

The Meaning of Religious Legislation

Liberty

A Magazine of Religious Freedom

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



THE LEGASPI MONUMENT, MANILA, P. I.

King Philip, of Spain, sent Legaspi to engage in the conquest of these islands in 1564. He was moved by religious motives. With Legaspi came a friar of the order of St. Augustine, Andres de Urdaneta, as director of the spiritual conquest. In the monument they stand side by side, Legaspi with his sword, representing the state, and Urdaneta with the cross and Bible, representing the church. The history of the Philippines, written in blood, testifies to the baneful results of the union of church and state.

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RELIGIOUS LEGISLATION DARKENING THE WORLD

LIBERTY

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

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Survey of the Field

SINCE the last issue of LIBERTY there have been developments of interest and importance in the world-wide problem of religious freedom. In some countries the demand for religious legislation seems to be growing more urgent.

There have also been acts outside of legislation which indicate a drift away from the true principles of religious liberty. Brazil furnishes an object-lesson in this line. Hungary furnishes another, in her attitude of intolerance toward Protestant meetings in spite of her law guaranteeing religious liberty. China's attitude toward the Sunday institution has been a matter of no little surprise even to the staunchest advocates of a union of religion and the state. Cuba is taking her stand for a stricter enforcement of Sunday observance; and Canada is looking forward to the time when her new Sunday law shall become operative. The English Education bill so strongly favored by the Commons, so strongly opposed by the established church and the Catholic Church, and now emasculated by the House of Lords, is the center of the most earnest controversy at the present time. At the same time there is a growing sentiment throughout England in behalf of stricter Sunday laws.

France has maintained her position upon the separation of church and state; Spain is following her example in some degree; and even Italy is showing signs of a growing antagonism toward church dictation in temporal affairs. Russia just now is giving

promise of true religious liberty to all within the realm. Thus while countries in which church and state have been most closely united are swinging away from that condition, other countries of greater enlightenment are swinging back, in principle and practise, to the conditions from which their neighbors are struggling to get free.

Brazil.—It will be remembered that when the people of Brazil set up a government of themselves, by themselves, there was instituted a separation of church and state. There was lay neutrality in the schools, civil marriages and civil burials were made legal. On the same principle the crucifix was removed from the courts of justice. Now a reaction is setting in, and large bodies of Catholics have been demanding the restoration of the crucifixes in the courts. Recently, in Rio de Janeiro, a procession of about ten thousand persons marched from the cathedral, to the music of two military bands, through the principal streets to re-establish the old order of things so far as the courts are concerned. The central figure of the procession was the parish priest, walking under a rich canopy, the cords of which were held by six magistrates and officers. The priest carried the crucifix. At the end of the procession came a bevy of twenty-one young girls, decked with ribbons of the national colors, representing the twenty-one Brazilian States. The priest bearing the crucifix

entered the great hall of the court, where he was received by the presiding judge, who took the image into his arms, kissed its feet, and restored it to its old place above the bench. The pomp and splendor of the ceremony and the part which she induced the magistrates to play, indicates that the Roman church considers itself of right set over both—the temporal and spiritual affairs of men. There is no likelihood

state character. Of this the *Congregationalist* says: "It is a step toward a recognition of the Christian Sabbath, but only a slight one, yet possibly premonitory of other larger ones." A despatch from Shanghai contains the following interesting item: "Perhaps the most striking indication of the Chinese desire for Western progress is found in the recent imperial decree attempting to establish the Christian Sabbath.



A WATCH-TOWER ON THE WALL OF CANTON, CHINA

that she will stop with this first step in the restoration of former things.

China. — Hereafter no visitors are to be received in any of the government offices of Peking on Sunday. This, we believe, is China's first official recognition of Sunday as a day differing in any way from the other days of the week. While so far it is simply conforming to the diplomatic customs of other nations, it is an entering wedge to other legislation of a church-and-

The decree makes the Sabbath [Sunday] a legal holiday. It is not probable that the decree will be largely followed throughout China, as, indeed, it is not probable that Chang Chih-tung's decree in regard to the New Testament [in the public schools] will be largely observed. They show, however, the aspirations of the Chinese for western civilization." It shows more than that. It shows a deep, decided purpose running through all the world to bring the Sunday

institution into prominence, make it legal in all the world, and finally compel all to recognize it instead of the Sabbath of Jehovah.

Cuba.—Notwithstanding the fact that ninety-five per cent of the people of Cuba are declared to be absolutely indifferent to religious matters, a movement for stricter Sunday observance is growing there. The municipal authorities of Havana have taken up the matter, and have ordered that all places of business be closed on Sundays, except undertaking establishments, drug-stores, restaurants, fruit stores, newspaper offices, cigar stands, and dairies. Bakeries, butcher shops, and provision stores are allowed to remain open until ten o'clock. This certainly indicates that Sunday laws are no indication of vital godliness on the part of the people who pass the laws or yield obedience to them.

Italy.—While affairs are drifting on toward a virtual union of church and state in America and Canada, it is interesting, and no doubt will be surprising to many, to know that Italy is showing signs of a desire to follow France in the matter of the separation of church and state. It is stated by a writer in the *Gazette de Geneve* that the demand for a separation between the Italian church and state is growing louder, and that a crisis may be expected soon. A short time ago the bishop of Cremona, Father Bonomelli, issued a pastoral letter which has given the Catholic world a shock. This bishop is considered one of the most influential Roman prelates, and his advocacy of the separation has certainly shaken some of the foundations of the church in Italy. It is the more astonishing because of its appearance immediately following a papal encyclical and its opposition to the age-long doctrines of the Vatican. This conflict has caused violent strife in Catholic ranks, and views are now loudly advocated that formerly were expressed in whispers. Says the writer above referred to:—
“These facts caused the pope to condemn the letter of the bishop of Cremona, but this merely added fuel to the flames, and the conflict immediately became national. It

is true that at the present the noise has lessened—because of the disciplinary measures adopted by the Vatican.”

One of the most influential Italian papers, the *Giornale d'Italia*, has now started an inquiry upon the matter of church and state separation, and there seems to be a distinct majority in favor of a separation. Journalists look for a heated discussion of the matter in the near future.

Canada.—The Sunday law of Canada, fathered and nurtured by the Lord's Day Alliance, permits many industries to continue unhindered on Sunday; but there is something which it can never agree to tolerate, and that is an observer of Jehovah's Sabbath quietly going about his business on the other six days of the week. Against such a thing all its powers were focused, and the exemption clause in favor of those who observe the seventh day of the week as the Sabbath was finally stricken out. An editorial in *Collier's Weekly* designates this Canadian Sunday law as “a faded blue-law”—a “blue-law” because of the nature of the law, and “a faded blue-law” because of two clauses which were added to it. One of these provides that nothing in the law shall interfere with any provincial law then or thereafter in force, and the other forbids prosecutions under the new law without the consent of the attorney-general of the province in which the offense was committed, or after the expiration of sixty days from the time of the commission of the alleged offense. It would seem that these clauses were added to prevent the enforcement of the law; so we may expect another campaign on the part of the Lord's Day Alliance to remedy these defects so detrimental to the success of their church-and-state program.

Russia.—The decree issued by the czar in 1905 regarding religious liberty was shorn of its effect, as far as possible, by hostile officials, and so could not become as fully effective as it was designed that it should be. This was due largely to the failure of the elaborate supplementary legislation. In many cases the provincial authorities construed the law as they saw

fit. The new decrees of that government are an amplification and confirmation of the former decree. Under the new laws the various sects, "unless they should indulge in criminal or immoral practises, will receive upon application the sanction of the government. This will confer upon their clergy equal rights with the clergy of the Russian orthodox church. They will be permitted to erect church and school buildings, carry on evangelistic work, and receive proselytes. An orthodox priest declared that the 'sects' would have more freedom than the orthodox church, 'as the latter, being the state church, is subject to a mass of state regulations.'" This is a striking comment from an authoritative source on the loss of the church's liberty when the state is permitted to dictate in religious matters; and it is equally true that the state enthrals itself whenever it permits church control in political and temporal affairs.

France.—The French nation now has a law making rest one day in seven compulsory except in certain specified instances. This is not in the strictest sense a Sunday law. No establishment of any kind is permitted to work its employees more than six consecutive days. The weekly period of rest must be twenty-four consecutive hours; and it is the intent of the lawmakers that it should be on Sunday where possible, that being the day most convenient for the largest number. At first there was some opposition to the enforcement of this law; but reports indicate that there is a general compliance with it. The railroads have signified their intention of giving their employees a weekly day of rest as soon as arrangements can be made. They were not included in that law.

The tension between the government and the Catholic hierarchy continues the same. The government declares it will not permit a foreign power to dictate French law.

The pope declares that compliance with the French law would be destructive to the church, and that he will not authorize the formation of societies for the holding of Catholic Church property under the French law. Whether the new French cabinet, now being formed, will assume a different attitude in the matter, can not yet be announced. It is reported that a Catholic organization, independent of the pope's authority, is being formed to take over the church property under the law.



A SCENE IN SOUTH RUSSIA

Spain.—It is doubtful if Spain will go as far as France has gone in the matter of the separation of church and state, and yet there is a movement of considerable moment now going on in Spain. With the intolerance for which the Roman Church is noted, she has contested every concession made looking toward greater religious liberty there. No Protestant denomination has been permitted to erect a place of worship until recently, and that not upon a principal street. Now the king and his government are showing favors to Protestantism in a way that was not expected after the iron-bound renunciation that was exacted of Princess Ena before her marriage to the young king. The king has issued a decree that Protestants shall have full rights, and that marriages by civil authorities shall be recognized as legal. The Catholic prelates have protested against this with the utmost vehemence, but without effect. The Bishop of Tuy issued a pastoral letter in which he instructed the priests and people within his

jurisdiction that civil marriages were void, that parties thereto would not be permitted to participate in the sacrament, would be refused absolution in death and be denied Christian burial. The government took up the matter at once, and the bishop was compelled to retract in terms agreed upon

preach at a new station in South Hungary. He gave the judge due notice orally of his intention. The judge refused to receive it. He then sent a written notice. The meeting was called in a private house. Five policemen entered, took the names of all persons present and placed the minister



PLAZA CATALUNA, BARCELONA, SPAIN

between the papal nuncio and the government. The stand now taken by the government is a virtual renunciation of the concordat entered into with the papacy in 1851 by which all religions but Catholicism were forbidden. The pope is said to be greatly in fear of an agitation in Spain for a separation of church and state. The pope does not wish to alienate Spain, because that country has become a virtual asylum for members of the many Catholic orders driven out of other countries.

Hungary.—The most liberal laws granting religious liberty are frequently nullified by the acts of officials who misconstrue or set them aside. Two cases in point recently occurred in Hungary. In 1895 a law was passed in Hungary granting the utmost freedom in religious matters. The first paragraph of that law says distinctly that in Hungary anybody may profess any religion he may choose, and is permitted to practise it within the bounds of public morality. The law requires that in the case of non-residents due notice of intention to hold a meeting must be given to the presiding judge. Rev. William Burt, a Methodist minister of Budapest, desired to

under arrest. He was fined two hundred crowns, and sentenced to twenty-three days' imprisonment. The vicegespan reduced the fine to one hundred crowns and five days' imprisonment. These officials discovered that as the meeting was to be held in the evening, it would be against public morals. This subterfuge to nullify the intent of the lawmakers is on a par with the arrest of seventh-day keepers for working quietly on their farms or in their gardens, on the plea that they are disturbing their neighbors. Mr. Otto Melle, another Methodist, was sentenced to a fine of two hundred crowns and twenty-three days' imprisonment for conducting a meeting in the city of Soare, after having complied with all legal requirements. Another case of the same kind is reported from Verbasz, and all three are to go before the minister of the interior on appeal.

England.—The Education bill which passed the House of Commons on July 30, with a majority of 192, continues to absorb the attention of all England. One prominent writer declares that never since the time of Cromwell and the Stuarts have the religious passions of the people flamed

out more fiercely, or the path of a new government been rendered more difficult. The House of Commons has passed the bill, but the Lords and the bishops are determinedly against it. The latter characterize the bill as "pure robbery," an attempt to "crush the church of England." The Catholics declared that the passage of the bill "would drive Catholics to war." The *Times* declares, "It is a bill to force the country into a period of religious war." The

Sunday observance, at which all the churches, including the Roman Catholic, were represented." The Prince and Princess of Wales also are showing their active interest in the movement for stricter Sunday observance. It is reported that the churches are thoroughly aroused to make a stand against "Sunday desecration." A joint committee of the House of Commons and the House of Lords has issued a report on Sunday trading. The commit-



HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT, LONDON

chief exponents of the bill are the "passive resisters," many of whom have, during the past four years, seen their property confiscated, that religious instruction which they did not believe might be given in the public schools. By the new law all religious tests will be abolished in determining the qualification of teachers, and the only religious instruction given in the public schools will be given by the clergy, and that without expense to the state. Attendance upon these classes will not be compulsory. When the bill came before the House of Lords an amendment was added, making attendance upon religious exercises compulsory in all the elementary schools. As this would frustrate the whole purpose of the bill, it is evident that there will be a bitter struggle over the matter before a settlement is reached.

A conference was recently held in London in the interests of the "old-fashioned

tee is "convinced of the great importance of maintaining Sunday as a day of rest."

In the minds of many, the disestablishment of the Church of England has been brought nearer by the recent governmental inquiry into the matter of church discipline, ritualism, etc. The committee to look into these matters was appointed in 1904, and its report is now public. It found very many deviations from the legal forms of worship, especially in the matter of communion service, in which there was a striking imitation of the ceremonies of the Roman Catholic Church. The committee recommends an appeal to parliament in the matter. Parliament, as at present constituted, is largely made up of non-conformists, and these will be called upon to regulate the rites and ceremonies and vestments which shall be legal in the Church of England. Such are the inconsistencies of a union of church and state.

Editorial

Our Position

WE are Christians. We believe in the Bible as the infallible Word of God, a sufficient rule of faith and practise. We are Protestants. We protest against the intrusion of the civil magistrate in matters of faith. Because we are Christians and Protestants we are uncompromisingly opposed to all efforts to subordinate the state to the church or the church to the state. We believe that God ordained both the church and the state, but that their spheres of action are entirely distinct. This principle was recognized by Jesus Christ when he said, "Render therefore unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's; and unto God the things that are God's."

We have no sympathy with the views of infidels or atheists, and we are not in league with any enemies of Christianity. Our opposition to the misguided efforts of those who are seeking to reform the world by constitutional amendments and religious legislation is based upon our belief in Christianity and our desire for the prosperity of both the church and the state. We are profoundly impressed with the conviction that no greater misfortune could happen to the cause of Christ in the earth than that its professed representatives should seek an alliance with the state, or should seek to establish Christian usages upon a legal basis in the constitution and the laws of the land. We are equally sure that when the state yields to the demands of such a mistaken zeal in behalf of Christianity, and attempts to extend its sphere of control into the field of religion, it enters upon the path which will lead to internal disorder and ultimate downfall.

In the interest of a church free from hypocrisy, and a state free from corruption, we shall oppose every effort to commit the government, either state or national, to religious legislation of any kind under whatever pretext, and we invite all who are in sympathy with our position to unite with

us in this opposition. We regard this as a true service to be rendered to the cause of genuine Christianity.

Why We Oppose Sunday Legislation

BECAUSE we oppose Sunday legislation let no one get the idea that we are opposed to the Sabbath or to Sabbath keeping. We are not. On the contrary we most firmly believe in the Sabbath and in Sabbath keeping. We believe that the Sabbath is not only of divine appointment and one of the oldest institutions in the world, but that it is one of the greatest boons ever given to man. Coeval with man, it has come down from creation as the great memorial of him who created heaven and earth in six days and rested on the seventh. If the Sabbath then ordained and given to man had always been observed, there never would have been, there never could have been, an agnostic, an infidel, an atheist, or an idolater in all the world; for through it and its observance, all, from the least to the greatest, would have known the true and living God. The original Sabbath was ordained to be a great connecting-link between earth and heaven, that man might not forget his Maker.

While, when rightly observed, there are, as a natural and necessary consequence, physical, intellectual, social, and other benefits derived from it, its great purpose is religious. It is to be kept "holy," and its observance is to be rendered to God, for it is "the Sabbath of the Lord thy God." The keeping of the Sabbath, therefore, is a religious act.

But the Scriptures say that "he that cometh to God must believe that he is;" that "God is a Spirit; and they that worship him must worship him in Spirit and in truth." But no amount of legislation or compulsion can make men believe in God, or worship him in spirit and in truth. All religious legislation, therefore, is out of place. Moreover, the Scriptures say that "whatsoever is not of faith is sin." For men, therefore, to attempt to compel their

fellow men to observe a religious institution or render a religious service in which they have no faith, is for them to attempt to force them to sin.

We oppose Sunday legislation because matters of religion are wholly outside the legitimate field of civil government. It is not the province of the state to determine whether there be such an institution as the Sabbath, or what day is the Sabbath, or how the Sabbath should be observed. Its whole duty in this matter is to protect each citizen in the choice which he may make, either to observe a particular day or to observe no day, provided only that he may not interfere with the right of others to follow their choice, and may not perform any uncivil act under the cover of religion. It is an offense against society to disturb a company of worshipers or any other peaceable gathering on any day of the week, and it is no greater crime to do this on one day of the week than on another. Just as soon as the state occupies any other ground, it sets up a state theology, and establishes, to a greater or less extent, a union of church and state. For these reasons we are opposed to all Sunday laws.

The State Personality Doctrine

IN the last issue of LIBERTY we briefly expressed our views upon this subject in these words:—

We reject utterly the National Reform theory that the state is in itself a moral person distinct from the people, having an individuality and a responsibility to God of its own.

In the October issue of *The Christian Statesman* reference is made to our disbelief of this fundamental article in the National Reform creed, and a brief defense of his position is made by the editor. From this article we quote:—

It occurs to us now to say that if we are mistaken in this position, and our opponent is right, the common thought and speech of mankind are also wrong, and must be corrected. All men seem to regard nations as moral agents, condemn them for wrongful acts, and applaud them for doing right. With the growing oneness of the

world, and the increasing facility of intercourse between nations, there has been developed a world-conscience, and the nations are becoming increasingly sensitive to the world's opinion and to the blame or approval of sister nations. All history is written in terms of moral condemnation or approval of the conduct of nations. . . .

We thank LIBERTY for thus frankly directing the discussion to a fundamental and vital point in our whole controversy. We recognize anew, as we always have, the crucial importance of this position. We cheerfully accept the battle which is offered on this point. We are only sorry for an antagonist who does not realize how tremendously the odds are against him, and that the task he has undertaken is no less than the rewriting of history, the reconstruction of political science as taught by its great masters, the imposition of new and violent interpretations on the Holy Scriptures, and the reversal of the ordinary moral judgment of mankind.

We appreciate the *Statesman's* expression of sympathy, but we urge it not to weep for us, but for itself and its mistaken followers. Its interpretation of history, of political science, of the Holy Scriptures, and of the judgment of mankind, must be the result either of a limited study of this subject or the arbitrary rejection of those authorities which differ from its own conclusion. In either case it is unreliable.

What is a State?

In the consideration of this doctrine we do not propose to rest our case upon mere assertions or abstract arguments, but rather to bring forward the testimony of writers whose authority will command respect. First let us settle what a state or nation really is. Bouvier in his "Law Dictionary" declares that it is "a self-sufficient body of persons united together in one community for the defense of their rights and to do right and justice to foreigners. In this sense the state means the whole people united into one body politic." In delivering the opinion of the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of *Texas versus White* (7 Wallace, pages 720, 721), Chief Justice Chase defined a state thus: "It sometimes describes a people or community of individuals united more or less closely in political relations,

inhabiting temporarily or permanently the same country. . . . The people . . . constitute the state. . . . A state, in the ordinary sense of the constitution, is a political community of free citizens, occupying a territory of defined boundaries, and organized under a government sanctioned and limited by a written constitution and established by the consent of the governed."

We next inquire whether this "political community of free citizens" can be separated from the individuals composing it, and considered as a moral being, and morally accountable. In reply to this question we quote from Professor Pomeroy's "Introduction to Municipal Law," page 392, where the author says that "the state, as separated from the individuals who compose it, has no existence except in a figure; and that to predicate religious responsibility of this abstraction is an absurdity. Whatever then, the state does, whatever laws it makes, touching religious subjects, are done and made not because the state is responsible, but simply that the people may be secure in the enjoyment of their own religious preferences." In harmony with this conception of the state, Professor Pomeroy says: "The state, as an organic body, has nothing whatever to do with religion, except to protect the individuals in whatever belief and worship they may adopt."

Corporate Personality a Fiction

Commenting upon these definitions of a state, Dr. Samuel T. Spear, in his "Religion and the State," says:—

The word state or nation is an abstract or class term, used to designate a mass of individuals in certain relations to each other, established and maintained by law; and to predicate personality of this numerical aggregate, or of the relations existing between its constituent parts, except as a mere figure of speech, is an absurdity. A corporate personality is simply a fiction. A person is a living and conscious moral unit, and no collection of such units, in whatever manner related to each other, can make a person. When the Bible speaks of a state or nation it uses the title by which it is known; and this title is not the name of a person, but simply a term applicable to a whole class of persons. God blesses or

curses a nation only by blessing or cursing the individuals who compose it. National character, national responsibility, and national virtue or vice exist only in the people, and independently of the people they have no existence. The only personality that even by a figure can be affirmed of bodies of men grows out of their organization into bodies, and this consists wholly in a set of *relations* which real persons hold to each other, and on account of which they are bodies politic or corporate, in distinction from miscellaneous and unrelated individuals.

Macaulay Versus Gladstone

This idea of state personality and of the consequent moral accountability of a nation apart from the individuals composing it was thoroughly discussed by Lord Macaulay more than threescore years ago. In 1839 W. E. Gladstone, then a young man and a member of parliament, wrote a book entitled "The State in Its Relations with the Church." Lord Macaulay wrote a review of this book, which was first published in the *Edinburgh Review*, and may now be found in his published essays. To show the force of his argument on this question we will first quote Mr. Gladstone's own statement of his view:—

National will and agency are indisputably one, binding either a dissentient minority of the subject body, in a manner that nothing but the recognition of the doctrine of national personality can justify. National honor and good faith are words in every one's mouth. How do they less imply a personality in nations than the duty toward God, for which we now contend? They are strictly and essentially distinct from the honor and good faith of the individuals composing the nation. France is a person to us, and we to her. A wilful injury done to her is a moral act, and a moral act quite distinct from the acts of all the individuals composing the nation. Upon broad facts like these we may rest, without resorting to the mere technical proof which the laws afford in their manner of dealing with corporations. If, then, a nation have unity of will, have pervading sympathies, have the capability of reward and suffering contingent upon its acts, shall we deny its responsibility; its need of religion to meet that responsibility? A nation, then, having a personality, lies under the obligation, like the individuals, composing its governing body, of sanctifying the acts of that per-

sonality by the offices of religion, and thus we have a new and imperative ground for the existence of a state religion.

This is certainly good National Reform doctrine. We doubt if any of the present-day advocates of the moral accountability of the nation could make a better argument in favor of such teaching. But let us read Macaulay's reply. He said:—

A new ground, certainly, but whether very imperative may be doubted. Is it not perfectly clear that this argument applies with just as much force to every combination of human beings for a common purpose, as to governments? Is there any such combination in the world, whether technically a corporation or not, which has not this collective personality from which Mr. Gladstone deduces such extraordinary consequences? Look at banks, insurance offices, dock companies, canal companies, gas companies, hospitals, dispensaries, associations for the relief of the poor, associations for apprehending malefactors, associations for medical pupils for procuring subjects, associations of country gentlemen for keeping foxhounds, books societies, benefit societies, clubs of all ranks, from those which have lined Pall-Mall and St. James's Street with their palaces, down to the "Free-and-Easy" which meets in the shabby parlor of a village inn. Is there a single one of these combinations to which Mr. Gladstone's argument will not apply as well as to the state? In all these combinations—in the Bank of England, for example, or in the Atheneum Club—the will and agency of the society are one, and bind the dissentient minority. The Bank and the Atheneum have a good faith and a justice different from the good faith and justice of the individual members. The Bank is a person to those who deposit bullion with it. The Atheneum is a person to the butcher and the wine-merchant. If the Atheneum keeps money at the Bank, the two societies are as much persons to each other as England and France. Either society may increase in prosperity; either may fall into difficulties. If, then, they have this unity of will; if they are capable of doing and suffering good and evil, can we, to use Mr. Gladstone's words, "deny their responsibility, or their need of a religion to meet that responsibility?" Joint-stock banks, therefore, and clubs, "having a personality, lie under the necessity of sanctifying that personality by the offices of religion;" and thus we have "a new and imperative ground" for requiring all the directors and clerks of joint-stock

banks, and all the officers of clubs, to qualify by taking the sacrament.

The truth is that Mr. Gladstone has fallen into an error very common among men of less talents than his own. It is not unusual for a person who is eager to prove a particular proposition, to assume a *major* [premise] of huge extent, which includes that particular proposition, without ever reflecting that it includes a great deal more. The fatal facility with which Mr. Gladstone multiplies expressions stately and sonorous, but of indeterminate meaning, eminently qualifies him to practise this sleight on himself and on his readers. He lays down broad and general doctrines about power, when the only power of which he is thinking is the power of governments,—about conjoint action, when the only conjoint action of which he is thinking is the conjoint action of citizens in a state. He first resolves on his conclusion. He then makes a *major* [premise] of most comprehensive dimensions; and, having satisfied himself that it contains his conclusion, never troubles himself about what else it may contain. And as soon as we examine it, we find that it contains an infinite number of conclusions, every one of which is a monstrous absurdity. . . .

Of course Mr. Gladstone has a perfect right to argue any abstract question, provided that he will constantly bear in mind that it is only an abstract question that he is arguing. Whether a perfect government would or would not be a good machinery for the propagation of religious truth is certainly a harmless, and may, for aught we know, be an edifying subject of inquiry. But it is very important that we should remember that there is not, and never has been, and such government in the world. There is no harm at all in inquiring what course a stone thrown into the air would take, if the law of gravitation did not operate. But the consequences would be unpleasant, if the inquirer, as soon as he had finished his calculation, were to begin to throw stones about in all directions without considering that his conclusion rests on a false hypothesis; and that his projectiles, instead of flying away through infinite space, will speedily return in parabolas, and break the windows and heads of his neighbors.

Conclusion

It is said that Lord Macaulay's arguments were so convincing that Mr. Gladstone revised his whole view of state personality and moral accountability, and never wrote in defense of an established

church, or a union of church and state again. We could wish that the National Reformers would do the same. Their abstract arguments may do no harm, but just as surely as their doctrines concerning the state are put into practical operation, just so surely there will be interference with the divine right of the individual to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience, and the heads of the dissentient minority will probably be broken.

We invite the *Statesman* to deal with the authorities and the arguments presented in this article. We shall be glad to read its reply.

A Dangerous Measure

AMONG the numerous Sunday bills introduced into Congress during the last session was one "requiring certain places of business in the District of Columbia to be closed on Sunday." This bill, known as H. R. No. 16483, was introduced into the House of Representatives, March 9, 1906, by Hon. J. W. Wadsworth, of New York; passed the House June 11; and, as "an Act," was introduced into the Senate the following day, but was not acted upon by the Senate during the remaining eighteen days of the session. It is still in the hands of the Senate Committee on the District of Columbia, to whom it was referred, and may be reported by the committee, and acted upon by the Senate, at any time during the coming session.

This same measure, with the exception of the provision for the sale of fruit at fruit stands and the regular business of restaurants and hotels, was introduced into the fifty-eighth Congress,—into the House of Representatives Feb. 4, 1904, passing the House April 6 of that year; and into the Senate on the following day, April 7. But it failed to pass the Senate, being held up in the District Committee on a tie vote. It has therefore been twice introduced into Congress, and twice has reached about the same stage in its course toward enactment.

The following is the text of the proposed measure:—

AN ACT

Requiring Certain Places of Business in the District of Columbia to be Closed on Sunday:—

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 in the District of Columbia to sell or to offer for sale, or to keep open any place of business for the sale or delivery of, any groceries or meats or vegetables or other provision on Sunday, except that from the first day of June until the first day of October meats sold prior to Sunday may be delivered at any time before ten o'clock of the morning of that day. *Provided,* That nothing in this Act shall prevent the sale of fruit at fruit stands and the regular business of restaurants and hotels. Any person who shall violate the provision of this Act shall, on conviction thereof, be punished by a fine of not less than twenty-five dollars nor more than fifty dollars for the first offense, and for each subsequent offense by a fine of not less than fifty dollars nor more than one hundred dollars, or by imprisonment in the jail of the District of Columbia for a period of not less than one month nor more than three months, or by both fine and imprisonment, in the discretion of the court.

SEC. 2. That all prosecutions for violations of this Act shall be in the police court of the District of Columbia and in the name of the District of Columbia.

Character of the Measure

While this measure contains none of the familiar religious expressions which have characterized most Sunday bills and are to be found in almost every Sunday law, such as "the Sabbath," "the Sabbath day," "the Lord's day," "conscientiously observe another day," and the like, it is, nevertheless, as religious in its real purpose and meaning as any Sunday law that was ever proposed or enacted. Whatever its appearance, and whatever arguments may be urged for its passage, its real, ulterior, and ultimate design is to protect and preserve a religious institution from decay by enforcing its observance under the rigorous hand of civil law. The acts forbidden by it are not in themselves uncivil, criminal, or unlawful. They can not upon any purely civil grounds be regarded thus. Upon any other day than the day mentioned in the Act they would

be considered perfectly proper, legitimate, and right. They are forbidden on this day only because this day is regarded by a large number of people as a religious institution, — as a Sabbath, or day of rest and worship. Were it not for this no such law would ever be called for.

Say what men will, in its origin, root, and nature the Sabbath institution is religious. It was made by God in the beginning, and is adapted to man's physical, intellectual, and spiritual nature and needs. It can not be dissociated from religion. The same God who made it, made it as a memorial of himself. It is to be remembered and kept in honor of him, because that in six days he made heaven and earth, and rested upon, blessed, and hallowed the seventh day. The same divine command which requires men to keep it, commands them to keep it "holy." As well might men attempt to dissociate baptism or the Lord's supper from religion, as the Sabbath. In the very nature, order, and constitution of things, it is, and ever must be, religious. Moreover, it can never be preserved nor successfully maintained upon any other ground. To eliminate this feature from it takes the very breath of life out of it, and leaves it a mere husk and empty shell. A prominent Sunday-law advocate, Mr. W. F. Crafts, has himself said, "Take the religion out, and you take the rest out."

For the church to ask the state to compel men to rest or cease from their ordinary business on the day which they call the Sabbath, and say it will supply them with religion, is for it to ask help from the state for the furtherance of its ends, and is —

A Veritable Union of Church and State

And now, as in the early centuries when church and state were first united, the real object on the part of the church in asking for Sunday laws is to secure church attendance. This was plainly stated by a prominent Western clergyman a few years ago, who said: —

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., in Homiletic Review, November, 1892.*

All the talk about the necessity of a law to provide a day of rest for the laboring man, and "the right of rest for each" demanding "a law of rest for all," is disingenuous, and quite beside the real question at issue in Sunday legislation. Where labor is not compulsory, rest can not be denied. Men can take it if they will. They do not need a law compelling others to rest when they rest. There are thousands in this country who regularly observe Saturday, the seventh day, as a day of rest and worship, without any law compelling others to rest on that day. Neither do they ask for such a law. They simply observe the day when it comes; and they live and support their families, too. They do not starve. Every one who desires to observe Sunday can do the same.

Neither the title nor the text of the proposed measure says a word about employees, or about providing rest for employees. It makes, not work, nor employment of labor, on Sunday a crime, but the carrying on of business and trade on that day,—selling or offering for sale of any groceries, meats, vegetables, or other provisions. It even permits goods sold "prior to Sunday" to be delivered up till ten o'clock in the forenoon on Sunday during certain months of the year. And why ten o'clock? Why not eleven or twelve o'clock? The time for church attendance is doubtless intended to be guarded by the limit here prescribed. In this again is shown the religious character of the measure.

It should be noticed also that the act does not provide for the cessation of business simply on "one day in the week." It says that the business specified must cease on a particular day of the week. A merchant might close his shop regularly on any other day of the week; but this would avail him nothing. He would still be amenable to

this law, and would be compelled, under penalties of fine and imprisonment, to close on Sunday.

The First Step in Establishing a National Religion

From all this it is evident that providing a mere physical weekly rest is not the real object of the proposed law, but rather the establishment of a religious institution by national law, and its enforcement under the penalties of national law. Like all Sunday laws which have preceded it, its object is "to protect the first day of the week as a day of rest and worship," and to make it the established Sabbath of the nation.

But this means the beginning of the establishment of religion by law,—the uniting of church and state,—the end of which means intolerance and persecution under the power and sanction of the national government. It means the employing of the power of the government for the enforcement of the institutions, rites, and dogmas of the church, and, in the end, the oppression of those who may dissent from observing or assenting to them.

In this way and by this very means—through Sunday legislation—church and state were united in the fourth and fifth centuries. Beginning with the Sunday edict of Constantine, in A. D. 321, may be traced the various steps which led up to the full and complete union of church and state,—the establishment of religion by law,—and the dark days of intolerance and religious persecution which followed. When once civil government yields to the demand of the church for religious legislation, the die is cast, and all the baleful results of a union of church and state inevitably follow.

No National Sunday Law Yet Passed

The United States government was established upon the principle of a complete separation of church and state. No place for Sunday laws or any other form of religious legislation was provided in its Constitution; but, on the contrary, such legislation is expressly forbidden by the Constitution to the national legislature.

Notwithstanding, various attempts have been made at different times to influence Congress to enact Sunday laws; up to the present time no such law has been passed by Congress.¹ This step in the backward, downward way has yet to be taken by the national law-making body of this country. And in view of the history of the past, of the great sacrifices that have been made, and the great struggles which have been passed through to insure to us our present freedom, ought not every lover of liberty, and every lover of his country to work and pray earnestly that this first fatal step shall not be taken, but that the liberties which we have here so long enjoyed, and which have been purchased at so great a cost, may still be continued and enjoyed?

Apparently but a brief step lies between this proposed act and law. Let a mighty protest be sent in to the Senate, urging that the measure be not passed. Let the men composing this body be urged and encouraged to stand true to their oaths to uphold and support the Constitution, which says, "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." Let liberty, and above all religious liberty, live. Let the observance of the Sabbath, and the day to be observed as the Sabbath, as well as all other questions of religion, be left with each individual soul and God. In religion let there be no compulsion. Love and respect for the Sabbath can not be increased by a forced observance. They must come, if at all, through conviction, not by coercion. Where legal enactment begins moral suasion ends. Let it be heralded throughout the land that the Sabbath is religious; that it belongs to God; and that its observance is to be rendered to God, not to government. Let the controversy as to which Sabbath shall be observed, or whether any Sabbath shall be observed, be settled, not by act of Congress, but by free and untrammelled conscientious conviction, formed in the light of God's Word, illuminated by his Holy Spirit. Let reason, religion, and liberty live on.

¹ Congress has conditioned its appropriations to various Expositions, such as the Chicago, Buffalo, St. Louis, Portland, and Jamestown Expositions, upon Sunday closing; but as yet it has passed no law compelling any one, under penalties, to observe Sunday.

General Articles

Temperance and Liberty

K. C. RUSSELL

MUCH has been said and written on this subject, but the voice of warning should never cease as long as there is one soul who can be rescued from the terrible bondage of slavery to strong drink. There is no greater bondage than that which is produced by the demon of strong drink, whose victims can be numbered by the millions; and the Bible says that no drunkard shall inherit the kingdom of God.

The drink curse is no respecter of persons. It claims as its victims the rich and poor, the learned and the illiterate, and the honored and the outcast. Many who stand high in society are found in the mighty procession of those who are hastening on to their final doom as the result of this blighting curse.

Ever since the fall in the Garden of Eden man has been brought into continual bondage as the result of following the example of our first parents by yielding to appetite. In tracing history from the time of the antediluvians, we find that intemperance has contributed much toward the overthrow of nations. Kings and other mighty men of influence and power have been swept away by the ever-increasing and relentless tide of intemperance.

The Saviour in forecasting the times in which we live said, "For as in the days that were before the flood they were eating and drinking, marrying and giving in marriage, until the day that Noah entered the

ark, and knew not until the flood came, and took them all away; so shall also the coming of the Son of man be."

This evil of intemperance has assumed such gigantic proportions, that it has become a mighty factor in the commercial, social, and political world. To illustrate: the man who is engaged in the mercantile business, and wishes to succeed financially, is slow to use his influence against the unsavory business of his neighbor, who may be either directly or indirectly connected with the manufacture or sale of intoxicating liquors, lest he lose his patronage, and

that of other liquor men. Even the professed minister of the gospel at times exercises caution in the preparation and delivery of his sermon lest he might offend some of his influential members who are in some way related to those connected with this business.

Not long since a prominent temperance worker in an Eastern city said that she did not know of a religious denomination in that city that stood united in their opposition to the liquor business. By this divided condition is demonstrated the truthfulness of the principle enunciated by the great Author of all true reform when he said,

"Every kingdom divided against itself is brought to desolation; and every city or house divided against itself shall not stand." What is needed is a bold and united front on the part of those who are at heart on the right side of this question, regardless of the sacrifice that may be involved either financially, socially, or politically.



JAMES OTIS

His eloquent appeals in behalf of liberty stirred the people of New England before and during the days of the Revolution.

Among the temperance measures which are advocated, Sunday laws are sometimes urged. Some seem to have unbounded confidence in the result of their efforts to close by law the saloons on Sunday; but it must be admitted that if this can be done one day in the week, it can be done seven days in a week. Yet there is no just reason why the saloon should be closed on Sunday any more than on other days in the week, for the evil of getting drunk does not consist in the fact that it is done on a particular day of the week. All will admit that it is just as bad to be intoxicated on Monday as on Sunday. The crime of theft or murder does not lie in the fact that it is done on a certain day of the week, but because the deed itself is wrong. It is easy to be seen that this agitation for Sunday closing of saloons is on a wrong basis. It grows out of a desire to protect Sunday as a religious institution, rather than to promote temperance.

The need of these times is for men and women to unite in the temperance reform who will do so on the right basis, instead of using it as a cover behind which to hide while seeking to foster by law some religious tenet. This would be doing evil that good might come. Let noble men and women rally against the rum traffic in a reform movement that is based upon temperance principles.

The one great thing that is more responsible than any other in perpetuating this evil is legalizing the sale of intoxicating drink. "The licensing of the liquor traffic is advocated by many as tending to restrict the drink evil. But the licensing of the traffic places it under the protection of the law. The government sanctions its exist-

ence, and thus fosters the evil which it professes to restrict." Under the protection of license laws, breweries, distilleries, and wineries are planted all over the land, and the liquor seller plies his work beside our very doors.

"Licenses are granted on the plea that they bring a revenue to the public treasury. But what is this revenue compared with the enormous expense incurred for the criminals, the insane, the paupers, that are the fruit of the liquor traffic! A man under the influence of liquor commits a crime; he is brought into court; and those who legalized the traffic are forced to deal with the result of their work. They authorized the sale of a draft that would make a sane man mad; and now it is necessary for them to send the man to prison or to the gallows, while often his wife and children are left destitute, to become the charge of the community in which they live.

"Considering only the financial aspect of the question, what folly it is to tolerate such a business! But what revenue can compensate for the loss of human reason, for the defacing and deforming of the image of God in

man, for the ruin of children, reduced to pauperism and degradation, or perpetuating in their children the evil tendencies of their drunken fathers?"

The suppression of the liquor traffic is a wholly civil question and one which comes, therefore, within the realm of the civil law, and with which the state can legitimately deal, for it is within the proper sphere of the state to deal with incivility or with that which threatens the life or property of the citizen.

Concerning our duty at this time, another



OLD STATE HOUSE, BOSTON

In this building, James Otis thundered for five hours against the Writs of Assistance, and in front of this building was shed the first blood of the Revolution.

writer has wisely said: "Let the danger from the liquor traffic be made plain, and public sentiment be created that shall demand its prohibition. Let the drink-maddened men be given an opportunity to escape from their thralldom. Let the voice of the nation demand of its lawmakers that a stop be put to this infamous traffic."

Earnest and untiring efforts should now be exerted to bring deliverance to those who are bound by the terrible foe which is a menace to society and the souls of men. "We ourselves must grapple with this giant foe, our motto, 'No compromise,' and no cessation of our efforts till victory is gained."

How National Reformers Labor to Secure Sunday Legislation

W. A. COLCORD

Few, doubtless, are aware of the lobbying done in Congress and state legislatures to secure the passage of Sunday laws.

The following from the May, 1902, number of *The Sabbath*, the official organ of the American Sabbath Union, shows how the Sunday-closing provision to the five-million-dollar appropriation made by Congress to the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, commonly called the St. Louis Exposition, was secured:—

"The latter part of February, 1900, Dr. Wilbur Crafts, of the Reform Bureau, Washington, D. C., sent a telegram to the general secretary [of the American Sabbath Union, Dr. I. W. Hathaway], calling him to Washington to aid in securing an amendment of the bill appropriating five million dollars to the Louisiana Purchase Exposition.

"February 22 this bill passed the House of Representatives without any Sunday condition. When it came to the Senate, Senator Teller consented to move the following amendment:—

"As a condition precedent to the payment of this appropriation, the directors shall contract to close the gates to visitors on Sundays during the whole duration of the fair."

"We were assured by several senators that it was useless, and that such amendment would not pass, but after several days of unceasing effort on the part of Drs. Crafts and Hathaway, this bill, with this amendment, was passed by the Senate."

And the following from the August, 1906, number of the *Christian Statesman*, shows how the Sunday-closing provision to the two-hundred-and-fifty-thousand-dollar appropriation made by Congress last June for the encouragement of the Jamestown Exposition, to be held next year, was likewise secured:—

"On Monday, June 25, there was held in Philadelphia a meeting of the Philadelphia Sabbath Association. At this meeting it was strongly urged that Dr. T. T. Mutchler, the corresponding secretary of the Association and of the Pennsylvania Sabbath Association, shall visit Washington again to make sure that there should be no failure at the last moment of the assurances already given that the appropriation in favor of the Jamestown Exposition should be conditioned on the closing of the grounds on the Lord's day. Dr. Mutchler reached Washington early the following day, and found to his astonishment that the bill had already passed the second reading in both the Senate and the House of Representatives, an identical bill having been introduced in each house, and that it contained no such provision as he had been assured on a former visit it would contain. Not more than three full days of the session remained.¹ Only the most resolute and strenuous endeavors could secure the desired action at so late a day. With the help of some good men in each house, the necessary provision was at the last moment embodied in the bill, and passed both the Senate and the House of Representatives unanimously.² It reads as follows: 'Provided, That as a condition precedent to the payment of this appropriation in aid of said exposition, the Jamestown Exposition Company shall agree to close the grounds of said exposition to visitors on Sunday during the period of said exposition.'

"Thus we have another impressive example of the necessity for unrelaxing vigilance and persistence in the effort to secure even the most righteous legislation at the hands of our lawmakers. We have a lesson, too, as to the value of organization of the friends of the right. Dr. Mutchler's most effective argument in all his interviews was the fact that so many States have now Sabbath Reform Societies within their bounds, that more than half the coun-

¹ Congress closed June 30, 1906

² Passed June 29, 1906.

ties of Pennsylvania are organized as auxiliary to the State Association, and that the good will of the great body of citizens represented on these organizations is indispensable to the success of any such expositions. This, he claimed, had been demonstrated in the contrasting experience of the Chicago and Buffalo Expositions on the one hand, and those in Philadelphia and St. Louis on the other."

The real nature and purpose of all Sunday legislation is shown by the fact that it is always a religious organization that stands back of such legislation and demands its passage. It is the "American Sabbath Union," or the "Philadelphia Sabbath Association," or the "Lord's Day Alliance," or the "Ministers' Union," or some other preachers' association or religious society that starts the agitation and follows up the demand for such laws. They never come from secular sources as do other laws. The foregoing instances are striking proofs of the truthfulness of this. Let this fact be noted.

The "most effective argument" of Dr. Mutchler, referred to by the *Statesman*, by which he persuaded members of Congress to favor or consent to this unconstitutional legislation, recalls a prediction made twenty-one years ago by one who has long studied this subject, that "To secure popularity and patronage, legislators will yield to the demand for a Sunday law." The yielding, it seems, has already begun. The Report on Sunday Mails adopted by the United States Senate in 1829, well said: "All religious despotism commences by combination and influence; and when that influence begins to operate upon the political institutions of the country, the civil power soon bends under it, and the catastrophe of other nations furnishes an awful warning of the consequences." "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty."

The "National Reform" Delusion

W. N. GLENN

FOR over forty years the National Reform Association has been carrying on a work designed to establish religious domination in the government of the United States. It had its rise in one denomination,—one of rather limited influence, too,—but to-day its influence and its support may be styled interdenominational. One of its constitutional purposes is "to promote needed reforms in the action of the government touching the Sabbath," etc. Another expression of purpose is, "The association constantly presents God as the source of

authority in civil affairs, Jesus Christ as King of nations, and the Bible as the supreme law-book in the civil-moral sphere."

To the casual reader these expressions of purpose might, and evidently do, appear to be utterances of an "angel of light." Not so, however, when given closer consideration.



INTERIOR VIEW OF FANEUIL HALL, BOSTON

Here in 1769 was held a representative meeting to protest against oppressive measures of the crown.

1. The Sabbath reform which the movement advocates is the establishment, in the "law-book" of the nation, of a Sabbath entirely unknown to the Law-book of God. It would stamp out the Sabbath which the Creator hallowed in the beginning, and which the Saviour honored even when resting in death—the one weekly Sabbath recognized in all the Bible—and would set up in its place, with human pains and penalties attached, a man-made counterfeit, the Sunday institution. To promote such a "reform" is to squarely stultify all claim to regarding the Bible as the "supreme Law-book."

2. To present "God as the source of authority in civil affairs," and then to set up an association of men having political ambition to control the action of government, and to urge *their authority* because they profess to be religious, is another gross

stultification of principle. God's manner of influencing men to do right is by his Spirit impressing their minds. Over and over heathen rulers have been moved in this manner to do God's will; while, on the other hand, the centuries of Dark Ages, the darkest in this world's history, were the result of that species of "national reform" that nominally recognized God's "authority in civil affairs" by putting the church in charge of the government. And the men who brought about that consummation were just as pious and just as sure that they were reforming the nation as are the most ardent National Reformers of to-day. Nor were those ancient "reformers" any more mistaken than are those of to-day. The same means will produce the same effect to-day, just as surely as that human nature is the same.

3. To advocate Jesus Christ as King of nations has two very illogical features: (a) It is a position he utterly ignored when on earth. When the people essayed to take him and make him a king, he took himself out of their way, and sought solitude in the mountains, to escape the results of such a foolish action. Again, when questioned by Governor Pilate concerning his kingdom, he plainly declared that it was "not of this world." His word ought to settle that question with people who claim to take the Bible as the "supreme Law-book." (b) When Christ comes to establish his kingdom, it will not be as king of any nation then existing. True, these will be given to him, but for what purpose? For answer, read the prophetic declaration recorded in the second psalm:—

"I will declare the decree: the Lord hath said unto me, Thou art my Son; this day have I begotten thee. Ask of me, and I shall give thee the heathen for thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth [not the United States] for thy possession. Thou shalt break them with a rod of iron; thou shalt dash them in pieces like a potter's vessel. Be wise now therefore, O ye kings: be instructed, ye judges of the earth."

This is what will become of the nations of earth when the Lord sets up his kingdom. This is plainly indicated by Nebuchadnezzar's dream of a great image, recorded and explained in Daniel 2. The image represented the kingdoms of earth until the end of time, when a "stone" rep-

resenting the kingdom of Christ, fell upon them and broke them to pieces. So complete was the demolition, that all parts of the image became "like the chaff of the summer threshing-floors; and the wind carried them away, that no place was found for them: and the stone that smote the image became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth." So it is said of Christ's kingdom: "The kingdom shall not be left to other people, but it shall break in pieces and consume all these kingdoms, and it shall stand forever." And we are emphatically assured that "the dream is certain, and the interpretation thereof is sure."

Christ has a spiritual kingdom in this earth, of which he is the Priest-King, reigning in heaven (Eph. 1:19-21; Heb. 1:1-4; 12:1, 2; Rev. 3:21); and his subjects are in every nation and kindred and tongue and people, in the world but not of the world, even as he is not of the world. When he shall fully establish his glorious kingdom, it will not be in this sin-cursed earth, which is to be destroyed by fire; but it will be upon the "new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness." See 2 Peter 3. Then will be brought to pass the saying, "The meek shall inherit the earth." Ps. 37:9-11, 28, 29.

The present National Reform movement is a delusion and a snare of ever-increasing dimensions and influence.

"A Practical Union of Church and State"

W. A. COLCORD

THE majority report of the Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections, in the case of Senator Reed Smoot, rendered in the Senate, June 11, 1906, giving reasons why Mr. Smoot is "not entitled to a seat as a senator of the United States from the State of Utah," presented the following, taken from the *Congressional Record* of that day:—

"*A Practical Union of Church and State.*—The fact that the adherents of the Mormon Church hold the balance of power in politics in some of the States enables the first presidency of the twelve apostles to control the political affairs of those States to any extent they may desire. Thus a

complete union of church and state is formed."

If this is correct reasoning, then the following must also be correct: The fact that the adherents of those churches which observe Sunday as the Sabbath are seeking to gain the balance of power in politics in all the States, and thus in the nation, and so enable the leaders of these churches to control the political affairs of these States and of the nation to any extent they may desire, especially in the manner of enforcing Sunday observance by law, is proof that they are seeking to form in this country a complete union of church and state. And this is the fact. If the Mormon Church is guilty in the matter, so also are the other churches.

Christian Liberty

G. B. THOMPSON

THERE is a very clear distinction between civil and religious liberty. True religious liberty is far more than freedom of the body; it includes the soul as well. It gives a man hope, not only for this world, but also for the world to come.

A man may have Christian liberty and at the same time be deprived, in a measure at least, of his civil liberty. Jeremiah, because of his terrible warnings against Jerusalem, was cast into a dungeon, and sank in the mire; but he still had communion with his Maker. His soul was free. He had far more real liberty than King Zedekiah, who permitted him to be thus treated. Daniel, who was cast into the lions' den for praying, had Christian liberty even there. He had greater joy and freedom than those who plotted his destruction. Paul and Silas in the Philippian jail, their backs lacerated from the effects of the terrible scourging which they had received, and sitting with their feet fastened in the stocks, had Christian liberty. While the sable garment of night was about them, they sang songs of praise and thanksgiving. They had a freedom of soul no monarch of earth could take away. Their liberty was greater even than that of their jailer, until with trembling he fell before them, and said, "What shall I do to be saved." Then he, too, knew, doubtless for the first time in his life, the meaning of Christian liberty.

John, on the lonely, barren isle of Patmos, bending beneath the weight of well-

nigh a hundred years, separated from everything on earth that he held dear, and written down in the records of Roman jurisprudence as a criminal, had such Christian liberty from the One on whose bosom he had, in years gone by, reclined, as but few to-day enjoy. Bunyan in Bedford jail had Christian liberty; for proof read "Pilgrim's Progress." Roger Williams was banished from Massachusetts for teaching the principles of genuine liberty; but, while wandering in his old age, exposed to inclement weather, without a guide, with no home but a hollow tree, and cared for by the Red Men of the forest, who had become the conservators of religious freedom, had, beyond question, greater liberty than those who sent him into exile.

It is comparatively easy to profess belief in Christian liberty, and yet carry in some recess of a deceitful heart the malignant roots of oppression. Our forefathers fled from the tyranny of the Old World, and yet established in their midst a union of church and state, which threatened to extinguish, permanently, the torch of liberty in the New World. They failed to manifest in their own lives true Christian liberty, and though carrying, as it were, the scars of the shackles of the religious despotism from which they had fled, they sought to rivet like ignominious chains of slavery upon others. Their example should be a warning to each of us.

Christian liberty grants to others the right to worship God according to the dictates of their own conscience. It goes even farther than this. It knows no force, no coercion. It extends to every man, not only the right to worship the true God, but to worship any other god he may choose, or to worship no god whatsoever. The right of man *not* to worship is recognized as fully as the right to worship. So far as civil law is concerned, my neighbor has just as much right to worship a false god, or no god at all, as I have to worship the true God, and if I have real Christian liberty in my own heart, I will freely grant him this right, and will be as zealous to maintain his rights as I am to maintain my own. The Lord leaves man free, but holds him responsible for the choice he may make.

God, who is the very author and embodiment of Christian liberty compels none to obey him. He has omnipotent power, and could make his subjects do right. He could,

for instance, compel every man to keep the true Sabbath, to pray, pay tithes, partake of the Lord's supper, and be immersed; but he does none of these things. The very act of compelling men to obey him, contrary to their conscience, would be tyranny. He did not compel the holy angels in the heavenly courts to do right; he left them free to choose, and made them responsible for the results of their choice. The voluntary service of love is all that is, or ever can be, acceptable to the Lord.

True Christian liberty grants to every man the right to think as he pleases in the



TABLE AND CHAIR USED AT THE SIGNING OF
THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

realm of religion. God made the human mind free. The principle which prevailed in the Dark Ages claimed jurisdiction over the mind, as well as the body; and in the gloomy dungeons of the terrible Inquisition, the creaking of the infernal instruments of torture, and the groans of the mangled and dying victims, were but the result of trying to control the thoughts of the heart, and punish that which was deemed heresy.

Christian liberty will ever oppose the intrusion of the civil magistrate in religious matters; not because the thing legislated upon is unscriptural, but because the principle is wrong. It is equally wrong, in principle, to enforce the true religion. To admit the right of any law-making power to legislate upon the true faith is the very essence of "the mystery of iniquity." To admit the right of the state to suppress a wrong doctrine is to acknowledge the right of the state to define the true faith, and enforce the same: and when this is admit-

ted, the whole temple of religious freedom is undermined, and the structure collapses. To decide which is the true faith necessitates a standard of infallibility by which to determine what is orthodox and what is heresy. Rome recognizes this, and vests this attribute of the deity in the pope, the so-called vicegerent of Christ on earth. For the state, therefore, to assume that some certain religious tenets are right, and should be enforced, is to place itself on papal ground.

Sunday laws are being much sought after. Such legislation is not wrong simply because Sunday is not the Bible Sabbath. The principle of religious legislation is wrong. It would not be right for the state to enforce the seventh-day Sabbath. A man has the civil right to keep Sunday if he desires, without any dictation from the state. Deciding which day is the Sabbath is not the work of the state. This whole question of religious legislation is something with which the state has nothing whatever to do. We can think of nothing which would more effectually destroy the sacredness and heavenly purity of the Sabbath of Jehovah, and other of his divine ordinances, than to en-

force their observance upon unbelievers by civil law. True Christian liberty will, therefore, enter its protest against any meddling by the state with religious matters.

The alliance of the church with worldly power is an element of weakness instead of strength. Macaulay truly said, "The ark of God was never taken till it was surrounded by the arms of earthly defenders. In captivity its sanctity was sufficient to vindicate it from insult, and to lay the hostile fiend prostrate on the threshold of his own temple."

Professed Protestantism to-day has lost sight of the principles of Christian liberty. As this leaves the heart, tyranny takes the throne, and men seek to bind their fellow men. This ceaseless clamor and everlasting petitioning of the law-making powers for laws enforcing religious dogmas, indicates unmistakably this fact. The baneful fruit of the work of the Pilgrim fathers in this matter has not yet been fully

gathered. The professed church of Christ to-day, having lost the power of the Holy Spirit, is seeking the crutch of the civil power, and cite as a precedent for her mischievous work, the good old colonial days, when Baptists were whipped, and the tongues of the Quakers were "burned through with a red-hot iron." Shorn of the liberty which is born of the Holy Spirit, and having become entangled in the bondage of worldliness, Protestantism, like the Pilgrim fathers, is seeking to bind on others the fetters of slavery. Professed Christianity never stood in more imminent danger than to-day. Macaulay truly said that "the whole history of Christianity shows that she is in far greater danger of being corrupted by the alliance of power, than of being crushed by its opposition. Those who thrust temporal sovereignty upon her, treat her as their prototype treated her Author. They bow the knee, spit upon her; they cry 'Hail!' and smite her on the cheek; they put a scepter in her hand, but it is a fragile reed; they crown her, but it is with thorns; they cover with purple the wounds which their own hands have inflicted upon her; and inscribe magnificent titles over the cross on which they have fixed her to perish in ignominy and pain."

How true are the words of this eminent historian! Will the professed church of Christ go blindly on, regardless of the lessons of the past, and will she corrupt herself by worldly alliances, weaken and die when seemingly in the plenitude of her power? Will the principles upon which Protestantism is founded be repudiated in this time of light; and liberty, which is dearer to man than life, expire in a convulsion?

Much as we wish it otherwise, we fear that the ominous storm-cloud of religious intolerance forming above the horizon, will not recede. Now, as never before, the virgin daughter of Zion should awake from her slumber, and in the power of the Spirit of God, "proclaim liberty to the captives."

THE strongest argument used in the Bible is the argument of self-sacrifice. When we take to ourselves the argument of compulsion, we strip ourselves of the armor of God, and rob ourselves of the power to convince, convict, and convert souls.

Reaping the Fruit of Her Own Sowing

C. M. SNOW

THE present condition of the Catholic Church in France has brought great sorrow to the officials of the hierarchy. The pope has protested against the course of the government, and denounced the new laws in no moderate language. The bishops have seconded the denunciation and lauded the encyclical; and have even held over the heads of the lawmakers the terrible threat of an unrestrained uprising of the people. The world has looked on in wonderment while the "pampered child of the papacy" has relentlessly goaded the mother church in spite of her protests.

And yet, had Rome listened to the logic of church-and-state union, she might have expected this. Had she taught France the true relation of the church and state, she would have escaped it. With each respecting the rights of the other and keeping out of the affairs of the other, the present unpleasantness could not have occurred.

Rome is now complaining of persecution at the hands of the French Government, and is advising her adherents to resist the law's enforcement in all ways not forbidden by the state. It does seem that the government has stepped out of her place, in one regard at least, and interfered unnecessarily with the rights of religious bodies when she makes it illegal for congregations to hold services except as corporate bodies. The nation in which the true principle of religious liberty obtain will not thus interfere with the exercise of religious rights. As men have a right to be religious, or not religious, they have a right to meet, or not to meet, for religious purposes, without dictation or interference on the part of the government—so long as their meetings are of an orderly nature. If a man wishes to throw his house open to a religious meeting, that is a matter with which government can not justly interfere.

Now arises the question: Where did France learn her lessons in the matter of religious liberty?—From the very church with whose religious liberty she is now interfering. All through the past Rome has taught France the supremacy of the church, and has made everything in France subservient thereto. Now when France essays to cut loose and separate church and state, she goes to the other extreme, and

exercises toward all religious bodies a little of the intolerance which she learned on the lap of her long-dominant spiritual sponsor.

As Rome considers herself *the* Church, the supervisor of the State, and the conscience of the people, it is embarrassing for her to be compelled to act upon the suggestion of any set of men in any matter whatsoever; but when it comes to the matter of turning over her church property to a company of lay men, even though they be faithful sons of the church, the suggestion is abhorrent to her.

The French bishops in May last proposed an organization for holding church property, known as the "fabrician" plan. This plan passed the council of the bishops by a majority of twenty-two. The pope examined the "fabrician" plan, and rejected it entirely. Concerning this action the *New York Sun* spoke editorially thus:—

"As the bishop of Grenoble pointed out the other day, the bishops doubtless in their former plenary meeting voted according to their consciences. In the Catholic Church, however, the supreme authority is the conscience of the Holy Father, which now has spoken."

What that "conscience" says is this:—

"Having heretofore condemned this iniquitous law, we examined with the greatest care its articles to see if they permitted the organization of religious life in France without jeopardizing the sacred principles of the church. . . . Concerning cultural associations, such as the law prescribes, we decree absolutely that they can not be formed without a violation of the sacred right which are the life itself of the church. Putting aside, therefore, these associations which our conscience forbids us to approve, it is opportune to examine if some other kind of organization, both legal and canonical, can avert the threatened dangers to the church."

Regarding the other kind of associations proposed, he declared it "not permissible" to try them, because they did not sufficiently establish the divine and immutable rights of the pontiff and the bishops over the temporal affairs of the church. What the outcome will be can not be predicted. At the present time it looks as if a clash must come when, on the eleventh of next December, the law is to be enforced. The church finds herself in a condition which she calls a condition of persecution, and it has greatly embittered her. She is not taking joyfully the spoiling (or even the

threatened interference with) her goods; but is determined to fight for her rights. Through all the ramifications of her organic life she is stirred. All this because she is denied a few of the many rights which she has always and everywhere denied to all religious bodies but herself. There is a prospect that she may have to suffer a very little of what through past ages she has caused others to suffer.

Rome is the true mother of the principle of a union of church and state. She taught it to the world. France learned it of her, and finds it difficult to unlearn it. When she strives to do it, the pendulum swings too far the other way, and she enters the domain of the church, uniting the two again to that extent, but in this particular instance it is the state dominating the church. When the church dominated the state, that was a union of the two of which the church approved. But when the state dominates and dictates to the church, that is a union of church and state of which the church does not approve. The present situation in France should be a lesson to all who are laboring for a union of the two, either in name and openly or in fact and covertly. Rome adopted the principle of church and state union, and in thrusting others into the fire, she has been burned herself.

In 1852 a condition of affairs was brought about in Spain which was greatly to Rome's liking. By a concordat then established all ecclesiastical affairs were to be canonically regulated, and all religions but Catholicism were forbidden. The acme of her desire was achieved; and had she her way, that condition, that kind of church and state union, would prevail throughout the world. But her intolerance seems to have overreached itself even in Spain, and a reaction has set in there, which may or may not extend as far as it has in France.

When the church demands that men shall render unto it what belongs to Cæsar, or render to Cæsar through the church what belongs to Cæsar, the church is outside the domain of its legitimate undertaking. Likewise when the state demands that men shall render to it what belongs to God, or shall render to God through state supervision what belongs to God, it has passed beyond its legitimate jurisdiction. If the church would preserve inviolate the sacred sanctuary of its operations, it must not transgress upon the domain of the state. To do so is to teach to all men the profanation of the sacred rights of both

Washington the Great Lobby Camp of the World

W. A. COLCORD

AUGUST 9 Justice Brewer of the Supreme Court of the United States delivered an address before the Virginia Bar Association, in which he arraigned the "colonial policy" of the government as contrary to the spirit and intent of the men who drafted the national Constitution, deplored the "tendency toward centralization" in the nation, and declared that "Washington is the great lobby camp of the world."

Referring to the tendency on the part of the people to look to Congress for the redress of all grievances and the righting of all wrongs, he said: "Was there ever such a mad scramble on the part of every one believing in the existence of some legal wrong for congressional legislation to redress? Trade-marks, divorces, polygamy, insurance, supervision of corporations, inspection of factories, all are crowded upon Congress, and an appeal made to it for action." He might have included in his enumeration of things "crowded upon Congress," and over which appeal is made to it "for action," the question of Sunday observance, seven bills for which were introduced into the last session of Congress.

It was in this connection—after the statement just quoted—that Mr. Brewer made the statement that "Washington is the great lobby camp of the world." And here again it should not be forgotten that lobbying for national religious legislation is a very prominent part of the work now going on in this great "lobby camp of the world." In his "History of the International Reform Bureau," Mr. W. F. Crafts, the manager and superintendent of the Bureau, says: "The Reform Bureau is the first 'Christian lobby' established at our national capital to speak to government in behalf of all denominations," and tells how the Bureau uses "up-to-date methods in bringing pressure to bear on congressmen in favor of moral measures." Incidentally it may be remarked that in justification and support of the church-and-state measures which this Bureau is seeking to get through Congress, great use is made of the Supreme Court decision, of Feb. 22, 1892, handed down by Justice Brewer, declaring that "this is a Christian nation." It reasons that if this is a "Christian nation," it is

quite proper for the nation to make laws enforcing the observance of "Christian institutions."

Alluding to the growing belief that changed conditions in national life justify interpreting the Constitution so broadly as to virtually ignore its letter, Mr. Brewer said: "I fully believe that this nation has all the power which any nation possesses; but that only such as they have enumerated in the Constitution have they granted to the government." This is but another way of saying what the Constitution itself expressly states that "the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people." And one of the powers which the Constitution in most explicit terms has withheld from Congress is the power to make religious laws. It says: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

The observations of Justice Brewer apply with peculiar force to the wide-spread movement and the ever-increasing efforts of church leaders generally to overturn the fundamental principles upon which the national government was founded, unite church and state, and set up a religious despotism here, as church and state were united ages past in the Old World, and religious despotisms were set up there. Would that Justice Brewer and all others might see the application of his statements to this phase of the question, and use their God-given powers in protesting against the movement tending to these unholy and undesirable ends.

A Unique Snake Story

K. C. RUSSELL

In the Buffalo *Evening Times* of September 22 appeared the following:—

"Connecticut blue-laws make it a crime to shoot a snake on Sunday, and they also make it a crime to sell or to buy the recognized antidote for snake bite.

"Walking over his farm on the outskirts of this city last Sunday in search of a lost cow, Peter Zarcone, eighteen years old, took his shotgun with him for protection against snakes. Attacked by an adder while he was passing through a swamp, Zarcone shot and killed the reptile.

"The report of his gun reached the ears of policemen sent out by the game warden to watch for poachers, and they caused the young farmer's arrest. When Zarcone was arraigned before Judge Howard H. Scott, he was fined ten dollars and costs.

"The judge said he had no doubt from the nature of the evidence before him that the prisoner had used his gun only to protect himself against the snake, but the laws of the State made it a crime even to carry a gun in the open air on Sunday, and consequently he had no discretion under the law, and was obliged to punish him for carrying a weapon across the farm."

The Chicago *Israelite* of September 29, commenting upon this incident, says:—

"The fanaticism of the blue-laws in the State of Connecticut reminds one of the burning of the witches. It is a disgrace to this New England State to allow these outlandish laws to remain on the statute-books. Think of it in the twentieth century to convict a man for shooting a snake on Sunday, when that snake might have done him an injury! A man's life ought to be of more value than a snake's life, and more important, too, than the observance of Sunday. The people of Connecticut must not forget that they are living in the twentieth century. We do not burn witches to-day. We should not have a law on our statute-books that will punish a man for shooting a snake on Sunday when that snake might have done him an injury. The citizens of Connecticut should abrogate that law instantler."

In this incident appear some of the inconsistencies and evils of attempting to protect the Sunday and enforce Sunday observance by law. Innocent acts are treated as crimes and innocent men as criminals. Pharisee-like, the observance of the day is considered as of more importance than the preservation of life.

Religious Equality

THE [English] government has taken advantage of the occasion recently afforded in Malta to state emphatically its position on the subject of religious equality as a "fundamental principle of British liberty."

Last May a Protestant mission or conference was conducted in Malta by the Rev. J. McNeill, who secured for his meeting

the use of the Theater Royal, a government building. The Roman Catholic archbishop in Malta protested loudly against the action of the governor in granting the use of the theater, and demanded that the permission be withdrawn. After some correspondence the governor yielded for the sake of peace, and the conference was prematurely discontinued.

The home government, however, has been considering the matter further, and on August 15, Lord Elgin wrote to the governor of Malta that their attention had been directed to the general question of the treatment of different religious denominations in Malta and that "the only basis which his majesty's government can admit for the settlement of the question is that all denominations should be treated with perfect equality."

In Malta until now, only the Catholics have been permitted to perform religious ceremonies in public, but as this restraint upon certain religious bodies is inconsistent with perfect liberty, in future all denominations will be alike free to hold public services, provided that "they are *bona fide* religious ceremonies, and not in the nature of demonstrations intended to give offense."

Lord Elgin also announces that an addition to the present instructions for the governor of Malta will shortly be promulgated, in the following terms:—

"It being our intention that all persons inhabiting our said island should have full liberty of conscience and the free exercise of their respective modes of religious worship, we do hereby require our said governor and commander-in-chief to permit all persons within our said islands to have such liberty, and to exercise their respective modes of religious worship, provided they be contented with a quiet and peaceable enjoyment of the same, not giving offense or scandal to the government."

It is well that the government has thus placed upon record its position in the matter of religious liberty, because there are soon to be placed before it proposals for the abridgment of such liberty, and it may become necessary to remind the government that what is a "fundamental principle of religious liberty" in Malta, notwithstanding the demands of the Roman Catholics, is equally fundamental to liberty in England, notwithstanding the demands of Catholics and Protestant combined.

An agitation is now being worked up in

behalf of a plea for Sunday legislation, and the government will be asked to say that all alike shall refrain from labor on Sunday, under heavy penalties. Such a law would be very acceptable to the majority of the religious denominations. But there are Christians who believe that God has not changed his commandment, and that the seventh day is still the Sabbath. They rest on the seventh day and labor on the first. Ought the government to show favor to one section of the religious community, at the expense of another? If it does so, it will not be adhering to the principle, which it has laid down for its guidance in Malta, "that all persons . . . should have full liberty of conscience and the free exercise of their respective modes of religious worship."

If a strict Sunday law is passed, the Sabbath-keeper will be hindered from working on the first day of the week, or will do it at the risk of punishment. In other words, the law will fine him one-sixth of his weekly earnings for being a Sabbath-keeper. This would not be "perfect equality" for "all denominations." The government can not enforce Sunday observance and remain true to the principles laid down in Lord Elgin's letter.

The denominations that are calling for stricter Sunday legislation will say, of course, that they do not wish to oppress any, but are acting in the interests of the people at large. So said the Roman Catholic archbishop of Malta. It was the people that he was thinking of when he demanded the discontinuance of the Protestant services. He held that he alone, as the head of the church in Malta, was qualified to say what was harmful to his flock, and what was not. But the government has decided that even his zealous concern for the flock must give way to the common right of religious freedom. The same answer is the only consistent one to give to those who clamor for Sunday legislation. The Jew is as much entitled as the Christian to religious liberty. The observer of the seventh day should be free to do any honest work that he can find to do on the first day. No true follower of Christ will attempt to interfere with such right, for perfect religious equality is not less fundamental to Christianity than it is to British liberty.—*The Present Truth, London,*

The American Federation of Catholic Societies

W. A. COLCORD

THE following statements taken from an editorial in the *Catholic Mirror*, of Aug. 11, 1906, are significant:—

"Dollar piled on dollar, until the aggregate of many dollars reaches high into millions, will place almost limitless power in the hands of the owner thereof. Men of trade, united in an impregnable body, wield an influence that capital is afraid to gainsay. As units, the men and the dollars would be forces too small to reckon with. Capital sneers at the efforts of one man (unless perchance he be a Morgan or a Rockefeller), and a dollar flung into the sea of finance would not create a ripple. It is in their union that is found their strength, their power for good or evil; and in union, therefore, except in rare instances, lies the secret of accomplishment. Even in the exceptions, are united the genius, energy, and creative or managing ability, which lifts a man above his fellows and makes him great. This being so, it would seem that a golden future awaits the newest and greatest union to appear in the national arena—the American Federation of Catholic Societies."

"To even the casual observer there can be little doubt that as time moves on Catholicity will play a prominent part in the New World. Our Holy Faith is already making rapid strides, and even in spots of the most hidebound bigotry, its light is gradually, but surely penetrating. With this great and universal spread of the Catholic religion comes the necessity for some body of men, some highly perfected organizations to guide and direct its energies, and concentrate its vast potential power for good."

"The necessity for an organization to direct and mobilize the efforts of the Catholics in America will be supplied by the American Federation of Catholic Societies. At least, this is the object and desires of its promoters. And there is little reason to doubt their final attainment. The most brilliant Churchmen in the country are bending their energies to that end."

"That the leaders in the movements are men, broad-minded and open to suggestion, is shown by the fact that they decided at the convention to adopt, with some modifi-

cations, the system of the 'Volksverein,' or People's Catholic League of Germany, which in the past few years has practically revolutionized the condition of Catholicity in that empire."

"Any religious movement has a rough road to travel, but indomitable will and un-sparing labor must win in the end.

"The time is approaching, if all goes well, when the many and diverse evils which assail the strength and vigor of our national life, and the faith and morals of every person, humble and great alike, will struggle in vain against the right, and will hurl their hideous, vicious strength against an impenetrable wall of concentrated Catholic opposition, reared and supported by the federation."

Two statements in this editorial are particularly worthy of note; first, the statement that the Catholic League of Germany has within the past few years "practically revolutionized the condition of Catholicity in that empire," the birthplace of Luther and the Reformation; and second, the statement that "to the casual observer there can be little doubt that as time moves on Catholicity will play a prominent part in the New World." It will be noticed also that although organized for shaping and controlling national and political affairs, the federation is here plainly denominated a "religious movement." It is evident that the papacy is doing her utmost not only to gain the ascendancy of power in the United States, but to regain her lost ascendancy in Europe, and before long capture the world. In addition to this, one of the worst signs of the times is the fact that the great Protestant denominations are also federating with the same end in view—that of shaping and controlling state and national affairs, and uniting church and state. Both movements are steps in the wrong direction.

Human Law Versus Divine Law

W. W. PRESCOTT

THERE is one phase of religious legislation which should not escape notice. History testifies that in a large majority of cases where there has been a union of church and state, and the civil power has been used to define and to enforce religious observances, the state has been the active agent in the propagation of either a false

religion or a perversion of Christianity. This fact has been well stated by Lord Macaulay in his essay on "Church and State," from which we make a brief quotation:—

"Does, then, the way in which governments generally obtain their power, make it at all probable that they will be more favorable to orthodoxy than to heterodoxy? . . . And how stands the fact? Have not almost all the governments in the world always been in the wrong on religious subjects?"

A specific example of the truthfulness of Lord Macaulay's statement may be found in every step in Sunday legislation from Constantine's law in 321 down to the present time. Sunday is not the Sabbath of the Bible, as is coming to be quite generally admitted by candid students of the Holy Scriptures. Nowhere is there a divine command to observe this day as the Sabbath. On the contrary the fourth commandment specifically mentions the seventh day as "the sabbath of the Lord thy God." It is plain, therefore, that when men pass a law compelling the recognition of Sunday as the Sabbath they not only go contrary to the principles of religious freedom in attempting to enforce a religious institution, but they also defy the divine government by enacting legislation which is in direct opposition to the express terms of the law of God. Ought professed Christians to urge legislators to substitute human law for the divine law?

We invite all those who are pressing the demand for Sunday laws, to consider the matter from this standpoint.

The Purpose of Inter-Church Federation

K. C. RUSSELL

THE real purpose of the Inter-Church Federation movement, when stripped of all its high profession of "Christian unity," is to secure the influence and power of the state in matters of religion. The most recent statement of the real purpose of the movement was plainly voiced in the October issue of the *Defender*, the organ of the New England Sabbath Protective League, published in Boston, Mass. It says, "This is an age of Federation. At last the different denominations are realizing it, and joining in an offensive and defensive warfare. Why should not the

many sacred movements of moral and civic righteousness join their forces? We can gain much more by uniting ourselves with those who are seeking a similar end than we can by a single combat." It will be observed from the foregoing that the object to be obtained by this federated movement is that of securing moral and civic righteousness. When moral (religion) and civic (the state) are joined together, all can see that such a combination will be nothing short of a union of church and state, pure and simple.

The *Defender* continues by outlining the need of this federated movement in language that can not be misinterpreted, as the following will show:—

"One very evident need of federated reform is seen in connection with our law-making bodies, whether they meet in Washington or in different State capitals. It is the duty of the reform forces to see that men are sent to these places who shall represent the ideas which they hold most important and sacred."

There is no ambiguity or uncertainty as to the meaning of what they claim as their need, for it is plainly stated that it is their purpose to allow only such men in Congress and state legislatures as "shall represent the ideas which they [the federated reform movement] hold most important and sacred." The *Defender* does not fail to indicate what these "most important and sacred" ideas are which they are insisting shall be carried out. Among these it mentions "Sabbath observance." Speaking of certain candidates for office in Massachusetts who defended an open Sunday, the *Defender* says, they were "left at home by the votes at the Massachusetts caucuses," and then adds, "these are practical illustrations of the power and possibilities of a united effort in the interests of reform."

It is not difficult from this forecast to determine the tremendous influence and pressure which will be brought to bear upon our lawmakers by these combined forces. Statesmen are already becoming keenly conscious of this influence, as is indicated by the following statement which was recently made by a United States Senator: "I am opposed to any and all phases of religious legislation including Sunday laws. The Jamestown Exposition should

not be closed on Sunday. But, the truth is, the religious people of this country are getting such a hold of lawmakers that I fear we can not stem the tide in that direction."

Both Protestants and Roman Catholics are uniting in bringing such influence to bear upon legislatures in order that they may secure certain so-called reforms upon which they are mutually agreed, notably the Sunday-observance reform. In a recent movement in the Dominion of Canada it is reported that there was "passed the strictest and most sweeping Sabbath law ever yet enacted by any nation, quite surpassing Australia." It is said of this movement in Canada that "all religious denominations united in this public demonstration, including high dignitaries of the English Church as well as the Roman Catholic prelates."

It will be interesting in this connection to observe the proportions that distinguished delegates at the great Inter-Church Federation Conference, held last November in New York City, desired to see the movement reach.

Justice Brewer said: "I long and hope for a federation closer than that adopted by this conference. Why should such men as Edward Everett Hale and Cardinal Gibbons be excluded from such a federation as this?" Dr. Barnes said: "But there are other bodies which I for one should like to see have representatives. I would like to see the door opened to the Roman Catholics, who certainly believe enough." Dr. Roberts said: "The Roman Catholics are not excluded by the terms of the proposition of federation." Dr. Greer remarked: "Our Catholic brethren, who are not with us (and I am sorry they are not) have something to teach us here, in teaching as they do the value and the need, not merely of a past but of a present incarnation." Dr. Mackay, referring to the scope of the federation, said: "Just because I am sure of the divinity of Christ, I am willing to federate with any one, be he Brahmin, Hindoo, or Hottentot, if he is willing to agree, however imperfectly, to the kingship of Christ."

So then, we may yet expect to see a federation that will not only reach out to the Roman Catholic power, but also include Brahmin, Hindoo, Hottentot, any one, every one, who will, "however imperfectly," acknowledge "the kingship of

Christ." How easy, then, to confederate, and withal how fatal to the spiritual condition of the church militant.

It was the church power in the early centuries that brought influence to bear upon emperors and other rulers, until they were compelled to yield to the unrighteous demands of the religious element of the times, which resulted in all the horrors that were caused by the persecutions during the Dark Ages. The same cause that produced the Inquisition and the persecution in other days, will, if logically carried out, produce the same results in these times.

The antichristian character of this movement will be clearly seen by contrasting it with Christ's attitude on the question of the proper relation between the church and the state.

One of the most remarkable and forcible illustrations emphasizing his position on this question was upon the occasion when the Pharisees and Herodians sought to entangle him in his talk concerning the question regarding the relation of the church to the state. It should be remembered that these two classes held views that were in opposition to each other. The Pharisees believed that they should wholly ignore the demands of civil government, and the Herodians believed that they should render everything through Cæsar, or the state. In reply to their question Christ said, "Render therefore unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's; and unto God the things that are God's."

In these weighty words the great Author of liberty enunciated principles which, if they had been followed, would have been a safeguard against every unholy alliance that has existed between the church and the state, and the awful history of religious intolerance and persecution that has blighted the world during the past two thousand years would never have been written.

Again, in addressing Pilate, he said, "My kingdom is not of this world," thus indicating that his kingdom is quite distinct from the kingdoms of this world, and is one in which violence, strife, and intolerance do not exist.

When a church seeks for the power of human government to promote her cause she tacitly admits that her kingdom is of this world, and is, therefore, unchristian:

and yet church federation movements are devoting their time, talent, and energies seeking the power of earthly kingdoms, instead of looking to him who is King of kings, to whom all power in heaven and earth has been committed.

The early disciples did not seek power from the state to do their work, but tarried in an upper room at Jerusalem until they were endowed with power from on high. When they were all "with one accord in one place," it was then that the Holy Spirit was poured out upon them, and three thousand souls were converted in one day.

There is a union for which all should seek, and that is the one outlined in the remarkable prayer of our Saviour. He prayed that his disciples might be one, that the world might know that the Father had sent him.

The purpose of the unity for which Christ prayed was not to obtain the influence of any earthly power by which "law-breakers and lawmakers" would be compelled to yield, but one that attracts by the power of love which is shed abroad in the heart by the Holy Ghost. While there is nothing arbitrary nor compulsory in this union, it nevertheless possesses a force that is mightier than the combined powers of evil, and which will ultimately triumph over them.

The only remedy for this almost universal thirst for human power is by the way of the cross, the freedom from sin, and the enthronement of Christ within. Then, and only then, can God entrust men with the gift of the Holy Ghost, which is the true source of the Christian's power.

Christ's Kingdom Not of This World

THE following from chapter forty-five of the work, "Desire of Ages," is a good refutation of national reformism:—

"Some of the Pharisees had come to Jesus demanding 'when the kingdom of God should come.' More than three years had passed since John the Baptist gave the message that like a trumpet call had sounded through the land, 'The kingdom of heaven is at hand,' and as yet the Pharisees saw no indication of the establishment of the kingdom. Many of those who rejected John, and at every step had op-

posed Jesus, were insinuating that his mission had failed.

"Jesus answered, 'The kingdom of God cometh not with outward show: neither shall they say, Lo here! or, lo there! for, behold the kingdom of God is within you.' The kingdom of God begins in the heart. Look not here nor there for manifestations of earthly power to mark his coming.

"The kingdom of God comes not with outward show. The gospel of the grace of God, with its spirit of self-abnegation, can never be in harmony with the spirit of the world. The two principles are antagonistic. 'The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God: for they are foolishness unto him: neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned.'

"But to-day in the religious world there are multitudes who, as they believe, are working for the establishment of the kingdom of Christ as an earthly and temporal kingdom. They desire to make our Lord the ruler of the kingdoms of this world, the ruler in its courts and camps, its legislative halls, its palaces, and market-places. They expect him to rule through legal enactments, enforced by human authority. Since Christ is not now here in person, they themselves will undertake to act in his stead, to execute the laws of his kingdom. The establishment of such a kingdom is what the Jews desired in the days of Christ. They would have received Jesus, had he been willing to establish a temporal dominion, to enforce what they regarded as the laws of God, and to make them the expositors of his will and the agents of his authority. But he said, 'My kingdom is not of this world.' He would not accept the earthly throne.

"Now, as in Christ's day, the work of God's kingdom lies not with those who are clamoring for recognition and support by earthly rulers and human laws, but with those who are declaring to the people in his name those spiritual truths that will work in the receivers the experience of Paul: 'I am crucified with Christ: never-

theless I live; yet not I, but Christ liveth in me.' Then they will labor as did Paul for the benefit of men. He said, 'Now then we are ambassadors for Christ, as though God did beseech you by us: we pray you in Christ's stead, be ye reconciled to God.'"

Religious Liberty Defended

THE annual convention of the New York State Sabbath Association, a branch of the American Sabbath Union, was recently held in the city of Elmira, N. Y. Fourteen different denominations were represented in this gathering, and leading speakers united in a strong effort in behalf of



CITY HALL, ELMIRA, N. Y.

Sabbath reform by law, which, of course, means Sunday legislation. The cause of religious liberty was championed by the chairman of the Religious Liberty Bureau of Washington, D. C., and by the secretary of the State Religious Liberty Bureau of New York. During the convention a large amount of literature was distributed, and two mass-meetings were held in which the principles and results of religious legislation were plainly set forth. Some of the leading city officials gave their hearty support to these efforts of the representatives of religious freedom, and the daily papers published reports and correspondence which brought the real issues plainly before the people. As a result, a strong public sentiment was created in favor of maintaining the original principles of religious free-

dom upon which this government was established. One feature of the convention was a paper read by former Judge Charles R. Pratt. The position taken by ex-Judge Pratt will be indicated in the following letter which appeared in the *Elmira Gazette* under the title, "Former Judge Pratt Upholds Religious Liberty Contention:"—

"*Editor of the Gazette:* Will you kindly allow me space to correct a statement that appeared in yesterday's *Telegram* in connection with the article concerning the work of our Liberty Bureau. The statement reads:—

"'Wednesday former Judge Charles R. Pratt read a paper before the Sabbath Association which is radically opposed to the doctrines of religious liberty as espoused by the league.'

"This mistake, which puts Judge Pratt in the light of opposing religious liberty, was the result of inadvertence upon the part of the reporter, I am sure. It should have read: 'Judge Pratt read a paper before the Sabbath Association which is radically opposed to religious legislation as espoused by the association.'

"I take the liberty to quote a paragraph or two from Judge Pratt's paper, now in my possession, and by permission, to sustain the latter position, as follows:—

"'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.'

"This is the contention of our Religious Liberty Bureau—in this Judge Pratt and we can heartily agree, 'as a religious institution can receive no legal recognition.' As a civil day, it can take its place with Washington's birthday, fourth of July, Labor day, etc., and there will be no compulsion about it, nor the clubbing of the people into assuming reverential attitude toward it. Again, Judge Pratt says: 'Sunday laws, so far as they require a religious observance of the day, are unconstitutional, and can not be enforced.'

"Our Religious Liberty Bureau regards the reading of this paper before the association as a great victory for the principles we are contending for, and all must see quite clearly that the clear and comprehensive position taken by Judge Pratt upon the question is in favor of the rights, the religious rights of the people, and diametrically opposed to the doctrine and the principles of the American Sabbath Union.

"Yours very truly,

"JOHN S. WIGHTMAN,

"*Sec. State Religious Liberty Bureau*"

News and Notes

THE question of religious instruction in the State schools is being agitated in nearly all the Australasian States at the present time.

I WOULD rather be exposed to the inconveniences attending too much liberty than those attending a too small degree of it.—*Thos. Jefferson.*

No conscience was ever convicted by fear of the law. No soul was ever saved by threat of human punishment for violation of a divine command.

TRUE religion is a matter between the individual man and his God. When a third party enters to direct in that relation, he prevents the exercise of man's most precious right, and robs God of his most valuable asset—pure, undefiled, and unhindered worship.

COMMENTING on the situation in France growing out of the agitation and disturbances resulting from the recent action of the government to separate church and state, the *Outlook* declares that "both church and state in France would have been stronger if they had been separated" in the past.

THE spirit that lies beneath Sunday legislation is revealed by a prominent Methodist minister in Franklin, Manitoba, who says: "When people who call themselves Christians join with Jews, infidels, and outlaws to break down the sacredness of the Lord's day, instituted and observed by Christ, the apostles, and all true followers ever since the day of the resurrection, it is high time they were either boycotted or crushed."

THE movement to separate church and state which is now agitating France and Spain, has also appeared in Switzerland. It is reported from Geneva that Switzerland is considering the question of cutting off the support now given the clergymen of the Lutheran church by each canton. The plan suggested provides a gradual reduction, until at the end of thirteen years the state, or municipal, contributions to the church shall cease.

THERE has been some talk about the calling of a constitutional convention to consider the question of an amendment to the Constitution of the United States providing for the election of United States Senators by direct vote. "If such a convention is called," says the *Christian Statesman*

official organ of the National Reform Association; "It can not be limited to the single purpose here spoken of. There are other questions of the greatest moment which it could not fail to consider." In case such a convention is called, the National Reformers will doubtless be on hand to press their claims for a religious amendment to the Constitution.

FOR many years the National Reformers have been laboring to secure a religious amendment to the Constitution of the United States, in order that all "Christian laws, customs, and usages" may be placed upon "an undeniable legal basis in the fundamental law of the land." The advocates of religious legislation in California are now calling for a straight "Sunday observance amendment" to the constitution of that State. California is one of the two States in the Union which has no Sunday law.

COMMENTING upon the Sunday law recently passed by France, the *Christian Statesman* for August says: "This action is not based on religious, but solely upon economic considerations," but adds, "While it is true this action was not taken on religious grounds, it is not true that it has no religious significance," which is but admitting, in other words, that it matters not upon what "grounds" Sunday legislation may be "based," in its real nature, purpose, and intent every Sunday law is, after all, religious, and has a "religious significance."

"ONE evening a few months ago, in Washington, I had the honor of conversing separately with six distinguished statesmen, all of whom are available for the presidency," said Cardinal Gibbons in the course of a sermon in his cathedral in Baltimore on October 7, adding that he "found them all in a receptive mood." This is pretty good testimony to the fact that the head of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States moves in high political circles at the capital of the nation, and is on pretty intimate terms with its leading statesmen and politicians.

THE following item, under the heading, "Too Much Sunday Business," appeared in the *Washington Post* of October 31: "C. M. D. Browne, 144 R St., N. E., yesterday invited the attention of the District Commissioners to the amount of business transacted on Sunday in the District, especially by real estate firms. He says that many dentists work on Sunday, and recalls the case of a tailor who claims he can not attend morning services on account of

being compelled to attend to his business at that time. He has been informed that there is no law to prevent the transaction of business of this kind on Sunday." The clamor for a District Sunday law for the compulsory observance of Sunday doubtless comes from such "zealous citizens" as the one here represented.

"THE one legitimate work of government is to hold its shield over the people, protecting all in the exercise of their religious convictions, but bestowing favors upon none. A civil ruler or legislator, in the exercise of his public functions, should know no man as a religionist, but only as a citizen or subject; he has no right to enter the domain of conscience; to extend favor to one creed or to proscribe another. This is beyond his sphere, according to the simple and self-evident law, 'we ought to obey God rather than men.'"

THE preliminary steps for the establishment of a "people's lobby" at Washington were taken at a meeting of public-spirited men from various parts of the country, in Washington, October 22. The purpose of this lobby, as announced, is, in the interests of the whole people, to oppose the lobbies of special interests at Washington, and to expose Congressmen who serve them. It is to be hoped that it will not overlook the International Reform Bureau church-and-state lobby located in this city, which is doing all it can to secure the passage of religious measures, chiefly Sunday-law measures.

OCTOBER 5 it was announced at the State Department at Washington that American citizens are exempt from "church taxes" in Germany. This was ascertained after correspondence between the American ambassador at Berlin and the German government. "Germany," it is stated, "exempts from church taxes citizens of any country that does not exact church taxes from Germans;" and as the United States has no church taxes, according to this, church taxes in Germany can not be assessed against American citizens in that country. If the philosophy underlying this arrangement is at all sound or justifiable, why should not all civil governments go a step farther, and recognize the fact that in religion all men should be regarded and treated as belonging to God, and as he compels no citizen of any civil government to pay a "church tax," or perform any other religious service, so it is not proper for any civil government to compel any of his subjects to do any such thing?

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WE are told in *The Christian Statesman* that to reject the theory that the state is in itself a moral person distinct from the people involves "the reversal of the ordinary moral judgment of mankind." The *Statesman* has fallen into the not uncommon error of supposing that in giving expression in an emphatic manner to its own views it is voicing the conclusions of the people. This was illustrated to us in a pointed way by the fact that on the very day when we read the *Statesman's* unsupported assertion we found an editorial in the *New York Sun* on "Government Control" in which occurred the following clean-cut statement: "There is no such entity as a government apart from the individuals who exercise governmental power." We venture to claim that the *Sun* interprets the judgment of mankind more correctly than the *Statesman*.

As the result of a political campaign in 1882, the Sunday law of California was repealed upon the ground that such legislation is unconstitutional, contrary to the principles of civil and religious liberty, and its enforcement a violation of human rights. For twenty-four years, therefore, California has been without a Sunday law. A movement directed by church leaders, however, is now on foot in that State to secure a "Sunday-rest amendment" to the State constitution as the foundation and security for the Sunday legislation that is desired. Plans are being laid to have a meas-

ure of this kind introduced in the State legislature at its coming session, and later submitted to the people for approval. The friends of Sunday legislation, it seems, intend to leave no nation, state, or spot on earth where Sunday observance is not enforced by law. This badge and entering wedge of a union of church and state is appearing everywhere.

Religious Orders in Spain

ACCORDING to a press dispatch from Madrid the new law of associations which has been proposed in Spain will contain the following provisions:—

1. No religious order shall be established without the authorization of parliament.
2. The state shall accord support to any member of a religious order desiring to renounce the vows taken.
3. The minister of justice is empowered to withdraw the authorization of any religious order found to be inimical to morality or public tranquillity.
4. The cabinet shall forthwith examine the authorizations previously granted to religious orders and cancel those which are illegal.
5. Religious orders whose members are foreigners or whose director resides abroad shall be dissolved. The authorities are empowered to enter monasteries without ecclesiastical sanction.
6. Religious orders shall not be allowed to hold property in excess of the objects for which they were instituted.
7. All legacies to religious orders or donations to orders by living persons or by testaments or through intermediaries are formally prohibited.
8. Religious orders engaging in trade or industry shall pay the regular taxes.
9. Regulations for the dissolution of religious orders will be established.
10. The law of 1887 concerning the registering of religious orders remains in force.

CORRECTION.—A note in our last issue, written shortly before Congress adjourned, stated that the effort to secure a Sunday-closing clause to the Jamestown Exposition appropriation had failed. Such a clause, however, was inserted, and the measure thus amended passed Congress the day before adjournment. How this was accomplished is explained in the article on page 16.

The Divinely Ordained Principle in Civil Government



IN the earliest states known to history, government, and religion were one and indivisible. Each state had its special deity, and often these protectors, one after another, might be overthrown in battle, never to rise again. The Peloponnesian war grew out of a strife about an oracle. Rome, as it sometimes adopted into citizenship those whom it vanquished, introduced in like manner, and with good logic for that day, the worship of their gods. No one thought of vindicating religion for the conscience of the individual, till a voice in Judea, breaking day for the greatest epoch in the life of humanity, by establishing a pure, spiritual, and universal religion for all mankind, enjoined to render to Caesar only that which is Caesar's. The rule was upheld during the infancy of the gospel for all men. No sooner was this religion adopted by the chief of the Roman empire than it was shorn of its character of universality, and enthralled by an unholy connection with the unholy state; and so it continued till the new nation,— the least defiled with the barren scoffings of the eighteenth century, the most general believer in Christianity of any people of that age, the chief heir of the Reformation in its purest forms,— when it came to establish a government for the United States, refused to treat faith as a matter to be regulated by a corporate body, or having a headship in a monarch or a state.

“Vindicating the right of individuality even in religion, and in religion above all, the new nation dared to set the example of accepting in its relations to God the principle first divinely ordained of God in Judea. It left the management of temporal things to the temporal power; but the American constitution, in harmony with the people of the several states, withheld from the federal government, the power to invade the home of reason, the citadel of conscience, the sanctuary of the soul; and not from indifference, but that the infinite Spirit of eternal truth might move in its freedom and purity and power.” — *George Bancroft, “History of the Formation of the Constitution,” last Chapter.*

