

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

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I FIND that human revolt against oppression of all kinds has uniformly resulted in the discomfiture of the oppressors, and in the spreading and strengthening of the cause of the oppressed; and that attempts to deny freedom of speech, and of any action not tending directly and wantonly to the danger of life and property and of innocent persons, have not only failed, but have forwarded the ends they sought to defeat. This lesson has been impressed upon mankind since the dawn of history.—*Julian Hawthorne.*

ONE of the objects of the Columbian Sunday Association is "to arrange for and carry on great mass-meetings on the Sundays during the season of the World's Exposition, to be addressed by distinguished speakers on themes appropriate to the day; chorus singing to be a feature of these meetings." The Association will also endeavor to secure "occasional holidays for all working people—men, women and children—that they may from time to time attend the World's Exposition, and particularly to this end—to make more nearly universal the weekly Saturday half-holiday."

PERSONALLY, I am an intense believer in absolute religious liberty. No individual has the right to interfere with the freest exercise of this knowledge on the part of his fellow-men. I have ever stood for "the right of conscience responsible only to God, and beyond control or regulation by any human form." So far as

their fellow-men or the State is concerned, Robert Ingersoll has the utmost right to teach his infidelity, and the Unitarians to build their churches and preach their views; and any man who attempts by physical force or legal enactment to prevent them has struck a blow at the liberty of which, as Americans, we are so justly proud. On the other hand, I claim and glory in the right to combat their errors by all the power of my pen and voice. My right I propose to exercise, and would be the last to deny to others what I claim for myself.—*C. H. Hobart, Baptist Minister, Oakland, California.*

"What Does the Bible Teach about the Sabbath?"

IN article number seven, of his productions on the Sunday-law question, Mr. Crafts inquires, "What does the Bible teach about the Sabbath?" Well, if it be only the civil Sabbath that they want enforced by law, what is the difference what the Bible says about the Sabbath? The Bible is not a code of civil laws. It is a body of religious doctrines, all finding their beginning and their end in Jesus Christ and the salvation which he wrought for men. Therefore, this inquiry is but another evidence which demonstrates that the Sunday-law advocates contradict themselves when they say that it is a civil Sabbath law that they want enacted, and that it is only the civil Sabbath they want enforced. Nor is this all; not only do they contradict themselves, but they know that they contradict themselves. They know that the Sabbath is not in any sense civil, and they know that the plea which they make for a civil Sabbath is a fraud.

There is another singular thing about this inquiry. In 1888, the American Sabbath Union was organized. It did its very best in that year and all through 1889, and the greater part of 1890, to have a national law enacted to compel everybody to keep Sunday as the Sabbath, when, lo, late in 1890, that association begins to inquire

whether or not Sunday is the Sabbath! One of the vice-presidents of that association—Rev. George S. Mott, D. D.—wrote, and the association printed and circulates a tract, entitled, "Saturday or Sunday—Which?" That is, this tract is an inquiry as to whether Saturday or Sunday is the Sabbath? And now Mr. Crafts comes out with an inquiry, "What does the Bible teach about the Sabbath?"

From these facts it appears that this association has gone on its way fully two years, trying to get a national Sunday law enacted to compel everybody to keep Sunday as the Sabbath, and then they find it necessary to set on foot an inquiry as to whether Sunday is the Sabbath or not? It would seem that they should have made themselves sure of that before going so far. Why do they want to compel men to keep a day as the Sabbath when they themselves are not sure that it is the Sabbath? If it be a matter that is so fully open to inquiry that they themselves must needs inquire, does not that imply a reasonable doubt upon the question? Does it not imply a doubt, so reasonable in fact, as to demand that fair and reasonable men should pause in their career of compulsory observance of the day, until it shall have been settled beyond a reasonable doubt that the day to be enforced is the proper one? Again, as these facts show that the question is open to inquiry, have not others as much right as the Sunday-law workers have to push the inquiry? And if others in pushing the inquiry as to which day is the Sabbath, or, "What does the Bible teach about the Sabbath?" should find to their satisfaction that Sunday is not the Sabbath, then have not such persons the right to act according to the conviction reached by this inquiry?

Suppose all the people should diligently follow the inquiry thus raised by the American Sabbath Union, and that a majority of them should become convinced that another day than Sunday is the Sabbath; then suppose this majority should form an association to secure laws, both

State and national, compelling all who now observe Sunday, to observe this other day, would the Sunday-law workers agree to the propriety of such proceedings? Everybody knows they would not. Therefore, even though the American Sabbath Union should pursue this inquiry and come to the conclusion already decided upon, that Sunday is the Sabbath, there is beyond this still, that other question upon which THE SENTINEL has always insisted, and always shall insist,—Has the State or a majority of any kind the right to enforce upon anybody the observance of a day of rest?

The foundation and obligation of a day of rest being wholly religious, the answer is, and always must be, that there is no authority upon earth that has any right whatever to enforce such observance upon anybody. Therefore, though the American Sabbath Union should find out to its own satisfaction which day is the Sabbath, and what the Bible says about the Sabbath, it would have no right whatever, to compel others by law to conform to its view upon the question.

So far, therefore, as the principle involved in the question is concerned, it makes no material difference whether they ever find out whether Sunday is the Sabbath or not, or whether or not they ever find out what the Bible says about the Sabbath. Yet, under the circumstances, and in view of the fact that they propose to compel everybody to observe Sunday, whether right or wrong, it is proper that THE AMERICAN SENTINEL should inform the people what the American Sabbath Union discovers by its inquiry. It is proper for us to tell our readers what Mr. Crafts finds the Bible teaches about the Sabbath. He says:—

The Bible presents the Sabbath, first, as God's day, then, as man's day.

This is partly true and partly false. It is true that the Bible presents the Sabbath, first, last, and all the time, as God's day. Sabbath means *rest*; Sabbath *day* means rest day. The rest which made the day the rest day, was God's rest. The rest day, therefore, can never by any possibility be anything else than God's rest day. It can never cease to be a fact that God rested. He himself can not change that fact. Therefore, the Sabbath, the rest day, can never cease to be God's day. The Bible all the way through calls it God's day. The fourth commandment calls it "the Sabbath of the Lord thy God." Over and over again he calls it "my Sabbath." In Isa. 58:13 he calls it, "my holy day," and the "holy of the Lord." And in the last mention of it in the Bible he calls it the "Lord's day." The Sabbath therefore is the Lord's, and not man's. As it can never cease to be God's day, it can never become man's day. It is true, that the Sabbath, the rest, was made for man. But it was made for him to use as the Lord's, never as his

own. It was made for man to use in the worship of the Creator, and as Mr. Crafts himself says,

We are to rest as God did, not by idleness, but by rising from work among vegetables and animals to work for the souls of men.

All these statements, even to this one, from Mr. Crafts, go to show that for which THE SENTINEL has always contended—that the Sabbath is religious only. The occupations which become it are religious only, and its observance is religious only, therefore, no civil government on earth can ever of right, have anything whatever to do with it. This is further admitted in the same article now under notice. Mr. Crafts adopts as his, a quotation in which there is this statement made:—

The week expresses religious authority and religious loyalty. . . . We, in fact, know the week only as it is marked by a religious day.

The week is terminated and marked only by the Sabbath. That day, according to this confession and every other consideration, is a "religious day." It is the mark, therefore, of religious authority and religious loyalty. And when the American Sabbath Union or anybody else endeavors to enforce the observance of that day by law, they thereby endeavor to enforce the observance of a religious day, to compel the recognition of a religious authority, and the profession of religious loyalty. This is further admitted, in the same article now under notice, where Mr. Crafts makes his own another quotation in which there is argued the impracticability if not the impossibility of enforcing a rest day as anything else than "the holy day." This argument is as follows:—

The "studies" I have already quoted ably discuss the question whether a weekly holiday could be maintained *after the elimination of the holy day*. "There would certainly be some in England and America, if not elsewhere, who would advocate on grounds of public expediency, wholly apart from religious considerations, a legal holiday as frequent as the present Sunday. But it would, of course, be necessary to create this holiday by statute. Moreover, to protect those for whose benefit it was intended, employers (other than those whose business is presumably indispensable) must be compelled to suspend work. Wherever such a law should be proposed it is absolutely certain that it would be vehemently opposed by two classes. One would urge, reasonably enough from their point of view, that to enact a weekly holiday would be substantially to reinstate the discarded sacred day; so that they would plead for a day unmistakably distinct, the eighth or tenth day or some particular day or days of the month. To them the week could not be other than a reminder of God. It should go with his day. Another class, larger probably and more influential, would argue in the interest of commerce and industry, against frequent holidays. They would show that a day of dissipation and pleasure-seeking unfitted men for the next day's work. *The restraints of religion having been removed* the proposed holiday would infallibly (judging from experience) be much more a day of reckless indulgence and debauchery than the worst kept Sunday is now. . . . Probably it would be shifted about from time to time by successive legislatures.

It may be true that, in the long run, more wealth could be gained in six days, followed by a regular

Sabbath *spent religiously*, than in uninterrupted devotion to business. But herein is involved the consideration of physical, mental, and moral benefits accruing from *religious observance*."

This is exactly what THE SENTINEL has always argued, and so far, this is what Mr. Crafts finds that the Bible teaches about the Sabbath. We shall say more on this same subject next week, but for the present we shall close with the observation that in the face of all this, their own evidence, these men will say that the Sabbath is civil, and that it is only its civil observance that they would enforce by law. Could anything possibly be more disingenuous or more sophistical? Do we not say well when we say plainly that they know the Sabbath is religious and not civil, and that they know that their plea for a "civil" Sabbath is a fraud?

A. T. J.

California and the Sunday Law.

THE following bill was presented in both houses of the Legislature and referred to the Committee on Public Morals:—

AN ACT

To amend an Act entitled "an Act to establish a Penal Code," approved February 14, 1872, by adding to chapter VII, title IX., part I. thereof, three new sections, numbered respectively, 299, 300, and 301, forbidding the exhibition, opening, or maintaining of a bull, bear, cock, or prize fight, horse race, circus, gambling house or saloon, or any barbarous or noisy amusement; or the keeping, conducting, or exhibiting of any theater or other place of musical, theatrical, or operatic performance, where intoxicating drink is sold, given away, or used, on Sunday; forbidding also the keeping open on that day of any store, workshop, bar, saloon, banking house, or other place of business, for business purposes.

THE PEOPLE OF THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA REPRESENTED IN SENATE AND ASSEMBLY, DO ENACT AS FOLLOWS:

SECTION 1. Three new sections are hereby added to chapter seven, title nine, part one, of an Act entitled "An Act to establish a Penal Code," approved February fourteenth, eighteen hundred and seventy-two, said three new sections numbered, respectively, two hundred and ninety-nine, three hundred, and three hundred and one, to read as follows:

SEC. 299. Any person who, on Sunday, gets up, exhibits, opens, or maintains, or aids in getting up, exhibiting, opening, or maintaining any bull, bear, cock, or prize fight, horse race, circus, gambling house, saloon, or any barbarous or noisy amusement; or who keeps, conducts, or exhibits any theater, melodeon, dance house, or cellar, or other place of musical, theatrical, or operatic performance, spectacle, or representation where any wines, liquors, or any other intoxicating drink or drinks are bought, sold, used, drunk, or given away, or who purchases any ticket of admission, or directly or indirectly pays any admission fee to or for the purpose of witnessing or attending any such place, amusement, spectacle, performance, or representation, is guilty of a misdemeanor.

SEC. 300. Every person who keeps open, on Sunday, any store, workshop, bar, saloon, banking house, or other place of business, for the purpose of transacting business therein, is punishable by fine not more than fifty nor less than five dollars.

SEC. 301. The provisions of the last preceding sections do not apply to persons who, on Sunday, keep open hotels, boarding houses, barber shops, baths, markets, restaurants, livery stables, or retail drug stores, for the legitimate business of each; or to such manufacturing establishments as are necessarily and usually kept in continued operation; or, except as to keeping open a bar or saloon, to persons who, on account of conscientious scruples, observe and conform to the provision of said last preceding section on a day of the week rather than Sunday.

SEC. 2. This Act shall take effect immediately.

Both committees met together on Wednesday, February 11, for the purpose of hearing arguments for and against the passage of the bill, Rev. Edward Thompson, of the American Sabbath Union, Mr. Silcox, a Congregational minister, of Sacramento, Mr. Stevenson Porter, of the Westminster Presbyterian Church, Elders G. P. Tyn-

dall, Mr. Cubery and Mrs. Judge Mayhew, all spoke in favor of the bill.

It was opposed by Samuel P. Putnam, of the Liberalists, W. N. Glenn and the writer, in behalf of the Religious Liberty Association. While W. A. Cuddy, and Addie L. Ballou presented their individual objections. I give you the principal points made. It was claimed that because the President of the United States is allowed ten days, Sundays excepted, to sign bills presented by Congress, that the Constitution in thus excepting Sundays, provides for Sunday rest, and the President in observing it has established a precedent, which is the same as law.

Against this it was shown that the Constitution makes no provision *how* the President shall use those Sundays, any more than the other ten days, he can sign bills, or go hunting or fishing; his conduct on those days is in no way defined; hence there is not a semblance of law in the clause.

It was claimed that the law was needed for the rest and health of the people. In answer to this it was shown that people can work a long time every day if they get rest at night, hence, there would be more propriety in making a law to compel them to go to bed at a certain hour at night and not get up till a fixed time in the morning; better enforce a daily rest than a weekly one as it is more needed.

One speaker held that a Sunday law is not religious, only a civil law. While another advocated Sunday as a Christian institution, and argued that we as a Christian people ought to keep it; and that a law is needed to compel us to do so.

Of course it was easily shown that these positions were contradictory, for a Christian institution is certainly religious. It was also shown to be absurd that Christians must be forced, by civil law, to obey Christian institutions, or to force, by law, a Christian institution upon saloon keepers. It was shown that Sunday laws are not Christian, if they were no one but Christians would have any right to keep Sunday. Suppose a man and women ask a minister to marry them will he refuse because they are not Christians? Certainly not, for marriage is a civil institution and belongs to those who are not, as well as to those who are, Christians; but if the same persons ask for the sacrament or for baptism they would be told that these are Christian institutions, and only Christians have any right to them. Men can be Christians and not keep Sunday, the exemption of those who "conscientiously" observe another day, is an admission of that. One of the advocates of the bill says that exemption was placed there from "Christian courtesy;" thus admitting the exempted to be Christians. But while a Sunday law is not Christian it is nevertheless religious, and the religion that originated the institution is pagan, hence the bill is to enforce a religious pagan rite; and

when a civil law is used to enforce any religion we have the most complete union of Church and State. Sunday laws are not civil; there are men just as civil who do not keep Sunday, as those who do, and sometimes they are more so.

The friends of the bill stated that the workingmen were demanding the law. But it was asked, "what labor organizations, what laboring class, is asking for the passage of this bill?" and they were forced to admit that they could not name any in the State. It was evidently a call from a few ministers and religionists only. The workingmen of the State are not calling for rest, on the contrary, they are loudly calling for work.

The same speaker who advocated the law only as a civil measure, contradicted himself by advocating it as a necessity to permit the "religiously inclined" to go to church, and compel their competitors in business to close their places of business so as not to have any advantage of trade. We held if this principle be granted as a true basis of legislation, the Jew, and Seventh-day Adventists, and Baptists are entitled to a law to compel the closing of places of business on Saturday when they desire to go to church.

One speaker advocated the bill, declaring it was needed to protect religious worship on Sunday. It was shown him that the present law of this State protects religious meetings on *all* days of the week. The extreme penalty for disturbing them is six months in the county jail and a fine of five hundred dollars.

Some of the speakers claimed a Sunday law was necessary to improve the morality of the State, and gave New England as an example. In reply, the morality of New England, when it had its most stringent Sunday law, was shown to be of the kind that hung those accused of being witches, banished Baptists, fined Quakers, and bored their tongues with red hot irons, and we have no need of such morality. It is also admitted by the advocates of this bill that one-third of the crime and saloon business of the State is on Sunday, on account of so many being idle. Hence it is evident that Sunday idleness does not assist in making people civil, to say nothing of making them moral.

It was shown that the law is contrary to the Constitution of the United States, the Fourteenth Amendment declaring that "No State shall make or enforce any law abridging the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States." All the rights guaranteed a citizen of the United States, by the United States, must be granted him by each State. The United States guarantees him full liberty in religious matters. Congress makes the laws to govern a citizen of the United States, and the Constitution says, "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof," and when any State makes a re-

ligious law it is interfering with the rights guaranteed by the United States to its citizens. The Constitution of California forbids legislating in favor of any class, hence this bill is contrary to the Constitution of the State, for it favors classes making a law binding on some and exempting others.

The following item, from the *Sacramento Bee*, of February 12, will show how this point was met by the advocates of the bill, and also demonstrates our claim that Sunday keeping does not make men civil. Some who do not keep it are more civil than some that do:—

During the Sunday-law discussion last night, Judge Carpenter questioned the constitutionality of a law that allows privileges to some that it denies to others. This remark stirred up the Rev. Thompson, who, in a sneering and insulting manner, retorted that he was amazed at the dense ignorance of a man who was called "Judge," and who should raise such a question.

Now the veteran lawyer is anything but ignorant, and he is a bad man to trifle with, as Thompson subsequently discovered to his discomfiture. While the Judge was leaving the capitol with some friends at the close of the committee meeting, Thompson, to Carpenter's amazement, approached, in a fresh and familiar way, and began to talk, at the same time taking the Senator by the arm. The tall form of the old soldier was erect in a moment, and shaking off the preacher he turned upon him the withering power of his sarcasm.

"If I were Jesus Christ and made a man a Christian," he exclaimed, "I'd make him a gentleman first, or I'd kill him!"

Thompson's "cheek" came quickly to his rescue, and he asked to know what he had said that could be objected to. He got the information, and in a way that he will probably not forget.

"You talked like a blackguard, sir," replied the Senator, "and you ought to control that foul mouth of yours! You not only denounced the judges as ignorant, but the juries of the country as low and brutal."

Thompson had enough, and as soon as he could, parted company and went his way.

It is thought that the bill will not become a law.

W. M. HEALEY.

Human Enforcement of the Law of God.

THE *Christian Statesman*, of February 5, 1891, has an article on the strength and responsibility of Christian nations, in which is an estimate of the numerical strength of the Protestant sects of the United States, from which is claimed "a decisive majority of the inhabitants of this country who are to be counted Protestant." And besides this numerical strength, Mr. William E. Dodge is quoted as declaring that "seven-eighths of the enormous wealth of this country is in the hands of Christian men." Adding to this "the factor of intelligence, remembering that colleges and seminaries are, with few exceptions, Christian," the following conclusion is drawn:—

These considerations show that responsibility for the right settlement of public questions rests upon the Christian people of the United States. They have the power in their hands. They have no right to wield it for selfish or for any merely ecclesiastical ends, but in their capacity of citizens they are solemnly bound to settle the liquor question, the

school question, the Sabbath question, and all related issues in accordance with the law of God.

To this conclusion I do not object, so far as relates to civil laws for the protection of society. But when the Christian people of the United States shall undertake "to settle the liquor question, the school question, the Sabbath question, and all related issues in accordance with the law of God," they will work in opposition to the plain declarations of our Constitution—the noblest and best ever devised by men,—violate the Golden Rule of Christianity, and assume the prerogatives of the Almighty.

The greatest evils which have ever afflicted humanity have been the result of human powers assuming to define and enforce the law of God. Whenever our secular Constitution shall give place to religious rule, like results will follow, as surely as that human nature remains the same as in past ages.

Of the one hundred and eighty-four sects of Protestants of the United States, who shall decide what the law of God demands?

R. F. COTTRELL.

God and Cæsar.

As an observer of civil-religious agitation, and not as a secretary, I expect much from the Baptists in the way of a return to that absolute discrimination made by our Lord between the things of God and those of Cæsar. The grand but incomplete work done by Baptists in the past in the interest of equal rights to all in matters of conscience, is going on to-day, and promises to go on until all religious questions will be taken from the domain of civil matters. Many Baptists now believe that such a stage has been reached among them.

The James Street Baptist Church, of Toronto, has recently requested that their property be appraised with a view to taxation on an equality with all other property. When, some years ago, a Canadian Baptist college was destroyed by fire, the Government offered to rebuild it, but the offer was respectfully declined. Similar in spirit was the action of the American Baptists when they refused to share in the provisions of the bill passed by a recent Congress, which appropriated public money for the support of denominational schools among the Indians.

The more I become acquainted with the principles of Bible religion, the more I am impressed that much which now receives the sanction of Christian people is unjust and therefore unchristian. Baptists are beginning to see that religious instruction at public expense, and the exemption of church property from taxation are contrary to their professed principles on the question of union of State and Church. They are beginning to see the fallacy and superficiality of the argument that churches should be exempt from taxation because

they are a public benefit. Suppose an exhibitor of works of art, or a publisher of clean, moral and religious books, should make the same claim; or, to go further still, suppose a theatrical manager should produce such plays only as could not be objected to by the most precise moralist, where is the line to be drawn in the matter of exempting property from taxation? Recently a private corporation built a bridge over a stream in Kentucky, they demanded that it be exempt from taxation on the ground of its usefulness to the public. Their request was denied. What legitimate business is not a public benefit? Our railroads, telegraphs, etc., are all a public benefit, and the logic applied to churches, if applied to them, would exempt them all. So far from being a benefit to the churches themselves, this exemption works the other way. An immense amount of church property lies idle except for a few hours each week. If this property stood on the same basis with other property in this matter, its owners would strive to make more use of it. More effort would be put forth, more results as a consequence, and as the results increased the finances would, also, and there would be enough to pay all honorable bills. The utility argument in favor of exemption from taxation is as superficial as the resurrection argument in favor of the change of the day of the Sabbath.

The enlightened and candid man will say, "church property is exempted from taxation because it is a relic of the union of Church and State." So, too, is religious instruction in the public schools and the practice of opening school sessions with religious exercises and the reading of the Bible, a relic of the union of Church and State. These practices are unfair and therefore unchristian. Parents because they love their children, ministers because they are paid for so doing, and from the higher motives of consecration, should teach religion. Everybody is taxed to support secular teaching in the public schools and therefore nothing but such instruction should be given there. So long as anybody sanctions religious instruction in such schools, so long as there be an approval of the practice of exempting church property from taxation, and of the thanksgiving proclamations from the President and the Governors of our respective States, many of whom care little or nothing for God, so long there can be no just claim that there is a separation of Church and State, for all these things are relics of such a union.

I look, then, to Baptists with much hope. Not only for a spread of healthy sentiment on these points, but also that they will soon see that all legislation affecting the Sabbath is equally inconsistent with their principles, and when they shall have once seen this, we may justly expect them to go one step further, when they will see that in observing Sunday they have over-

thrown the Sabbath of Jehovah, and have placed themselves in so palpably inconsistent a position with their fundamental doctrine, a "thus saith the Lord" for everything, that many will feel like reproaching themselves for not having seen it before.—*Rev. H. B. Maurer (Regular Baptist), in Sabbath Recorder.*

Powers of Government Derivative.

THE idea is prevalent in America—as it is almost universal in Europe—that the civil government is omnipotent, except in so far as its powers have been limited by the people. And even this exception is not admitted by the great "utilitarian" school of England, whose doctrines have led a whole nation captive. Austin, the systematizer of their jurisprudence, specifically says: "Now it follows from the essential difference of a positive law, and from the nature of the sovereignty and independent political society, that the power of a monarch properly so-called, or the power of a sovereign number in its collegiate and sovereign capacity, is incapable of legal limitation."—*Lectures on Jurisprudence, London edition, page 270.* And Hobbes, in his treatise on government, sweepingly declares that "*no law can be unjust,*"—which is only another form of stating what Austin says.

Austin, in his lecture, continues: "A monarch or sovereign number bound by a legal duty, were subject to a higher or superior sovereign: that is to say, a monarch or sovereign number bound by a legal duty were sovereign and not sovereign. Supreme power limited by positive law, is a flat contradiction in terms." But the contradiction or difficulty is—not in the facts—but in the meaning that is attached to the words. "Sovereign" and "supreme" do not mean omnipotent. Absolute power exists nowhere under heaven. Nevertheless, people take it for granted that it does, and think the only question to be determined is as to *where* it exists, in the monarch, in the Legislature, or in the people? "We quarrel," says Professor Bliss in his work on Sovereignty, "as did our English ancestors, about the location of sovereignty, but take for granted its existence somewhere, and without much regard to powers acknowledged by public law. Hobbes was perhaps the most distinguished of the writers of the despotic school." But this idea that sovereignty, in the sense of omnipotence or absolutism, exists anywhere, is simply a figment of the brain.

"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 them are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights *governments are instituted among men, deriving their just power from the consent of the governed.*" Then the powers of govern-

ment are not only limited but are also derivative. Government has no powers, whatever, but those delegated by the people. And the people can delegate no powers that they do not possess. Then do we see that government, so far from being absolutely supreme, only has so many powers as the people are pleased to grant it.

Then again, the powers (and, of course, we here mean just powers, as used in the Declaration of Independence) of the people, though not derivative, are limited. Their powers are limited by the law of nature—no man having a right to infringe upon the rights of others. “All men are created equal,” says the Declaration of Independence; and “life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness” are among their *inalienable* rights—rights that cannot be taken away by any power on earth. The famous Virginia Declaration of Rights, adopted three weeks prior to the adoption of the Declaration of Independence, positively asserted “that all men are by nature *equally* free and independent, and have certain inherent rights, of which, when they enter into a state of society, *they cannot, by any compact, deprive or divest their posterity*; namely the enjoyment of life and liberty, with the means of acquiring and possessing property, and pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety.” Hence the power to interfere with these rights cannot be delegated. Then the powers of government are reduced to this: Only such powers as the people have a right to delegate, and do actually delegate. Madison, in writing on Sovereignty, makes this very distinction. “The sovereignty of society,” says he, “as vested in and exercisable by the majority, may do anything that could be rightfully done by the unanimous concurrence of the members; the reserved rights of individuals (conscience, for example) in becoming parties to the original compact being beyond the legitimate reach of sovereignty, wherever vested or however viewed.”—*Writings of James Madison, Volume IV., page 422.*

This idea was decidedly popular with our early statesmen, and occupied a prominent place in our early State documents, it being asserted and reasserted both in the North and South.

But by this delegation of power was not meant the surrender of rights. In fact, the former is an assertion of the retention of sovereignty. For whenever a government delegates a minister or ambassador to act for it, by that very act it asserts its authority to act in the matter; and the delegation of power is simply an authorization of a person to act for it—with less or equal power,—but in no case with more power than that possessed by the delegating power. So in delegating powers to government, the people simply hire agents to do certain work for them, and pay them for such work in taxes. But they do not give up their rights. Jef-

erson asserts this principle emphatically in a letter to Francis W. Gilmer, dated at Monticello, June 7, 1816:—

Our legislators are not sufficiently apprised of the rightful limits of their power, that their true office is to declare and enforce only our natural rights and duties, and to take none of them from us.—*Works of Thomas Jefferson, Volume VII., page 3.*

The derivative nature of government, as viewed by our early statesmen is clearly expressed in the second section of the Virginia Declaration of Rights, which asserts the doctrine in these words “that all power is vested in, and consequently derived from, the people, that magistrates are their trustees and servants, and *at all times amenable to them.*” Hence, according to the American political system, civil government is simply a public corporation, the officers of which are amenable to the people, just as truly as the officers of other corporations are amenable to the members. They are entrusted with the work of protecting the rights of the people; and whenever they interfere in any way with a single right of a single person, they are violating their trust and abusing their authority, just as truly as is the bank cashier when he embezzles the funds of the banking corporation; and the members of the corporation are no more bound to submit to the injustice and usurpation in one case than they are in the other. This is the point made by Madison when he asserts that the “reserved rights of individuals (conscience, for example)” are “beyond the legitimate reach of sovereignty, wherever vested or however viewed.” There is no possible way for any government to obtain jurisdiction or authority over one’s rights. Such jurisdiction would be illegal (illegal according to natural law or justice) even though expressly delegated in the written Constitution itself. For, as Madison says, these rights are “beyond the legitimate reach of sovereignty, *wherever vested* or however viewed.” The delegation of the power would be illegal—it not being the people’s to delegate—and therefore the power itself would be illegal.

But fortunately, in America, this principle is asserted and reasserted in probably every Constitution in the land. The rights of the individual—the just claims that he has under the natural law—are recognized and provision is made for their protection in the courts. This is why Sunday laws are unconstitutional. They interfere with the rights of the individual; (1) by interfering with the freedom of worship—religious liberty; (2) by interfering with personal liberty; and (3) by interfering with the right to acquire property; besides flagrantly violating the general principles of our Government. Here all have equal rights. Neither the Christian nor any other person, legally, has any more rights than any other person; but all are on an equality before the law. Colonel Johnson in his celebrated report to the House of Representatives on the Sunday question notices this very point.

“The Constitution,” he says, “regards the conscience of the Jew as sacred as that of the Christian, and gives no more authority to adopt a measure affecting the conscience of a solitary individual than that of a whole community.”

But whether this be true or whether it be false, the fact still remains that as before the organization of government one man did not have the rightful power to compel another to observe his Sabbath, so upon the formation of government no such power could be delegated.

W. A. BLAKELY.

The True Statesman.

THE true statesman is a man of principle. He may be a man of great ability, and possess great wealth; but he will employ neither of these to secure the adoption of measures that he knows will deprive any citizen of his rights. As the object of good government is to secure to men their rights, not simply the rights of the strong, but of the weak against the encroachments of the strong; not simply to the many, but to all; so the purpose of the true statesman, who is the representative of the Government, must be the same,—the protection of all in the exercise of their rights.

The eloquent speeches of Patrick Henry in the interests of American liberty, were but the natural outburst of long-suppressed feelings of outraged justice. The Declaration of Independence drawn up and signed by the fathers of our Republic, was but a simple statement of the principles that actuated them during the energetic struggles of the Revolutionary War. The Constitution of the United States, soon afterward adopted, was but the expression, in law, of equal rights for all citizens, and the assurance that all should have the equal protection of the law. The work of Benjamin Franklin, as minister plenipotentiary to France, so valuable to the United States Government, was successful because he, in his labors, regarded the rights of all men as equal, and sought for justice only in the intercourse of nations touching the affairs of State. And during the severe conflict for the preservation of the Union after the emancipation proclamation, it is easy to trace in the bloody strife, a struggle for the continued existence, in our national policy, of the principle of equal rights to all men, as expressed in the Declaration of Independence.

All honor is due to the noble statesmen who, during the contests of the past, were wise enough to discern, and courageous enough to defend, these principles of right at all hazards. Such were true statesmen, and the esteem in which they are held by their countrymen is well merited.

The same principle is clearly seen underlying the work of the noble men who formed our national Constitution, and

others who have since stood unflinchingly in its defense, against the demands for religious legislation. Very early in the history of the settlement of our country, in some of the Colonies, especially those of New England, religious legislation was introduced. The results of such legislation were seen by them to be inimical to the best interests of both the Church and the State; hence in Article VI. of the Constitution, and in Article I. of the Amendments, we have the following as safeguards against religious intolerance:—

No religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States. . . . Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.

In defining the object of the Constitution, in response to questions from the committee of a Baptist society in Virginia, George Washington wrote, August 4, 1789 as follows:—

If I had the least idea of any difficulty resulting from the Constitution adopted by the convention of which I had the honor of being President when it was formed, so as to endanger the rights of any religious denomination, then I never would have attached my name to that instrument.

If I had any idea that the general Government would be so administered that the liberty of conscience would be endangered, I pray you be assured that no man would be more willing than myself to revise and alter that part of it, so as to avoid all religious persecutions.

You can, without doubt, remember that I have often expressed my opinion that every man that conducts himself as a good citizen, is accountable alone to God for his religious faith, and should be protected in worshipping God according to the dictates of his own conscience.

In 1830, memorials for prohibiting the transportation of mails and the opening of post-offices on Sunday, were referred to the Congressional Committee on Post-offices and Post-roads. The report of the Committee was unfavorable to the prayer of the memorialists. It was adopted and printed by order of the United States Senate. The position taken in it in reference to religious legislation, is set forth in the following unmistakable language:—

The Committee look in vain to that instrument for a delegation of power authorizing this body to inquire and determine what part of time, or whether any, has been made holy by the Almighty.

If Congress should declare the first day of the week holy, it would not convince the Jew nor the Sabbatarian.

If a solemn act of legislation shall in one point define the law of God, or point out to the citizen one religious duty, it may with equal propriety define every part of revelation, and enforce every religious obligation, even to the forms and ceremonies of worship, the endowments of the Church, and support of the clergy.

The framers of the Constitution recognized the eternal principle that man's relation to his God is above human legislation, and his right of conscience inalienable.

Has this clamoring for religious legislation ceased? No; the cry is now more wide-spread than in the past for the State to unite with the Church by placing certain "Christian laws, institutions, and usages of our Government on an undeni-

able legal basis in the fundamental law of the land."

Have we any statesmen at the present time so unwise as to sanction this un-American demand?—It must be said to our discredit that a few such are to be found, who, yielding to the influence of misguided churchmen, are introducing into Congress Sunday-rest bills and other measures which they think are in the interests of the Christian religion, but which, if adopted, would prove an open door to a union of Church and State, with religious persecution as the inevitable result.

Are there no statesmen to-day wise enough to foresee the evil of such legislation, and staunch enough to defend, as our fathers have done, the Constitution as it now stands?—Yes; let it be published to our honor that the true statesman still lives, and in almost every State in the Union his influence is still felt sufficiently to preserve these principles of right against the encroachments of those who, disregarding them, would compel religious observances.

That the Christian religion, through its influence upon the individual, is a benefit to the State, is an undeniable fact; and that all citizens should be protected in the exercise of their religious rights is also beyond question. But let religion not be enforced. "God wants free worshipers and no others." It is only those who worship "in spirit and in truth" of whom it is said, "He seeketh such to worship him." Though believers in the Christian religion, in the interests of good government we say, with James Madison, "Religion is not in the purview of human government. Religion is essentially distinct from government, and exempt from its cognizance: a connection between them is injurious to both." And with U. S. Grant we plead, "Leave the matter of religion to the family altar, the Church, and the private school supported entirely by private contributions. Keep the State and the Church forever separate."—*N. R. L. A. Leaflet.*

"Herald of Gospel Liberty."

THIS is the heading of the first religious newspaper published in the world. The paper was published by Elias Smith, at Portsmouth, New Hampshire. The first number was issued September 1, 1808, and in it the editor says:—

A member of Congress said to me not long ago (while speaking upon the state of the people in this country as it respects religious liberty) to this amount: "The people in this country are in general free, as to political matters, but in things of religion multitudes of them are apparently ignorant of what liberty is." This is true; many who appear to know what belongs to them as citizens, and who will contend for their rights, when they talk or act upon things of the highest importance, appear to be guided wholly by the opinions of designing men, who would bind them in the chains of ignorance all their days, and entail the same on all their posterity. The design of this paper is to show the

liberty which belongs to men, as it respects their duty to God, and each other.

What this editor said was not only applicable to many at that time, but also to many at the present time. Just notice how very many now appear to know what their rights are, but you can see that in all their talk and actions they are led by the leaders of the National Reform Association—by those who would compel them to hold to certain doctrines and observe a certain day under penalty of the law of the land.

Religious papers ought to progress. But we find many so-called religious papers of the present day far behind this first religious paper, in regard to what constitutes true religious liberty.

Mr. Smith, in the same paper, continues on the subject of liberty, as follows:—

Liberty means a state of freedom, in opposition to slavery or restraint, and may be considered as either natural, civil, or religious.

The absolute rights of man, considered as a free agent, endowed with discernment to know good from evil, and with power of choosing those measures which appear to him to be most desirable, are usually summed up in one general appellation, and denominated, the natural liberty of mankind.

Political or civil liberty, which is that of a member of society, is no other than natural liberty, so far restrained by laws (and no further) as is needful and expedient for the general good of the whole. Hence, the law which restrains a man from injuring his fellow-citizen, increases the civil liberty of mankind. Every causeless restraint of the will of a subject, whether done by one or more, is tyranny, and every law concerning things indifferent, is a law destructive of LIBERTY. How many such laws are there to be found in the history of nations? To mention a few may suffice.

In the ninth and tenth centuries, the greatest princes in Europe wore wooden shoes, with long points to them. The clergy, who ruled, being highly offended, declaimed against the long pointed shoes with great vehemence. At length the Parliament of England interposed by an act, A. D. 1463, prohibiting the use of shoes or boots with pikes exceeding two inches in length, and prohibited all shoemakers from making shoes or boots with longer pikes under severe penalties. This was not sufficient; it was necessary to denounce the dreadful sentence of excommunication against all who wore shoes or boots with points longer than two inches.

Religious liberty signifies a freedom to believe in God, and to obey him according to the manifestation which he has made to man, in his works, in the Scriptures, and by the spirit of truth, the manifestation of which is given to every man to profit withal.

Every kind of human law respecting religion, is inconsistent with real religious liberty, and the interference of the magistrate in matters of religion is the same as though they should make laws to bind us to our food, manner of preparing it, how and when it should be eaten, etc. The operations of the mind, are not, can not be, subject to the laws of men, no more than the light of the sun, the rain, wind, or seasons of the year can be under their control.

Liberty, either civil or religious, has respect to something more than the name of liberty. Real liberty respects the rights of mankind in general, and this subject can not be well understood, unless the rights of men are understood.

You will notice in the fourth paragraph, an instance cited by Mr. Smith referring to the Parliament passing the act against the wearing of the long pointed boots and shoes, which was the common custom at that time, that they did not pass it simply from a civil standpoint and inflict a civil penalty; but they passed it from a religious point of view; from the fact that the wearing of them offended THE CLERGY, and one of the penalties denounced was excommunication from the church.

S. H. CARNAHAN.

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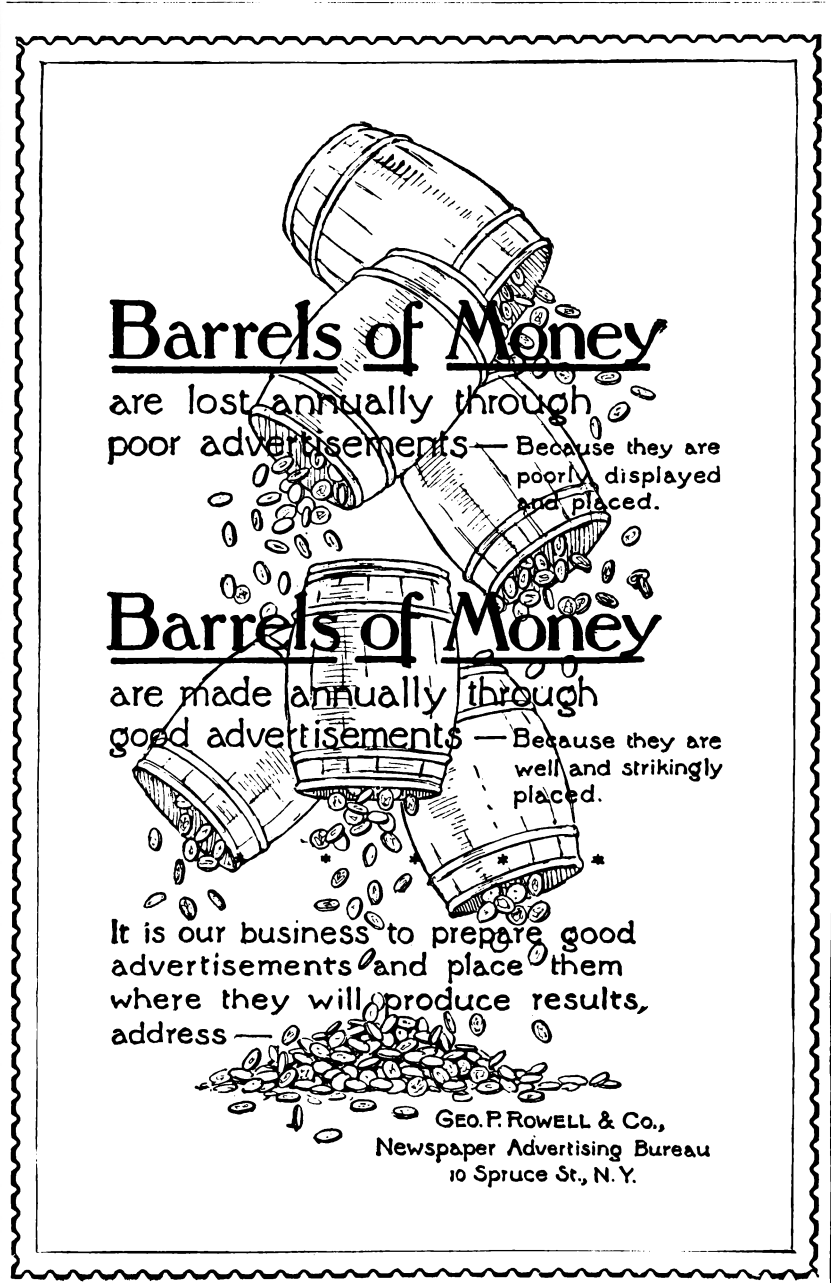
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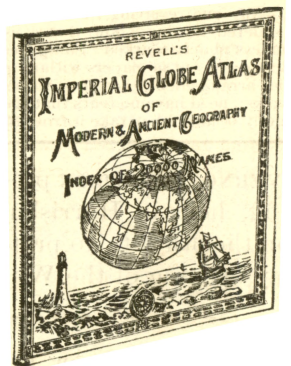
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GOVERNOR PATTISON presided at a mass-meeting, held in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, on the 6th ult., to protest against the Sunday opening of the World's Fair.

OF the proposed new and more liberal Sunday law for Pennsylvania, the "Pearl of Days" says:—

The snake in this bill is the submission of the question of necessity to the verdict of a jury. Any one can see that this would cause delay and expense and uncertainty, which would make the enforcement of the law almost impossible.

It must be a bad cause that is afraid of trial by jury.

AN aged minister in this State writes as follows: "My sympathies are with you in the work in which you are engaged. I am glad to realize that when dangers threaten, God is sure to raise up some to give the warning. Now, while many are zealously laboring to subvert the free institutions of our Government, THE AMERICAN SENTINEL has been brought into service to give the warning of the danger that threatens."

THE American Sabbath Union now has a State auxiliary in Massachusetts. It was organized in Boston on the 18th ult. The officers are as follows: President, Rev. R. G. Adams; Vice-Presidents, Hon. Rufus S. Frost, Hon. Edward H. Dunn, Mr. Daniel S. Ford, Mr. Robert Gilchrist, Hon. Newton Talbot; Secretary, Rev. George A. Crawford; Treasurer, Mr. Franklin Damon. These gentlemen are supposed to have enough of the "breath of the Puritan" to qualify them for their several offices.

THE labor bill now before the German Reichstag provides for the rigid enforcement of Sunday rest. "The bill forbids," says the *Christian Advocate*, "Sunday labor in mines, salt-pits, quarries, collieries, founderies, workshops, and factories of all kinds. In Austria a recently enacted ordinance forbids Sunday toil, including that on newspapers, so that printers in Vienna are free on Sunday. Denmark and Holland have taken a step in this direction, and even in Russia petitions demanding that factories and shops be closed on Sunday, bid fair to meet with a

successful issue. The question has been taken up in the Federal Parliament of Switzerland, and effective measures securing rest to working people, to some extent, on Sunday, have been adopted. The *Review of Reviews* has an article on this topic, showing the progress this movement has made within recent years."

REV. DR. WILLIAM J. R. TAYLOR, Corresponding Secretary of the American Sabbath Union, has removed his office from New York, to Washington, D. C. The "Pearl of Days" says that "as the able representative of the national society for the preservation of the Christian Sabbath, the day of rest and worship, he has already received a cordial welcome from many influential residents of Washington."

THE Rev. Minot J. Savage, is a Protestant clergyman and a well-known writer, of Boston. He said a few days ago: "We talk as though the Catholics had no rights. We say this is a Protestant country. It isn't. Were I a Catholic I would fight to the bitter end before I would submit to have a religion taught in the public schools which I believed would endanger the eternal welfare of my child's soul. The causes which led our forefathers into rebellion were less than this. The cure seems to be simple. It lies in justness and fairness to all."

THE power of England has been invoked to force a Sunday law upon Hong-Kong. Some months since, the British Mercantile Marine Officers formed themselves into an Association, and carried on during the year an active campaign against Sunday labor. They obtained the Chamber of Commerce's promise to co-operate in a voluntary effort to lessen Sunday labor, but the officers were not content with this. They desire a law to be passed enforcing the same provisions as in custom ports, and as the local Government will not move, they have appealed for support from England.

THE San Antonio (Texas) Secular Union is circulating the following petition for the repeal of the Sunday law of that State:—

Realizing the pernicious evils that have blemished the history of the nations of the Old World, by the combining of Church and State, and fully appreciating the sublime wisdom of the founders of our Government in their unmistakable condemnation and inhibition of such an evil,

Therefore, We, the undersigned citizens of Texas, would most respectfully represent that nothing is more obvious than that all Sunday laws contained in our statute books are infringements upon our liberties and natural rights, as defined by our fathers and clearly set forth by them in the Declaration of Independence and Constitution of the United States, and we would most respectfully petition your honorable body to repeal all laws requiring the observance of Sunday as a religious institution, or tending to that end.

This is a good deal better than the hot and cold deliverance of the American Secular Union upon the same subject. The fact is that all the Sunday laws now in existence rest upon the religious character of the day, and were it possible to separate from such laws all religious considerations without totally destroying the laws, nobody would care to retain them upon the statute books or to enforce them if so retained. Sunday is nothing, if not religious.

IN *Our Day*, for January, Rev. Mr. Crafts, in telling "what was done for Sabbath reform in 1890," says:—

The richest contribution of the South to the sheaf of the year is the petition of its great Baptist Convention, its Presbyterian Assembly, its Cumberland Assembly, and of the Episcopal Council of Virginia, asking Congress to forbid Sunday work in the military and mail service, in interstate commerce, and in the District of Columbia and the Territories, which, with the further indorsements of the Lutheran General Synod, the National Council of Congregational Churches, and many other bodies, made an army of two million one hundred thousand representative petitions presented in one day of this year to the present Congress. How strangely unmoved it is by this appeal, like the sound of many waters, for the emancipation of millions from Sunday slavery! Let the petitioning go on. The Breckinridge Bill for a rest day in the capital, asked for by its commissioners, and approved by the President, may be passed in the present Congress if earnestly urged.

And yet many people fondly imagine that the backbone of the national Sunday-law movement is broken, and that little or nothing remains to be done in opposition to it. In this very sense of security, and in the indifference which it begets, lurks the most serious danger of the situation.

FEBRUARY 9, the following resolution was offered in the United States Senate and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations:—

Resolved, That the Senate of the United States has heard with great concern the statements in the newspapers in regard to the alleged persecutions of the Jews in Russia, and also in reference to the cruel treatment of State prisoners in Siberia, and other places of imprisonment in the dominions of the Czar.

And the President of the United States is hereby requested to appeal, on the ground of humanity, to the Emperor of Russia to take measures to inquire into these alleged wrongs and cruelties to the subjects of Russia, and to place them in a condition of freedom and equal right.

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