can not make laws touching religion on the plea of its own responsibility; and the citizens do not need such laws, because each one is personally responsible to another tribunal infinitely higher than the State, for his standing in morals. Then all that the State can do, is to make laws prohibiting any man, or any set of men, from interrupting others in the enjoyment of their peculiar form of worship. Any law violating this principle, would work gross injustice to the whole people.

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.
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THE "Bill to prevent persons from being forced to labor on Sunday," in the District of Columbia, reintroduced in this Congress by Representative Breckinridge of Tennessee, is the same as that introduced in the last Congress by the same Congressman.

THE Iowa *Bulletin* quotes an exchange as saying, in its disgust at the endless list of petitions to Congress for the closing of the World's Fair on Sunday, that "the next petition that will be sent to the upper Legislature will be to have heaven closed on Sunday."

A CORRESPONDENT of the *Twentieth Century* finds what he denominates "Two Conflicting Christian Maxims," that is: 1. "Satan finds some mischief still for idle hands to do." 2. "Keep the World's Fair closed on Sundays."

To find the reason for the discrepancy between these two expressions is not an unprofitable mental exercise. It may be found that one of the "maxims" is not Christian.

THE Pittsburg dispatches of January 17 chronicle the progress of the attack on Sunday newspapers by the Law and Order League thus:

"Sunday papers were sold all over Pittsburg and Allegheny, as usual, to-day. Thomas Matthews, who was fined \$25 and costs yesterday, for sales of three weeks ago, has appealed the case, and will have it carried to the Supreme Court. He disposed of all the papers he could get his hands on to-day, people going out of their way to buy from him. New York, Philadelphia, and other eastern papers were handled as usual at the Union News Company's stands. The Company had forty employees at work.

"Superintendent R. R. Burke has returned from New York, and says General Manager Williams advises him to co-operate with the Pittsburg newspapers in fighting the Law and Order Society."

THE following is a despatch from Paris, France:—

"There is a movement on foot here to secure the popular observance of Sunday, and a very strong society has been formed to further this cause. The honorary President of the society, Senator Jules Simon, said to-day, 'We desire that our workmen may have a day's rest once a week, and Sunday is naturally the day we have chosen. But our undertaking is a difficult one, because it runs counter to

numerous customs and interests which do not like to be interfered with. At present our factory hands and shop people work not only during the long hours of every week day, but also on Sundays. We do not wish to forbid people working on Sunday if they wish to do so, but we aim to prevent them from forcing other people to work.'

"M. Leon Say, the eminent political economist and deputy, who is President of the society, said: 'Our society is the result of a congress of social economists, held in Paris during the exhibition of 1889. It was then unanimously recognized that a weekly day of rest is indispensable to the working masses. We do not ask for legislation, but depend entirely for success upon the power of persuasion. And it can not be said that we have hitherto labored in vain. Two years ago our society numbered twenty persons; to-day we count over twenty-five hundred members, made up of Republicans and Monarchists, Catholics and Protestants, bishops and freethinkers. We have already achieved some practical results. In the post-office we have got the hours shortened on Sunday, and we are now laboring with the railroad companies.'"

REPRESENTATIVE SPRINGER, of Illinois, has presented in the House the memorial of the National League for the Protection of American Institutions, and their proposed amendment to the Constitution, which reads as follows:—

No State shall pass any law respecting the establishment of any religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, or use its property or credit or any money raised by taxation, or authorize either to be used, for the purpose of founding, maintaining, or aiding by appropriation, payment for services, expenses or otherwise, any church, religious denomination, or religious society, or undertaking which is wholly or in part under sectarian or ecclesiastical control.

It seems pertinent to inquire, if this should be incorporated in the Constitution of the United States, what would become of the religious laws already on the statute books of the different States, and what bearing would it have on the different appropriations for the World's Fair, should the many petitions to Congress be heard, and that pass partially under ecclesiastical control?

AT the annual meeting of the American Sabbath Union recently held in Springfield, much was said about the pernicious influence of the Sunday paper. It was even argued that the civil law should prohibit a paper intended for Sunday circulation, although the work on the paper was done Saturday, if it was not of a religious character. One of the most objectionable features, in the estimation of the convention, was the advertisements published in Sunday newspapers, which caused the mind to dwell on secular matters, and thus unfitted it for the teachings of the pulpit.

In view of this, it will be interesting to learn that a clergyman, a member of the American Sabbath Union, recently distributed to his Sunday evening audience, a programme of the services, on the back of which were advertisements of a pork-packing and jobbing firm, a laundry, jewelry store, real estate firm, and lastly, an advertisement for more advertisements.

The publishers of Sunday newspapers do not invade the place and hour of worship and thrust a copy of their advertising sheets in the face of each worshiper. "Why beholdest thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye, but considerest not the beam that is in thine own eye?"

THE *Washington Post* gives some condensed information in reference to the "King's Daughters," an organization now in open affiliation with the National Reform Association and the Sabbath Union, which is of interest:—

"The great Order of the King's Daughters is carrying on its work of organization as rapidly as possible in the different States. Something of the phenomenal growth of the order may be gathered

from the reports of these organizations' secretaries. A little more than a year ago the first State Secretary was appointed in Massachusetts, and there are now chronicled in her report the names of 445 circles, with a membership of 6,524. There are twelve denominations represented, working along fifteen lines of work. Connecticut has had a State Secretary for a year and a half and enrolls 1,000 members in 100 circles. It is not yet five years since the first silver cross on its purple ribbon was carried over the border into Canada, and now in the Province of Ontario, circles of King's Sons and Daughters flourish in fifty cities, and contain a membership of 1,800 people. South Carolina has 1,633 members, and Illinois a registry of 3,782. Day nurseries, kindergartens, free employment bureaus, reading rooms, rest cottages, and other lines of work as varied as the ingenuity of the human brain will admit are formulated and carried to successful issue by this Legion of King's Daughters In His Name."

Word and Work, of London, England, has a paragraph showing the progress of the Sunday observance movement in England, as follows:—

"The Working Men's Lord's Day Rest Association has issued a New Year's Address, which shows that after a silence of nine years the House of Commons has once more opposed the Sunday opening of museums, by 166 votes against 89. It goes on to say that the efforts to establish Sunday concerts had elicited important protests from several theatrical artists, who felt the need of Sunday rest. Concerts on Sunday for money payments are illegal, but constant efforts are made to evade the law. Seventy-five Members of Parliament and peers had expressed their disapproval of the proposed visit of the Emperor of Germany to the Naval Exhibition on a Sunday, and the visit took place on a Friday. Improvements as to Sunday opening had taken place at the People's Palace. The most marvellous progress had been made in securing one day's rest in seven on the Continent. Efforts were being made to prevent the Sunday opening of the Chicago Exhibition. The bill for closing public-houses on Sundays had been supported by 4,678 petitions, having 892,253 signatures. Sunday labor in connection with Sunday excursions had increased, and there were six distinct organizations striving to secularize the Sunday in London. Forty illustrated lectures on Sunday observance had been given; 233,000 publications had been issued; about 4,000 letters, etc., had been received, and 52,000 letters, book packets, etc., sent from the office in 1891. The cause of Sunday rest had lost powerful supporters by the decease during the year of the late Right Hon. W. H. Smith, Sir R. N. Fowler, and Sir Thomas Chambers. The committee appeals for more extended support."

FROM the Boston *Herald*:—

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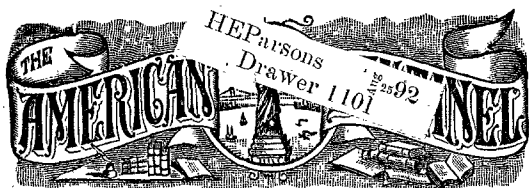
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NEW YORK, JANUARY 28, 1892.

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It is stated that laws against Sunday work for barbers are in force in Tennessee, Minnesota, Colorado, Indiana, Ohio, and Michigan.

AMONG the demands recently formulated by the Socialists of Germany are these: that elections shall be held Sundays or other holidays, the right of free speech and free meetings, the abolition of State subventions to churches, the secularization of the schools, and free education.

A WRITER in the *American Ecclesiastical Review*, for January, states, as a dangerous tendency, that the common current of public opinion in this country "is, taking for granted, as a sort of ethical maxim useful in practical politics, that the universal conscience must supersede the individual conscience, and that when religion comes in contact with the popular will, expressed in the Government and State legislation, it must yield as a private interest to the general good."

THE *Union Signal* remarks that "epidemics of typhus fever and small-pox in various localities are adding to the horrors of famine in Russia; as if this were not enough, officials are misappropriating funds for the relief of the sufferers; government now refuses to grant permission for private distribution of food, or soup houses. Meanwhile the Czar continues his efforts to stamp out all religions except the Greek Church; his latest step in this direction being the closing of certain Catholic churches."

Our contemporary should find no fault with the action of the Czar in opposing what he believes to be false religions. He is simply acting on the principle advocated by the whole National Reform fraternity, of which the Woman's Christian Temperance Union has become only an annex.

THE *Union Signal* item furnishes also an illustration of the fact that State recognition of God and of his law does not make the officers of the State Christian, nor even honest. National Reform, so-called, is advocated in this country as a panacea for all the evils that States are heir to, but it fails to heal in other lands,

as is witnessed by this item of news concerning the speculations of the highly pious(?) officials of that Christian(?) sovereign, the Czar, who rules in the name of God—and by his authority just as truly as would the National Reformers in this country were the power which they seek given into their hands.

THE *Christian Statesman* has always insisted that in order to make this a Christian Nation the Constitution must be so amended as to place all "our Christian laws, institutions, and usages on an undeniable legal basis in the fundamental law of the land;" but now Dr. Herrick Johnston rises up and argues that the World's Fair should be closed on Sunday because "the Nation is Christian, Christianity is embedded in our national laws, and is recognized in our national usages and appointments. We issue proclamations of thanksgiving, appoint chaplains, administer oaths, and open Legislatures and Congresses in the name of the God of the Sabbath." Now if the *Statesman* is correct it destroys the Doctor's argument; and on the other hand, if the Doctor is correct the *Statesman* is without a mission, and has only been fighting wind-mills, lo, these many years.

IN leading in the fight against the publishers of Sunday papers in Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, the *Christian Statesman* says:—

A Sunday newspaper office in this State and most others, is a "speak-easy," a place doing business contrary to law. Let it be remembered that the Law and Order motto is, "We ask only obedience to law." The opposite creed is anarchy.

And this has ever been the motto of intolerance and bigotry. The pagans, in persecuting to the death the early Christians, had no other motto; they simply demanded obedience to the law of Rome. And in every country where Christian blood has been shed and Christian hearts wrung with anguish, because of the inhumanity of man to man, the same plea has been made, "We are only enforcing the law." This was all that was done in Tennessee in the case of the late R. M. King, hounded from court to court and finally to his death, for the offense of quietly plowing in his field upon a day that his neighbors professed to regard as sacred to the worship of God, but which they were not careful to keep holy themselves.

It is a weak cause that fights shy of the merits of the case and pleads that it is only "enforcing the law." If the editors of the *Christian Statesman* will consult an old book known as the "Acts of the Apostles" they will find in the fifth chapter eminent precedent for disobeying an unjust and iniquitous law. In this case the Law and Order League of Jerusalem were only trying to enforce the law,

and certain apostles of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ were the "anarchists," who not only violated the law but declared their intention to violate it. We do not say that the case of the Pittsburg papers is equally meritorious, but the example of Peter and John should forever close the mouths of those who call themselves Christians, to the poor plea, they are only "enforcing the law." The law should be justified by an appeal to the principles of right and justice or it should go to the wall.

THE *Observer* of this city comments thus sadly upon the fact that the Metropolitan Museum of Art is to continue open to the public Sunday afternoons:—

The people who now go to the museum on the Sunday could largely attend during the week, and there is no more reason than there ever was for the Sunday opening. That it has come to stay is not at all unlikely. Encroachments on the Sabbath are becoming more and more frequent, and the continental Sunday is not unlikely to be a settled institution of American life ere the present century closes.

Possibly the *Observer* might find some consolation in the facts stated recently in the *Sabbath Outlook* that Sunday was always a holiday rather than a holy day; and that having adopted it, rather than the Sabbath of the Lord, its friends could not reasonably object to its festival character.

Vick's Floral Guide, 1892.

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