

"IF ANY MAN HEAR MY WORDS, AND BELIEVE NOT, I JUDGE HIM NOT: FOR I CAME NOT TO JUDGE THE WORLD, BUT TO SAVE THE WORLD."

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EDITOR, - - - - - A. T. JONES.
ASST. EDITOR, - - - - - L. A. SMITH.

THERE have been those who held to a distinction between the *nation* and the *Government* of the United States. They therefore have held that this might be a Christian nation without being a Christian Government. And when the United States Supreme Court declared that by "organic utterances," and according to the meaning of the Constitution, "this is a Christian nation," they said that that did not mean anything special as to the recognition of a national religion, because the court did not say that this is a Christian *Government*.

This distinction is not sound; but for the sake of the case, let us admit the claim just once, and see what will come of it. The Government of the United States is composed of three departments—the Legislative, the Judicial, and the Executive. It is impossible to deny this. Neither of these alone is the Government. No two of them together are the Government. All three are essential parts, and any one is only a part, of the Government. The three together—this is the Government.

Now in 1892 the judicial department of the Government definitely committed itself to the Christian religion as a governmental thing, by declaring that by "organic utterances" and the "meaning" of the Constitution, this is a Christian nation. And at every opportunity that has been offered since, this department of the Government has shown that it adheres to this doctrine.

In 1892 likewise the legislative department of the Government committed itself not only to the Christian religion as a governmental thing, but to that particular phase of it that is represented in Sunday observance. In 1893 this branch of the Government, by direct action, confirmed itself in this thing; and nothing has been done since to the contrary, by this department of the Government.

In 1892 also the executive department of the Government committed itself to the Christian religion as a governmental thing, by of-

ficially approving the action of the legislative department; and nothing has been done since to the contrary by this branch of the government. In addition to this, in 1896, the executive department of the Government, in a thanksgiving proclamation, did commit itself again specifically to the Christian religion as a governmental thing.

Now as it is undeniable that these three departments are the Government of the United States; and as it is also undeniable that these three departments have by repeated action committed themselves to the Christian religion as a governmental thing; it is equally undeniable that in the bad sense in which such a term is always used, the Government of the United States has been made and continues to be a "Christian Government."

What more could possibly be necessary to accomplish such a thing? Was it essential that all three branches of the Government should by definite action take such a step? All three have done it. Was it essential that all three branches of the Government should by repeated action take such step? All three have by repeated action done it. Then is it not undeniable that the thing has been done?

This is not to claim that all has been done that will be done. More, much more, will be done. This is to say, however, that the particular, the essential thing, of the recognition of a governmental national religion, has been done. And when more shall have been done, it matters not what it may be, in this direction, it is impossible for it to be essentially, or in principle, the doing of any new thing. All it can possibly be is the enlarging and deepening of the thing that has been already done.

Nor is this to say that the opposition should be any the less earnest to all that may be attempted in addition to what has been done. The opposition must never be less, nor less active, than it has been, but more if possible, to anything and everything of the kind, both to what has been done and what may be attempted. It is a wicked thing; and opposition to it is both civilly and religiously right. Never let up; and never surrender.

Of "trusts and monopolies," President Cleveland, in his late message, said: "Another topic in which our people rightfully take a deep interest may be here briefly considered.

I refer to the existence of trusts and other huge aggregations of capital, the object of which is to secure the monopoly of some particular branch of trade, industry or commerce, and to stifle wholesome competition.

"Their tendency is to crush out individual independence and to hinder or prevent the free use of human faculties and the full development of human character.

"Through them the farmer, the artisan, and the small trader is in danger of dislodgment from the proud position of being his own master, watchful of all that touches his country's prosperity, in which he has an individual lot, and interested in all that affects the advantages of business of which he is a factor, to be relegated to the level of a mere appurtenance to a great machine, with little free will, with no duty but that of passive obedience, and with little hope or opportunity of rising in the scale of responsible and helpful citizenship.

"To the instinctive belief that such is the inevitable trend of trusts and monopolies is due the widespread and deep-seated popular aversion in which they are held and the not unreasonable insistence that, whatever may be their incidental economic advantages, their general effect upon personal character, prospects, and usefulness, cannot be otherwise than injurious."

That is all true. And though this was written with particular reference to the trusts and monopolies of capital, it is just as true of trusts and monopolies of labor, religion, or anything else, as it is of those of capital.

In the dispatches of the same day that the President's message was printed, there was the following:—

ST. LOUIS, Mo., Dec. 7, 1896.—One of the greatest labor organizations that the world has ever seen has just had its inception in this city. It is a universal building trades union, and includes the labor of every artisan from the digging of the foundation to the last touches upon a building.

There met here yesterday representatives of building trades from many cities at the call of the local building trades council. H. W. Stainbiss, secretary of the St. Louis Building Trades Council, is authority for the statement that 2,500,000 persons are interested in the movement.

It is not proposed to antagonize the employers of skilled labor, but to show them the benefits of co-operation with the laborers who create wealth.

This latter organization comes within the President's description of trusts, as certainly as does any organization of capital. For as-

surely the object of this organization of building trades is nothing else than "to secure the monopoly of some particular branch of trade, industry, or commerce, and to stifle wholesome competition."

It is true that this building-trades trust suggests "benefits" that can come from their monopoly; and so does the coal trust, the sugar trust, and all the others. The President's answer to the claim of "benefits" to others made by the capital trusts is also an answer to this suggestion of "benefits" to others made by this latest, or any other, labor trust. Admitting that such a thing may incidentally and occasionally appear, it is only incidental and occasional, and "such occasional results fall far short of compensating the palpable evil charged to the account of trusts and monopolies."

And the greatest of these evils is that which the President points out, which we have before pointed out, and which only last week we dwelt upon—the destruction of individuality. As the President expresses it: "This tendency is to crush out individual independence and to hinder or prevent the free use of human faculties and the full development of human character;" the relegation of the individual "to the level of a mere appurtenance to a great machine, with little free will, with no duty but that of passive obedience, and with little hope or opportunity of rising in the scale of responsible and helpful citizenship."

The President recommends legislation that shall check the operations of trusts and monopolies of capital. But how can a law be made that will have the desired effect upon the trusts and monopolies of capital, without affecting trusts and monopolies of labor as well? Any legislation proposed which should bear upon the labor trusts, however, would be instantly and vigorously resented as an attack upon labor and an invasion of the rights of labor; and certainly would not be suffered to become law. Yet any law bearing only upon trusts and monopolies of capital, would certainly be rejected by the courts as special or class legislation. Indeed, the President says that the legislation that has been enacted already, has failed, "simply because the laws themselves, as interpreted by the courts, do not reach the difficulty."

There is danger then, indeed there is a probability, that in the attempts to remedy the evil by legislation, it will be done in such a way that a governmental trust and monopoly will be erected which will be more destructive to individuality than all the other trusts and monopolies of all sorts together. The danger is that laws may be enacted and enforced, even by decrees of the highest courts, overstepping the boundaries of strict impartiality and general justice, and the assent of all be exacted simply because it is the law; and when any one presumes to question the law as to whether it is right, or strictly impartial or generally just, and refuses his assent to it because it is not such a law, he will be denounced as an enemy of the government and a revolutionist.

There is too much of this doctrine spread abroad in the United States already, that every law must be accepted and obeyed simply "because it is the law." Benjamin Harrison, while he was president, as he was "swingin' round the circle," made this his particular theme. In the late campaign he made a specialty of the same thing, and denounced as "revolutionists" all who should refuse assent to a decision of the United States Supreme Court on a constitutional question. The principles upon which the Government of the United States is founded, admit no such doc-

trine. Abraham Lincoln's whole political contest was waged against it.

Yet this doctrine is the stronghold of the religious combination that proposes by Sunday laws and religious legislation generally, to dominate the country, and which is already dominating it to vastly too large an extent. They never ask, nor do they care, whether a thing is constitutional, or whether it is right. They only want to know whether it is the law, or whether by any means it can be made the law. Then whoever opposes it or refuses to obey it—no matter how flatly unconstitutional and wrong it may be—he is denounced as an "enemy of the government," "revolutionist," "anarchist," "Adventist," etc., etc. And having the governmental power in their hands, and public opinion on their side, they can, and they do, make it very uncomfortable for the man who chooses to think for himself and to maintain the constitutional provisions and fundamental principles upon which the nation rests. The effect of this religious trust and monopoly, precisely as is that of every other trust and monopoly, is to crush out individual independence and to hinder or prevent the free use of human faculties and the full development of human character;" to relegate the individual "to the level of a mere appurtenance to a great machine, with little free will, and with no duty but that of passive obedience."

It was not by any means a small club to be used to this end that President Cleveland put into the hands of this religious monopoly, when in his last Thanksgiving proclamation he committed the national government specifically to the patronage of the Christian religion—or rather, to that form of the Christian religion which is dealt in by this religious "Trust."

REALLY we did not suppose that anybody could be found who would defend President Cleveland's action in dragging the Christian religion into his last Thanksgiving proclamation. Many we knew would be glad that he did so, and would gladly use it for all that could be made out of it; but that any would attempt to justify it or defend it, we did not believe.

The issuing of a religious proclamation at all, even in the most general and non-committal terms, by the President of the United States, is so clearly an act of usurpation, that we could not think that anybody would have the face to defend such an act when he went so far beyond this as to adopt distinctly the religion of one class of the people of the country.

"The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, . . . are reserved." No man can for a moment say that the power to appoint religious festivals, and prescribe religious exercises, has been delegated by the Constitution. Every person who ever read the Constitution, knows there is no delegation of any such power. For the President of the United States to do such a thing, is for him to act without authority, without the Constitution, without legal right. It is even more than this; for the makers of the Constitution and of the Government under it, particularly excluded religion, and specifically the Christian religion, from the cognizance of the national authority. Such an act of the President, therefore, is not only without the Constitution, but against the Constitution—against the spirit and express intent of the Constitution.

Yet for all this there are those who have the face actually to defend this latest thing

of the kind. It will be of interest to the people to know who they are that do it, and how they do it.

The *Independent* was the first to do it. After quoting the particular sentence of the proclamation, it acknowledges that "this is a recognition of our Lord Jesus Christ and of the Christian religion in a proclamation addressed to all the people of the country, Christians and Jews alike." But why mention only Christians and Jews? "All the people of the country" are not composed of Christians and Jews. There are thousands upon thousands of "the people of the country" who are neither Christians nor Jews, and yet who are entitled to just as much consideration from a President of the country as is any Christian in all the land. Was Mr. Cleveland chosen and elected to be the President of all the people of the country? or of only the Christians of the country?

But even though all the people of the country were composed of only Christians and Jews, then under a Constitution including both Christians and Jews the President of the country would have no kind of right in his official capacity to recognize exclusively Christian doctrines. To do so would be at once to give public notice that he did not consider himself the President of all the people; but of the Christians only. It would be to say that in his view the Constitution did not include Christians and Jews, but Christians only. And when as is the fact all the people of the country are composed promiscuously of Christians, Jews and non-religionists, living under a Constitution that was framed expressly to include all without any distinction whatever; when, in view of this the President, having taken an oath to maintain the Constitution, in his official capacity as President issues a document which is exclusively Christian, notice is thereby plainly given to all the country that he does not consider that the Constitution includes all the people, but Christians only; and that he considers himself under that Constitution as President, not of all the people, but only of the Christians of the country. This must be so, or else it will have to be admitted that a President who issued such a document was an exceedingly thoughtless personage.

As we did not suppose anybody would defend this thing, so also we would not have supposed that anybody would attempt to defend it in the way that the *Independent* does in the following words:—

Our President and governors are authorized by law to set apart certain days as seasons of thanksgiving and fasting. All that the law provides is the bare announcement of the time.

As it relates to the President of the United States, there is not a shadow of truth in this statement. As for the governors, it is true that there are States that provide that they shall appoint days of thanksgiving. But as regards the President, it is absolutely false. There is no law authorizing him to do any such thing; not even as to "the bare announcement of the time." His doing of it is entirely without law, as well as without the Constitution. The *Independent's* pretense that there is such a law, is a fraud. But that a fraudulent thing should be supported by fraudulent means is natural enough; and, by the way, it is becoming enough too.

The *Independent* further says:—

If the President or governor says anything further [than the law provides] it is not a legal act.

Very good. That is true enough. And as it is certainly true that there is absolutely no law which provides that the President shall

say anything at all on the subject, it follows as also certainly true that what he does say on this subject "is not a legal act." That is true. We only wish all the people would tell him so; and instruct him to quit committing acts that are "not legal."

The *Independent* further says that when the President says anything further than the law provides, it is not a legal act, "but an expression of personal opinion or advice;" and that—

no Jew or pagan can rightly take exception to some recognition of Jesus Christ, as an expression of the President's personal faith. . . . Although addressed to all the people his little sermon is no more official than his address at the Presbyterian Home Missionary meeting in Carnegie Hall last winter.

Mr. Cleveland did not address that missionary meeting in his official capacity of President of the United States. He did not say to them, "I, Grover Cleveland, President of the United States, do hereby," etc. He did not write it out and say, "Witness my hand and the seal of the United States, which I have caused to be hereunto affixed." He did not close that address with "Done at the city of Washington, . . . in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and ninety-six, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and twenty-first.

"By the President,

"GROVER CLEVELAND.

"RICHARD OLNEY, Secretary of State."

Yet all this was done to his Thanksgiving proclamation. In fact it would be impossible for any document to have more of an official character.

For any one to say, in view of all this, that what he said in the proclamation "is no more official" than was his address at the missionary meeting, is, if possible, more fraudulent than the statement that he is "authorized by law" to make such proclamations. Though of course it should only be expected that all the statements on the subject would be of the same piece.

As the whole document, however, because of its being "not a legal act," was in itself only an expression of opinion, it may in that sense be admitted that the particular sentence was also "but an expression of personal opinion," "an expression of the President's personal faith." But even then, it is pertinent to inquire, What right has any man to attach the Great Seal of the United States to his personal opinions, and thus to pass them out to the country as official business of national importance? What right has any man thus to make his personal opinions the official opinions of the nation? What right has any man to put the national seal upon his personal faith and officially send it forth to the people of the country as a governmental thing to which they are expected to conform? What right has any man thus to make his personal faith the official faith of the nation?

But the climax of the *Independent's* ghastly defense is reached in the following:—

Suppose the President had been a Roman Catholic and referred to the invocation of Mary as a mediatrix, he would have made a mistake, because the prevailing sentiment of the land would be against him.

And is the *Independent* absolutely sure that there will never be so much of a prevailing sentiment in that direction that it will not be a mistake for a Roman Catholic in the presidential chair to refer to the invocation of Mary as a mediatrix, in a Thanksgiving proclamation? The *Independent* positively justifies such a thing whenever the prevailing sentiment may permit it. This is what the fathers saw when they made the National

Government separate from religion, when they said: "Who does not see that the same authority that can set up the Christian religion in exclusion of all other religions, can with the same ease set up some particular sect of Christians in exclusion of all other sects?" Other presidents gave national recognition to religion in general. President Cleveland has given national recognition to the Christian religion in exclusion of all other religions. It is only a question of time when the next step will be taken, and a President will give national recognition to some particular sect, and that the Catholic sect, in exclusion of all other sects.

Rome sees this too. And therefore Cardinal Gibbons's organ, the *Catholic Mirror*, also comes to the defense of this latest proclamation and this latest phase of the development of National religion. The *Mirror* of November 28, says:—

The Cleveland and Cincinnati rabbi and congregations who have made all this disturbance about a trifle are placing themselves in the same boat with those cranks and bigots who would "leave God out of the Constitution," or indeed, refuse to recognize any overruling Providence whatever—who would practically make our government agnostic or infidel.

And finally there comes the Reform Bureau of Washington, D. C., in the *Ram's Horn*, of Dec. 5, 1896, declaring it to be "unusual if not unprecedented," and that "Thus at last we have a proclamation in accord with the Supreme Court dictum, 'This is a Christian nation.'" And in a communication to the Washington, D. C., *Evening Star*, of November 30, the same body says further: "The Thanksgiving proclamation is in this respect the first one that might not have been as appropriately issued in China or among the Choctaws, or wherever a Supreme Being is recognized. This is the first proclamation in accord with the long list of historic facts on the basis of which the Supreme Court said, on February 29, 1892, in a unanimous opinion (Trinity Church case): 'This is a Christian nation.' This proclamation, with the burial of the spoils system and the arbitration treaty, will make this administration distinguished in history above any other since the war."

MAKING NATIONAL "HOLY DAYS."

THAT our national holidays are fast taking on the character of "holy days," is evident from facts which are too plain to be overlooked.

The pious and sermonic tone of the President's Thanksgiving proclamation, its distinctly "Christian" character, and the efforts made by the clergy to secure a public observance of the day by cessation of work and worldly sports, at least during the time of church services, are things to which we have already called attention. They show that this national "festival" day is undergoing a rapid metamorphosis which will leave it a religious day altogether, to be observed only in a religious manner. The following paragraph from the *Christian Statesman*, of November 28, adds to the evidence upon this point:—

We regret to be obliged to record that the Presbyterian Ministers' Association of Pittsburg, at its meeting last Monday, tabled a resolution introduced by one of its members protesting against the popular way of spending a large part of Thanksgiving Day in attendance upon football games. It is bad enough that so many college students and their friends, and members of athletic and even Young Men's Christian Associations and their supporters, have so little regard for the spirit of the day and the official proclamations for its proper observance. But when minis-

ters and college officers not only wink at the devoting of the day largely to rough sports, but even more or less publicly refuse to condemn and thus in an effective way justify this mode of spending a day *especially set apart* for the quiet enjoyment of the home circle and the *duties of charity and religion*, what can be expected of our young men?

Thanksgiving day, however, is not the only national day upon which an effort is being made to put the stamp of religion. The evidence of this we find in the *Christian Endeavorer*, for December, 1896. That journal says:—

Many Christian Endeavor societies last year utilized Washington's Birthday for Christian Citizenship day. They found this plan to be helpful to the cause of Christian Citizenship.

As Washington was distinctly a Christian citizen and showed his loyalty to his divine Master on every occasion, there is every reason why the celebration of his birthday should have a religious tone to it.

The *Endeavorer* further states that it was supposed that resolutions upon this point would be passed by the International Convention at Washington, but no resolutions were passed on any subject at that meeting. It adds, however, that in probably six hundred communities in this country the coming 22d of February will be observed under Christian citizenship auspices.

When the popular observance of national holidays takes on a "religious tone," those who fail to observe them religiously will suffer social ostracism, to say the least. Already it is accounted nothing less than sinful to continue secular work or engage in "rude sports" during the hours of church service on Thanksgiving day. And a like result must follow the establishment of the religious observance of Washington's birthday.

It is worthy of notice that these national holidays will, under this change, stand upon exactly the same footing as the "holy days" of the Roman Catholic Church. Such days are marked by a religious observance, but not through their whole length. That church requires attendance at Mass or other religious services set apart for the day; and having complied with the church requirements in this respect, the Catholic communicant is at liberty to spend the remaining portion of the day as his own inclination may direct. He is not debarred from indulgence in the popular forms of amusement and recreation, provided these do not interfere with the religious observances which the church prescribes. And not only will these days stand upon the same level as the Catholic "holy days;" they will serve the same purpose. The Catholic "holy days" are for the purpose of exalting and glorifying the church. And when the Protestant Church acquires the prerogative of directing the observance of national holidays, she will thereby exalt herself, and become invested with new power and authority in the eyes of the people. But the whole principle of such procedure is papal, and not Christian; and only that which is in the likeness of the papacy can come out of it.

The only days which can properly be observed religiously are those commanded to be observed by the Creator; for religion is a matter the direction of which is His prerogative alone. He has commanded us to keep holy his Sabbaths, which come on the seventh day of each week. But the leading church bodies have discarded these, and instituted "holy days" of their own. And this is nothing else than a parallel to the spirit and work of the papacy.

THERE is nothing which behaves more uncivilly than the "civil sabbath."

THANKSGIVING POLITICS.

BY M. E. KELLOGG.

THE elections are over, but the political fever has not yet abated; it continues to show itself, and in curious ways. The most ridiculous piece of political folly to be seen since the election is the way certain persons to whom is given the prerogative of issuing Thanksgiving day proclamations have taken advantage of their position to inject their politics into their proclamations. This was begun by no less exalted a personage than the President of the United States, who, in his Thanksgiving proclamation, expressed himself in a way that left no doubt that he thought that the success of a certain party in the elections had saved the nation from "dire disaster."

Of course if the President could make his annual Thanksgiving proclamation a means to get even with his party which had repudiated him, others to whom is given the authority to issue such proclamations could also take the same means to express their political sentiments. Hence several governors of States have issued proclamations in a similar vein. On the one hand, it is suggested in pious and covert phrases that God should be thanked because of the result of the election; and, on the other hand, that he should be thanked in spite of it!

The right of the President, and of the governors of States, to issue Thanksgiving day proclamations is a very questionable right, to say the least; and when we see it so prostituted that it becomes only a means of issuing a political and partisan manifesto, it deepens the impression that it is about time that it be dispensed with. This is not saying that we should not give thanks. But why confine it to one day, or wait for a President or governors to express their political views under cover of the Thanksgiving proclamation? God's blessings are new every morning and fresh every evening. Then let every day of mercies be to us a day of true thanksgiving unto the Giver of every good and perfect gift.

THERE IS DANGER.

[Chicago Israelite, Nov. 28, 1896.]

BETWEEN undue sensitiveness and a just appreciation of insult and rightful apprehension of encroachments upon liberty, there are great differences. No one familiar with the systematized efforts of the numerous Christian organizations, to obtain recognition of Christ in the Constitution; of the tendency of the decision of the United States Supreme Court, that this is a Christian nation; and of the natural results which must follow upon the arrest and conviction of Seventh-day Adventists in various States of the Union, can view with indifference President Cleveland's departure from the precedents of all the presidents who have gone before him. Mr. Cleveland has done what no previous president has ever dreamed of doing, what all have taken pains to avoid doing.

There is an untiring effort being made to turn this country into a Christian State and to place on a footing of toleration only, all those who do not profess the Christian religion. The danger of the eventual success of this scheme is much greater than many are inclined to believe. Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty, and it behooves every lover of freedom to be on his guard against its foes,

and more especially, against such an evident attack as is made in President Cleveland's message, whether it was intended or not.

Those who close their eyes to the strength of the movement which has for its aim the Christianization of our country, and the consequent death blow to all of its boasted freedom, either know little of what is going on or sadly underestimate the number and influence of those engaged in this revolutionary and retrogressive movement. Ignorance and indifference only can account for the tendency to make little of President Cleveland's breach of the unwritten law which has hitherto been held sacred. . . . Those who are inclined to underestimate the influence of his action will have a chance to estimate it at its true value when the jubiliations of Christianizing elements have had time to make themselves heard. That they will be heard in tones unmistakably loud, only those who know nothing of the fight being made can doubt.

ORTHODOX CHRISTIANS SAY IT IS ALL WRONG.

Mrs. S. G. Wood, in Cleveland Evening Post, Nov. 30.

EDITOR PLAIN DEALER—*Sir*: In your editorial on Thanksgiving amendment referring to the seeming objectionable points in the Thanksgiving proclamation of Grover Cleveland, you say that from an orthodox Christian point of view they were all right.

A reader begs leave to say that if orthodox Christians thoroughly understood the principles upon which our Government was founded, while they might not regard any part of the proclamation as offensive to their religious views, they could in no respect consider the proclamation right, as the issuance of Thanksgiving proclamations is all wrong. It is a violation of those principles which are dear to the heart of every American, for an officer of civil government, as an official, to prescribe or proclaim acts of religious worship.

You excuse Grover Cleveland, and, no doubt, justly so, on the theory that perhaps some man accustomed to devout phraseology wrote said proclamation, and it was indorsed by the President without due care and deliberation.

Allowing the excuse that it was written by a devout man, this is of itself evidence that such a document should never be issued by those in official capacity, in civil government. The writer being a devout man prescribes for the people of the United States an act of worship, according to the dictates of his manuscript writer's conscience, while the American people believe in worshiping God according to the dictates of *their own* conscience.

There are a great number of citizens of the United States that are not yet willing to receive religious dictation from the head of the Government.

Your suggestion of an amendment relative to an established rule for the Thanksgiving proclamation (said rule drawn up by experts) contains deadly germs of a union of Church and State, which are dangerous to the principles of civil and religious liberty. If a government can appoint or elect experts to draft a Thanksgiving proclamation, the Government may also establish a form of worship or religious ceremonies to be observed on Thanksgiving day.

An expert or experts to dictate a form of proclamation which would carry out the in-

tion of the originators of the day, would of a necessity have to believe in prayer and thanksgiving, hence a religious test would be required which would be in violation of the last clause of the sixth article of the Constitution of the United States, which says that no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

Again, for such a form to be adopted and made compulsory by legislative enactment would be in violation of the First Amendment to the Constitution, which says that Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, therefore, to establish a form of proclamation requiring an act of worship or religious services on a certain day, is to that extent an establishment of religion. It is "the little foxes that spoil the vines."

The United States being composed of all religionists and no religionists, it would certainly be an expert that could draft a form of proclamation that would not offend in any point.

Until I am corrected I shall believe that the *Plain Dealer* did not make the suggestion in good faith; but for the purpose of showing the absurdity of Thanksgiving proclamations. I remain yours for America and American principles.

THE IOWA SABBATH-RESCUE STATE CONVENTION.

IN accordance with a call issued by representatives of the Iowa Sabbath Association, Iowa Sunday School Association, the Des Moines Ministerial Association, the Iowa Christian Endeavor Association, the Y. M. C. A., and the two branches of the W. C. T. U. in the State, there was held at Des Moines, Iowa, December 1-3, the "Sabbath-Rescue State Convention," the object of which was to "consider and decide upon the best methods by which to arrest the prevalent and alarming tendency to disregard the Lord's day and turn the holy day into a holiday."

Invitation was extended to "each synod, association, conference, convention, league, union, church, Sabbath school, and Young People's Society, in sympathy with the purposes of the convention," to send accredited delegates. It was hoped that the gathering would enable the Sabbath Association to be placed on a broader and better understood basis, by making it representative of all the religious bodies of the State in sympathy with the movement, and thus become the servant and central agency of this interdenominational constituency, sustaining much the same relation to it that a central committee does to a political party in a campaign.

The papers and addresses all gave evidence of being prepared with unusual care, and the positions taken were, as a rule, much more conservative than at like conventions in the past. There were few if any new ideas advanced. The predominant idea of the convention seemed to be that the future welfare of our nation depends solely upon the preservation of Sunday as a day of rest; that on account of the cosmopolitan nature of our population, moral suasion was ineffectual, and therefore the only remedy left was compulsion by legal enactment. At the same time nearly every speaker emphasized the thought that it was the civil and not the religious aspect of the question that was under consideration; that there was no disposition whatever to legislate people into a *religious* observance of the day, but simply

to make it possible for all who would, to have the privilege of resting one day in seven, and that those engaged in business should not be obliged to sustain a financial loss at the hands of their competitors who for any reason did not see fit to close the doors of their business on that day.

Mayor McVicar in his address of welcome said, among other things:—

It is not alone from a moral standpoint that we value the day of rest. The benefits of the Christian sabbath from a political point of view are universally conceded, for where the sabbath is best observed, there you find the highest order of civilization.

Rev. Dr. Marshall said:—

I am glad to welcome this convention to our city, because its purpose is to lay emphasis upon the preservation of our holy rest day. By whatever name it is known, it means much. Whether we have the old, old name of Sabbath or rest day, whether it be the last good name given—Lord's day—or whether it be that other name, Sunday—which I like to spell Sunday instead of Sunday, because it is the day specially given to sanctify to us Christ's resurrection—it means more than many suppose. . . . I welcome you here because you have come to devise ways to make the observance of the Lord's day a popular thing. . . . Now, in these Sunday laws no one has thought to do another injury. They have all been planned on the part of man, as the moral law is on the part of God, for the good of mankind. They are to be helpful, not hurtful; it is not to take away the rights of anyone, but to give those rights to the people that they do not now enjoy. . . . I hope we may here learn to better speak of this sabbath, so that those who have not seen it from the standpoint of religious instruction may see in it as a civil institution a great blessing that ought to be preserved, and that we may be able to gain their earnest, conscientious helpful support in preserving the day as a holy one to the American people.

The Only Basis of Union.

Rev. E. L. Eaton, pastor of the First Methodist Church of Des Moines, and until recently actively connected with the "Sabbath Rescue" work in Wisconsin, was perhaps the most pronounced in his views as to what is desired, and what the religious element proposes to do when it gets the power. Even a synopsis of his discourse would cover too much space to incorporate in this report. Suffice it to say, he declared that we are past the day when moral suasion can be effectually used in raising the standard of Sunday observance; that if the day is to be preserved as a rest day, it must be done from the civil standpoint. He would stop the busy wheels of commerce and industry and have quiet and rest in all the homes of the land.

He said that the battle now on is the same old one that Nehemiah fought 2400 years ago—it was not that the fish venders of that time should be compelled to become Jews, worship the same God that they did, and conform to their religious requirements; but it was that the Sabbath day should not be used by them for gain; and that, he declared, was the pivotal point for which Sabbath reformers to-day contend—that Sunday, which is regarded by the American people as the Sabbath, shall not be devoted to making money. He said that everywhere the sentiment is growing that in order to preserve the day as a holy one, it must be protected by law; indeed, he did not believe there was another point on which all denominations could unite except this one of enforced Sunday rest. On it "Catholics, Lutherans and all other Protestants could as brothers work together in a great cause that is worthy of their effort." Then to conclude his address he said:—

We want to touch legislation; we want to go over yonder into that Capitol building and sit there among the law makers with as much serenity and with as much right as do the lobbyists of the great corporations. We want to put our finger on the moral pulse of the legislature until they feel the power of our

influence to the extent that they dare not refuse our demands.

Another paper of interest was prepared by Mrs. E. H. Slocum, entitled, "A Progression that Needs to be Recognized and Resisted." In it she laid at the doors of church-going people the blame of a large share of Sunday desecration. In a most graphic and castigating manner, she paid her respects to the Christian Endeavorers for patronizing the Sunday trains when they attended the national convention at Boston; and declared that they could never hope for the day to be observed as it should be by the people at large, when those who were supposed to be its conservators were such open and flagrant violators of it.

Rev. J. C. Jacoby spoke on the subject, "The Sabbath in Relation to Our Civil Government." The central thought was to the effect that while the sabbath was established under a theocratic form of government, later forms of government became equally responsible for its observance. The fact that the State and Church are now separated does not change their relation to the Creator. Both the State and the individual should observe the sabbath; corporations, too, should keep the sabbath. There should be more laws; and a better enforcement of them against sabbath desecration. He believed that organized capital is largely responsible for the demoralization of sabbath observance.

Didn't Know What They Were Talking About.

He was followed by C. A. Dudley, Esq., a prominent attorney of the city, who took him to task for the narrowness of his views. He told him that he was talking about that which he did not understand; that the corporations of the city were far better sabbath observers than many of their most prominent church people; the banks and loan and trust companies close their offices, and the railroads would do likewise, but because of the demand for their services—in most instances from the church-going people. And more, were it not for the demand of the professedly Christian people of the land, the Sunday mails would not be delivered. The trouble with them was that they wanted the earth on their side; but were unwilling to grant a single concession to the others. This was downright selfishness. He said he had no sympathy with those who were decrying this generation as wholly given over to the world, the flesh and the devil—if they didn't believe him let them go and read up D'Aubigne's History of the Reformation.

What the people needed to-day was not legislation to compel the observance of the day, but backbone to follow out their convictions. Sunday laws at most could only protect the day as a civil institution, and with the religious phase of the question it had nothing whatever to do. Just as soon as it did, then look out for the rack and thumb-screw. The majority of those in favor of Sunday laws did not understand the matter, and it was time for them to post up if they ever expected to place their work on a basis that would command the respect and coöperation of thinking, liberty-loving people.

The Puritan and the Continental Sunday.

"The European or American Sabbath, Which?" was the title of a flowery paper, by Rev. T. P. Robb. As a preface to it, he stated that he felt a moral certainty in the fact that the Holy Spirit had impressed him to write what he had, over a month before the convention; and therefore felt perfectly

clear in presenting it, although the subject matter had been given by others before him. Then he drew the picture of an ideal, Puritanical sabbath, which, according to him, was known only in America, and then contrasted with it a Sunday in Paris where none of the sabbath restraints were known, and where it existed only as a holiday.

The harvest of offenders in the police courts of Paris on each Monday as the result of the carousals of the previous day, had its counterpart only in the 5th of July in America. The day is given over to revelling by the rich, while the poor were compelled to toil in abject slavery—and is such a day as we will have here in America in a very short time unless a check is made on the encroachments of the "Continental Sunday." "Already," he said, "the sabbath in our land has been literally stolen from the poor man, and its desecration is sapping the life-blood from our national life as nothing else is, and therefore, I say, we cannot keep quiet. Friends of the sabbath cause, awake!"

Immediately following this, Hon. O. O. Roe took the floor, and said that he had prepared a paper to be read; but would leave it for another time, and simply talk a little. Then in a quaint and quiet manner he described Sunday as it was observed in his father's home when he was a boy, and strangely enough it corresponded in almost every particular with the ideal sabbath of the previous speaker. "But this," said Mr. Roe, "was not in America, but in Continental Europe—in a country of 2,000,000 inhabitants in which there were fewer murders committed in a year than in some counties in Iowa in a month."

He resented the idea that the question was America against Europe, the American sabbath against the Continental Sunday. It was not that, but it was the spirit of Christ against the spirit of the world. The contest was in every country on the globe, and he didn't want the audience to get the impression from the previous speaker's remarks that only in America was Sunday observed as it should be; for there was just as good sabbath-keeping in Europe as anywhere. He thought the people should not forget pious Europe, for it was from there that the good old fathers and mothers came who laid the foundation of our Government.

He said he had looked in vain for a truly American sabbath, such as had been portrayed—a day observed in the spirit in which the Almighty designed it should be; but he was sorry to say that even in this the most glorious land the sun ever shone upon, it was not to be found, and from the present outlook he was afraid it never would be found. He reminded his hearers that Americans did not need to leave their native shores to find all the inherent meanness of humanity, for right here among us were evils that Continental Europe knew nothing of, and if America would but look to herself, the denunciation of the prophet of long ago would apply—"America, thou art the transgressor." Here everything in the way of luxury, gratification and wantonness is demanded by those who can afford it, while at the same time these very ones were among those who are seeking by legislation to curtail the liberties and privileges of those who produced the wealth that these rich and greedy men enjoy.

Then in an inimitable manner he drew a picture of a foreigner with his wife and children, who, because of his limited compensation, is obliged to take quarters in some rickety tenement row above the stench of a teeming city. No minister ever visits him, and he never attends church, because he

would not be welcome if he did. So on Sunday morning of a pleasant day with his family he boards a cable car and starts for the park. A rich man who has just made sure that his clerks are busy at work adding up long columns of figures and seeing that no orders are missed or mistakes made, passes him while on his way to church. In class-meeting this pious fraud gets up and thanks God that he is not like that poor Dutchman he had just seen, and immediately declares that there ought to be something done to arrest the encroachments of the Continental Sunday which these foreigners have brought to our shores.

Then in an impassioned manner he appealed to the Association to go about the work in hand as did the Master of old—mingle with the people, share their sorrows and griefs, and in tenderness lift up the fallen and down-cast, not coerce them—and if this were done then the twentieth century would witness a wonderful sight, not merely an American sabbath but a Christian Sabbath, dedicated as it should be to the service of God and the uplifting of humanity.

Of course the effect of such counter speeches can be easily imagined, and the feeling was plainly manifest.

"Phases of the Work That Need Emphasizing,"

was the title of an address by Rev. A. L. Frisbie, pastor of the First Congregational Church of Des Moines, and who, by the way, has been a reader of the AMERICAN SENTINEL for some time past. He showed very clearly that he had correct ideas of religious liberty, and what compulsory Sabbath laws are liable to lead to. Like Mr. Dudley he believed that the only phase of the question that could be considered from a legal standpoint was the civil one, and yet after all, a man could not have goodness legislated into him; and never would Sunday be observed as it should be unless men did it because they felt that it was a duty they owed to God, for any other than heart worship was hypocrisy; that while there were phases of the work that could possibly be better effected by legislative measures than otherwise, yet it was the duty of the Church to win the people to a religious observance of the day rather than coerce them.

There were numerous other papers and addresses on various phases of the question, but they partook so much of the nature of what the readers of the SENTINEL are familiar with that it would hardly be profitable to give them. Resolutions were adopted deprecating the desecration of the day; protesting against Sunday trains, moving of United States mails, Sunday newspapers, etc.; asking for the closing of all places of business and the discouragement of all social and recreative diversions on Sunday; exalting the first day of the week as a holy day in the hearts of the people as set apart by God for divine worship; and demanding that one day in seven should be secured to all the people as a day of rest under the protection of the civil law.

Noticeable Features of the Convention.

One noticeable feature of the convention was their lack of unanimity of thought. One man, "led by the Spirit," would make certain statements concerning the sabbath and its preservation as a holy day, and he would be followed by another speaker who would squarely contradict him on many points. It reminded one of the accusers of Christ, of whom it is said, "Their witnesses agreed not together."

Another interesting feature was the stress laid upon the distinction between the civil and religious phases of the Sabbath question. One of the speakers was asked privately if the logical result of Sunday laws was not persecution, no matter if only the civil sabbath was sought to be protected. He replied "No." When asked how he explained the fact that the same Sabbath laws in substance that were on the Iowa statute books existed in many of the Southern States, and yet under the latter, honest, conscientious men were sent to jail and made to work in chain-gangs because they refused to rest on Sunday after having observed the previous day as the Sabbath, replied: "The people down there are not yet out the woods; they need educating; we would never do that in the North." And it might be remarked that right here a fatal error, lies so close to a vital truth, that only those who understand what constitutes true religious liberty can detect it.

Still another noticeable feature was the apparent consciousness of the inability of the plan they propose, ever really to succeed in bringing about the desired result. One speaker said that after all, the place to begin the rescue of the Sabbath was in the homes and with the children—that unless they were taught to reverence the day as God's day, and regard it as unto the Lord, and not unto man, they could not be made to observe it as they should in later years.

At no previous convention attended by the writer was there so little said as to why the first day was observed instead of the Sabbath. Sunday was the recognized Sabbath of the nation, and that was enough. Yet whenever appeal was made to the Bible as authority for the observance of Sunday, no Sabbatarian could ask for stronger arguments for his position—to a certain point at least. One speaker said, "The fourth commandment is as eternal as God himself; the very nature of the Sabbath indicates that it can never be abrogated; and unless the young people of to-day are early taught that the observance of Sunday, rests upon this Sabbath commandment, there is no hope for the future."

NEWS AND NOTES.

THE "American Sabbath Union" is conducting meetings in various towns and cities in the United States, at which the subject discussed is, "The American Sabbath: Its Relation to Good Citizenship and Christian Progress." Addresses, limited to ten minutes each, are made by representatives of the various young people's societies, as the Epworth League, Christian Endeavor Society, etc. Thus the subject of "Sabbath reform" by law is being kept before the minds of the Christian young people of the country.

RECENTLY in the course of his revival effort in New York City, Mr. Moody, the well-known Evangelist, devoted an afternoon meeting to the subject of Sabbath observance. Mr. Moody's meetings have been almost sensational in their apparent results thus far, but the weak spot in his work appeared when he came in touch with the very practical question of keeping the Sabbath. He did not tell his audience which day is the Sabbath, although he must have known that very many of them were unsettled in their minds upon this important point. The Author of the Sabbath is perfectly specific in his statements concerning which day is the

one to be observed. He says, "The seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God; in it thou shalt not do any work." Is the Creator too definite upon this point? Is his way of presenting the subject inferior to that discovered by Mr. Moody? Or was Mr. Moody silent on this point because he knew that he was addressing those who observe the first day instead of the seventh, without any scriptural warrant for so doing?

THE Tulare (Cal.) *Daily Register*, of November 27, reports that a regularly issued order to the California national guard requires them to attend church on Sunday evenings, the men being left free to select the church of their preference. The *Register* suggests that "this is probably an atonement for sending the men out to camp in the frost without tents, overcoats or blankets."

If the men can rightfully be obliged to prefer some church, why not oblige them to prefer some one church, and thus secure uniformity and avoid confusion, as should be done in military matters? The same principle would be followed in the latter course as in the former.

THE Alabama Legislature passed a bill December 5, "To prohibit the sale, giving away, or otherwise disposing of spirituous liquors within five miles of the Saginaw M. E. Church, Shelby County." Why should the Legislature of Alabama single out this church for such special "protection"? Have the members of this church more confidence in the civil law to purify the community in which they live than in the power of Christianity which Christ's followers are to possess? Or are they conscience that that power is absent from their own lives?

Christianity rejoices in entering the darkest spots of earth to illumine them with the light of life. She comes to the most sinful and degraded of human beings just as they are, and does not ask some other power to make them presentable to stand in her presence.

AS MENTIONED in our last issue, the organ of the "Christian nation" party recently announced a remarkable discovery in connection with the President's "Christian" Thanksgiving proclamation. It was that the "settlement of the Venezuelan controversy" announced in the papers a few days later, came as a direct testimonial of divine approval of the President's course. Looking upon this happy occurrence it was moved to exclaim, "Was there ever a more complete or fuller illustration of that golden promise of God's word: 'Them that honor me I will honor'!"

Probably, from the "Christian nation" standpoint, there never was! But behold! it now transpires that the Venezuelan controversy is not settled after all. Venezuela is not represented on the commission of arbitration, the country has risen in indignant protest, negotiations are stopped, and the controversy is seemingly as far from an end as ever! We advise the aforesaid exponent of "National Reform" to wait next time until it can be sure that its discoveries will have the support of facts.

A "REFORM" which is based on tradition in place of the Word of God, is always a reform backwards. Such is the reform which now seeks to enforce the observance of Sunday.



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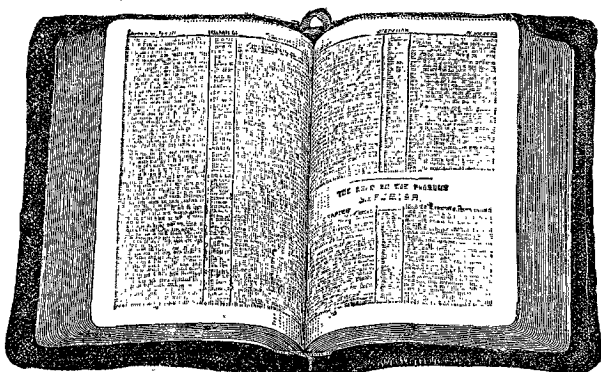


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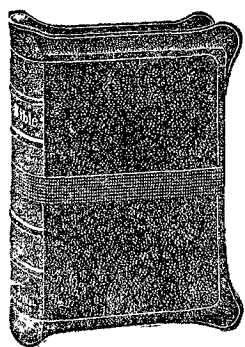
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| <p><i>They that sealed the covenant.</i></p> <p>gavest before them, neither turned they from their wicked works.</p> <p>36 Behold, ^d we are servants this day, and for the land that thou gavest unto our fathers to eat the fruit thereof and the good thereof, behold, we are servants in it:</p> <p>37 And ^e it yieldeth much increase unto the kings whom thou hast set over us because of our sins: also they have ^f dominion over our bodies, and over our cattle, at their pleasure, and we are in great distress.</p> <p>38 And because of all this we ^g make a sure covenant, and write it; and our princes, Le'vites, and priests, ^h seal unto it.</p> | <p>NEHEMIAH, X.</p> | <p><i>The points of the covenant.</i></p> <p>25 Rē'hūm, Hā-shāb'nah, Mā-a-sē-jah,</p> <p>26 And Ā-hī'jah, Hā'nan, Ā'nan,</p> <p>27 Māl'luch, Hā'rim, Bā'a-nah.</p> <p>28 ¶ ^e And the rest of the people, the priests, the Le'vites, the porters, the singers, the Nēth'i-nims, ^f and all they that had separated themselves from the people of the lands unto the law of God, their wives, their sons, and their daughters, every one having knowledge, and having understanding; ^g</p> <p>29 They clave to their brethren, their nobles, ^g and entered into a curse, and into an oath, ^h to walk in God's law, which was given ^h by Mō-seg the servant of God, and to observe and do all the commandments of the LORD our LORD, and his judgments and his statutes;</p> <p>30 And that we would not give ⁱ our daughters unto the people of the</p> |
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CHAPTER X.

¹ The names of them that sealed the covenant. ²⁹ The points of the covenant.

NOW ³ those that sealed were, ^a Nē-he-mī'ah, ⁴ the Tir'shā-thā, ^b the son of Hāch-a-li'ah, and

³ Heb. at the sealings, ch. 9, 38.
⁴ ch. 8, 9.
⁴ Or, the

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JOHN G. WOOLEY says that "it seems as clear as a demonstration that the rallying cry and fighting slogan of our Christian Citizenship in the present civic revolution ought to be, Election day for a testimony to Jesus Christ."

THE Ministerial Association, composed of many good clergymen, has undertaken to wrestle with the "ideal newspaper." Softly, dear brethren. The ideal newspaper will come in time with the ideal sermon. In the meantime why not render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's?—*New York Herald.*

THROUGH a misunderstanding we missed stating at the proper time that the excellent first-page cut of Napoleon, which appeared in our issue of December 3, was printed by permission of *McClure's Magazine*. This enterprising magazine reproduced it from an unpublished water color in the collection of Monsieur Christophle, ex-minister of Public Works, France.

PROFESSOR GOULD, of Philadelphia, in an address before a church congress at Norfolk, Va., a short time ago, said that "One of the most gigantic trusts, whose fraudulent operations astonished and shocked the country, has on its board of directors two Sunday-school superintendents and other men high in the councils of the Church." There is no comment needed on this.

PROBABLY the chief, if not the only quarrel the clergy have with the Sunday newspaper is that it makes people forget that "it was time to go to church half an hour ago" on Sunday morning. The remedy is evidently not to suppress the Sunday newspaper, which is a vain hope, but to make the Sunday sermon so attractive that church time will be looked forward to with eagerness.—*New York Journal.*

IN his efforts in behalf of temperance and also prohibition nobody can bid John G. Wooley more hearty God-speed than we do. But to his effort and hope to have the Church dominate and "run" the Government, nobody can be more opposed than are we. These views of religion are as political as those of the veriest National Reformer that has yet appeared. In *Our Day*, for November, 1896, he declares that—

This country will never be saved but by the en-

thronement of Jesus in the politics of the republic, and his coronation by the Christian voters as the "King of kings and Lord of lords," and Platform of platforms.

Whether the country is ever saved or not, this thing will never be. There will never be any enthronement of Jesus in the politics of the republic; nor will he ever be crowned by the Christian voters as King of kings, nor as anything else. There were some folks once before who proposed "the enthronement of Jesus in the politics of the country," but he departed from them. In that day he said, "I receive not honor from men." And he says it yet.

THE old directions to petitioners to Congress for religious legislation are still being repeated. The *Reform Bureau* says: "While individual signatures are good, especially if occupation and address are given, indorsements of churches, societies and public meetings, by vote are better." In this way not only can the same petitions be repeated indefinitely, but thousands of people who are opposed to it can be counted for it. Yes, for their purposes a vote is better than individual petitions; and a crooked vote better than a straight petition.

"WHAT AN IMPROVEMENT!"

SURELY this is what the readers of the AMERICAN SENTINEL will say when they shall see the first issue of the new year. Beginning with 1897, the SENTINEL will wear an entirely new dress, and will have sixteen pages. The pages will be of different form and somewhat reduced in size; but altogether the SENTINEL will be larger than it is now. Look out for it.

THE apologists of the New England Puritans think they have a mighty weapon in defense of their heroes when they have demonstrated that there was no specific statute prohibiting kissing on Sunday. Upon this they declare that Sam. Peter's account of the Blue Laws is all a made-up story, out of enmity to the innocent Puritans. The truth of the matter is that the Bible was the code, and the Bible forbids "finding thine own pleasure" on the Sabbath day. And though this applies to the seventh day and not to Sunday at all, the Puritans decided that Sunday is the Sabbath, and then made this Scripture apply to Sunday observance. Then, by this piece of hocus pocus, Sunday being the Sabbath, and the Bible being the code, as the code forbade people finding their own pleasure on the Sabbath, and as assuredly it is a pleasure for a man to kiss his wife, it followed plainly enough that it was unlawful for a man to kiss his wife on Sunday. And now the vast National Reform Christian Endeavor combination are determined to have the Bible the code of the whole nation with themselves as final interpreters, as in that other Blue Law system.

ON Thanksgiving day last month, at Lincoln, Neb., Presiding Elder D. W. C. Huntingdon preached a sermon which was hardly anything else than a long, blind, unreasoning defense of the Puritans and all their enormities. This, however, is neither new or unusual. It is probable that the same thing was done at other places in the United States the same day. We notice it here only to call attention to it as one of the things, among many others of to-day, that needs to be watched and thought about. For, as has been well remarked, "if we are to be profited by the past, it is essential that we should study our history honestly and impartially. We cannot be true to ourselves if we begin by being false to our predecessors. If we credit them with motives they did not feel and could not have understood; if we claim for them things which they never accomplished; if we defend their indefensible acts; if we seek to prove them in the right when they were in the wrong, in their behavior toward others—it will follow that we will deal likewise in our own case, and prove dishonest and tricky as a nation and in our personal transactions." Any one who will defend or excuse to-day the barbarisms and enormities of the Puritans, will just as readily defend or excuse the like things if they should be committed under like circumstances to-day.

THE following appeared in the November issue of *Our Day*, from the pen of Rev. W. F. Crafts:—

Another ill omen is the resurrection of Breckenridge, of Kentucky, by the gold Democrats, as a speaker at their national convention, where his welcome was not unmixed with wholesome hisses, and his renewed candidacy for Congress under the auspices of that party, endorsed by Republicans of the district also.

Mr. Crafts and those for whom he speaks evidently do not consider the debt of gratitude they owe Mr. Breckenridge as their congressional ally in the effort made in 1890 to get Congress to pass a Sunday law for the District of Columbia. It must be hard for Mr. Breckenridge to be thus disowned by the party whom he led only six years ago in the crusade for "moral reform" by congressional enactment.

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