

Liberty

A Magazine of Religious Freedom

Devoted to the American Idea of Religious Liberty Exemplified in the Complete Separation of Church and State



LANDING OF THE PILGRIMS AT PLYMOUTH ROCK, 1620

It is proper to take alarm at the first experiment upon our liberties. We hold this prudent jealousy to be the first duty of citizens, and one of the noblest characteristics of the late Revolution. The freemen of America did not wait till usurped power had strengthened itself by exercise, and entangled the question in precedents. They saw all the consequences in the principle, and they avoided the consequences by denying the principle. We revere this lesson too much soon to forget it.—*James Madison.*

Jamestown Exposition Hymn

THE words of the official hymn for the opening of the Jamestown Exposition, April 26, 1907, were written by William M. Pegram, of Baltimore, and are as follows:—

" O God of nations, by thy guiding hand
Were our forefathers led to this blest shore.
When they were seeking for some friendly land
Where they thy praise, from fervent hearts might pour
In deep libations. They had nought to fear
From persecution's rack, or bitter strife,
Or gross exactions, often hard to bear,
Which compassed all their daily round of life.
Their first famed act on bleak Cape Henry's shore
Was planting of the cross, with grateful mien.
Then with loud voice, above the ocean's roar
Proclaimed their faith in what was yet unseen,
Yet well they knew had surely been decreed,
And in his own good time would be declared
By him who helped them in their hour of need,
Who neither fost'ring care nor guidance spared.
Cheered by blest Hope, sheet-anchor of the soul,
They struggled on, impelled by conscious right,
Strong in that Faith, which did their acts control,
And gave them power, when it was lost in sight.
On Jamestown Isle they did new altars raise,
Crude at the first, but with high purpose bent,
And there again with heartsome hymns of praise
They worshiped thee, O God, with one consent.
So thus, 'twas seen, it needs not to be proved,
That in this glorious land, where they were free,
Their first thought was of him, whom well they loved,
Their glory was 'religious liberty.'
So now, Great God, on this our nation's day
We give thee homage, by our sires begun.
We still would learn of thee to watch and pray,
Lest, losing thy loved care, we be undone.
We praise thee for the gifts thy love bestows
On this our country, with unsparing hand;
Though undeserved, it thus most truly shows
Thy watchful care o'er this God-favored land
On which blest liberty first saw the light.
Where it was cradled, as the world records;
Where our forefathers' faith is 'lost in sight,'
Where thou art 'King of kings and Lord of lords!'"

LIBERTY

Proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof. Lev. 25:10.

VOL. 11

SECOND QUARTER, 1907

No. 2

Freedom

FREEDOM and reason make brave men;
Take these away, what are they then?—
Mere groveling brutes, and just as well
The beasts may think of heav'n or hell.

'Tis man's free will if he believe:
'Tis God's free will him to receive.
To stubborn willers, this I'll tell,
'Tis all free grace and all free will.

Know then, that every soul is free
To choose his life, and what he'll be;
For this eternal truth is given,—
That God will force no man to heav'n.

He'll call, persuade, direct him right,
Bless him with wisdom, love, and light,
In nameless ways be good and kind,
But never force the human mind.

— OLD HYMN OF FREEDOM.

An Appeal to the Friends of Liberty

As its name indicates, this journal stands for liberty. By liberty we mean, not license, but freedom to exercise God-given rights.

Among the most valuable of human rights are religious rights, or the rights of conscience. To ignore or to outrage these rights, therefore, is a most flagrant offense. And yet this is what has been done by almost every nation that has ever existed from the days of Nimrod until the present time. All have invaded the sacred precincts of conscience. All have sought to make men good by law. Mistaking the end of civil government, they have entered the realm of religion, and attempted to become the guardians of the religious beliefs and practises of the people.

No greater mistake could be made. Governments are the proper guardians of human rights. In the defense of these, all the power and machinery of government may legitimately be used. But when this

power and this machinery are invoked to direct or control individual belief, and to compel the conscience, civil government becomes the subverter and the destroyer of rights instead of the protector and preserver of them.

And yet so little is the proper province of human government understood, and so little has been learned from the lessons of the past, many to-day are clamoring for religious legislation. And, strange to say, as of old, the most ardent advocates of such legislation are not only religionists, but professed followers of the meek and lowly Jesus. They seem not yet to have learned that "all violence in religion is irreligious, and that whoever is wrong, the persecutor can not be right."

We appeal to the friends of liberty everywhere to study this question in the light of history, in the light of the Bible, and particularly in the light of the golden rule; and to join with us in sounding a note of warning throughout the world against the evils of religious legislation. Let every one, from the heart, learn to say: "My religious convictions may be ever so intense, yet I have no right to compel others to act as I do in matters of religion. I have used my freedom of choice in this matter, and I should be willing to grant every one else the same liberty that I ask for myself." This is Christianity. This is liberty.

The Sunday Closing of Expositions

WE are not opposed to expositions being closed on Sunday or on any other day the managers of them may wish to close them. That is their right and privilege. But we are opposed to expositions, or any other places, either public or private, being closed on Sunday *by law*, or by anything like a great national bribe in the form of a government appropriation conditioned upon Sunday closing, as in the case of the Chi-

cago Exposition of 1893, the St. Louis Exposition of 1904, the Lewis-Clark (Portland, Ore.) Exposition of 1905, and the Jamestown Exposition of 1907.

To the Chicago exposition Congress appropriated \$2,500,000, conditioned upon Sunday closing; to the St. Louis, \$5,000,000, upon the same condition; to the Lewis-Clark, a less amount, but upon the same Sunday-closing condition; and to the Jamestown, \$250,000, with the same proviso.

It is not at all probable that Congress, if left to itself, would attach any such religious and incongruous conditions to its appropriations. And we have not far to seek for convincing proof of this. In "Document No. 58" of the New York Sabbath Committee, page 9, appears the following statement:—

"In the matter of the St. Louis Exposition of 1904, a bill appropriating five million dollars for that purpose passed the House of Representatives without a Sunday-closing condition. When reported to the Senate, Feb. 20, 1901, an amendment was offered by Senator Teller as follows: 'That as a condition precedent to the payment of this appropriation the directors shall contract to close the gates to visitors on Sunday, during the whole duration of the Fair.' This amendment was

drafted by Secretary W. F. Crafts, of the Reform Bureau, and introduced at his request. The New York Sabbath Committee supported this measure by influential pressure in numerous ways at Washington. Other societies, from many sections of the country, added their protests, and the bill as thus amended was passed by the Senate, accepted by the House, and signed by the President. The Directors, after some delay, signed the contract for Sunday closing, and the triumph of its friends was complete."

This shows that the bill appropriating money for the St. Louis Exposition was introduced, and passed the lower house of Congress without any Sunday-closing condition. But finally a Sunday-closing amendment was introduced into the bill. And

this New York Sabbath Committee document very kindly informs us how it got there. It says: "This amendment was drafted by Secretary W. F. Crafts, of the Reform Bureau, and introduced at his request." Then the New York Sabbath Committee came to the support of this measure "by influential pressure in numerous ways at Washington," other societies joined in the crusade, Congress yielded, the directors finally "signed the contract," and the triumph of the friends of Sunday observance secured by law and bribery was complete!

The means by which the Sunday closing of the St. Louis Exposition was secured were simply repeated in the case of the Lewis-Clark and the Jamestown Expositions. Religious lobbying at Washington and church pressure did it.

Comment is hardly necessary. The transparency of the thing is perfect. It is the old story over again of bigoted, fanatical religious propagandists seizing upon some great public enterprise, and yoking with it some theological dogma or doctrine that has not sufficient life and vitality in itself to stand alone, but must needs be exploited, advanced, and upheld by the state at public expense. Benjamin Franklin spoke



BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

well when he said: "When religion is good it will take care of itself, when it is not able to take care of itself, and God does not see fit to take care of it, it is evidence to my mind that its cause is a bad one." Let the misguided friends of enforced Sunday observance ponder this. To secure Sunday observance by bribery or by law may unite church and state, but it is no triumph for true Sabbath observance. "God is a Spirit: and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth." Forced worship is worthless. To exhibit a Sabbath observed by compulsion is no credit to the fair name of America. Now as ever, this country should stand for religious freedom.

The Peace Congress and Sunday Legislation

K. C. RUSSELL

THE promoters of Sunday legislation maintain that without Sunday laws the peace and prosperity of our nation will be imperiled. Those who think that such legislation is in the interests of peace should pause and reflect, and they will find that while there has been an unparalleled increase in the preparation for war during the past quarter of a century, during the

of church and state has been effected, and this is never conducive to peace.

We would, therefore, appeal to all lovers of peace, and to those who are laboring so enthusiastically to secure a permanent peace court at The Hague, where all international difficulties may be settled by arbitration, to use their influence against Sunday laws and all other forms of religious legislation, and thus remove one great cause of a growing evil, which has brought and is still bringing, endless trouble and ruin to individuals, communities, towns, cities, States, and nations.



CLOSING SESSION OF THE NATIONAL PEACE CONGRESS

same time there has also been an unparalleled increase in the enactment and enforcement of Sunday laws.

In view of this, it is plainly evident that Sunday legislation is not a remedy for the evils which are causing strife and bloodshed, and should, therefore, be rejected by those who are advocating peace. Numerous illustrations might be given to demonstrate that instead of Sunday laws being in the interest of peace, they are a prolific source of discord, contention, and bitter strife, and frequently have borne the fruits of intolerance and persecution. They are the one means, above all others, by which a union

The National Arbitration Peace Congress

THE accompanying cut gives a platform view of the last meeting of the great National Arbitration and Peace Congress, which was taken the last day of the Congress, Wednesday, P. M., April 17, 1907, in Carnegie Hall, of Greater New York.

Those who are standing on the platform are distinguished men and women of this and other nations. William J. Bryan, the chief speaker of the afternoon, stands at the left of the desk.

This gathering was considered one of

the most significant and important occasions of modern times, in the interests of universal peace. It has been estimated that there were twelve hundred delegates present.

The object of this Congress was to arouse public sentiment in favor of the coming Hague Conference, which is to convene at The Hague, June 15, 1907.

Religious Liberty

MRS. E. G. WHITE

CHRIST came to set men free. He said, "The Spirit of the Lord God is upon me; because the Lord hath anointed me . . . to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound," Isa. 61:1. Perfect liberty is found only in Christ. God's law is called the law of liberty. The inspired word calls that law a hedge. It marks out the unchangeable principles of right between man and God, and between man and man, which must be recognized, else liberty is impossible to intelligent beings. All slavery, physical, moral, and intellectual comes from breaking that law. Liberty is found only in obedience to it. Still there is a sort of slavery in the futile attempt to keep it in our own strength. But Christ, through the new covenant, writes that law in the heart, so that we not only have power to keep it, but his will becomes ours, and with Christ *we delight to do his will*, because his law is in our hearts. Here is perfect liberty. The perfectly saved will be perfectly free. Throughout eternity they will do just what they please, because they please to do just what makes liberty and joy possible.

Now, as to the relation of the state to the conscience of man. Christ found men enslaved to kings and to priests. He taught that all men are brothers, sons of one Father, and therefore equal before the law,—equal in civil rights. Rulers were, therefore, only their servants, chosen under God to protect them in the enjoyment of their rights. He freed us from the chains of priestcraft, by teaching the absolute independence of the individual soul in matters religious, and by promising the Spirit of truth to guide each one into all truth.

It is true that all liberty comes through keeping God's law, but God himself, who wrote that law in the hearts of men in the beginning, who spoke it amid the thunders of Sinai, that all might hear and obey, who waits through the new covenant to rewrite it in every trusting soul,—God himself, who did all this, still made man as *free to disobey* these precepts as to obey them. Why did God allow all this fearful iniquity that man might be made free? To this there can be but one answer. It was because he knew the *worthlessness* of all forced obedience, and that, therefore, the freedom to sin was absolutely necessary to the possibility of righteousness.

After having made men free to sin, that the internal principle of love might work itself out in outward acts of righteousness unhindered by force,—after having made men thus, has God given to any human

authority the right to take away that freedom, and so thwart his plans? He has commanded all men to worship him and obey his precepts, and this command applies to each individual personally; but has he ever commanded any man or set of men to *compel others to worship him*, or to act even outwardly as if they worshiped him? To ask these questions is to an-



"Every man who 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."—George Washington.

swer them emphatically in the negative.

The civil power of arbitrary force is to compel men who will not be righteous, to at least be civil, that men may live together in peace and quietness. The true power of the church is the power of divine love manifest in the flesh, *to win men to lead righteous lives.* The two powers are entirely separate, and Jesus so taught when he said, "Render to Cæsar [the civil power] the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's."

When Peter, as a member of the Christian church, sought to defend truth by the sword, Jesus, pointing to his Father as the church's only source of power, said, "Put up again thy sword into his place: for all they that take the sword [i. e., in religious matters] shall perish with the sword." The *tares* are to be allowed to grow *with the wheat* until the harvest. Then God will send forth his angels to gather out the tares and burn them. No human effort of arbitrary force can be used in rooting them out, lest in the act the wheat shall be rooted out also.

Again Jesus said, "My kingdom is not of this world: if my kingdom were of this world, *then would my servants fight.*" Every civil law has the power of the sword back of it. If it is right to make law, then it is right to enforce it. In denying to the church the power of the sword, Jesus therefore forbade the church to ask the state for laws enforcing religious beliefs and observances. Paul understood this when he said, "The weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds."

The early church, strong only in the power of God, triumphed grandly, even over the opposing forces of a false religion, upheld by the state. Only when she allied herself with the state, seeking its aid, did she deny her God, lose her power, and darken the world into a night of a thousand years. The present effort of the church to get the state to enforce the observance of Sunday, and to introduce the teaching of

Christianity into State schools, is but a revival of the pagan and papal doctrine of force in religious things, and as such it is antichristian.

A Return to Medieval Methods

A WRITER in the *Baltimore Sun*, of March 25, 1907, signing himself "E. A. McD.," says:—



THE WASHINGTON MANSION, MT. VERNON, VA.

"Unless immediate steps be taken to stop the religious decline in New York, the city will become a nest of infidels, and the belief in God will be forgotten, and our metropolis will become a city of no religion. I would advise a remedy in the shape of a law compelling every man, woman, and child in this country, physically able, to attend divine services on Sunday, and insist on them hearing the Word of God, and those who neglect such a duty to be punished by a fine or imprisonment."

This is only a sample of a sentiment which is rapidly rising in this country and throughout the world. The masses are becoming irreligious, and the "remedy" proposed is to compel them, under the pains and penalties of law, to attend church on Sunday. What is this but a return to the principles of the Dark Ages and to the medieval methods of attempting to make men religious by law? Where is there any Christianity or Christian liberty in such a proposition as this? Such laws were in vogue in this country when the colonists whipped the Quakers, banished the Baptists, and executed the "witches."

Not all who favor this remedy put matters quite so plainly or bluntly as does this

writer, but the principle underlying all Sunday legislation is the same, regardless of the terms in which its advocacy is couched. It means religion by law and salvation by works, which, in the end, means persecution.

The true remedy for irreligion is not religious legislation, but conversion, and this can not be effected by coercion. It must come, if at all, through the preaching of the gospel of Jesus Christ, which is the power of God unto salvation. This will

lead to repentance, and will prevail upon men, of their own choice, to "keep the commandments of God, and the faith of Jesus." But the trouble is, neither the commandments of God nor the faith of Jesus require the observance of Sunday; hence the call for human laws to enforce its observance. The true Sabbath, the memorial of the true God, is another day, as every one may learn from reading the Sabbath command itself; and this requires no human laws for its support.

Faneuil Hall Convention

A Religious Liberty Gathering on Historic Ground

THE advocates of religious liberty and the equal rights of men met in Faneuil Hall, Boston, on the afternoon and evening of Thursday, Jan. 31, 1907, in a religious liberty convention. It was an inspiring place for such a convention. The very walls seemed to echo the principles of equal and exact justice for all men, which had been expounded there by such men as James Otis. The life-size paintings of such men as George Washington, Samuel Adams, Daniel Webster, and U. S. Grant adorned the walls, and lent impressiveness to the occasion.

The tune *America*, with a setting of words proclaiming the righteousness of a total separation of church and state, was sung by the audience, and an earnest prayer was offered by W. A. Westworth, of Hartford, Conn.

Opening Address

BY THE CHAIRMAN, H. F. KETRING, SOUTH LANCASTER, MASS.

Nearly three hundred years ago there landed on New England's shores a group of Pilgrims who were seeking freedom. They sought a place where they might worship God according to the dictates of their own consciences,—where they might establish a state without a king, and a church without a pope. Others followed them in the pursuit of liberty, until something over one hundred and twenty-five years ago there was born in this land a nation which declared that it would establish a new order of things. At the begin-

ning of the war with the mother country they, through their delegates, gathered in Liberty Hall, Philadelphia, declared their independence.

In that document, so dear to every American heart, it was declared, "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; and that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

At the close of that long struggle, in which many of our forefathers laid down their lives on the battle-field for the liberties which you and I to-day enjoy, there was adopted a constitution, which, in harmony with the Declaration of Independence, declares that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

To-day we have met in convention, with these same principles upon which our government was established, and upon which it has been maintained for more than a century, until it has grown to be one of the greatest nations, if not the greatest, on the face of the earth,—to maintain these principles, I say, we have met here in convention to-day. We declare in favor of all good government, and we desire that all forms of good government shall be maintained, just as the Declaration of Independence declares, that the rights of all men may be secured.

We have to-day a number of speakers who have come from different parts of the country to declare for these principles, and we will now listen to an address by Prof. Frederick Griggs, of Washington, D. C.

Limits to Civil Authority

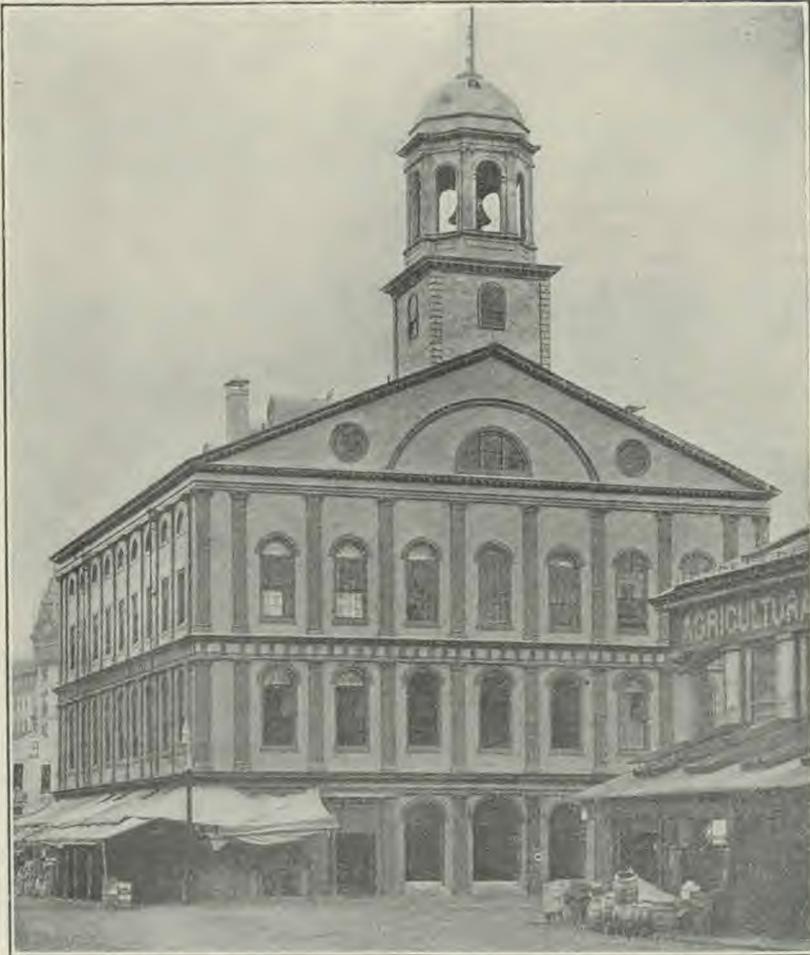
ADDRESS BY PROF. FREDERICK GRIGGS, OF
WASHINGTON, D. C.

There is a feeling extant in the world —
and it is increasing rapidly in our land —

pendence: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights."

Rights never conflict, never clash, never cross. If all men are created with certain definite rights, there can, in the very nature of the case, be no conflict in those rights, if they are accorded to each individual.

The majority must rule in civil government. This is a fair, just principle; but



FANEUIL HALL, THE "CRADLE OF LIBERTY," BOSTON, MASS.

that there is no limit to the power of civil government; that the majority in our land, and the aristocracy in other lands, are to rule in all things.

This is contradicted by the lines that were quoted from the Declaration of Inde-

the majority must rule within certain limits, and these limits are the individual rights of any citizen in the land. That is to say, the poorest, meanest, most despised citizen has certain inalienable rights, and the majority are to discover what those rights are,

and protect him in those rights. That is the work of the majority.

Legislatures can not create rights. The just province, the just limits of legislators, of lawmakers, is to discover what are the rights of the individual, and to protect him in those rights.

That there are certain limits to civil government is clearly taught by one sentence, a notable one, uttered by our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. It is this: "Render therefore unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's; and unto God the things that are God's." This clearly states that there are certain things that are God's, and certain things that are Cæsar's. The things of Cæsar are delegated unto him by God. They are given him by God. The apostle Paul clearly states that Cæsar, and all that he stands for, is ordained of God, provided always that he stands for that which God gave him the right to stand for.

Now, government has no right to enter upon and possess the things of God. Peter emphasized that thought clearly when he said, "We ought to obey God rather than men."

The law of God is the supreme law of the universe, and the just province of government is included within that law. That is to say, the man who obeys, in the full, the law of God, is a good citizen; he fulfils, on the whole, the requirements of the government of God and of civil government, provided the civil government is acting within its just capacity or sphere.

This is clearly illustrated by the experiences of some of the worthies of olden time, notably Daniel and his three fellows. You remember that Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, made a great image, and issued a proclamation that all nations, tongues, and peoples should bow down before that image. But there were three Hebrews who said, We will not do it, because in that proclamation this king has stepped over into a province that is not his own; he has exceeded the just limits of his authority. And the God of heaven witnessed to the righteousness of their position.

Daniel himself, when he was told that it was proclaimed by law that he should not make any petition of any god or man save the king, proceeded forthwith to exercise his God-given right to render unto God the things that were God's. He made his petition to God as he had done afore-

time, and the God of heaven defended him, and proclaimed by that defense that King Darius had exceeded his authority.

Our government was established upon this grand principle of requiring men to render unto Cæsar only the things that are Cæsar's, and leaving them free to render unto God the things which are God's, according to the dictates of their own consciences. We find this fact brought out very clearly in the First Amendment to the Constitution, which declares that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." And why not?—Because it was recognized that it was not within the province of civil government to do so. There is no government under heaven, nor has there ever been a government under heaven, that more nearly approximated the divine ideal of civil government than our own. The right to worship God according to the dictates of one's conscience is clearly given in the Constitution. But it would be man's right just the same if it were not so provided in the Constitution, for the principle is everlastingly true that lawmakers do not have the power of making rights, or the right to control men by law in religious things.

There are many mutterings, and some are more than mere mutterings, which tell us that our government is beginning to step over into territory that is outside of the just limits of civil government. There is a move on foot in certain quarters to invade the sacred rights of conscience. Against this we raise a note of warning. To all the world we declare that every man has everlastingly given to him the right to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience. We meet here to-day to reaffirm this grand principle; and so long as we live, may we ever affirm it and reaffirm it. Rights do not clash. Rights are equal and inalienable. I do not have rights which you do not have, nor you that I do not have. We should all stand upon an equality before the law, and civil law should not direct nor dictate in matters of religion. This is the grand principle clearly enunciated by Jesus Christ, and reaffirmed by our government; and let us ever cherish and maintain it.

Let the government once step over into this territory which is not its own, and just so surely, sooner or later, it will deprive

some of its people at least, of their God-given rights. May God give us strength to stand for the right.

The Chairman: Long may these principles live.

Pastor F. C. Gilbert, of Boston, who has been converted from among the Jews, that ancient people of God, who lost their liberties because they did not recognize their Saviour, will now address you. I know that you will all be pleased to hear from him concerning the rights of the Jews. Just as surely as a Jew is a man, he has rights; and as the former speaker has declared, the government has not created them; they are God-given; and it is the duty of this and every other government to secure them to the Jews.

Religious Liberty and the Jews

ADDRESS BY PASTOR F. C. GILBERT,
OF BOSTON, MASS.

I believe it was Robert Burns who once said, "For a' that and for a' that, a man's a man for a' that." And I think we all here agree that that is so; that whether a man is a black man or a white man, a mulatto man or a Jew man, he is a man; and inasmuch as he is a man, he has been endowed by his Creator with certain inalienable rights.

Some one has truthfully said that the Jews, as a people, are a great deal like the burning bush of Horeb. You remember that when Moses was tending the sheep of his father-in-law Jethro, one day in his wanderings with the sheep in the wilderness, he came across a bush. It was burning, and it continued to burn. But the peculiarity about it was that it did not burn up. So for three thousand years, almost every nation has been burning the Jew. But, like that bush at Horeb, he is not burned up yet.

But this is true, that every nation that has persecuted the Jews has, in a large measure, fulfilled that divine utterance made by Jehovah himself to Abraham, the father of the Jewish race: "I will bless them that bless thee, and curse him that curseth thee."

Look at Rome, how she persecuted the Jews; but where is Rome to-day? Later Spain tried it; but where is Spain to-day? During the last twelve hundred years Rus-

sia has been working hard at it, and is still at it; and Russia herself is almost crumbling to pieces to-day.

As we read the history of the Jewish people, if we yet have left in us a little of the milk of human kindness, we must still feel a certain amount of sympathy for them, when we consider how they have been persecuted, and how they are still being persecuted.

It was soon after the Spanish Inquisition was instituted (and the main object of that institution was not against the Christians; it was instituted for the Jews), — it was soon after this that Russia began to persecute the Jews; and she continued to do this for several centuries, until a terrible lamentation went up from the thousands and millions of Jews in that far-off land, that somewhere, somehow, some-way, sometime, even in this life, there might be found in this world some spot where the Jew might have, in a measure at least, some freedom, some hope, some liberty, for which he had bled and suffered and died these hundreds and thousands of years.

So when the time came when this country was established as a nation, word was sent over to Russia, to Poland, to Germany, to Austria, that there was a country rising in the West where men could have liberties and rest and peace, even though they were Jews.

True, the Jews as a people, lost their liberty because they rejected their Messiah; but when they saw this country coming up, their hopes revived, and they began to breathe a little more freely. They said, Can it be that there is yet hope in this world of getting one's rights? So the Jews began to pour into this country by the thousands.

George Washington, at a congregation in Providence, R. I., in speaking of the Jews in this country, said that here the Jew might sit under his own vine and fig-tree, because here there were no differences between man and man, no discriminations religiously; that here the Jew could enjoy the rights and privileges and pleasures that are accorded to all other men.

And to-day as the Jew enters New York harbor and looks upon that great Bartholdi statue of Liberty, he begins to wonder what it means. He has heard about liberty; he

has heard about freedom. He asks, Can it be that they have images in this country as in Russia? Is this an idol to be worshiped, or what can it be? For you must remember that all through Russia, where the afflictions of the Jews have been the most terrible, the land is filled with images; and so he wonders. But he soon learns that this statue, with its far-reaching light, is not an image to be worshiped under pains and penalties of law, but a token to men as they come pouring into this country, that whatever their nation, whatever their religion, they are coming to a land of light and liberty.

What has been the result of this treatment of the Jews in this country? The result has been that the Jew has shown himself to be a man like other men. He has shown that he can have the same respect for other men's rights that he expects them to have for his own.

But, my friends, the Jews to-day are beginning to feel that they are not so welcome in this country after all as they might be. While on the train the other day, a Jew said to me: "Mr. Gilbert, what do you suppose will happen in a hundred years from now?" We were talking upon the subject of the equality of men's rights and the liberties common to people here. I knew what he meant.

"Ah," said he, "it looks now as if America was going to follow in the train of other nations, and cut off from the Jew the rights and privileges which he has enjoyed."

The people say, "How can that be?" I can tell you best by giving you an illustration. Some years ago there was on foot, as there has been more or less since then, a movement to curtail the running of Sunday trains. At that time there was a certain league in existence whose object was to attend to that kind of business, and there was a meeting called before the railroad commissioners of Boston. There were a

number of men present from that association to get the trains to cease running, and to close up everything else if they had their way.

Finally, while waiting for the commissioners to appear, I said to one of these men, "Did it ever occur to you that the attitude that is being assumed to-day with regard to Sunday legislation is not only a detriment to the work of the gospel among the Jews, but is also a denial of Christianity?" The man was astonished, even though a minister of the gospel. He asked how that was. I said, "You have said to the Jew, 'Come to this country, and you have equal rights with all other men as long as you conduct yourself as a good citizen of the United States.

You have as much right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness as every other man;' and among these rights, both God-given and inherent, as well as guaranteed by the country, is the right to worship on the seventh day and labor on the first. And many of them have come here upon this guarantee, and are still doing so; but there was a little revival here some years ago, as there has been at different times, and an effort is being made to compel people to rest on the first day of the week whether they wish to or not, with the result that in many States many of the Jews feel the oppression, and



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WORLD

feel it keenly.

"Now the Jew says, 'You people who claim to believe in Jesus say that we have rights like other men. We have rights, God tells us we have; your own Christ tells us that we have. If we keep the seventh day, we have as good a right to work on the first day as you have to work on the seventh.'

"But if we say to him, 'Here, you may go and keep the seventh day if you wish to, but you must rest on the first day too,' we deal out to him the same hardships that he has been made to suffer in Russia for hun-

dreds of years. Bigotry, intolerance, and persecution, after all, differ only in degree, not in kind. So they begin to say, 'Well, it begins to look as if we were in danger here also.'

Finally, the man said to me, "That is too bad. What would you suggest as a remedy?"

I replied that my remedy would be to take the statutes of Massachusetts and sweep every Sunday law off the books. Said I, "Let the thing stand on its own merit. If any religion has not power enough in itself to stand for what it is worth, it ought to go down, and the quicker it goes down the better, even for the people that believe in it." [Applause.]

Finally, after citing in support of this view the words of Washington, Jefferson, Madison, and others, I said that the only remedy in harmony with the gospel was to eliminate every religious law from the statute-books and abolish all Sunday laws. Well, I shall never forget that man as he sat in that office. He said: "We do not care for Washington, we do not care for Jefferson, we do not care for Madison, we do not care for all that has ever been done; yea, and we do not care for the Jew either. This is a *Christian country!* and we are going to have *Sunday laws* at whatever cost!"

My friends, do you wonder that the Jew begins to feel that there is danger ahead? Any nation that will single out one people, and deprive them of their rights, will find, before she gets through, that the measure she metes to others she will have measured to herself. It is with nations as with individuals—they reap what they sow.

Let us remember that while the Jew has rejected his Christ, the best way to show him the love of that Christ is to show him, in practical working, what Christ taught, and that will become the greatest incentive, the mightiest motive power, to lead him to seek the divine life and power of Christ and give him his rights. Anything that seeks to curtail the rights of the Jew, look out for it; for remember God has said: "Him that blesseth thee I will bless, and him that curseth thee I will curse."

A SUNDAY law would have put a stop to creation at its very beginning.

Why We Oppose Religious Legislation

K. C. RUSSELL, CHAIRMAN OF THE RELIGIOUS LIBERTY BUREAU, OF WASHINGTON, D. C.

THIS idea of Sunday legislation is growing very rapidly. I regretted to learn a few weeks ago that Boston was making an unenviable record along this line. I noticed from reports that some twelve hundred persons had been summoned in this city because they had disregarded Sunday as a day of rest and worship. That surpasses the record of any other city I know of in modern times.

We are opposing Sabbath legislation not because we belong to some secular league or infidel society, but because we are Christians. The Sabbath is an institution too sacred to be trampled upon, legislated upon, or made a subject for political discussion. Any religious idea, I care not what it is, that must be enforced by law, is not worthy of Christian support.

Recently there was a Sunday crusade in a certain Western city. The conflict was between the clergy on the one side and some theater men on the other. One side was opposed to the open Sunday, and the other in favor of it. Both parties had their bands of music and their moving pictures announcing their program. My mind went back to medieval times, back to the days of Rome, when religion was a very prominent feature and entered into the politics of the times.

And so here to-day in the city of Boston this question of Sunday closing has been prominent during the past few months. What does this mean? To any thoughtful mind that will scan the history of the past, it indicates that we are fast approaching a time when we shall have a repetition of the experiences of ages gone by.

We are opposed to Sunday legislation for many reasons. In the first place, Sunday-laws infringe upon the rights of conscience. God has given to every man the right to keep the Sabbath, or not to keep it, as he chooses. When God created man and placed him in Eden, he gave him the liberty of choice. Deprive a man of the right of exercising his free moral agency, and you make him a mere automaton. In making and enforcing religious laws, men are going beyond God. When the state enforces a rest day, it infringes upon the

rights of conscience, because there are individuals who keep religiously other days of the week. The matter of keeping a Sabbath should be left to the individual in the exercise of his religious rights.

Again: Sunday legislation produces hypocrites. If you want to manufacture hypocrites, make a Sunday law. Let me illustrate. Here are men in the city of Boston who do not keep any day, and they do not want to rest on Sunday. They would rather do something else, perhaps go to the beach, attend a Sunday concert, or go fishing. I am not speaking in defense of immoral or uncivil amusements, but I believe that a man has a civil right to enjoy amusements on any day, providing they are not uncivil. Religiously I am opposed to theaters, as are the other speakers here on the platform with me. We would not attend them, we do not believe in them; but we believe that a man who wishes to go to a theater has just as good a right civilly to go there as a Christian has to go to a prayer-meeting. [Applause.] The only question in regard to these or any other amusements on any day is, "Are they civil?" If they are uncivil on Sunday, then they are uncivil on Monday also, and on every other day, and ought to be closed every day in the week. [Applause.]

The state has to do only with civil things. The state has no right to enter the realm of religion, and dictate upon things of a religious character. If a man takes our property, the strong arm of the state has a right to take hold of him. When one seeks to defame our character, the arm of the law can lay hold of him; when it comes to dictating what the religion of a man shall be, God says, "Hands off." And that is really the principle enunciated by Jesus Christ, when he said, "Render therefore unto Cæsar's; and unto God the things that are God's."

In that statement made by Jesus Christ,

who is the author of liberty, we see indicated the total separation of the church and the state; and this government is the only government ever framed in harmony with that principle; and that principle ought to stand side by side with that other principle voiced in the First Amendment to the Constitution of the United States: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

Another reason why we oppose religious legislation is because it is class legislation. Sunday legislation is legislation in favor of a class of people who keep Sunday.

Another reason is that such legislation is opposed to the golden rule. I maintain that if the golden rule were followed and



PARK STREET CHURCH, BOSTON, MASS.

practised by the ministers of the gospel, there never would be a Sunday law in this land. Now let me apply the principle. Do those who are seeking to have the Sunday laws enforced want a law that will compel them and every other citizen of Boston to keep Saturday because there are some who are observing that day here? They ought to be willing to do that if they ask the others to submit to a law for the enforcement of Sunday. One man in this commonwealth has in the exercise of his religious conviction as much right as the majority have. (We are not asking for such a law, however.) Can you not see that a man who will follow the golden rule will be as willing to conform to the other man's principles as he expects him to be willing to conform to his? But no; it is said, all must be compelled by the law to keep Sun-

day. Such a course is a violation of every principle of the gospel.

Did you know that Sunday laws promote immorality? The chairman of the International Reform Bureau says that the State of California, which has no Sunday laws, shows a better condition of morals than any State where Sunday laws exist. He said further that every State that persecuted seventh-day day observers was a backward state. Every State that has a Sunday law, when carried to its logical end, will persecute; for as the historian has said, in the first step there is found the ultimate end of the whole thing. You enter upon this course, and it will end in persecution.

Only a few days ago we received a communication from South Carolina, where three Christian men were arrested because they did some work in a secluded place on Sunday after they had kept the seventh day. They were brought before the judge, tried, convicted, and fined, because, in this land of the free, under these stars and stripes, they had dared to perform labor upon Sunday, the first day of the week, as the Lord commands. No less than fifteen States of the forty-six have actually persecuted seventh-day observers, and that work is now being promoted, and is going on at a rapid rate.

They would like to have the Sunday newspaper stopped, the parks shut up, the street-car traffic stopped, etc. When all the places of amusement are closed, what will the godless people who have no interest in religion do? These people will do something, for "Satan finds some mischief still for idle hands to do."

Those countries where there exists the strongest union of church and state have the continental Sunday with all its demoralizing amusements. So it is demonstrated that an alliance between the church and the state is not productive of better Sabbath observance. Why should we repeat the experience of Spain and France? When a union of church and state is secured in this country, it will mean the death-knell of this nation.

We are told that they do not want a religious day enforced; they simply want Sunday enforced as a civil institution. A few years ago, the advocates of Sunday legislation in Massachusetts were calling loudly for a "civil sabbath," maintaining

that they wanted it free from anything of a religious character.

The sincerity of this claim was tested by the introduction into the Massachusetts Legislature of a strictly civil Sunday bill. That is, the day was placed on the same basis that other civil days are; viz., Washington's birthday, fourth of July, etc. This of course left the manner of its observance wholly with each individual.

The result was that when a hearing was called to consider this proposed civil Sunday bill, the clergy of Boston who were championing Sunday legislation were present, and entered a most vigorous protest against the "civil sabbath bill," thus demonstrating that it is the religious feature of the day that they are seeking, and not the civil.

Surely the time has come when the evils of Sunday legislation should be unveiled, thus enabling every loyal citizen of America to understand the meaning of these things.

Sunday Laws and Good Government

ADDRESS BY LEE S. WHEELER, OF BOSTON

EVERY intelligent person recognizes a difference between what is civil and what is religious. A man may be civil and yet not be religious. He may be a good citizen and a kind neighbor, and yet belong to no church.

We have the Sunday-school and the parochial school, supported by the church; these are religious. On the other hand we have the public school, supported by the State, which is purely civil or secular. It is made secular simply that it may include the children of all faiths or no faith,—the Jew, the Christian, the Catholic, the Protestant, the heathen, the agnostic,—that the children of all these may attend the public school without interfering with the religious convictions of any. All religious teaching is purposely and properly left out of the public school in order that it may not trespass on the rights of any one.

This illustrates the principle underlying all civil government, of which the public school is but a representative feature. A plain distinction must be made between that which is civil and that which is religious.

It must be apparent to all that Sunday

and Sunday laws do not belong to that which is civil, but to that which is religious. Everything pertaining to the Sabbath is religious, and should therefore be left to the church. All Sabbath legislation on the part of the state is entirely out of place.

I think I can explain to you why some people are demanding Sunday legislation. Men see that lawlessness and crime are rapidly on the increase, and they are casting about for something that will check these evils. The ministry rises up and says that the increasing wickedness is because religion is not enforced upon the people by law; that if we had religious laws the people would be taught religion, and would be compelled to be religious, and this would check the ungodliness of the age. Thus, you see, religious laws, and Sunday laws particularly, come to be considered indispensable features of good government. I have heard the representatives of the New England Sabbath League and various ministers of Boston, when appearing before legislative committees, declare that if these laws were repealed, every bulwark of morality would be thrown down; that all the principles of good government would go down with them; that lawlessness would increase, and anarchy would result if we dispensed with the Sunday laws.

Therefore Sunday laws are advocated, and the masses in the popular churches are educated to think that good may come of such legislation; that if the people are compelled to rest on Sunday they will become religious; that crime will decrease, and the world will be made better; and so they conscientiously favor Sunday laws. They do not know that Sunday laws are almost as old as Christianity, and that such expedients have been tried over and over again in the past, but without success, and only with disastrous results. They have not read the history of the past, but suppose that it is a new test that is being made, which may prove to be the redemption of the world. They are not aware that away back in the third century after Christ, Constantine, the Roman emperor, nominally a convert to the Christian faith, began to make religious laws, and that his first law of this character was a Sunday law. In A. D. 321 he commanded that the people of the cities and towns should rest on "the venerable day of the sun;" and it was thought by many Christian people at that time that the mil-

lennium was at hand. Why, they said, how wonderful that the emperor is converted to Christianity, and is going to enforce the laws of God upon all his subjects all through the world! They thought this meant the conversion of all nations!

The townspeople, according to this law, were to rest on Sunday, but those living in the country were left free to pursue their business. By a later law, that of A. D. 386, the Sunday was more rigorously enforced, and civil transactions of every kind were strictly forbidden. Whoever transgressed was considered guilty of sacrilege. Later laws were still more stringent, forbidding shows, theaters, and sports of all kinds on Sunday as unlawful competitors to the church.

The people of those times certainly had Sunday laws, and they had very strict Sunday laws. Unquestionably the power of such laws to lessen crime and make men moral, upright, and religious was well tested then. But did those Sunday laws, considered so indispensable to good government, save the government of Rome and better mankind generally? Did not Rome almost immediately go into the Dark Ages, with the union of church and state thus brought about? Did not persecution lift its ugly head and continue its work of rule and ruin even to the employment of the heads-men's ax? Was there not more ignorance, proscription, persecution, and bloodshed in the thousand years that followed that legislation than there had been in all the world's history before?

This, therefore, is the result of entering upon Sunday legislation. Carried to its ultimate it means that when men are forced to rest, then they will go to the theater; and when the theater and all other avenues of pleasure and pastime are closed, then if they do not go to church and be religious, there is only one step left, and that is to force them to go to church and to be religious; and then you have a union of church and state in all its hideousness. That was the logical outcome of the first step in the enforcement of Constantine's Sunday law. Instead of ushering in the millennium, it ushered in the darkest ages of human history.

Look at the history of France. To-day she is surging in a sea of trouble over these things. In the ages gone by France was one of the foremost nations in enfor-

cing such laws. Under such rulers as Charlemagne she compelled the people to be baptized, and to adopt the Christian religion, and to go to church on Sunday, and stay there until the sermon was over. They were forbidden to travel, to cook victuals, to sweep the house, or shave on Sunday. Food for Sunday must be prepared the day previous. Milkmen were not allowed to cry their milk only during certain hours. In many places permission had to be obtained to bathe.

Come down to the days of Napoleon and the Revolution and you see the mass of the people rise up against the very name of the Christian religion. They tore the name of Jesus Christ from every place where they saw it written; they trampled it under their feet; they did away with all religious laws of every kind, and declared that they would blot out the memory of the Christian religion from the earth. They did away with Sunday and with the week of which it is a part, and instituted a cycle of ten days. Up to that time France had reckoned its time from the birth of Christ; but now they said they would reckon time from the beginning of the French Republic.

Sunday laws had much to do in bringing about this terrible reaction against Christianity in France. The man who proposed this reactionary legislation, Raouf by name, said he invented the idea to get rid of Sunday.

In 1260 it is said that a Jew fell into a pit on Saturday. His Jewish brethren would not take him out on that day because it was the Sabbath. The next day was Sunday, and the law would not allow them to take him out then, and on Monday morning he was dead. Do you think these things tended to make good government?—No, they ripened into the French Revolution; and such will be the fruit of a union of religion and the state and of religious legislation everywhere.

Do not be deceived, therefore, by the cry that religious laws are necessary to good government. We have them here in Boston, and I appeal to you if you have ever seen a worse condition of affairs than has existed right here among the officers of this city during the last two months. We have had everything but tranquillity and peace. And what has been the cause of the trouble?—The injustice and the persecuting character of the Sunday laws

and their enforcement. That has made criminals out of hundreds of inoffensive citizens.

Upon the reverse side of the great seal of the United States, is this expression, "A new order of things." Let us never turn back to the old order of things. Let us preserve that Americanism that stands for what is civil in the state, and for what is Christian and religious in the church, but which will never unite the two.

SECOND SESSION

A Plea for Freedom of Conscience

ADDRESS BY H. F. KETRING, OF SOUTH LANCASTER, MASS.

THE second session of this convention was opened with prayer by Pastor Lee S. Wheeler, following which addresses were given as follows:—

The spirit of liberty still lives. This beautiful hall is maintained by the citizens of Boston in commemoration of liberty. In the year 1769 a meeting was held within these walls to protest against the oppressive measures of the crown government. To-night this representative meeting is held to protest in this same hall against the oppressive measures of the church. You, by your presence here this evening declare that you want the conscience free; that you will not have it fettered and enslaved to creed and dogma. You say that you claim for yourself the right to worship God according to the dictates of your own conscience, and not, as it is now being put by some modern religionists, according to the dictates of a good conscience, assuming, of course, that their conscience is good, and that all other consciences that differ from theirs are bad consciences. Every man has a right to believe that his conscience is good, and he has a right to worship God according to the dictates of that conscience.

Our Pilgrim forefathers left their homes in the Old World, where they were oppressed, where they were creed-bound, to go to the New World, of which they had heard, but of which they knew little. They landed three hundred years ago on these inhospitable shores. It was their purpose to establish a state without a king and a church without a pope. But it was not long after until the very same spirit of persecution and tyranny began to appear

in this land that was known in the Old World. Then followed the days of the Revolution, when men declared for "a new order of things." God forbid that that order of things should ever be changed back to the old order of things.

There is now a movement on foot in this land to fetter conscience, to bind the souls of men. It declares that men must be compelled by law to rest and worship on the day that human authority has sought to make the Sabbath. That movement for compulsory religion is not a Christian movement. This I know, because the Author of Christianity, Jesus Christ himself, declared that "if any man hear my words and believe not, I judge him not; for I came not to judge the world, but to save the world."

Our blessed Redeemer said, "As ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them." Are you ready to stand by the golden rule? Are you willing to concede to other men the same rights that you claim for yourself? Thomas Jefferson declared that "It is impossible for the magistrate to adjudge the right of preference between, the various sects which profess the Christian faith, without erecting a chair of infallibility which would lead us back to the Church of Rome." I ask you, friends, are you ready to be led back to the Church of Rome? Thomas Jefferson knew what he was talking about when he said those words, because the blood of the martyrs had then scarcely ceased to flow.

They had a law in those days that all infants should be baptized, and any man who would not permit his child to be baptized by sprinkling was to be condemned to imprisonment. Old Father Holmes, here in New England, refused to baptize by sprinkling. He refused to submit to the doctrine of infant baptism, declaring it his God-given right to protest against it. He was sent to prison, and there he lay for

weeks, yea, for months, with only his Bible for a pillow.

In those same days they had laws compelling men to keep Sunday. Under the old blue-laws a man was fined if he did not attend church regularly on Sunday. Many such oppressive religious measures were imposed upon the people, and the people suffered it. They drove Roger Williams from his home into the forest, in midwinter, to live among the Indians, who were more hospitable than his persecutors. Do you wonder that after the Revolution the noble men who founded this Republic declared that they would institute a "new order of things"? Do you wonder that

Thomas Jefferson declared that to pursue the course they had been pursuing meant to "adjudge the right of preference among the various sects that profess the Christian religion," and that this could not be done without "erecting a chair of infallibility," which, would lead them "back to the Church of Rome"?

Speaking on human rights and liberties, Abraham Lincoln, who stood for free government,



ABRAHAM LINCOLN

for government of the people, by the people, and for the people, set forth a principle which I hope will burn itself into all our hearts. He said: "When a man governs himself, that is self-government; but when a man governs himself and another man, that is more than self-government,—that is tyranny." So we declare that when a man is religious for himself, that is religious freedom; but when a man is religious for himself and for another man, that is religious despotism."

May God help us all to be religious; but each man for himself. Let us not try to govern some one's conscience by our conscience. Let us not attempt to compel some one else to believe as we believe, whether we be Catholic, Protestant, Methodist, Baptist, or of some other faith.

Some Modern History

Religious Legislation in America

ADDRESS BY K. C. RUSSELL, OF WASHINGTON,
D. C.

THIS is a theme of vital importance to every citizen of this nation—indeed, to every citizen of this world. My talk this evening will involve reference to some organizations and some individuals who represent them. I wish to state at the outset, however, that we do not come here to berate any person or any denomination. We believe that all denominations, Protestant or Catholic, contain Christians. We are dealing to-day with something that is of more importance than any organization, as such, or any individual, and that is, the principles that underlie the government of this nation and the government of God.

The Religious Liberty organization which we represent, has a constituency of nearly one hundred thousand members. Fifty or sixty years ago these people saw by the light of divine prophecy in the Scriptures that there was a time coming in this world's history when oppressive laws would again be enacted in this land, when men again would be actually persecuted because of their belief in the Bible and the principles enunciated in it. This idea was then scouted as incredulous and ridiculous. The fathers of this republic had founded it as a refuge for the oppressed, and such a thing seemed impossible. In harmony with the principle enunciated by Jesus Christ, "Render therefore unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's," the first amendment to the Constitution of the United States had declared that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

The fathers of the republic saw that if men turned their backs upon these principles, the only result would be persecution,—a repetition of the old story of religious despotism.

For over fifty years, as I have said, Seventh-day Adventists have seen these things coming. But not until 1863 was there any organized development for reversing the new order of things here set up. Let us briefly trace that movement.

The National Reform Association

In 1863 eleven different Protestant denominations met in Xenia, Ohio, for the

purpose of "bringing about needed reforms in our government." The organization there formed was called the National Reform Association, and their organ of publication the *Christian Statesman*. The first plank in their platform, stating the object of the association, reads:—

"To secure such an amendment to the Constitution of the United States as will declare the nation's allegiance to Jesus Christ and its acceptance of the moral laws of the Christian religion, and so indicate that this is a Christian nation, and place all the Christian laws, institutions, and usages of our government upon an undeniable legal basis in the fundamental law of the land."

Now, that may seem very innocent to a casual reader. They desire Christianity and all its moral laws placed upon a "legal basis." That is to say, that various things pertaining to religion would have to be done legally. They would have the Sunday institution, for instance, enforced as a legal affair.

We have, in the history of the past, seen what a legal religion means. In the days of Rome there was a legal religion, and church attendance, baptism, and other religious rites were enforced as legal requirements. Some people did not care to go to church and be baptized; but the law said that every man should do so and so, like a flock of sheep, they were compelled to go to the place of baptism and be baptized. To refuse meant imprisonment, confiscation of property, banishment, or worse. That was a legal baptism—legal religion. That was putting Christian usages and institutions on an undeniable legal basis in the laws of the land, and carrying them out in a business-like way. But it was not Christianity. Would you like to be baptized in that way? Yet, let me say, that an avenue is opening up right here in the city of Boston which logically leads to exactly that kind of religion. Men have just as much right to baptize a man legally as they have to force him to keep a sabbath legally. They have just as much right to compel a man to pray the Lord's prayer legally as they have to force him to keep the Lord's day legally. There would not be much inspiration in that kind of a prayer, you may be assured, and yet that is the very idea that lies at the foundation of this legal religion and Sunday-enforcement movement.

Many of the leading ministers to-day are members of this National Reform organization. It has its headquarters in Pittsburg, Pa. And other organizations are helping along this work. The W. C. T. U., one of the grandest of human organizations, has been drawn into the wrong path in this matter. We stand with the W. C. T. U., and with all other like organizations, upon the principles of temperance reform. We are opposed to the liquor traffic not only on Sunday but on every day of the week. It is just as wrong to do wrong on Monday as it is on Sunday. A crime is a crime whenever done. We stand with this noble organization of women in their attitude toward every other social evil which they are opposing; but when they ally themselves with the National Reform party in its effort to enforce religion by law, we feel compelled to make a most solemn protest against this backward step.

There are other organizations, such as the Christian Endeavor Society and the Epworth League, containing the very flower of the young manhood and womanhood of the country, which have been deceived into allying themselves with this National Reform party and working for "Christian citizenship." One of their methods has been to organize opposition to every candidate for office who will not vote for a Sunday law. Only a few years ago they came to the Massachusetts Legislature, and told these representatives that if they did not vote for a Sunday law there were seventy thousand young men and women who would boycott them.

The National Reform Association, which, upon the showing just given, virtually comprises all these various organizations mentioned, together with the American Sabbath Union, of which the New England Sabbath Protective League is a part, has one central object, one all-absorbing thought, and that is to bring about the changes in our government along religious lines already referred to, chiefly through the matter of Sunday enforcement, and thus make religion here, as in the Old World in ages past, a matter of law. All can see that this is a formidable combination.

The Inter-Church Federation Movement

I wish now to draw your attention to another organization that is coming up in this country. About a year ago in Novem-

ber there was held in the city of New York the Inter-Church Federation Conference. That was composed of some forty or more denominations, representing, it was claimed, some twenty millions of people. One of the chief objects which they have in view was thus stated by one of the speakers at that conference:—

"I trust that one of the practical results of this conference will be the organization of a force that lawbreakers and lawmakers will respect and heed when great questions of morals are involved. Our gospel is the fulfilment of the law. It is our province, in the name of our Supreme King, and seeking the good of mankind, to ask rulers to respect the code of our kingdom. Rulers may ignore sects, but they will respect the church. This federation will compel an audience, and it will speak with power if it will put aside its differences and make its agreement its argument."

The real object of this organization, therefore, is to bring pressure to bear upon lawmakers, and make its argument an argument of *force*. Thus we see that all these elements of pretended reform are focusing their efforts upon the lawmaking bodies of the land, both state and national, with a view of establishing and enforcing religion by the state and national law. Under the supervision of what is known as the International Reform Bureau, there is a systematic lobby carried on at Washington to advance this cause of reaction.

Not long ago a United States senator, speaking to a representative of the Religious Liberty Bureau in reference to his position, said: "I am opposed to any and all phases of religious legislation, including Sunday laws. . . . But the truth is, the religious people of this country are getting such a hold of lawmakers that I fear we can not stem the tide in that direction." Think of it! A United States senator admitting that the pressure being brought to bear by this element working for religion by force and law was becoming so strong that they could not much longer resist it! That ought to make every citizen tremble for what is coming. I am not here as an alarmist. I am simply telling you facts, and calling attention to important principles.

Statesmen have foreseen the dangers. Here is a warning which occurs in the United States Senate report on Sunday mails, made as long ago as 1829. The

men then saw the dangers of these things which confronts us to-day. I read:—

“Extensive religious combinations to effect a political object are, in the opinion of the committee, always dangerous. This first effort of the kind calls for the establishment of a principle which, in the opinion of the committee, would lay the foundation for dangerous innovations upon the spirit of the Constitution, and upon the religious rights of the citizens. If admitted, it may be justly apprehended that the future measures of the government will be strongly marked, if not eventually controlled, by the same influence. All religious despotism begins with combination and influence.”

Look at the combination already outlined. And they are wheeling into line not only the religious organizations, but the labor unions of the country as well. Dr. Kneeland, one of the advocates of legal religion, stated a few weeks ago that he had had an interview with Mr. Gompers, John Mitchell, and other leading union labor men, and he said they were ready and desirous to unite in a combination to enforce Sunday observance by law.

A statement from the Rev. S. B. Leach gives the idea in the minds of this party. He says: “Give us good Sunday laws, well enforced by men in local authority, and our churches will be full of worshipers, and our young men and women will be attracted to the divine service. A mighty combination of the churches of the United States could win from Congress, the State legislatures, and municipal councils, all legislation essential to this splendid result.” What they want, you see, is a law to help make people go to church and be religious.

Here is what the New York District Attorney Jerome said to a committee of prominent clergymen at the Bible House, Astor Place, a few months ago, while discussing methods of dealing with legislative bodies:—

“There is no way to deal with the legislators but to drive them, for they fear public sentiment. They can be driven like sheep if you go at them right; and let me assure you that they are dead scared of a minister. . . . If you gentlemen will take up the fight with us in Albany, you will doubtless see an amazing and instructive spectacle.”

But when political methods are urged for forwarding gospel work, every Christian

minister and every true church of Jesus Christ ought to say, “Hands off.” The whole duty of the gospel minister is to labor in the highways and byways and hedges, following our Master, Jesus Christ, who said, “My kingdom is not of this world: if my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight.” Christ never allied himself with the state. He founded no political caucus to secure religious enactments by which to coerce men’s consciences.

Protestants and Catholics Uniting

Other and still greater combinations than those already mentioned, are being formed. The Protestant churches are uniting with the Roman Catholic on this point of Sunday enforcement. I have been informed that the New England Sabbath Protective League is actually interceding with the Catholics for their help in this matter. With such a mighty combination, wielding such a tremendous influence of power and pressure, I can see coming on apace a condition of things here, that, if the people are not aroused to resist them, will overturn the principles of our government, and form here a union of religion and the state with all its baleful consequences. More religious measures were introduced into the Fifty-ninth Congress than in any Congress that preceded it, and in almost every instance these were Sunday bills. That is a significant fact. And heathen nations, such as China and Japan, are beginning to copy the Western World in this matter of Sunday enforcement.

Speaking of the rapid growth of the labor unions and their tendency to unite with the religious element in the enforcement of Sunday as a Sabbath of the faithful, the editor of the New York *Independent* says: “If all become dogmatic religionists, the days of persecution for the faithful are not over.”

One of the chief weapons advocated by these associations for enforcing their wishes in this matter is the boycott. If a man will not accede to their desires, they say: “We will not trade with him; he can not work with us; he can not get trade if he is a storekeeper; he can not get men to labor for him if he is a contractor; he can not buy; he can not sell.” All this was outlined ages ago in the prophetic word: “That no man might buy or sell, save he that had the mark.” See Rev. 13:16, 17.

The sure word of prophecy is fulfilling before our eyes. One of the most significant signs of the times is the uprising of the spirit of religious intolerance and oppression. The only safety for the child of God is in implicit faith in the word of the living God. That word is a shield and defense, and the only legitimate weapon of the Christian warfare.

Stereopticon Lecture on the Evils of Religious Legislation

BY W. A. WENTWORTH, OF HARTFORD, CONN.

THE closing address of the convention was illustrated by lime-light views. We can not here reproduce the stirring scenes in the story of the struggle for religious and civil liberty so beautifully depicted upon the canvas by the stereopticon. Mr. Westworth's lecture turned upon the historic plea that condemned Christ: "We have a law, and by our law he ought to die." The lecturer said:—

They say this question of enforced Sunday observance is not a matter of religion—just a matter of law. The law says so and so, and whether the law is good, bad, or indifferent, you have got to keep it, or you are not a good citizen. If you say, "O yes, I am a good citizen," they reply, "But don't you know the Bible says, Be subject to the power; the powers that be are ordained of God; and that you can not be a Christian unless you obey the law? If it is a bad law, keep it anyway. Be a good Christian, and take your medicine like the rest of them."

I think of the time when in old Medo-Persia's rule they passed a law that no one should ask any favor of any body except Darius for a period of thirty days; and if he did, he would go to the den of lions.

There was a man, the premier of the land, Daniel by name, and when the time came for him to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience, he went to his usual place, with his windows open toward Jerusalem, and there, with his face toward the holy city, three times a day offered his petition to heaven. They went after him, arrested him, and he was convicted and thrown into the den of lions. Ah, friends, all Christendom look back to-day with approbation upon Daniel's act, and they unite in singing, "Dare to be a Daniel; dare to stand alone; dare to have a purpose

firm; dare to make it known." Daniel broke the law, but he obeyed God. Let us remember that there is a duty which we have that is higher than any law that man can make.

I care not whether you are a believer or an infidel, Catholic or Protestant, there is but one opinion that has been rendered concerning the Christ life, the life of the Man of Galilee. It was the very essence of high morality. There was a time, however, when the misguided zealots of his day brought him up before the Roman governor. What did they claim, that this man was a murderer, a thief, an adulterer?—Ah, no; no one would say a word against his character. That was irreproachable. But they said, "We have a law, and by our law he ought to die." It was not that this man was a bad man, but it was "the law, the law, the law." What mattered it to them whether that law was right or wrong? They were willing to put him to death because *the law* said so and so. They influenced the legislature, as men are doing to-day, and they took the man of Galilee and nailed him to the tree. And why? Because his life was a menace to the community?—No; simply because they had "a law"!

The law did not prove that the martyrs of old Pagan Rome were bad people. It did not say that their lives were so immoral that they must needs be taken out of the way. But they said, "We have a law that none shall worship any god save those that are represented in the Pantheon." There were some who tried to worship the true God. Like Peter of old, they said, "Whether it is right in the sight of God to harken unto you more than unto God, judge ye." They were willing to stand for God and truth, and because of that they were placed in the arena, and with their lives they paid the forfeit of their integrity.

Resolutions Adopted

Following the address by Mr. Wentworth, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted by the convention:—

"Whereas, In his religious belief and practise man is amenable alone to God, and—

"Whereas, The observance of the Sabbath, or Lord's day, is a matter of religious belief and practise, as much as is baptism or the Lord's supper; therefore,—

"1. Resolved, That it is not the province

of the state to determine which day is the Sabbath or how it should be observed, and that we are therefore opposed to all Sunday legislation.

"2. *Resolved*, That we further protest against Sunday laws,—

"(a) Because they are a menace to the welfare of both the church and the state.

"(b) Because they produce hypocrites, by compelling people outwardly to appear to be religious when they are not.

"(c) Because they infringe upon the rights of conscience in that they enter the realm of religion, which is the realm of conscience.

"(d) Because they are a species of class legislation, in that they favor one class of religionists at the expense of others.

"(e) Because they are a favorite tool of inquisitors. They encourage one class of citizens to spy upon the liberties of another class who do not believe in observing the day they do.

"(f) Because they compel upright and honest Christian people to appear before the courts as criminals, for exercising their right to work six days and rest on the seventh.

"(g) Because they produce immorality, by making idleness compulsory.

"(h) Because they violate the golden rule, which says, 'Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them.' Those who observe Sunday would not wish to be compelled by law to observe another day which they do not regard as holy.

"Whereas, The New England Sabbath Protective League and its allies are vigorously seeking to mold public sentiment in favor of Sunday legislation and the revival of the antiquated blue-laws of colonial days in the city of Boston and other places throughout New England, and,—

"Whereas, This association is bringing influence and pressure to bear upon State legislators at every session to secure more rigid Sunday laws, and,—

"Whereas, This movement is contrary to the principles enunciated by Jesus Christ, the great Author of all liberty, who said, 'Render therefore unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's; and unto God the things that are God's,' and is diametrically opposed to the fundamental principles upon which the American government was founded, as expressed in the First Amend-

ment to the Constitution: 'Congress shall make no law respecting the establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof;' therefore,—

"3. *Resolved*, That we, the citizens of Boston, here assembled in Faneuil Hall, the 'cradle of liberty,' do hereby emphatically protest against this usurpation of power as represented in these efforts to secure and enforce Sunday legislation or to revive the old blue-laws; and do solemnly affirm our allegiance to the Christian principles of civil and religious liberty.

"4. And we do further resolve to use our influence and our energies to promulgate these principles."

True Freedom

Is true freedom but to break
Fetters for our own dear sake,
And with leathern hearts forget
That we owe mankind a debt?
No; true freedom is to share
All the chains our brothers wear,
And, with heart and hand, to be
In earnest to make others free.

They are slaves who fear to speak
For the fallen and the weak;
They are slaves who will not choose
Hatred, scoffing, and abuse,
Rather than in silence shrink
From the truth they needs must think;
They are slaves who dare not be
In the right with two or three.

—James Russell Lowell.

Who Only Love Freedom

NONE can love freedom heartily but good men; the rest love not freedom, but license, which never hath more scope, or more indulgence, than under tyrants. Hence it is that tyrants are not oft offended by, nor stand much in doubt of, bad man, as being all naturally servile; but in whom virtue and true worth most is eminent, them they fear in earnest, as by right their masters; against them lies all their hatred and suspicion.—*Milton*.

FORCE convinces of nothing but its own existence. The religion of Jesus Christ mellows the heart and leads men to God.

General Articles

The Campaign in California

J. O. CORLISS

Of all the States and Territories in the United States, California is one of the few which has no Sunday law. Formerly it had such a law, but in 1882 this law was declared by the Supreme Court of the State to be unconstitutional. An amendment to the constitution, therefore, the friends of compulsory Sunday observance have seen, was the only way such a law could again be enacted and retained on the statute books of this State.

present in support of the bill when the committee heard the arguments for and against the measure; and, to a man, they argued that it had no religious significance whatever. It was entirely in the interests of the working-man, they claimed; its object was to provide him one day of rest in seven, so that he might not be overworked. Strange to say, however, that the member of the Legislature who introduced the bill, in arguing in its behalf, declared that it was strictly religious, although he made a poor showing in his effort to sustain it from the Bible. For instance, he tried to



CAPITOL BUILDING, SACRAMENTO, CAL.

Accordingly, on January 14 of this year there was introduced in the lower house of the California Legislature a proposed constitutional amendment, providing that Sunday should be observed as a day of rest throughout the State. The bill was assigned to the committee on constitutional amendments, and the privilege of a hearing for all, either for or against the measure, was accorded on February 4.

Something like twenty ministers were

show the Legislature how the "Sunday" was kept back in the days of Moses!

At the hearing, one hour was first given to those favoring the passage of the bill, and was divided among seven speakers. The strongest reason they gave for believing that the people desired this amendment, was that they had about six thousand signatures of actual voters to the petition in its favor.

Then the opposition was accorded one

hour and a quarter. The writer spoke for half an hour, and in his remarks showed that more people were opposed to the passage of such a measure than were in favor of it; and, in proof, presented to the committee nearly fifteen thousand signatures of actual voters to a petition against it. Mr. W. M. Healey followed, and in the half hour allotted him, presented some very clear-cut and convincing arguments against the measure. Every member of the committee seemed deeply impressed. Mr. M. C. Wilcox occupied the remaining fifteen minutes in a few well-chosen words, which were a fitting climax to the speeches already presented against the bill.

Fifteen minutes were then given to the advocates of the bill for the closing arguments. Bishop Moreland used about ten minutes of this time, but without scoring a single point. The balance of the time was used by Lawyer Dunn, of Sacramento, in which his main effort seemed to be to belittle the arguments against the bill.

As soon as the hearing was over, the committee having the bill in charge went into executive session. Not one of the committee was in favor of the bill. As a compromise, however, they introduced a substitute, providing that "No person shall be employed more than six consecutive days in one week." This being just what the advocates of the bill called for in the hearing, the committee felt justified in presenting such a substitute.

When the matter came up in the House for final action on the twentieth of February, the substitute was voted down by an overwhelming majority. The substitute having been rejected, the original bill took its place again, and after some speeches on the floor both for and against, the vote was taken, which resulted in forty-six voting against the measure, and only twenty in favor of it. This was an overwhelming defeat, in view of the fact that fifty-four votes — a two-thirds majority — were necessary to carry the measure.

This, we presume, ends the matter for this session of the Legislature. Although the same bill was presented before the Senate, it is not likely to be called up there after having met with such a defeat in the House.

The animus of the advocates of this measure has been something almost beyond belief. When the bill came up for final

consideration, the man who introduced the bill made a rabid speech against the observers of the seventh day, denouncing those who had opposed the measure, and accusing them of having "butted" in at the hearing. He declared that they had no right whatever to interfere with any legislation; that they ought to have been turned out of the place; and if they did not like the Sunday law, let them go elsewhere. From this we may understand a little of what may be expected from the advocates of Sunday legislation when they have the power of the state in their hands.

A bill has been introduced in both Houses of the Legislature calling for a Constitutional convention immediately following the next general election, in which the constitution of California shall be generally revised and amended. Inasmuch as the Sunday-law advocates have failed in their present effort to secure their desired amendment to the constitution, we may expect that they will be strongly represented in the proposed convention, and will do all in their power to see that provision is made for a Sunday law.

Court Decision Embracing Principles Involved in Sunday Laws

SANFORD B. HORTON

A NUMBER of barbers in New Orleans are again agitating the question of Sunday closing by compulsory legislation, and are appealing to the city council to pass the desired ordinance which will force all barber shops to close on Sunday. This kind of agitation has found place in other communities, and laws of the character here called for have come before Supreme Courts for decision as to their constitutionality. We will refer to a decision, which, while not of recent date, contains principles of eternal truth in relation to "inalienable rights." Space will not permit of quoting the decision in full.

The case referred to was on a writ of habeas corpus petitioned for in California by Leo Jentzsch, to procure his discharge from custody to which he had been committed for violating a statute prohibiting barbers from keeping their shops open during certain hours on Sunday. On discharging the petitioner, the Supreme Court held that,—

"While the police power is one whose proper use makes most potently for good, in its undefined scope and inordinate exercise lurks no small danger to the republic; for the difficulty which is experienced in defining its just limits and bounds affords a temptation to the legislature to encroach upon the rights of citizens with experimental laws none the less dangerous because well meant. We think the act under consideration gives plain evidence of such encroachment. It is sought to be upheld by the argument that it is a police regulation; that it seeks to protect labor against the oppression of capital.

"It is not easy to see where or how this law protects labor from the unjust exactions of capital. A man's constitutional liberty means more than his personal freedom. It means, with many other rights, his right freely to labor, and to own the fruits of his toil. It is a curious law for the protection of labor which punishes the laborer for working. Yet that is precisely what this law does. The laboring barber engaged in a most respectable, useful, and cleanly pursuit, is singled out, from the thousands of his fellows in other employments, and told that, willy-nilly, he shall not work upon holidays and Sundays after twelve o'clock noon. His wishes, tastes, or necessities are not consulted. If he labors, he is a criminal. Such protection to labor, carried a little further, would send him from the jail to the poorhouse. How comes it that the legislative eye was so keen to discern the needs of the oppressed barber, and yet was blind to his toiling brethren in other vocations? Steam-car and street-car operatives toil through long and weary Sunday hours; so do mill and factory hands. There is no Sunday period of rest, and no protection for the overworked employees of our daily papers. Do these not need rest and protection? The bare suggestion of these considerations shows the injustice and inequality of this law.

"If it be constitutional to single out one such class, and debar its members from the

right to labor on one day in the week, it would be constitutional to prohibit them from following their vocation upon six days of the week. When any one such class is singled out and put under the criminal ban of a law such as this, the law not only is special, unjust, and unreasonable in its operation, but it works an invasion of individual liberty,—the liberty of free labor, which it pretends to protect."

The justice and pertinence of this opinion must be patent to every unbiased and fair-minded citizen. Such legislation is held by the court to be class and discriminating legislation. And so it is; for, to compel all barbers to stop work on Sunday directly, and then indirectly compel, by sanction, street-car employees to keep at their work

in order that the railway companies may take the "released" toiler to the lake or park or somewhere else for recreation, is as incongruous an anomaly as can well be supposed.

The barber may think he is securing liberty through a Sunday law, but he is mistaken. In reality he is planning for just the reverse when he appeals for a Sunday law.



THEODORE ROOSEVELT

President Roosevelt on Religious Freedom

SPEAKING of Puritanism and the condition of the religious world in medieval

times, Mr. Roosevelt, in his work "Oliver Cromwell, the Times and Man," page 48, says:—

"Each sect believed it was the special repository of the wisdom and virtue of the Most High; and the most zealous of its members believed it to be their duty to the Most High to make all other men worship him according to what they conceived to be his wishes. This was the medieval attitude, and represented the medieval side of Puritanism; a side which was particularly prominent at the time, and which, so far as it existed, marred the splendor of Puritan achievement.

"The nobleness of the effort, to bring about the reign of God on earth, the inspiration that such an effort was to those

engaged in it, must be acknowledged by all; but in practise we must remember that, as religious obligation was then commonly construed, it inevitably led to the Inquisition in Spain; to the sack of Drogheda in Ireland; to the merciless persecution of heretics by each sect, according to its power, and the effort to stifle freedom of thought and stamp out freedom of action.

"It is right and greatly to be desired, that men should come together to search after truth; to try to find out the true will of God; but in Cromwell's time they were only beginning to see that each body of seekers must be left to work out its own beliefs without molestation, so long as it does not strive to interfere with the beliefs of others."

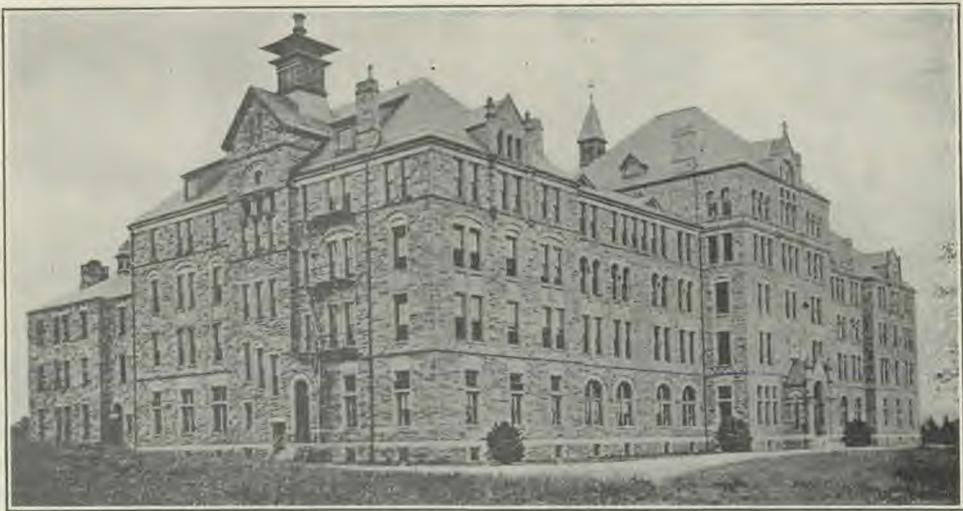
Catholic Headquarters at Washington

W. A. COLCORD

FOR years the papacy has had its eye on Washington, and has been quietly establishing itself at the heart of this nation, as

was laying before the pope his difficulties incident to the operations of the recent French laws. The great distributing house of the Dominicans has been located at Paris since 1300. Their great plant was wrecked, and the general thought of bringing what could be saved to Rome. Pope Leo astonished the Dominican by suggesting that he transfer his partizan establishment bodily to Washington, and stated emphatically that the United States was the one government in the world which offered the church free and untrammelled opportunities to carry forward its work. The Dominicans are now engaged in erecting a gigantic building near the Catholic University at Washington at a cost of three hundred thousand dollars, whence its army of missionaries will be sent throughout the world.

"It was also by Pope Leo's advice that the order of the Franciscans transferred their commissariat to a location near the Catholic University. Acting upon similar suggestions, other orders and congregations are considering plans to make their working headquarters at Washington. All this



CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY, WASHINGTON, D. C.

the following, published about the time of the death of Leo XIII, shows:—

"At no time have so many plans of far-reaching importance been in process of maturity between the American church and the holy see. As an instance of the pope's estimation and love for the United States, the following authentic incident may be related: The general of the Dominicans

has been so quietly accomplished during the last half dozen years that little attention has been attracted, even in Roman Catholic circles."—*St. Joseph (Mo.) News*, July 20, 1903.

At a "smoker" given to visiting Knights in Washington, April 16, 1904, Daniel Colwell, national secretary of the Knights of Columbus, predicted that the time would

come when there would be a Catholic majority in Congress. He said:—

"We have just cause for congratulation in the fact that we have so large a representation of our order in the halls of Congress, and I predict and pray that the time will come when the orders of the Catholic Church can muster a quorum in the House of Representatives."—*Boston Herald, April 17, 1904.*

The desires and aims of the papacy in this respect were quite clearly told some years ago by the Rome correspondent to the *New York Sun*, of July 11, 1892, in the following words:—

"The church has always been the able collaborator of all people in the work of national unity. It was she that constituted, through the efforts of popes and bishops, the great political bodies and the great national organizations. . . . America feels the urgent need of this work of internal fusion. Formed of a mosaic of races and nationalities, she wants to be a nation, a collective being, one strong and united. What the Church has done in the past for others, she will do for the United States."

This last statement is significant. To learn what the papacy has done for other nations, we need but to look at Spain, Mexico, and the republics of South America, and contrast them with Germany, England, and the United States, where papal influences have not been dominant.

Macaulay on the Puritan Parliament

WHEN a government, not content with requiring decency, requires sanctity, it oversteps the bounds which mark its proper functions. And it may be laid down as a universal rule that a government which attempts more than it ought will perform less. . . . And so a government which, not content with repressing scandalous excesses, demands from its subjects fervent and austere piety, will soon discover that, while attempting to render an impossible service to the cause of virtue, it has in truth only promoted vice.

A public functionary who is told that he will be promoted if he is a devout Catholic, and turned out of his place if he is not, will probably go to mass every morning, exclude meat from his table on Fridays,

shrive himself regularly, and perhaps let his superiors know that he wears a hair shirt next his skin. Under a Puritan government, a person who is apprised that piety is essential to thriving in the world will be strict in the observance of the Sunday, or, as he will call it, Sabbath.

Such a show of religion as this the hope of gain and the fear of loss will produce, at a week's notice, in any abundance which a government may require. But under this show, sensuality, ambition, avarice, and hatred retain unimpaired power, and the seeming convert has only added to the vices of a man of the world all the still darker vices which are engendered by the constant practise of dissimulation. The truth can not be long concealed. The public discovers that the grave persons who are proposed to it as patterns are more utterly destitute of moral principle and of moral sensibility than avowed libertines. It sees that these Pharisees are farther removed from real goodness than publicans and harlots. And, as usual, it rushes to the extreme opposite to that which it quits. It considers a high religious profession as a sure mark of meanness and depravity. On the very first day on which the restraint of fear is taken away, and on which men can venture to say what they think, a frightful peal of blasphemy and ribaldry proclaims that the short-sighted policy which aimed at making a nation of saints has made a nation of scoffers.

We are by no means unmindful of the great debt which mankind owes to the Puritans of that time, the deliverers of England, the founders of the American Commonwealths. But in the day of their power, those men committed one great fault, which left deep and lasting traces in the national character and manners. They mistook the end and overrated the force of government. They determined, not merely to protect religion and public morals from insult, an object for which the civil sword, in discreet hands, may be beneficially employed, but to make the people committed to their rule truly devout. Yet, if they had only reflected on events which they had themselves witnessed and in which they had themselves borne a great part, they would have seen what was likely to be the result of their enterprise. They had lived under a good government which, during a long course of years, did all that could be done,

by lavish bounty and by rigorous punishment, to enforce conformity to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England. No person suspected of hostility to that church had the smallest chance of obtaining favor at the court of Charles. Avowed dissent was punished by imprisonment, by ignominious exposure, by cruel mutilations, and by ruinous fines. And the event had been that the church had fallen, and had, in its fall, dragged down with it a monarchy which had stood six hundred years. The Puritan might have learned, if from nothing else, yet from his own recent victory that governments which attempt things beyond their reach are likely not merely to fail, but to produce an effect directly the opposite of that which they contemplate as desirable.

All this was overlooked. The saints were to inherit the earth. The theaters were closed. The fine arts were placed under absurd restraints. Vices which had never before been even misdemeanors, were made capital felonies. It was solemnly resolved by Parliament "that no person shall be employed but such as the House shall be satisfied of his real godliness." The pious assembly had a Bible lying on the table for reference. If they had consulted it they might have learned that the wheat and the tares grow together inseparably, and must either be spared together or rooted up together. To know whether a man was really godly was impossible. But it was easy to know whether he had a plain dress, lank hair, no starch in his linen, no gay furniture in his house; whether he talked through his nose, and showed the whites of his eyes; whether he named his children Assurance, Tribulation, and Maher-shalhash-baz; whether he avoided Spring Garden when in town, and abstained from hunting and hawking when in the country; whether he expounded hard scriptures to his troops of dragoons, and talked in a committee of ways and means about seeking the Lord. These were tests which could easily be applied. The misfortune was that they were tests which proved nothing. Such as they were, they were employed by the dominant party. And the consequence was that a crowd of imposters, in every walk of life, began to mimic and to caricature what were then regarded as the outward signs of sanctity.—*Essay on Leigh Hunt*.

Emerson on Persecution

CURSES always recoil on the head of him who imprecates them. If you put a chain around the neck of a slave, the other end fastens itself around your own. Every opinion reacts on him who utters it. You can not do wrong without suffering wrong. The exclusionist in religion does not see that he shuts the door of heaven on himself in striving to shut out others.

The history of persecution is a history of endeavors to cheat nature, to make water run up-hill, to twist a rope of sand. It makes no difference whether the actors be many or one, a tyrant or a mob. A mob is a society of bodies voluntarily bereaving themselves of reason, and traversing their work. The mob is a man voluntarily descending to the nature of a beast. Its fit hour of work is night. Its actions are insane, like its whole constitution. It persecutes a principle; it would whip a right, it would tar and feather justice by inflicting fire and outrage upon the houses and persons of those who have these.

The martyr can not be dishonored. Every lash inflicted is a tongue of flame, every prison a more illustrious abode; every burned book or house enlightens the world; every suppressed or expunged word reverberates through the earth from side to side. Hours of sanity and consideration are always arriving to communities, as to individuals, when the truth is seen, and the martyrs are justified.—*Essay on Compensation*.

A Humane Attorney

W. A. COLCORD

THE following notice was posted by a district attorney in a store door in Wallowa, Ore., a short time ago:—

"Shell & Co.,
Wallowa, Ore.

"GENTLEMEN: I have been credibly informed that you with the other merchants of your town have been violating Section 1968 of Bellinger and Cotton's Code of Oregon, by keeping your place of business open on Sunday, and take this means of advising you that if the matter is again reported to me, it will be my official duty to see that this law is strictly observed. I do not wish to be oppressive, but am obliged to perform my duty, no matter how unpleasant.

"Hoping it will not be necessary for me to proceed further in this matter, I beg to remain, as always —

—
"District Attorney."

Several things are apparent from this notice: (1) That some one had reported the Sunday opening of these merchants to the District Attorney; (2) that the attorney was reluctant to enforce the State Sunday law, that he did not intend to do so unless complaint was again made to him against these men, and that then he would do so only as a matter of duty, and would consider it an "unpleasant" one to perform; (3) that the attorney recognized Sunday laws and their enforcement as a possible means of oppression. He did not proceed at once against these men, although well assured that they had violated the law, because he did not wish to be "oppressive." So far as the law and his official rights were concerned, he could have proceeded against them at once; but his humane instincts, and his unwillingness to become an oppressor, got the better of both the law and the opportunity to enforce it.

In this simple notice is revealed the real nature and character of all Sunday laws, and how out of place they are upon the statute-books of civil government. Think of a district attorney's treating any real crime in this way. Think of his posting up notices to thieves, robbers, and murderers, notifying them that he did not wish to be oppressive, but that if complaints were made again of their robbing or murdering men, he would feel it his official, but unpleasant duty to proceed against them according to the laws of the State against theft and murder!

Sunday laws are a relic of the days of religious tyranny and oppression, and every one of them should be repealed the wide world over. They are evidences of neither civilization nor salvation.

— John Stuart Mill on Liberty

THE great writers to whom the world owes what religious liberty it possesses, have mostly asserted freedom of conscience as an indefeasible right, and denied absolutely that a human being is accountable to others for his religious belief.

The only freedom which deserves the name, is that of pursuing our own good in

our own way, so long as we do not attempt to deprive others of theirs, or impede their efforts to obtain it.

If all mankind minus one, were of one opinion, and only one person were of the contrary opinion, mankind would be no more justified in silencing that one person, than he, if he had the power, would be justified in silencing mankind.

The opinion of an overruling majority, imposed as a law on the minority, on questions of self-regarding conduct, is quite as likely to be wrong as right; for in these cases public opinion means, at the best, some people's opinion of what is good or bad for other people, while very often it does not even mean that, the public, with the most perfect indifference, passing over the pleasure or convenience of those whose conduct they censure, and considering only their own preference. There are many who consider as an injury to themselves any conduct which they have a distaste for, and resent it as an outrage to their feelings, as a religious bigot, when charged with disregarding the religious feelings of others, has been known to retort that they disregarded his feelings, by persisting in their abominable worship or creed.

Unless we are willing to adopt the logic of persecutors, and to say that we may persecute others because we are right, and that they must not persecute us because they are wrong, we must beware of admitting a principle the application of which to ourselves we should resent as a gross injustice.

The only ground, therefore, on which restrictions of Sunday amusements can be defended, must be that they are religiously wrong,—a motive of legislation which never can be too earnestly protested against.

The notion that it is one man's duty that another should be religious, was the foundation of all the religious persecutions ever perpetrated, and if admitted, would fully justify them. Though the feelings which break out in the repeated attempts to stop railway traveling on Sunday, in the resistance to the opening of museums, and the like, has not the cruelty of the old persecutors, the state of mind indicated by it is fundamentally the same. It is a determination not to tolerate others in doing what is permitted by their religion, because it is not permitted by the persecutor's religion.—
Essay on Liberty.

The Early Christians and the Civil Power

THE practise of the Christians for the first three centuries of our era was in conformity with the principles laid down by Christ and expanded by Paul. They obeyed all laws relating to civic matters, paid their taxes, performed all services required by the state, and were good citizens, kind neighbors, and exemplary husbands and fathers; but they disobeyed all laws passed in constraint of conscience. The apostle Paul set them the example of obeying all laws which the state had a right to enact; and at the same time of suffering stripes, imprisonment, and death in maintenance of the rights of conscience. In these centuries, the Christians, it is believed, did not once invoke the aid of the civil power to enforce their opinions or protect their religious rights.

By this course they gained a moral influence and power which made them the admiration of the world, and made it expedient for the emperor to avail himself of their aid to govern the empire. He appealed to the worldly ambition of the clergy. The union of church and state under Constantine, about A. D. 313, was the signal for the rapid development of the elements of religious decay, and for the worldly aggrandizement of the church dignitaries.—*Gen. Birney, in "Functions of the Church and State Distinguished."*

Alexander Campbell on Sunday Legislation

THERE is not a precept in the New Testament to compel by civil law any man who is not a Christian, to pay any regard to the Lord's day, any more than to any other day.

Therefore to compel a man who is not a Christian to pay any regard to the Lord's day, more than to any other day, is without the authority of the Christian religion.

The gospel commands no duty which can be performed without faith in God. "Whosoever is not of faith is sin."

But to compel men destitute of faith, to observe any Christian institution, such as the Lord's day, is commanding a duty to be performed without faith in God.

Therefore to command unbelievers, or natural men, to observe in any sense the Lord's day is anti-evangelical, or contrary to the gospel.—*"Memoirs," Vol. I, p. 528.*

Christian Temperance

What is wine?

"Wine is a mocker, strong drink is raging: and whosoever is deceived thereby is not wise." Prov. 20:1.

For what should men eat and drink?

"Blessed art thou, O land, when thy king is the son of nobles, and thy princes eat in due season, for strength, and not for drunkenness." Eccl. 10:17.

What is one of the evil results of drunkenness and overeating?

"Be not among wine bibbers; among riotous eaters of flesh: for the drunkard and the glutton shall come to poverty." Prov. 23:20, 21.

What effect does licentiousness and wine have upon the morals?

"Whoredom and wine and new wine take away the heart." Hosea 4:11.

What are common accompaniments of intemperance?

"Who hath woe? who hath sorrow? who hath contentions? who hath babbling? who hath wounds without cause? who hath redness of eyes? They that tarry long at the wine; they that go to seek mixed wine." Prov. 23:29.

How do intoxicants serve one in the end?

"Look not thou upon the wine when it is red, when it giveth its color in the cup, when it moveth itself aright. At the last it biteth like a serpent, and stingeth like an adder." Prov. 23:31, 32.

What will drunkards with other workers of iniquity never inherit?

"Neither fornicators, nor idolaters, . . . nor thieves, nor covetous, nor drunkards, . . . shall inherit the kingdom of God." 1 Cor. 6:9, 10.

What does God say of those who are instrumental in making men drunk?

"Woe unto him that giveth his neighbor drink, that putteth the bottle to him, and maketh him drunken." Hab. 2:15.

What example on temperance did Daniel give the world?

"Daniel purposed in his heart that he would not defile himself with the portion of the king's meat, nor with the wine which he drank." Dan. 1:8.

For what food and drink did he ask?

"Let them give us pulse to eat, and water to drink." Dan. 1:12.

Concerning what did Paul reason before Felix?

"He reasoned of righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come." Acts 24:25.

What admonition did Christ give which is especially applicable to our time?

"And take heed to yourselves, lest at any time your hearts be overcharged with surfeiting and drunkenness, and cares of this life, and so that day come upon you unawares." Luke 21:34.

How did Christ say matters would be just before his second coming?

"As the days of Noah were, so shall also the coming of the Son of man be. . . . They were eating and drinking, marrying and giving in marriage."

From all this it is but reasonable to expect that there would be a crying need in the closing days of this world's history for Christians and every lover of the race to put forth the most earnest efforts to stay the terrible tide of intemperance. Intemperance means bondage and lack of self-control. LIBERTY stands for freedom and good government in the individual, the State, and the nation.

Which Day Is the True Sabbath?

I. H. EVANS

THE full import of the question, "Which day is the true Sabbath?" can hardly be appreciated without careful thought and study. It is no new query, nor is it a question to be ignored. Its importance can be better appreciated when it is understood that it is a question no longer discussed alone by the pulpit and the religious press, but that the various nations of earth are discussing the question of Sabbath legislation, while not a few either already have laws or are considering the advisability of enacting laws concerning the better observance of Sunday for the Sabbath.

We speak within the realm of facts when we say that during the last decade nearly every legislature or State assembly within the United States that has not already a stringent Sunday law, has entertained bills looking to the better observance of Sunday as the Christian sabbath, while the Congress of the United States at nearly every session is besieged with petitions for a law recognizing the first day of the week as the Sabbath, and making its observance compulsory by law. With such activity in favor of securing the recognition of Sun-

day as the Christian sabbath by the civil governments of earth, is it not highly proper that we pause a moment to determine which day is the true Sabbath?

The voluntary observance of a Sabbath day is a religious act. It involves neither duty nor service to man, but is an act of devotion to God. It is a recognition of God's supremacy and ownership. Sabbath observance is strictly a religious ceremony. Divested of its religious nature, there can be no real Sabbath-keeping. There may be holidays galore. There may be compulsory civil rest days, but without religious thought and service, there can be no true Sabbath-keeping.

The maker of the Sabbath is God. Its origin was in Eden at the end of the creative week. Reading from Gen. 2:1-3, we find these words: "Thus the heavens and the earth were finished, and all the host of them. And on the seventh day God ended his work which he had made; and he rested on the seventh day from all his work which he had made. And God blessed the seventh day, and sanctified it: because that in it he had rested from all his work which God created and made."

Here we find a record of the origin of the Sabbath. It was made in the beginning, before sin entered the world. It was made by God himself out of the first seventh day of time. This day the Lord blessed and sanctified, and as far as God has ever revealed his will to man through his Word, and by the example of Jesus Christ, it is the only day God has ever recognized as the Sabbath.

Twenty-five hundred years after the making of the Sabbath day at the close of creation's week, the Lord came down upon Mount Sinai and gave his people a law of commandments. This law is known as "the ten commandments," "the moral law," etc., in distinction from the numerous other laws which God gave to Moses at this time. The fourth of these commandments reads as follows:—

"Remember the Sabbath day, to keep it holy. Six days shalt thou labor, and do all thy work; but the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God: in it thou shalt not do any work, thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, thy man servant, nor thy maid servant, nor thy cattle, nor thy stranger that is within thy gates: for in six

days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is, and rested the seventh day: wherefore the Lord blessed the Sabbath day, and hallowed it."

Here again we find the Sabbath day definitely declared to be "the seventh day." There is no mention of the first day of the week. Upon it no blessing from God is given. It is not set apart for holy use by sanctification. In fact, what is known as Sunday, or the first day of the week, is not even mentioned. But the seventh day is declared to be the rest day of Jehovah.

When Christ came into the world, he came to do the will of God. There was one object before him all through his earthly life—to render perfect obedience to God's law. In one of his sermons before a great multitude the Saviour said, "Think not that I am come to destroy the law, or the prophets; I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil. For verily I say unto you, Till heaven and earth pass, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law, till all be fulfilled."

Throughout his earthly ministry Christ kept the seventh day as the Sabbath. It would have been impossible for him to have worked out man's salvation other than by keeping the law of his Father.

The breaking of this law is that which brought sin and death into the world. It is by keeping that law and giving his life for the sinner that Christ redeems the sinner and makes it possible for him to be saved.

Nor have we any record that God or Christ ever commissioned any of the apostles or elders to inaugurate a change of the Sabbath day. In fact, all the early churches kept the true Sabbath day. In those days none believed in keeping any other day as the Sabbath, for there is not one word nor hint in all the Bible that any other day of the week than the seventh is to be observed as the Sabbath.

The truth is, we have to come down into the second and third centuries after Christ, before we have any authentic record of the church's observing in any manner the first day of the week.

The "sacredness of Sunday" is not traceable to Christ, nor the apostles, nor to the early church. The Puritans are the people who clothed Sunday with the title Sabbath, and threw about it a sanctity belonging to the seventh day of the week.

Now, as God made the Sabbath day, and plainly declares, "The seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God," has man or the church or the state the right to change that day?—Surely not.

If God requires man to observe the seventh day as the Sabbath, have earthly governments the right to compel men to observe for the Sabbath some other day?

Sabbath-keeping is purely a matter of conscience. It is a religious duty. Has Congress the right to make citizens observe a religious ordinance? When man observes a religious ceremony because he is compelled to by law, is he any more a Christian than if he had not observed that rite? If the government compels its citizens to receive sprinkling for immersion, and one third of them believe that immersion is the only true baptism, has compulsory sprinkling made them better or more religious? If another portion do not believe in Christianity at all, will sprinkling by law assure them salvation?

Compulsion in religious duties can only make men worse, not better. It tends to make honest men hypocrites, and encourages the hypocrite in his hypocrisy.

The clamor for more stringent Sunday laws is only a repetition of the experiences through which the church passed in the days of papal supremacy. Should every State in the Union and the Congress of the United States enact stringent Sunday laws, binding the consciences of men and hedging in their liberties, it would not make men better, nor the people more religious.

Religion is heart work. All it does must be done in faith to God in obedience to his Word. Now when a government compels a man to do what the man knows is contrary to God's Word, it certainly compels the man to make a pretense in his obedience. The man's act, divested of faith, is stripped of all virtue or merit, and either the individual must hate himself for his duplicity, or pity the government that would make him do that which he knows is contrary to the Word of God.

The seventh day is the Sabbath of Jehovah. It will forever remain God's Sabbath. No substitute can take its place, and no church nor government has the right to ask any man to violate his conscience in keeping for a sabbath, a day which he knows is contrary to the Word of God.

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post-office at Washington, D. C., under the act of
Congress of March 3, 1879.

A HUMAN prop to a divine institution is
more of a hindrance than a help.

A FREE church in a free state is the only
possible foundation of true freedom.

To enact religion into law makes religion
a machine, and worship in obedience thereto
a mockery.

GOD does not delegate to mortals the
power to visit vengeance upon other mortals
for refusing salvation.

JUVENAL says, "No man ever arrived
suddenly at the summit of vice." So like-
wise no nation departs from the right and
becomes a persecutor in a day. The process
of apostasy from right principles is a gra-
dual one, and at first sometimes almost im-
perceptible.

IN an article in the *North American Re-
view*, of April 5, 1907, Archbishop Ireland
says: "The pope is the head of the church:
they who are separated from the pope are
separated from the church." The New
Testament plainly teaches that Christ is
the head of the church, and that the head
of every man is Christ. Eph. 1:22, 23;
Col. 1:18; 1 Cor. 11:3. The papacy puts
a man in the place of Christ, and seeks to
bind every one and everything to this man.
But man worship is bondage. The apostle
Paul writes: "Ye are bought with a price;
be not ye the servants of men." 1 Cor.
7:23.

LORD MACAULAY, one of England's great-
est statesmen, essayists, and historians, was
ever a friend of liberty. On retiring from
political life ten years before his death, in
a speech, he said: "I can not accuse myself
of having ever been untrue, either to the
cause of civil or religious liberty."

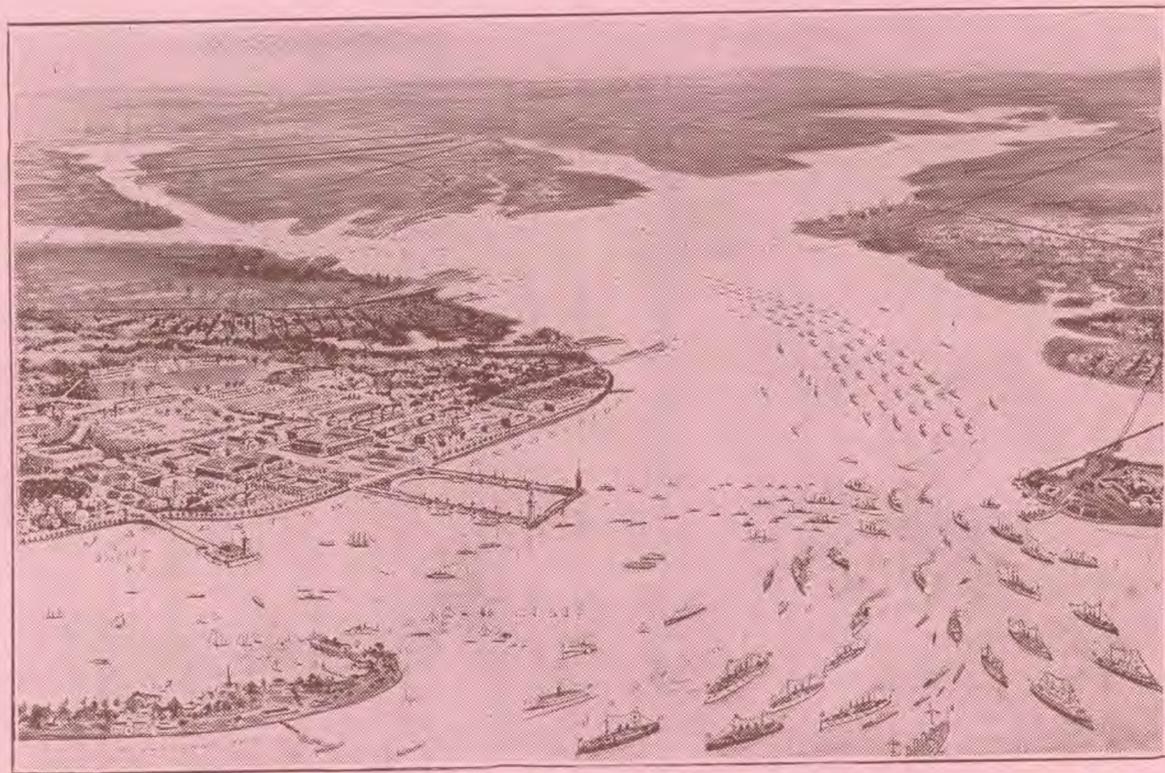
THE United States government, the States
of California and Idaho, and the Territory
of Arizona are the only governments within
the jurisdiction of the United States which
still have no Sunday laws. But the advo-
cates of religious legislation have made
strong efforts in each, the past winter, to
have Sunday laws enacted. In each case
thus far, we are glad to say, the effort has
failed.

At a meeting of the Knights of Colum-
bus, a lay militant organization of the Cath-
olic Church, held in Washington, D. C.,
recently, Mr. John G. Euring said: "We
must fight and contend to spread the knowl-
edge of the church." This is a mistaken
idea. The knowledge that needs to be
spread is the knowledge of Christ and his
gospel. Preaching a church is proselytism;
preaching Christ is evangelization.

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