



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

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EDITOR, - - - ALONZO T. JONES,

ASSOCIATE EDITORS,

C. P. BOLLMAN,

W. H. McKEE.

SECULARISM in government is not, as some have supposed, akin to infidelity, but is, on the contrary, perfectly in harmony with the gospel of Christ.

GOD in the beginning created man a free moral agent; as it has been beautifully expressed:—

"God doth ne'er compel our spirits

All may choose the good or ill.

'Tis the willing heart he loveth, but

He never chained the will."

Neither has he commissioned men, either in their individual or aggregate capacity to compel by physical force obedience to the divine law. His word is, "Choose ye whom ye will serve."

IN the very nature of the case man can not administer the divine law, for he "judgeth by the outward appearance;" while "God looketh upon the heart." The divine law is a "discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart," and the Judge who administers it must be able to read the most secret thoughts of the soul and weigh in the scales of perfect justice the motives, which are the mainspring of action. The folly of man in attempting to administer the law of God is equalled only by his wickedness in usurping a prerogative of the Author of that law.

As man was in the beginning left free to choose or to refuse the service of God, so now God would have him to be free. The Lord orders no drafts for his army. His soldiers are not slaves, but the Lord's free men. They serve not from fear, but love; not from constraint, but of a willing

mind; and to make it otherwise, if that were possible, would be to thwart the purpose of God and defeat his plan, which is to people this sphere with created intelligencies, every individual of whom has, of his own free will, chosen the service of the King of kings. National Reformers should beware of presuming to stay the ark of God's immutable purpose.

HOWEVER pure and disinterested the motives of National Reformers, and others who are demanding religious legislation may be, the fact can not be denied that in all the past the union of Church and State has resulted most disastrously to both. Such a union is contrary to nature. The contracting parties are of different species.

BUT it is denied that anybody seeks a union of Church and State; we demand, they say, only a union of religion and the State. This is, however, only a distinction without a difference. Churches, or sects, crystallize around certain articles of faith; and the Church, that is the whole body of believers, is simply a larger crystallization around those articles of faith held in common by the various sects of Christians. To unite the State with the whole body is not less, but rather more, a union of Church and State than to unite it with a part of that body, a sect, or denomination, merely.

WHEN Constantine made Christianity the religion of the Roman Empire, he only united religion and the State; but out of it grew naturally and necessarily a State Church. When Christianity had been made the religion of the empire it became necessary to secure an authoritative definition, or statement, of what constituted Christianity; hence the council of Nicæa and the Nicene creed. Christianity, or religion, as a sentiment locked in the bosom of individuals, can not be united with the State; it must and will, sooner or later, if fostered by the State, resolve itself into a creed, and a State

Church will crystallize around that creed. It has been so in the past, and history repeats itself.

OF the Baptists, Rev. Dr. McArthur, of this city, himself a Baptist, says:—

They affirmed that only when a man personally made a profession of faith, did he become rightfully a member of the church; and they stoutly affirmed the separation between the ecclesiastical body and the civil community. They have ever stood for the separation between Church and State. When this doctrine is denied, and baptismal regeneration is affirmed, it is logical for the civil power to attempt to make men Christian. If baptizing a person would change his spiritual nature and his relations to God, all that is necessary to make a nation Christian is to compel the people to be baptized.

This doctrine led to the thumb-screw and the fagot. But Baptists have ever affirmed that a man could become a Christian only by the voluntary action of his own spiritual nature, that religion was a matter between the man and his God, and that the civil magistrate, because he could not reach the heart, had no duty to perform in making men Christians by outward observances. Baptists did not abstain from persecution simply because of pity for the persecuted, nor for lack of religious zeal, but they were restrained by logical deductions, because they affirmed that becoming a Christian was a spiritual act, and not one which outward force could compel.

'Tis passing strange that a man can state so clearly such sound principles and not be able to apply them to current events. Dr. McArthur is a vice-president of the American Sabbath Union, and in favor of enforced Sunday observance. How can he fail to see his own inconsistency?

PROBABLY Dr. McArthur would answer that he favors Sunday laws only in the interests of good morals (morals in the common acceptance of the word) and social order. But that is the same argument (?) precisely that has in all the past been used to justify the very measures against which the Doctor inveighs. The apostles, and even Christ himself, were accused of creating social disorder, raising an uproar, forbidding to give tribute unto Cæsar, etc.; and similar charges have been brought against "heretics" from that

day to this. Religious laws have always been justified (?) by civil reasons. Unless Baptists are prepared to abandon the principles for which they have stood in the past, they must separate from such organizations as the American Sabbath Union. It is opposed to that liberty for which Baptists have died.

That Breckinridge Sunday Bill Again.

IN the Breckinridge Sunday bill, now before Congress for the second time, the use of any designation, or name, for Sunday, that could mark the measure as religious, is studiously avoided; but such a character is indelibly stamped upon the bill by the use of the word "secular," which is of necessity contrasted with spiritual or holy. The bill provides—

that it shall be unlawful for any person or corporation, or employe of any person or corporation in the District of Columbia, to perform any *secular* labor or business, or to cause the same to be performed by any person in their employment on Sunday, except works of necessity or mercy.

"Secular" is defined thus by Webster: "Of or pertaining to this present world, or to things not spiritual or holy; relating to temporal as distinguished from eternal interests; not immediately or primarily respecting the soul, but the body; worldly." The bill would mean precisely the same thing if, instead of prohibiting "secular labor or business," on Sunday, it prohibited all labor or business "of, or pertaining to this present world, or to things not spiritual or holy." That is just what it means as it reads, but it is not so plain to be seen as it would be were the definition of the word "secular" made a part of the bill itself.

Were this bill to become a law, it would give the civil courts of the District of Columbia jurisdiction to decide what does pertain to "eternal interests;" for by prohibiting the pursuit of secular affairs on Sunday, it just as distinctly enjoins spiritual pursuits, for it is impossible for human beings to be absolutely idle. Indeed, by excluding everything secular, this bill proposes to give spiritual things a monopoly of Sunday. Hence, should the bill become a law, the courts would of necessity have to adjudicate between secular and spiritual things; which is only another way of saying that men would, by the passage of the Breckinridge Sunday bill, be made judges of the consciences of their fellow-men.

This is true also of another feature of this bill, namely, of the clause which says—

that the provisions of this act shall not be construed to apply to any person or persons who conscientiously believe in and observe any other day of the week than Sunday as a day of rest.

Why specify those who "*conscientiously* believe in and observe another day of the week than Sunday as a day of rest"? If *rest* is all that is aimed at in the bill, why

not exempt from its operation all who rest upon any other day of the week than Sunday, whether they conscientiously believe in it or not? Why introduce this element of conscientious belief at all? Simply because that while a law, such as this bill would be if the words "conscientiously believe in" were omitted, would secure to every man, if enforced, a purely civil rest day, it would not secure general and uniform suspension of all secular labor and business on *Sunday*; and that is what the bill is for. It singles out that particular day, and requires all to rest upon it, *except the few who "conscientiously believe in and keep" another day*. If, then, any question arises as to who are entitled to the exemption, the courts must sit in judgment upon the conscientious convictions of those who claim the exemption. How they are to determine the secret thoughts of the heart (without knowing which they can know nothing of the conscience), is left for the friends of the bill to explain. Under the Inquisition such information was extorted by the rack and the thumb-screw; and it is doubtful if even the nineteenth century could devise anything much more effective for that purpose.

The fact of the exemption of "those who conscientiously believe in and observe any other day of the week than Sunday," marks this bill as a religious measure. Men conscientiously believe in and practice moral or religious duties. Apart from religious obligation, a man would have no more conscience in resting regularly, than in bathing at stated intervals, or in taking just so many hours' sleep each night. He would, in fact, make the taking of his weekly rest somewhat a matter of personal convenience, just as people do eating, sleeping, bathing, etc. But this proposed law for the District of Columbia, contemplates more than this; it proposes to require of all men either the conscientious observance of some day other than Sunday, or such an outward observance of Sunday as, in the absence of counter evidence, would indicate conscientious regard for that day. The bill is wholly and designedly in the interests of Sunday as a sacred day, and would never have been thought of had it not been for the regard in which that day is held by many. It should be defeated as a much-needed and fitting rebuke to those misguided religionists who imagine that men can be spiritually regenerated and made moral by act of Congress.

C. P. B.

Reform.

THE desire to "reform" something or somebody seems to be one of the predominating features of this generation. The *Journal of Education*, in its issue of February 11, contains an article, entitled "Reforms," from which I clip the following:—

Reform has become a "fad." It is the rankest kind

of a "fad" educationally. . . . And yet the reform craze has not fairly begun. It is in its infancy. Wait, just wait until it gets its growth, and see what will come. Why, it will take a Gatling gun to rattle off the reforms as fast as they are invented!

And the beauty of it is that every man can not only have a reform all his own, but he can have a whole set of reforms for himself. There will be enough to go round with several left over. America is a great country. . . . It is a great thing to live in this day and be a part of the "age," which future geologists will style the "Period of Reforms, Reforming Reformations." In ancient times it required ages to make fossils, now a fossil is made in twenty-four hours if he refrains so long from reforming something.

If the idea of "reform" has become a "fad" in educational matters, it certainly has in religious.

From the pulpit and the religious press aided by numerous associations throughout the land, comes a mighty cry for reform. And no doubt it is needed. But the trouble with many of these would-be-reformers is that they are not content with a "whole set of reforms" for themselves, but seem impregnated with an intense desire to rein everybody else up to their standard of thinking and acting.

MAY WAKEHAM.

Fremont, Nebr.

Political Religion.

"RELIGION is politics," says Colonel Shepard in the *Mail and Express*. It is true of a great many, that politics is a religion to them; it is also true of some that their religion is mainly political. This seems to be the case with Colonel Shepard—that his religion is political, or, at least, that he has no higher intellectual conception of religion than that it is "politics." He quotes the statement of the Hon. Solomon Hirsch, American Minister to Constantinople, that of all the capitols throughout the world, that city is the most religious, and on that account "the most political,"—that the religion of the moving party in any measure is there the key to the political purpose underlying the measure, and is an unerring evidence as to who will oppose it and who favor. "European politics, as centered on the Bosphorus, is simply a battle of the churches." The Colonel then innocently says, "This is an illustration, on a grand scale, of the truth of our general proposition that religion is politics." The religion of Colonel Shepard and the American Sabbath Union, and the rest of the National Reform party, is politics, there is no doubt of that,—but that religion is not the religion of Jesus Christ. Neither is either European or American politics the religion of Jesus Christ, nor will they ever be. It would not be possible to concentrate into three words a greater misconception of true religion than is embodied in this editorial expression from the millionaire writer of religious editorials,—the President of the American Sabbath Union.

THE discussion of the educational

measures before the German Parliament shows that in that country the accepted religion of the State is politics. The late differences between France and the Vatican show, also, by the manner in which the questions in dispute have been taken up, that not only is "the religious question rapidly coming to the front in French politics," but also that religion is politics in France. This has always been true, only in varying degree; and in proportion to the degree in which it has been true has the history of France been filled with events seemingly Satanic in their inhumanity and bloody terror. The religion of politics has not been the religion of Jesus Christ in France.

THE religion of the Vatican is the religion of politics, and there it is even more true than any where else in the world, not even excepting Constantinople or the mind of the editor of the *Mail and Express*, that religion is politics. From out the Vatican political religion has poured for generations, like burning lava from unearthly fires scorching its devious paths throughout the whole earth. There is no country or people of the world which has not felt its searing influence. The very names, "Rome," and "The Vatican," have become synonymous with political religion. The religion of the Vatican is not the religion of Jesus Christ.

COLONEL SHEPARD'S editorial says of the religion of the Vatican in this country, "It has allied itself with the Democratic Party until it now rules that party in New England, the Middle, the Western, and the North Western States. . . . It has taken possession of the city governments of Boston, New York, Baltimore, New Orleans, Troy, Detroit, Buffalo, and many another. It keeps just enough of its adherents in the Republican Party to weaken their counsels and mask their designs. But it is noticeable that whenever the interests of the Roman Catholic Church clash with those of the Republican Party, those Roman Republicans always vote for their own church, and let the interests of the country slide. . . . It is time that every patriot should leave the Democratic Party and unite against the Romans. They are still in a minority. The majority can stop giving them money and property, stop their alteration of our school books to suit and advocate their superstitions, stop their holding public office, stop their subjecting the State to their Church, stop their growth, and preserve our liberties. *Roma delenda est.*"

YES, "Rome must be destroyed," but that *must* is in the eternal purpose of God, and not in the political majority here called upon to destroy it by stopping the appropriation of money in its behalf, depriving Roman Catholics of the right to hold public office, and stopping the growth

of the Church by an edict of the majority. Destruction must come upon Rome, but it must come also upon all political religions. Those who cry that the majority must stop the Roman Catholics "subjecting the State to *their* church" in order that the majority may subject it instead to *their* church, will in the end meet with the same destruction, for the same reasons, and by the same divine hand, as part of the same mystery of iniquity.

W. H. M.

Liberty, Indeed!

"CHRISTIANITY and Patriotism," is the title of an impassioned article in the *Christian Statesman*, of March 12, in which the question is asked: "Who were the Puritans and Pilgrim fathers that their names should be cherished and held sacred?" The answer given is: "They were the seed of truth, sifted out from superstition by bitter persecution, with which Almighty God planted the New World to preserve civil and religious liberty among men."

And how did the Puritans preserve civil and religious liberty? What are the facts concerning them?—No sooner was the Government of the Colony of Massachusetts organized than a church was established after the Congregational order, and everybody was required to conform to that mode of worship. Two men, however, Samuel and John Browne, adhered to the worship of the Church of England, and argued that the worship of the Colony ought to be according to the ritual of that Church. The Puritans replied: "We came away from the common prayer and ceremonies in our native land, where we suffered much for non-conformity; in this place of liberty we can not, we will not, use them." And not only so, but they were determined that nobody else in Massachusetts should use them, and so the Brownes were banished from that "place of liberty," and sent back to England. Massachusetts was a place of liberty for Puritans only.

But the banishment of the Brownes was only the beginning; in 1631 a law was enacted as follows:—

To the end this body of the commons may be preserved of honest and good men, it is ordered and agreed that, for the time to come, no man shall be admitted to the freedom of this body politic but such as are members of some of the churches within the limits of the same.

"Some of the churches within the limits of the same," meant simply, some of the congregations of the Congregational order, for that was the established church of the Colony and none other was tolerated.

A. D. 1631 witnessed the arrival of Roger Williams in Boston. He was at once called to the pastorate of the church at Salem, left vacant by the death of Francis Higginson; but Governor Winthrop objected and Williams went to Plymouth. Subsequently, however, he accepted the

pastorate of the Salem church, and then began a contest which ended in 1635 by a decree of the general court banishing him from the Colony. It was the purpose of his enemies to send him back to England, but being apprised of their design he fled in the dead of winter to Rhode Island, and found refuge among the Indians.

Late in 1637, John Wheelright, a Boston preacher, was banished for saying that it maketh no matter how seemingly holy men be according to the law, if . . . they are such as trust to their own righteousness they shall die, saith the Lord. Do ye not after their works; for they say and do not. "They make broad their phylacteries, and enlarge the borders of their garments, and love the uppermost rooms at feasts, and the chief seats in the synagogues, and greetings in the markets, and to be called of men, Rabbi, Rabbi." But believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and ye shall be saved, for being justified by faith we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ.

As in the case of Roger Williams, Wheelright was driven out in the rigors of a New England winter.

In 1637 Mrs. Anne Hutchinson was banished for the heinous offense of agreeing with Wheelright. The court which "tried" Mrs. Hutchinson was a miniature Inquisition, before which she was repeatedly dragged for examination. "All this time," says Adams in "Charters and Constitutions," "she had been alone; her friends were far away. That no circumstance of horror might be lost, she and one of her most devoted followers, Mary Dyer, were nearing their confinements during this time of misery. Both cases ended in misfortune over whose sickening details Thomas Welde and his reverend brethren gloated with a savage joy, declaring that 'God himself was pleased to step in with his casting vote . . . as clearly as if he had pointed with his finger.' Let posterity draw a veil over the shocking scene." This persecuted woman also found an asylum in Rhode Island, where she and friends were given a home by the Indians.

These outrages against both civil and religious liberty, were followed shortly by bitter persecution of Baptists. In 1644, the general court of the Colony of Massachusetts

ordered and agreed that if any person or persons, within this jurisdiction, shall either openly condemn or oppose the baptizing of infants, or go about secretly to seduce others from the approbation or use thereof, and shall appear to the court willfully and obstinately to continue therein, after due time and means of conviction, every such person or persons shall be sentenced to banishment.

It will be observed that the penalty provided by this law was banishment, but in 1646, a Baptist named Painter was sentenced under it to be whipped for refusing to have his child sprinkled. The sentence was carried out to the letter. A few years later, namely, in 1651, three Baptist ministers from Rhode Island, temporarily in Massachusetts visiting an aged Baptist were arrested while holding a private service on Sunday, and were com-

pelled to attend worship at the parish church. They were subsequently tried, and were sentenced to pay fines varying from five to thirty pounds. One of these men, Elder Holmes, refused to pay his fine and was most brutally whipped. Two men who witnessed the whipping shook hands with Holmes, for which they were sentenced to pay a fine of forty shillings each or else receive a whipping. The fines were paid by friends.

As might be supposed, cases of persecution for conscience' sake increased in number until it finally culminated in the brutal whipping of women, and the hanging of Quakers and witches. These facts give us some faint idea of the National Reform conception of "liberty;" and should warn the American people not to trust their liberties in the hands of men who are so blinded by bigotry as to imagine that the Puritans were "the seeds of truth" "with which Almighty God planted the New World to preserve civil and religious liberty." The only thing that can equal this in absurdity is the claim sometimes put forth by Papists, that the Roman Catholic Church is the bulwark of liberty. Instead of the name and memory of the Puritans being "cherished and held sacred," Americans should blush for their wicked deeds of intolerance; and warned by the evil which they did in the name of religion, should see to it that such power be forever kept out of the hands of those who, like the editor of the *Statesman*, sigh for "a breath of the Puritans." C. P. B.

Christianity and the Nation.

NOTHING is more difficult at times than to successfully project the truth against preconceived error, so that the wrong will give way. And where the error is the offspring of the feelings rather than of reason, the task becomes well-nigh impossible. And the difficulty is not at all lessened but is greatly increased when the party in error, unable to controvert the proof brought against him, persistently adheres to his own opinion, not always through sheer obstinacy, but because, and naturally so, he trusts his intuitions more than his reason. In purely religious and distinctively devotional matters—as in the realm of faith—there is much to justify such an attitude. But in the domain where reason and history determine fact and furnish the solution to problems, to depend upon the intuitions,—a something akin to, "I want it so, and I feel it must be so,"—is to subvert reason and and oftentimes to pervert history.

We make these remarks preliminary to a consideration of a subject upon which we have recently had something to say and concerning which erroneous views are held in various quarters;—we allude to the relation of Christianity to the Nation. It has been affirmed, (1) that Christianity

is the common law of the land, and (2) we have recently, and for the first time, met with the proposition that Christianity is part of the constitutional law of the land. Let us consider these propositions.

1. In support of the proposition that Christianity is the common law of the land, it is said (a) that Webster took this position in the famous Girard will case; and (b) that the country was settled and founded by Christian men whose religion became the common law. In reply to this we have to say:—

(a) Webster's deliverance was that of an attorney for the contestants of the will; and he claimed that the clause prohibiting clergymen from entering the college buildings was unconstitutional. The United States Supreme Court held the clause to be constitutional and sustained the will. Webster's tentative position, therefore, fell to the ground. There is nothing in all Webster's speeches and pleas, as a jurist familiar with them tells us, where the position is ever advanced a second time.

(b) It is claimed that the country was settled and founded by Christian men whose religion became the common law of the land. To this the reply is (1) that the States were settled separately and by different nationalities, each supreme in its own sphere, and that there was no law common to them all, nor from the nature of the case could be; that Massachusetts and Connecticut made Congregationalism the established law of those States; that Virginia made Episcopacy the law of the State; that New York made no law on the subject; evidently the practices of the States differed; and not only so, but they differed as to the meaning of the term "Christian"; for the Baptists and Friends were driven out of one State; what kind of Christianity was that, and how could it to-day be the common law of the land, which denied recognition to two branches of the Church of Christ?

Again, (2) to the claim that Christianity is the common law of the land, we reply that the courts have decided otherwise, *e. g.*, the Supreme Court of Ohio has expressly declared that "neither Christianity nor any other system of religion is a part of the law of the State." This decision was reaffirmed afterwards; and still later the same Court said, "If Christianity is a law of the State, like every law, it must have a sanction; adequate penalties must be provided. . . . No one seriously contends for any such doctrine in this country, or I might almost say in this age of the world." (23 Ohio State Reports.) Again, Judge Welch, of the Ohio Supreme Court, said that the teaching of the Christian religion in the public schools "violates the spirit of our constitutional guarantees"; that "if we have no right to tax the citizen to support worship, we have no right to tax him to support religious instruction." (Granger O. S. R. 250, Board of Education *vs.* Miner *et al.*)

And Chief Justice Cooley, of Michigan, declares, "all support of religious instruction must be entirely *voluntary*." What kind of common law is that which can only be enforced by voluntary agreement and not at all by process of law?

Still further, the Supreme Court of Maine, as we mentioned recently, has decided that "Christianity as a system is unknown to our laws." (Maine R. 38 p. 379.) To this we could add decisions from other States, but these must suffice. And here the question naturally arises, how can Christianity be the *common* law of the land when some States distinctly repudiate it? To this the reply is made that "a State can not nullify or prescribe matters within the domain of the whole Nation." The obvious rejoinder to this is the Xth Article of the Constitution, which declares that "the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution nor prohibited by it to the States are reserved to the States respectively or to the people." Now the Constitution not only has not delegated to Congress the power to enforce Christianity as a national religion based on common law, but in the First Amendment it explicitly prohibits Congress from making any law "respecting an establishment of religion." The matter, therefore, under the Xth Article of the Constitution, already cited, is relegated to the States, who may declare, as States have authoritatively declared themselves upon the matter, some making the Christian religion part of the common law of the State,—as Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, and Connecticut,—others declaring Christianity to be no part of the law of the State,—as Maine and Ohio. Obviously, that which is not common law of all the States is not common law of the whole country.

2. To the proposition that Christianity is part of the constitutional law of the land, we reply, *the Constitution is directly against the proposition*. First, we have the declaration of the Constitution itself in the First Amendment, denying to Congress the right "to make any law respecting the establishment of religion." Think of Congress being prohibited from enforcing the common law of the land! Yet such would be the absurd situation were Christianity part of the common law. Again, the negative evidence points to the same conclusion; for we find no mention of God in the Constitution—not even in the oath required of the President.

Does this make the Constitution atheistic? Not at all. To be an atheist is to explicitly deny the existence of God, as to be a theist is to affirm his existence. The Constitution neither affirms nor denies the existence of God, and is consequently neither theistic nor atheistic; it is a purely secular instrument.

Lastly, the *historical* evidence sustains the proposition that Christianity is not the law of the land. In support of this

we reproduce one citation from the Xith Article of the treaty with Tripoli, which contains the declaration, "As the Government of the United States is not in any sense founded on the Christian religion . . . it has no enmity against Mussulmans," etc. This affirmation was made by Washington, then President, and his Cabinet—in which were Jefferson and Hamilton—and by the United States Senate, many of whose members assisted in founding the Government and participated in formulating its Constitution. And is it conceivable that such a declaration if false would have passed that illustrious body, our first United States Senate, unchallenged, if it asserted what was not true?—or are we to suppose that Washington and Jefferson, and Hamilton, and Madison, and Adams, and Lee, and Morris, and Ellsworth, and the other illustrious men of those days, did not know whether or not the Government they were instrumental in establishing was founded on the Christian religion?

To sum up the whole matter; against the proposition that Christianity is the common law of the whole country, we have cited the decision of the Supreme Court on the Girard will case; the history of the formation of the States; the decision of the Supreme Courts of Ohio and Maine, and the opinion of Chief Justice Cooley, of Michigan. And lastly, we have drawn testimony from the Constitution itself to show that under its terms no religion can be the common law of the land, while both positively and negatively the evidence is conclusive that Christianity is no part of that which affirms itself to be "the supreme law of the land," and hence can not be part of our constitutional law. This brings us back to the position announced in a recent issue of this journal—that we are not a Christian Nation; that we are a Christian people. And we add that so long as Christianity is inwrought in the hearts and consciences of the people, it is of no concern whether it be in our statutory or common law or not. Putting it there would make us no better; because it is not there, we are none the worse; for it still holds true that error may well be given full liberty where truth is left free to combat it.—*Christian at Work.*

Censorship of the Press.

CONGRESSMAN HENDERSON, of Iowa, is one of the considerable number of well-meaning people in this country who grow impatient at the apparently tardy results of attempts at making the world better, and finding the laws indifferently enforced, hurry off to seek a remedy in more laws. The particular evil which troubles Mr. Henderson is the illegal use of the mails for the circulation of improper literature. He seems to overlook the fact that such use is already illegal and the laws can be and probably are en-

forced as strictly as it is possible for any law not aimed at the direct preservation of life and property to be. He thinks the remedy is to be found in creating a censorship and has introduced a bill which in effect gives the Postmaster General authority to suppress a newspaper or other periodical altogether by denying it the use of the mails. The bill will hardly become a law, and certainly ought not to. It is not enough to urge in its support that the Postmaster General would probably use his power with moderation and discretion. The objection lies in the principle of the thing, which is wrong altogether. The proper place to settle questions of violation of law is in the courts, and the inquiry should be conducted under fixed rules of procedure, to the end that impartial justice may be the result. Short cuts in attempts to enforce the laws by clothing some man or body of men with dictatorial powers are sure to result disastrously in the end, and are directly contrary to the spirit of our institutions as established by the founders. There are publications, undoubtedly, which should be suppressed in the interest of good morals, but they should be restrained by the punishment of the offenders as provided by law rather than by a censorship such as is permitted in no civilized country outside of Russia.—*Manchester (N. H.) Union.*

Presbyterian Elders Who Break Sunday.

J. M. FOSTER, Secretary of the National Reform Association, writing from Richmond, Indiana, draws a dark picture of the disregard of Christians for Sunday, and of "Presbyterian Elders" who travel with "Masonic excursions" on that day. To correct these evils and make these Christians better, Mr. Foster declares that there is need of a strict Sunday law, the aim of which shall be—

to protect the employer against himself. He is often so covetous that he will sin against his own conscience to gain the time of the Sabbath. The superintendent of a leading house in Cincinnati, in order to have his goods arranged for their opening day in a new house, said to those under his direction: "I am a member of the church. I respect any one's scruples. But those who have no conscientious objection to working on the Sabbath will come and help me to-morrow. The rest must work Saturday night." That man needs a Sabbath law to protect himself. He has not conscience enough to do it.

What a proposition; create religious conscience for Presbyterian elders, and other church members, by civil law! Think of this scene at the Judgment Seat of Christ: *DIALOGUE. Judge.*—Why did you disregard Sunday while on earth? *Culprit.*—Because the civil law of Indiana did not compel me, and create in me a heart clean enough to keep the "Lord's-day holy."—What a travesty!—*Sabbath Outlook.*

SUNDAY laws are antichristian.

Iowa Hearing on Sunday-Closing.

IN harmony with the concerted effort put forth in every State Legislature in session this season, the friends of Sunday-closing began almost on the opening day to influence the Iowa Legislature to place itself on record, in some way, as in sympathy with the effort to secure the closing of the World's Fair on Sunday.

As a result the following was offered by Representative Wilson:—

WHEREAS, It has been proposed to open the doors of the Columbian Exposition, in 1893, upon the Sabbath day, contrary to the honorable custom of our Nation and in direct violation of the statutes of the State of Illinois, within the borders of which it is held, and also in violation of the laws of almost every other State in the Union, and

WHEREAS, The preservation of the Sabbath, as a day of rest, is necessary, not only for the well-being of the church, which gives us our prized name of a Christian Nation; but also for the stability of the State, for the physical welfare of the people, and for the preservation of the rights and interests of the workmen, and

WHEREAS, The proposed action would be a long step toward permanent disregard of the Sabbath as a day of rest, therefore,

Be it resolved by the General Assembly of the State of Iowa,

SECTION 1, That we respectfully petition the Commissioners of the Exposition to keep the doors closed upon the first day of the week, commonly called the Sabbath.

SEC. 2, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the commissioners.

These resolutions and accompanying petitions were referred to a committee of nine members of the Legislature, appointed to consider them.

A hearing was appointed for March 22. The committee were all present. Quite a little time was taken up in transacting routine work before the hearing was reached. A half hour was allotted to A. T. Jones, representing the National Religious Liberty Association, in which time he showed conclusively that the proposed action was wholly beyond the jurisdiction of the Legislature; as according to the first article of the State Constitution, the Iowa Legislature had no right to pass any laws or take any steps that would favor, or in any way interfere with religion; that this same reason applied with equal force to similar action by any State Legislature, for every State Constitution had a like clause, all of which were derived from that clause in the National Constitution, prohibiting Congress from making any law respecting the establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof. Then to make the statements more clear the speaker reviewed the history of that clause, showed how it happened to be placed in the National Constitution and what was the real intent of its framers.

The hearing was cut short before the full development of the points which the speaker designed to get before the committee, but the speech was listened to with apparently much interest and elicited frequent questions, so much so that at one time the chairman rapped on the table and said, "Here, gentlemen, we gave this man a half hour, but we are taking all the time," whereupon one of the members immediately spoke up, "We'll give him more time, then,—we want to know about this matter."

One member asked the question whether he did not think that the interests of the Church demanded legislative action in closing the gates of the Exposition on Sunday? "No, said the speaker, Christ says the gates of hell shall not prevail against the Church, how then can the

gates of the Columbian Exposition effect it?" The question was asked whether the commissioners had any right to shut away those who want to go to the Fair on Sunday in response to a petition from those who did not want to go, and the answer was, "Assuredly not." That those who did not care to go could stay away, and those who wanted to go might do so without any interference with those who didn't want to go, for the going or remaining away was wholly an individual matter. Then it was suggested, by one of the committee, that in view of the fact that the Exposition was an international affair not a State or even a national thing, it would certainly be unjust to foreign exhibitors, who do not regard the day as they would thus be required to do, as long as they were in part, at least, contributory to its success.

Another query was raised as to whether or not the seventh-day people were petitioning for the opening of the gates and was replied to that they were not; but that their opposition was to the gates being closed by legislative action, which was wholly on religious grounds; that that was wholly outside the jurisdiction of civil law, as it was contrary to the Constitution of the United States and of every State in the Union. The idea was also developed that to close the gates on Sunday and compel the people to remain away, would not advance the interests of Sabbath-keeping, for if the day was not regarded to the Lord, it was not regarded at all.

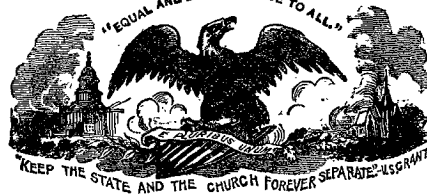
A friend of the bill soberly enquired whether it was not right to have laws to compel people to keep the Sabbath, and the answer was that it was not right in any sense; that it was simply to compel religious observance, and the State has no right to enact laws with respect to religion and the enforcement of religious observances. Upon this it was observed by certain of the committee that if the State could not legislate upon religion, then we might as well abolish all our moral laws. Quite a number of other interesting points were brought out, but these are sufficient to show the drift of the minds of the committee.

After the hearing was over several of the members remained to talk further concerning the question. One of them purchased a copy of "Two Republics," and promised to bring it to the notice of other members. Another one said, as we were leaving the room, "That committee has something to think over now that they have never had before." Another one said, "I don't believe that this question of Sunday-closing of the World's Fair will be called up at all at this session now." And in further conversation he said: "The facts are, we have been besieged by the religious element of our constituency to close the capitol building on Sunday, to shut off the Sunday pay of the employes, and to take action against Sunday newspapers, until life is pretty near a burden."

The question of the State appropriation to the World's Fair was called up the following Friday, and passed, but the Sunday clause was left entirely out, and we are also told that the Sunday-rest resolutions and petitions are forever killed; so take it all in all the friends of the National Religious Liberty Association feel that the hearing had its effect and are glad for the effort.

W. E. CORNELL.

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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ON March 22, in the New York Legislature, the Senate passed the bill appropriating three hundred thousand dollars for the World's Fair, with a clause prohibiting the opening of the State exhibit on Sunday, just as it came from the Assembly. The text of this clause of the bill reads: "The exhibit of the State of New York at such exhibition shall not be opened to the public on Sunday, and the general managers herein provided for shall take such steps as may be necessary to carry this provision into effect."

A CORRESPONDENT says that a leading lawyer of Cincinnati recently stated to him that, if the World's Fair is opened on Sunday, the church to which he belonged would go armed and prevent the opening by force. If this is the proper thing for Christians to do, why did not Christ tell Peter to fight away, rather than to put up his sword, with the statement that they who take the sword must perish with the sword? Christians must persuade, but where is the authority from the great Author of Christianity for them to take up arms to fight for their principles?

THE Syracuse *Sunday Times* not long ago conceived the idea of publishing an article which should present complete statistics of the growth and progress of all the churches of different denominations in the city of Syracuse. To assist in this a circular letter, with blanks to be filled out and returned, was mailed to every minister having a charge in the city. About two thirds of the ministers refused to fill out the blank, and give the information requested, on the ground that they would not contribute to an article to be published in a Sunday newspaper. If it had been a Monday morning newspaper, which made the request, no doubt they would have been ready to furnish any amount of copy, for the editor to spend his Sunday afternoon over, and the compositors to set up on Sunday night.

THE St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*, of March 21, contains the following special dispatch from Lexington, Missouri:—

In the report of the Grand Jury it was stated that the jurors had agreed individually, and as a body, to notify violators of the Sunday law in their respective towns and neighborhoods, that if they did not desist it would be the duty of the jurors to report them to the next Grand Jury. To-day, for the first Sunday in years, business was almost entirely suspended; drug stores were opened, but the

sales were confined to medicines. The restaurants refused to sell cigars, and the lobby of the post-office, which is occupied as a news stand, was not opened until the regular hour for opening the delivery window. Heretofore, clothing and tobacco stores have been opened, but to-day closing was the rule. Speaking of the violation of the Sunday and liquor laws, the Grand Jury says:

"In an official capacity we have been shocked at the corruption of the morality of youth, and heard of the want and misery of the home circles, caused by the use of intoxicating liquors. This crime is appalling, and points with anxious finger to the responsibility of citizenship. In only two instances out of a very large number were we satisfied in indicting. We concluded such crime can only be abated by the citizens combining with the officers of the law to obtain positive evidence to present to grand jurors."

The enforcement of Sunday laws is coming to be the supposed panacea for all social and political ills. But is it true that the cause and cure of these troubles lie no deeper than a mere failure to enforce a religious holiday once a week by civil law?

THE World's Fair is to have a "Department of Religion" as a portion of The World's Congress Auxiliary of the World's Exposition of 1893. C. C. Bonney, who is President of the International Law and Order League, is President also of this World's Congress Auxiliary. Mr. Bonney has sent out a circular in reference to this Department of Religion at the World's Fair, which says that its purpose is "To unite all religion against all irreligion; to make the Golden Rule the basis of union; to present to the world in the religious congresses to be held in connection with the Columbian Exposition of 1893, the substantial unity of many religions in the good deeds of the religious life; to provide for a World's Parliament of Religions, in which their common aims and common ground of unity may be set forth, and the marvelous religious progress of the nineteenth century be reviewed; and to facilitate separate and independent congresses of different religious denominations and organizations, under their own officers, in which their business may be transacted, their achievements presented, and their work for the future presented." To plan the work for this Department of Religion a committee has been appointed representing sixteen different religious denominations among which is the Roman Catholic, the Jewish, and the Unitarian. The Congress is to be held from August 25 to September 28, 1893. If this movement towards the unification of popular religion is in any measure successful it will be a long stride towards making, not "the Golden Rule the basis of this union," but the tenets of the Law and Order League and the American Sabbath Union the basis of a union for the enforcement of religious law throughout the world. The possible outcome of this may be a world-wide propagation of the gospel of legal force.

A SUNDAY bill has again been submitted to the Canadian Parliament. The present bill differs from that of last year in that there are not more than half as many provisions as in the previous bill. Although the word "Sabbath" is carefully omitted the preamble distinctly declares the measure to be in the "interests of religion." It will be noticed that where penalties are affixed one half goes to the informant, also that the exemption clause extends only to "the people called Indians."

The following is the text of the bill:—

AN ACT

TO SECURE THE BETTER OBSERVANCE OF THE LORD'S DAY, COMMONLY CALLED SUNDAY.

WHEREAS it is desirable, in the interests of religion, morality, and the public welfare, that better provision be made for securing the observance of the first day of the week, hereinafter called the Lord's day, as a day of rest; Therefore, Her Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate and House of Commons of Canada, enacts as follows:

1. Whoever shall on the Lord's day, either as proprietor, publisher, or manager, engage in the printing, publication, or delivery of a newspaper,

journal, or periodical, and whoever shall on the Lord's day engage in the sale, distribution, or circulation of any newspaper, journal, or periodical printing published on that day, shall be deemed to be guilty of a misdemeanor; provided, however, that necessary office work may be performed after nine o'clock in the evening of the Lord's day, for the purpose of facilitating the publication of the Monday morning issue of any daily newspaper.

2. No canal belonging to Canada shall be open for traffic or business on the Lord's day, between the hours of six in the morning and ten in the evening; but this provision may be set aside by Order in Council after the fifteenth day of October in each year.

3. Any railway superintendent, traffic manager, or person, by virtue of whose authority and command railway cars or trains are on the Lord's day loaded at any railway station in Canada, or despatched from such station when loaded, or permitted to continue a journey (except in the case of live stock and perishable goods) with Canadian local freight,—or any person, as aforesaid, who directs local passenger trains to be run on the Lord's day (except one milk train on each road, and such special trains as are necessary for the purpose of conveying medical aid and means of relief in cases of accident, or to persons injured or afflicted with sickness, or of conveying persons to visit dying relations, or for the purpose of conveying the means for extinguishing fire to places requiring such assistance, or for other acts of necessity and mercy), or directs empty cars to be moved from station to station within the territory of Canada,—shall be deemed to be guilty of a misdemeanor; but through passenger trains each way, with their necessary connections, shall be permitted on any trunk line of Canada.

At such time as the laws of the United States shall make corresponding provision, no through freight in transit from one point on the frontier of the United States to some other point on the said frontier, shall be allowed to pass over Canadian roads on the Lord's day, except live stock and perishable goods.

4. Excursions on the Lord's day by steamboats plying for hire, or by railway, or in part by steamboat and in part by railway, and having for their only or principal object the carriage of passengers for amusement or pleasure, and to go and return the same day by the same steamboat or railway or any other owned by the same person or company, shall not be deemed a lawful conveying of passengers within the meaning of this Act; and the owner, superintendent, or person, by virtue of whose authority and direction such excursion is permitted or ordered on the Lord's day, shall be deemed to be guilty of a misdemeanor; *Providing* that nothing in this section shall be deemed to prohibit the ordinary carriage of passengers authorized by provincial statute.

5. Any person guilty of any offense declared in section one of this Act to be a misdemeanor, shall, on summary conviction, be liable to a fine not exceeding fifty dollars for the first offense, and not exceeding one hundred dollars for each subsequent offense, together with the costs,—and in default of immediate payment of such fine and costs, to imprisonment for a term not exceeding—months.

6. Any person guilty of any offense declared in sections three and four of this Act to be a misdemeanor, shall, on summary conviction, be liable to a fine not exceeding one hundred dollars for the first offense, and not exceeding two hundred dollars for each subsequent offense, together with the costs,—and in default of immediate payment of such fine and costs, to imprisonment for a term not exceeding—months.

7. All sums of money awarded or imposed as fines or penalties by virtue of this Act shall be paid as follows, that is to say: one moiety thereof shall be paid to the party charging and prosecuting the offense, and the other moiety to the treasurer of the county or city wherein the offense was committed, to be by him accounted for in the same manner as other moneys deposited with, or paid over to him.

8. No prosecution under this Act shall be commenced unless within one month after the commission of the offense charged.

9. This Act shall not extend to the people called Indians, when it conflicts with their tribal customs or rights.

REV. BISHOP NEWMAN, vice-president of the American Sabbath Union, has made arrangements for a grand mass meeting under the auspices of the Union, on May 15, at Omaha, Nebraska, during the session of the annual conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in that city.

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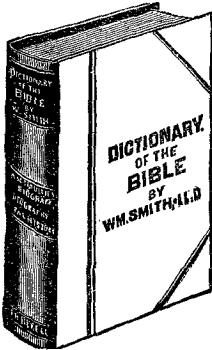
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NEW YORK, APRIL 7, 1892.

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THE SENTINEL cheerfully awards to the *Christian Statesman*, under its new management, the palm for scurrility. Calling people liars, and swindlers, does not make them so; but it does show an evil mind and an unchristian spirit in the one who does it. THE SENTINEL declines to enter the field to which the *Statesman* invites it.

THE Pope is said to be about to make Archbishop Ireland a Cardinal, in token of approval of the scheme "whereby parochial schools in Minnesota are turned into public schools for certain hours of the day." That which commends this plan to the Catholic heart especially, is, that by means of it the Church school is supported by State funds. The scheme is also in operation to some extent in this State.

THE Western Pennsylvania Sabbath Association, so-called, held its second annual session in Pittsburg, on the 29 ult. The attendance was not large, being confined chiefly to delegates; but the spirit of determination to conquer which pervaded the convention was ominous of results far beyond, and of a very different character from, the seeming possibilities of only the recent past. One of the editors of this paper was present at the meeting, and will make some report of it, and give some of his impressions concerning it, next week.

A SENTINEL reader, in Maine, writes:—

I enjoy reading THE SENTINEL very much, and think the arguments in it are good enough to convince almost everybody. Nevertheless it must be confessed that this movement to secure religious legislation is gaining ground rapidly in all parts of the world. The Woman's Christian Temperance Union is doing as much in this direction as any other association in the United States. Recently they tried to organize at Shawmut, Maine. They are making their influence felt even in the backwood villages of this State. A "boss" of a crew of men in the woods, at Dead River, wrote to his employer recently that one of his "tote" teams had been arrested (at the instigation of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union), for getting supplies on Sunday; and he wanted to know what to do about it. His employer's reply was: "Go ahead on Sunday just the same as you have always done." Only think of it, tampering with the lumbermen up in the backwoods of Maine!

The movement is indeed widespread and comprehensive. The warning against it should be just as widely disseminated.

THE *Christian Statesman* has discovered what it is pleased to term "a pious fraud, indeed." The following "ad" which has appeared in several of the leading religious papers is that which has excited its ire:—

The *Sabbath Outlook*; a 16-page monthly, devoted to Sabbath Reform. Price fifty cents a year. Send for specimen copy, and examine valuable list of premiums. Free to all Reading Rooms. Room 100, Bible House, New York City.

"This notice," says the *Statesman*, "is a clear case of getting money, and space, and readers through false pretenses."

The trouble is that the *Outlook* is a Seventh-day Baptist publication, devoted to the advocacy of the Bible Sabbath, the seventh day of the week, the day, which even the *Statesman* must admit, is in the Scriptures called "the Sabbath."

THE editor of the *Statesman* knows that Sunday is in the Bible never called "the Sabbath;" and that it was not by the early Church called by that name; but that for centuries of the Christian era, the term, "the Sabbath" was always and everywhere understood to mean the seventh day, the day now commonly called Saturday. Then how is it that it is a fraud for Seventh-day Baptists, who are laboring to bring all men, or at least all Christians, to again observe the seventh day, to call their work, "Sabbath reform"?

THERE can be but one answer to the question raised in the preceding paragraph, namely, that the editor of the *Statesman* has dubbed his efforts to force all men to keep Sunday, "Sabbath reform," and that for a purpose; and he wants a monopoly of the name. Wonderful transformation, that while the Bible always and everywhere calls the seventh day "the Sabbath," it is now a fraud to so use the term! There is no possible reason why Seventh-day Baptists should abandon the use of the name Sabbath when speaking of the seventh day, or qualify it in any way whatever. The "fraud, indeed," is all in applying that name to the first day of the week.

FURTHERMORE, the "ad" referred to says, "Send for specimen copy." It seeks to gain subscribers only on its merits, and its premiums. Certainly this is legitimate; and only an evil mind would discover evil in it.

It is neither necessary nor right for one believing that he has truth to present to do it in a manner that will close people's hearts and ears against it before they even know what it is. The Saviour exhorted his disciples to be wise as serpents and as harmless as doves; and the apostle wrote to certain of his converts that he had caught them with guile. That is he used wisdom in dealing with them; he gave them truth as they were able to bear it; and the principle is recognized and acted

upon by Christians in Christian work everywhere.

WHEN Nathan came to David to rebuke him for his sin against Uriah, he did it by means of a parable which secured the king's attention and brought home to his mind the full force of the principle involved. Had he at once said, "David, I am come to rebuke you for a very grave sin, and I warn you not to commit yourself by any expression of opinion until you fully understand all that I am going to say," he would have taken the course which the *Statesman* seems to think Seventh-day observers should pursue; and the course which Mr. Crafts, the editor of the *Statesman*, does not pursue.

As one who is constantly endeavoring to influence men, Mr. Crafts necessarily prepares the way for his conclusions by preparing the minds of his hearers for those conclusions. His "arguments" for Sunday laws are adapted to his audience. Before a congregation of church people, he urges religious "reasons" for Sunday legislation; while before a convention of laboring men, who are probably largely non-professors, he urges his "civil" "reasons."

THE method indicated in the preceding paragraph would be legitimate, were all the "arguments" legitimate and consistent; but unfortunately they are not. For instance when Mr. Crafts exhibits his oriental saw, saying, as he has many times said, that it "was such a saw that Christ used to lay down at the close of his week's work on Saturday evening," he is perpetrating upon his audience not a "pious," but an impious fraud, and he knows it. Therefore the present editor of the *Christian Statesman* is the last man that should talk about pious frauds. The *Sabbath Outlook* is not guilty of such frauds, while its accuser is.

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