

# THE AMERICAN SENTINEL.

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

VOLUME 4.

OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA, OCTOBER 2, 1889.

NUMBER 36.

## The American Sentinel.

PUBLISHED WEEKLY, BY THE  
PACIFIC PRESS PUBLISHING COMPANY,  
No. 43 BOND ST., NEW YORK;  
18 POST ST., SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.;  
12TH & CASTRO STS., OAKLAND, CAL.

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"THE weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds."

THE daily *Oregonian* of August 19, tells the following:—

"A Philadelphian engaged in work upon a family vault in a graveyard accidentally got locked in. He began to laugh, but when night came on his companionship with seventeen corpses became anything but a joke, and so worked upon his nervous system that his black hair was turned to white. He has firmly resolved to change his business."

Well, well, we should think that any man who would be afraid of a corpse ought to have his hair turned white. We wonder that every separate hair didn't fall out by the roots. It is true that there were seventeen corpses there, but neither seventeen, nor seventeen *thousand*, corpses are a particle more dangerous than is one. Nor is a corpse any more dangerous in the night than in the day. Yes, we should think he ought to change his business; but what business such a person as that can be fit for in this world or any other, is a mystery. Why didn't he lie down and go to sleep and take things easy till the door was unlocked?

THE Spokane Falls (W. T.) *Review* refers to the fact that up in Dakota there was quite "a war of words over the proposition to put God in the Constitution." It says that a Fargo gentleman, signing himself "Saul," wrote to his home paper opposing the religious features suggested. This writer said that "the Federal Constitution has no such provision, and that it has served a very good purpose nevertheless." "This," the *Review* continues, "called out a furious tirade from the other side." One writer replies in this vein:—

"If the scoffers and infidels do not wish to live in God's country, let them remove themselves and their odious doctrines to some other country. Not only so, but I hope to see the day when the law will prevent the circulation of the blasphemies of would-be smart men like "Saul." . . . That the people of the United States have become a prosperous nation, notwithstanding the fact that God is not mentioned in the National Constitution, is a proof, if it proves anything at all, not that a people will prosper because they ignore the Supreme cause, but—that God is just, and that he does not visit the sins of the Constitution makers upon the people who are not responsible for the reprehensible action. Who is prepared to say,

however, that the authors of this Constitution were not punished? Can Saul assure us that the scoffing infidel of the last century is not suffering the pangs of the lost in the place of eternal punishment?"

This is a fair sample of National Reform sentiment. It is characteristic of that class of so-called Christians who feel the necessity of being branded as such by the Constitution in order to be recognized, and that they are ready to use the most unchristian means to further their ends.

### That Washington Preamble.

WE print in this number of the SENTINEL a report of the debate in the Constitutional Convention of Washington on the preamble to the proposed constitution of that State. This debate is of special interest to more people of this country than simply the people of the State of Washington. In view of the demand that is being made for a religious amendment to the National Constitution, the arguments used and the result in the Washington convention are worthy of careful study. It is evident that the opponents of the religious idea had by long odds the best of the argument. Not only so, but these stood solely upon principle, while those who favored it openly confessed that it was a mere matter of sentiment, while some of them went so far as to make it a matter of temporal gain and even of political party influence. Those members of the convention who had most respect for religion and for God as a matter of principle, were opposed to the religious preamble while those who had least respect for religion, whether in principle or in practice, were the ones who favored it most.

For instance, Mr. Warner, the chairman of the committee on preamble, is a member of the church and is a gentleman in whose life, religion and respect for God are matters of abiding principle; and because this is so he consistently opposed any sentimental or conjuring use of the holy name. On the other hand, Mr. J. Z. Moore, who had so little respect for God, or religion, or the convention, or himself, as to have a keg of whisky sent all the way from Kentucky for use during the convention, and openly advertised it in the convention on a question of privilege, and made use of it there,—he, consistently enough, favored the substitute in order to prevent "a bad example to the youth of the growing State!" These two cases form as good an illustration of the respective merits of the two sides of this question as can ever be found.

The arguments proposed in favor of the religious substitute are worthy of brief notice. Thus Mr. Cosgrove wanted the name of God in the preamble as an immigration scheme, and to sustain this idea, he presented the plea that "the people of the East believed that Washington Territory was a heathen land," and are "only now com-

mencing to learn that the people of Washington Territory are civilized and enlightened." We would simply remark, that if Mr. Cosgrove expects by constitutional provisions to instruct the people of the East in regard to the State of Washington he has got a bigger task on his hands than he will ever get through with.

In his second speech, Mr. Cosgrove made it a political party matter and a bid for votes by arguing that "The party which organized this convention, from president to page, would be held responsible for all that was left out as well as all that was put into this constitution; and might find itself needing votes for this document from the very people who would withhold them from it unless a simple recognition of the Supreme Being was in."

Mr. Turner, the other one of the three chief advocates of the substitute, first stated that "it was a matter of sentiment, he admitted," but afterward declared that "it was from the highest motives of duty" that he offered the substitute. Yet neither his religious sentiment nor his motives of duty prevented him from getting roiled at Mr. Sullivan's incisive speech. If it had been a matter of religious principle rather than of sentiment with Mr. Turner; he would have been enabled to keep his temper; yet if it had been a matter of religious principle and real respect for the Lord, he would neither have offered nor supported the substitute that he both offered and supported.

This is further shown by the fact that those who favored the substitute started out with a professed respect for Almighty God and proposed to be grateful to him, but yet they had not gone far before they admitted that it mattered not whether it was He who was recognized or not, just so it was somebody. Mr. Dyer, who presented one of the substitutes that caused all the debate, in arguing for it said he "believed in beginning this great constitution by recognizing the Supreme Being, whether as God, Allah, or Jehovah, and express gratitude to him. Mr. Cosgrove argued in the same line, to the effect that "the man who is not accountable to a Diety of some kind is unsafe in any community." And all the rest who were so strongly sentimental in their favor to Almighty God were willing to compromise, as Dyer and Cosgrove were, upon "God, Allah, or Jehovah," or "a Diety of some kind;" all of which conclusively shows that none of those who so strongly favored the substitute had any definite idea of whom Almighty God is, nor who it was to whom they proposed to be grateful. And so far was their action from being a tribute of respect or gratitude to Almighty God, indeed, that the whole thing was precisely what Mr. E. H. Sullivan called it, just "stuff and nonsense;" and was not far removed from blasphemy. Blasphemy is not only "denying that which is due

and belonging to God," but is "attributing to him that which is not agreeable to his nature." And to attribute to God such a sentiment or character as to imply that he would receive as a token of gratitude to him, and thus make himself a party to, an act done merely as an immigration scheme or for political party effect, is nothing else than to make him as they themselves were, mere politicians; and was certainly to attribute to him that which is not in any sense agreeable to his nature.

We have said that this is important to the people outside of the State of Washington, in view of the fast growing demand for an amendment to the Constitution of the United States embodying the same ideas, or proposing to recognize religion in some way in that instrument. In view of the result in the Washington convention, it is not by any means a groundless fear that when such a proposition comes before Congress, it will be passed, and for the same reasons, supported by the same arguments, and by the same kind of men. Nor is it by any means an extravagant conjecture that when Congress shall pass such a measure, it will be adopted by the people.

It may be said by others as it was by its advocates in the convention, that being a mere matter of sentiment, it will not amount to anything either way. But before many years there will be questions before the Supreme Court of Washington that will demonstrate that that thing is much more than a mere sentiment and will amount to a good deal. Mr. Turner, who so strongly advocated the sentiment, is spoken of as a candidate for the Supreme Court, and if, upon a question of religion before the Supreme Court, his influence should prevail, the first effect of this supposed sentiment would be the establishment of a religion and the enforcement of its observance. It is not a harmless thing. It has proved to be a very harmful thing in New York, and other States. That part of the preamble to their constitution ought to be decisively rejected by the people of Washington.

A. T. J.

### Is It American or Papal?

THE *Catholic Review*, of June 9, 1889, contains the following editorial note which explains itself in such a way as to be of much interest in the discussion of the question of religion in the public schools:—

The Congregational Club of Brooklyn held its last meeting of the season a few days ago and had a most distinguished attendance. The speaker of the evening was Rev. Thomas B. McLeod, who asked and answered the question: "Shall the public schools be secularized?" The points which he developed were: That the welfare of the State demands that the instruction of her children shall embrace the inculcation of a strong morality; that the culture of the conscience, as well as of the intellect, is essential to citizenship; that religious instruction is essential to national morality; that it is the business of the State to make religious instruction one of the prime factors in the system of education. No nation that has divorced religion from instruction has escaped moral ruin, said Mr. McLeod. We are very thankful to the reverend gentleman for his strong words in behalf of the religious principle in education. The Pope himself is not stronger than he on this important matter, and as there is not the slightest doubt that he represents the opinion of many thousands of honest

thinkers, it is encouraging to Catholics to hear such language on such an occasion. The points upon which he might differ from a sound Catholic are too unimportant to discuss. When a man holds one true principle of the fundamental kind, he is not apt to be over-prejudiced against his supporters in the opposite camp, a fact which Mr. McLeod well illustrated in his own speech. He said not a word against Catholics.

### The Washington Constitution.

#### DEBATE ON THE PREAMBLE.

THE following report of the debate in the Constitutional Convention of the new State of Washington, is of peculiar interest. We print the full report we have been able to find:—

Article 1, the preamble and declaration of rights, was taken up, and the convention went into committee of the whole, with Stiles, of Tacoma, in the chair.

The whole article was read, and then the preamble was taken up, reading thus:—

"We, the people of the State of Washington, to preserve our rights, do ordain this constitution."

Lindsley moved the following substitute:—

"We, the people of the State of Washington, grateful to Almighty God for our freedom, to secure and transmit the same unimpaired to succeeding generations, do ordain this constitution."

Dyer moved to add after "State of Washington" these words: "Grateful to Almighty God for the blessings of liberty and self-government and order."

Turner said he also had a pet preamble which he should like to lay before the committee. It reads thus:—

"We, the people of Washington, in order to form a more independent and perfect government, establish justice, insure tranquillity, provide for common defense, promote the general welfare and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and to our posterity, profoundly grateful to Almighty God for this inestimable right, and invoking his favor and guidance, do ordain and establish the following constitution and form of government for the State of Washington."

Mr. Lindsley withdrew his substitute in favor of Mr. Turner's.

Mr. Dyer's motion was first considered, and that gentleman argued briefly in favor of placing the name of God in the constitution.

Mr. Comegys said: "I am opposed to the substitute. The gentleman is in favor of it because he thinks we ought to be grateful to Almighty God. I would like to ask him if he thinks this provision would add anything to our gratitude by being in that preamble. He admitted the necessity for brevity, and has made it as brief, he says, as he could and include that point. Now, as I understand it, Mr. President, this has nothing to do with gratitude or reverence, or irreverence. A man may be very reverent or very grateful without lifting up his voice on the street corners, or he may lift up his voice and claim to be very grateful and yet not be grateful. The question is, Shall we advertise it in this way? Has it anything to do here? The framers of the Constitution of the United States had this matter under advisement, and after mature deliberation (and many framers of that Constitution were devout Christians), they deemed it not wise to have any reference to the Deity, because they had agreed that Church and State and matters of re-

ligion should be forever separate from civil government. Now, what object is to be attained? Will we be more grateful by reason of putting it there, or will we be less grateful though we do not put it there. The preamble should briefly state the facts. The preamble of the Constitution of the United States recites somewhat more, as it ought. If it is our duty to put that in the Constitution, how much more should it have been the duty of the framers of the Constitution of the United States to put it in theirs."

Mr. Turner said: "I admit that this is purely a matter of sentiment, but it accords with the feelings of ninety-nine out of every hundred citizens of Washington. We are here to make a constitution for the sovereign people of Washington, and it would be a disregard of their desires to omit recognition of the Deity."

S. G. Cosgrove said: "I do not consider this a special time to show our respect for the Deity, nor do I consider it an attempt to connect the Church and State by recognizing God in the constitution, but I do consider it a respect for the opinions of mankind that we recognize the name of the Deity in our constitution. It does not in any way associate the Church and State because of this recognition of God or a deity. It is not necessarily recognizing the church in any sense. We are framing a constitution not only for ourselves, but for the people of this vast country. We expect to get a large amount of immigration into this country before many years, and I do not care what the committee intended by leaving it out of this preamble, the masses of people of the United States will take it as an indirect attack upon the church, and as an indirect pandering to infidelity by leaving out this word. Let me say, gentlemen, that this territory would have been built up long ago had it not been that the people of the East believed that Washington Territory was a heathen land, peopled by heathens, without government. You can go back to the Eastern States to-day, and they are but now commencing to learn that the people of Washington Territory are civilized and enlightened; and when that feeling is worn off among the people of the United States you will see such a pouring of people into this Territory as has never been seen or known in any other State in the Union, and you cannot afford by a little bit of pandering to infidelity, to leave out this word in our constitution. I say if we, in this convention, do not respect God, God will not respect our work. I say further that the man who is not accountable to a deity of some kind or other, is unsafe in any community, and if we advertise ourselves as attempting to avoid this, I do not care for what purpose, you will see that it will check a great portion of the people that come to this country from remaining. You can well afford to put it in, but if it is left out it will do us such an irreparable injury that none of the framers of this constitution can now conceive of."

Mr. Buchanan said that apart from any pecuniary consideration, it behooved man to consider that he didn't stand at the head of creation. There is some intelligence far above and beyond the stretch of our intellectuality. "I ask to be placed in no better company than him whose name this State bears. I ask to have read the following as a part of my remarks":—

The first inaugural address of Washington was the document sent to the desk, and the clerk read it.

Mr. Turner moved his form of preamble as a substitute for Mr. Dyer's, and expressed briefly his

belief in the propriety of thus recognizing the Supreme Being.

Mr. Warner, chairman of the preamble committee, would yield to no one in reverence for God, but likened the placing of his name in the constitution to the action of the Pharisee in the Scripture. He didn't believe it essential there any more than is the Lord's prayer. It was merely a sentiment. If the convention wants to put it there he should not object, but he should vote against putting it there.

Mr. Griffiths had hoped no such discussion would arise here, and he believed the gentleman offering it would do a great favor if, with the consent of the convention, he would withdraw it.

A voice—He couldn't get it.

Mr. Griffiths—From at least one speech I have heard I should judge he could not, but this action places the opponents of this measure in a peculiar position, from which I shall not shrink, I am not called upon to proclaim my personal religious beliefs, and shall not do so. The only question here is whether the preamble, as reported by the committee, is a sufficient preface to the constitution which follows. It certainly is sufficient, for what follows is simply political and does not profess to deal with man's religious views. A majority of the State constitutions, as well as that of the United States, commit this sacrilege and irreverence of leaving out God in the preamble. Mr. Turner's substitute is almost an exact copy of the United States Constitution, with the addition of the words "profoundly grateful to Almighty God," etc. If seeking immigration involved the necessity of reverence to God in the constitution, then the United States ought to have its Constitution covered all over with references to God, for immigration was the one great thing they wanted. He cited the following States as having no reference to God in the preamble: Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia (1818), Illinois, Indiana, Kansas (1855), Kentucky (1792), Louisiana, Maryland (but did put God into a later constitution), Michigan (1835), and said he might go further with the Carolinas, Virginia, and others.

Mr. Gosgrove—Does recognizing God in the constitution recognize religion?

Mr. Griffiths—It is well known that a great discussion has been going on over this very matter, and I merely wish to avoid provoking any more such discussion. If omitted, nobody's feelings can be hurt or his opinion opposed. I would strike out the slightest reference to anybody's religious belief. We are dealing only with civil and political rights, and should not transcend our province by putting into the constitution these words to which some people object.

Mr. Turner didn't care to follow the last speaker in examination of the constitution, but where he referred to the earlier constitutions of States, it was a fact that later constitutions in the same States did have reference to God in the preamble. This was a matter of sentiment, he admitted. It also represented his own personal sentiment, and he believed also the sentiments of 999 out of every 1,000 of adults of the State for whom we are making this constitution, and the convention would simply be recreant to their trust if they did not represent this sentiment in the preamble.

Mr. T. M. Reed cordially coincided with the last speaker and claimed that no religious question or discussion was here presented, except so far as the gentleman from Spokane (Griffiths) had raised it. The substitute merely proposed to recognize gratitude to Almighty God, which he be-

lieved was the fact with the people of this State and country.

Mr. Eshelman was indifferent as to the placing of the name of the Deity in the constitution, but supported Mr. Turner's substitute as a far better form of words, aside from this question of Deity—although he was in favor of the whole substitute.

Mr. Sullivan, of Pierce, said: "I believe the report of this committee should be sustained. It is certainly an able committee, and they considered the subject carefully before they came in here and made this report. The argument we hear, that if we do not put our gratitude into the constitution, it will prevent immigration to this Territory, it seems to me is on a very low basis. The Constitution that has been referred to here, the supreme law of the land, did not have God in it, and yet certainly there has been a reasonable amount of immigration to this country, and the class of people who came here are reputable citizens. I say that the argument is no argument at all. I would have little respect for the men who would remain away simply because in this political organization the name of the Deity was not mentioned. This is not a question of gratitude. As well might we express our gratitude to the Congress of the United States, who really permitted us to meet here. And how many members of this convention, if arraigned before the Almighty God this morning—and he were to select those who were profoundly grateful in the highest sense—how many members would be selected by the Almighty God. If we treat it as a political matter, how would he respond to that, coming from a political organization, as to its gratitude to him? I believe simply that it is a matter of sentiment in the convention, and not a question of absolute principle. For this reason I oppose it."

Mr. J. Z. Moore regretted the bringing of this question here, but being here, he should discuss it. He had never been a member of any religious body and did not speak from that standpoint, but he supported the substitute as being pleasing to that great body of the people who profoundly and sincerely believe in God. As to those who deny God, they being simply in a negative position, need not feel hurt. As to Mr. Griffiths' statement about constitutions, he was wrong if he meant to claim that a majority of the present constitutions had no reference to God. After having this up for discussion, a refusal to put it into the constitution was a bad example to the youth of a growing State.

Mr. Comegys asked if the United States Constitution was a bad example to youth.

Mr. Moore—According to the tenor of my remarks it would seem so.

Mr. Buchanan—May I answer the gentleman?

The Chair—Mr. Moore has the floor.

Mr. Moore—I yield to the gentleman from Adams (Buchanan) for that purpose.

Mr. Buchanan—I have always considered that the real preamble to the United States Constitution was the Declaration of Independence, which distinctly and repeatedly acknowledges God.

Mr. Moore—Three times in the Declaration of Independence do the signers thereof recognize God, and in our annual Thanksgiving-day the whole nation recognizes God.

Mr. Tibbetts said he occupied exactly the same position as the last speaker, and should heartily support the substitute.

Mr. Sullivan, of Whitman, said he should have

supported the report of the committee if it had put God into the constitution, and should stand by it now. If there was anything he had contempt for it was doing anything for show and buncombe. To put this in or to leave it out means absolutely nothing. It is all stuff and nonsense, and nothing more or less. If this is left out, what detriment will it be to the people of this State or God? The Supreme Being pays no attention to this convention, or any other political gathering, or to anything else save the motives of a man. Mr. Chairman, I hope this convention will presently quit this moonshine. The greatest disgrace that has fallen on this convention since it assembled in this city has been the spending of so much time on this stuff and nonsense.

Mr. Power—I call the gentleman to order for imputing such motives to delegates.

Mr. Cosgrove—As he is taking up the greater portion of the time himself, he is simply commenting on his own motion.

Mr. Buchanan—The gentleman is entirely out of order; he is imputing the basest motives to gentlemen who have spoken most reverently on this subject.

The Chair—The gentleman is in order, but getting very close to the line. [Laughter.]

Sullivan continuing, said: "If I remember right, the Bible says there is a time and a place for everything. It also says 'don't take my name in vain.' The convention therefore should not place or put the name in anywhere simply to tickle the ear of any individual or set of individuals."

Mr. Turner desired to speak, but was ruled out having spoken once, so long as others wished to speak.

Mr. Dyer believed the making of a constitution was one of the most sacred and solemn duties that could be performed. We are not to discuss revealed or natural religion. From the beginning of history, all people have had a God, and he believed in beginning this great constitution by recognizing the Supreme Being, whether as God, Allah or Jehovah, and expressing gratitude to him.

Mr. Godman regretted the turn this debate had taken. He recognized the great value of the teachings of Christ, and revered as much as any man the supreme intelligence, but he believed the convention should deal with things seen, things practical, and not with sentiment, or mystery, with which the convention had no business to meddle. The matter is immaterial, and I will support the report of the committee. I do not think that the substitute, if adopted, would increase our commerce or the fertility of the soil. If it had been there, I would have left it there. It is a mere matter of sentiment, and I do not believe in lugging sentiment into this constitution. If 999 asked to have anything done for sentiment and one opposed it on principle, I would stand by the man of principle.

Mr. Sturdevant said: "I cannot say, with my colleague, Mr. E. H. Sullivan, that had this matter been placed in the preamble by the committee that I should have voted for it, for my feelings are such as would not permit me to do so, not for the reason that I do not entertain the greatest reverence for a Supreme Being, but for this reason: I consider that this is simply a business meeting; I consider that the people of Washington Territory have sent us here to this Constitutional Con-

vention not for the purpose of advancing any religious belief, not for the purpose of advancing any sentimentality, but for the purpose of doing straightforward business, in a candid, common-sense manner; to frame a business article upon which they are to predicate the future laws of this State. The framers of the Constitution of the United States left out of that Constitution any recognition of the Supreme Being. I think its omission shows no irreverence, for I think that we must all recognize directly the interposition of the hand of the Almighty in our prosperity, in the liberties which have been given to us and maintained by our people. In reply to the argument of Mr. Buchanan, I challenge him to show me one word by George Washington in that debate where he raised his voice in favor of placing in that Constitution any recognition of the Supreme Being. The gentleman from Garfield (Cosgrove) is fearful that if we do not put this in the Constitution its effect upon immigration is going to be disastrous. He tells us that it is supposed away back across the States, perhaps to the Atlantic, that we are a set of savages out here, that we do not possess any degree of civilization. I do not know that we are worse than other States and Territories. The farther East you go, the stronger is that impression. The expression was used in Boston four or five years ago, in a meeting, that we were the 'Rowdy West,' and they were very anxious for the safety of the nation when they recognized the fact that the West was 'the rowdy West.' Emory Storrs, that great orator, was at that meeting, and was called upon to express his views, and he expressed them somewhat in this way: That he thought the people of the rowdy West, as it was called, were as capable to rear their children in a sense of enlightenment and in a sense of morality as those who claimed to live at the center of culture, 'one-half of whom doubted the existence of a Supreme Being, and the other half believed they were descended from an ape.' I see no use for this in our constitution. As well acknowledge the existence of a Supreme Being and an overruling providence in the making of a promissory note, as in this constitution; yet who would not say it was ridiculous if you saw a promissory note something like this, 'For value received, I promise to pay to John Doe, or order, \$100, recognizing the overruling providence of the Supreme Court, and the credit business and the great privileges which have been conferred upon me by the Supreme Being by reason of this promissory note.' Then again, what would be said in court of the lawyer commencing his complaint in this way: 'John Doe vs. Richard Roe; the plaintiff in the above-entitled action, recognizing the overruling power and constant care of the Supreme Being, complains of Richard Roe, and alleges,' etc. Now that is just as sensible, in my opinion, as placing it in the preamble of the constitution. Let us ask God to guide us and teach us common sense in the business which we are trying to transact in this convention."

Mr. Buchanan did not recollect any debate on this subject in the original Constitution, and asked Mr. Sturdevant about that.

Mr. Sturdevant said he had not examined the subject.

*Mr. Buchanan*—You made the assertion.

*Mr. Sturdevant*—I made no assertion. I simply asked the gentleman to show if Washington said anything on that subject. I am informed by a friend (Mr. Comegys) that he believes the subject was fully debated there.

Mr. Cosgrove said such method of argument was essentially unfair, and he was glad it was made so apparent to the convention. He commented on the sermon on Christian religion which one gentleman (Sullivan, of Whitman) had delivered when the Christian religion had not been brought up at all, and if, as the gentleman has said, this convention is the laughing-stock of the press for its actions, it is for just such debates as this and for just such remarks as have been made here this morning. The party which organized this convention, from president to page, would be held responsible for all that was left out as well as for all that was put into this constitution, and might find itself needing votes for this document from the very people who would withhold them from it, unless a simple recognition of the Supreme Being was in.

Mr. Warner was a member of a church which had the most reverent devotion to God, but did not believe it necessary to advertise that fact in their business transactions. The committee had discussed the matter very briefly, and simply recognized the constitution as a business document, and decided to leave out any mere matter of sentiment.

Mr. Turner said Mr. Sullivan, of Whitman, had been in the habit, from the very commencement, of lecturing and hectoring this convention, in season and out of season, and in common with others he had borne it with what equanimity he might, but when he commented with the coarsest buffoonery on the motives of gentlemen on this floor, and upon his own (Turner's) motives in offering this substitute, he had gone too far. It was from the highest motives of duty that he had offered this substitute. He felt profoundly reverent, personally, for the happy circumstances under which the convention and the people of the State are living, and prefaced his substitute under that motive alone. He repeated that he considered it in bad taste, as well as in contradiction of the rules of this body, to impute such motives to any member who exercised the merest privilege of duty in offering such substitutes and amendments as he thought right.

Mr. Sullivan wanted to say, for the benefit of Judge Turner and any other man, that he should have better judgment than to impute motives to a gentleman who was declared to be in order by the chair. "I imputed no motives. The gentleman can keep his insults to himself. I can take care of myself, both in and out of this convention."

Mr. Cosgrove called the gentleman to order.

Mr. Turner hoped the gentleman would be allowed to proceed, and the chair allowed him to proceed.

*Mr. Sullivan*—I desire to say this, I do not want any member of this convention to impute any motive to me at all regarding my arguments in debate here. I do not think of the individual. I never impute motives in a question in debate I rise above that; I take the arguments of the gentlemen and look at them, analyze them, if possible, without looking at their motives. If their argument is good, I will endorse that. If it is bad, I will try to show the fallacy. I do not want any man to get up here and talk about buffoonery or anything else. I am getting sick of this convention, and I am getting sick of this imputing of motives outside of it. Why drag outside matters into this convention? Why do that? I am not impugning the motives of my friend Turner, and I say to this committee, and I want to say to him, and I want

to say to every member of this convention before I sit down, that I have not criticised the action of this convention so far as its motives were concerned at all. Inside of this convention and outside of this convention I have said this, and I repeat it here irrespective of motive: We have fooled away our time here, and I say the people are objecting, and I am perhaps as much to blame as any other man in this convention. I do not deny that. I do not want any man to get up here and abuse me. I do not propose to stand it—Judge Turner or anybody else. I have never allowed that since I was five years-old, and I do not propose to stand it now."

Mr. Dunbar attempted to pour oil on the troubled waters, but Mr. Griffiths thought they were in the second round, and he ought to have another chance.

The chair recognized Mr. Dunbar, on the ground that even if they were in the second round, any delegate who had not spoken at all was entitled to the preference.

Mr. Dunbar moved that the committee rise and report progress. Carried; yeas 36, nays 24.

The president resumed the chair, and Mr. Stiles reported progress on behalf of the committee, and leave to sit again was granted.

Mr. Dunbar moved to adjourn. Lost.

Mr. Griffiths moved to take a recess till 2 o'clock. Carried.

The convention reassembled at 2 o'clock, the president in the chair.

On motion of Warner, the convention resolved itself into a committee of the whole on the preamble and bill of rights; Stiles, of Tacoma, in the chair.

The question was stated by the chair to be on Mr. Dyer's motion.

Moore said it was generally understood that they were speaking to the amendment offered by Turner.

The chair stated that Dyer's was merely an amendment to the preamble, whereas Turner's was a substitute for the whole preamble.

On Dyer's amendment the question was put, and it failed.

Turner's substitute was taken up, read and failed; yeas, 32; nays, 34.

Minor offered the following substitute:—

"We, the people of Washington, with profound reverence for the Supreme Ruler of the Universe, in order to secure and perpetuate the blessings of self-government, do ordain and establish this constitution for the State of Washington."

Adopted—ayes, 33; nays, 32.

The question was then put on the adoption of the preamble as thus amended.

T. M. Reed raised a point of order that the adoption of the substitute adopted the preamble.

The chair stated that the point was not well taken.

The motion to adopt the preamble was voted on, and the vote was a tie, 33 to 33, so the motion failed.

Sullivan, of Tacoma, moved to refer back the preamble to the committee on preamble.

Griffiths moved to adopt the preamble as reported originally by the committee.

T. M. Reed moved to lay on the table.

Cosgrove raised a point of order that Griffiths' motion was out of order. The chair ruled the point well taken.

Mr. Griffiths asked, "What is the status of the question now?"

*The Chair*—The preamble as amended is now

before the committee for amendment, or anything else.

Griffitts said that when a thing had failed it was dead as he understood it, and so there was no preamble, and he ought to be allowed to move anything he asked for a preamble.

Moore—The chair should give the deciding vote.

Chair—I voted on the point, and there made a mistake.

Cosgrove—It was no mistake. The chair has a right to vote in committee of the whole.

Griffitts—I now move that we adopt the following preamble "We, the people of the State of Washington, do ordain this constitution."

Mr. Hoyt stated that the chair should not vote, except on roll-call or a rising vote.

The Chair—I suggest that the question be put again as the best solution.

Mr. Turner—I move that the committee report the preamble back to the convention, with the recommendation that it be recommitted to the Committee on Preamble; so ordered.

Wednesday forenoon session, the convention again went into committee of the whole on preamble.

Mr. Stiles, of Tacoma, resumed the chair. The majority and minority reports of the Committee on Preamble were read, as follows:—

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Lindsley moved that the minority report be adopted.

Sullivan (Tacoma) moved that the committee rise and recommend that the convention settle the whole matter. Lost.

Warner did not rise to discuss the matter, but simply stated the position of the committee.

"We have considered it a mere sentiment and of little consequence either way, and shall be satisfied whichever way the committee decide, but trust the subject will not be debated."

Comegys moved to amend by substituting "majority" for "minority."

Cosgrove called attention to the real point at issue, so that the gentlemen who have said they had no real objections to the name of the Deity in the constitution need make no mistake.

Willison asked the effect of voting aye, as he was absent from the debate yesterday.

The chair stated that voting "aye" on this motion was equivalent to leaving out the name of God from the preamble.

The motion of Comegys was lost, and Lindsley's motion prevailed—yeas 45, nays 22. So that the phrase, "Grateful to the Supreme Ruler of the Universe for our liberties," is the way it will stand in the constitution.

#### Right and Law.

"THE right of rest for one is the law of rest for all," is an expression often used by National Reformers and one would think that they regard it as a self-evident truth that needs no proof. It needs but a moment's thought to see its absurdity. They use it to prove the obligation of the Sunday rest upon all. No one disputes their right to

rest on Sunday if they choose, therefore they say that all should rest. Let us try it another way. Sabbatarians have the right to rest upon the seventh day, even the National Reformers admit this, therefore if their logic is good for anything, all should rest upon that day also, and thus we have all men observing two days. Of course they will not for a moment admit of this conclusion; and, therefore, their proposition only serves to show the utter inconsistency of the cause which seeks to be sustained by such arguments.

Let us carry this a little further and see how the same argument will work with respect to another Edenic institution, that of marriage. The right of marriage for one is the law of marriage for all. Anyone can see the absurdity of the proposition. Any single person has the right to marry; therefore, on the National Reform theory, if any exercise the right, all *must* do so; and if they do not marry, a law must be enacted to compel them to do so.

H. H. FISHER.

Madison, Wisconsin.

#### National Reform Bigotry.

THE *Christian Statesman* of August 8, contains a characteristic report from Secretary Gault. He has been circulating through Iowa recently, and in the course of a report of some meetings held at Malvern, we find the following paragraph:—

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We mean nothing personal when we say that that is the utterance of a narrow-minded bigot. We simply state a fact. A bigot is one who thinks there is no one in the world of any consequence but himself, that the world was made for him, and that the sun shines principally for his benefit. The only possible inference that can be drawn from Mr. Gault's remark is that that lady committed an unpardonable act in doing her ordinary work on Sunday while he was in the hotel. The bigotry of the thing may be shown if we turn it around. Suppose that lady, or any individual who conscientiously observes the seventh day of the week as the Sabbath, should chance to stop at a hotel kept by one who observes Sunday, would Mr. Gault think that person ought to cease his ordinary work on that day?

If Mr. Gault were a hotel keeper, and by chance a seventh-day observer should stop over the Sabbath with him, would he have everything stopped in his own house? Of course he would not. It is only when he is around that things must stop. It is his presence that must be regarded. If anyone believes differently from him, that individual has no right to exist, at least to carry out or act upon his belief. This principle is not peculiar to Mr. Gault, although it seems to be very fully developed in him, from what we have seen of his writings. But it is the principle of National Reform to act as though "we are the people, and the government must shape its action to conform to our opinions and to please us. It does not make any difference if other people are discommoded. What does that

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#### Religion and the Public Schools.

(Continued.)

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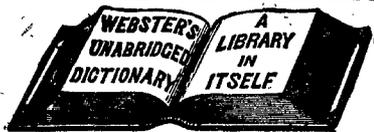
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# The American Sentinel.

OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA, OCTOBER 2, 1889.

NOTE.—No papers are sent by the publishers of the AMERICAN SENTINEL to people who have not subscribed for it. If the SENTINEL comes to one who has not subscribed for it, he may know that it is sent him by some friend, and that he will not be called upon by the publishers to pay for the same.

ONE of the very brightest of many of the papers that come to the desk of the SENTINEL is the *Silver Gate*, published in San Diego, Cal. We recommend it to the reading public everywhere, and wish it unbounded success.

As this SENTINEL goes to press there is a debate in progress between Alonzo T. Jones, editor of the SENTINEL, and Rev. G. W. Bothwell, M. A., D. D., Chancellor of Columbia University of New Orleans, member of the New Orleans Academy of Science, and of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. The debate is on the Sunday Rest-law Petition. The proposition is the one that Mr. Crafts did not debate: namely, "Resolved that the following petition ought to prevail." There are to be four sessions of the debate, each speaker to occupy an hour and fifteen minutes each session. The speeches are being reported, and it is probable that at least a synopsis will be given in the SENTINEL.

NATIONAL Reformers and Sunday-law advocates are very profuse with the word "infidel" in referring to the opponents of their schemes. When we remember that to oppose religious legislation is all that is necessary to constitute infidelity in the mind of the modern National Reformer, that term loses much of the intended stigma when emanating from that source. It does not derogate much from the reputation of the Constitution framers to be denounced as infidels for having given to the country a fundamental law under which Christianity has enjoyed such privileges as it never before experienced in any country; and under whose protecting care it has flourished as under no other government either past or present. On the other hand, is it not plain, that to destroy this very liberty-of-conscience feature which has been productive of so much good, would be the breach where the real infidelity would enter?

At the Los Angeles Sunday-law convention, Rev. A. W. Rider said:—

"I believe not only in the one-seventh allotment of time for physical rest, and in which the constitution of the State ought to protect the community, but in the principles of the observance of the Sabbath in the deeper religious sense. The question is, how shall we obtain this, how shall we obtain the most of spiritual good? We cannot compel men to be spiritually minded or moral by legal means, but the Christian means of making men spiritually minded ought to be guaranteed by the State."

But when the State guarantees the Christian means of making men spiritually minded it thereby guarantees an established religion and devotes the machinery of the government wholly to the service of the ruling ecclesiastics. All that the nations of Europe did in the supremacy of the Papacy was to guarantee the so-called Christian means of making men spiritually minded and

an attempt to repeat the methods and times of the Papacy. In such an effort as was this proposed by Mr. Rider, the true functions of both the State and the church are perverted and the result is such a confused mass of iniquity as nothing else under the sun can produce.

SEPTEMBER 1 and 2 a convention was held at Los Angeles, Cal., in the interests of a National Sunday law. The meetings were well attended, yet the results were rather disappointing to the American Sabbath Union. That assumption of authority and spirit of over-lordship which characterizes the work of the American Sabbath Union does not take well in the free air of California.

The usual effort was made to make it appear to be a movement in the interest of the workingman and they went a little further than they did in San Francisco. They actually engaged a workingman to make a speech, and he endeavored to do so. But the whole thing, both his effort and that of the American Sabbath Union on this point, was a dismal failure. And when at another session Mr. Crafts took occasion to advertise one of his own books, the Los Angeles daily *Tribune* says, "it fell like a wet blanket upon the audience and evidently took all the inspiration and enthusiasm out of the meeting."

If the American Sabbath Union consisted of anybody but Mr. Crafts, we should advise it to employ a different sort of a worker before it enters its next annual campaign; but as he is himself the Union, there is of course no room for any such advice in the matter.

THE annual convention of the Oregon State Secular Union for 1889, is to be held in the city of Portland, October 12-14. The main object of the Secular Union, as we understand it, is to oppose all forms of religious legislation, the encroachment of the religious upon the civil power, or the mixing up of religious with civil things. Webster's definition of "secular" is:—

"Pertaining to this present world, or to things not spiritual or holy; relating to things not immediately or primarily respecting the soul but the body; worldly."

This definition properly describes the place and nature of the State. The State pertains solely to this present world. No State that ever existed will ever reach another world. The State, therefore, itself pertaining to this present world, can have nothing at all to do with the affairs or interests of another world or with men's relations to another world. Consequently the functions of the State are wholly secular. They do pertain solely to things not spiritual or holy.

Again: All with which the State can ever have properly to do, in this respect, is with the bodies and the bodily relations of men. It never can have anything to do with the soul. Consequently the relations of the State toward men is in the very nature of the case wholly secular. Therefore any union or combination formed for the purpose of keeping the State and its functions strictly secular is a proper combination and such purpose is a laudable purpose.

And just at the present time such purpose and effort are doubly laudable, in view of the persistent and wide-spread purpose of religious combinations to pervert the powers, and subvert the true principles of the State; efforts to commit the State to the inculcation, and the guardianship, of the things not of this present world, but of an-

other world, and to things spiritual and holy; efforts to make the State, its powers and functions, to relate to things immediately and primarily respecting the souls and not the bodies of men.

And it is this effort of the religious combinations that has called into existence the secular unions and other combinations to keep the affairs of State within the proper civil or secular limits and maintain them upon that basis. Accordingly the "object" of the Oregon convention is "to secure the total separation of Church and State." This purpose is strictly in harmony with the Scriptures. It proposes to render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to leave every man free to render to God the things that are God's. We wish success to the Oregon convention in its efforts to awaken wider public attention to the evils and the danger of religious legislation, and of the encroachments of the religious upon the civil power.

THE *Christian Nation* of June 26, 1889, has an editorial entitled, "The Preachers and the Politicians," in which it says:

"The late contest in Pennsylvania over the Prohibition amendment, was emphatically a trial of strength as to who should control the people of that State, the preachers or the politicians. . . . It was preacher against politician, and the politician won by a tremendous majority. . . . The lines are being drawn between the followers of the preachers and of the politicians and every moment that hastens such division is beneficial."

This is not a correct statement as to the real fact of the Pennsylvania campaign. But admitting the *Nation's* statement of the case, we say that that is precisely what the SENTINEL has been showing in regard to the Prohibition party all along. We have been saying all the time that the third party prohibition movement was only a stepping-stone to help the preachers to power over the people. Whenever preachers undertake to influence or control people by any other means than the meekness and gentleness of Christ, they are dangerous. And in any contest for political power by which to control people, they are more dangerous than those who are politicians only. The control of the people by earthly governments is political. It is properly the work of politicians. It is not the work of the preacher, and the preacher has no right to enter into any contest with the politician to gain that control. To the twelve original preachers and to all others who should ever come after them Christ said: "Ye know that they which think good to rule over the Gentiles exercise lordship over them, and their great ones exercise authority upon them, but so shall it NOT be among you." This is the word of Jesus Christ. Everybody who respects Christ should respect that word. And by that word it is proven that whenever a preacher enters into any contest with politicians, as to who shall control the people, he is out of his place.

A. T. J.

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