

President Roosevelt's Letter on Religious Liberty

LIBERTY

A MAGAZINE OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

DEVOTED TO THE AMERICAN
EXEMPLIFIED IN THE
* * * OF CHURCH

IDEA OF RELIGIOUS LIBERTY
COMPLETE SEPARATION
AND STATE * * *



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DARK AGES OF RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION

MODERN
ENLIGHTENMENT



LOOKING BACKWARD
Will She Retrace Her Steps?

MAYBELL

LIBERTY

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

VOL. III

FOURTH QUARTER, 1908

No. 4

Editorial

GOD requires of every man obedience and worship. Each must obey for himself; each must worship for himself. No man has authority from God to delegate those duties to another. Neither has any man authority from God to require another to obey God in the manner he thinks that other ought to obey, or to worship God in the manner he believes that other ought to worship. Liberty in these matters is the foundation of all liberty.

Our Position

WE believe in government as an institution divinely ordained for the good of man. We believe that civil government was ordained to regulate the affairs of men only as between man and man, and not in any case as between man and God. There is a government specifically ordained to govern in the spiritual realm, and that is the government of God. The two realms—the civil and the spiritual—are as separate in legitimate administration as they are distinct in nature. When the civil ruler obtrudes himself into the realm of the spiritual, and assumes to dictate the religious faith and practise of men, he has usurped the prerogatives of divinity, and taken over a portion of the divine government. In

taking such a course, civil government has set itself against God and trampled upon his rights. In ancient Israel the mingling of the sacred and the profane was punished with a severity that should indicate to all men how the God of Israel regards such conduct. See Lev. 10:1-11; Ex. 30:9.

Not only has civil government no authority to dictate the religious conduct of men, but it has no authority to decide religious controversies, and dictate the faith of the people. The Word of God, to the Christian, must be the rule in matters of faith, and religious controversies not settled therein can not be settled by other means. For civil government to attempt to settle a religious controversy is as unreasonable as for a society of mathematicians to attempt to prepare a grammar of the language spoken on Mars. The Word of God being man's only true rule of faith and practise, there is no other basis for the settlement of religious questions. For civil government or any other institution to attempt to settle a religious controversy by civil enactment, is to declare the Bible an insufficient guide in such things, thus casting discredit upon its Author. Civil government has, therefore, no dominion in such matters.

We believe in the primacy of conscience in matters religious; that is, in the supremacy of each man's conscience over his own religious conduct. When one man allows his conscience to be dominated by another, he loses his spiritual identity. There are then no longer two consciences for the two men, but one only — one man acting for two, and responsible for the course of two. When one man has thus subjugated another, he has robbed God of his glory, and robbed his brother of his eternal birth-right. God designed that each man should stand for himself. We can not give up the primacy of our own conscience over our own religious faith and practise without sin.

We believe in the right of every man to believe what to him seems believable and right, to worship God according to the dictates of conscience without the interference of any power from without. We believe this because the operation of the opposite principle has made hypocrites of millions, and martyrs of other millions. The right to act in harmony with the dictates of conscience is the dearest right vouchsafed to man. The man who gives up that right has permitted himself to be robbed of his manhood. Nor does the robbery cease there. He who worships God under the direction of another's conscience does not worship him at all. Neither can he expect the reward of the faithful child of God. In surrendering his conscience, he surrendered his right to the eternal inheritance.

We believe it to be unchristian to ask that the creed of any religion, or any portion of any religion, be codified and forced upon the people as their rule of faith and practise. Paul asks, "Who art thou that judgest the servant of another? to his own lord he standeth or falleth." He who attempts to dominate the conscience of another, attempts to put him-

self in the place of lord to that other. He who would codify and enforce his creed upon men, attempts to assume the position of lordship over men purchased by the blood of Christ, thus robbing Christ of his dearly purchased possession.

Therefore we say with U. S. Grant, "Keep the church and state forever separate." A union of the two is out of harmony with the purpose of Jesus Christ, and is destructive of the best interests of both institutions.

Religion and Government

ONE of the suggestive incidents of the recent presidential campaign has been the issue raised concerning Mr. Taft's religious views. It is, of course, well known that Mr. Taft is a Unitarian, and consequently, like every other orthodox Unitarian, denies the divinity of Christ. On the other hand, Mr. Bryan is a Presbyterian, and in many parts of the world he has delivered his famous lecture, "The Prince of Peace." These facts were made the basis by some for opposition to Mr. Taft's election, and for the advocacy of Mr. Bryan's.

Considerable interest has been awakened in the religious world over this issue, as shown by a series of letters from ministers and others, which appeared in several issues of the *Homiletic Review*, the ministers' monthly. In the August number of this magazine, a correspondent laid down what he regarded as certain basic principles which ought to govern Christian conduct, and then made this inquiry:—

Under these conditions, how can a follower of Jesus Christ take sides with those who deny him? How can they vote for William H. Taft (a Unitarian) for president of our country and be true to their profession?

The editors of the *Review* invited comment on this letter, and in response to this invitation a large number of com-

munications were received and printed in the September, October, and November issues of this publication. The comments were varied, suggestive, and instructive, especially to those who are seeking to interpret the trend of public opinion upon the important question of the right relation between the church and the state.

About half the writers opposed the position taken by the correspondent, and the others favored it. The following brief quotations express some of the sentiments of the former class:—

One writer regarded the expressions of the original correspondent as "strange and wild." Another thought his offense in charging the candidate for the presidency with being "against our Lord," "much more objectionable than Mr. Taft's." Other quotations run thus:—

It would be incredible to most men that such a mind as that of your correspondent could have survived into the twentieth century—if we had not all come upon that sort of a belated curiosity.

I regard the article as the product of a mind tainted with fanaticism. . . . This government is not spiritual, and to try to inject religious creeds into it is to court war most bitter and cruel.

I raise my protest against such voices from the Dark Ages as are now under review.

The letter in spirit and purpose is unfair, un-American, unpatriotic, and unchristian.

Does your correspondent who objects to Mr. Taft realize that religious tests are forbidden by the Constitution?

It seems to me that he overlooks a very important element in governmental affairs, viz., the absolute separation of church and state.

We have no place in the American republic for this bigotry.

It is the expression of a narrow mind that theologically is living in the sixteenth century, and not in the twentieth.

I find no word which can possibly be so construed as to give us Scripture au-

thority for opposing the election of a man as president of the United States, simply because he does not believe in the deity of Christ, and fails to accept the literal truth of a portion of the Scriptures.

This is a late day for the injection of a doctrinal discussion in a presidential campaign in the United States, . . . the land of moral liberty, ecclesiastical independence, creedal tolerance, mental reciprocity, and brotherly love.

On the other hand, the expressions of agreement with the opposition to Mr. Taft on religious grounds were earnest and strong. To this the following extracts will testify:—

This great nation is, after all the criticisms have been spent, a Christian nation. . . . Would it not be a sad comment on this Christian nation to have as her chief executive a man who does not believe in her Christ? The Roman Catholic Church might as well raise to the papacy a man who did not believe in St. Peter. . . . Never has this country been given such a choice as she will have presented to her at the coming election. . . . It will be a choice between a man dedicated not only to his country, but to God and his Christ, on the one hand, and a man who is dedicated to nothing; for a man who does not accept Christ as a revelation of God disputes that revelation, and a man who disputes that can not be said to be dedicated to anything except the powers of darkness.

This is a Protestant Christian country, and by an unwritten law no man is to be permitted to become its chief magistrate who denies this glorious truth [the divinity of Christ] that lies at the base of all true greatness in a nation.

The Supreme Court of the United States, every judge in his place on the bench, has rendered a unanimous decision respecting this matter, and that decision reads, "This is a Christian nation." The distinctively Christian sabbath is upheld by our laws; how, then, can the members of the church of Christ in our land consistently and conscientiously place at the helm of state one who professedly, as a Unitarian, rejects the divinity of our Lord, as does William H. Taft?

I believe his [Mr. Taft's] election to

the presidency in this day of world-wide missions would be a terrific blow to Christianity. It would be saying to the world at large, We do not believe in the divinity of Christ. . . . If Mr. Taft wants to be the head of a Christian nation, he ought to believe in Christ, otherwise he ought to exercise his right of private belief in the private ranks.

Would Jesus, were he in our place, vote for him [Mr. Taft]? Would he vote for a man who denies his divinity, and virtually accuses him of falsehood when he asserts his own equality with the Father? . . . Which think you Jesus would select to be the leading citizen in this Christian land?

There is a line between church and state — good! But no man can exclude Christ from his politics or his business and be a Christian. . . . We think we should not have crucified the Son of God. But will we crucify him afresh and put him to open shame by offering him the insult of putting at the head of a nation, that his sufferings made possible, a man that denies him?

It is a question at this particular stage of our country's history, whether a man should be a representative of this great Christian nation who does not believe in the claims of Jesus Christ, but who thinks of him as a mere man.

We examine with microscopic scrutiny the attitude of a candidate regarding tariff, labor, corporations, etc., etc. Does a *Christian* voter say by his indifference that it does not matter what a candidate thinks about Christ? Is it safe to "count out" Christ as a factor in the affairs of a so-called Christian nation? Are national policies and essential Christian principles to be divorced? Can a Christian member of the church of Christ aid in placing at the head of the nation a man who denies Christ as head of the church? If he can, then his Christian citizenship becomes a counterfeit and a sham. The attitude of a presidential candidate toward Christ ought to be of great consequence to a conscientious Christian voter.

How can any man who loves Christ, who realizes that Christ died for him on the cross, go to the polls on election day, and deliberately, yes, determinately, cast

his ballot for a man who denies his Christ? . . . What must a man be, to what depths must he have fallen, what heights must he have missed, if he could betray his Lord and Master at the polls?

The argument against Mr. Taft may be summarized thus: This is a Christian nation; this is a Protestant Christian nation; this is an orthodox Protestant Christian nation. The chief executive of an orthodox Protestant Christian nation should himself be an orthodox Protestant Christian. Mr. Taft is a Unitarian, and a Unitarian is not an orthodox Protestant Christian. It would therefore be a manifest inconsistency for an orthodox Protestant Christian to vote for Mr. Taft.

It may be pertinent to inquire whether questions of this character are to be decided offhand by a certain class of religionists, or whether there is a more stable basis upon which this republican government rests. It has been popularly supposed that the Constitution of the United States is the authoritative guide in political affairs; but we do not find in that instrument any requirement that the president of this republic must be an orthodox Protestant Christian. On the contrary, we do find this clear declaration: "No religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States."

The issue made against Mr. Taft is in glaring violation of both the letter and the spirit of this provision of the Constitution. It is a repudiation of one of the fundamental principles laid down by the founders of the republic. It is a barefaced union of church and state.

This mixture of the spiritual and the political is the result of a wrong interpretation of the Christian nation idea, and of some false reasoning based thereon. This is a Christian nation only so far as its citizens are Christians; and if the citizens are Christians, and follow the

Christian principle of civil government, they will insist upon the complete separation of church and state. To declare that this is a Christian nation, and then to insist that for this reason the chief executive must be an orthodox Christian, is to pervert the Christian idea of civil government.

It ought to be clear that the same course of reasoning which requires the president to be an orthodox Christian would demand the application of the same test to every candidate for office, and this would be the theocratic principle of government fully developed. Then instead of "government of the people, by the people, and for the people," there would be government of Christians, by Christians, and for Christians—orthodox Christians. History has shown that such a government may be most intolerant and most cruel. It is the attempt of man to administer the government of God.

The Taft incident is significant as indicating a growing sentiment in this country in favor of a union between religion and government, even on the part of those who profess to believe in the separation of church and state. If this sentiment becomes strong enough to be carried into effect, religious liberty will thereafter be the liberty to profess and to practise the religion of the majority, and America will cease to be the land of the free.

Limping Logic

IN a recent sermon on the observance of the Sabbath, Dr. A. C. Dixon declared that "the Sabbath existed before the law was given to Moses on Sinai," and urged that the Sabbath is a physical necessity, a mental necessity, a moral necessity, and a spiritual necessity. He then drew his conclusion:—

It follows, therefore, that the Sabbath

is a national necessity. Whatever is for the physical, mental, moral, and spiritual good of the people is for the good of the nation. "Righteousness exalteth a nation," and without obedience to the laws of our nature, which are the laws of God, there can be no national righteousness. Laws for the protection of the Sabbath are, therefore, for the protection of the nation.

This argument put in the form of a syllogism, would run thus: Whatever is necessary to the welfare of the people is a proper subject for legislation; the Sabbath is necessary to the welfare of the people; therefore the Sabbath is a proper subject for legislation. But the major premise, which is taken for granted in Dr. Dixon's argument, is not true. A certain amount of food and sleep are necessary to the welfare of the people, but we do not concede the right of the legislature to prescribe the time for taking these necessities of life, or the amount required. There are some good things entirely beyond the control of the state, and one of those is Sabbath-keeping. We believe in keeping the Sabbath "according to the commandment," but the commandment of God, not of man.

Political Christianity

AN effort was made to secure the recognition of Jesus Christ as "our leader" at a State Prohibition convention recently held in Washington State. After creating considerable stir the proposition was voted down. In its comment on this incident the *Chicago Israelite* said:—

The ministers who opposed the insertion of the acceptance of Jesus Christ in the Prohibition platform of Seattle were right when they declared that it would arouse the hostility of the Jews, but not on the ground that they put it. Jews and all other good citizens of this country should oppose the recognition of any distinct religion in any platform.

It has no place there. The Jew objects to it not on the ground that he is a Jew, but on the ground that he is a citizen of this country, and it is one of the fundamental principles of this country that church and state should be kept separate. To drag the name of Jesus into a political platform is a reflection on Jesus as well as on the platform.

The misrepresentations of Christianity ought not to be charged up to the account of Christianity, although it is almost inevitable that it will be done. Any attempt to unite church and state is a repudiation of one of the fundamental principles of Christianity, and it is a pity that Jews should be compelled to maintain this principle against the aggressions of professed Christians.

"Have You Kept Sabbath?"

THE citizens of this country are now facing the probability of the establishment of an American type of the Inquisition. If Senate Bill No. 3940 passes the House at the next session of Congress, such an institution must follow. It will be noted by referring to the text of that bill found on pages 23-28 of this issue that there is an exception made in favor of a certain class. That class is exempted from the requirements of that law on certain conditions. Those conditions are that members of that class must be members of a religious society; that they observe another day of the week than Sunday; and that they keep it "as a sabbath." The judge, before releasing a person from the penalty of the law for "sabbath breaking," must ascertain whether he is a religious man, whether he belongs to a religious society that keeps another day of the week than Sunday, and whether he has kept that day "as a sabbath."

This is a long step backward into the night of religious tyranny. Of what possible concern can it be to the government

whether a man is religious or irreligious, or whether he belongs to a religious society or not. It is his right to be religious if he chooses, to belong to such a society if he chooses; but to no power on earth has been delegated the right to invade the citadel of the soul, and regulate the conduct of men according to their belief in religious matters. No longer can we claim for this country a separation of church and state if representatives of the state must ascertain a man's religious belief before they can determine his amenability to the law. Such an inquisition as the proposed law will necessitate, differs from the Inquisition of the Dark Ages in degree, but not in principle. Grant the right of rulers to inquire into men's faith and religious affiliations and make such faith and affiliations determining factors in their standing before the law, and man's entire birthright of religious liberty is thrown away.

There is a realm which government can enter only as an invader, and that is the realm of belief, of faith, of conscience. If that citadel can not be kept sacred and protected from outside interference—even from questioning—we are not free, and our boasted liberty is but empty air.

"Have you kept another day than Sunday as a sabbath?" asks the judge of the farmer, the painter, the merchant arrested for Sunday labor.

"I have, your honor."

"On what day did you refrain from work?"

"In the seventh day of the week."

"Did you refrain from work on that day because of your religious belief?"

"I did."

"Are you a member of a religious society?"

"I am."

"Of what religious society are you a member?"

"Of the Seventh-day Baptist (or Seventh-day Adventist) church of —."

"Does membership in that society necessitate the keeping of the said seventh day of the week as a sabbath?"

"It does."

"What does the keeping of that day as a sabbath include?"

"It includes rest from the regular occupation of the week and such religious exercises as prayer and attendance upon divine worship."

"You claim to have refrained from labor upon the seventh day of the week; now did you or did you not perform such religious duties as offering prayer and attending divine worship upon that day?"

"I did, your honor."

"Case dismissed. What is the next case on the docket?"

The next case proves to be the case of John Jones, who also has been arrested for Sunday labor. All his answers to the judicial inquisition are satisfactory save his answer to the question as to whether he had kept the day as a sabbath. It was found that he had gone with his horse and carriage for a short drive in the country, though he had transacted no business upon that day. The judge rules that this is out of harmony with the customary manner of observance of the day by the members of the society to which he belongs, and he is judged guilty of sabbath desecration, and punished accordingly.

The next case is that of a farmer who keeps the seventh day, is a religious man, but his name is found on no church-book, as he is the only keeper of the seventh day living in his community. He is promptly judged guilty of breaking the law, as the law specifies that he must be a member of a society which observes another day than Sunday, if he is to escape the penalty inflicted upon those who labor upon that day.

This is no overdrawn statement of the case, as the judge has it in his power to make just such rulings, if the Johnston bill for the better observance of Sunday becomes a law. More than that, he will be required to ask just such or similar questions in order to determine whether a man arrested for Sunday labor is entitled to the exemption provided in the proposed law. Upon the answer to the question, "Have you kept sabbath?" will depend the prisoner's fate in all such cases. The judge is made a religious inquisitor, and a man's religious practise is made a test of his amenability to the law.

A law which requires such an institution, such an establishment, such a distinction between classes, such a mingling of the sacred and the secular, is both un-American and unchristian. The government has no right to require the keeping of a sabbath — that is the prerogative of the Creator himself. It has no right to inquire whether a sabbath has been kept — that also is the divine prerogative. Only the false theocracy of the Dark Ages has attempted to enter that field, and the martyrdoms of that period make eloquent protest against the establishment in America of an image of that institution.

Freethinkers and Intolerance

It is one of the boasts of infidelity that the world is indebted to it for the freedom of mind and of practise in religious things which is enjoyed at the present time. The facts in the case and the evidence furnished by those making such a claim, both contradict the assertion. For instance, at a recent congress of freethinkers held in Paris, resolutions were passed instructing the members of their party in the legislature to propose a law forbidding parents to have their children baptized or confirmed. The members of

their party were made to take oath never to participate in a religious act of any kind. Such an act has no relation to freedom of conscience. It is a kind of slavery acquiesced in "for a consideration," and instead of encouraging liberty, debases the character of those who permit themselves to be a party to it. An infidel, in conversation with the editor of a religious journal, advocated the idea that parents had no right to talk to their children of religious things, and declared that every one who dared to do so ought to be shot. How different is the principle of true religious liberty enunciated by Jesus: "If any man hear my words, and believe not, I judge him not." That is true religious liberty, and so far as such liberty is enjoyed in any country, it is the product of true Christianity. To it the freethinker can not legitimately lay claim; for the spirit and the inspiration of it are foreign to the instincts of the human heart.

Sunday Laws Declared Unconstitutional

THERE is now and then a jurist who sees the real nature of Sunday laws and the result of their enforcement upon the people, and who is able also to recognize the real opposition existing between Sunday laws and the Constitutional guaranty of religious freedom. Such a jurist is Judge Gantenbien, of the equity department of the Oregon Circuit Court, who recently handed down a decision declaring that the Oregon statute prohibiting the transaction of business on "the first day of the week, commonly called Sunday," is unconstitutional. He holds that it conflicts with the federal Constitution as it restricts religious liberty, in that it was passed to compel the observance of the first day of the week as the sabbath, which is contrary to the religious belief of many citizens; that it was

not passed as a matter of police power; that it is discriminatory in that it permits certain lines of business to operate seven days in the week while restricting others to six days' activity. He finally declares that the law is unreasonable and arbitrary.

What Judge Gantenbien says of this law is just as true of all Sunday laws. They are not, as so often claimed by Sunday-law advocates, mere police regulations. The matter of Sabbath observance is not a matter for police regulation in any particular. The purpose of the Sunday law is always and everywhere the compulsory observance of a sabbath; and wherever one has been passed, the religious liberty of the people has been interfered with.

The Pope's Authority Over Rulers

IN a recent issue of the *Catholic Mirror*, the sermon of a Catholic priest is reported under this title: "Church and State. Each Given Full Power in Its Separate Sphere. They are Two Rulers. One with Authority Over Spiritual, the Other Over Temporal Matters." This priest quotes approvingly the words of Christ, "Render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's," and declares that "age after age the Roman pontiffs, while claiming the right to censure and correct rulers for their unlawful and sinful acts, for in those days the rulers were members of the church and subjects of the pontiffs in spiritual matters no less than the humblest in their kingdoms, yet always paid them the greatest deference, and insisted on the obligation of obedience due to them from all."

The priest refers to the famous bull, "*Unam Sanctam*," issued by Boniface VIII in A. D. 1300, and explains that the statement that princes "are subject to the Roman pontiff in respect of sin," means "with regard to their good or

bad use of the power entrusted to them." He also declares that Catholic philosophy teaches that "the temporal authority is supreme as long as it remains in its own domain, which is the procuring of peace and public prosperity of its subjects in the temporal order."

The whole question of the relation of the church to the state is thus stated: "In these purely temporal matters, therefore, so long as they remain in the temporal order, the church claims no jurisdiction, and there is no possibility that the present holy father or any of his successors will ever interfere with the true allegiance due from his children to those that rule them according to justice and right in their search for temporal peace and prosperity."

A little reflection will show just how much reality there is in the assertion that the church and the state are "each given full power in its separate sphere," according to Roman Catholic doctrine. Princes are declared to be subject to the Roman pontiff "with regard to their good or bad use of the power entrusted to them;" and we are assured that "there is no possibility that the present holy father or any of his successors will ever interfere with the true allegiance due from his children to those

that rule them according to justice and right." In the qualifications thus made the jurisdiction of the church over the state is really assumed, and the independence of the state is shown to be a mere figment. Whenever the Roman pontiff

decides that a prince is using his power in a bad way, which generally means that he is opposing the interests of the Roman Catholic Church, he may be called to account; and if refractory, he may be deposed. If it appears at any time that a ruler is not ruling his subjects "according to justice and right," the Roman pontiff reserves the right to interfere with the true allegiance due from subjects to a sovereign, and he is thus, in the final analysis, the supreme ruler both of church and of state.

The separation of church and state, according to the Roman Catholic view, simply means that so long as the state is conducted in the interest of the church, and its dignitaries are subservient to the wishes of the church, the church will not interfere; but the church at the time reserves the right to correct and depose those rulers who do really maintain an actual separation of church and state, and therefore permit perfect freedom of religious belief and practise. The smooth talk of priests in



STATUE OF WILLIAM PENN NOW ON THE TOP OF CITY HALL, PHILADELPHIA

Wm. Penn, when a prisoner in the Tower of London, wrote: "To conceit that men must form their faith of things proper to Another World by the Prescriptions of mortal Men, or else they can have no right to eat, drink, sleep, walk, trade, be at liberty, or live in This, to me seems both ridiculous and dangerous."

America, where the real Roman Catholic theory of church and state is not yet permitted to be put into practise, must not deceive those who know Roman Catholicism as it is in those countries where the Roman Catholic Church is in control. In such countries religious liberty is summed up in the liberty to believe and practise Roman Catholic doctrines.

Treason

THIS is a hard word. A traitor to his country is despised in every land, and an ignominious death is the usual punishment.

The Constitution of the United States thus defines treason, and confers upon Congress the power to deal with it:—

Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood or forfeiture, except during the life of the person attainted.

It is evident from this language that treason is regarded as one of the worst of crimes, to be visited with the most severe punishment.

In view of the Constitutional definition of treason, and the nature of the punishment therefor, it seems almost incredible that in this time of boasted freedom, any one should seriously attempt to fasten a charge of treason upon those who do not observe Thanksgiving day in harmony with the recommendation of the president. We find, however, a professed minister of the gospel doing this very thing. From his article, published in the current number of the *Homiletic Review*, we take this extract:—

There is a peculiar solemnity attached

to Thanksgiving day because it forms the one link between the state and the church; it is the national recognition of the fact that this is not a godless nation. If we do away with the religious exercises on Thanksgiving day, if the president ceases to call upon the people to gather in their different houses of worship to return thanks to God, then we lose the one and only bond of union between the church and the state; we are, as a nation, without any God. This is a most important truth, and it increases tenfold the significance of our national holy day. It makes one shudder to think how Christian people are deliberately undermining the sacred character of this religious festival, how those who should be the most eager to emphasize the value and need of such a day of national recognition and worship of Almighty God are, through carelessness or selfish indulgence, turning this holy day into a pagan holiday.

I feel that in view of the danger, no words of condemnation are too strong; because it is not only a matter of disloyalty to the commands of the church, it is disloyalty to the commands of the state; it is really a blow to our national welfare, and in its essence an act of treason. . . . I believe that disobedience to such a command as is contained in the Thanksgiving proclamation is as much an act of disloyalty as any blow struck against the Union.

Can this man seriously mean what he says? We judge so. There is no further word of explanation of these remarkable statements, and there is no apology on the part of the publisher for printing them. They are evidently intended to be taken seriously. The declarations here made are worthy of being noted carefully:—

1. Thanksgiving day is "the one and only bond of union between the church and the state."

2. Thanksgiving day should be treated in a manner suited to the "sacred character of this religious festival."

3. Some are "turning this holy day into a pagan holiday."

4. Those who do not regard Thanksgiving day as a "religious festival" or a "holy day," are guilty of "disloyalty to the commands of the church."

5. To treat the day in this way is a proof of "disloyalty to the commands of the state."

6. The Thanksgiving proclamation is a "command" of the state, and the disregard of such command "is as much an act of disloyalty as any blow struck against the Union."

Although we have always known that the Thanksgiving proclamation on the part of the president was in theory a violation of the strict interpretation of that principle of government which requires a total separation of church and state, yet we have not felt called upon to make any special issue of this question so long as the proclamation was regarded as a mere formal affair, and no attempt was made by it to compel the conduct of the people. When, however, this executive proclamation is interpreted as a "command," and the failure to observe Thanksgiving day as a "holy day" and as a "religious festival" is made the basis for a charge of treason, this question is deserving of attention. If the president of the United States has the authority to command the observance of one day in the year as a "holy day," he has the same authority to command the observance of other days. If it is "disloyalty to the commands of the church," as well as "disloyalty to the commands of the state," to treat Thanksgiving day in any other way than as a "holy day," and if such conduct is "an act of disloyalty" and "in its essence an act of treason," then the disregard of any other command of the church and the state in behalf of religious observances would be equally reprehensible, and could be branded as treason in the same way. In view of the continued and persistent efforts of church leaders to secure the pas-

sage of laws requiring the religious observance of the first day of the week, it is easy to foretell what the result would be when such laws are secured, if any persons should turn the "holy day into a pagan holiday."

One does not need to listen very intently to such intolerant statements as are found in the quotation in this article, to hear the clanking of the chain, the sound of the prison door, and the voice of the judge pronouncing the death sentence. All this is included in the charge of treason. Whether it is ever wrought into experience may depend upon the watchfulness of the people, and their determined resistance against any encroachment upon their rights by those who would unite the church and the state, and enforce their own views of religion upon their fellow citizens.

Expatriated by a False Theory

IN New York City, on October 25, a sermon was preached by the Rev. J. M. Foster, setting forth the position held by the Reformed Presbyterian Church, with reference to the principles upon which our government was founded. He said in part:—

I wish to preach this afternoon on a special subject. That subject is, "Why Reformed Presbyterians Can Not Vote." I do so in explanation of the fact that when the coming election day arrives, there will be many men, members of this faith, who will not go to the ballot boxes, because they can not vote under the conditions which the United States government imposes. We ask nobody's sympathy when we urge that Christ is king, and since the United States government will not recognize his kingship, we are deprived of the right of being citizens of the United States. We acknowledge first the authority of God and of his law, and if the government of the United States does not acknowledge such a God and such a law, we can not recognize that government. Giving allegiance only

to Jesus Christ, we believe that some day he will march into this country, and his law will be made the law of the land. Until that is accomplished, we can not serve two masters.

The theory that Jesus Christ is king of this country, and is waiting to have that fact recognized by the people, is diametrically opposed both to common sense and to the teachings of our divine Master. The denomination for which Mr. Foster speaks declares that Christ is this nation's king. Christ himself declares, "My kingdom is not of this world." To declare that he is, is to utter a flat contradiction of one of the plainest utterances found in all our Saviour's teachings. Mr. Foster's declaration on that point is sufficiently answered in the seven words quoted above. When the kingdoms of this world become "the kingdom of our Lord and of his Christ," it is not done by those kingdoms' adopting his law as the basis of their respective civil codes. This is the program of that transformation as given in the Word of God:—

"Ask of me, and I will give thee the nations for thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession. Thou shalt break them with a rod of iron; thou shalt dash them in pieces like a potter's vessel." Ps. 2:8, 9, A. R. V.

They are not metamorphosed out of their iniquity and into his righteousness by voting him in as king in spite of himself. When he comes, they are destroyed, and upon this renovated earth the kingdom of righteousness will be established, as saith the Scriptures. 2 Peter 3:5-13; Rev. 21:1. They who would make Christ king of this country in its present condition would make him responsible for the conditions now existing here. His declaration, "My kingdom is not of this world," is his protest against that very thing. They who expatriate themselves because this country does not

enthroned Christ are working upon a hypothesis unwarranted in Scripture, contradictory to the plain declaration of the Lord himself, and antagonistic to the fundamental principles of our national government.

President Roosevelt's Views on Religious Liberty

A NOTABLE contribution to the literature of religious liberty has been made by Theodore Roosevelt, the president of the United States, in a letter given to the public after the close of the presidential campaign, in which he replies to those who opposed the candidacy of Hon. William H. Taft because of his religious views.

This letter will be found in full in another department of this magazine. We refer to it here to commend heartily the position taken that one's religious belief "is purely his own private concern; and it is a matter between him and his Maker, a matter for his own conscience, and to require it to be made public under penalty of political discrimination is to negate the first principles of our government which guarantee complete religious liberty and the right to each man to act in religious affairs as his own conscience dictates."

There is one condition, however, which must be attached to this guarantee of complete religious liberty; namely, that in the exercise of that right no one should interfere with the equal rights of others, and further that "religious belief" must be confined to its proper sphere, and must not include political doctrines. If under the plea of religious liberty, or liberty of conscience, one advocates and practises views which strike at the foundation of the Christian idea of civil government, his views then become a matter of public concern, if he seeks a position of influence in the government.

In the application of his general state-

ment, Mr. Roosevelt declares that if Mr. Taft "were a Roman Catholic himself, it ought not to affect in the slightest degree any man's supporting him for the position of president." In view of this statement, we deem it necessary to call attention to the authoritative teaching of the Roman Catholic Church concerning the Christian and American principle of the separation of church and state. Pope Pius IX, in his allocution, "Acerbissimum," dated Sept.

27, 1852, condemned and stigmatized as being among the principal errors of our time this teaching: "The church ought to be separated from the state, and the state from the church."

As to the application of this principle, the same pope in his apostolic letter, "Multiplices inter," dated June 10, 1851, condemned the assertion that the Roman pontiffs and ecumenical councils have exceeded the limits of their power, have usurped the rights of princes, and have even committed errors in defining matters of faith and morals." Furthermore, in his apostolic letter, "Ad Apostolicæ," dated Aug. 22, 1851, the same pope condemned as false the teaching that "the church has not the power of availing herself of force or any direct or indirect temporal power." By these quotations from papal documents, it is plain that the Roman Catholic Church does not confine its teachings to the sphere of religion, but obtrudes itself into the sphere

of civil government, and teaches as religious belief such doctrines concerning civil government as contradict republican principles, and would utterly overthrow the very principles of religious liberty for which President Roosevelt contends, and upon which he says this government is founded.

That the Roman Catholics deem it proper to apply a religious test to determine the fitness of some candidates for

office, is openly avowed by them. As an illustration we quote the following editorial paragraph from the *New World* (Catholic) which appeared in its issue of October 31:—

Speaking frankly, we do not believe that Catholic voters should cast their votes for any man who once belonged to the household of the faith, and went out in order to win money and power. No such renegade can be a sincere man.



According to this view, one who abjures the Catholic faith is thereby unfitted to hold political office in this country. Thus a purely religious test is plainly established.

We heartily agree with the principles enunciated by the president when religious belief is limited to things religious, but we can not grant the right to any person or any organization to overthrow one of the fundamental principles of the American state by maintaining under the head of "religious belief" a political teaching which is fundamentally wrong and destructive of free government.

Upholding National Christianity

IN the face of an alarming increase of crime, and a startling decrease of interest in religion, the cry is still raised that this is a Christian nation. One religious paper says:—

This is a Christian nation, and every attempt to teach the contrary should be rebuked.

The apostle Paul asked, "Am I become your enemy, because I tell you the truth?" Should those persons be rebuked who state the facts, and draw the legitimate conclusions? People are not made Christians by judicial dictum.

As to Teaching Religion

IN a recently published article Prof. John Dewey, of Columbia University, discusses the vexed question of teaching religion in the public schools. He finds so many practical difficulties in the way of making religion one of the subjects of instruction that his conclusions are mainly negative. Some of his inquiries run thus:—

Where are the experts in religion? And where are the authoritative teachers? There are theologians; do we want theology taught? . . . There are preachers and catechists; but, unless we are committed to some peculiar faith or institution, it is not exhortation or discipline of this sort that constitutes religious instruction. There are psychologists; but is introspection our aim? There remains, indeed, the corps of faithful, more or less well-prepared, hard-working, and hard-worked teachers. This brings us to the crux of the whole matter. Is religion a thing so specialized, so technical, so "informational," that, like geography or history or grammar, it may be taught at special hours, times, and places by those who have properly "got it up," and been approved as persons of fit character and adequate professional training? . . . Our schools, in bringing together those of different nationalities, languages, traditions, and creeds, in assimilating them together

upon the basis of what is common and public in endeavor and achievement, are performing an infinitely significant religious work. They are promoting the social unity out of which in the end genuine religious unity must grow. Shall we interfere with this work? Shall we run the risk of undoing it by introducing into education a subject which can be taught only by segregating pupils, and turning them over at special hours to separate representatives of rival faiths?

These inquiries indicate the embarrassment which is encountered in any effort to bring religion under the direction of the state. The one answer to all these inquiries is that the teaching of religion is not a matter which can properly come under state control or be conducted at public expense.

The Law of Work

THE advocates of laws requiring suspension of work on the first day of the week often make the claim that this is no interference with the rights of those who observe the seventh day of the week, as they are still permitted to devote that day to rest and worship, and are simply required to refrain from labor on the day set apart by the majority for religious purposes. A very good answer to this argument is made by Dr. W. F. Crafts, who is himself an earnest worker in behalf of Sunday laws. In the notes on the Sunday-school lesson for July 7, Dr. Crafts thus comments upon the fourth commandment:—

I see no escape without disloyalty to God and man and our own selves from the law that every whole man or woman should work regularly six days a week at some regular manual or mental task. . . . How strange that almost everybody thinks of the fourth commandment as requiring only a weekly suspension of labor, as if it were a law of the one day, when it is on its face a law for the whole seven days of each week, requiring work on six as plainly as it requires rest on the other.

We invite Dr. Crafts to urge this argument the next time he appears before a legislative committee demanding such laws as would require observers of the seventh day to refrain from labor on another day also.

Catholics Demanding Offices

IN an address at St. Louis recently, Archbishop Ireland of St. Paul is reported as saying that the Catholics of the United States should be more largely represented in the holding of public offices. To quote a portion of his remarks:—

There are now seventeen million Catholics in this country, and they are not represented in its great offices as they should be.

When the principle is adopted that the political offices should be divided among the adherents of the various denominations in proportion to their numbers, a long step will have been taken toward a union of church and state. Toward this consummation there seems to be an inevitable trend.

The Purpose of Catholic Federation

THERE is on foot at the present time in the United States, and nearing the completion of its purpose in the matter of organization, a federation of all the Catholic societies. There are many of these organizations, and they are being welded together in a compact body known as the American Federation of Catholic Societies. In a speech at Atlantic City, N. J., on Nov. 17, 1904, Archbishop McFaul, the originator of the federation idea, gave the following lucid setting forth of the plans and purposes of the organization:—

The federation is an organization whose aim is to unite all the Catholic nationalities of the United States into one

body for their civil, social, and religious advancement.

It will not be long before the federation will have fifteen million Catholics under its banners; and when that time comes, there is no nation on the face of the earth that dare refuse to give us audience when Catholics raise their voices on any question of state in which they are interested.

One of the questions in which Catholics are most intensely interested is the question of the enforced observance of Sunday, and they have expressed their willingness to unite with Protestants for the securing of laws looking to that end. The advocates of religious legislation will certainly have an able and willing ally in bringing about that first great step toward a union of church and state in this country—the enforcement of the Sunday institution upon all people.

Christian or Pagan?

A METHODIST clergyman recently wrote a letter to a New England paper (*The Day*, New London, Conn.), in which he discussed the question of Sunday observance, and among other things said:—

The Christian civilization differs from the pagan and all others in its legislation. The civil law separates the Sabbath as a day of rest and worship.

One essential difference between Christian and pagan civilization is the separation between church and state, a principle clearly enunciated by Christ. When an appeal is made to civil authority for the enforcement of a religious observance, the Christian idea of civil government is set aside, and the pagan principle is adopted. The observance of the true Christian Sabbath of the fourth commandment is based upon the divine law, and does not ask the support of the civil law.

General Articles

The Religious-State Idea in the French Revolution

W. A. SPICER

THE advocates of religious legislation continually urge their conception of the state as a moral being, bound to concern itself with the religious, as well as the civil, affairs of men.

This theory was the dominating idea in the religion of the French Revolution. That terrible convulsion had its religious side, as well as its irreligious. In fact, this same moral-state conception was one of the leading influences that plunged French society into the reign of terror.

Centuries of state-church despotism had prepared the way for the outbreak. The bishops in the early Gallican church who cheered Clovis on with his battle-ax against heresy had worthy successors in the later clergy. They made their church dependent on political power, thus unconsciously representing religion as a mere human contrivance, which, in the minds of the people, stood for repression and injustice. The conditions not long before the revolution are thus described by Charles Mallet in his text-book:—

"The church still enjoyed political power. No one in France had a legal right to live outside its pale. It controlled the schools; it kept the parish registers on which a man's title to his property and his name depended; for the sake of Catholic truth it burned its adversaries; and, through its censorship of the press, it silenced all assailing tongues."

The natural reaction came in irreligion and unbelief. But it was not Voltaire's cynical skepticism, not irreligious philosophy, that most influenced those who led the way into the reign of terror. They were possessed by the conception of the state as a moral being, charged with regulating the religious conduct of men, and thought they were leading the

way toward a social millennium. Rousseau's writings had captivated the popular fancy. The "Cambridge Modern History" says of his teaching:—

"He asserts axiomatically that the state is a moral being capable of volition: that the golden rule of every legitimate, i. e., popular, government is to carry out the general will, which always tends to the well-being of the whole and of each part, and is always just—for the voice of the people is in truth the voice of God."

The way of the majority was the prescribed religion, enforced by civil law. The advocates of Sunday laws teach the same doctrine to-day. The claim is made that it is not as a religious obligation that Sunday observance is to be enforced, but merely as a civil or police regulation. This same civil theory of religion was thus set forth by Rousseau:—

"In religion, the sovereign body was entitled to impose a civil profession of faith, and to compel all its citizens, under penalties of banishment and death, to believe in the existence of a beneficent God, in an immortal life, in the reward of the just and the chastisement of the wicked, in the obligation of the social compact and of the laws."—*Mallet*.

Perkins, in his "France under Louis XV," remarks:—

"The most fanatical of persecuting bishops would have been content with such a statement of the right to punish those who denied the faith. The belief required by Rousseau was different, but the means to secure its adoption the same.

"The omnipotent state could dictate a fraternal religion, and punish the unfaithful, not, indeed, as impious, but as incapable of loving the law and unable to feel the affection they owed their associates."

So they started in to bring a glorious millennium by legislative enactment. In-

stead of a millennium, it has been tersely said, they had a massacre.

Even the mad frenzy of the worship of reason and the legislative denial of God came as the logical outworking of this theory of religion by majorities, enforced by human law, with which the Revolution started. If religion can be prescribed by human enactment, it must be the product of human thought. And if it proceeds from the people, the people themselves must be divinely supreme.

When Gobal, Archbishop of Paris, was called before the bar of the assembly, he said:—

“Born a plebian *curé* of Porentrury, sent by the clergy to the first assembly, then raised to the archbishopric of Paris, I have never ceased to obey the people. I accepted the functions which that people bestowed upon me, and now, in obedience to it, I am come to resign them. I suffered myself to be made a bishop. I cease to be so now, when the people no longer desire any.”

And Cloutz put the doctrine in plainer language:—

“I have boldly preached that there is no other god but nature, no other sovereign but the human race, the people god.”

It was man exalting himself above God. And the wickedness of it all was wrapped up in the theory of the state as a moral being, bound to make religion a matter of civil enactment, contrary to the express teaching of Jesus Christ.

But in our time, notwithstanding the teaching of God's Word and the lessons of history, misguided religious leaders are working to commit legislative bodies in every way possible to the enforcement of religious laws. They urge their convictions on the same old theory of a religious state. The *Christian Statesman*, for years one of the organs of the movement, says:—

“The nation, being a moral person, must have a religion of its own, and exercise itself about religious affairs.”

In the same journal Rev. M. A. Gault proposes that the power to regulate religion, once secured, shall be vigorously used, directed, of course, by those who are demanding it. He says:—

“Our remedy for all these malefic influences is to have the government simply set up the moral law, and recognize God's authority behind it, and lay its hand on any religion that does not conform to it.”



Genève - Statue de J. J. Rousseau

THE STATUE OF ROUSSEAU, WHOSE WRITINGS HELPED TO INCITE THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

To these mistaken advocates of compulsory religion, Christ says: "Put up thy sword." But the voice of Christ and the teachings of Christianity have little influence with those intoxicated with this Babylonian wine of state-enforced religion. Men may be earnest and sincerely desirous of reforming society; but when they set aside a religion based on divine authority, enforced by the creative power of the Holy Spirit, and substitute a humanly prescribed religion, enforced by civil law, they do inestimable damage to society.

Keen observers see troublous times ahead in the social and industrial world. The "sure word of prophecy" makes us sure that these observers are correct in apprehending times of storm and stress—"distress of nations, with perplexity," as Christ described it in speaking of the very last days of the world's history.

In the *Review of Internationalism*, Lord Averbury says of conditions in Europe:—

"Unless something is done, the condition of the poor in Europe will grow worse and worse. It is no use shutting our eyes. Revolution may not come soon, not probably in our time; but come it will, and as sure as fate there will be an explosion such as the world has never seen."

And the *London Spectator*, commenting on one of President Roosevelt's references to the social question, recently said:—

"Every foreign observer believes that the grand struggle between the 'Haves' and the 'Havenots,' which is to mark this century, will be fought out first of all upon American soil."

It is sufficiently evident that the world needs, as never before, the restraining, steadying influence of the religion of Jesus Christ, with its power to put love and patience and unselfishness into the hearts of those who believe. And it is not at all a token of good to see a growing disposition in the religious world to turn from the principles of a religion of

divine power and soul liberty to these theories of a human religion, state-enforced, which in all past time have worked ruin to both religion and the state.

Religious Legislation Opposed to the Gospel of Christ

C. P. BOLLMAN

BY religious legislation is not meant ecclesiastical regulations enforced only by ecclesiastical penalties, but civil statutes affecting religious things enforced by civil penalties, and also ecclesiastical laws enforced by civil power, as in the days of the Inquisition, when the church defined and ferreted out heresy, which was then punished by the civil authorities.

The legitimate sphere of civil law is to conserve human rights,—to protect life, person, reputation, property, etc.; in short, to secure to all men, "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Civil government takes no cognizance of the inner life. An individual may be corrupt in heart, may be unclean in thought, may be full of hatred and covetousness; and yet if his evil heart, impure thought, and hateful and covetous disposition never lead him to an overt act of lawlessness, he will be accounted a good citizen.

But not so in the domain of Christianity. The purpose of the gospel is not to secure outward compliance with even a perfect rule of action; but heartfelt obedience to the divine law, which takes cognizance not only of the words and the acts, but of the thoughts and intents of the heart as well.

To Nicodemus the Saviour said, "Except a man be born again, he can not see the kingdom of God." John 3:3. The reason is stated in verse 6: "That which is born of the flesh is flesh; and that which is born of the Spirit is spirit."

This is supplemented by the words of the apostle in Rom. 8:5-7: "For they that are after the flesh do mind the

things of the flesh; but they that are after the Spirit, the things of the Spirit. For to be carnally minded is death: but to be spiritually minded is life and peace. Because the carnal mind is enmity against God: for it is not subject to the law of God, neither indeed can be. So then they that are in the flesh can not please God."

Civil legislation touching religious or spiritual things can serve only to interpose the civil authority between the individual soul and God, thus lowering the standard of obedience from the spiritual to the common, civil, or fleshly. Having rendered the measure of obedience required by the state in religious things, the individual is much less likely to seek to know what God requires.

In legislating upon religious matters the state assumes jurisdiction of spiritual subjects, and the law of the state, instead of the law of God, becomes the standard of righteousness.

Who does not know that governmental support and patronage of religion tend to deadness and formality? Who is not aware that the highest degree of piety found in any country is not in the state-supported churches and schools, but in the churches and schools of proscribed, or at best merely tolerated, dissenters from the established religion?

The blighting spiritual influence of religious legislation is scarcely more pronounced in Catholic France than in Protestant Germany. In the latter country, Bible study is a part of the public-school curriculum; but results only demonstrate the truth of the declaration of the apostle, "The letter killeth." Only those whose hearts and lives are being transformed day by day by the Word and Spirit of God, are qualified to teach that Word. All other teaching or attempted teaching of the Bible tends only to formalism and unbelief.

Another point at which religious legislation antagonizes the gospel is seen in our so-called sabbath legislation. The divine law says: "The seventh day is the

sabbath of the Lord thy God; in it thou shalt not do any work." Ex. 20: 10. But in many countries the statute says, The first day is the sabbath of the state: in it thou shalt not do any work except running of trains, selling of fresh meats, confectionery, bakery goods, etc., etc. The influence of such legislation is seen on every hand in the low standard of individual Sabbath-keeping maintained among the people. Consciences are salved by the exceptions in the civil law, with the result that human statutes, instead of divine law, become the standard of sabbath observance.

In the new, or gospel, covenant, the Creator engages to write the divine law upon the hearts of believers; religious legislation presumptuously, yea, even blasphemously, assumes to assist the divine Spirit in this work, by writing parts of God's law into human statute-books, and then enforcing them by civil penalties.

The result is dead formalism on the low plane of human enactments, instead of spiritual life and power on the high plane of the exceeding broad commandment of Jehovah written in the heart of the believer by the Spirit of God, and made manifest in his daily life by the abiding presence of him of whom the apostle bore witness when he said: "I am crucified with Christ: nevertheless I live; yet not I, but Christ liveth in me: and the life which I now live in the flesh I live by the faith of the Son of God, who loved me, and gave himself for me."

Sunday Laws Forbidden by the National Constitution

C. M. SNOW

To make a national law enforcing any religious dogma, ritual, or observance is to establish, to that degree, the religion of which that dogma, ritual, or observance is a part. When a church is established by a government, the observance of the rituals and ceremonies of that

church is made obligatory upon the people.

The declaration that "Congress shall make no law respecting the establishment of religion" forbids Congress to enforce any religious ritual, ceremony, or observance; for, as the establishment of a religion consists in the compulsory observance of all the rituals and ceremonies of the religion established, the prevention of such an establishment in its entirety must be manifest in the prevention of the establishment of any ritual or ceremony whatever. To establish one such ritual, ceremony, or observance is to set the religion of which it is a part above all other religions held by the people. Therefore, for this nation to enact a Sunday law is to establish religion to that degree, to exalt the religion of which that observance is a part above other religions, and to deny to a portion of the people that equality which government is ordained to secure among men.

None can deny that to enforce Friday-keeping upon all the people, and leave them free to do as they wish on all other days of the week, would exalt to a place of pre-eminence the religion of which Friday-keeping is a part, and establish that religion — Mohammedanism — to that extent in establishing that observance. Just so would the enforcement of the seventh day of the week exalt the religion of which the religious observance of that day is a part. If the first amendment to the Constitution of the United States was designed to prevent the establishment of any religion or church here, it was equally designed to prevent the establishment of any portion of any religion or any dogma or practise of any church.

The man who can legally dictate my religious duties is my superior before the law. That religion which can legally compel the people to yield obedience to one of its observances, is given pre-eminence over all other religions before the law, and is to that extent established by law. The fundamental precepts of this government were more than

a protest against that course of procedure — they forbade it. If the Constitution permits the enforcement of one religious ordinance, it permits the enforcement of any and all, and there is then no bulwark of defense against the most complete establishment of religion by law in this country. As the whole is equal to the sum of all its parts, and as all the parts are included in the whole, the constitutional prohibition of the establishment of religion in this country is a prohibition of the establishment of any part of any religion in this country. As the observance of Sunday is one of the religious dogmas of the greater portion of the Christian church, the Congress of the United States is thus, by the first amendment to the Constitution, forbidden to make any law respecting the establishment of that institution, or its enforcement upon the people.

The Religio-Political Campaign in Missouri

JOHN S. WIGHTMAN

THE State of Missouri has been one of the chief battle-grounds for religious intolerance and a return to a religio-political system of government, such as has ruled and ruined republics and empires of the past. There were two conspicuous figures in this contest,— Joseph W. Folk, the executive of the State, and leader of the "new reform element" in the Democratic party of the State,— and Judge William H. Wallace of the criminal court of Kansas City, a type of the blue-law exemplars of early New England history. These men have drawn national attention to the peculiarly "moral" and "religious" issues in the State.

Judge Wallace needs no introduction to readers in any section of the nation; for his unyielding prosecution and persecution of theater-players for Sunday exhibits and "violations of law" since December last, have been published broadcast from the Atlantic to the Pacific; while the present candidacy of the for-

mer for the office of United States Senator has been urged in a political campaign that outrivaled, perhaps, in national interest any other campaign elsewhere in the United States. Governor Folk's wide reputation, the national notoriety given to the judicial procedure of Judge Wallace against the theaters, and his recent candidacy for the governorship upon a platform announcing "Sunday-closing" and "Prohibition" the paramount issues, have, all together, centered the eyes of the moralists and "good

legislation; and it is a noteworthy incident in the public candidacy of Judge Wallace upon his purely religious and moral platform, that no fewer than six thousand preachers enlisted in his cause, and that, though defeated at the primary election early in August, forty-seven thousand voters had registered themselves as in favor of the man and his principle that "Christianity is a part of the American law," and that it is "the right of the criminal judge to enforce the observance of the Christian sab-



THE STATE CAPITOL BUILDING AT JEFFERSON CITY, MO.

government" advocates everywhere upon Missouri. A peculiar feature of the contest grows out of the recently enacted primary law of Missouri, which permits individuals to announce themselves as candidates for public office without regard to party conventions or affiliation. By the "direct primary law" political parties in Missouri are rendered powerless to resist the attacks of misguided zealots and would-be reformers, who would make the civil state an engine of tyranny to carry out the wishes of the ecclesiastics.

The religious element was quick to see the advantages offered it in the new

bath." Think of it! *Forty-seven thousand citizens assenting to the principle of church-and-state government nineteen centuries after the Man of Galilee had declared, "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's"!* Forty-seven thousand votes—almost, if not quite, one-fourth the whole number of votes cast for four separate candidates! It marks a new era in Missouri politics,—an era in which the church may gain control of the civil government.

In the plea for "compulsory Sunday observance," Governor Folk is not a whit behind Judge Wallace in the some-

what popular demand that Sunday, the first day of the week, shall be received by the people as a religious institution! His many pronouncements and official utterances, all of which are a matter of public record, are unalterably in favor of the enforcement of Sunday as a religious institution. Very recently Governor Folk ordered State troops to St. Charles and to St. Louis County, to secure the enforcement of Sunday laws as they apply to the Sunday closing of saloons, and for "the suppression of disorder and vice," in spite of the opinion of the assistant attorney-general that he was without warrant of law in so doing, and that the regularly constituted authorities were competent to preserve the peace and secure public order. Surely it will be noted by the candid, that no such strenuous effort is required, or put forth, upon days of the week other than Sunday to suppress "lawlessness, drunkenness, and crime;" therefore it must be fully apparent that special laws and bayonets are depended upon to protect a religious day—a religious institution! To protect the day rather than the individual, stringent laws are invoked, and often applied! Judge Wallace, in Kansas City, has threatened the use of the State militia to suppress and close Sunday theaters; he has discharged grand jurors who were unfavorable to his crusade, and replaced them with jurors of his own appointment, who were favorable to his plans,—all of which is contrary to law according to the opinion of his district attorney, who refused to sign the indictments. In addition to all this, he has started millions to thinking upon the questions of civil and religious liberty incidentally involved in the remarkable judicial course of the Kansas City Criminal Court. Multitudes are asking the question, What does it mean?

Judge Wallace rendered assistance to Governor Folk in his public candidacy for the United States Senate, traveling with, and campaigning for, him. The public well understands that the two men think exactly alike upon the questions

that they are advocating; and that when necessity requires, they will act in perfect concert in the final settlement of these questions. Governor Folk's whirlwind campaign has been a most remarkable one. He has probably broken all previous records by making nearly three hundred speeches, meeting three hundred thousand people, and traveling twenty-five thousand miles since August 1—and in all his speeches "enforcement of law" has been the uppermost question discussed; and by the term "enforcement of law," every candid person must understand the governor to mean chiefly—and it is understood that he does mean—*Sunday closing, and the enforcement of sabbath laws as such!*

What the Campaign Stands For

Nor can it be denied that to these two prominent public men, Sabbath observance means the *observance of Sunday by civil law*, and temperance, strictly speaking, means *the prohibition of the sale of intoxicating liquors on Sunday!*

No greater menace to the American republic, and to the harmonious relations of the American people, could be devised than the attempt of overzealous men in this way to force Christianity, or any other religion, upon the nation, by inculcating the idea that religious creeds and dogmas have a place in the law of the land. Nothing was further from the intention of the founders of the world's greatest nation. In the Constitution of the United States no reference is made to the Christian religion or any other. The founders of the republic, who designed and wrote the Constitution, were emphatic in their purpose to separate church and state, though religious men themselves.

A Campaign of Retrogression

After a most exhaustive and learned discussion, carried on for years in speeches and public prints, the able statesmen who laid the foundations of the republic broad and deep, rejected the determined efforts of Edwards and the other preachers of that day to incorporate the Christian religion into the law

of the land, and they took every precaution humanly possible to make the idea of the absolute divorcement of church and state the key-note of American liberty. The equality of all men before the law, and the right of every man to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience, or not to worship at all, are the corner-stones of American jurisprudence that they laid. But here in one of the chief States of the American Union, and in the twentieth century of civilization and progress, principles absolutely opposed to the spirit and the letter of the fundamental law are advocated by public officials, and their demand that "Christianity" shall become "a part of the American law" is met with a ready response upon the part of forty-seven thousand citizens!

What Is Involved in It

Regarding the question of enforced Sabbath laws, it may be well to remember the wholesome advice given the Sabbath reformers early in the past century, and found in the memorable United States Senate report of 1829, which says:—

"If the principle is once established that religion, or religious observances, shall be interwoven with our legislative acts, we must pursue it to its ultimatum. We shall, if consistent, provide for the erection of edifices for worship of the Creator, and for the support of Christian ministers, if we believe such measures will promote the interests of Christianity."

Concerning the same matter the House Committee on March 5, 1830, said:—

"If Congress shall, by the authority of law, sanction the measure recommended, it would constitute a legislative decision of a religious controversy, in which even Christians themselves are at issue. However suited such a decision may be for an ecclesiastical council, it is incompatible with a republican legislature, which is purely for political and not for religious purposes. . . . If the measure recommended should be adopted,

it would be difficult for human sagacity to foresee how rapid would be the succession, or how numerous the train of measures which would follow, involving the dearest rights of all—the rights of conscience."

To the citizen of Missouri the question of religious legislation—the advocacy of principles that would lead them back to Rome by its executive and judicial officials—is altogether relevant; it is all-important. The propaganda, for such it is, demands public attention; it demands a united and hearty disapproval.

"Sunday as a religious institution can receive no legal recognition. It is manifest that the religious liberty of the Jew or the infidel would be violated by a compulsory observance of Sunday as a religious institution." So said Judge Pratt, of Elmira, N. Y. And Judge Pratt is right.

The writer in this article is offering no defense of saloons, intemperance, or lawlessness. He believes that lawlessness, and whatever is inimical to the rights, and destructive to the life or the health, of individuals, are matters of public control on all days alike: he denies the right and the justice of legislating especially in favor of a religious institution, in order to reach vice and crime.

The Proposed Sunday Law
Its Purpose Analyzed

C. M. SNOW

OF the ten bills for the better observance of Sunday that were introduced into Congress during its last session, only one (Senate Bill No. 3940, prepared by Senator Johnston, of Alabama) received dangerous recognition. This bill, as amended, reads as follows:—

"AN ACT

"For the proper observance of Sunday as a day of rest in the District of Columbia.

"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That

it shall be unlawful for any person or corporation in the District of Columbia, on the first day of the week, commonly called Sunday, to labor at any trade or calling, or to employ or cause to be employed his apprentice or servant in any labor or business, except in household work or other work of necessity or charity, and except also newspaper publishers and their employees, and except also public-service corporations and their employees, in the necessary supplying of service to the people of the District:

fruit, confectionery, ice, soda and mineral waters, newspapers, periodicals, cigars, drugs, medicines, and surgical appliances; nor to the business of livery stables, or other public, or the use of private, conveyances; nor to the handling and operation of the United States mail.

"SEC. 3. That any person or corporation who shall violate the provisions of this Act shall, on conviction thereof, be punished by a fine of not more than ten dollars, or by imprisonment in the jail of the District of Columbia for not more



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In this building the hearing on the Johnston Sunday bill will be held

Provided, That persons who are members of a religious society, who observe as a Sabbath any other day in the week than Sunday, shall not be liable to the penalties prescribed in this Act if they observe as a Sabbath one day in each seven, as herein provided.

"SECTION 2. It shall be unlawful for any person in said District on said day to engage in any circus, show, or theatrical performance: *Provided*, That the provisions of this Act shall not be construed so as to prohibit sacred concerts, nor the regular business of hotels and restaurants on said day; nor to the delivery of articles of food, including meats, at any time before ten o'clock in the morning of said day from June first to October first; nor to the sale of milk,

than ten days, or by both such fine and imprisonment in the discretion of the court.

"SEC. 4. That all prosecutions for violations of this Act shall be in the police courts of the District of Columbia and in the name of the District."

The result of the enactment of such a law will be the establishment of a religious institution by law, and its enforcement upon the people of the District of Columbia, or upon such portion of them as are unable to prove that they have kept another day "*as a sabbath*." That phrase is the key that reveals the hidden purpose in the bill. For years the national legislature has been besieged by religious organizations whose purpose it was and is to establish religion by law,

and make the law of God the basis of the national code. That element has been bringing persistent pressure to bear upon congressmen to induce them to pass laws in harmony with that purpose. They have gone so far as to threaten with political beheadal those statesmen who would not yield to them in this matter.

To show that these statements are not founded upon fiction, that a strong movement has been in progress for years to have just such a law enacted by the national government, I quote a few utterances from leaders in that movement, which show the actuating motive behind this and all other proposed Sunday laws:—

“Let those who will, remember the Sabbath to keep it holy, from motives of love and obedience; the remnant must be made to do so through fear of law. We have no option.”—*Christian Nation*.

“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.”—*Rev. S. V. Leech, D. D., Denver, Colo., November, 1892.*

“We propose to incorporate in our national Constitution the moral and religious command, ‘In it (the Sabbath) thou shalt do no work’ except the works of necessity, and by external force of sheriffs we propose to arrest and punish all violators of this law.”—*Rev. M. A. Gault.*

“Constitutional laws punish for false money, weights, and measures. So Congress must establish a standard of religion, or admit anything called religion.”—*Prof. C. A. Blanchard.*

“Our remedy for all these malefic influences is to have the government simply set up the moral law, and recognize God’s authority behind it, and lay its hand on any religion that does

not conform to it.”—*Rev. M. A. Gault.*

“We want state and religion; and we are going to have it.”—*Jonathan Edwards, D. D.*

These quotations—only a few of many that could be given—show the purpose of a strong religious organization in this country to commit the nation to a course diametrically opposed to the fundamental principles of the national government, but in perfect harmony with the bill above quoted. That organization has worked industriously to that end since the year 1864. The object held before it by its leaders during all these years has been the enactment of religious legislation by the federal government which would make effective the religious laws of the several States. That “mighty combination of the churches” of which Rev. S. V. Leech speaks in the above quotation has been effected, and has begun to make its demands known to our national legislators. The ten bills introduced into Congress last year, providing for the establishment of a religious observance by law, are indicative of the increased pressure being brought to bear upon congressmen by the “combination” above mentioned.

The avowed purpose of that “combination” is to make the nation the enforcer of a religious ordinance or observance, and that ordinance or observance is the Sunday sabbath. The bill above quoted proposes the enforcement of that religious ordinance or observance—the Sunday sabbath—by the national government. A more complete and categorical answer to the demands of that “combination” could not be formulated, unless it be in the matter of eliminating the exceptions. But exceptions can always be eliminated after the passage of a bill. It is easier to eliminate objectionable exceptions from a palpably iniquitous law and allow the law to remain, than it is to pass such a law in the first place without these exceptions which made its passage possible.

The title of the bill is: “An Act for the Proper Observance of Sunday as a

Day of Rest in the District of Columbia." Now, "Sunday as a day of rest" means Sunday as a sabbath, for the word sabbath means rest; and to enforce a day of rest upon the people is to enforce a sabbath upon the people. In view of the fact that sabbath means rest, and that this bill proposes to enforce a day of rest, it is perfectly proper to state that

must be religious if he is to be permitted to carry on his usual occupation on Sunday. The unbeliever must observe the day whether he is willing or not.

In the second place, it is not sufficient that a man rest upon some other day of the week in order to enjoy release from the provisions of the bill—he must observe that day *as a sabbath*.



THE NEW MUNICIPAL BUILDING, WASHINGTON, D. C.

In this building the District Commissioners hold hearings on legislation affecting the District

the title of this bill is, in effect, "An Act for the Proper Observance of Sunday as a Sabbath in the District of Columbia."

This fact is further shown in the exemption clause in Section 1: "Provided, That persons who are members of a religious society, who observe as a Sabbath any other day in the week than Sunday, shall not be liable to the penalties prescribed in this Act if they observe as a Sabbath one day in each seven, as herein provided." It ought to be apparent to every person able to understand the English language that the enforced keeping of some day of the week "as a sabbath" is the purpose of the proposed law.

In the first place the exempted person

In the third place, the exempted person must be not only religious and an observer of some other day than Sunday *as a sabbath*, but he must be a member of a religious society that observes that day. It matters not how conscientiously a person may believe another day to be the Sabbath of Jehovah, he must be able to show church-membership, or suffer the penalty of the law for performing any labor on the first day of the week. A man's religious faith and religious practise are thus made determining factors in maintaining his place as a free citizen of his country. Such requirements savor not of religious liberty, but of intolerance, tyranny, and persecution. This is not the spirit of advancement,

but of retrogression, and a law fostering such conditions can not be founded on equity.

The Agitation in Its Behalf

At about the time of the introduction of this bill into Congress, a systematic agitation was inaugurated in the District of Columbia by the Ministerial Alliance of the District in favor of a stricter observance of Sunday. The organization of this campaign took place in St. Stephen's church (Episcopal), in Washington, in November, 1907. On the twenty-fifth of that month a meeting in the interest of the Sunday-law campaign was held in the First Presbyterian church, and Rev. Wallace H. Radcliffe, pastor of the church, was made chairman of the organization, whose chief purpose should be to create sentiment in favor of a Sunday law for the District, and work for the passage of any bill designed to enforce Sunday observance upon the people. At this meeting Catholics and Protestants (except Seventh-day Adventists) united their influence and power, pledging each other to work shoulder to shoulder to wring from Congress a law that would compel the observance of Sunday. The various speakers at this meeting deprecated the fact that there was now no civil law to which they could appeal for the enforcement of Sunday observance. It certainly did appear that with no law, either human or divine, the Sunday institution was in a bad way. But the lack of a divine command did not cause the convention as much concern as did the lack of a human law.

It perhaps need hardly be said that the religion which looks to an earthly government for its commands and examples in matters of religious faith and practise is hardly an affair of the conscience, of the heart, and of serious conviction. And the preaching that is of no avail when the government's example is against it, is not the kind of preaching that will do any harm to the kingdom of darkness or reap any very beneficial

results for the kingdom of righteousness.

At this meeting a committee was appointed to formulate a pastoral letter to be given out in the various churches on the second Sunday in January, after each pastor had preached a sermon on Sunday observance. A committee was also appointed to arrange for another mass-meeting, and this committee was formed of laymen as well as clergymen, in order that it might not be embarrassed as was the committee of the previous year when asked by the District Commissioners whether the movement they represented was not simply a ministers' movement.

Sunday, January 12, was symposium day in the District, all the ministers of the District save the Baptists (and of course the Seventh-day Adventists) demanding, in their sermons, better Sunday observance, and a national law to bring it about.

Just previous to this Sunday symposium the Seventh-day Adventists of the District issued and distributed systematically a pamphlet protesting against religious legislation, and setting forth the binding obligation of the true Sabbath. The newspapers took it up, publishing the Sunday sermons of the Sunday-law advocates, and lengthy extracts from the pamphlet mentioned, setting forth the reasons for opposition to such a law.

How the Matter Now Stands

Soon after this mass-meeting, and due to the agitation of the Ministerial Alliance, bills began to be introduced into Congress for the stricter observance of Sunday. Among these was Senate Bill No. 3940, introduced by Mr. Johnston, of Alabama, on January 14, which, with certain amendments, was reported back May 1, 1908. That is the bill quoted in full at the beginning of this article, and that bill passed the Senate, May 15. It did not pass, however, without most earnest protests from the advocates of religious liberty. The memorial prepared by the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists against such legislation

was denominated by an influential journal "a striking and noteworthy document." The memorial was presented in both houses of Congress on January 29. The Seventh-day Baptists also prepared a strong memorial against the passage of the bill. Its passage by the Senate on May 15 leaves only the action of the House standing between our country as our fathers founded it, and our country on the back track toward medievalism, spiritual tyranny, and persecution for conscience' sake. More than that, the position of the House can hardly be considered enigmatical, inasmuch as the House has already committed itself to legislation of this kind.

One hundred thirty-two years ago this nation shook off the shackles of soul-thralldom, and emerged into the daylight of religious liberty. To-day she is halting on her way, more than half decided to turn her face back into the darkness again. The action of the House on Senate bill 3940 will determine her course.

Is It of National Significance?

W. A. COLCORD

WHEN the matter of passing such a measure as the Johnston Sunday bill for the District of Columbia is presented to the people throughout the country for consideration, not infrequently we are met with the question as to what concern congressional legislation for the District of Columbia is to the people of the States. At first thought, the view that such legislation is of no concern to the people of the States may seem quite natural and consistent; and it would doubtless be true, in large measure at least, with reference to congressional legislation for the District respecting ordinary matters. But in this case it is not true, because there is a principle involved in this proposed legislation which concerns all the people,—the principle of religious legislation.

Congress has never yet entered the realm of religion to the extent of passing a compulsory religious law. It has

never yet passed a law compelling any one to keep Sunday. For it to do so will be a new thing in this country and for this nation.

While the Johnston Sunday bill relates only to the District of Columbia, the question whether Congress has a right to legislate upon religious matters concerns, and very vitally concerns, the whole people of this country and every person in it. The principle is the same whether Congress makes a law for only the District of Columbia or for the whole country. If it can legislate upon religious matters for one section of the country, it can do so for all sections. If it can compel the people of the District of Columbia to keep Sunday, it can compel the people in other parts of the country to keep it.

If the passage of a District Sunday law has no national significance, and concerns only the people of the District, why is it that the Sunday-law workers throughout the country have been so anxious and so insistent that a Sunday law should be passed for the District of Columbia? At the annual meeting of the Federation of Sunday-rest Associations of America, held in Philadelphia in May, 1907, action was taken recommending the various societies embraced in the federation to send in petitions to Congress urging that "an efficient Sunday law" for the District of Columbia be passed. That the recommendation was acted upon, the following, from the *Literary Digest* of Oct. 3, 1908, is evidence:—

"Acting under the direction of the federation, the committee on petitions secured a large number of petitions addressed to Congress and the president and cabinet officers, signed by two million persons, in the interest of the better observance of Sunday. Among the things attempted was the securing of a Sunday law for the District of Columbia, which would prohibit unnecessary business, such as the selling of candies, cigars, etc., as well as labor, and that no exception be made on account of religion."

Evidently those favoring this sort of legislation think the passing of a Sunday law for the District of Columbia is of concern to all the people of the country when they circulate petitions throughout the country calling for it, and induce two million people to sign these petitions.

The Blair Sunday Rest bill, which was before Congress in 1888 and 1889, was a measure for the compulsory observance of Sunday in every "territory, district, vessel, or place subject to the exclusive jurisdiction of the United States." While this was pending, Dr. W. F. Crafts, its chief advocate and exponent, said:—

"The national law is needed to make the State laws complete and effective."
— *Christian Statesman*, April 11, 1889.

But this failing to pass, the advocates of Sunday legislation have ever since sought to get Congress committed to this sort of legislation through measures for compulsory Sunday observance in the District of Columbia. Such a law is desired as a precedent, and is demanded with a view to making it the beginning, the entering wedge, for national legislation upon the subject of Sunday observance. This is desired "to make the State [Sunday] laws complete and effective." The State Sunday laws are out of harmony with the bills of rights in nearly every State constitution in the United States, and altogether contrary to the American principle of separation of church and state. But the religious zealot cares for no such principles or safeguards, and, in his zeal for religion and his desire to bring all to his way of acting and thinking religiously, is willing to disregard the most sacred rights, and trample upon the very charter of men's rights and liberties. But those who have some regard for fundamental principles, for constitutions, and for sacred rights and liberties, the free exercise of which has been purchased at so great a cost, can not be indifferent to the passage of laws, however local in character or circumscribed in application they may be at first, which ignore these principles, vio-

late these constitutions, and jeopardize these rights and liberties. That the kind of law this Federation of Sunday-rest Associations of America wishes for the District of Columbia is of the *intolerant* kind, is shown in the statement contained in the quotation already given respecting their petition for this, "that no exception be made [in it] on account of religion."

A District Sunday bill, therefore, is of concern to all the people of the country; and every lover of liberty, wherever he may reside in the United States, should oppose every movement of this kind, and see the danger in the camel's getting his nose in the tent at all; for the first step in a wrong course involves the last one.

Moreover, the passing of a District Sunday law by Congress is of concern to more than the people of the United States; for the people of other nations are watching to see what the United States is going to do in this matter of Sunday legislation, and religious legislation in general, whether it will remain true to its principle of separation of church and state, or swing back into the old order of things, and enforce religion by law; and because of the prominent position it occupies among the nations, and the influence it has had over the nations for a century and a quarter, we are warranted in believing that as America goes, other nations will follow.

Let no one, therefore, be deceived in regard to this matter, or side-tracked in his opposition to national Sunday legislation by any such argument as that the passing of a Sunday law for the District of Columbia concerns only the people of the District of Columbia. It concerns all the people of all the United States, and all the world.

COMPULSION is no part of the gospel of Christ. He who can not be drawn to the service of Christ by the love of Christ and the beauty of his character, can not be driven to acceptable service through human laws and human punishments.

The Mockery of Enforced Religion

G. B. THOMPSON

THE National Reform Bureau, with its various allies, is seeking through both state and national legislatures to secure the enactment of laws with a view to producing a moral reformation in the land. In other words, they are endeavoring to make men religious by law.

The chief thing around which this work for civic righteousness revolves is the enforcement of Sunday as a day of rest. That this is religious legislation is apparent for several reasons:—

1. No special legislation is necessary to make men civil on Sunday. The laws which compel men to be civil on other days of the week are all that are required to maintain civility on Sunday. The fact that other laws are demanded shows that it is the religious aspect of the day that they are seeking to enforce.

2. The Sabbath institution, for which Sunday stands in the minds of the majority of the people, though not Scripturally enjoined, is a religious institution. Its observance as a day of rest has always been regarded as a religious matter, and associated with the worship of the Creator. Sabbath-keeping is in no sense of the word a civil act. It is a duty we owe the Creator, not man. The man who keeps no day as a day of rest may be just as civil and upright a citizen as the man who observes Sunday with pharisaical strictness, though he may not be so religious. There is a wide difference between being civil and being religious.

3. That Sunday legislation is religious in character is admitted by the Rev. W. F. Crafts, the apostle of Sunday legislation, in a document submitted by him to the Senate Committee on Education and Labor, at the hearing on the Sunday-rest bill, Dec. 13, 1888, which says:—

"A weekly day of rest has never been permanently secured in any land except on the basis of religious obligation. Take the religion out, and you take the rest out."

And in an address in Denver, as re-

ported in the *Rocky Mountain News* of Feb. 9, 1890, Mr. Crafts said:—

"No laws will avail anything if they are not on the basis of religion. Mount Sinai is the only true basis of all Sabbath legislation." Sunday legislation is, therefore, religious in character, and legislation upon any other religious question is religious legislation also.

But nothing could be a greater mockery or a more complete travesty upon pure and undefiled religion than the effort to make men religious by law, through the enforcement of certain moral duties. It is attempting the impossible. It is akin to the effort of a man trying to lift himself by the straps of his boots.

Religion is a thing of the heart. It is a man's personal relationship with his God. In this he can be directed by no human statute, and can not rightfully be made amenable to any earthly tribunal. Prayers said by compulsion of law would be of no avail. Visits made to the widows and fatherless in their affliction, because of compulsion by police power, would be a farce. The same is true of other religious duties.

In order for an individual to become religious, it is necessary that there be a change in the natural impulses and passions of the human heart. But this can never be wrought by the enactment and enforcement of civil statutes.

Man is by nature a sinner. "The heart is deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked." "For from within, out of the heart of men, proceed evil thoughts, adulteries, fornications, murders, thefts, covetousness, wickedness, deceit, lasciviousness, an evil eye, blasphemy, pride, foolishness: all these evil things *come from within*, and defile the man." "They are all gone aside, they are all together become filthy: there is none that doeth good, no, not one."

Here is presented a divine photograph of the natural heart. Ever since the fall of man, he has had to struggle against the carnal passions of the soul; and so strong is the power of the unregenerate heart, that untold millions have been

controlled by it and led to ruin. What effect, therefore, think you, will any law made by Congress enforcing a religious dogma have in regenerating and purifying the human heart?—It can have no effect whatever, and any attempt to conform to the requirements of a law enforcing a religious tenet with the heart unchanged, is a vain effort. To appear outwardly religious, while within we are filled with all kinds of wickedness, is to be hypocrites, and it was against this class of persons that the greatest woes were pronounced by the Saviour when on earth.

In Holy Writ we are taught that the law of the Most High is "holy, and just, and good;" that though man is carnal, the "law is spiritual." How, then, can a person who is carnal and unholy keep a "spiritual" and "holy" law? Such a thing is utterly impossible. The Sabbath, being a part of this law, is, therefore, "holy, and just, and good," and its observance is spiritual worship rendered to the Lord. This can never be produced by any law passed by Congress. No earthly government has any right to step from its civil realm, and legislate upon religious questions, unless it can change the heart of a man and turn a sinner from a life of wickedness to a life of purity. This, no power other than the power of God through the Holy Spirit, can do. For any government, therefore, to seek to enforce religious precepts is to assume the place of the Deity, and, in principle, exalt itself to a position equal with, or above, God.

It was the following of this wrong principle to its logical conclusion that made the Dark Ages, and caused persecution, which darkened the earth for a millennium of years, and placed in martyr's graves millions of the true children of the Lord.

Religion being a thing of the heart, and consisting solely of the relationship which exists between man and his Creator, they who would enforce it must know what is in the heart. That which the individual refuses, or is unable, to

reveal, must be wrung from him by torture. The terrible history of the Inquisition is but the history of man's effort to secure the secrets of the heart, and to punish for what was deemed heresy. The Inquisition has been defined by Motley as "a machine for inquiring into a man's thoughts, and burning him if the result was not satisfactory." Mr. Brooks Adams has correctly said:—

"Men who firmly believe that salvation lies within their creed alone, and that doubters suffer endless torments, never can be tolerant. They feel that duty commands them to defend their homes against a deadly peril, and even pity for the sinner urges them to wring from him a recantation before it is too late; and then, moreover, dissent must lessen the power and influence of a hierarchy, and may endanger its very existence; therefore, the priests of every church have been stimulated to crush out schism by the two strongest passions that can influence the mind—by bigotry and by ambition."—*Emancipation of Massachusetts,* pages 2, 3.

During the Dark Ages men had been endeavoring to enforce religion. They kept at it for over a thousand years. This was surely long enough to give the system a fair trial. But when the Reformation dawned upon the world, "the vital doctrines of Christianity had almost entirely disappeared, and with them the life and light that constitute the essence of the religion of God. The material strength of the church was gone. It lay an exhausted, enfeebled, and almost lifeless body, extending over that part of the world which the Roman empire had occupied."—*D'Aubigne's History of the Reformation,* Vol. I, page 68.

It is with feelings of sorrow that we see efforts made in our midst by strong organizations to again unite church and state, and produce again results similar to those described above, when the form will take the place of the substance, and when God will be mocked by an endless round of empty ceremonies. Against all efforts in this direction we most earnestly

and sincerely protest. It is impossible to stop the overshadowing curse of sin by civil law — as well seek to lasso an avalanche with a tow string, or dip the ocean dry with a teaspoon. Its reign in the human heart can be checked only by the power of God in the soul. We urge upon the church of God, that she seek for the power of the Holy Spirit and for spiritual weapons, rather than the power of man and the sword of Cæsar.

The Sunday-Law Campaign in Newfoundland

C. H. KESLAKE

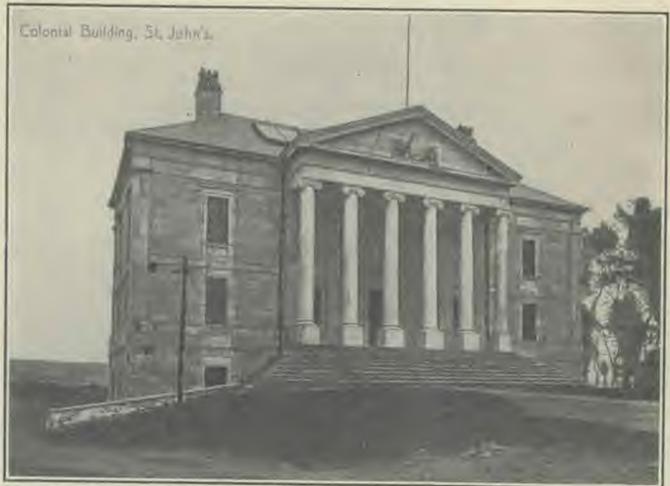
THE long arms of the Sunday-law movement are reaching into all parts of the world. One of its tentacles is now fastened upon the island of Newfoundland, and desperate efforts are to be made to swing this country into line with all others in the matter of "better Sunday observance."

One is perfectly safe in saying that there is no country in the world where Sunday is more strictly observed than in Newfoundland. But like Haman, who was not content with the honors heaped upon him, so long as Mordecai refused to do him homage, the religious teachers are dissatisfied with the manner in which Sunday is observed, because such observance does not coincide with their puritanical ideas.

Under the plea that the movement is purely in the interests of the oppressed workingman, the Lord's Day Alliance of Newfoundland (organized in 1907) is seeking to mold public opinion in favor of Sunday. At present the real aim of the movement is being kept in the dark, the principal effort being to keep out of sight the fact that civil legislation is contemplated. This emphasizes most stri-

klingly the statement, made several years ago by a prominent writer: "The Sunday movement is now making its way in the dark. The leaders are concealing the true issue, and many who unite in the movement do not themselves see whither the undercurrent is tending. Its professions are mild and apparently Christian; but when it shall speak, it will reveal the spirit of the dragon."

This is absolutely true of the movement in this country at the present time. Personal conversations which the writer has had with officials of the alliance show most clearly that there are those now united with that movement who do not see whither the undercurrent is tend-



CAPITOL BUILDING, ST. JOHN'S, NEWFOUNDLAND

ing. No less a person than the Anglican Bishop of Newfoundland, who is honorary president of the alliance, has publicly stated that he is opposed to civil legislation in behalf of Sunday; others disclaim any desire to go before the legislature to plead for Sunday laws. Thus it was urged by a deputation of the alliance which waited upon the Anglican synod, recently in session in St. John's, to secure the sympathy and influence of that body. At that time the leader, Rev. C. Hackett (Methodist), stated that "the aim of the alliance is not the curtailment of liberty by legislation, but the encouragement of public opinion with regard to the better

keeping of Sunday. . . . The alliance does not wish to force people to go to church, but desires that every one shall be given an opportunity to do so if he wants to."

This is certainly putting it in the mildest manner possible, but withal, it clearly reveals that the movement is purely religious, and not civil. How such a declaration as the above accords with the real aim of the alliance as expressed in the constitution may be seen from the following statements:—

"The object of the Lord's Day Alliance of Newfoundland shall be . . . more especially . . . (1) to secure the faithful and impartial enforcement of laws which are intended to procure for all classes the weekly day of rest; (2) to secure such amendments in legislation as may be necessary adequately to protect the quiet and rest of the Lord's day."

At a recent mass-meeting, held by the Lord's Day Alliance in St. John's, at which time Bishop Jones uttered his own personal disclaimer as already referred to, Rev. Dr. Levi Curtis, president of the alliance, and Rev. W. I. D. Dunn gave the movement away when they said that the alliance was "not seeking civil legislation — at present." Of course not. The position may be expressed thus: We will get better Sunday observance by moral suasion, if we can; by civil legislation, if we must. No one familiar with the movement elsewhere can for a moment doubt that they will eventually re-

sort to the civil power as provided for in their constitution. Witness what has been done during the last two years in Canada, where a most rigorous law has been enacted, and is now being enforced through the influence of the Lord's Day Alliance.

The movement, however, has evoked a lively protest on the part of some, and a thorough exposure of the wicked principle underlying it has been made through the press. This culminated in a large meeting on Sunday night, October 4. This meeting was held in the largest hall in the city of St. John's. The attendance and success of the meeting exceeded the most sanguine expectations of its promoters. Mr. K. C. Russell, chairman of the Religious Liberty Bureau of Washington, D. C., had been invited to address the meeting. The frequent



THE NEW LAW COURTS, ST. JOHN'S,
NEWFOUNDLAND

bursts of applause as the speaker showed the unchristian and un-Protestant character of the Sunday agitation, and what its success meant in the way of subverting religious liberty, plainly revealed that not all the people of Newfoundland are ready to barter away their birthright of liberties for the mess of pottage which is being held out to them.

It is to be regretted that space does not permit of a more extended report of the address given by Mr. Russell, but the following are a few of the salient points made: The Bible plainly commands that every "soul shall be subject to the higher powers" (civil govern

ments), yet it also insists that we "ought to obey God rather than men." This may appear to some to be contradictory, but the language of Christ, recorded in Matt. 22:21, makes the matter plain. He said: "Render therefore unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's; and unto God the things that are God's." The higher powers, the powers that be, are ordained of God, and are his ministers to see that men are civil toward one another; in other words, the functions of the state are wholly civil. Religion is an affair of the heart, of the conscience, and with it Cæsar can of right have nothing to do. It is the duty of the church to teach religion, but not to enforce it, to preach the gospel, to enlighten the heart, to educate the conscience, and to persuade men to serve God. This is rendering to God the things that are God's. One of these duties is the keeping of the Sabbath. That day being God's, it is to be rendered to him, and not to Cæsar. The Sabbath law is Christ's law. Christ is able to care for his own laws. So Mr. Spurgeon said, "Christ wants no help from Cæsar."

The Object of Sunday Legislation

K. C. RUSSELL

IN determining the object of Sunday legislation, it will be necessary to consider the object of all religious legislation; for every Sunday law, from Constantine's time down to the present, has been religious, and religious only. The object which has been sought by many of the promoters of religious legislation is that of obtaining for the professed church of Christ greater prestige, influence, and power.

Many have defended, and many are now defending, the cause of religious legislation, because they are prompted by a desire to see society elevated to a higher plane. They think that if so splendid a result could be brought about by civil legislation, it would be most de-

sirable. All these things were done during the Dark Ages for the purity of the faith, and those who were most sincere went to the greatest lengths in persecuting those whom they regarded as heretics. It is, therefore, not difficult to see what the logical result will be when it is admitted that legislation upon religious matters is in the interests of the church.

The Holy Spirit is to the church what the breath is to the body, and a church without the Holy Spirit is as lifeless as a body without breath. Such churches, realizing their lack of power, and being conscious of the fact that in order to maintain an existence, they must have power, substitute the power of the state for that of the Holy Spirit. Every church, therefore, that seeks the aid of the civil arm in matters of religion, tacitly acknowledges that it is not in possession of the power of the Holy Spirit.

It is also evident that just to the extent that any church seeks for the power of the state, it is antichristian; for Jesus Christ, the great head of the church, said, in reply to Pilate's question as to whether he was king of the Jews, "My kingdom is not of this world." Again he said: "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. He that rejecteth me, and receiveth not my words, hath one that judgeth him: the word that I have spoken, the same shall judge him in the last day."

While the true church is seeking the power of the Holy Spirit to enable its members to exemplify in their lives the principles of the gospel, and to promulgate it as it is manifested in the life of Jesus Christ, a church separated from Christ and shorn of his Spirit, seeks to obtain the same results by securing and making use of the power of the state. Adopting the mistaken view that the cause of truth may be advanced by religious legislation, it is easy to conclude that the more we have of such legislation, the better it will be for society.

It is this false idea that has led multitudes of honest persons to seek so earnestly for Sunday legislation. Many think that to prohibit on Sunday by civil law everything which is not strictly a work of necessity or charity, would prove a great blessing to the cause of religion, and would fill the church with

back of this demand for a compulsory rest is the religious sentiment connected with it. The following is plainly indicative of this:—

“Be it remembered that without a sabbath there will be no great ingatherings seen in the churches; while, with a sabbath guaranteed to all classes of laborers, we make it possible to develop a proper home life among the laborers, and make it possible for church influence to touch them.”—*Michigan Christian Advocate*, Aug. 26, 1899.

Should there be a failure to secure a large “ingathering” into the church by tightly placing the lid on all business and amusements on Sunday, what would be the next logical step?—It is not difficult to see that the next step would be to require church attendance, under pain and penalty of civil law, as the following shows:—

“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 their hearing the Word of God, those who neglect such a duty to be punished by a fine or imprisonment.”—*E. A. McD.*, in *Baltimore Sun*, March 25, 1907.

This is not an extreme statement, once the Sunday-law premise is admitted, for the same authority that can require a person to refrain from all secular pursuits on Sunday, can, with equal consistency, define what he shall be required to do upon that day.

In view of the terrible results which must follow the success of this movement, all should awaken to the seriousness of the situation, and use their utmost endeavors against the success of any such undertaking.



worshippers. The idea is held that Sunday-closing should embrace all kinds of business, labor, and amusements, the closing of public parks, art galleries, libraries, etc., the prohibiting of the running of excursions, the publishing of newspapers, and even the running of street-cars. With the prohibition of all these things on Sunday, it will be seen that the only thing left for the people to do would be to remain at home or to attend church. It is, therefore, evident why there is a demand for a compulsory rest day. The Sunday institution is purely an institution of the church, and

The Outlook for a Sunday-Law in California

J. O. CORLISS

CALIFORNIA is the only State in the American Union without a Sunday law. From 1858 to 1883 a Sunday-rest statute in that State was made so annoying to many of its citizens that it became an object of political contention. The supposed dominant party, through church affiliations, inserted a plank in its platform, pledging itself to maintain the Sunday law for the betterment of the laboring class. The other party went to the polls, on a pledge to repeal the existing statute requiring Sunday rest, on the ground of its hostility to religious rights.

The result was a political upheaval in favor of repealing all Sunday laws in the State of California. About the same time the State supreme court handed down a decision in the case of *ex parte* Newman, declaring a Sunday law unconstitutional. Since then three attempts have been made by the churches to have the legislature re-enact a Sunday-law statute. These advances have been coldly met, on the ground that any such statute could have no force in the face of the constitutional limitation.

In 1906, however, an astute lawyer was employed to draw up a bill providing for a Sunday-rest clause in the constitution itself. The text of this bill was given to the public months before the legislature met in 1907, and therefore was quite carefully considered, both by the people and by the legislature. To carry such a measure would require forty-five of the sixty-six votes of the assembly present, before whom the bill first came up for consideration. But when the tally-sheet was made up, it revealed that forty-six had voted "no," and but twenty had voted "aye"—a most dismal failure.

Of course the church people were not satisfied. So they have determined to approach the legislature of 1909 with another proposition looking to the enactment of a Sunday-rest law. The exact

line of their contemplated action has not yet been made public. But the International Reform Bureau has been operating in the State, through its Pacific Coast superintendent, since early in the year. Sunday-rest leagues have been organized wherever possible, and money pledges, in monthly instalments, have been secured from all who would contribute.

In a letter written by the Pacific Coast superintendent regarding the object of his work, he says: "Our movement in favor of a Sunday rest for California is not intended in any sense as religious legislation." Yet in another sentence he says: "The rights of those who refrain from labor on Saturday, or any other day of the midweek, will be guarded by the framing of the bill." But if the bill to be is not "in any sense" to cover religious points, then why provide exemption from its penalties for those who observe some other day? If these refrain from labor on Saturday, some basis for their action must be apparent. There are no social or civil organizations requiring such rest; therefore the only motive for such an act must be that of conscience.

In this case the bill would have to do with religious convictions; and to provide exemption for these would be positive *religious enactment* in behalf of a limited number. This would be nothing short of class legislation, and inimical to the bill of rights, which declares that all persons are equal before the law of the State.

But suppose it were civilly admissible to exempt a small class of people from the penalties to be inflicted upon the general offender of a Sunday law, and public sentiment could be led to indorse such a measure on the ground that the exemption clause relieved everybody from hardship. In that case, might not a reverse sentiment among the people lead to the repeal of the exemption clause, and so bring misfortune to the minority? Having committed itself to such legislation in the first instance, how could a legislature resist huge petitions in after-time,

which would demand the repeal of the contested clause? Such a clause being enacted by a body of lawmakers, the same body would have the authority to eliminate it at will. And being of a religious nature, prejudice easily could suggest its rejection, to the detriment of a class of loyal citizens. It were far better to leave well enough alone.

If the rights of the laboring class to one day in seven for rest is all that is sought, why not be satisfied with the statutes already designed to guard these rights? An act approved Feb. 27, 1893, as recorded in Statutes of 1893, page 54, of the State of California, provides that "every person employed in any occupation of labor shall be entitled to one day's rest in seven, and it shall be unlawful for any employer of labor to cause his employees, or any of them, to work more than six days in seven; provided, however, that the provisions of this section shall not apply to any case of emergency."

This is as nearly a civil rest-day enactment as could be framed, and should satisfy those who desire only civil legislation securing to the people the right to one day's rest in seven. But it does not meet the demands of those who are behind the Sunday-law movement. They not only want a day of rest for all each week, but a definitely named day of each week,—the day they have set apart for religious services. But to go so far is to graft a religious sentiment onto civil legislation, and so unite, to that degree, religion and the state.

All honor to California for having so long resisted advances in this direction. How the Sunday-law element will frame their bill for the coming session of the legislature we are not yet informed. They know well that a common statute Sunday law has been pronounced unconstitutional in California. To reach the required two-thirds majority of votes to carry a constitutional amendment, can hardly be realized at this stage. Whether this will be attempted or not, none but those in the secret know.

A Significant Demonstration

W. W. PRESCOTT

THE return of Cardinal Gibbons to Baltimore last month after an extended visit in Europe, which included a considerable stay in Rome, was made the occasion of an imposing demonstration. The mayor of Baltimore, the governor of Maryland, and Hon. Charles J. Bonaparte, attorney-general in President Roosevelt's cabinet, who is a prominent layman in the Roman Catholic Church, delivered addresses of welcome. A great parade, headed by carriages containing the governor and his staff, the mayor and members of the city council, an ex-governor, the attorney-general, the State's attorney, and a member of Congress, marched through the streets, some of which had been handsomely decorated. This procession was reviewed by Cardinal Gibbons, who, arrayed in his pontifical robes and surrounded by officials of both the church and the state, sat in a chair on the cathedral steps for this purpose.

At the close of the parade, there was a service in the cathedral which was attended by all the dignitaries present. At the close of the service the cardinal said:—

"I thank you again, and, with the wishes of the White Shepherd of the Vatican, I will now impart to you the blessing of the holy father. His blessing he is eager to extend to you, whether of the Catholic Church or out of it, and its spirit extends to all."

The cardinal then stood on his throne and gave the blessing of the pope.

It is the privilege of any State or city to pay honor to a distinguished citizen, and such action furnishes no ground for criticism. It is only when we analyze this demonstration in honor of Cardinal Gibbons in the light of the teachings and of the purpose of the Roman Catholic Church, that it assumes any special significance.

From the reports of the occasion it is clear that Cardinal Gibbons received the

honor bestowed upon him not simply as a citizen of Baltimore, but as a high dignitary of the Roman Catholic Church. Before reviewing the parade, he was particular to exchange his citizen's suit for his pontifical robes, and in the religious service which followed, he departed from

be reminded, and by those who speak as with authority, of the quickening truths which give life to our country."

It is hardly to be expected that the attorney-general would desire Cardinal Gibbons to use his great influence in favor of the candidate whose election was



CARDINAL GIBBONS

THE CATHEDRAL

THE LOVING-CUP

the usual custom by imparting the blessing of the pope to non-Catholics as well as to members of the church. Furthermore, in the address of welcome by Attorney-General Bonaparte, emphasis was placed upon the ecclesiastical position and duties of the recipient of these honors. The attorney-general said, in part:—

"In truth, dear father, you return to us when we most need you. At this time we are burdened with a great duty, one cast upon us by our form of government,—the duty to chose our chief civil ruler. At such a time we may well

being most stoutly opposed by his own chief, and the introduction of such a reference to political affairs into this address will be likely to give increased force to the claim that the influence of the Roman Catholic Church was used in favor of the election of President Roosevelt's candidate, on account of his favorable attitude toward the Roman Catholic Church, as shown in the Philip-pines, Porto Rico, and Cuba.

On the day following the parade, over one hundred non-Catholics visited the Cardinal, and presented him with a silver loving-cup. The spokesman of the com-

pany told the cardinal that "in this delegation are Lutherans, Methodists, Baptist, and Hebrews, and, indeed, a Jewish rabbi, while two of us are Spiritualists." In his address he further said: "At the reception yesterday one of the speakers said that the bitterness of religious prejudice had well-nigh died out,

has attempted to follow the Christian idea of the separation of church and state.

This demonstration in honor of Cardinal Gibbons is one more evidence of the drawing together of Catholics and Protestants, and of the rapidly increasing influence of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States. When we remem-



MAYOR MAHOOL

C. R. SCHIRM

GOVERNOR CROTHERS

DR. ZIMMERMAN

The men whose pictures appear in this group were prominent in the reception and greeting accorded Cardinal Gibbons, Governor Crothers representing the State, Mayor Mahool the city, Dr. Zimmerman the Lutherans of Baltimore, and Mr. Schirm the Spiritualists

and we hope that it may soon die out altogether."

There is a vast difference between religious prejudice and that kind of maudlin religious sentiment which finds expression in a disregard of the difference between truth and error, between loyalty and apostasy, and hastens to join in the exaltation of a man not as a man merely, but as a leading official representative in this country of that organization which has been the menace of the true church of Christ and of every government which

ber that the conventions of the two great political parties, at which candidates for the presidency were nominated, were both opened by prayer by an archbishop of the Roman Catholic Church, it is not difficult to conclude that both parties are hoping to realize benefit from the influence which that church exercises over its communicants as a factor in determining elections. There is a constant need of emphasizing the counsel of a former president of this republic: "Keep the state and the church forever separate."

President Roosevelt on Religion and Politics

[The attempt to inject religion into the recent presidential campaign has called forth from President Roosevelt, now that the campaign is over, a clear and vigorous setting forth of the principles which should govern in such things. This letter is in reality a reply to the whole controversy, though especially a reply to one of his correspondents. We quote the letter entire.—ED.]

“MY DEAR SIR: I have received your letter, running, in part, as follows:—

“‘While it is claimed almost universally that religion should not enter into politics, yet there is no denying that it does, and the mass of the voters that are not Catholics will not support a man for any office, especially for president of the United States, who is a Roman Catholic.

“‘Since Taft has been nominated for president by the Republican party, it is being circulated and is constantly urged as a reason for not voting for Taft, that he is an infidel (Unitarian), and his wife and brother are Roman Catholics. . . .

“‘If his feelings are in sympathy with the Roman Catholic Church on account of his wife and brother being Catholics, that would be objectionable to a sufficient number of voters to defeat him. On the other hand, if he is an infidel, that would be sure to mean defeat. . . . I am writing this letter for the sole purpose of giving Mr. Taft an opportunity to let the world know what his religious belief is.’

“I received many such letters as yours during the campaign, expressing dissatisfaction with Mr. Taft on religious grounds; some of them on the ground that he was a Unitarian, and others on the ground that he was suspected to be in sympathy with Catholics.

Calls It an Outrage

“I did not answer any of these letters during the campaign because I regarded it as an outrage even to agitate such a

question as a man's religious convictions with the purpose of influencing a political election. But now that the campaign is over, when there is opportunity for men calmly to consider whether such propositions as these you make in your letter would lead, I wish to invite them to consider them, and I have selected your letter to answer because you advance both the objections commonly urged against Mr. Taft; namely, that he is a Unitarian, and also that he is suspected of sympathy with the Catholics.

“You ask that Mr. Taft shall ‘let the world know what his religious belief is.’ This is purely his own private concern; and it is a matter between him and his Maker, a matter for his own conscience, and to require it to be made public under penalty of political discrimination, is to negative the first principles of our government, which guarantee complete religious liberty and the right to each man to act in religious affairs as his own conscience dictates.

Taft Never Sought Advice

“Mr. Taft never asked my advice in the matter, but if he had asked it, I should have emphatically advised him against thus stating publicly his religious belief. The demand for a statement of a candidate's religious belief can have no meaning except that there may be discrimination for or against him because of that belief.

“Discrimination against the holder of one faith means retaliatory discrimination against men of other faiths. The inevitable result of entering upon such a practise would be an abandonment of our real freedom of conscience and a reversion to the dreadful conditions of religious dissension which in so many lands have proved fatal to true liberty, to true religion, and to all advance in civilization.

“Outrage Against Liberty”

“To discriminate against a thoroughly upright citizen because he belongs to some particular church, or because, like Abraham Lincoln, he has not avowed his allegiance to any church, is an outrage

against that liberty of conscience which is one of the foundations of American life. You are entitled to know whether a man seeking your suffrages is a man of clean and upright life, honorable in all his dealings with his fellows, and fit by qualification and purpose to do well in the great office for which he is a candidate; but you are not entitled to know matters which lie purely between himself and his Maker.

"If it is proper or legitimate to oppose a man for being a Unitarian, as was John Quincy Adams, for instance; as is the Rev. Edward Everett Hale, at the present moment chaplain of the Senate and an American of whose life all good Americans are proud, then it would be equally proper to support or oppose a man because of his views on justification by faith, or the method of administering the sacrament, or the gospel of salvation by works. If you once enter on such a career, there is absolutely no limit at which you can legitimately stop.

Creed of No Moment

"So much for your objection to Mr. Taft because he is a Unitarian. Now for your objections to him because you think his wife and brother to be Roman Catholics. As it happens, they are not; but if they were, or if he were a Roman Catholic himself, it ought not to affect in the slightest degree any man's supporting him for the position of president.

"You say that 'the mass of the voters that are not Catholics will not support a man for any office, especially for president of the United States, who is a Roman Catholic.' I believe that when you say this, you foully slander your fellow countrymen. I do not for one moment believe that the mass of our fellow citizens, or that any considerable number of our fellow citizens, can be influenced by such narrow bigotry as to refuse to vote for any thoroughly upright and fit man because he happens to have a particular religious creed.

No Political Consideration

"Such a consideration should never

be treated as a reason for either supporting or opposing a candidate for a political office. Are you aware that there are several States in this Union where the majority of the people are now Catholics? I should condemn in the severest terms the Catholics who in those States (or in any other States) refused to vote for the most fit man because he happened to be a Protestant, and my condemnation would be exactly as severe for Protestants who, under reversed circumstances, refused to vote for a Catholic.

"In public life I am happy to say that I have known many men who were elected and constantly re-elected to office in districts where the great majority of their constituents were of a different religious belief.

Says Slander is Refuted

"I know Catholics who have for many years represented constituencies mainly Protestant, and Protestants who have for many years represented constituencies mainly Catholic; and among the congressmen whom I know particularly well was one man of Jewish faith, who represented a district in which there were hardly any Jews at all. All of these men by their very existence in political life refute the slander you have uttered against your fellow Americans.

"I believe that this republic will endure for many centuries. If so, there will doubtless be among its presidents, Protestants and Catholics, and very probably, at some time, Jews. I have consistently tried while president to act in relation to my fellow Americans of Catholic faith as I hope that any future president who happens to be a Catholic will act toward his fellow Americans of Protestant faith. Had I followed any other course, I should have felt that I was unfit to represent the American people.

Different Faiths in Cabinet

"In my cabinet at the present time there sit side by side Catholic and Protestant, Christian and Jew, each man chosen because, in my belief, he is pecul-

iarly fit to exercise on behalf of all our people the duties of the office to which I have appointed him. In no case does the man's religious belief in any way influence his discharge of his duties, save as it makes him more eager to act justly and uprightly in his relations to all men.

"The same principles that have obtained in appointing the members of my cabinet, the highest officials under me, the officials to whom are intrusted the work of carrying out all the important policies of my administration, are the principles upon which all good Americans should act in choosing, whether by election or appointment, the men to fill any office, from the highest to the lowest in the land. Yours, truly,

"THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

"Mr. J. C. Martin, Dayton, Ohio.

"Washington, Nov. 6, 1908."

Progress Toward a Union of Church and State in the United States

W. A. COLCORD

FOR the first time in the history of the world the people of the United States of America established a national government upon the principle divinely ordained of God in Judea, in the words, "Render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's,"—the principal of separation of church and state. It thus became the first truly Christian nation in the world, not in the sense that the Christian religion was the established religion of the nation, but that the national government was founded upon the Christian *idea* of civil government, which is that it should be *civil*, and not *religious*; that it should concern itself with civil affairs, and not with religious affairs; and that it should content itself with seeing to it that men behave themselves in a civil manner, and not attempt to compel them to act religiously; in other words, that church and state should be separate.

In like manner, the United States government was the first truly Protestant government in the world, not in the sense that the Protestant religion was made the established religion of the government, but in the sense that the government was founded on the Protestant *idea* of government, that of separation of church and state, which is the very opposite of an established religion enforced by law.

But from almost the first there have been those claiming to be both Christians and Protestants, who knew so little of this divine, Christian, and Protestant idea of civil government that they have ever been seeking to overturn matters in this government, and "place all the Christian laws, institutions, and usages of our government on an undeniably *legal basis* in the fundamental law of the land." In their mistaken zeal for religion, and their false idea of the province and purposes of civil government, they have desired that this government should repudiate this principle upon which it was founded, that of separation of church and state, and adopt the old idea, which has been the curse of the ages,—that of an established religion, a union of church and state, or religion enforced by law.

And this mistaken, unchristian, un-Protestant idea of government has been growing in this country, until the Supreme Court of the United States has proclaimed to the world that "this is a Christian nation;" grown until Congress has been influenced to pass a number of Sunday-closing measures; grown until there is such a general clamor among the religious leaders of the country for national religious legislation that there are at the present time no fewer than ten Sunday bills pending in Congress; grown until a member of the Supreme Court of the United States has presided at a Sunday-law mass-meeting, and pleaded as a reason why the national government should pass a Sunday law, the fact that nearly all the States have Sunday laws; grown until petitions with millions of signatures are being rolled in upon Congress, the president, and the president's

cabinet, demanding Sunday legislation, and men in the national legislature are threatened with political beheadal if they do not vote for these measures;—yes, grown until members of Congress have confessed that while personally opposed to such legislation, the pressure has become so great that they are compelled to yield.

This is where matters in the United States stand to-day. Through the tendency to follow tradition and the beaten paths of the past; through a failure to read and understand the lessons of history, and to grasp the real meaning and essence of true Protestantism, and to in-dorse and apply its principles; through a failure to read and understand the Bible itself, and to listen to Christ and be governed by his Spirit and teachings,—through all these means the Old-World idea of a union of church and state has been transplanted here, and is springing up to bear its baleful harvest of intolerance and persecution in this fair land, as it has done in other lands in ages gone by.

When America, the land of religious liberty, repudiates the noble principles upon which it was founded, the epoch of freedom will be at an end. The tide will then set in for religious intolerance and oppression throughout the world. Would that all professed Christians, Protestants, and patriots were so true to their profession and calling, and so wide-awake, that they would see to it that religion was kept *out* of politics, instead of doing all they can to infuse it *into* politics. Would that they would keep church and state separate.

News Notes

IN New Jersey the movement for so-called "civic righteousness" seems to be gaining ground. The question of enforcing the Sunday-closing laws is being widely agitated. The governor of the State, having taken a very decided stand on this question, has threatened to remove from office any one who does not comply with his directions in this matter.

There has also been talk of sending State troops to certain places to compel the closing of places of amusement and everything of similar character on Sunday.

Dr. Tufts, the Pacific Coast representative of the International Reform Bureau, has been campaigning the State of California recently in the interests of a Sunday law for that State.

There have been considerable gains in the State of Ohio by the temperance forces. Thirty-three counties have voted against granting licenses to saloons, thus closing 871 places where liquor has been sold.

The recent Sunday-law agitation in Portland, Ore., has given opportunity for friends of religious liberty to make known to a great many the principles of soul freedom and the danger of experimenting with the liberties of the people.

The advocates of compulsory Sunday observance were never more active in pushing their campaign than they are at the present time. The Federation of Sunday Rest Associations is leading out in this campaign, and has already sent in to Congress and the president petitions signed by two million persons. This federation is working for national legislation in favor of Sunday in numerous lines of industrial activity. Mr. Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, declares that that organization stands unitedly for a compulsory rest day.

At the present time the larger republics of South America are all arranging for a powerful increase in their navies. Brazil is having three of the most powerful types of warships constructed for her at private ship-yards in England. Argentina and Chile are also laying plans for a considerable increase in their fleets. These republics are said to have formed a tacit alliance for the purpose of combining forces in time of need against any nation that might threaten or seem to threaten their interests. These nations, like their wealthier and more powerful neighbors, prefer to put their trust in battle-ships rather than in Hague conferences.

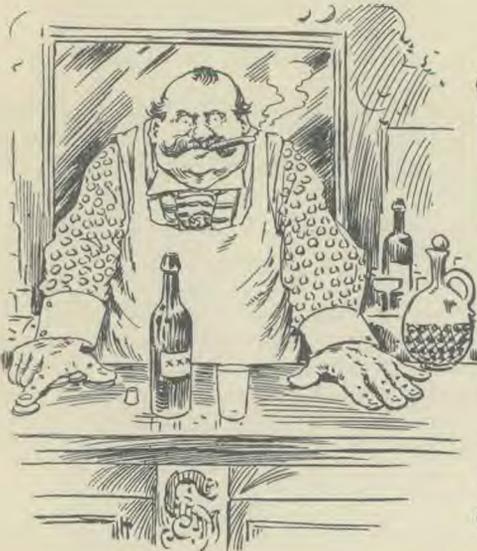
Temperance

Two Kinds of Bars

C. M. SNOW

THERE are two kinds of bars connected with the saloon business—the kind over which men pass their money and receive in exchange the poisoning of body and soul, the filching of their reason, the disgrace, sorrow, and poverty of themselves and their families; and the

for the families of the poor, in the place of scaffolds on which to hang the head of the household when drink has made him the murderer of his own flesh and blood; we can prepare the children of the poor to do honest battle with adversity, instead of sending them to sweat-shops to grow up to manhood with a handicap of ignorance and a predilection for crime;



SALOON BARS

kind behind which men are shut away from the rest of humanity when drink has driven them to crime. He who passes his earnings over the one tempts the devil to put him behind the other. Abolish the first kind, and we can dispense with more than three fourths of the latter.

We can do more than that—we can stop a river of sorrow, and wipe out a sea of tears; we can put peace and happiness in the place of turmoil, abuse, and wretched poverty; we can build parks for tenement children to play in, instead of prisons for their fathers and brothers to be shut away in; we can build houses

we can write, "Vacant—for Rent," over the gates of our poor-farms and almshouses, and stop a great portion of the turbid stream that is flowing into our asylums; we can close two thirds of the brothels, put the procurer and procuress largely out of business, and feel that the dangers threatening our daughters from that source are reduced in like ratio. We can do all that, and more, when we have closed that kind of bar over which money is exchanged for liquor, character for appetite, peace for misery, honor for disgrace, hope for despair, and the possibility of heaven for the certainty of hell.

What She Went for; What She Got

SHE went for a pint of the liquid curse,
That fair, small child of my simple verse;
Her mother sent her, and little thought
What more those pence for her daughter
bought.

She got her beer — but she got beside
A thousand evils that eventide;
For she saw examples of sin and shame,
Results of the drink for which she came.

She heard the talk at that bar of death,
And breathed for a moment that tainted
breath;
And the pure young mind got an un-
known thought,
None knew the stain that she homeward
brought.

She saw, she heard, and she tasted, too,
The foaming draught of that hellish
brew;
And the first dire love for the drink that
night
Was bought with the money by that fair
mite.

Her mother took from the childish hand
The drink she fetched at her sad com-
mand;
But she could not take from those bright
blue eyes
The scenes like clouds upon azure skies.

She took the change that the maiden
brought,
But she could not take from her mind
one thought,
Or word, or memory of that hour,
Where first she learned the infernal
power.

Years passed away, and the fair young
child
Was a drunken woman with passions
wild;
Her mother was dying with broken heart,
That she in her drunkenness first had
part.

For she saw too late that her pence had
bought
A curse for her daughter she little
thought;

But she might have thought, and she
should have known
That the house of sin was the tempter's
throne.

— *Wm. Luff.*

Can the State Rightfully Legislate Against the Liquor Traffic?

K. C. RUSSELL

THE *St. Louis Times*, of Oct. 24, 1908, contains an editorial regarding a statement which has just been made by "His Excellency, Most Reverend Diomedede Falconio [Roman Catholic], apostolic delegate to the United States," in which he opposes the prohibition movement. In part Mgr. Falconio says:—

"Here in America we will not obtain the desired results by enacting prohibitory laws. In such cases the very ones whom the law is especially directed against will find means of secretly evading it. No matter what laws you may make, people without a moral education will find a way of violating them."

The editor, in commenting upon the foregoing statement, said, "Nothing could be closer to the truth. Men are not to be made good by statute."

Instead of the apostolic delegate's statement being close to the truth, it appears to us that nothing could be further from the truth. It seems almost incredible that any one who values the blessings guaranteed to all citizens under protection of civil law could make such a statement.

The argument made against prohibition is that those against whom laws are made will evade them. Such reasoning as that would argue just as strongly against every law on the statute-books, — laws against theft, murder, and every other crime, — for scarcely a day passes but some criminal is "secretly evading" these laws.

Such a proposition must be regarded as utterly unsound and untenable by any thoughtful person who has any regard for the safety of society. Every repu-

table newspaper, every church dignitary in the land, would repudiate an argument against our statutory laws prohibiting crime, because criminals are "secretly evading" them. Indeed, those who violate the law rarely do so openly. No one would deny that there might be violations of the strictest prohibitory law that the state might enact, just as in the case of other laws. It should be remembered that those who have so much to say about the ineffectiveness of laws against the liquor traffic, declaring that prohibition does not prohibit, etc., are the very ones who are engaged in the liquor business, or who are in sympathy with it. By all such arguments they tacitly admit that they do not purpose to obey the law; or, in other words, they virtually say, "I am an anarchist."

Again: if prohibition does not prohibit, why is it that liquor men and their sympathizers are always opposing prohibitory legislation? If they were really sincere in what they say, they would line up with prohibitionists; for that would be, according to their own logic, the most effective way to perpetuate the liquor traffic. The fact is, they know that prohibitory laws *do* prohibit.

In the city of Atlanta, Ga., shortly after the prohibitory law went into effect in that State, the Atlanta prison for the first time in fifteen years was without an inmate. Some of the citizens were also lamenting the fact that they would not be able to keep the public highways in good shape, because of lack of laborers, occasioned by the chain-gang's not being recruited every day with a fresh supply of men who had been arrested for being drunk.

The apostolic delegate further reasons that the opposition directed against the liquor business should be along moral lines. It is true that every effort possible should be put forth by the exercise of moral suasion to help those to see their wrong, who are following this evil business; but our efforts should not stop there if men persist in a business that is a menace to the natural rights and lives

of the people. It then comes within the jurisdiction of the state to prohibit it, the same as does any other crime, because it is an uncivil thing to imperil the lives of the citizens of any commonwealth.

We should use moral suasion with the thief to get him to see the evil of his way, by refraining from taking the property of his fellow men; but who would reason that if he continued to steal, the state should not apply the civil law?

We should also exercise moral suasion with the man who is seeking to slay his fellow men; but should we confine our efforts to moral suasion, and jeopardize the lives of our families by pleading that there should be no law against murder, and that only moral suasion should be used?—Most emphatically no; for it is within the province of civil law to lay its strong hand upon all such persons, and thus restrain them from acts of violence.

The liquor traffic is both a robber and a murderer. It has robbed the young man of his manhood, his virtue, and every other noble instinct with which the Creator has endowed him. It has robbed the drunkard's family of their food, their clothing, and their home; the wife of her husband; the children of their father. No one objects to laws prohibiting the manufacture and sale of impure and adulterated foods, because all recognize these laws as being in the interests of life and public health and safety. Why, then, should any one object to laws prohibiting the manufacture and sale of spirituous liquors, which are infinitely more dangerous, demoralizing, and destructive?

Again the editorial says, "Men are not to be made good by statute." No; but men can be made civil by law, and that is the province of civil law. The state can only deal with those things of a civil character. Those things which are religious and pertain to the consciences of men, are wholly outside the jurisdiction of the state. Let this distinction be clearly drawn.

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SIGNS OF THE TIMES

Mountain View California

LIBERTY

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RELIGION ceases to be religion in proportion as it is forced.

THIS magazine contains matter that is vital to the interests of Christian and non-Christian, of the government itself as well as of the individuals who compose it. He who values his own liberty in matters of belief can not be indifferent to the assault now being made upon the very guaranties of our liberties.

WHEN Congress has passed one law of a religious character, it has opened the door for the settlement of all kinds of religious controversies by legislation and for the designation of all kinds of religious duties in the same manner. From such a condition the first amendment to the Constitution of the United States is supposed to guard us.

As a result of the recent election in Missouri, it is now probable that Governor Joseph B. Folk and Judge William H. Wallace will both retire to private life. Governor Folk failed to secure the nomination for the senatorship, and Judge Wallace failed to secure the nomination for the governorship; and the Republican nominee for the governor-

ship, Attorney-General Hadley, was elected. The repudiation of these two self-appointed reformers is one of the noteworthy incidents in the recent election.

THERE is no such good soil anywhere to be found for the growth of the seeds of hypocrisy as that furnished by a state-enforced religion. He who counts himself an acceptable servant of God because of his observance of religious regulations made and enforced by the state, has not learned the first principles of the kingdom of Christ. The gospel of that kingdom is not thus proclaimed, and no such organization was ever commissioned of heaven to give it.

BEFORE another issue of this journal appears, Congress will doubtless have decided the question whether the nation shall commit itself to a union of church and state. The passage of the Johnston Sunday bill, or the refusal to pass that measure, will decide that question. In its consideration of that bill, Congress will be brought face to face with one of the most important questions ever considered by it. The passage of that bill will mean a complete transformation of the working plan of our national government. The nation that has stood so long for religious liberty will then have entered upon a course which will jeopardize that liberty most dearly prized,—the liberty of belief, the freedom of conscience,—and religion will be made the plaything of political majorities, while the ecclesiastical politician will seek to run the government in the interests of the church. Against such an unholy scramble for place and power on the part of the church, and against such an unwarranted interference on the part of the state in the religious concerns of men, this journal does and ever will protest.

George Washington on Religious Liberty

To the Quakers, in October, 1789, George Washington said:—

“Government being, among other purposes, instituted to protect the persons and consciences of men from oppression, it certainly is the duty of rulers, not only to abstain from it themselves, but, according to their stations, to prevent it in others.

“The liberty enjoyed by the people of these States, of worshipping Almighty God agreeably to their consciences, is not only among the choicest of their *blessings*, but also of their *rights*.”—*Sparks's "Writings of George Washington," Vol. XII, page 168.*

George Washington, replying to congratulations of the Baptists in Virginia on his election to the presidency, in May, 1789, said:—

“If I could have entertained the slightest apprehension that the constitution framed in the convention, where I had the honor to preside, might possibly endanger the religious rights of any ecclesiastical society, certainly I would never have placed my signature to it; and if

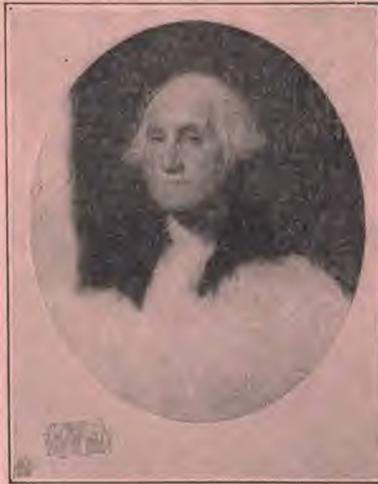
I could now conceive that the general government might ever be so administered as to render the liberty of conscience insecure, I beg you will be persuaded, that no one would be more zealous than myself to establish effectual barriers

against the horrors of spiritual tyranny, and every species of religious persecution. For you doubtless remember that I have often expressed my sentiments, that every man, conducting himself as a good citizen, and being accountable to God, alone for his re-

ligious opinions, ought to be protected in worshipping the Deity according to the dictates of his own conscience.”—*Id., Vol. XII, p. 155.*

To the New Church, Baltimore, January, 1793, George Washington said:—

“We have abundant reason to rejoice, that, in this land, the light of truth and reason has triumphed over the power of bigotry and superstition, and that every person may here worship God according to the dictates of his own heart.”—*Id., Vol. XII, page 204.*





TURNING TO CAESAR

"Your Sunday and all other forms of act-of-Parliament religion seem to me to be all wrong. Give us a fair field and no favor, and our faith has no cause to fear. Christ wants no help from Caesar. I should be afraid to borrow help from the government; it would look to me as if I rested on the arm of flesh, instead of depending on the living God."—*Spurgeon.*