

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

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EDITORS,

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THE German emperor has no small idea of his position. Nothing but his own exposition of Scripture will express it to his satisfaction. As thus set forth it is described as follows:—

I see in the people and the land intrusted to me by God, a talent which, as the Bible says, it is my duty to increase. I mean with all my strength to so trade with my talent that I will be enabled to add many another thereto. Those who help me I heartily welcome; those who oppose me I dash to pieces.

He is not the only one who holds such a view of the "talent" of government and governing. It is common to those who hold that governmental authority is of divine right. National Reformers and the American Sabbath Union in this country hold it in common with the German emperor and the Papacy in Europe.

### The Kangaroo and Other Stories.

In our report of the Washington City Sunday-law Convention a few weeks ago, we mentioned the reference of Rev. James Stacy, D. D., of Newman, Georgia, to the kangaroo. We could not, however, give the exact words. We have them now.

His address was written when it was delivered in the Convention, and it has since been printed in the *Christian Statesman* of February 20 and 27. In that of the 20th is the zoological specimen, in these words:—

The infidel cry, "Down with the Sabbath," like the bounding kangaroo springing from his lair, has fastened itself upon an unsuspecting people, and with unyielding pertinacity and without any evidence of satiety continues to draw its life blood.

That the reader may see how perfectly exact is Mr. Stacy's figure we quote:—

The kangaroos are all vegetable feeders, browsing on grass and various kinds of herbage, the smaller species also eating roots. They are naturally timid, inoffensive creatures, but the larger ones when hard pressed will turn and defend themselves.—*Encyclopedia Britannica.*

The Sunday-law folks are as badly mixed in their zoology as they are in their Sabbath theology. And their characterization of the "infidel cry, Down with the Sabbath," is just as wide of the mark as is their zoological idea of the kangaroo. No better description was ever given of the nature of the opposition to Sunday legislation than is given in the above true statement of the disposition of the kangaroo. Yes, sir, the kangaroo is an innocent creature if you let him alone, and so are we.

### That Revolutionary Resolution.

THERE is a point in that religious amendment to the Constitution that has not been made as much of as it ought to be. The title of the proposition is this:—

Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, respecting establishments of religion and free public schools.

Now set that alongside of this clause of the Constitution *as it is*, and consider them together.

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion.

If the purpose of this proposed Amendment is not to annul that clause of the Constitution as it is, and so open the way for a national establishment of religion, then what can possibly be the purpose of it?

This being, logically, the purpose of the resolution as defined in the title, a further question is, Does the body of the resolution bear out the logic of the title? Let us see. Section 2 says:—

Each State in this Union shall *establish* and maintain a system of free public schools adequate for the education of all the children living therein, between the ages of six and sixteen years, inclusive, in the common branches of learning, in virtue and morality, and in knowledge of the *fundamental* and non-sectarian principles of *Christianity*.

And section 3 says:—

*The United States shall guarantee* to every State and to the people of every State, and of the United

States, *the support and maintenance of such a system* of free public schools as is herein provided.

The analysis of these sections is this:—

A system shall be *established* which shall embody "the principles of Christianity."

The United States shall guarantee the maintenance of such a system.

Therefore this resolution does propose that the United States Government shall maintain an establishment of Christianity.

Now Christianity is the expression and embodiment of a religion.

This resolution proposes to pledge the United States Government to the maintenance of an establishment of Christianity:

Therefore this resolution does propose to pledge the United States Government to the maintenance of an establishment of religion.

Again: Section 4 of the resolution says:—

Congress *shall enforce* this article by appropriate legislation when necessary.

As the preceding sections of the article provide for and guarantee an establishment of religion—of Christianity; and as this section provides that Congress shall enforce the article by appropriate legislation; therefore the resolution does provide that Congress *shall* make laws respecting an establishment of religion.

The analysis of the whole resolution, therefore, is this:—

It proposes that the United States Government shall establish a religion; and that Congress *shall* make laws respecting that establishment of religion.

But the Constitution as it is says, "Congress shall *make no law* respecting an establishment of religion."

Therefore, both in its title and its provisions the Blair resolution to amend the Constitution of the United States is distinctly a proposition to annul that clause of the Constitution *as it is* which forbids an establishment of religion.

That clause of the Constitution is, and was intended to be, the declaration of one of the fundamental and distinctive principles of our form of government.

The Blair resolution being a proposition

to annul that clause, is a proposition to destroy one of the distinctive features of our form of government. and is therefore REVOLUTIONARY.

And let all the people know it.

A. T. J.

### Another Sunday-law Meeting.

Tuesday evening, March 11, there was held in Association Hall, this city, a Sunday-law meeting. It was under the management of Rev. J. H. Knowles, Corresponding Secretary of the American Sabbath Union: The speakers were Rev. R. S. MacArthur, of Calvary Baptist Church, this city; and Bishop Andrews, of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Besides these, the management rung in "a workingman" as a figurehead.

As usual, the whole meeting—speeches and all—was one straight ahead religious effort in behalf of the religious Sunday, with the word "civil" thrown in occasionally to save appearances.

The chairman, in opening the meeting, said there were many important questions being discussed, but "the one question above all others, is the one to be discussed here to-night. What shall we do to preserve and protect the Christian Sabbath?"

Dr. MacArthur said, "This is confessedly a difficult subject." Yes, it is, for those who are on the wrong side of it.

He said the difficulty would be relieved if there was uniformity of views in regard to it, and "if all men would take the word of God as the rule of their faith and practice we might expect uniformity." Assuredly; especially when everybody has the example of such delightful uniformity among the churches, all of which profess faithfully to take the word of God as their only rule of faith and practice.

He said, "It is only to be expected that the Lord's people will observe the Lord's day, and observe it as the Lord's day. And all American citizens ought to observe the American Sunday. And we have the right to oblige them to do it. If the American Sunday becomes a *holiday* and not a *holy* day, then the right of the workingman to any day will be destroyed." But a civil rest-day is only a holiday, nothing more nor less: while a *holy* day is religious, and nothing else.

He said, "I would make the observance of the day one of joy." But that cannot be done by law. That is what it must be to be Sabbath observance at all, but that can be secured only by the love of God as manifested in the grace of Jesus Christ. Nothing can be plainer than that the Sunday-law movement is directly contrary to the eternal counsels of God.

He said that in the observance of Sunday "much must be made of the public worship of God. And here is where the excursion and the Sunday paper are most objectionable. Little good will worship do to that man who comes with his pockets

stuffed with papers, the reading of which he has just dropped to go in to say his prayers." The Doctor had just before referred to the work that is done on Sunday in making and distributing the Sunday papers. He said the work done on Sunday in *making* the papers was not so much to be objected to as the work made necessary in distributing it. But, as above, all this work is almost as nothing compared to the enormous iniquity of the interference with the worship. Yet it is the civil Sunday they want all the time.

Then, in addition to all this, and more in the same line, he strongly and impressively declared: "The man who lifts his hand against the American Sunday is an enemy of the *Republic*. He is an enemy of the RACE. He is an enemy of GOD."

Rev. W. J. R. Taylor said that "it is wonderful how near the spiritual and the material run together in parallel lines, and they sometimes cross." Yes, it is.

Then he said that "Sunday is an institution,—a religious, a civil, a social, a national, a Christian, and a personal institution."

The next speaker was Mr. Kenneth McKenzie, a book-binder. He said: "In this city the people seem to be getting worse. They run down because they have their own way. Sabbath-breaking leads to depravity. A little child in one of the low parts of the city wandered away, and was hunted high and low for three weeks, when finally one day it was seen sitting on the steps in one of the worst regions of the city, with a number of other children, in front of a place where drinking and carousing were going on. The child was perfectly contented, and considered itself at home because it seemed so like the home where it belonged. A man said to me that for ten months he had not seen daylight: he had not seen the sun. He was a gambler, and had to carry on his business in secret. A man said to me the other day, 'These women are curious creatures, ain't they? I stayed home last Sunday, and it was jaw, jaw, jaw. I said, 'Mag, what's the matter with you? It's nothing but jaw, jaw, jaw, all the time, and I haven't said a word.' Said she, 'Well, why *don't* you say something? You sit round here and don't say anything. If you was n't here you would be off with your cronies.'" In my regular mission work, I have been a kind of prison chaplain, where there are thousands of prisoners, and I have had a chance to know something of what comes of people having their own way. If we talk to the workingmen they say, 'Oh, we don't want any of your ghost-stories.'" But as to how a Sunday law was to help the gamblers to see the sun; or the workingmen to hear "ghost-stories;" or those "curious creatures" to be less curious, he did not in any way explain.

And that was the workingman's part of the meeting. We have not stretched the story a particle. We do not blame Mr.

McKenzie: he did the best he could. What seems queer to us is that men with the intelligence that the Sunday-law managers are supposed to have, will so presume upon the stupidity of the public as to think that, to save their pretense of anxious care for the "enslaved toilers," they can stick up a figurehead "workingman" at every one of their meetings without the transparent trick being detected.

Bishop Andrews, dealt the civil and physical rest day a heavy blow in saying that "in China (from which he had lately returned) they have no septennial division of time, no weekly rest-day, merely annual festivals.—They work right along all the time with no day of rest as such; yet they live to a very advanced age. This fact has lead one of the most careful thinkers who has ever been sent as missionary to China, to raise a serious question, whether the great purpose of the Sabbath is not for worship and communion with the other world."

It would seem that people who read the Bible ought to have been able to find that out, without having to go to China for the discovery. Yet, it is good that they do find it out, even by such means. And we shall not complain.

Next the Bishop said there are two limitations to legislation on this subject. (1) Men cannot be compelled to religion, and (2) there must be no union of Church and State. But both of these he said they utterly disavow. And having made the disavowal, he proceeded to justify legislation that pass both the limitations. He said: "If it be made to appear that the stability of Government depends upon the conscientiousness and sobriety of life as inculcated in the religion of Jesus Christ, then the majority may assert its will in this and compel respect to it." That argument will justify every form of oppression, and of the union of Church and State, that has ever been inflicted upon a people.

He said: "We must insist that the Government shall absolutely refrain from work on the Sabbath. That six days shall be for the six day's work and the Sabbath for worship. It is the conviction of a large number of us that upon religious bases rests our public welfare. Over the whole land there should be enforced the quiet peace of God's holy day."

The Doxology was then sung, and so passed this, another meeting, in behalf of the *civil* Sunday.

A. T. J.

THE observance of Sunday should be a question of conscience and not of law. There is one thing the American citizen feels especial pride in, and that is the religious freedom vouchsafed to us in the Constitution. Let us keep this intact and not entrust our representatives of State or Nation with questions concerning our spiritual welfare, but leave that matter to ourselves and our God.—*Colorado Graphic*.

### •National Righteousness.

THERE is no theory so unsound, no argument so utterly baseless, as the one which declares that national righteousness can be acquired by a State religion, either in name or in fact. Whether it is "putting God into the Constitution," or putting the Church into the State, or in any way connecting the two, it is equally false. Yet such a theory is advanced, under various guises, by many well-meaning persons. They say that by connecting religion with the State it tends to make the State more Christian; that is, more just and gentle, more merciful and peaceful. Now we wish to show how entirely condemned is this false principle by its own actual experience.

For instance, in England we unfortunately have a direct union of Church and State. By this union religion is represented in the Government. The bishops of the Established Church have a seat in the House of Lords. It is fair to assume that these men are—most certainly should be—the most learned of all the clerical order, and are esteemed as the most devout and the most Christian. Being thus in the Legislature they are in a position of vast influence; and we might expect, if the underlying principle were true, that this influence would do much in making the State more righteous. But, alas, what do we actually find? We find that this vast influence has invariably been used on the side of wrong; and that the Church, instead of making the State better, has by the union been the means of making it more barbarous and devilish. We find by examining the votes of these unfortunate bishops that they have steadily opposed those reforms which to-day are looked upon as most necessary and Christian.

For example, about a century ago our criminal code was most wicked and cruel. Men and boys were hanged for such petty larcenies as are now punished by a few days' imprisonment. During the reigns of the Georges there were added 156 new crimes to which the death penalty was attached. In 1810 a bill was introduced into the House of Lords to the effect that persons should not be killed "for the crime of stealing property to the amount of five shillings" (\$1.25). This bill was rejected, and an archbishop and six bishops voted it down. Then we find the Church against the abolition of the slave trade. It was opposed to the education of the poor when that question was first agitated. It was against Parliamentary Reform; against Catholic Emancipation; and when the British and Foreign Bible Society was formed, it was against that. In fact, it is hard to find any salutary reform which it did not oppose by its representatives in the House of Lords.

Then, again, on the other hand, when the State has done wrong the Church has either been dumb or else egged it on.

Going back to the last century, we find it was these bishops and clergy who, in the words of a leading statesman, "hounded on George III. and Lord North in their stupid and unrighteous resistance to the claim of our American colonies to honest representation and fair taxation." The bishops earnestly supported every measure for carrying on the American war. When Europe was horrified at the wanton greed of gain and at the hypocrisy shown by Christian England in forcing opium on China at the cannon's mouth, no word of remonstrance—not a grunt of disapproval—came from this bench of bishops. And in all our dreadful foreign policy, in all the incessant and unnecessary wars that England has waged in all parts of the world, this great influence of the Church has not been used to check or to condemn a policy so fearful. The bishops have too often fanned the fierce desire for bloodshed instead of pointing to a more excellent way.

Thus we see that by actual test the Church has failed—most miserably failed to make the State more righteous by being united to it. When it has used its influence, it has invariably done so on the side of wrong. When the State has endeavored to reform, the Church has opposed it; but when the State has done wrong then the Church has either remained dumb or else most valiantly cheered it on. And wherein lies the fault, not that the bishops were sinners above all other men, but the fault lies in the principle which declares that the Church can make the State more righteous by being united to it when as a matter of fact the Church, by such a union, becomes the bond-slave of the State.

"History repeats itself." The moral of this is; let the clergy of any country insinuate themselves into Government affairs and their influence will prove a curse to that Government. Allow certain religionists to shape the Government and Constitution of America to their liking, a condition of things will then be produced similar to the palmy days of the Papacy.

FRANK HOPE.

London, England.

### Letter from Salt Lake City.

EDITORS AMERICAN SENTINEL: There is such a general interest in the recent "Liberal" or "Gentile" victory in this city, that it may not be out of place to address a few words to your valuable paper on that subject. The writer had the privilege of seeing the entire campaign and attending the ward meetings, grand rallies, and parades of both parties, and he faithfully improved the opportunity.

In this campaign, so long and fiercely contested, all old party lines were laid aside and the two factions assumed the names of the "People's Party" and the "Liberals." The former embraced the *faithful* of the Mormon Church, irrespective of race, edu-

cation, or previous political persuasion. The latter embraced *all dissenting* classes. The wealthy merchant and the poor boot-black trudged side by side through the mud and rain; the Democrat and the Republican helped to bear the "Liberal" banner; the native-born but apostate son of Utah, and the adventurer, had but one emblem—the carpet-bag. The East, the West, the North, the South, all aided in the fight and rejoiced in the victory. The naturalized citizens seemed to be moved by the same spirit, and as the vast procession passed one would often see the German carrying a torch, and the Scandinavian bearing the motto.

The political speakers were characteristic of the two parties. The "People's Party" meetings were addressed by the "apostles," "prophets," and "elders," only they were always introduced as *Mr.* These meetings were not *religious*; they were *civil* and *political*, but it was often hard to see the distinction between "Apostle" A's sermon in the Tabernacle on Sunday, and "Mr." A's political speech on Monday. Yet, like the National Reform Sunday, you must *call* it civil because that is its name. The "Liberal" speakers, on the other hand, were from all classes except the "Saints." To say that they were *all* good men and actuated by noble motives is to affirm more than could be expected.

The tickets presented by the parties will bear the closest study. While the "Liberal" ticket, like the party, was of all classes, good, bad, and indifferent, irrespective of race, nativity, or religious belief, the "People's" ticket contained only the names of those who were members of the "Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints." True, the tickets were formed in open convention by delegates from the various precincts. Yet the careful observer noted the fact that although no one pretended to know who would be nominated by the "Liberals," a daily paper published the "People's" ticket *twenty-four hours before the caucus convened*. It was no mere guess-work. Every man was named for his respective office, and when the delegates assembled to form the tickets the nominations were tendered to the very men named. One gentleman, however, declined and another name was put in his place.

It is not just to say that these delegates intentionally betrayed their sacred trust. The fault is in the *system*. These men, many of them of unquestioned integrity, believed, with the National Reformers, that "the kingdom of Christ must enter the realm of law through the gate-way of politics," and they embraced the opportunity of carrying their belief into practice. The result is, they have a theocracy with an infallible (?) man at its head, and the Church dictates every political move even while she denies any connection with the State.

The "Liberal" victory means a Government of the people, by the people, for the people. In many respects the Mormon rule was good. It is safe to say that the officials were as honest as the average politician; yet their administration can never be called republican government. The Church ruled the State, and her favorites and interests received the first attention.

There were loud cries of fraud on both sides, but the election passed off very quietly and every candid man must admit that the victory was honestly won. Undoubtedly there were unscrupulous men in both parties and on both tickets, but there were also men whom even their political enemies acknowledge as worthy of the highest trust and confidence. It is very probable that this defeat of the Mormon hierarchy will be lasting. The effort was not to overthrow the religion but to break the union of Church and State which was enslaving minds and blighting the Government. Let us not censure the men who have been educated to believe they are doing God service in following the dictates of an ambitious and unscrupulous priesthood. Let us pity their condition; condemn their religio-political system, and try to avoid repeating their mistakes.

D. G. HENRY

*Salt Lake City, February 28.*

#### Logic and Law.

WE here present to our readers the matter contained in the Brief upon the subject of the District of Columbia Sunday Bill, submitted by Prof. W. H. McKee, secretary of the National Religious Liberty Association, Washington, D. C., to the Congressional Committee at a hearing February 19, 1890. It is worthy of careful study; and it will bear the most critical scrutiny.

*To the Honorable Committee on the District of Columbia:—*

GENTLEMEN: In submitting to you this Brief, as a statement of some of the considerations why you are asked to report unfavorably upon House Bill 3854, entitled, "A bill to prevent persons from being forced to labor on Sunday," your attention is called to these propositions:—

1. The legislation asked, is unconstitutional, and contrary to the spirit of American institutions.

2. Waiving the question of unconstitutionality, Sunday laws already exist in force and enforceable, in the District of Columbia, and the measure is one of cumulative legislation.

Article First, of the amendments to the Constitution, declares that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion."

House Bill 3854 embodies a measure which Congress is asked to adopt, as a law

governing the District of Columbia, over which Congress has sole jurisdiction. Therefore, if this measure has in view the establishment of the observance of a religious dogma, or the enforcement of religious reverence for a particular day, because of the supposed divine origin of the observance required, or because a larger or smaller proportion of citizens observe the day religiously, it is a religious measure, outside the pale of civil legislation, and Congress is incompetent to entertain it.

Three points of internal evidence prove the bill to be religious in its inception, and in its intent.

First, the word "secular," in the phrase "to perform any secular labor or business," betrays the reverential spirit in which the bill is framed. The incongruity of the word, in such a connection, in a purely civil statute, will be perfectly patent, if applied to a supposed measure "to prevent persons from being forced to labor on the 4th of July," or "to prevent persons from being forced to labor on the 22d of February." The various antonyms—regular, religious, monastic, spiritual, clerical—of the word "secular," show the character which this term gives to the bill, and unavoidably. No stronger circumstantial evidence could possibly be required than the unconscious testimony of this expression.

Second: The words "except works of necessity or mercy," are subject, in a lesser degree, to the same construction. The character of phrases, as well as of human beings, may be determined by the company they keep, and this phrase is one which carries the mind immediately to the consideration of religious and Biblical exceptions, made to the strict application of the divine law for the Sabbath. That is the source of the expression, and its course may be followed through all the religious laws for "Sabbath observance," and the judicial interpretation of them, which have been had. The effect of this phrase, in connection with the preceding word "secular," is cumulative.

Third: The exemption clause contains the language, "Who conscientiously believe in and observe any other day." What has a purely civil statute to do with the conscience of man, as regards his conscientious belief in, and observance of, a day of rest? The moment the domain of conscience is touched, as such, from that instant the measure is no longer civil. And if, as this exemption shows, there be a class to whose conscience this bill would work a hardship, and to whose religious convictions it would stand opposed, then *per contra*, there is another class, the consciences of whom the measure is intended to favor. It is, therefore, not only legislation on matters of conscience, but class-legislation as well.

More than this: What does an exemption clause presuppose? Is it not a civil

or legal incapacity to meet the requirements of the law? If the incapacity arise within the domain of conscience, it is without the civil sphere, and the necessary conclusion is, that the legislation is outside the jurisdiction of human law.

These three points might be elaborated further, but this statement of them is sufficient to show that the bill bears within itself conclusive evidence of its religious character, and, if religious, it is not within the purview of Congressional legislation, as contemplated by the Constitution.

In measures, as in men, there is an ancestral spirit by which we may know them. What is the heredity of this bill?—Its progenitor in the Senate, is the Blair Sunday-rest bill, which, on its first introduction in the Senate of the Fiftieth Congress, was plainly entitled, "A bill to secure to the people the enjoyment of the first day of the week, commonly known as *the Lord's day*, as a day of rest, and to *promote its observance as a day of religious worship*;" and in the Fifty-first Congress, it is called, "A bill to secure to the people *the privileges of rest and of religious worship*, free from disturbance by others, on the first day of the week." The body of the two bills is the same, except that the incongruous nomenclature in the first has been harmonized in the second, and "First day," "Lord's day," and "Sabbath," made to read, "First day" and "Sunday." Although in the last section of the former bill, the expression "religious observance of the Sabbath day" is omitted, in the second, a neutrality clause, for it is nothing else, is inserted which declares, that "this act shall not be construed to prohibit or sanction labor on Sunday, by individuals who *conscientiously* believe in and keep any other day, as *the Sabbath*," etc. It is the same bill resurrected, and attempts the mingling of incongruous elements, which cannot be assimilated—the Sabbath which is Divine, and the Sunday which is human; Sabbath of the moral law, Sunday of the civil law; Sabbath of the Lord thy God, Sunday a religious day by the enactment of Constantine, and a *dies non*, in the statutory nomenclature of the civil law.

The very next branch of this family tree is entitled, "An act to punish blasphemers, swearers, drunkards and Sabbath-breakers," which is openly a religious law. See laws of the District of Columbia, 1868, pp. 136-7-8. The family likeness of these three measures, the old Maryland law, adopted into the statutes of the District, the Blair Sunday-rest bill, and the Breckinridge local Sunday bill, is unmistakable, and, if the original from which the latter two are derived, is a religious law, the two descendants certainly must be.

But, in the bill before this committee, there has been an attempt to separate the civil from the religious, and the claim is made that this measure is consistently for a "civil Sunday." In making good this

claim, what is it necessary to show?—It is necessary to show that the legislative and public mind has been entirely divested of the popular idea that Sunday is a day to which a due religious observance is to be paid. Both those who make the law, and those who are subject to it, must be shown to have placed themselves exactly in the mental position of the civilian whose mind has never harbored the thought of the sacredness of one day above another. Then, no other legislative restrictions would be attempted to be placed upon Sunday, than could be enacted for Monday or Tuesday, or any succeeding day of the week. But, read this bill, 3854, and insert for the word Sunday the name of a different day of the week, and consider how quickly the sense of the people would reject it. Its propriety as a civil measure, would be instantly denied. What should give it a different complexion when it contains the word Sunday? What is the magic “presto change” in that name?—It is the religious association; the fact that the consciences of many men for many generations have been trained to reverence Sunday as the holy day of God.

Sunday was first a holiday, dedicated as such to the sun and its worship. So that, in its inception, it was a day, the observance of which was based upon a religious idea; in the accommodation of the forms and observances of the pagan and Christian churches which, for the sake of temporal power and success, was brought about in the reign of Constantine, the Church found it politic, from the point of view which then prevailed, to adopt the pagan holiday and did so, consecrating it anew, with all the sacredness of the religious forms and beliefs of the Church, transferring to it the awful sanctity involved in the commandment of God, “Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy,” and adding to that all the holy sentiment which can be invoked for a day commemorative of the resurrection of our Saviour.

Thus cumulatively religious is the history of this day. The religious idea has never been separated from it. No enforcement of its observance, distinctively from other days, can be divorced from that inbred religious idea, any more than the physical and moral characteristics of the father and mother can be eliminated from the child. This child of the Church and a religious holiday (“the Venerable Day of the Sun”) is, by birth, by inheritance, and by unbroken habit throughout its existence, a religious day,—nothing else.

(To be continued next week.)

BARRY County [Michigan] points with pride to the fact that her court house can be freely used for any purpose other than for a meeting of the opponents of the Blair bill.—*Hastings, Michigan, Plain-dealer.*

### Sunday in the California State Prisons.

THERE is considerable discussion in California on the question of Sunday work in the State prisons, especially of the running of the jute mills at San Quentin. There is, indeed, opposition to operating these mills at all, as they enter into strong competition with private enterprises of the same nature. But the fact that they are worked seven days in the week, while their competitors work but six, is an additional cause of complaint. It is not my purpose to discuss the merits of the question as to the propriety of the State working its prisoners in competition with its law-abiding citizens; but the assumed religious phase of the subject having been mooted, it comes legitimately within the SENTINEL'S purview.

I have never known anyone, speaker or writer, who undertook to sustain the theory of the State's duty to support Sunday, who did not stultify his argument before he got through. And there was no exception to the rule when, on Sunday evening, March 2; Rev. Dr. Horton, of this city, undertook to condemn the State's jute mill policy from a religious standpoint. Here is one specimen extract from the “prelude:”—

Punishment is intended to make better men and women of the convicts. Now in order to reform a man two things are necessary. He must first be inspired with a sense of manliness. He must then be encouraged to cultivate a good conscience. But how can men be inspired with manliness when we treat them like whipped slaves, and drive them to toil upon seven days in each week? How can we develop conscience in these men when the great majority of them believe with the vast majority of the general public, and believe rightly, that the enforcement of work on the Sabbath-day is an open defiance of the God of conscience, as well as of all humanitarian and physiological teachings?

This is one of the Doctor's characteristic extravaganzas. It is entirely aside from the real issue between the State's jute mill and those of private enterprise. It is on a par with his utterance in 1885, when preaching on the Sunday question, that “the workingmen of California are in a State of worse slavery than ever existed in the Southern States.” Mark, it is not the character of the work, or the fact that they have to work, or the competition with other institutions, that is drawn into the odious comparison; but it is the seven days' work, that is, the Sunday work, that makes their labor like that of “whipped slaves.”

But the alleged general belief in the Sunday institution, not only of the prisoners but of the public, is indeed astonishing. Such exaggeration sounds strangely odd coming from the pulpit. That a majority of these prisoners were averse to work on any day, before they got into prison, and are so yet, is probably true; but that their opposition to labor on Sunday arises from a belief that it is an “open defiance of the God of conscience,” is too absurd for utterance before intelligent people.

And as to the majority of the general public believing that work on Sunday is “open defiance of the God of conscience,” every one knows that nothing like a majority have any conscience in the matter at all.

The last question quoted above implies an impossibility of developing conscience in men who believe that Sunday work is open defiance of the God of conscience. This is a pretty hard thrust at the Doctor's co-believers, but it is one of the characteristic muddles in which Sunday-law preachers invariably become entangled. As he perhaps unwittingly assumes that obtuse condition for himself and them, he must not call other folks hard names if they concede the proposition.

Another extract contains a like piece of logic:—

In order to reform a man you must get him off one side alone, and give him time to think. In order to get such collected thought, men's hands should rest, the ordinary course of activity should be interrupted. This is the very heart of God's ordinance for us all, and this, in the form of solitary confinement one day out of seven, broken only by attendance upon the chaplain, and by meals, is the most hopeful part of prison discipline. Many a man had rather take his chances in a tiger's cage than be left alone for a whole day with himself.

Here is a wonderful idea of improvement in the poor prisoner's condition. It is an awful thing to make him do ordinary work on Sunday,—it is “treating him like a whipped slave.” But alas! the terrible alternative, “solitary confinement,” to “give him a chance to think.” And this, “the most hopeful part of the prison discipline,” is acknowledged to be worse to many of them than being placed in a “tiger's cage.” This is prison reformation with a vengeance! If that would not “inspire a man with a sense of manliness,” his case must indeed be hopeless. And this is not the worst of it. If this Sunday proposition only affected the State prison convicts, those outside might rest comparatively easy. But, says the Doctor, “this is the very heart of God's ordinance of the Sabbath for us all.”

It seems to me that I have before read somewhere of persons in past centuries who were placed in solitary confinement, shut off from every one but the chaplain; and it was said to be for the purpose of “encouraging them to cultivate a good conscience” toward certain church dogmas. And there is no doubt that many of them would rather have taken their chances in a tiger's cage.

The preacher made a slight reference to “another side of this question,”—to the “outrage on free labor that convicts should be employed in the San Quentin jute mill any day of the week;” but his main lament was in behalf of Sunday. That was the beginning and the end of the prelude. Here is another piece:—

When shall we cease standing out against the wisdom, piety, and experience of the entire sisterhood of States and enact suitable Sabbath laws, giving every man emancipation from toil one day

In seven, making him a free man one-seventh of his time, as much his own master as is the millionaire upon that day. He may wisely choose to go to church thereon, or he may prefer to go to the groves, or to the sea, or into some quiet nook for reading and meditation; he is a free agent and may do as he chooses with his time, always knowing that having chosen his way, he must meet its outcome at the end.

This mild admission that every man "is a free agent and may do as he chooses with his time," does not accord very well with the general appeals for Sunday laws, which nearly all advocates, including the Doctor himself, base upon the custom of men doing as they please on Sunday. That is just what Sunday laws are designed to prevent,—in fact it is their prime object. But there are times in the discussion of the question when it is expedient to put a mild phase on this ideal reform. It will not do to keep the "solitary confinement" idea too exclusively in view.

W. N. GLENN.

Oakland, California.

### The Blair Sunday Bill.

THERE are several semi-religious organizations and numerous newspapers devoted to the work of procuring legislation, State and national, in the interest of religious dogma and ecclesiasticism. The entering wedge is whittled down to a very fine point and presented as the Blair Sunday-rest bill. This measure proposes absolute restriction upon all manner of secular work upon Sunday in the Territories, the District of Columbia, interstate commerce, the mail service, and such other places and branches of service as are under Government jurisdiction.

The Blair bill is the mildest form yet proposed for religious legislation; but its true significance lies in its being an introduction for a system of statutory religion that would neutralize our free institutions and substitute therefor an ecclesiasticism that would re-inaugurate a reign of bigotry and persecution. Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty; and we had better put up with some inconvenience than to encourage a policy that is in its nature and all its developments inimical to the religious freedom that we now enjoy at such a vast expenditure of life and treasure. There are two enemies to free government; one is despotism, and another is anarchy, but an equally fatal tendency is that of bigotry and intolerance, and the latter shows out prominently in the spirit and management of those who are pressing the Sunday laws upon Congress.—*Osborne, Kansas, News.*

A CHURCH which has not enterprise enough to teach its own religion, in its own way, in its own hours, on Sunday, and in its own households, and through its own missions, does not deserve to be allowed to tack itself on the State.—*New York Independent.*

## NATIONAL RELIGIOUS LIBERTY ASSOCIATION.



### DECLARATION of PRINCIPLES.

We believe in the religion taught by Jesus Christ. We believe in temperance, and regard the liquor traffic as a curse to society.

We believe in supporting the civil government, and submitting to its authority.

We deny the right of any civil government to legislate on religious questions.

We believe it is the right, and should be the privilege, of every man to worship according to the dictates of his own conscience.

We also believe it to be our duty to use every lawful and honorable means to prevent religious legislation by the civil government; that we and our fellow-citizens may enjoy the inestimable blessings of both religious and civil liberty.

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### Petitions Presented in Congress.

ON Monday, March 3, and Wednesday, March 5, monster petitions were presented in the House and Senate against the passage of the Blair Sunday-rest bill for the District of Columbia, the Blair amendment to the Constitution, embodying the enforcement of the principles of the Christian religion in the public schools or any other measure of religious legislation.

In the House the petitions were presented by Representative O'Donnell, and in the Senate by Senator Stockbridge. The number of individual signatures to the House petition amounted to 253,227, and to the Senate 308,377.

Individual signatures of residents of the District of Columbia, numbering 7,945, were presented in the House against the Breckinridge local Sunday bill for the District.

### Experience in the Field.

W. C. WALSTON, of Vermont, writes, in the *Review and Herald*: "My work consists in circulating the petition, circulating subscriptions for the AMERICAN SENTINEL, selling Civil Government and Religion, and the National Sunday Law, and circulating other literature in opposition to religious legislation. I have a variety of experiences, as I meet persons of different minds and views; but it is most astonishing how few there are, who are informed in regard to the Blair bills. \* \* \*

"The first field I canvassed was my old home town. I took nearly every leading person's subscription for the SENTINEL, and sold several copies of Civil Government and Religion. I have sold this pamphlet to every clergyman I have visited, with one exception, and to nearly every lawyer. I first visited a man of large influence, who said his attention had not been called particularly to the Blair bills, and he should want to consider the matter fully, before making any move. I left him Civil Government and Religion,

and the National Sunday Law to read, and again visited him. He received me cordially, and stated that he had read them with interest and profit. He said he was himself opposed to all forms of State religion, and should be strongly opposed to the Blair bills. He also said he corresponded with one of our State Senators, and would write him his views in regard to the bills in full.

"I realize that this is an important work, and it needs much wisdom and the help of God, to conduct it aright."

Such an expression of their experience, and the result of their work, as this, is desired by the Secretary of the Association, from the workers throughout the field generally.

WHILE the Blair Sunday-observance bill now before Congress is drawing the attention of church people that way, the Legislature of South Dakota is kicking up a rumpus with the prohibition bill it is considering. The objectionable feature of the latter bill is that it prohibits the use of fermented wine for sacramental purposes. The writer is one of a large class that believes that the Bible does not require that fermented wine be used at the communion table. We understand, however, that the rules of the Catholic Church require fermented wine, and the clergymen of the Episcopal Church are divided on the subject. This being the case, it seems as though the bill if passed, would be declared unconstitutional, on the ground that it interfered "with the religious rights and privileges of the Church and individual." These words were taken from an interview of Bishop M. N. Gilbert, of the Episcopal Church, a pronounced temperance man. It seems to us that the Dakota prohibitionists are carrying things too far. Every temperance man, with the exception of extremists, is satisfied to confine his opposition to the liquor business to the *abuse* of liquor, and does not care to interfere with its *legitimate use*. So long as the use of fermented wine for sacramental purposes is at least an open question, it does not seem like quite the proper thing to decide with such positiveness. When the abuses of liquor are among the things of the past, it will be time enough to so regulate its use.—*Litchfield, Minnesota, Review.*

THE friends of liberty must not for one moment forget that the advocates of National Sunday legislation are working night and day to secure the enactment of the Blair Sunday-rest bill. This bill is really in the interest of the Church and of the Church only, but the crafty schemers engineering it have done all they could to deceive the people into the belief that its object is "to secure to the people the privileges of rest and of religious worship" on Sunday, "free from disturbance by others," just as though existing laws did not guarantee this freedom from disturbance on all days of the week! Beware of the Protestant Jesuits!—*Fair Play.*

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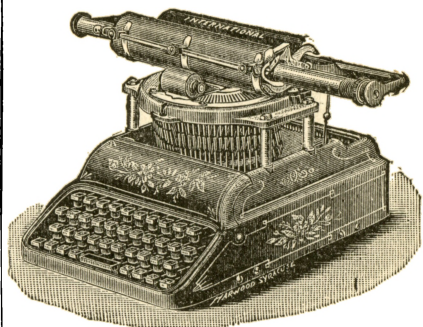
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NEW YORK, MARCH 20, 1890.

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FOR a living illustration of the influence of ecclesiastics in legislation, please read and inwardly digest the article by our London correspondent, page 91.

A NEW edition of the pamphlet "Civil Government and Religion" is now ready. It contains the new Amendment resolution and the new National Sunday bill, with discussions of them which brings the pamphlet up to date. Let it have the widest possible circulation.

THERE was laid on our table this week a copy of a German edition, illustrated, of the pamphlet "Civil Government and Religion." We are glad to see it. It supplies a need that has been seriously felt for some time. We hope the friends of truth and good government will bring this to the notice of the German people as promptly and as widely as possible. 229 pages. Price, 35 cents.

SUNDAY evening, March 9, there was a Sunday-law meeting held in Bedford Street Methodist Episcopal Church, this city, Colonel Elliott F. Shepard was one of the speakers, and his speech was characteristic of himself and of the body of which he is president, as the following extract will show. This is all of his speech that needs to be reported:—

England and the United States are the greatest Nations in the world because they keep the fourth commandment. Germany conquered France because she was a better Sabbath-keeping Nation, and by this standard a Nation's greatness may be judged.

AT the annual meeting of the alumni and alumnae of Michigan University, resident in Washington, which was recently held at Willard's, Representative Allen, of Michigan, made a ringing after-dinner speech. He declared that the University owed much of the marvelous progress which it has made to the fact that it has always maintained the proper distinctions between religion and the State.

This great institution of learning has kept an even course, in respect to these questions, through much adverse criticism. But, by the character of the men whom it has sent out to participate in the public councils of the States and of the Nation, it has proved most conclusively that a noble and intelligent Christianity can be

developed without a distinctive theological training. It is a fact that, in these days of increasing subserviency to man-made theology, and of dangerous tendency to centralization in Church and in State, with a view to future coalition, the broadly educated men and women of such institutions as the Michigan University are needed to maintain the social, political, and moral equilibrium of national affairs.

THE annual Convention of the National Reform Association is to meet in Lincoln Music Hall, Washington City, April 1, and continue three days. Rev. Jonathan Edwards is announced as one of the speakers, and he is to speak on the same subject that he did in the Convention of 1873. Hon. W. C. P. Breckinridge, who framed the Sunday bill for the District of Columbia is to preside at one of the sessions and make a speech.

Of all days in the year, the first day of April is the only one on which that Association can with perfect consistency meet.

IN a speech in the United States Senate, March 5, in opposition to the Blair Educational bill, Senator Plumb, of Kansas, gave expression to an immense truth, and as important just now as it is immense, when he spoke the two following sentences:—

Whatever domain Government invades it dominates. The jurisdiction which it takes it keeps.

Let the people attach these two sentences to the Sunday Bills that are now before Congress, then carefully study the whole, and they will get a view of what the result would be if they became laws. By this too, those who favor these measures can see what they ask when they petition for the passage of such bills

IN the United States Senate March 3, Senator Spooner, of Wisconsin, very justly remarked that "the tendency of this day is too much to paternalism in government." This is too true. The evil tendency seems to be in the very air. It crops out here and there and everywhere. It cannot be too carefully watched nor too strictly guarded against. Mr. Spooner further said that "no man can sit in Congress without being conscious of the fact that very often petitions come here for legislation on topics which are not justly the subject of legislation." Sunday legislation is a sample of this, therefore let the petitions be rolled up by the thousands of names against such legislation.

IN a Sunday-law meeting in this city, Tuesday evening, March 11, Rev. R. S. MacArthur, pastor of Calvary Baptist Church, said, as to the keeping of the Sabbath, that if he were in a Mohammedan country he could observe Friday; if in a country where Seventh-day Baptists pre-

dominated he could observe Saturday, though he would prefer Sunday; and that in this country, as Sunday is the day observed, people ought not to object when required to observe it. Yet he insisted that the Sabbath is of divine and everlasting obligation.

The same day, in the City Court, a Chinaman, about to be sworn as a witness, when asked what form of oath he would consider most binding, replied:—

Here in America I believe in the Bible, but in China I would believe in idols and my ancestors.

Dr. MacArthur's views of moral obligation match quite well with those of that Chinaman.

THE attempt to shut all places on Sunday except those which are run in the interests of religion and the Church, has led an enterprising proprietor in Boston to label his dime museum on Sunday as follows:—

Scientific Church. Grand concert and lecture on old maids and prize-fighters. Collection, 10 cents.

The genuine churches ought to be ashamed of such company as that. It may be replied that they are ashamed of it. Hardly; if they were ashamed of such company they would be ashamed to create it, as they do by the laws which they demand shall be enacted and enforced. So long as they are not ashamed to create such company, it cannot be said that they are ashamed of it after they have created it.

*The Gospel in All Lands* for March is one of the best numbers of that monthly which has ever been issued. Mexico is the subject of the "Monthly Missionary Concert," which is especially interesting and cannot fail to increase the interest now felt in this country in Christian missions in that republic. "The Jesuit Campaign and Our Danger," by Charles J. Little, LL. D., should be read by everybody, and the warning which it contains should be heeded. The author truthfully remarks that "the real danger lies not so much in the Jesuitism of Catholicism as in the Jesuitism of Protestantism," by which he means the adoption by Protestants of Jesuitical practices, traditions, and methods.

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