

“Backward States” and Sunday Laws

Liberty

A Magazine of Religious Freedom

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



CAPITOL BUILDING, HARRISBURG, PENNSYLVANIA

Pennsylvania's soil is historic. It was within Pennsylvania's borders that the contest opened which was to decide whether the valiant soldiers of France would be able to bar this continent against the domination of the people of the English-speaking colonies. It was on Pennsylvania's soil that the Declaration of Independence was signed and the Constitutional Convention held. It was in Pennsylvania that Washington wintered at Valley Forge, and by keeping his army together during that winter, definitely turned the scales in our favor in the contest for independence. It was again on Pennsylvania's soil, at Gettysburg, that the tide turned in the Civil War. In the composition of her people, moreover, Pennsylvania has epitomized the composition of our Union; for here many Old World races have mingled their blood to make that new type, the American. Finally, in all branches of the public service, in peace and in war, the native or adopted citizens of Pennsylvania have attained the highest eminence.—From President Roosevelt's address at the dedication of the new State Capitol, Harrisburg, Pa., Oct. 4, 1906.

PRICE, FIVE CENTS



A method of hunting frequently employed in the Middle States and the West. The hunter accomplishes his purpose by keeping a trained "stalking horse" or "stalking ox" always between him and the "game." The "game" sees only the horse or ox. The "Sunday rest-day law" furnishes an excellent "stalking horse" for those who are seeking to make a religious observance of Sunday compulsory.

LIBERTY

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

VOL. II

FIRST QUARTER, 1907

No. 1

Survey of the Field

Bolivia. — A few months ago the Constitution of Bolivia was amended so as to permit freedom of public worship to all denominations. This concession had long been sought by the evangelical bodies that had been conducting missions in that country under the greatest difficulties. There was a union of church and state there, and the Catholic Church was the state church, overriding the rights of all others. The reception of the text of the new Bolivian law in this country has caused great rejoicing among those who are laboring for true religious liberty throughout the world.

Russia. — While there is much reform needed in Russia on many points, she is teaching even the more enlightened nations some lessons along the line of religious liberty. Recently a manifesto was issued, and sent to all the governors of Russia, instructing them that Seventh-day Adventists were to be accorded the same rights in religious matters as those enjoyed by the other sects. The Roman Catholics of Poland have also been granted the right to worship as they see fit.

Spain. — There are growing indications that Spain is seeking to break away from the domination of Rome. The Moret ministry remained in office only four days — the briefest term on record in Spanish history. This was due to the fact that Senor Moret wrote a letter to the king which was said to have been dictated in Rome. But Spain is still backward. The Protestant

churches there are not allowed to show themselves publicly under any circumstances. They are not allowed to display any religious emblem on their places of meeting, and must keep the door of their meeting place closed so as not to attract attention to their services. The entrance to their meeting places must not be on a public street. Through church influence these restrictions were imbedded in the Spanish Constitution, which provides that "no ceremonies nor manifestations in public except those of the religion of the state will be permitted."

France. — The papacy is keeping up its agitation against the rulings of the French government, and ecclesiastics in different portions of the world are taking up the contest. These enemies of the French government are desperately endeavoring to make it appear that France is making war on all religion, especially since it was decided to take the prayer off the French coins — a matter perfectly in harmony with the idea of a separation of church and state. France is determined, however, to teach the papacy its place, to let it and the world know that the republic is supreme in its realm, and that it will not tolerate interference from the Vatican any more than from any foreign government. The Chamber of Deputies stood by the government on a test vote, by a vote of 413 to 136. The bishops, on the authority of the pope, have made a proposition to the French gov-

ernment on the basis of a virtual lease of the churches in perpetuity to the parish priests by the mayors. The government officials do not take kindly to the proposition; but the French press is divided over the matter. Some of the papers consider that the Vatican has offered a basis for a settlement which is compatible with its dignity and duty, and others consider that it is a skilful maneuver of the church, designed to furnish an excuse for suspending public worship upon the pretext that the necessary guarantees are refused, and that, therefore, the government can not entertain such a proposition. M. Briand says: "If the episcopate considers this a basis for negotiation, we do not respond." The Chamber of Deputies has passed the public meetings bill by a majority of 550 to 5.

England.—The progress of religious liberty in England has been brought to a standstill by the killing of the Education bill in the House of Lords. This action is causing many in England to ask for the exclusion of the bishops from the House of Lords. Speaking of the bishops and their relation to the legislation of the realm, one writer says: "By their obscurantism in general, the bishops are forcing on the English democracy the problem of disestablishment; and more than that, by their union with the lords temporal they are hastening the abolition or reconstruction of the House of Lords."

Germany.—France is not the only European nation which has its clerical problem. It has been brought to public attention in Germany very recently by the issuance of a vigorous election manifesto by Chancellor Von Buelow, in which this personal representative of the kaiser appeals to the electorate to rid itself of the domination of the clerical party. At the same time the German Evangelical League is placarding the country with circulars urging the exclusion of the Catholics from influence in the Reichstag, by a Protestant union at the polls. The league disclaims any intention of permanent political activity, but vigorously advocates united action in order to eliminate Catholic Church influence from

German affairs. It is already predicted that there will be a marked weakening of the clerical influences in the forthcoming Reichstag. The clericals joined with the socialists in order to frustrate the designs of the emperor, and this is now working as a boomerang against themselves. With Spain apparently desirous of following France, and with the German government turned against the aspirations of the Catholic Church, the sorrows of the Vatican seem to be multiplying, for the immediate present at least. In Germany opposition to the state churches is a decided movement of the day. It comes, not from the state, but seemingly from within the church itself. In various quarters it is said that there is a demand for a rupture with the state churches *en masse*. Large numbers have actually severed their connection with the state churches. This is due largely to the fact that religious instruction in the public schools is compulsory. The control of the public schools is placed in the hands of pastors, and the children are compelled to learn the catechism and Bible history.

Switzerland.—Switzerland seems to be watching France closely, with an idea of following her example as far as possible in the matter of the separation of church and state. The idea of such a separation is gaining ground rapidly. The city council of Basel is seriously considering the innovation, and the Superior Council of Geneva has gone so far as to propose the separation of church and state in connection with the "cultus budget," and has adopted the following article: "The freedom of worship is guaranteed. The state and the political communions do not contribute to the maintenance of any form of worship, nor can anybody be compelled to contribute to the expenses of any religious observance or service."

The United States.—More and more frequently we see press notices of co-operation between labor unions and pastors' unions, as well as the appointments of "fraternal delegates" from certain churches to gatherings of labor leaders. Labor movements in Toledo, Ohio, have

become very interesting because of developments along these lines. The pastors' union was invited by the unions to send "fraternal delegates" to the Central Labor Union. The invitation was accepted in resolutions expressing sympathetic interest and pledging co-operation. The press of Boston, through its reports of arrests and trials for Sunday work, gives evidence that a veritable cyclone of Sunday enforcement has visited the city. The district attorney has ordered the arrest of all persons found violating the Sunday law. A list of twelve

send out any. The Supreme Court of Massachusetts has decided that to gather in a crop on Sunday to save it from loss is not a work of necessity. The court says the word "necessity" has the same meaning it had when the law was framed. "It was inserted to secure the observance of the Lord's day in accordance with the views of our ancestors, and it ever since has stood, and still stands, for the same purpose." It is the plan of the Woman's Interdenominational Union to have as many pastors in this country as can possibly be secured, preach on Sunday observance on the last Sunday in February. The president of this union states that twenty thousand simultaneous sermons were preached in Great Britain last year upon this theme. The effect of this campaign in England is seen in the union of the Catholic Church in England, the Church of England, and the non-conformists upon the matter of the enforcement of Sunday observance. In Kansas petitions are being circulated asking the legislature for laws prohibiting Sunday baseball and the Sunday theater. The authorities of Spartanburg County, S. C., carried through their work of arresting, trying, and fining three Christian men for quiet home work on Sunday. The trial was held on January 10, and the men were convicted and fined. In his message to the Arizona Legislature now in session, Governor George Kibbey recommended the passage of a law prohibiting the sale of intoxicating liquors "between the hours of twelve o'clock midnight and five o'clock A. M., of week-days, and during all of Sundays." The newly elected governor of Colorado, Mr. Butchel, is a Methodist minister, and had his inaugural services conducted in a Methodist Episcopal church in Denver. On January 9 the United States Senate passed a resolution directing "that the Postmaster-General be directed to inform the Senate by what authority post-offices are kept open on Sunday." Mr. Cortelyou very quickly (January 14) replied, giving the authority called for. A case involving the legality of an order for compulsory church attendance on the part of soldiers on Sunday, issued by the post commander at Columbus, Ohio, has recently been acted upon by the War Department.



THE ALBAN GATE, BASEL

hundred such cases has been reported, and the district attorney has ordered the prosecution of them all. He says: "There is no more reason why one person should be tried as a test case when twelve hundred have been reported, than there is that there should be only one trial for murder when a thousand murderers have been arrested." This places the performance of honest work on Sunday on a par with murder and robbery. The police, under orders from the district attorney, began at midnight on Saturday night to take the names of all persons who were found doing any kind of work at any time during the twenty-four hours. The baggage rooms of the railroads were closed till midnight Sunday, and large concerns which had been in the habit of sending out ten or twelve wagons did not

Editorial

Religious Freedom

THE history of religious freedom is the story of light breaking through the darkness in the different centuries. Such experiences have usually been contemporaneous with the revival of the true gospel. This is in harmony with the real nature of the gospel.

The message of the gospel is, "Proclaim liberty to the captives." This primarily means deliverance from sin, for "whosoever committeth sin is the servant of sin," and "of whom a man is overcome, of the same is he brought in bondage;" but the spirit of the gospel is opposed to bondage of any kind. God has given to every man the privilege of choosing whether he will yield allegiance to the divine government, as is shown by the exhortation, "Choose you this day whom ye will serve." But if any man chooses to serve God, it is a part of the divine will and purpose that he shall have the liberty to do so,—that he shall be permitted to worship and serve according to his own choice, in harmony with the dictates of his own conscience. This is the only worship and service which are acceptable to God.

Furthermore, the liberty to worship involves the liberty not to worship. The right to believe includes the right to refuse to believe. "If any man hear my words," said Jesus, "and believe not, I judge him not: for I came not to judge the world, but to save the world." This is a principle which has often been overlooked; and there is to-day a strong tendency to enforce observances which are thought to be a part of Christianity. But any such misdirected zeal does violence to the spirit of genuine Christianity. By his self-sacrificing love Christ draws all unto him, but he compels no one to yield to him.

The gospel of religious freedom was proclaimed in the first century in the face of the established policy of the Roman state to dictate both the matter and the manner

of religion. Refusing to recognize the right of any human authority to control the conscience, the divine Author of Christianity himself taught, and instructed his disciples to teach, a religion forbidden by the state as being contrary to public policy. This marked the beginning of a struggle which continued for centuries. The power of the Roman state was invoked against the forbidden religion. Persecution followed persecution. But the blood of the martyrs became the seed of the church. The divine right to practise even a proscribed religion was claimed by the believers in Christ; and in the course of time Rome was compelled to yield, and religious freedom was enjoyed by Christians.

The story of this and later experiences will be told in a series of studies on the history of religious freedom in this magazine. It is a subject of both interest and importance, and these studies deserve a thoughtful and careful reading. The lessons to be derived from these epochs of history need to be pondered in our day when so many zealous "defenders" of the faith are seeking to abridge the right of men to believe or not to believe, and are invoking the arm of the state in order to maintain institutions and observances which they dominate "Christian." Religious freedom is the gift of God. No man and no set of men have a right to interfere with it. True religious freedom includes the right to believe and practise a false religion, provided one does not interfere with the rights of others in so doing, nor does it try to cover incivility with the cloak of religion. The acceptance and maintenance of these principles will be in the interest of a pure Christianity.

A New Order of Things

ALMOST every page of ancient and mediæval history is stained with the record of intolerance and persecution. Until the Reformation of the sixteenth century, and the advent of the New Nation of the eighteenth, the shadow of this great crime against humanity rested heavily upon the world. But the Reformation broke the spell and blazed the way, and the United States government,

"the chief heir of the Reformation in its purest forms," as the historian Bancroft so aptly styles it in his "History of the Formation of the Constitution," crystallized the principles set forth by the Reformation, and, before all the world, set the example of accepting in its relations to God and religion the principle first proclaimed by Jesus Christ, in Judea, in the injunction to render to Cæsar only that which is Cæsar's, and unto God that which is God's.

Before this, "liberty, in the minds of men," says Mr. Ridpath, meant "the privilege of agreeing with the majority." Before this every government claimed the right to establish a religion, and to punish those who would not conform to it. But the American Constitution "withheld from the federal government the power to invade the home of reason, the citadel of conscience, the sanctuary of the soul." Plainly and boldly it declared that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

A new era had dawned upon mankind. A new nation, founded upon new principles, had made its appearance in the world. Significant and appropriate indeed was the Latin motto fixed on the reverse side of its Great Seal,—*Novus Ordo Seclorum*,—meaning, "A New Order of Things."

Under this new order of things, says Mr. Ridpath, "proscription has no part nor lot in the modern government of the world. The stake, the gibbet, and the rack, thumb-screws, swords, and pillory, have no place among the machinery of civilization. Nature is diversified; so are human faculties, beliefs, and practises. Essential freedom is the *right to differ*, and that right must be sacredly respected." Under this order of things, he tells us the privilege of dissent must be conceded, not with coldness or disdain, but openly, cordially, and with good will. No loss of rank, no abatement of character, no disability, no ostracism from society, must darken the pathway of the humblest seeker after truth. The right of free thought, free inquiry, free speech, and free worship to all men everywhere is

as clear as the noonday sun, and as boundless as the air we breathe or the seas we sail upon.

But almost from its rise, misguided religionists, styling themselves "National Reformers," "Christian Lobbyists," and the like, have sought to subvert the grand, noble, and Christian principles upon which the government of the United States was founded, foist religion and religious questions upon the national legislature, change the Constitution, and, if possible, turn this nation back into the "old order of things," and have a religious establishment set up here,—have erected, on these fair shores, an image, or likeness, of that intolerant, despotic system and order of things from which the Reformation and the American nation broke away.

Such an unfortunate and deplorable thing may yet be done; such an event may yet be brought about; but if it is, all should know and understand that it can be done only at the expense and sacrifice of liberty, and by going back upon the Christian, constitutional, and fundamental principles upon which this nation was founded. Let all understand this, and, understanding it, take their stand accordingly.

How National Reformers Are Lobbying Congress With Their Measures

THE January number of the *Christian Statesman*, official organ of the National Reform Association, says:—

Dr. H. H. George wrote to us from Washington after his visit there, December 10-12, that Senator Burrows, of Michigan, had consented to introduce the anti-polygamy amendment in the form proposed by the National Reform Association into the Senate, though he was not willing to make any argument in support of it. No one, at the time of writing, had been found to introduce it into the House of Representatives.

This is but a sample of the manner in which the National Reform Association, the International Reform Bureau, the American Sabbath Union, and other like church-and-state organizations are lobbying

Congress, and seeking to crowd in their church-and-state ideas and doctrines. They watch every possible opportunity to tack these onto, or weave these into, some measure coming up for action, as, for instance, the preamble to a constitution, or a provision to an appropriation to some exposition, or a law or amendment for the suppression of polygamy, or the like. They are bound that *religion* shall be made a *matter of law* in this country.

The *Statesman* continues:—

Dr. George added that Congress seemed to have grown more godless and secular than when he knew it ten years ago. "I have been saddened and humbled," he writes, "in seeing, hearing, and talking with the members. I feel more and more convinced that the Lord does not mean to convert this nation until he has first brought us to humility by his judgments. The citizens in the parable who sent a message after their lord, saying 'We will not have this man to rule over us,' did not more explicitly reject their rightful ruler than the Congress of the United States is rejecting Christ to-day."

The judgments referred to will doubtless come, and then the National Reform element throughout the country will raise a great hue and cry that these have come, and that men are so bad, because Congress and the State legislatures have not passed more Sunday laws, and, through these and constitutional amendments and other like measures, compelled men to keep Sunday, worship God, and be good! And those who have opposed their unchristian, un-American, and anti-Protestant ideas will then be denounced as outlaws and anarchists, and deserving of the direst punishments.

But the real difficulty is with *men*, rather than with *civil governments*. Men are unwilling to repent and reform their lives. This is the trouble. The National Reform Association, which talks so much about "reform," is not itself willing to reform and square its life and teachings according to the law of God, which it urges should be declared "the supreme law [of the land] on all moral issues." It is a constant violator both in practise and in teaching of the fourth precept of this law, and in

seeking to force religion on men by law it violates the principles underlying every precept of this code,—love to God and love to man.

Therefore we say, Let *men* reform, and square their lives by the Bible and the moral law, and we shall hear little more, and shall have little need of hearing more, about "national reform."

Is National Reformism a Union of Church and State?

A Communication and Reply

THE following communication has been received from a minister of Portland, Ore., with the request that we reply:—

Editor Liberty.

DEAR EDITOR: A recent number of your quarterly was sent to me, presumably from your office, the perusal of which induces me to submit the following suggestions:—

The *only* organization in this country laboring for, or in favor of, the union of church and state is the papal church, and it does so with the intention that, when its efforts shall have been crowned with success (which God forbid), that "church" will be in *supreme* control of *everything* over which floats the stars and stripes.

The National Reform Association, and all Christian citizens who are in harmony with that Association (and that includes about all the unbiased followers of Christ in this land), stand a fortress of divine truth against the union of church and state; but just as firmly in favor of the union of the state with the *political* principles of Christianity in civil government. To say that *that* would unite church and state is to say the same attitude would unite the family and the state in one organization, which would be a contradiction of the most ancient and plainest facts.

The position attempted to be taken by your periodical is the result either of prejudice or of imperfect information. There is not an infidel, deist, or atheist in the world who believes in any kind of civil government, that will disagree with your position in this matter. You may congratulate yourself that they are all with you; and a numerous increase and enlargement of ranks will be found in all shades and colors of anarchists, and "lewd fellows of the baser sort" generally. I am sure you do *not* relish the company in which your fallacious position places you. But as

MR. BOLTON

sure as a black, murky cloud hides the light of the sun momentarily, that offensive gang will shout with sulphurous joy when you succeed (which God forbid) in your opposition to the conformity of civil government to Christian principles.

May the Spirit of Christ enlighten your mind, and open your eyes that you may see the mountain of Christ the King "full of horses and chariots" round about our modern Elisha, as he stands for the divine supremacy in all the interests of the human race.

Very truly and sincerely yours,

(Signed) J. H. LEIPER.

160 North Grand Ave., Portland, Ore.

Our friend, though doubtless sincere, is mistaken in both his propositions. The papal church is not the only organization in this country laboring for a union of church and state, neither does the National Reform Association stand as a fortress against such a union.

There is perhaps no organization laboring more assiduously to unite church and state in this country than the National Reform Association. Church and state were first united under Constantine, when Christianity was declared to be the religion of the empire. This is just what the National Reform Association desires done here. Its avowed purpose, according to the second article of its constitution, is,—

ART. 2. To secure such an amendment to the Constitution of the United States as will declare the nation's allegiance to Jesus Christ, and its acceptance of the moral laws of the Christian religion, and so indicate that this is a Christian nation, and place all the Christian laws, institutions, and usages of our government on an undeniable legal basis in the fundamental law of the land.

When this, or anything approaching it, is accomplished, church and state will be united here as truly as they ever were in the Roman empire.

Church and state are united when religion is established by law. This is precisely what the National Reform Association desires done in this country. In 1874 Prof. C. A. Blanchard, a prominent National Reformer, said:—

Constitutional laws punish for false money, weights, and measures, and so of course Congress establishes a standard for

money, weights, and measures. *So Congress must establish a standard of religion, or admit anything called religion.*

Any church or any church organization seeking the power of the state for the furtherance of its ends is seeking a union of church and state. This is exactly what the National Reform Association, the American Sabbath Union, the International Reform Bureau, and other like organizations are doing in their efforts to secure laws for the compulsory observance of Sunday, eight measures for which have been introduced into the present Congress. And this is precisely how church and state were united in the fourth century; the church leaders clamored for Sunday legislation.

Whenever the church dominates the civil power, church and state are united, and are united after the papal order. In the *Christian Statesman* of Aug. 29, 1889, Rev. J. M. Foster, a National Reform Secretary, said:—

A union of church and state exists where the church usurps control over the state, as in the Romish theory, or when the state assumes to establish and control the church, as in England.

The National Reform Association is seeking a union of church and state upon what it itself denominates the "Romish theory." After it and other allied church organizations had, through petitions, boycotting threats, and other pressure, secured from Congress in 1892 the Sunday-closing clause to the five-million-dollar appropriation to the Chicago Exposition, Rev. J. D. Sands, a National Reform United Presbyterian minister of Pittsburg, said:—

That grand, good fact suggests to the Christian's minds that if this may be done, so may other equally needful measures. *The church is gaining power*, and its voice will be heard in the future much oftener than in the past.

And Rev. H. H. George, another National Reformer, then Field Secretary of the American Sabbath Union, said:—

I have learned that we hold the United States Senate in our hands.

Instead of the National Reform Association standing as a fortress against a union of church and state and the encroachments of the papal church upon the civil power in

this country, it itself stands upon papal principles, and is actually linking hands with that church to secure Sunday legislation, and through this the control of the state. As long ago as 1884, the *Christian Statesman*, official organ of this Association, under dates of August 31 and December 11, published the following:—

This common interest ought to strengthen both our determinations to work and our readiness to *co-operate* with our Roman Catholic fellow citizens. We may be subjected to some rebuffs in our first proffers, for the time is not yet come when the Roman Church will consent to *strike hands* with other churches—as such; but the time has come to make repeated advances, and *gladly to accept co-operation in any form* in which they may be willing to exhibit it.

Whenever they are willing to co-operate in resisting the progress of political atheism, we will gladly *join hands with them*.

This bid for co-operation has been responded to in such matters as Cardinal Gibbons' indorsement of the Blair Sunday Rest bill, in 1888, received by Mr. W. F. Crafts upon his own personal solicitation; Archbishop Ireland's declaration that "the violator of a Sunday law is the worst of criminals," and the like. There is not a Roman Catholic in the world who believes in a union of church and state, that will not indorse National Reform principles, for they are Roman Catholic through and through. The only real point of difference is, Which one shall control the state and enforce his religion?

The United States government is already founded upon the "Christian principles" of civil government—the total separation of church and state. National Reformers protest against Catholic tyranny, but are ready to set up a tyranny of their own, and to accept Catholic aid in the enterprise, so far as they are willing to give it. Christianity denies to the civil power any authority in matters of religion. It says: "Render therefore unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's; and unto God the things that are God's." And in any case of conflict between the laws and requirements of the two, it says: "We ought to obey God rather than men."

The father and founder of this govern-

ment had the goodness and the good sense to recognize this divine principle, and declared that "every man who conducts himself as a good citizen is accountable to God alone for his religious opinions, and ought to be protected in worshipping God according to the dictates of his own conscience." National Reformism would subvert and overturn all this, and establish a religious despotism here like that which flourished in ages past on the other side of the waters—which God forbid! Instead of being an Elisha, the National Reform element is causing this country to be false to its principles and professions, and is turning it into a veritable "false prophet." Rev. 19:20.

As to infidelity, the unkind, cruel, persecuting spirit manifested on the part of professed Christians under church-and-state rule has perhaps been the means of making more infidels than any other one thing, unless it be that other unscriptural, cruel, and outrageous twin-sister doctrine,—eternal torment. What more than these drove Catholic France into infidelity and the desperation of the French Revolution and the Reign of Terror? Viewing Christianity from this unfavorable standpoint, Ingersoll said: "Jehovah is the only Author of a revealed religion that needs the assistance of a state legislature to enforce its precepts." Shortly before he died, he said he had never said a word against heaven; he hoped there was such a place; it was the other place he had been fighting. He said he had been trying to "civilize the churches."

It is a pity, indeed, that so many of the churches are so loath to become "civilized;" and that they cling so tenaciously to doctrines and doings which have not only made millions of infidels, but have given them occasion to blaspheme.

Let those who rant against unbelievers in a perverted Christianity, and call them "that offensive gang," ponder over these things, and remember that the man who holds to Christian principle, though called an infidel, is nearer the kingdom of heaven than he who, styling himself a Christian, denies Christ in deed and doctrine.

General Articles

Timely Words from Washington Clergymen

Bishop Satterlee on Religious Coercion

At a meeting of the Women's Missionary Society, held in Luther Memorial church, of Washington, D. C., December 10, the topic of promoting Sunday observance was under discussion. Bishop Satterlee, of Washington, spoke these golden sentiments in favor of the gospel plan of inculcating Christian principles as contrasted with the methods of religious coercion:—

"I do not believe in coercion and legislation. I do not believe that, even if we had a law, it would be wise to appeal to the law. I think that we need to work among Christians, among earnest Christians, and see if we can not gather together and form a bound about ourselves for the protection and preservation of the Lord's day. . . . I am not speaking in a vague way. What I say may seem vague and indefinite and confused to you. I wish I could put it in words. But we do not want more Christians at the present time; we want better Christians. We want those who will stand by the Lord loyally; those who will say, as did Joshua, 'As for me and my house, we will serve the Lord.' We want to have these Christians recognize the fact that they must draw a line in their own thought between that which is loyal service to Christ and that which is merely worldliness in regard to Christianity. It seems to me, then, that we can combine all our efforts to influencing the family life, and that this will have greater effect than if we were to attempt coercive methods."

Religious Legislation Dangerous

In the same discussion, Dr. S. H. Greene, pastor of the Calvary Baptist church, Washington, said:—

"What can be done? I have very little confidence in legislation. Religious legislation is always attended by very grave danger. We must arouse to the point of what this issue means to us, and to our generation, and to our country. And as we find out how vital a thing the Christian sabbath is to ourselves and our families and our nation, we shall be prepared to take our stand as individuals, and speak with no uncertain sound. We must arouse the in-

dividual membership in our churches to this question that is presented to us."

These sentiments seemed especially appropriate in the Luther Memorial church, with its beautiful statue of the Reformer holding forth the open Bible as the weapon of Christian warfare. A leading official of the Washington W. C. T. U., however, said that she was "very sorry to hear some of the speakers—the Bishop and Dr. Greene—deprecate the importance of legislation in the matter of Sabbath observance."

"Backward States"

K. C. RUSSELL

THE words which are used as the title of this article are applied by Mr. W. F. Crafts, Superintendent of the International Reform Bureau, to the States which, under their Sunday laws, have persecuted seventh-day observers for working on Sunday.

It seems indeed a strange anomaly that a champion of Sunday legislation should make such a statement, when he himself is seeking for more rigid Sunday laws in every State,—laws which will produce the very results that caused him to call them "backward States."

The logical result of all legislation of a religious character will in the end be persecution upon those who refuse to yield to the demands of the law. It is this very kind of legislation that will turn the States "backward" to the days of religious intolerance. James Madison, in speaking against an establishment of religion by civil government, clearly states the danger that lies in the first attempt, however slight. He says: "Distant as it may be in its present form from the Inquisition, it differs from it only in degree. The one is the first step, the other is the last, in the career of intolerance."

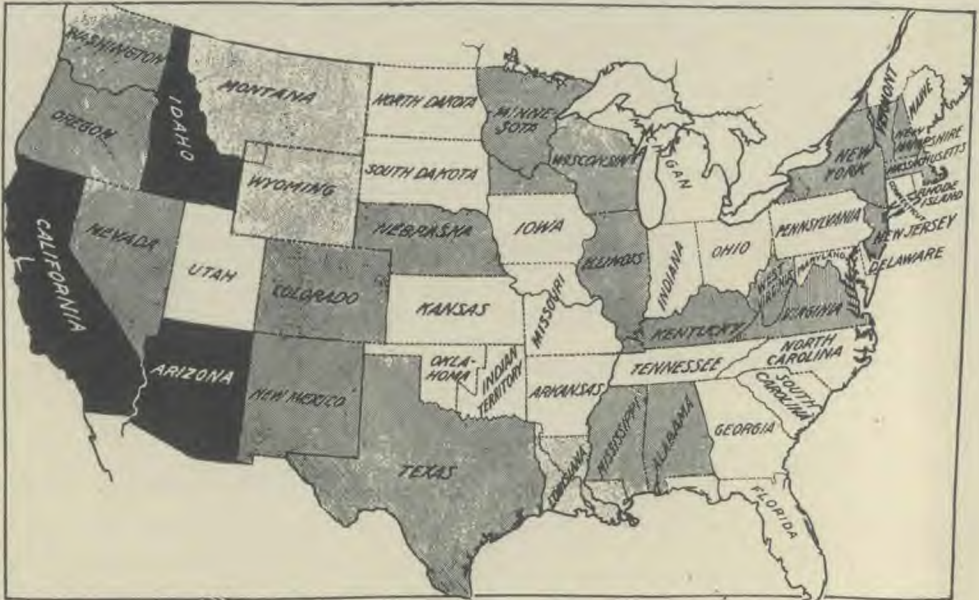
From these statements it will be seen that any State which attempts to enforce upon its citizens any religious dogma is a "backward State," and that such attempts will, in the end, lead to all the baneful fruits of the Inquisition.

The following syllogism will illustrate the logic of Mr. Crafts' "backward State" conclusion: Major premise: States which

persecute those who work on Sunday are "backward States." Minor premise: The States which persecute those who work on Sunday are States that have Sunday laws. Conclusion: Therefore all the States that have Sunday laws are "backward States."

Because all the States which have Sunday laws have not oppressed the observers of the seventh day, and so demonstrated themselves to be, in this respect, "backward States," according to the phraseology of Mr. Crafts, is because opportunities for such a course have not presented them-

When a State starts on this road, where will it end? It would be absurd indeed to imagine a State having a law without a penalty. Such a thing would be a misnomer. Senator Blair once said, "A law without a penalty is only an opinion." The penalty for the first offense in the violation of any law might be a light one; but should there be a continued disregard of the law, it would ultimately become necessary, in preserving the dignity of the State, to increase the penalty until the law becomes effective in compelling obedience.



In a work recently published by the National Reform Association, the States having rigid Sunday laws are represented in white; those having less stringent laws, in shading; and those having no Sunday laws, in black, as above.

selves, or because such persons are exempt from the provisions of the laws referred to, or because the laws have not been enforced, and not because the logic of Sunday legislation does not lead to such results.

It is a fact, however, that no less than fifteen out of the forty-three States having Sunday laws have actually prosecuted conscientious observers of the seventh day. These States are Alabama, California, Georgia, Maryland, Michigan, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, Arkansas, Florida, Illinois, Massachusetts, Mississippi, Ohio, Tennessee, and Texas.

But the question naturally arises, How far back will Sunday legislation lead a State? To what lengths will the logic of such legislation carry civil government?

It is not an uncommon thing for a justice of the peace, a mayor, or a judge to say to those brought before him for violating the Sunday law, "I will let you off lightly this time; but if you are found guilty of the same offense again, you will not fare so well."

It can readily be seen that if the offending person continues to violate the law, the severity of the penalty must increase, until the only remedy for a determined and wilful disregard of the law of the State would logically be the death penalty. Speaking on this point, Gibbon says: "It is incumbent on the authors of persecution, previously to reflect whether they will pursue the matter to the last extreme. Are they prepared to take the lives of those who refuse to comply

of the majority are "backward States," we are unable to agree with another champion of the National Reform organization, Dr. Wylie. In a book recently published on Sabbath laws in the United States, by means of a map of this country, he represents the States that have the most rigid Sunday laws, in pure and spotless white, and the States that have no Sunday laws, in black, as shown in one of the accompanying cuts.

This is indeed a most forcible illustration of the following words of inspiration: "Woe unto them that . . . put darkness for light, and light for darkness" (Isa. 5:20); for we have seen from the logic of Mr. Wylie's brother in National Reformism that all States which have Sunday laws are "backward States," and hence should be represented by black instead of white.

History denominates as the "Dark Ages" the days of which these "backward States" are symbols. So it would seem very fitting to have the States which have Sunday laws represented in black, and those that have no Sunday laws, in spotless white.

The accompanying cuts will enable the reader to contrast the "backward States" with those that are not as yet in the "backward" list.

It is high time that every loyal statesman and Christian patriot should awaken and firmly take his stand against the encroachments that are being made upon the honor of their Commonwealth by the zealous but misguided men who are seeking to turn our States and nation "backward" to the darkness, superstition, and intolerance of medieval times.

The Evils of a State-Established Religion

WHEN temporal advantages are annexed to any religious profession, they will be sure to call in all those who have no religion at all: knaves will embrace it for the sake of interest, fools will follow them for the sake of fashion; and when once it is in such hands, Omnipotence itself can never preserve its purity.—*Jenyn*.

TIME has proved that liberty depends on the state of the mind and the purpose of the heart, rather than on the place on the map where the dwelling of men is marked.—*Youth's Companion*.

The Struggle for Religious Liberty in Reformation Times

W. A. SPICER

EVERY line of this stirring story has its lessons of inspiration and of warning for our own time.

To-day the church faces the same temptation which came to it in the latter days of the old Roman empire, when power to use political methods fell within its grasp. Neander, the church historian, says of that time:—

"The church was now exposed to the temptation of appropriating a foreign might for the prosecution of its ends,—a temptation ever ready to assail man the moment the Spirit is no longer sovereign alone, but the flesh intermeddles with its proper work. Looking only at the holy end which he fancies himself in pursuit of, any means that can subserve it seems good to him. He does not consider that the truth itself, forced on man otherwise than by its own inward power, becomes falsehood."

The worldly church fell before the temptation. The very idea of liberty of conscience became a heresy deserving of death. It is no answer to the dark record to say the punishment was for disobedience of "civil law," and that it was not the church but the civil authorities that executed the harsh penalties. The civil authorities were under the domination of a worldly church. Religious leaders boasted of their power to put men out of political life or to coerce them in office. As Lea says, in his "History of the Inquisition:—

"If, however, from any cause the secular authorities were reluctant to execute the death sentence, the church had little ceremony in putting forth its powers to coerce obedience."

Religion, making use of civil power to advance its supposed interests, was responsible for the cruel history. The only way to repudiate that history is to repudiate utterly the evil principle of union of religion and the state.

Christ has laid down the Christian principle in the words, "My kingdom is not of this world." It was loyalty to the religion of Christ that led men and women through centuries of religious despotism to contend for freedom of conscience and the spiritual nature of divine truth. Their sufferings preserved the idea of soul liberty

through those dark ages, and passed on to later generations the precious, blood-bought heritage of religious liberty.

Wherever the people had the open Bible, the agitation and protest sprang up. The peasants of the Waldensian and Piedmont Valleys were pioneers in the struggle. Alanus says of them: "They denied the right to persecute men for their religious views and practises." It was to crush their witness to Christian liberty that Dominic devised the machinery of the Inquisition.

Wycliffe's translation of the Scriptures

of his battle for reform, the mighty power of God attended the Word. As Coleridge said:—

"All Germany, England, Scotland, and other countries, started like giants out of their sleep, at the first blast of Luther's trumpet."

It was a great moment in the history of the struggle for religious liberty when Luther stood before the imperial diet at Worms. Lindsay pictures the scene in that chamber, packed with the great men of church and state:—

"The past and the future faced each other—the young emperor in his rich robes of state . . . descendant of long lines of kings, determined to maintain the beliefs, rites, and rules of that medieval church which his ancestors had upheld; and the monk, with his wan face seamed with the traces of spiritual conflict and victory, in the poor dress of his order, a peasant's son, resolute to cleave a way for the new faith of evangelical freedom, the spiri-

tual birthright of all men."

When the last word had been said in argument, and Luther was called upon, finally, to retract, he placed his hand upon the Holy Scriptures, and before all the power of church and state, said, "Here I stand, I can not do otherwise. God help me." And God did help him. To the prince who desired to assist the cause of reform by earthly force, Luther wrote:—

"You can not defend our faith: each one should believe at his own risk and peril."

Again he declared:—

"Were I to employ force, what should I gain?—Grimace, formality, human ordinances, and hypocrisy; . . . but of sincerity of heart, faith, charity, not at all. Where these three are wanting, all is wanting."

In the famous protest of the princes at



OLD STATE HOUSE, CONSTANCE, WHERE HUSS WAS TRIED

into the English vernacular began the reform in Great Britain. It sprang up in Bohemia, through the preaching of the Word by Huss and Jerome. The Word of God is the divine charter of religious liberty. The Council of Constance burned both Huss and Jerome at the stake; it ordered the bones of Wycliffe dug up and burned; but the principles for which multitudes of martyrs had suffered could not be burned. These noble witnesses for truth triumphed even by their sufferings. Of them the prophet had written: "They overcame him by the blood of the Lamb, and by the word of their testimony; and they loved not their lives unto the death." They prepared the way for the dawn of the Reformation in the sixteenth century.

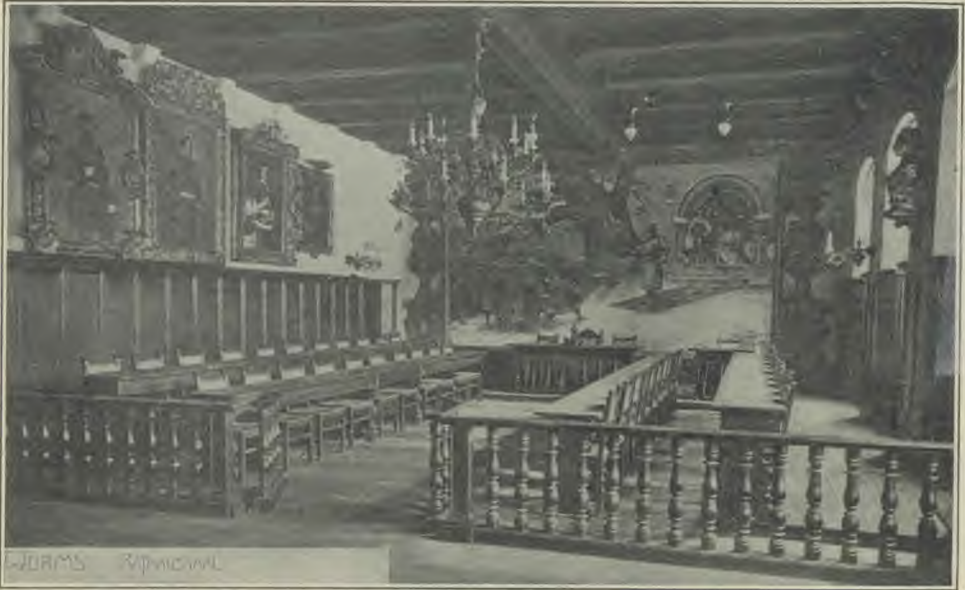
When Luther struck the clear notes for Christian liberty, as he did in the opening

Spires, in 1529, the united voice of reform declared against the intrusion of the civil power in religious affairs. So long as the reformers stood by this principle, there was the power of true reformation in their work. When they compromised,—for they were like men emerging from a darkened chamber,—they lost their power, and the cause of reform and of liberty suffered. As D'Aubigné says:—

“The gospel of the reformers had nothing to do with the world and with politics.

When John Knox and his fellow Calvinistic reformers of Scotland argued that it was lawful to punish dissenters even to the death, an old Baptist writer answered their arguments and threats in these telling words:—

“Afore they came to authority, they were of another judgment, and did both say and write that no man ought to be persecuted for his conscience' sake; but now they are not only become persecutors, but also they have given, as far as lieth in



COUNCIL HALL AT WORMS WHERE LUTHER ANSWERED FOR HIS FAITH

... If the Reformation, having attained a certain point, became untrue to its nature, began to parley and temporize with the world, and ceased thus to follow up the spiritual principle that it had so loudly proclaimed, it was faithless to God and to itself.”

The reformers of Germany and Switzerland, of England and Scotland, did not lead the way straight on to freedom of conscience. The moment they sought help from civil legislation to advance their cause, they repeated the very mistakes of their Catholic persecutors. Baptists met the brunt of the persecution by professed Protestants in Germany and Switzerland. Henceforward they became the foremost apostles of the principles of religious liberty which had been the strength of the Reformation.

them, the sword into the hand of bloody tyrants. Be *these*, I pray you, the sheep whom Christ sent forth in the midst of wolves? Can the sheep persecute the wolf? Doth Abel kill Cain? Shortly, doth he which is born of the Spirit kill him which is born after the flesh?”

It mattered not whether it was Catholic or Protestant, priest or presbyter, every resort to civil legislation to secure the observance of any religious institution meant cruel persecution.

Clear-eyed of all among rulers in those times was William of Orange, governor of the Netherlands. As a Catholic he had refused to help the Inquisition, and now as a convert to the reformed faith he refused to allow intolerant reformers to persecute their fellows. “Liberty of nation and conscience” was his watchword.

When the States of Holland had won their liberties, he declared:—

"I am determined to oppress no man's conscience, and to force no one to adopt my religion."

"The time is past for the clergy to assume control over consciences and attempt to subject all men to their opinions."

The thirteenth article of the Union of Utrecht declared:—

"Every one shall be free in the practise of his religious belief, and that, in accord-

Men were not prepared, however, to follow the enlightened principles which had been held before them. Compacts and constitutions could not change hearts. As Motley further says:—

"Alas! the world was to wait for centuries until it should learn that the state can best defend religion by letting it alone, and that the political arm is apt to wither with palsy when it attempts to control the human conscience."

The time had come when the Old-World



THE MAIN THOROUGHFARE OF SPIRES AND ANCIENT CATHEDRAL

ance with the peace of Ghent, no one shall be held or examined on account of religion."

Thus, says Dr. Armitage, in his "History of the Baptists," the principle of soul liberty "found its way into the first compact of States since the foundation of Christianity." The recognition of this true principle of separation of religion and the civil power made Holland, as Motley says, "the refuge for the oppressed of all nations, whether Jews or Gentiles. Catholics, Calvinists, and Anabaptists prayed after their own manner to the same God and Father,"

struggle was to be transferred to the New World.

LIBERTY is to the collective body what health is to every individual body. Without health, no pleasure can be tasted by man; without liberty, no happiness can be enjoyed by society.—*Bolingbroke.*

OF all injustice, that is the greatest which goes under the name of law; and of all sorts of tyranny, the forcing of the letter of the law against the equity is the most unsupportable.—*Sir R. L'Estrange.*

A Man of Character

THE following report from Chicago appeared in the *Washington Times* of Jan. 19, 1907:—

"There is a drug-store that is being successfully conducted by a man who is guided in all things by the question, 'What would Jesus do?'—in other words, on the principles set forth by the Rev. Charles M. Sheldon, of Topeka, Kan., in his book, 'In His Steps; or, What Would Jesus Do?' The owner is Oliver T. Freeman, and the store is at 1127 Sheffield Avenue. At first he found the road rough, but to-day he has passed the experimental stage, and has a paying business.

"Cigars and tobacco can not be purchased in Mr. Freeman's store at any price. They are not in the stock. Nothing can be purchased on the Sabbath except prescriptions that are absolutely necessary. Not even a cough drop or a stick of gum is sold on the Sabbath, and telephone service is not permitted on that day, except to call physicians in urgent cases.

"In each of the display windows a sign is strung each Sunday, which reads, 'Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy. Nothing but necessary articles sold on Sunday.' And that rule is rigidly enforced by Mr. Freeman.

"Mr. Freeman has followed this principle for years, and he is emphatic in the declaration that it pays. Although his store is almost in the extreme northern part of the city, he enjoys a prosperous business.

"'Yes, the application of Christian ideas to one's business is a good thing,' said Mr. Freeman. 'Christianity is a good thing at all times and in all places, business included. It is a good thing for nature, and it is a good thing for the citizens.

"'I let the Bible govern my business, my family, and all my affairs, and I assure you it governs very well, indeed. For years I have conducted my business as I believed Jesus would have it conducted.

"'My store is closed on the Sabbath to all business except the filling of absolutely necessary prescriptions. I do not sell tobacco in any form.

"'I must confess that I found it difficult to bring my ideas into practical use at first. I have lost many customers because I have steadily refused to be swayed.

"'However, the gain over the losses was such that the business slowly grew,

until ten clerks are kept busy. Some customers insisted on being served with cigars, and left angrily on learning that I kept no tobacco on sale. Others insisted on buying unnecessary articles on the Sabbath; but I stuck steadily to my resolutions.

"'I came to Chicago in 1891 penniless and almost friendless. My brother lent me two thousand dollars, and with that capital I started in business where I am now located. My business has been confined to this particular locality all these years. Almost all my patronage comes from regular customers, who agree with me in my views. I am a member of the Methodist Church.'

Here is a man who needs no Sunday law to compel him to do what he believes to be right.

Making a Constitution

H. E. GIDDINGS

IN June, 1906, the United States Congress authorized the Indian and Oklahoma Territories to form a State, and pursuant to this an election of delegates was held, and a convention called for the adoption of a constitution for the new State of Oklahoma.

The National Reform and Church Federation movements were early in the field to secure provisions in the constitution in harmony with their ideas of the religious functions of government. The friends of religious liberty protested against these efforts, in the following petition:—

"To the Honorable, the Chairman and members of the Oklahoma Constitutional Convention assembled:

"We, the undersigned adult residents of —, believing that the church and the state should be kept entirely and forever separate; that religious legislation is subversive of good government, contrary to the principles of sound religion, and can result only in religious persecution and political corruption, hereby humbly, but most earnestly, petition your honorable body to safeguard the future well-being of the great commonwealth of Oklahoma:—

"First, by omitting from both the preamble and body of the constitution any religious declaration or recognition which might be taken as a basis for religious legislation.

"Second, by a clearly stated prohibition, similar to the First Amendment to the

United States Constitution, barring the State legislature from ever making any law which shall establish any religious rite or observance, or abridge religious freedom."

About six thousand citizens signed this appeal.

The convention met in Guthrie, the capital, November 20. The religious liberty issue came squarely to the front in the consideration of the proposed preamble to the constitution. The advocates of the theory of a legal religion pressed for the following preamble:—

"We, the people of the State of Oklahoma, recognizing Almighty God as the source of all authority in civil government, the Lord Jesus Christ as the ruler of nations, and his revealed will as the standard by which to decide moral issues in national life, in order to form a State government, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this constitution for the State of Oklahoma."

A member of the committee on preamble stated to the writer that those who argued before the committee for this preamble denied squarely the delegate theory recognized as the basis of our government; namely, that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. They quoted, rather, the commission of Christ: "All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth. Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you." This, they insisted, was the foundation of the authority of governmental representatives.

Is it not strange that men who claim to believe the Word of God can be so blind to its teachings? The Master, who sent his disciples forth to preach the gospel of salvation to sinners among all the nations, specifically declared that his kingdom was not of this world, that his servants could not take the sword, the symbol of earthly authority. "If any man hear my words," said Jesus, "and believe not, I judge him not." Upon the transgressors of his Word the punishment will fall in the last day; but he denies all right to any earthly force to undertake the impossible

task of compelling men to repent and to believe.

Based on the principles of separation of church and state, the following resolution was introduced:—

"*Be it Resolved*, That the following be adopted as a part of the constitution:—

PREAMBLE

"We, the people of the State of Oklahoma, in order to form a State government, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, to promote the general welfare and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this constitution for the State of Oklahoma."

This preamble was urged upon the following considerations:—

1. As delegates, the members of the convention were speaking for all the people. As the people differed in regard to the identity of Deity, and the matter as well as the manner of worship, no one expression could be adopted as the sentiments of all.

2. While it is to be desired that all should recognize God and worship him, religious liberty insists that the right to such exercise must be left to the individual, untrammelled by any legal restrictions.

3. That for the government to exercise religious duties and establish forms of religious expression is to deprive citizens of their freedom in this matter.

4. If the State has the right to frame a prayer, or expression of faith, for its citizens, it may, by the same propriety, regulate the entire ritual and forms of religious devotion.

5. A delegate is entitled to exercise delegated power only in such capacity as those who have elected him can properly authorize him to act for them. The functions of civil government, which belong to the people, can be delegated to representatives. But religious duty, in its very nature, can not be so transferred from one to another. Religion, or the duty we owe to our Creator, and the manner of discharging it, can be directed only by reason and conviction, and hence one can not possibly exercise it for another.

6. Since religious responsibility can not be delegated, any delegate or legislator assuming to exercise for others the functions of religion in his legal capacity as a civil

representative, is usurping authority, and violating the rights of individual conscience.

After thoroughly considering the arguments presented, the committee on preamble and bill of rights presented the following:—

“We, the people of the State of Oklahoma, invoking the guidance of the Supreme Ruler of the universe, in order to secure and perpetuate the blessings of civil and religious liberty; to insure just and rightful government; and to promote our mutual welfare and happiness, do ordain and establish this constitution.”

This proposition was modified in the committee of the whole house, so that it now reads:—

“Invoking the guidance of Almighty God, in order to secure and perpetuate the blessings of civil and religious liberty; to insure just and rightful government; and to promote our mutual welfare and happiness, we, the people of Oklahoma, do ordain and establish this constitution.”

In explaining the phraseology as reported by the committee to the house, the chairman stated that as there was a strong demand on the one side to commit the constitution to religious doctrines, and a desire by others to see religious references omitted, the committee thought wise to compromise the matter by employing an expression that would not be offensive to any, and could be appropriated by all. Another member stated that if he were framing a statement of belief for himself alone, he would desire to express his personal convictions, but as he was speaking for all the people in this statement, and there were many different faiths and convictions regarding the matter of divine obligation, and as he had no authority to speak for the people on such a matter, he considered that the least said the better, leaving the individual to express his own convictions. Others argued against this consideration of individual rights or convictions.

It is evident that the “compulsory gospel” theory is gaining ground in proportion to the loss of spiritual power among the churches. All believers in the spiritual gospel of Christ should be alert and active. That gospel is needed to-day. It plainly distinguishes between the sphere of the spiritual and the civil. Jesus, its author, said: “Render therefore unto Cæsar the

things which are Cæsar's; and unto God the things that are God's.”

Cæsar (civil government) has his place and work, and to him men owe allegiance in civil affairs; but it is the inalienable right of every man to render to God such worship, and such only, as accords with the dictates of his own conscience. Into the spiritual realm Cæsar can not rightfully enter.

Sunday-Closing Crusade in Willimantic, Conn.

K. C. RUSSELL

THE city of Willimantic, Conn., has a strict Sunday ordinance which prohibits all kinds of amusements, the sale of cigars, newspapers, etc. The measure, however, has practically been obsolete in that city until a few weeks ago, when the local W. C. T. U. organization discovered that it might be awakened from its slumbering condition and quickened into new life. An effort was therefore directed against a moving-picture entertainment that was being conducted Sunday evenings in the opera-house.

The manager of the opera-house was told by those who were leading in the crusade that it was not because the performance was objectionable in itself, but because it was against the law.

After the manager had been ordered by the mayor of the city to discontinue his Sunday performances, he, upon receipt of this information, proceeded to have all other lines of Sunday business stopped. Consequently, Sunday, January 13, everything was ordered closed. On the evening of that day a lecture was delivered in the opera-house on the principles of religious liberty and the evils of Sunday legislation. A large audience assembled to hear the theme discussed.

W. R. Andrews, Secretary of the Connecticut Religious Liberty Bureau, presided at the meeting. In his introductory address he emphasized the idea that the Religious Liberty Bureau was there at its own expense, and was in no way connected with, or in sympathy with, the theater business, but believed that if people desired to attend a place of amusement on Sundays, they had as good a right to do so from a civil point of view, as others had to attend church on that day.

A tribute was then paid by the chairman to the W. C. T. U. organization, for its noble work in opposing intemperance and other social evils; but he expressed the belief that in the matter of seeking to have Sunday observance enforced by civil law

Sabbath belongs to God, and should therefore be rendered to God, and not to the state, nor to God through the state.

"The absurdity of the 'civil sabbath' can be seen by contrasting the law that provides for a civil holiday with a law which enforces Sunday observance by civil enactment. The law concerning holidays leaves it optional with the citizen how he shall regard them, but Sunday laws define, under pains and penalties, how the day shall be observed, and make its non-observance a crime. The difference, therefore, between a law regulating a strictly civil day and a Sunday law is as great as the difference between freedom and bondage.



HEADQUARTERS OF GENERAL WASHINGTON, NEAR WILLIMANTIC

they had gone beyond their legitimate sphere of action, because Sunday is strictly a religious institution, and for the state to compel its observance was practically to unite church and state.

The writer was then introduced, and spoke in part as follows: "I am sorry that the noble women of the W. C. T. U. organization have turned aside from their exalted mission in opposing intemperance, to champion a stupendous wrong; namely, Sunday legislation. The history of the Dark Ages is an awful commentary upon any religious movement which seeks the support of the civil arm.

"We cheerfully and most heartily uphold and stand by this earnest and devoted band of Christian workers in all legitimate lines of reform work when they are separated from any alliance with the antichristian National Reform movement. But any religious organization is overstepping the boundary of its legitimate sphere of action when it seeks the aid of the state in matters of religion. The state should confine its operations to things civil. The

"Those who make such strong appeals for a civil sabbath do not do so in good faith. A few years ago in the Massachusetts Legislature, a bill was introduced asking for an absolutely civil Sunday law. Of course there was nothing in the bill requiring that Sunday should be observed in a way different from the way any regular holiday is observed.



MAIN STREET, WILLIMANTIC

"When a hearing was given before the committee in the legislature, the ministers who had talked so loudly for a 'civil Sunday law' were present in full force, and bitterly opposed the proposed legislation with all the enthusiasm and eloquence which they could command.

"Mr. Crafts and other champions of

Sunday legislation have stated their true position, as follows: 'When you take the religion out of the day, you take the rest out of it.' This shows that it is a religious institution that they desire enforced, and not a civil one."

The closing address was by W. A. Westworth, who set forth the truth that might does not make right, and that law loses its just force when it intervenes between a man and the liberties granted him of Heaven. Christ was crucified because of the clamor of a misguided element, who declared, "We have a law, and by our law he ought to die."

The speaker claimed that this spirit which is here at work to enforce an iniquitous law, is of the same nature as that which put to death the Son of God. The cry to-day is, "We have a law compelling the closing of all places of business on Sunday, and by that law they must be closed." He presented a graphic illustration of Christ before Pilate, and showed that the law which now is upon the statute-books of the State is a blot on the escutcheon of the commonwealth. He appealed to the people to use their utmost efforts to eradicate a system which seeks to make men righteous by force, and urged that they labor to preserve that liberty which is the God-given heritage of every individual.

The writer does not question the sincerity of the good women referred to in the Sunday-closing crusade, which they have been carrying on. It is hoped, however, that they will see the error of the course they are pursuing. We would recommend to this band of Christian women that they withdraw at once from the crusade they have been carrying on so vigorously, and adopt the principle contained in the golden rule taught by Christ, which says, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." This rule, if practised, will put an end to every Sunday law and to the enforcement of any religious practise.

Let those who are seeking to reform society by civil law, remember the language of Christ in John 12: 47, 48: "If any man hear my words, and believe not, I judge him not: for I came not to judge the world, but to save the world. He that rejecteth me, and receiveth not my words, hath one that judgeth him: the word that I have spoken, the same shall judge him in the last day."

Some California Sunday-Law History

J. O. CORLISS

It has frequently been asserted that California is one State in the American Union which has no Sunday law. This statement, however, should be somewhat modified. True, the Sunday law enacted in 1858 was repealed in 1883, because of its having been declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of the State. Another law which took effect April 16, 1880, prohibiting the work of bakers from 6 P. M. on Saturday to 6 P. M. on Sunday (Stats. 1880, page 80), was also declared unconstitutional. (Ex-parte Westerfield, 55 Cal. 550.)

Notwithstanding all this, the religious element of California was not satisfied, and pushed matters until a law was secured—a one-day-rest-in-seven law, not a Sunday law—which was approved Feb. 27, 1893. (Stats. 93, page 54.) This law reads as follows:—

"SECTION 1.—Every person employed in any occupation of labor shall be entitled to one day's rest therefrom in seven, and it shall be unlawful for any employer of labor to cause his employees, or any of them, to work more than six days in seven; provided, however, that the provisions of this section shall not apply to any case of emergency.

"SEC. 2.—For the purposes of this act, the term 'day's rest' shall mean and apply to all cases, whether the employee is engaged by the day, week, or month, or year, and whether the work performed is done in the day or night time.

"SEC. 3.—Any person violating the provisions of this act shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor.

"SEC. 4.—This act shall take effect and be in force thirty days from and after its passage."—*Penal Code, page 722.*

This was all that the church people dared to ask for at the time. The requirements of this enactment were so mild that it went through without opposition. But the very mildness of it made it of no effect; for, while it is yet a part of the statute law of California, there is not a case on record where its provisions have once been enforced in any court of law. It was one step, however, toward that which was intended to be.

Nearly every time the legislature has

met since that statute was approved, the church element has taken some steps toward securing a Sunday law. But knowing that the laws of 1858 and 1880 had been decided unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of California, the question to be solved was, "How can a law be framed which will be considered constitutional?"

To meet this condition, Rev. Mr. McCreary, of Berkeley, Cal., became the prime mover in getting up a bill, known as a "Constitutional Amendment," which is now before the legislature of California, it having been introduced on January 14. This proposed amendment reads as follows:—

Proposed Amendment to the California Constitution

"SEC. 21.—The necessity of encouraging and fostering the observance of one day in seven as a day of rest is hereby recognized as essential to the welfare of the State, and to that end it is hereby provided:—

"1. That the keeping open of bars, saloons, race-courses, and coursing grounds on the first day of the week is prohibited; and the legislature shall provide penalties for the violation of this provision, and for the enforcement of the same.

"2. That the legislature may provide that stores, workshops, banking houses, and other places of business, of any class or calling, shall not keep open on the first day of the week, and shall provide penalties for the violation thereof.

"3. That the legislative body of any city, city and county, or county, may provide by ordinance that stores, workshops, banking houses, and other places of business, of any class or calling, shall not keep open on the first day of the week, and shall provide penalties for the violation thereof; provided that such ordinance may enlarge, but can not restrict or limit, the scope or penalties of any provision enacted by the legislature on the same subject; provided, further, that whenever a petition is presented to the legislative body of any city, city and county, or county, signed by ten per cent of the voters thereof, asking that any ordinance authorized under this subdivision to be passed by such legislative body set forth in said petition, be submitted to the qualified voters of said city, city and county, or county for their approval or rejection, the said legislative body must submit the same to the voters of said city, city and county, or county, for their approval or rejection,

at the next general election held therein, or at a special election called by such legislative body for that purpose. At least two weeks' notice shall be given of such election, by publication in some newspaper published in such city, city and county, or county. If approved by a majority vote of the voters voting thereon, the same is thereby adopted and becomes binding as a valid ordinance of said city, city and county, or county, as the case may be, and supersedes any ordinance in conflict therewith, and can only be modified or repealed by a majority vote of the voters of said city, city and county, or county voting upon the question of the modification or repeal thereof.

"4. Provided, however, that any law or ordinance passed or adopted under the second or third subdivision of this section, shall not apply to persons who conscientiously believe that the seventh day of the week should be observed as the Sabbath, and who actually refrain from opening their places of business on that day."

Why the Measure Should Not Be Adopted

The California *Signs of the Times* gives in substance the following reasons why this measure should not become a part of the State constitution:—

1. It is a demand for religious legislation, and religious legislation is contrary to the very genesis and genius of American liberty.

The measure is religious in that it sets apart a religious day,—religious in its origin and observance. It is veiled, it is true, in this proposed measure, by the harmless-looking term, "the first day of the week;" but its intent is religious. This is evidenced by the proposed exemption of "persons who conscientiously believe that the seventh day of the week should be observed as the Sabbath, and who actually refrain from opening their places of business on that day." The Sabbath is wholly a religious institution. The exemption demonstrates the object of the proposed law,—to protect, promote, and set apart the first day of the week as the Sabbath.

We need not point out to our intelligent readers that conscientious belief is outside the purview of civil government.

Wisely the fathers of this republic guarded the rights of conscience by the constitutional provisions prohibiting the making of religious tests, or the making of

any law respecting religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.

This proposed amendment to the Bill of Rights of California does virtually impose a religious test upon every citizen of this State, and embodies it in fundamental law; namely, "Do you keep Sunday?" and if not, "Do you observe conscientiously as a Sabbath the seventh day?"

2. The proposed measure is contrary to the constitution of California. Section 1, Article 1, of that document reads:—

"SEC. 1.—All men are by nature free and independent, and have certain inalienable rights, among which are those of enjoying and defending life and liberty; acquiring, possessing, and protecting property; and pursuing and obtaining safety and happiness."

The "free and independent" man has the right to labor and rest when he chooses, provided in doing so he does not interfere with the equal rights of his fellows; and he likewise has the "liberty" "to acquire" and "protect" property whatever days in the week he chooses.

Sections 3 and 4 of the same article read:—

"SEC. 3.—The State of California is an inseparable part of the American Union, and the Constitution of the United States is the supreme law of the land.

"SEC. 4.—The free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship, without discrimination or preference, shall forever be guaranteed in this State."

Therefore the legislature of California has no right, nor have the people the right, to enact into law any measure which shall establish any religious institution or interfere with the free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship)

3. The proposed amendment demands class legislation, in that it discriminates between men solely on religious grounds. But this is contrary to the constitution of California, which declares (Art. 1, Sec. 11): "All laws of a general character shall have a uniform operation." It does not require legal acumen to know that no religious law could be uniform in operation except in a State where every one believed the same creed and system.

4. The sole reason for this proposed amendment is thus set forth in its preamble:—

"SEC. 21.—The necessity of encouraging

and fostering the observance of one day in seven as a day of rest is hereby recognized as essential to the welfare of the State, and to that end it is hereby provided."

Granted that a day of rest faithfully observed is essential to the welfare of the State, does it follow that it should be a matter of legislation?

There are many who contend that the wearing of corsets and the practise of tight-lacing are detrimental to the health of women, to the mothers of men, and thus to the citizens of the State; and the contention is as widely recognized as is the necessity for a weekly day of rest. Certainly there is no stronger essential to the welfare of the State than hale, noble motherhood. But shall the legislature therefore submit a measure as part of the constitution, prohibiting the wearing of corsets, and prescribing the dress that mothers shall wear?

It is important to the health of the people, and therefore to "the welfare of the State," that the people of the State take a certain amount of sleep and rest in bed each day. Shall we therefore have an amendment to the constitution providing for the necessary daily hours of sleep and rest?

Of course such ideas are impractical. No legislature under the sun could compass, devise, frame, and enact into law everything pertaining to "the welfare of the State;" and even if it could, no executive could enforce the enactments. But above all, why attempt such a thing in respect to religious matters? Who does not know that attempts to enforce religion by law have caused more cruelty and bitterness and hatred in the world than have all other causes combined?

We hope that California legislators will see all that is in the monstrous proposition, and reject it.

The Effectual Antidotes of Error

REASON and free inquiry are the only effectual antidotes of error. Give them full scope, and they will uphold the truth, by bringing false opinions, and all the spurious offspring of ignorance, prejudice, and self-interest before their severe tribunal, and subjecting them to the test of close investigation. Error alone needs artificial support; truth can stand by itself.—*Lawrence.*

An Old Issue Revived

Senate Orders Postmaster-General to Report on Sunday Work

W. A. COLCORD

THE question of closing the post-office on Sunday is still being urged upon Congress. The adverse report of the Senate Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads, on the bill "to prevent Sunday banking in post-offices in the handling of money-orders and registered letters" (Senate Bill 1153), during the last session of Congress, seems not to have discouraged those who are determined to unite church and state in this country.

On Jan. 9, 1907, Senator Burkett, of Nebraska, introduced the following resolution into the Senate, which, by unanimous consent, was immediately considered and agreed to:—

"Resolved, That the Postmaster-General be directed to inform the Senate by what authority post-offices are required to be kept open on Sunday, together with the regulations of Sunday opening, as to the extent of the business that may be transacted, and also what the provisions are for clerical help, and whether postal clerks or carriers are required to work more than six days per week."

No one can question the right of Congress or of any member of Congress to inquire into the conduct of any department of the government. But the nature of this resolution leaves little doubt as to its origin or object. Not only does it require the Postmaster-General to make the matter of the Sunday opening of post-offices the subject of a special report to the Senate,

but it virtually challenges him to defend the practise, and its phraseology would seem to imply that what is being done in this respect is being done without proper authority.

That this resolution is inspired from the same source as the bill "to prevent Sunday banking in post-offices," already alluded to, which for years has been one of the "moral measures" of Mr. W. F. Crafts' International Reform Bureau, may be inferred from the fact that the Senator who introduced it, if not actually identified with, is in close sympathetic relations with, the church-and-state element represented by Mr. Crafts and his "Christian lobby." The Senator was a speaker at a "Christmas Chautauqua of Reforms" held by this element in Pittsburg, Pa., Dec. 16-23, 1906, as well as at a "Reform Bureau Institute" presided over by Mr. Crafts, and held at the headquarters of the International Reform Bureau, in Washington, from



GENERAL POST-OFFICE, WASHINGTON, D. C.

December 10-14, and from which those in attendance proceeded directly to the Pittsburg Convention.

There can be little doubt, therefore, as to the source or real authorship of the resolution. His former bill having been turned down, with unabashed persistence Mr. Crafts seeks to get the thin edge of his church-and-state wedge started in a little different way.

Without delay, January 14, Mr. Cortelyou, the Postmaster-General, rendered his report, citing section 3839, Revised Statutes, which provides that "every postmaster shall keep an office in which one or more persons shall be on duty such hours *each day* as the

Postmaster-General may direct." The incident, raising the issue first agitated in 1811, and acted upon by the Senate in 1829, and the House in 1830, simply shows the persistency of that religious element which is seeking to unite church and state in the United States.

Compulsory Church Attendance in the Army

W. A. COLCORD

COMPULSORY church attendance, it seems, is creeping into the American army. Recently Lieutenant-Colonel Glenn, post commander at Columbus, Ohio, issued an order requiring Catholic soldiers, or those who had been brought up Catholics, to attend the Catholic church on Sunday. Sunday, January 6, Sergeant Lynch, a non-commissioned officer, refused to obey the order. Court-martial charges were preferred against him, and the case was referred to the War Department of the government. The following dispatch from Washington indicates the action of the War Department:—

"WASHINGTON, D. C., Jan. 27.—The case involving the legality of an order issued by the post commander at Columbus, Ohio, has been acted on by the War Department. The order was to a non-commissioned officer, and required him to attend divine services in the church in which he had been brought up, after he had refused to do so.

"It is held that the post commander has no right to issue orders to require officers or men to attend divine services other than orders necessary to secure a proper observance of the Sabbath.

"He may require the men to form in line when they march to the chapel, but he can not make them attend services."

A dispatch from Columbus, Ohio, under date of February 2, states that the War Department held that Mr. Lynch was wrong "in that he did not obey the orders, and then make complaint." As a punishment, he is to lose his chevrons, and be transferred to another company at Fort Thomas, Ky. The dispatch further says:—

"It is also held that the court-martial charges against the sergeant could not be sustained.

"Lieutenant-Colonel Glenn was held to be wrong in issuing the order, which sub-

sequently was modified, to compel Catholic soldiers at the post to march only as far as the church door.

"Much dissatisfaction is expressed by men at the barracks, because they are compelled to march to the church. It is declared that even this modified order is unprecedented in army circles. Captain Cabaniss, acting commandant, declared today that the modified order issued by Lieutenant-Colonel Glenn before he left for San Antonio, Tex., to defend Major Penrose, would be enforced to-morrow."

From this it seems that Sunday legislation in army circles at Columbus, Ohio, means compulsory church attendance, or at least a forced march as far as "the church door." This is quite in keeping with Roman Catholic principles, as well as with the old Puritan and colonial Sunday laws, which required church attendance under severe pains and penalties, and we do not imagine that the National Reform Association, or Mr. Wilbur F. Crafts, or Sunday-law advocates generally will raise any serious objection to the proceedings, though quite out of harmony with the principles of civil and religious liberty.

Religious Persecution in the Land of the Free

C. M. SNOW

THREE Christian men have been tried, and fined thus early in this new year, under a State Sunday law, for "worshiping God according to the dictates of their own consciences."

The trial occurred at Spartanburg, S. C., on January 10. As the three were indicted for the same offense, one trial, that of Mr. Nash, sufficed for the three, and the same fine was imposed upon each.

The names of these three Christian men are, R. T. Nash, A. A. Johnson, and J. J. Soper, all members of the Seventh-day Adventist Church, the first being an ordained minister of the denomination, the second a local elder, and the third a deacon.

In view of the fact that most zealous efforts are being put forth in this country at the present time to restrict the religious liberty of the people, and bring in again persecution for conscience' sake, these prosecutions are significant; for there is much more involved in them than the mere amount of the fines imposed.

Those who are working for religious legislation, desiring to make men religious by law, deny that persecution is intended or probable. The writer has heard prominent National Reformers ridicule the idea of Adventists' having suffered under the law because of having quietly gone about their own work at home on Sunday. This conviction of three men, with the sentence of the court upon them, is an emphatic denial of all such assertions of Sunday-law advocates. The enumeration of the offenses by the prosecution is an enumeration of the most common home duties, whose performance could annoy none but those who wished to compel *religious people* to cease the outward expression of their belief, and act as if they believed in the sacredness of the Sunday sabbath, and the necessity of taking part in its religious observance.

That this is a fact recognized by more than Seventh-day Adventists is shown by an editorial utterance in the *Spartanburg Journal*. The editor of that journal admits that there are "many hundreds of people right here in Spartanburg" who "do more work every Sunday than Mr. Nash ever does, and do not defend it on religious grounds." He says further: "They are not prosecuted, and nobody wants them prosecuted." Then he asks: "Why then jump on Mr. Nash and his people for doing the same thing or less? The reason is," he says, "that Mr. Nash and the Seventh-day Adventists defend their acts on religious grounds, and the others do not." That he sees the injustice of it, as all fair-minded persons must, is shown by his remark: "It is a curious situation, one of the strange inconsistencies of life."

That the editor does not favor Seventh-day Adventists or their belief, or believe in religious liberty *for them*, is shown by the following extract from this same editorial:—

"Let Mr. Nash and his friends understand that they must obey the laws of the land, or at least those laws that their neighbors happen to be interested in. . . . Let these good people therefore refrain from hunting trouble, and avoid offending their neighbors when the latter have the law, and therefore the courts and the juries, on their side."

Now the real reason why "their neighbors happen to be interested in" that particular law is, according to the editor's own

statement quoted above, because "Mr. Nash and the Seventh-day Adventists defend their acts on religious grounds, and the others do not." They have a religious belief, but are not to be allowed to exercise it because they have Bible authority for holding it. If this is not a restriction of religious rights, then there never has been any in the history of this world.

Those who would restrict the religious liberties of the people have always stigmatized as "trouble-hunters" those who have sought to "worship God according to the dictates of their own consciences," and this feature is not wanting in this case. Ahab made the same accusation against Elijah. He asked of the prophet, "Art thou he that troubleth Israel?" The officials of the Inquisition held the same opinion of the millions whom they sent to their death; and we have it to-day from the lips of those who, failing to appreciate the blessings of religious liberty, are willing to sell their own heritage of religious liberty by compelling their neighbors to yield to them in religious practise. It is true that they do not always see the logic of their own demand; but it stands out as a fact, nevertheless, that when they secure laws abridging the rights of conscience, they are abridging their own rights of conscience, and admitting the right of majority rule in matters of faith.

The *Journal's* editorial closes with these words:—

"The law having been declared and demonstrated to them in this kindly manner [he here alludes to the smallness of the fine imposed], the obligation rests upon them to carefully observe it in future. It is also a matter of gratification to the public that these defendants were treated in a kind and considerate manner by the court and its officials, and given no grounds to feel that they have been persecuted."

That the editor, after admitting all he does in regard to the injustice of the matter, could close his editorial as he does is to us "one of the strange inconsistencies of life." We wonder if the fact of persecution depends upon the size of the penalty imposed, or the temper and consideration of the court and its officials in enforcing the law. We wonder if those convicted Seventh-day observers feel that they have equality in the sight of the law with their neighbors whose religious belief differs from theirs. While

those who do not defend their Sunday work by Bible authority may work as much as they please on that day, and those who do defend their Sunday work by Bible authority are indicted and fined because they work, and are threatened with further prosecution for its repetition, the statement that the latter are not suffering persecution is a palpable misstatement of facts.

In this particular trial the judge several times reminded the defendant that he must not make a religious argument because the court had nothing to do with the religious belief of Seventh-day Adventists. But as a matter of fact the whole thing, the passage of the law, the complaint, the indictment, the trial, and the conviction, has to do with religion, and is based upon religion, and is religious throughout. The law was passed to protect and perpetuate a religious institution. The complaint was made against the defendant because some one felt that the defendant had violated a religious institution. That the law of the land was broken never inspired that prosecution, for it is admitted that it is broken every Sunday in Spartanburg by hundreds of people who are never arrested for doing it; and what is true of Spartanburg is true of every city, village, and town in the United States. The indictment was drawn up because a religious man had complained of the "desecration" of a religious institution by those who did not believe in the sacredness of that institution. The trial was granted and the conviction secured, not because of a violation of the law of the land, but because the law as it stands gives men of a certain religious belief an opportunity to compel others to act as *they* do in a religious matter. As long as a civil law for the protection of a religious institution remains on the statute-books of any State, it can not be true that the court has nothing to do with the religious belief of those who are indicted for a violation of such law. The law itself takes cognizance of their belief by compelling them to sacrifice one sixth of their time for holding that belief, and the judge takes cognizance of that belief when he fines a man who does not choose to make that sacrifice.

The spirit that is urging on the whole Sunday-law crusade is plainly manifest wherever the enforcement of that law is attempted. It is those who seek to honor their Creator by resting upon the day set

apart by him through his own act and his own command that first feel the strength of its persecuting power. That fact demonstrates as plainly as anything need to who is the real author, the inspiring spirit, of the Sunday-law crusade.

Religious Liberty in Canada

EUGENE LELAND

THE idea entertained by the average American with reference to Canada is that it is a desolate, frozen region, composed principally of snow-banks, icebergs, and rocks, and inhabited by polar bears and Esquimau Indians. But of late years it has gradually dawned upon him that it is a land of great possibilities in everything that goes to make up material wealth. Some of the finest agricultural areas in the world are found within the borders of the Dominion of Canada; and mines of precious metals, almost fabulous in value, have recently been opened up.

Originally Canada was composed of the provinces of Ontario and Quebec, known at that time as Upper Canada and Lower Canada. But in 1867 the Dominion government was organized, consisting of the two provinces just named, and the provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. Since that time the confederation has been joined by the provinces of Prince Edward Island, Manitoba, and British Columbia, and the newly organized provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan. This immense region comprises all the territory north of the United States, except Alaska, and the narrow territory of Labrador on the Atlantic coast, and constitutes an area larger than the United States. It has a population at the present time of about ten million, and this number is rapidly increasing. It is a common saying in Canada that the nineteenth century belonged to the United States, but the twentieth century belongs to the Dominion of Canada.

The province of Ontario is the wealthiest and most influential of all the provinces of this country, and has the largest population. Naturally, interest in a Sunday law for the entire Dominion of Canada centers in the action taken by the province of Ontario. Up to last winter there has been no Dominion Sunday law, and any attempt to enforce the observance of Sunday was by an appeal to the provincial Sunday laws which

were in existence before the confederation of the provinces, or those which have been enacted by the provinces since that time. But by a recent decision of the privy council of England all provincial Sunday laws which have been enacted since confederation are *ultra vires*. In the four older provinces this decision has the effect of leaving them with the old laws which were enacted before confederation. In Ontario, this old law prohibits a long list of laborers and tradesmen of various occupations, and "any other person whatsoever," from engaging in labor on Sunday. In the interpretation of this last expression, "any other person whatsoever," the courts have decided that it applies only to the classes named in the list, and as the farmer is not named, he is exempt from the provisions of the law. In 1896 the provincial parliament of Ontario amended this law by adding the word "farmer" to the list; but in a test case which finally reached the privy council of England, this amendment, together with all provincial laws on the subject of Sunday observance, as noticed above, was declared void. In the provinces which have entered the Dominion since confederation, this decision of the privy council had the effect of leaving them without any Sunday law.

This condition of things led the Lord's Day Alliance to petition the Dominion government for a general Sunday law. For a number of years they were unsuccessful in their attempts; but last winter the Dominion Parliament was persuaded to enact a Sunday law, which goes into effect on the first of March, 1907. It is thought, however, that this law is lumbered with so many exemptions and provisions that it will be a difficult matter to enforce it. So far as Sabatarians are concerned, it is a question whether the law will affect them at all, especially in the older provinces. But this remains to be seen.

One provision of the new law requires that the consent of the attorney-general of the province must be obtained before a conviction can be secured. Another clause provides that nothing in the new law shall in any way take the place of the provincial laws now in existence, or that may be enacted hereafter. From this provision it has been thought that when a provincial law is not effectual in securing a conviction, an appeal can not be taken to the new law. Such being the case, the farmers of Ontario are entirely exempt.

We may expect, however, that the Sunday-law people will not rest satisfied should the new law prove to be ineffectual, and that, in this case, other attempts will be made to enact a new law, or to amend the present law so as to make it effectual.

Shedding of Innocent Blood Destroys a Nation's Prosperity

B. G. WILKINSON

No spirit of religious persecution can actuate those who are under the influence of God's Word. In the darkest hour of her cruelty toward non-conformists, the Catholic Church was the farthest away from the Bible. The bloodiest moments of the French Revolution marked the burning of the Bible in the streets of the capital. The words of noble and generous counsel, breathing out to all from Genesis to Revelation, invites us to manifest kindness toward every creature, even to our opposers. Listen to these words of Jeremiah, written six hundred years before Christ: "Thus saith the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel, unto all that are carried away captives, whom I have caused to be carried away from Jerusalem unto Babylon; . . . Seek the peace of the city whither I have caused you to be carried away captives, and pray unto the Lord for it: for in the peace thereof shall ye have peace." Jer. 29: 4, 7.

It is a terrible thing to "shed innocent blood." "So ye shall not pollute the land wherein ye are: for blood it defileth the land: and the land can not be cleansed of the blood that is shed therein, but by the blood of him that shed it. Defile not therefore the land." Num. 25: 33, 34. The beginning of the end of a nation is already marked when the daily records of its life teem with the stories of murder, suicides, and fraternal feuds. But how much worse a step it is when, for a question of difference upon a religious topic, the party in power marks the dissenters for deprivation of their God-given right, perhaps property, then life, in all cases social and national equalities.

We have before us an example upon which we should look and bethink ourselves,—Spain. As a country this nation was once the most populous of Europe, under the hands of whose busy multitudes its fields appeared as cultivated gardens. But what is it to-day? In some parts of

the land the traveler can see, from the window of his coach, mile after mile of barren, almost desert country; no sign of living activity appears, save the falcon as he circles far above, over the mountain peaks. Where are the industrious throngs which once dwelt in these now uninhabited huts?

Three different crusades were undertaken by Spain at different times against as many different religions. In 1492 took place the expulsion of the Jews. "No one," said a writer of that period, "could behold the

destructive were its tortures, burnings at the stake, and other methods of conversion, that one historian points to these years as a time when practically a whole religion was extinguished.

Later, in 1603-09, took place the expulsion of the Moors. "More than half a million of the most intelligent, skilful, and industrious inhabitants of the peninsula were driven into exile."

To spill innocent blood means to exterminate the innocent. Now it is a truth ap-



GRAND CATHEDRAL, MEXICO CITY, MEXICO

sufferings of the Jewish exiles unmoved. A great many perished of hunger, especially those of tender years. Mothers, with scarcely strength to support themselves, carried their famished infants in their arms, and died with them. . . . One might have taken them for specters, so emaciated were they, so cadaverous in their aspect, and with eyes so sunken; they differed in nothing from the dead, except in the power of motion, which indeed they scarcely retained." At this time, it has been estimated that from one hundred and sixty thousand to eight hundred thousand were exiled.

During the years 1556-98, Philip II kept up the swift, searching work of the cruel Inquisition against the Protestants. So

parent to all, that the innocent form the foundation upon which a nation stands. They compose the wealth-owners; they fill the armies, man the navies, and, by their spirit which exacts obedience to all good and just laws, are the strongest barriers against disorder and lawlessness. To molest such, as they go quietly on in the performance of their duty, for the mere matter of a difference in religious belief, is to strike a blow at the prosperity of the nation. It means that unnatural union of the civil power and religion, whose offspring has always been disaster.

In contrast with the preceding example of Spain under the dual direction of church and state, let us consider the condition of

one of Spain's colonies, Mexico, after she severed the tie which had bound her to the church. The quotation following is from "Histoire Générale" (General History), of Lavisse and Rambaud, Vol. XII, page 699:—

"The clericals compromised themselves in the eyes of the people by their appeal which they made to foreigners; so in 1871 was pronounced the separation of church and state. . . .

"The action of Porfirio Diaz has been considerable. A veritable new life has arisen in Mexico; individual security there is perfect. The stability of the government is a fact worthy of note; before Diaz fifty-two presidents had been in power during fifty-nine years. Diaz has been presiding over the destinies of the republic more than twenty years. . . . The cities become modern. There exists no longer a village of one hundred inhabitants, in Mexico, which does not have its school. Since the month of July, 1896, it is true, all instruction is at the expense of the state, which assures the unity of spirit in the instruction. Religious instruction is banished from public schools. With Porfirio Diaz, Mexico, formerly cried down, has become a prosperous and honest republic."

Is the Church-and-State Argument Against Senator Smoot Valid?

W. A. COLCORD

IN the majority report of the Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections on the Senator Reed Smoot case, the following arguments were made why Mr. Smoot should be unseated:—

"A careful examination and consideration of the testimony taken before the committee in this investigation leads to the conclusion that the allegations in the protest concerning the domination of the leaders of the Mormon Church in secular affairs are true, and that the first presidency and twelve apostles of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints exercise a controlling influence over the action of the members of the church in secular affairs as well as in spiritual matters. . . . 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 and 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."—*Congressional Record, June 11, 1906.*

This argument evidently is based upon the assumption that a union of church and state in any State is unconstitutional from a national standpoint. But is this a fact? The First Amendment to the national Constitution says, "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof;" but it does not say that a *State* shall not do so.

In 1875 James G. Blaine introduced into Congress a proposed amendment to the Constitution, beginning, "No *State* shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." But that measure never passed. Similar measures have been introduced since that time, but none of these have passed.

How, then, we ask, can a union of church and state in any *State* be adduced as a valid argument against a man holding an office under the national government? When the Constitution of the United States was adopted, nearly all of the thirteen original States had established religions, but this fact did not disqualify the Senators and Representatives from these States from holding their seats in Congress.

In a speech made before the Senate January 11 of this year, Senator Hopkins, of Illinois, called attention to this fact. After expressing surprise that a proposition of this kind should have been submitted by the chairman of the committee, Senator Burrows, of Michigan, as a valid argument for unseating Mr. Smoot, he said:—

"I wish to call the attention of the Senators that there is nothing in the Constitution of the United States that prohibits a State from having an established religion. If the people of the State of Michigan can revise their State constitution so as to require the tax payers of that State to pay annually a certain sum for the maintenance of the Episcopal, the Catholic, the Presbyterian, or the Methodist, or any other church, such a clause in the constitution of Michigan or any other independent State in the republic would not be antagonistic to anything in the Constitution of the United States."—*Congressional Record, Jan. 15, 1907.*

We are not defending Mormonism, or

polygamy, or a union of church and state. We wish such a union were as unconstitutional in any State as in the United States government. Our only question is, *Is it?* and if it is not, *Why is it not made so?*

A Zealous Kansas Mayor

C. E. PECKOVER

THE following illustrates the partiality and inconsistency shown by some religious persons who seek to enforce Sunday observance by law:—

During the summer months the mayor of a certain city in Kansas, who is also the pastor of the Christian church of the place, became very zealous in enforcing Sunday laws. In his zeal he caused the arrest of some who were accustomed to open their provision stands and meat shops for a little while on Sunday morning to accommodate those who found it inconvenient to get groceries and meat at other times. The crusade was carried on until no one was permitted to keep his place of business open on Sunday.

In marked contrast to this, was the position taken by this same mayor a week or two before the holidays. Late in the summer the city authorities let a contract for paving the principal business street of the place; but owing to unsettled weather, the paving company was slow in accomplishing its task, and to avoid a freeze up and an interference in the holiday trade, permission was granted by this same mayor to continue the paving work on a certain Sunday. To be sure, the paving company improved the opportunity, and all day steam rollers, steam concrete mixers, and noisy workmen were busily engaged alongside churches, business houses, and elsewhere to provide good traveling for the churchgoers and shoppers. They made a thousand times more noise and disturbance than all the grocers and

butchers in town, yet no complaint was made against it. When it came to the matter of a little inconvenience, and perhaps the loss of a few dollars in trade, the religious Sunday-enforcement convictions were set aside, and the noisiest kind of work was allowed to proceed without protest.

Freedom of Thought

I WOULD recommend a free commerce both of matter and of mind. I would let men enter their own churches with the same freedom as their own houses: and I would do it without a homily, or graciousness, or favor, for *tyranny* itself is to me a word less odious than *toleration*.—*W. S. Landor.*



ENFORCING THE LAW!

Demosthenes on Constitutional Law

DEMOSTHENES, the great Athenian orator, tells us that enduring power can not be supported by injustice. He says: "It is not possible to found a lasting power upon injustice, perjury, and treachery. These may, perhaps, succeed for once, and borrow for a while, from hope, a gay and flourishing appearance. But time betrays their weakness, and they fall to ruin of themselves. For, as in structures of every kind, the lower parts should have the greatest firmness; so grounds and principles of actions should be just and true."

News and Notes

THE Sunday-closing contest recently carried on in Grand Rapids, Mich., which was aimed at Sunday theaters, met with a signal defeat by the use of the referendum, which was made use of for the first time in that State.

REV. HENRY A. BUTCHEL, the Methodist minister who was recently elected governor of Colorado, delivered his inaugural message in the Denver Trinity Methodist Church, and concluded it with the Lord's prayer. *Query*.—What will be the next step?

SUNDAY-CLOSING crusades are being carried on vigorously in different cities throughout the country. In Boston it is reported that no less than twelve hundred people were recently summoned before the police court for violation of the Massachusetts Sunday law.

A SUNDAY bill passed the House of Representatives at the legislature in Topeka, Kan., Jan. 24, 1907. The bill is comparatively a liberal one, for it only prohibits amusements and games when an admission fee is charged. The wicked principle of religious legislation nevertheless underlies the bill, and it is therefore a dangerous measure.

THE Young Men's Hebrew Association of Boston appealed to the Massachusetts Legislature for a chance to labor on Sunday, providing they disturbed no one; but Dr. Kneeland, the Secretary of the New England Sabbath Protective League, opposed the granting of the request, on the ground that but few Hebrews observed Saturday in a religious way. Who can fail to see that this whole question is a religious one? In order to be exempt from the Sunday law a man must observe another day religiously.

THE following Scriptural quotations, without any comments or explanations, appeared at the top of the first page of the *Congressional Record*, bearing date of Feb. 6, 1907: "Beware of false prophets, which come to you in sheep's clothing," etc. "Ye shall know them by their fruits." "Beware lest any man spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit, after the tradition of men." The warning voiced in these texts should be remembered and heeded by every Congressman when urged to use his influence in the interests of religious legislation of any kind. But how they came to be printed thus in the *Congressional Record* is not stated.

A MOST enthusiastic and interesting hearing took place February 3 before the committee on the Sunday-rest amendment in the California Legislature. Six of the speakers championing the constitutional amendment, stood for Sunday rest laws, and four representatives of religious liberty spoke in opposition to this proposed measure. According to a recent report, a signal victory was achieved for the cause of religious freedom.

DISTRICT ATTORNEY JEROME, of New York City, recently gave the following advice to a committee of prominent ministers, whose services he desired to enlist in the interests of certain social reforms: "There is no way to deal with the legislators, but to drive them, for they fear public sentiment. They can be driven like sheep if we go at them right. And let me assure you, they are dead-scared of a minister." But the business of scaring statesmen into the enactment of religious legislation is entirely outside the work which Jesus Christ set for his followers.

REPRESENTATIVE ROBERT LUCE, of Somerville, Mass., recently gave an address in Boston, in favor of Sunday legislation. It was a vain attempt to show that it was not the religious feature of the day that the law requires. One statement, however, from his address will suffice to show its religious flavor: "All that can be said is that what the great mass of any given community at any time deem to be sacred or profane, should be so required and regarded by all." From this statement it will be seen that the majority can decide as to what is and what is not sacred. The very principle of the Inquisition is voiced in these words.

As the result of an order issued by the post commander in Columbus, Ohio, requiring a certain soldier to attend divine services, it has recently been decided by the War Department that soldiers may be required to properly observe the Sabbath (Sunday), and be formed into line and marched to their respective places of worship, but shall not be required to enter the church or attend the services. Thus the principle of religious liberty guaranteed by this government has been violated by the War Department in requiring soldiers to observe the Sabbath, and in forming them into line and marching them to the church. If soldiers can be marched to church, and marched to the church which their superiors may choose, it is but a step further to compel them and all others to attend the service — and to worship.

LIBERTY

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Entered as second-class matter, May 1, 1906, at the
post-office at Washington, D. C., under the act of
Congress of March 3, 1879.

THE struggle for religious liberty in the time of the Reformation is dealt with in this number. How this conflict was carried on in other times will be treated in future numbers.

THE contents of this number is sufficient proof of the necessity of such a magazine. The foes of religious liberty are rampant, and the evidences of their working are everywhere.

THE reader will find much evidence in this number of the fact that the pagan and papal principle of the union of church and state is rapidly gaining ground in the United States.

THE fact that such men as Bishop Satterlee and Dr. S. H. Greene, of Washington, have expressed themselves as opposed to coercion in the matter of Sunday observance, ought to set many lesser lights who favor Sunday legislation to thinking. Read what these men have said. See page 9.

UNDER the gospel, the rule for contributing to its support is, "Every man, according as he purposeth in his heart, so let him give; not grudgingly, or of necessity; for God loveth a cheerful giver." Under a union of church and state the rule is, "Every man according as the law prescribes, so let him pay, however grudgingly, for the church must be supported."

CHRISTIANITY teaches men to substitute persuasion for compulsion in the advancement of the cause of God.

SUNDAY laws are a relic of the days of religious tyranny and oppression, and every one of them should be repealed the world over. They are evidences of neither civilization nor salvation, but are the very germ and tap-root of that baleful plant, church-and-state union.

IN his work on "Union of Church and State," Mr. Noel says: "The state does not determine for us our lawyer, physician, or tradesman; why should it appoint our pastor? Why select for its dictation precisely the matter in which it is the least competent to dictate, and in which its blunders are the most injurious?"

SINCE the publication of the last number of LIBERTY, a great issue has arisen in California over the question of Sunday legislation. For the past twenty-five years, or since 1882, when the Supreme Court of the State declared the State Sunday law of 1858 unconstitutional, California has had no Sunday law. It is now proposed to amend the constitution so as to make Sunday laws constitutional, and a proposition to this effect has been introduced into the present State legislature. See the article "Some California Sunday-Law History" on another page.

THE *Episcopal Recorder* of Philadelphia, in its issue of January 17, says: "It is probable that the Sabbath question is today the burning question before the legislatures of more countries than any other. Eleven different European nations have in the last dozen years put laws on their statute-books to enforce a more or less complete Sunday rest. In many of these cases the laws are much more drastic and the penalties more severe than in the case of any Sunday law in the United States." Truly the Sabbath question in its two phases — Sunday observance by law, and Sabbath (seventh day) observance by faith and free choice — is rapidly becoming the "burning question" of the day. Over this question will come the last great struggle in the conflict of the ages.

Resolutions Adopted in Faneuil Hall, "The Cradle of Liberty," Jan. 31, 1907



THE following resolutions were adopted at a meeting held in Faneuil Hall, Boston, Mass., under the auspices of the Religious Liberty Bureau, Thursday, Jan. 31, 1907:—

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

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

1. Resolved, That it is not the province of the state to determine which day is the Sabbath or how it should be observed, and that we are therefore opposed to all Sunday legislation.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Whereas, This movement is contrary to the principles enunciated by Jesus Christ, the great Author of all liberty, who said, "Render therefore unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's; and unto God the things that are God's," and is diametrically opposed to the fundamental principles upon which the American government was founded, as expressed in the First Amendment to the Constitution: "Congress shall make no law respecting the establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof;" therefore,—

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

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

A State

What constitutes a state?

Not high raised battlements or labored mound,

Thick walls or moated gate;

Not cities proud, with spires and turrets crowned,

Nor bays and broad arm ports,

Where, laughing at the storm, rich navies ride;

Nor starred and spangled courts,

Where low-browed baseness wafts perfume to pride —

No!—men, high-minded men,

With powers as far above dull brutes endued,

In forest, brake, or den,

As beasts excel cold rocks and brambles 'rude,—

Men, who their duties know,

But know their rights; and, knowing, dare maintain,

Prevent the long-aimed blow,

And crush the tyrant, while they rend the chain,—

These constitute a state.

— Sir William Jones.