

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

VOLUME 6.

NEW YORK, JANUARY 29, 1891.

NUMBER 5.

The American Sentinel.

PUBLISHED WEEKLY, BY THE

PACIFIC PRESS PUBLISHING COMPANY,

No. 43 BOND ST., NEW YORK.

Entered at the New York Post Office as Second Class Matter.

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In our individual character we all entertain opinions, and pursue a corresponding practice, upon the subject of religion. However diversified these may be, we all harmonize as citizens *while each is willing that the other shall enjoy the same liberty which he claims for himself.*—*Col. Richard M. Johnson.*

It is stated that "the Imperial Tribunal of Leipsic has decided that henceforth a refusal to rise and participate in a toast to the health of the Kaiser shall constitute high treason." This is about on a par with some of the measures proposed in this country. It really seems that the sun of liberty has passed the zenith and is gradually sinking toward its setting.

"WE are reminded," says a California paper, "of a time-honored custom by reading that each branch of our Legislature has appointed a chaplain, and that the chaplains have prayed that the deliberations of their respective bodies shall be directed by the Lord. Two years ago the same prayer was sent up, but did not seem to be in the least effective. One, Christopher Buckley, had more to do with directing legislation than any body else, and there is no doubt as to *his* identity. If better results do not follow this year, they had better try something else."

Prayer would undoubtedly be a good thing for members of the Legislature, as well as for everybody else, if each one would only pray for himself secretly that

the Lord might help him to be an honest man, and then co-operate with the Lord in the answer to his own prayers by being honest. But we fear that the perfunctory prayers of the average chaplain never rise higher than the mouth of the one who is paid for uttering them. As Shakespeare says:—

"Their words fly up, their thoughts remain below: Words without thoughts never to Heaven can go."

◆◆◆ Their Real Object.

THE leaders in the Sunday-law movement have been engaged for some time past in explaining that what they want is not to enforce the religious observance of the first day, but simply to secure rest for working people. It is rather unfortunate for them, however, that their present testimony does not agree with that which they have given in the past. This will be understood by a few points from the report of the meeting of the Kings County (New York) Sabbath Association, held May 19, 1889, published in the *Mail and Express* of May 24.

After the devotional services, Mr. A. A. Robbins, the President, delivered an address, reporting some of the practical workings of the society since its organization. The first important item noticed was the efforts of the society to secure the closing of candy stores on Sunday. Concerning this, the President said that the Legislature had so amended the penal code as to allow drug, cigar, and candy stores to do business on the Sunday. He continued: "It was thought in this Association that it was very important that the law should be re-amended so that the candy stores might be closed, realizing that perhaps above all other ways in which the Sabbath might be violated that was the worst, for the reason that it teaches our children to grow up with the impression that candy selling is right on the Sabbath. Of course as they grow older it will be difficult for them to distinguish the reason why candy stores should be open and others should not." This shows conclusively that the

motive of the Kings County Sabbath Association is not to secure a day of rest for the working people, but simply to secure the religious observance of Sunday, or perhaps more properly speaking, to secure the general observance of Sunday because they regard it as sacred. And this Association, while not an auxiliary of the American Sabbath Union, is hand-in-glove with it in its demand for Sunday laws.

Another item discussed by the President of the Kings County Association was the delivery of ice-cream on Sunday after 10 o'clock A. M. He said that restricting the delivery to the morning hours was one of the matters which the society had had in hand for some time, and he believed that it was very important. Just why this was so important from a religious standpoint is not as easy to see as in the case of the candy stores. For it is difficult for the uninitiated to understand why the hours of Sunday from 10 o'clock forward are any more sacred than the early hours of the same day. However, the report by the Secretary, which followed that of the President, will aid us somewhat in understanding just why this is. Said the Secretary:—

The delivery of ice-cream after 10 o'clock Sunday morning has proven a great annoyance to many sections of the city, and has disturbed public worship in many of our churches.

This of course requires some further explanation. How the delivery of ice-cream could disturb public worship in churches may not be readily understood; ice-cream wagons would certainly have to be pretty thick on the streets for the noise to seriously disturb public worship; but the Secretary also made this clear. He said:—

We regret to state that many church people absolutely ignore their duty in these premises by requiring ice-cream to be delivered to them for their Sunday dinner.

This explains it. The unavoidable conclusion is that the delivery of ice-cream disturbs public worship in the churches because church members cannot be prevailed upon to live consistently with their

profession! They profess to regard Sunday as a sacred day, and yet persist in buying ice-cream upon that day for their dinners.

This is about parallel to the case of some of the Christians in the fourth century, when a law was demanded that public shows should be transferred from Sunday and fast days to some other days of the week, in order that the Sunday might be devoted with less interruption to the purpose of devotion, and, as stated by Neander (vol. 2, page 301), that the "devotion of the faithful might be free from all disturbances." The matter of disturbance is also explained by the same writer in these words:—

Owing to the prevailing passion at that time, especially of the large cities, to run after the various public shows, it so happened that when these spectacles fell on the same day which had been consecrated by the church as some religious festival, they proved a great hindrance to the devotion of Christians, though it must be allowed, to those whose Christianity was the least an affair of the heart and of the life.

Why this was so is also explained in these words: "Church teachers were often forced to complain that in such competitions the theater was vastly more frequented than the church." And it seems that in the case of some "Christians" in Brooklyn, the Sunday dish of ice-cream proves a greater attraction than the church services; hence the demand in May, 1889 for a more rigid Sunday law.

Another point worthy of note in the Secretary's report is the matter of closing art galleries on Sunday. He said:—

The patrons of art are the better educated and more cultivated of any community. Their tastes and aspirations are more refined. They take advantage of all reasonable opportunity to cultivate their tastes in this direction. It is this class of people who patronize art exhibitions. They attend them whenever and wherever they are held. They enjoy them at any and all times. Art exhibitions on Sunday simply prove an additional facility to enjoy this taste. Sunday exhibitions refine them no more. They would be no more gross without them. The people of depraved, gross appetites do not attend them. They absolutely fail in exerting a refining influence upon these classes in the community. They cannot therefore be indorsed on this account.

The conclusion arrived at by the gentleman was that art exhibitions should not be open on Sunday; which was only to say that "the people of depraved, gross appetite"—which was the description he gave of the working people—and those who are not able to attend such exhibitions on other days, should not be privileged to attend them at all. And the Museum of Art is still closed on Sunday. Sunday is about the only day in the week upon which thousands of people can have an opportunity of going to such places, and it is far from being true that all these people are "depraved" and "gross." Many of them are quite as refined in their tastes as those who are more highly favored by fortune, and as far as physical rest is concerned, it would certainly do them quite as much good to attend an art

exhibition occasionally as to spend Sunday in any other way; which only shows that it is the religious, and not simply a secular, observance of the day, which was demanded less than two years ago by the Kings County Sabbath Association. The secret of the whole movement is that these people regard Sunday as a sacred day, and they are determined to compel others to at least act as though it were sacred, whether they so regard it or not. The plea for a civil Sabbath is a fraud.

C. P. B.

It Is a Union of Church and State.

IN its late annual convention, the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union thought it again necessary to disclaim any wish to unite Church and State. It is necessary for the Union to make this disclaimer periodically, because its work all the time leads directly to a union of Church and State. Therefore they must say that they do not intend it, for fear the people will find it out. And yet this seems to be a work of supererogation; because in the very claim they make that they are not doing it, they show that they do intend it. Why is it not necessary for the Democratic and Republican parties, when they assemble in annual convention, to disclaim any wish to unite Church and State? Why do they not draw up resolutions on that subject after the manner of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union?—For the simple reason that nothing in the platforms of the parties nor in their work in any way is suggestive of any such thing. But the platform, the organization, and the whole work, bodily, of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union is suggestive of such a union in every respect. That is why it is necessary for them in annual convention to disclaim it. The following is the first resolution adopted at the late annual convention held at Atlanta:—

While discountenancing a union of Church and State, we do affirm our belief that God in Christ is the King of nations, and as such, should be acknowledged in our Government, and his word made the basis of our laws.

Well, now, suppose that God in Christ should be made King of this country, and his word made the basis of our laws, it is not supposed for an instant, even by those who passed that resolution, that God, either out of Christ or in Christ, is going to come here personally, and sit on a throne as king. It is intended by those who passed that resolution that somebody here shall sit at the head of the Government as his representative; and whether a man or a woman, whoever it be that shall sit there as God's representative, will simply be another Pope, and the Government will then be but another Papacy. But the Papacy was, and is, forever and everywhere, essentially a union of Church and State, and everybody knows it, and that is what this would be, and they know it;

and they are so afraid that people will find it out that they have to tell them it is not so.

Again: Suppose "his word" were made the basis of our laws, who would interpret the word? Some person, or some council, would have to be the interpreter. But whether a single person, or an assembly of persons, should interpret that word authoritatively in the affairs of the Government, and were the Government conducted accordingly, this would be nothing else than a union of Church and State, because that word, especially the Christian part of it, is addressed directly to the Church; and just as certainly as that word were interpreted officially for Government, and the Government conducted accordingly, so certainly is the Government turned into a Church, and a direct and positive union of Church and State is established.

Therefore, it would be impossible more fully or certainly to create a union of Church and State than would be created by carrying into effect that resolution. And their plea of discountenancing a union of those two bodies is nothing less than a confession that the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union is conscious that such a thing lies concealed in what they propose. If they really mean to discountenance it, let them manifest it in their works. But so long as everything that they do, tends directly to such a union, all such disclaimers as this, that they may heap together, will be nothing more nor less than a confession that they are conscious that their actions all the time are contradicting their words. A. T. J.

The Self-Evidence of Natural Rights.

THAT there is an inherent sense of our natural rights is a fundamental principle of the American political system. The idea is not only asserted in the Declaration of Independence and alluded to in the Constitution, but is repeatedly affirmed in the writings of our early statesmen. It has, in fact, been a prominent doctrine in the development of Anglican liberty from Shaftesbury down to Spencer.

Jefferson, in the Declaration of Independence, said: "We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed, by their Creator, with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed." And in a letter to Dr. John Manners, dated at Monticello, June 12, 1817, he again asserted his idea upon this question, saying: "The evidence of this natural right [expatriation], like that of our right to life, liberty, the use of our faculties, the pursuit of happiness, is not left to the feeble and sophistical investigations of reason, but is impressed

on the sense of every man. We do not claim these under the charters of kings or legislators, but under the King of kings."

As we come down further in our national history it is just as strongly maintained, and even more emphatically stated. Colonel Johnson, in his Sunday mail report to the House of Representatives in 1830, said:—

The framers of the Constitution recognized the eternal principle that man's relation with his God is above human legislation, and his rights of conscience inalienable. Reasoning was not necessary to establish this truth; we are conscious of it in our own bosoms. It is the consciousness which, in defiance of human laws, has sustained so many martyrs in tortures and in flames. They felt that their duty to God was superior to human enactments, and that man could exercise no authority over their consciences. It is an inborn principle which nothing can eradicate. The bigot in the pride of his authority, may lose sight of it, but, strip him of his power, prescribe a faith to him which his conscience rejects, threaten him in turn with the dungeon and the fagot, and this spirit which God has implanted in him rises up in rebellion and defies you.

The soundness of this doctrine, however, is best seen in the development of the principle in the critical hands of Herbert Spencer. Speaking of this innate sense, he says:—

There exists in man what may be termed an *instinct of personal rights*—a feeling that leads him to claim as great a share of natural privilege as is claimed by others—a feeling that leads him to repel anything like an encroachment upon what he thinks his sphere of original freedom. By virtue of this impulse, individuals, as units of the social mass, tend to assume like relationships with the atoms of matter, surrounded as these are by their respective atmospheres of *repulsion* as well as of attraction. And perhaps social stability may ultimately be seen to depend upon the due balance of these forces.

There exists, however, a dominant sect of so-called philosophical politicians, who treat with contempt this belief that men have any claims antecedent to those indorsed by governments. As disciples of Bentham, consistency requires them to do this. Accordingly, although it does violence to their secret perceptions, they boldly deny the existence of "rights" entirely. They nevertheless perpetually betray a belief in the doctrines which they professedly reject. They inadvertently talk about *justice*, especially when it concerns themselves, in much the same style as their opponents. They draw the same distinction between *law* and *equity* that other people do. They applaud *fairness* and *honor*, quite as if they thought them something more than mere words. And when robbed, or assaulted, or wrongly imprisoned, they exhibit the same indignation, the same determination to oppose the aggressor, utter the same denunciations of tyranny, and the same loud demands for redress, as the sternest asserters of the rights of man. By way of explaining such inconsistencies, it is indeed alleged, that the feeling thus manifested is nothing but the result of a gradually acquired conviction that benefits flow from some kinds of action, and evils from other kinds; and it is said that the sympathies and antipathies respectively contracted toward these, exhibit themselves as a love of justice, and a hatred of injustice. To which supposition it was by implication elsewhere replied, that it would be equally wise to conclude that hunger springs from a conviction of the benefit of eating; or that love of offspring is the result of a wish to maintain the species!

But it is amusing when, after all, it turns out that the ground on which these philosophers have taken their stand, and from which with such self-

complacency they shower their sarcasms, is nothing but an adversary's mine, destined to blow the vast fabric of conclusions they have based on it into nonentity. This so solid-looking principle of "the greatest happiness to the greatest number," needs but to have a light brought near it, and lo! it explodes into the astounding assertion, that all men have equal rights to happiness—an assertion far more sweeping and revolutionary than any of those which are assailed with so much scorn.

When we see, then, that an instinct of personal rights manifests itself unceasingly in opinions and institutions; when further we find that the attempt to trace the monitions of this instinct to experience, betrays us into an absurdity; and when, lastly, the dogma of those who most sturdily deny that there is such an instinct, proves to be only another emanation from it, we find ourselves in possession of the strongest possible evidence of its existence—the testimony of all parties. We are therefore justified in considering that existence as sufficiently proved.—*Social Statics*, chapter 3, sections 2, 3.

In examining the position of the "expediency" party—of those who deny the existence of innate and inalienable rights—Spencer says:—

But that we possess such a sense, may be best proved by evidence drawn from the lips of those who assert that we have it not. Oddly enough Bentham unwittingly derives his initial proposition from an oracle whose existence he denies, and at which he sneers when it is appealed to by others. "One man," he remarks, speaking of Shaftesbury, "says he has a thing made on purpose to tell him what is right and what is wrong; and that is called *moral sense*; and then he goes to work at his ease, and says such and such a thing is right, and such and such a thing is wrong. Why? 'Because my moral sense tells me it is.'" Now that Bentham should have no other authority for his own maxim than this same moral sense, is somewhat unfortunate for him. Yet on putting that maxim into critical hands, we shall soon discover such to be the fact. Let us do this.

"And so you think," says the patrician, "that the object of our rule should be 'the greatest happiness to the greatest number.'"

"Such is our opinion," answers the petitioning plebeian.

"Well, now, let us see what your principle involves. Suppose men to be, as they very commonly are, at variance in their desires on some given point; and suppose that those forming the larger party will receive a certain amount of happiness each, from the adoption of one course, whilst those forming the smaller party will receive the same amount of happiness each, from the adoption of the opposite course; then if 'greatest happiness' is to be our guide, it must follow, must it not, that the larger party ought to have their way?"

"Certainly."

"That is to say, if you, the people, are a hundred, whilst we are ninety-nine, your happiness must be preferred, should our wishes clash, and should the individual amounts of gratification at stake on the two sides be equal."

"Exactly; our axiom involves that."

"So then it seems, that as, in such a case, you decide between the two parties by numerical majority, you assume that the happiness of a member of the one party, is equally important with that of a member of the other."

"Of course."

"Wherefore, if reduced to its simplest form, your doctrine turns out to be the assertion that all men have equal claims to happiness; or, applying it personally, that you have as good a right to happiness as I have."

"No doubt I have."

"And pray, sir, who told you that you have as good a right to happiness as I have?"

"Who told me?—I am sure of it; I know it; I feel it; I—"

"Nay, nay, that will not do. Give me your au-

thority. Tell me who told you this—how you got at it—whence you derived it."

Whereupon, after some shuffling, our petitioner is forced to confess that he has no other authority but his own feeling—that he has simply an innate perception of the fact; or, in other words, that "his moral sense tells him so."

In truth, none but those committed to a preconceived theory, can fail to recognize, on every hand, the workings of such a faculty. From early times downward there have been constant signs of its presence—signs which happily thicken as our own day is approached. The articles of *Magna Charta* embody its protests against oppression; and its demands for a better administration of justice. Serfdom was abolished partly at its suggestion. It encouraged Wickliffe, Huss, Luther, and Knox, in their contests with popery: and by it were Huguenots, Covenanters, Moravians, stimulated to maintain freedom of judgment in the teeth of armed ecclesiasticism. It dictated Milton's "Essay on the Liberty of Unlicensed Printing." It piloted the Pilgrim Fathers to the New World. It supported the followers of George Fox under fines and imprisonment. And it whispered resistance to the Presbyterian clergy of 1662. In latter days it emitted that tide of feeling which undermined and swept away Catholic disabilities. Through the mouths of anti-slavery orators, it poured out its fire, to the scorching of the selfish, to the melting of the good, to our national purification. It was its heat, too, which warmed our sympathy for the Poles, and made boil our indignation against their oppressor. Pent-up accumulations of it, let loose upon a long-standing injustice, generated the effervescence of a reform agitation.

By the passage of its subtle current is that social *electrolysis* effected, which classes men into parties, which separates the nation into its positive and negative, its radical and conservative elements. At present it puts on the garb of anti-State-Church associations, and shows its presence in manifold societies for the extension of popular power. It builds monuments to political martyrs, agitates for the admission of Jews into Parliament, publishes books on the rights of women, petitions against class legislation, threatens to rebel against militia conscriptions, refuses to pay Church-rates, repeals oppressive debtor acts, laments over the distresses of Italy, and thrills with sympathy for the Hungarians.—*Social Statics*, introduction, pages 33–36.

It was the recognition of this sense of natural and inalienable rights—the just claim that every man has under the law of nature,—that made the founders of our Government so careful to throw around these rights every protection that government can afford. The Constitution expressly states that it is formed to "establish justice," and justice is only conformity to natural law—the recognition of rights—and these rights are what are, as Jefferson says, "impressed on the sense of every man. We do not claim these under the charters of kings or legislators, but under the King of kings." Any other theory is un-American; and not only un-American, but contrary to reason and to the feelings which every living man has felt in his own breast.

W. A. BLAKELY.

WHEN man undertakes to become God's avenger he becomes a demon. Driven by the frenzy of a religious zeal, he loses every gentle feeling, forgets the most sacred precepts of his creed, and becomes ferocious and unrelenting.—*Col. Richard M. Johnson.*

Religious Persecution in Peru.

THE recent case of religious persecution in Peru is of considerable importance to the United States. It seems that the Rev. Francis Penzotti was arrested and confined in prison in Callao, on the 25th of July last, and has been detained in prison with common criminals up to the present time.

The only charge against him was that of violating the laws of the land by the sale of the Holy Scriptures and by holding public worship. The manner of Mr. Penzotti's arrest and his subsequent treatment show that the case is one of religious persecution pure and simple.

The order for his arrest was issued by the late Peruvian President a day or two before the expiration of his term of office, and it was clearly at the instigation of the Roman Catholic priesthood.

It is a source of great gratification to us to know that the United States Government at once made an earnest effort to secure an immediate trial of the case, and a vindication of this noble missionary's innocence.

During the time of his imprisonment a consignment of books, sent to Mr. Penzotti by the American Bible Society, of this city, was detained in the Custom House in Peru, and would have been confiscated but for the prompt action of the representatives of our Government.

It now appears that while Mr. Penzotti has been tried and acquitted by the court at Callao, he is still detained in prison on account of some peculiar rules of practice in the Peruvian courts.

Mr. Hicks, United States Minister at Lima, has appealed to our State Department for its co-operation in effecting the immediate release of this much abused man.

Our Government cannot refuse to take cognizance of this case. Our relations with Peru have become more intimate of late, and we cannot afford to sacrifice our principles by even an apparent indorsement of such practices as savor of the horrors of the Dark Ages.

In 1865 we refused to recognize in Mexico other than republican institutions. Daniel Webster voiced the American protest against the wrongs which Greece suffered at the hands of the Turks, and Lewis Cass gave utterance to the distinctive principles of our Government when he denounced one of the South American States for refusing sepulture to American citizens, from some superstitious idea that their country was consecrated ground, and forcing the carrying out and lowering into the ocean of our dead. In the name of America Mr. Cass demanded that such practices should stop.

The day has passed when such cruel persecutions are to be permitted.

The opinion of the enlightened nations of the earth is against such practices, and

the dark spirit that animates these bigots should be hurled to the bottomless pit of universal execration.

As the vanguard of the free nations of the earth, the United States should always take the initiative and demand the observance of religious toleration in all nations with whom she has intimate and friendly relations. Such action on the part of all free nations would effectually crush this demon of religious persecution.

Mme. de Stael, with faltering voice, addressing George Ticknor, who held the hands of the dying woman, said: "America is the vanguard of the nations; the future of the world is yours."

While the spirit of American liberty is abroad in Europe, shall it ignore and neglect our South American sister Republics? —*Mail and Express.*

The Proposed Blair Amendment Unscriptural.

THE following paragraphs are from an excellent article which appeared some time since in the *Lutheran Witness*, St. Louis, Missouri:—

"The aim and object of the National Reform Association, is the establishment of the Christian as the State religion of the Republic in which we have the privilege of living. The accomplishment of this object would be considered by National Reformers as the greatest triumph of Christianity and the Bible. Yet the striving after the accomplishment of this object is radically unscriptural. For in order that the desired object might be brought about, it would be necessary for the State, as such, to concern itself with spiritual and religious things, and to legislate concerning them as it does concerning civil affairs, and by doing this it would step outside of its own province and meddle with affairs which are foreign to its very essence and to the object of its existence.

"What is the State? The State is an institution, a worldly institution, a divinely ordained institution, if you please, which has for its object the governing of the people within its limits according to a certain standard, the maintaining of law and order, and the protection of its inhabitants in external and temporal affairs. Religion belongs to an altogether different province, to the province of the Church, just as the care of children belongs to the province of the family. All three, the State, the Church, and the family, have their own peculiar provinces, in which to live, and move, and act; have their own peculiar duties to perform, their own peculiar affairs to conduct.

"God has instituted the State, the civil government, and requires of it a faithful performance of the duty it has as a civil government; so, he has also instituted the

family and demands of it a faithful discharge of the duties it has as a family; in the same manner the Church is a divine institution and is expected to faithfully and scrupulously administer its own affairs in compliance with the rules and regulations laid down in the Bible, and is accountable to its Lord and Master for such administration. Civil government is not responsible for what the Church does, nor is the Church responsible for the doings of the State, nor is the family responsible for the doings of either or both, but the Church, civil government, and the family, are responsible each for its own peculiar doings in its own peculiar sphere. The State should remain within its own sphere, as should also the family and the Church remain within their own province; none should overstep the divinely constituted bonds, nor intrude on the premises of the others, nor presume to interfere with the affairs of the others. As soon as any such interference occurs, then the interfering institution becomes a transgressor. 'Render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's'—*Matt. 22:21.*

"Cæsar, or what is the same thing, civil government, and God, or the Church of God, are two radically different things: each has certain claims in every individual. Let each individual, therefore, so conduct himself towards civil government and towards the Church as his specific duty towards each requires. This implies that civil government should not interfere with religion, and *vice versa*, the Church should not interfere with the administration of State affairs. The interference of one with the affairs of the other is impliedly forbidden in this scripture passage. That Christ our Lord was in earnest when he said 'Render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's and to God the things that are God's;' that he really meant that civil government should not interfere with the affairs of the Church, and that the Church should not meddle with State matters, he plainly set forth by his own example, when on a certain occasion he refused to play the part of a civil magistrate, saying, 'Man, who made me a judge or a divider over you?' *Luke 12:14.*

Now, if the United States, which, in the case before us, is civil Government, would add an amendment to its Constitution, establishing the Christian as the State religion, such action would be an interference on the part of the State with religious matters; for by such amendment our Government would enjoin upon every citizen a belief in the Christian religion and would virtually declare every inhabitant a Christian. Just this very thing the State has no right whatsoever to do, and this is forbidden in Scriptures. Therefore the proposed constitutional amendment respecting religion, if adopted, would be unscriptural; and the movement

set on foot by the National Reform Association to secure such an amendment is unscriptural also.

"Moreover a principal object, undoubtedly the principal object, National Reformers have in view when demanding the establishment of the Christian as the State religion, is the furtherance and promotion of it; they want to make the State subservient to the interests of the Church; they want to advance the cause of Christianity by the aid and at the expense of the State. . . . The kingdom of Christ is not to be advanced or sustained through the aid of the civil power, but through the word of God and through the proclamation of that word. Christ, when sending his apostles out into the world did not say to them; 'Plant my church and extend its limits by calling to your assistance the civil magistrates in the different countries of the globe;' but what did he say? He spoke very plainly to them on this point. He said, 'Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature. He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damned.' Mark 16:15, 16. Compare also Matt. 28:19, 20.

"The preaching of the gospel and the administration of the holy sacraments, and the divine institution of the ministry, are the divinely appointed means through which Christ establishes, advances, and preserves his Church upon earth. And these means contain in themselves the sufficiency for the accomplishment of what they are to accomplish. The employment of every other means for the establishment and preservation of the Church of Christ is an insult offered to the Son of God, and is virtually declaring that the means furnished by Christ are insufficient. Requesting and demanding of civil government to further the interests of Christianity is therefore unscriptural; consequently the agitation to secure a constitutional amendment to this effect is unscriptural, and such an amendment, if secured, would be unscriptural also."

The Right Ring.

THE *Los Angeles Churchman*, a monthly periodical, devoted to the interests of the Episcopal Church in Southern California, is doing some good work in opposition to so-called National Reform and American Sabbath Unionism. The following, from the December number, will bear repeating:—

"For sterling honesty and common business sense, with a clear conception of the proper functions of civil government, we commend the late message of Mayor Hazard to the Council on the Sunday-closing ordinance. It has the right ring.

"The Mayor may have erred in judgment in not signing the ordinance at once,

we think he did, but that he is right on the matter of Sunday closing we have not a shadow of doubt.

"We want to see the saloons closed every day; we want them utterly abolished from the land, but not to go to the root of the matter, to have them closed merely on Sunday under penalty of fine and imprisonment to satisfy the clamor of religionists, is a piece of Puritan fanaticism which is plainly branded with the mark of the beast of religious tyranny, the worst of all tyrants, and the deadly foe of free and enlightened civilization.

"The saloons are not only the flag of distress of a people possessed of the devil, they are also the sign of the Church's sin of covetousness, and consequent divine impotency. The saloons in any city would all be closed within a year if the Christians within it would do their duty to their brother men as Christians. Bad as the saloons are they are not so bad as modern Christianity trying to hide its shame and sin under the cloak of Sunday laws.

"We want the Nazarene in the modern temple to cry: 'Woe unto you Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites!'"

The Baptists and Religious Liberty.

EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN SENTINEL—
Dear Sir: In your issue of December 18, 1890, you quoted some "sound opinions" from a Baptist paper, in reference to religious instruction in the public schools. I have always admired the sound principles of the Baptist Church; and that the readers of THE AMERICAN SENTINEL may receive further instruction from the Baptists in reference to religious liberty, I send for publication the following selections, copied from works written by Baptist ministers, and published for years by the Baptist Publishing House, No. 1420 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia:—

The struggle for religious liberty was already begun when the Apostles Peter and John stood before the Jewish council of elders and rulers, and declared, "whether it be right, in the sight of God, to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye; for we cannot but speak the things which we have seen and heard."—*Early Struggles for Religious Liberty.*

In 1611, nine years before the landing of the Pilgrims, two significant events occurred in England—the publication of the present English version of the Bible, and the publication of articles of faith by English Baptists reiterating the doctrine of religious liberty which had been taught by their brethren at the beginning of the Reformation, eighty years before, and reasserted in England fifty-one years before, saying that "the magistrate is not to meddle with religion or matters of conscience, nor compel men to this or that form of religion, because Christ is the King and Lawgiver of the Church and conscience.

In March, 1639, Williams became a Baptist, and was baptized by one of his own members; and then he in turn baptized others,—somewhat irregular, it is true, but from necessity. Thus was organized the first Baptist Church in America. . . . Roger Williams, in 1643, went to England; taking ship from New York, because banished from Boston. In March, 1644, he obtained the charter for the Colony of Rhode Island, with power for the Colony to make its own laws; and in September, 1644, under that charter was established the first government on earth that granted full religious liberty.

Some Baptist ministers, as in Accomac County,

were arrested and imprisoned as vagrants; some were pulled down from the stands, insulted and whipped, and many were imprisoned for preaching the gospel not according to the established church. . . . While thus confined they preached through the grated windows of their prisons to crowds who gathered around. The father of Henry Clay was thus imprisoned, as a Baptist minister, in Virginia, as I was informed by Rev. Porter Clay, a brother of Henry Clay.

They even accused the Baptists of trying to break up the Union, when they merely asked for religious liberty.—*The Trials and Victories of Religious Liberty in America.* By Rev. G. S. Bailey, D.D., 1776.—*A Centennial Memorial*, 1876, pp. 12, 22, 23, 40.

Gradually, by the persecutions, the preaching, and the principles of Baptists, many others were convinced and enlisted. James Madison lived among them, witnessed their sufferings, was one of the advocates engaged by them, and throughout was employed to prepare memorials, advocate bills and other measures, and sustain the cause of conscience, and he did it well and from the heart. Patrick Henry and Thomas Jefferson were also among those engaged in this cause of religious liberty. The General Association of Virginia Baptists appointed commissioners to attend the sessions of the State Legislature and conventions. They employed counsel, engaged attorneys, sent supplies to prisoners and their families, and gave no rest from their memorials, remonstrances, petitions, and appeals. The "General Committee" was busy year after year in the work. They demanded the abolition of the established church; no taxation whatever for religion; no privileges; no compulsion for any, but free, full, and permanent liberty of conscience for all. They proclaimed their old doctrine of centuries.—*Religious Liberty and the Baptists.* By Rev. C. C. Bitting, Pastor of the Second Baptist Church of Richmond, Va., pp. 48, 49.

It is recorded by Dr. John M. Peck, that about the year 1770, when three Baptist ministers were to be tried at Fredericksburg, Virginia, Patrick Henry, the great orator, rode some sixty miles to attend the trial, and unexpectedly entered the court-room as the indictment was being read. He listened as they were accused "of preaching the gospel of the Son of God," contrary to Virginia law. When the indictment had been read, and the prosecuting attorney opened the case, Patrick Henry, having glanced over the indictment, arose and addressed the Court:—

"May it please your worships: I think I heard read by the prosecutor, as I entered this house, the paper I hold in my hand. If I have rightly understood, the king's attorney of this Colony has framed an indictment for the purpose of arraigning and punishing by imprisonment three inoffensive men, before the bar of this court, for a crime of great magnitude, as disturbers of the peace. May it please the Court, what did I hear read? Did I hear it distinctly, or was it a mistake of my own? Did I hear an expression as if a crime, that these men are charged with? What! 'For preaching the gospel of the Son of God'?" Swinging the indictment three times around his head, he exclaimed: "Great God! May it please your worships, in a day like this, when Truth is about to burst its fetters, when mankind are about to be aroused to claim their natural and inalienable rights; when the yoke of oppression that has reached the wilderness of America, and the unnatural alliance of ecclesiastical and civil power are about to be dissolved; at such a period, when liberty—liberty of conscience—is about to awake from her slumberings and inquire into the reason of such charges as I find exhibited here to-day in this indictment! . . . Our fathers left the land of their nativity for settlement in these American wilds, for liberty,—for civil and religious liberty,—for liberty of conscience,—to worship their Creator according to their conceptions of Heaven's revealed will. . . . They placed their feet on the American continent, and in its deeply imbedded forests sought an asylum from persecution and tyranny. . . . Heaven decreed that men should be free,—free to worship God according to the Bible. Were it not for this, in vain have been the efforts and sacrifices of the colonists, in vain were all their sufferings and bloodshed to subjugate this New World, if we, their offspring, must still be oppressed and persecuted!—*The Trials and Victories of Religious Liberty in America*, pp. 42, 43.

Many historians, from political or religious bias, ignore or pervert most significant events. White writes the reign of George III., and makes no mention of Wesley or the rise of Methodism. A more

prejudicial mistake would be to write the history of Virginia, or of the United States, or of Christianity, without giving prominence to the prolonged and gigantic contest in this State for religious freedom, or the restoration of the Christly principle of spiritual worship."—*Struggles and Triumphs of Virginia Baptists. A Memorial Discourse, by J. M. L. Curry, p. 4.*

INFLUENCE OF RELIGIOUS LIBERTY ON RELIGION ITSELF.

But what has been the influence of religious liberty in this country upon religion itself? It has taught and developed the spirituality of the kingdom of Christ. It has unsecularized the Church, and made religion stand upon its own divine truth, and not upon the enactments of human Government,—made it defend its fortresses and win its victories by its appropriate spiritual weapons, and not by the sword of the magistrate. In this respect, religious liberty has done grand service to religion itself, and freed it from a great disgrace and reproach. Religious liberty has thrown man upon his own responsibility to God, and taught him that religion is a personal matter,—that he must attend to its claims, and not rely on forms or rites or ceremonies or conformity to human laws for salvation; but needs to make it a matter of personal, individual, concern. It has thrown religious benevolence upon the hearts of Christians, and taught them to sustain their ministry, build their churches, endow their colleges and theological schools, and send forth its missionaries, by voluntary contributions.—*The Trials and Victories of Religious Liberty in America. By Rev. G. S. Bailey, D.D., 1776.—A Centennial Memorial. 1876, pp. 59, 60.*

They [Baptists] have stood firmly up for religious freedom when no other people even recognized it. . . . I should state, as among the very chiefest of the achievements of the Baptists, the part they have borne in winning soul liberty. They have been, as a people, scarcely less zealous champions for *civil liberty*, though in this they have not stood alone, as they long did in respect to religious freedom. Their New Testament principles have made them democratic.—*The Baptists: Who They Are, and What They Have Done. A Memorial Series. By Rev. Geo. B. Taylor, D.D., pp. 7, 9, 10.*

Religious freedom now generally prevails. All in our land rejoice, and would not have it otherwise. If it can be shown that the Baptists fought the battle and won the boon for all, should not all be willing to award them the meed of praise which is their due?

I submit three propositions:—

I. The Baptists have suffered from the violation of religious freedom by others.

II. The Baptists, and the Baptists alone, of all Christian denominations who have existed for the period under consideration, have never violated religious freedom.

III. The Baptists, in every particular, stand forth pre-eminent as the champions of religious freedom.

Suffering themselves for religion, they never persecuted others. . . . It is hard to prove a negative, but the challenge is confidently made to find a single instance in which the Baptists persecuted others. It cannot be done. Persecuted by others, they have themselves never in the slightest degree violated the great principles of religious freedom. While their own blood has been freely shed for their opinions, their hands are innocent of the blood of others. No martyr blood stains their garments, nor have they ever assumed any position or held any tenet subversive of soul liberty.

In Virginia, in 1784, when the Baptists had well nigh conquered in their struggle for religious freedom, a compromise was proposed in the form of the famous assessment bill. Every one was to be taxed to support religion, but to have the liberty of saying to which denomination his tax was to be applied. The Baptists saw that this was an alliance of Church and State, and that in it lurked the germ of persecution,—that it was, in fact, persecution; and though they had as much to gain by it as any other people, inasmuch as their principles were rapidly spreading, they not only declined for themselves, but earnestly protested against and opposed it; and though part of the time—yea, in the pinch of the conflict—they stood as a denomination almost alone, they succeeded in defeating it.

In Georgia, in 1785, a law for the establishment and support of religion was actually passed, through the influence of the Episcopalians. It embraced all denominations, and gave all equal privileges; but the very same year the Baptists remonstrated against it,

sent two messengers to the Legislature, and it was promptly repealed. In both ministers and members they were the most numerous denomination; and their ministers might have lived on the public treasury, and occupied every neighborhood, but they knew that Christ's kingdom is not of this world, and preferred to pine in poverty, as many of them did, rather than consent to the unholy marriage of Church and State.

Their views of the individuality of religion and the spirituality of Christ's kingdom, compel them to be the champions of religious freedom. Just as they would not baptize an unconscious child, so they would not compel an adult to profess either religion, or any form of it; regarding both as essentially inconsistent with the individualism of religion and the unworldliness of Christ's church. It is impossible for those imbued with and holding Baptist sentiments to be other than in favor of soul freedom.—*The Baptists and Religious Liberty. By Rev. Geo. B. Taylor, D.D., pp. 6, 8, 22, 24, 25, 26.*

For many centuries governments have impiously arrogated their competency to judge of religious truth, and, "by an unhallowed perversion of the means of salvation," have employed religion as an engine of civil policy. Not content with relying on learning and argument, they have used coercion and repression to enforce conformity to the religion of the State.

One of the anomalies of history is that Protestants, coming out of the Roman Catholic Church and protesting against her tyrannies, should so readily have copied and emulated her repressive measures.—*Struggles and Triumphs of Virginia Baptists. A Memorial Discourse by J. L. M. Curry, pp. 7, 11.*

THE CONFLICT FOR A BIRTHRIGHT.

"With a great sum obtained I this freedom."—*Roman Chief Captain.*

"I was born free."—*Paul, an Apostle of Jesus Christ. Acts 22:28.*

Religious liberty is not mere permission to enjoy religious opinions, doctrines, and worship; it is the right of conscience responsible only to God, and beyond control or regulation by any human power. Toleration is mere permission, endurance, sufferance, and implies the right to grant or to withhold, to control or to regulate. The one is a demand and an independence; the other is a concession and a subjection. Liberty of conscience for every human being. Baptists have always demanded as a religious and an inalienable right, mere toleration they have as often repudiated as usurpation.

Among the principles always held by Baptists as taught in the Word of God are these: there is but one Lord in the churches of Christ, and one Lawgiver over them; the churches have no human masters, "for one is your master, even Christ, and all ye are brethren;" faith cannot be forced; obedience, to be valid, must be voluntary; a church of Jesus Christ is a community of personal and professed believers: the kingdom of Christ is not civil but spiritual, and not of this world; persuasion, not power, is the means of influencing men to follow the truth, the sword of the spirit not of the State; God alone can authorize ordinances for churches, for, "in vain do they worship him, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men;" and, in all cases of conflict, we ought to obey God rather than men.

Through long centuries of anguish and conflict Baptists have toiled, at every tread detailing martyrs to dungeons or to death, and faltering not until victory dawned. With a welcome to every living soul to share the sweet results of their conflicts, they returned to build their waste places, and to enlarge their borders, only to find their deeds denied or forgotten, their history calumniated, their very name a target for reproach, and they only called "bigots."—*Religious Liberty and the Baptists. By Rev. C. C. Bitting, Pastor of the Second Baptist Church, Richmond, Va.*

Although there may be some of Baptist profession who, forsaking these principles of truth taught by their forefathers, have lost the power of God, and are now calling for the sword of civil government, instead of the sword of the Spirit, to convert men to the observance of the gospel precepts and the Sabbath, the vast majority of them would repudiate such an idea.

Don't charge that sin to the Baptist people!

ISAAC MORRISON.

East Portland, Oregon.

Origin and Work of the National Religious Liberty Association.*

THE introduction of religious measures in Congress and in various State Legislatures, within the last few years, is the cause which led to the organization of the National Religious Liberty Association. Certain men, observing the nature of these measures, and seeing in them a menace to the inherent rights of citizens as guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States, decided to raise a note of warning, and present to the people the dangerous nature of religious legislation, and, at the same time, to disseminate a knowledge of the true principles of religious liberty, and show the relation which the civil Government sustains to it.

The first organized form which this movement assumed, was in the appointment of a Press Committee of seven, for the purpose of securing the publication of articles on the subject of religious liberty in the public press. This was in January, 1889. The efforts of the Committee were well received by the public, and as the work increased, it was seen that a more thorough organization, with well defined principles, was needed. Accordingly, July 21, 1889, the National Religious Liberty Association was organized, a Declaration of Principles set forth, and a Constitution and By-Laws adopted. Since that time the Association has,—

1. Sent its representatives to appear before committees of Congress, and State Legislatures.

2. Secured the publication of numerous articles in many of the leading daily and weekly papers, and in hundreds of local papers throughout the land.

3. Published and circulated over 6,000,000 pages of leaflets and other documents.

4. Defended those who have been prosecuted for non-compliance with religious enactments, and is now (January 1, 1891) carrying a case to the Supreme Court of the United States, to test the constitutionality of Sunday laws.

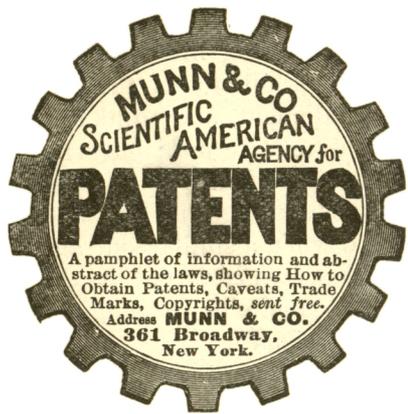
5. Presented petitions to Congress against religious legislation, to the number of 300,000 *bona fide* signatures of adult residents of the United States.

6. And has had the satisfaction of preventing the passage of religious laws, both by Congress and by several State Legislatures.

THE friends of religious freedom in Texas are making an earnest effort to secure the repeal of the Sunday law of that State. It is to be hoped that they will be successful. Sunday statutes are certainly not indigenous to the free soil of the Lone Star State, and ought to be easily killed.

NOTHING can be great which is not right.—*Samuel Johnson.*

*From the revised National Religious Liberty Association manual.



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Rev. Thomas W. Haskins, M. A.,

Rector Christ Church, Los Angeles, Cal.

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NEW YORK, JANUARY 29, 1891.

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SENATOR H. W. BLAIR has been defeated for re-election to the United States Senate.

THE provision of the Brazilian Constitution, which forbids the several States of that republic to "aid or hinder the exercise of any religious worship," is certainly an improvement upon our own Constitution.

MR. CRAFTS says that the Jew is left absolutely free to observe the seventh day, but insists that a Sunday law is necessary to guarantee to the Christian perfect liberty to keep Sunday. Will he kindly explain how that can be?

ACCORDING to statistics prepared by Dr. H. K. Carroll, of the *Independent*, the fourteen leading Protestant denominations, sub-divided into seventy-five sects, have a total membership of 13,079,576. The number of Roman Catholics is put at 8,012,970, including children.

THE case of R. M. King, of Tennessee, who was arrested and fined for plowing on Sunday, has been heard before a Federal Court. The case was first appealed to the Supreme Court of the State, which confirmed the judgment of the lower court. It was then brought before Judge Hammond, of the Federal Court, on a writ of *habeas corpus*. Judge Hammond holds that he has no jurisdiction to pass on a decision of the State courts.

THE claim so confidently made by the advocates of the so-called "civil Sabbath" that a failure to regularly observe a stated weekly rest shortens human life, is strongly discredited by facts recently published by Dr. Billings, of the United States Army, who conducted an inquiry for the purpose of ascertaining certain characteristics of the vital statistics of the Jewish population of the United States. "This material," says the *Press*, of this city, "was gathered by Mr. A. S. Solomons for the Census Office, and shows the social condition of nearly eleven thousand Jewish families in the United States, representing in all something over sixty thousand persons. The general result of this inquiry shows that the Jewish race in

the United States has the advantage over the average population, of a lower death rate." This is significant in view of the fact that a vast majority of the Jews really observe no regular weekly rest. Their greed of gain prevents them from keeping the ancient Sabbath, and they have no regard for Sunday, and so devote the day either to business or to pleasure, as opportunity offers.

WE have received another letter from Rev. H. O. Hoffman, of Bloomington, Illinois, which will appear next week. Mr. Hoffman takes issue with us upon the question of moral instruction in the public schools. Those interested in the matter would do well to preserve his former letter and our answer to it, which appeared in No. 3, of the current volume.

THE *Independent*, in its issue of the twenty-second, publishes twenty-eight additional replies to the letter sent out by that paper asking opinions relative to the Sunday closing of the Columbian Exposition. Of these replies which are from members of the Cabinet, members of Congress, and Governors of States, thirteen are in favor of opening the Exposition during, at least, a portion of Sunday; the same number are in favor of closing it on that day, while two are non-committal.

MAJOR BACON, a Georgia lawyer, has discovered that the preachers of that State are required by law to read from their pulpits, four times a year, an act regarding the observance of Sunday. The statute was framed by the Colonial Assembly in 1763, section 10 reading as follows: "And be it further enacted, that this act shall be read yearly, and every year, and at least four times in each year before sermon begins; and every minister is hereby required to read the same in his respective place of divine worship." The act provides penalties for vice, profanity, immorality, and for not "keeping holy the Lord's day commonly called Sunday." Mr. Crafts should make a note of this as another proof of the purely civil (?) character of Sunday laws.

THE *Mail and Express*, the New York daily of National Reform tendencies, complains that a Protestant is imprisoned in Callao, Peru, for a purely religious offense, and that he was not arrested at the instance of the civil authorities, nor with any belief on their part that he was a dangerous man, against whom society needed to be guarded, but that he was apprehended on complaint of the priests. "It is," says our contemporary, "simply a case of religious persecution and intolerance, and the whole responsibility for this outrageous violation of personal liberty rests with the bishops and priests of the

Roman Catholic Church, who are straining every nerve to prolong his imprisonment." We have not a doubt of the correctness of this statement, and think the conclusion and the censure just; but why is it that the *Mail and Express* waxes indignant over such wrongs in Peru, and says never a word when a similar outrage is perpetrated in our own country? Is the *Mail and Express* in favor of religious liberty only for its friends?

It is stated that "the Pope has appointed a commission to study the religious situation of the South American republics, with the view of re-organizing the episcopates on a system similar to that prevailing in Brazil, which is based on common law and religious liberty; and that the Pope is of the opinion that the Church has everything to gain by claiming simply a reign of liberty for all." If the Pope would instruct his minions in Peru to liberate the man in Callao who has been restrained of his liberty, and kept in a dungeon for nearly six months, on allegations brought against him by the Roman Catholic authorities, for no other offense than preaching the gospel in a private house and administering Christian rites according to his conviction of truth, the world might believe him sincere; but the history of the Papacy is such as to justify suspicions that the crafty Leo has an ax to grind.

"RELIGION Enforced by State Laws," and "Shall California Have a Sunday Law?" are the titles of two tracts, copies of which we have received, which are being scattered in California. They should have a wide circulation, as they are just the thing to create a wholesome sentiment against religious legislation. The first contains four pages, and sells for twenty-five cents per hundred; the second has eight pages, and sells for fifty cents per hundred. Those desiring a supply should order them of A. L. Ingels, 1059 Castro Street, Oakland, Cal.

THE *Christian Statesman* predicts that this "Nation will go on developing its Christian usages and institutions, and bringing her laws everywhere into closer conformity with the Christian conception of government, until even in the National Constitution the religious purposes of the Nation shall find expression."

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