

LIBERTY

A MAGAZINE OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

*The Complete Separation of
the Church and the
State*



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*Religion and Science
After the Higher Criticism—What?
Reason and Faith*

Alcohol and Crime

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THE TEMPTATION OF THE CHURCH

LIBERTY

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

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No. 1

Editorial

To force the observance of any religious ordinance is an invasion of the most sacred rights of men.



CIVIL government has no jurisdiction whatever in the realm of conscience. The attempted exercise of authority in matters of faith is a flagrant usurpation of power.



It is the purpose of the gospel to win souls for the kingdom of God. It is the province of the state to protect men in the exercise of their rights. The spheres are distinct, and their legitimate operations do not conflict.



THE Congress of the United States can rightfully exercise only such power as has been delegated to it in the Constitution. The makers of that famous instrument purposely omitted from it any clause which authorizes Congress to enact any legislation which would bind the consciences of men. On the contrary, it is expressly forbidden the exercise of any such power. Religious legislation is therefore a violation of the plain terms of the Constitution.

A Condition—Not a Theory

IN considering religious liberty principles in this magazine, we are not conducting a mere academic discussion over improbable contingencies and remote possibilities, but we are dealing with actual issues which we now face.

The Federal Council of Churches, composed of thirty-one denominations, representing eighteen million communicants and over fifty million adherents, has placed itself on record as favoring such legislation as it deems necessary for the protection of the Sunday sabbath. Not satisfied with the various unions, alliances, and associations already formed for the purpose of urging Sunday laws, the advocates of compulsory Sabbath observance have now decided to organize an International Lord's Day Alliance modeled after the Lord's Day Alliance of Canada, which has been so successful in securing drastic legislation in behalf of Sunday observance. In keeping with this growing sentiment in favor of religion by law, there have been introduced into the present Congress no fewer than ten bills which in one way or another make a distinction between Sunday and other days of the week for purely relig-

ious reasons. In addition to all this feverish activity on the part of professed Protestants to secure the passage of measures which will bind the conscience, we may also note that the representatives of the Roman Catholic Church in America are becoming more and more emphatic in the profession of their purpose to make America a Catholic country; but when America becomes a Catholic country, there will be a union of church and state, and religious liberty will be at an end.

Never since the birth of this nation has there been such a gigantic combination of forces seeking to compel the national government to reverse its record, to take sides in a religious controversy, and to establish a religious observance by law. It is astonishing that men who are familiar with the history of those dark periods when, under the union of religion and government, the consciences of men were made subject to the whims of the majority, and the bodies of men felt the lash of the whip and the sting of the flame because they were unwilling to worship God according to legislative enactment, should remain passive while the first steps in the same path are being taken in this country. The time to sound an effective alarm is while the enemy is gathering his forces and arranging the plan of attack. It may be too late when the trumpet sounds for the charge. We urge all who believe in the Christian principle of religious liberty, and all who are in favor of maintaining in this country that freedom of conscience which has thus far been enjoyed, to awake to a sense of the true situation, and to put forth earnest efforts to prevent the consummation of those plans which now threaten to stifle soul-freedom in this boasted land of the free. The situation calls for a restatement of the original principles of religious liberty.

Our Position Defined

BECAUSE we are vigorously opposing any step toward a union of church and state, there are some who jump to the conclusion that we are the enemies of the church and the opponents of religion.

Because we strongly oppose every effort to secure the passage of a Sunday law, there are some who write us down as the enemies of the Sabbath.

For the information of all concerned, we here state that we heartily favor the advancement of true religion, and greatly desire the prosperity of the church; but we are convinced that these results will be better attained by keeping the church and the state separate.

We believe in Sabbath-keeping, and seek to inculcate it by both precept and example, but we are thoroughly satisfied that any attempt to enforce Sabbath observance upon any one will be attended with results which are wholly evil.

As Christians who recognize the obligation to worship and serve the one only and true God, and who yield obedience to his eternal and unchangeable law, we deny the right of civil government to interfere in matters between man and God, and concede the right of every man to believe or not to believe, to worship or not to worship, so long as, in the exercise of this choice, he does not interfere with the civil rights of others. For the choice which he makes, he is wholly responsible to God.

We oppose the union of church and state, or what is the same thing, the union of religion and government, because we believe that both religion and government will suffer injury from any such union.

We are opposed to anything like compulsory Sabbath observance, because Sabbath-keeping is a religious duty, and the performance of a religious duty under compulsion is an act of hypocrisy.

We believe that those who desire to meet for the public worship of God should be protected from all interference, but we do not grant that any more protection is required for one day in the week than another. It is the right of citizens to assemble peaceably for religious or other purposes, and it is the duty of civil government to protect such assemblies; but to demand legislation which will make criminal on a certain day of the week acts which are permitted and lawful on the other days, is to seek the enforcement of a religious observance by law.

Any religion or any religious observance which asks to be supported or enforced by law, thereby confesses its own inherent weakness. All that the truth requires is a free field and a fair opportunity. To ask for more than this is to acknowledge that error is more powerful than truth.

A Dangerous Combination

THERE was held in the city of Philadelphia, Dec. 2-8, 1908, the first meeting of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, attended by nearly four hundred delegates officially appointed to represent thirty-one of the Protestant denominations of this country. The *Philadelphia Press* characterized it as "the most important ecclesiastical gathering since the apostolic days;" and the *Philadelphia North American*, in its report of the first session, stated that "one idea stood out very clearly—the growing realization of the gathering that, from last night, there is what may be actually called an American church, a consolidated Protestant church of the United States." The *Philadelphia Public Ledger* declared: "In a measure this gathering of four hundred delegates appointed by the governing bodies of thir-

ty-one Protestant evangelical churches is epoch-making. These churches have an adult membership of eighteen million. They claim to have fifty million adherents, or considerably more than one half the population of the United States. When such a powerful group of religious bodies acts in concert, far-reaching results may be expected."

In its official literature, one of the



WITHERSPOON BUILDING, PHILADELPHIA

The Federal Council of Churches met in a hall in this building

objects of this great organization is stated to be—

to secure a larger combined influence for the church of Christ in all matters affecting the moral and social condition of the people, so as to promote the application of the law of Christ in every relation of human life.

In his opening address before the delegates and a vast audience, the retiring president of the council, Dr. William H. Roberts, defined at some length the field in which this organization would operate. We quote in part:—

We believe that the great Christian bodies in our country should stand together, lead in the discussion of, and

give an impulse to, all great movements that make for righteousness. We believe that questions like those of marriage and divorce, Sabbath desecration, foreign immigration, modern industry, the moral and religious training of the young, indeed, all great questions in which the voice of the churches should be heard, demand their united and concerted action if the church of Christ is to lead effectively in the thorough Christianization of our country. . . .

Different epochs are characterized by



BISHOP E. R. HENDRIX, PRESIDENT OF THE
FEDERAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

dominant ideas, differing, yet closely related to each other in the system of religious thought. The Protestant Reformation, for instance, emphasized the right of private judgment, and by so doing rendered inestimable benefit to mankind. It taught men to think for themselves, and developed in a notable manner individuality of character.

Rights of conscience and the independence of the individual have now been efficiently acknowledged for four centuries, and have become fundamental principles of the social and religious organizations of the modern world, especially of the United States. Thoughtful

persons are realizing the need of combination and co-operation in religious work.

From these official declarations, it follows:—

1. That a leading purpose of this organization claiming to represent, at least indirectly, "considerably more than one half the population of the United States," is to secure the benefit of "combined influence."

2. That this "combined influence" is to be exerted in an effort to apply "the law of Christ" to the affairs of men in this world.

3. That the problems to the solution of which this "combined influence" is to be applied are those which must be considered in legislative halls, and the conclusions reached must be made effective by civil enactments.

4. That "the right of private judgment" and the "rights of conscience and the independence of the individual," secured at so great a cost in the great Reformation of the sixteenth century, are regarded by this organization as secondary in importance to "combination and co-operation."

This great gathering of the distinguished representatives of nearly all the Protestant churches in America was not held in order that united and fervent petitions might be offered to the God of heaven, earnestly seeking a revival of spiritual life among the churches, and a mighty display of the converting power of God's Spirit upon the hearts of sinners, but rather to form an effective combination in favor of such moral and social reforms as can be brought about by a "combined influence" in the sphere of politics. It is plain, therefore, that this Federal Council of Churches may be legitimately defined as a religio-political combination, whose aims can be realized by bringing its "combined influence" to bear upon legislators.

That a combination of this character is a menace to the highest interests of the country, and that it threatens the overthrow of principles fundamental to the welfare of the nation, were clearly perceived fourscore years ago, and as clearly defined in the Sunday Mail Report communicated to the United States Senate, Jan. 19, 1829. We quote a portion of that weighty document:—

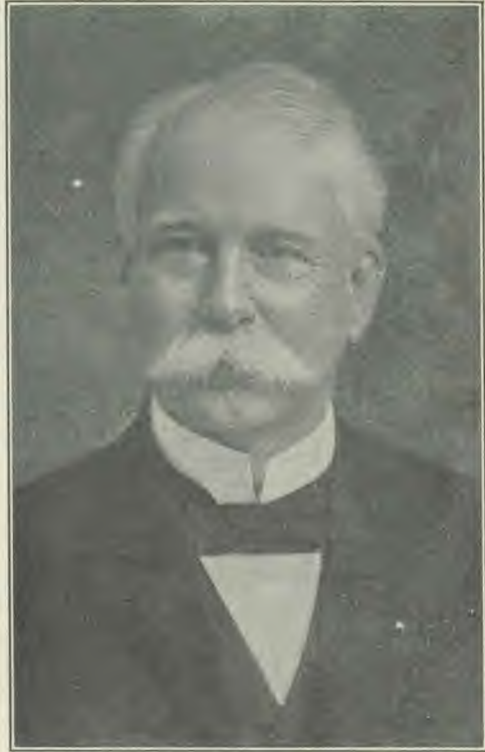
Extensive religious combinations to effect a political object are, in the opinion of the committee, always dangerous. This first effort of this kind calls for the establishment of a principle which, in the opinion of the committee, would lay the foundation for dangerous innovations upon the spirit of the Constitution, and upon the religious rights of the citizens. If admitted, it may be justly apprehended that the future measures of the government will be strongly marked, if not eventually controlled, by the same influence. All religious despotism commences by combination and influence; and when that influence begins to operate upon the political institutions of a country, the civil power soon bends under it; and the catastrophe of other nations furnishes an awful warning of the consequence.

We may legitimately judge of the future work of this great combination by its own activities in the past. The report of the permanent secretary called attention to three victories gained in the legislative field; namely, the improved divorce law in South Dakota, the anti-gambling law in the State of New York, and the amelioration of the condition of the inhabitants of the basin of the Kongo. Referring to these achievements, the secretary said: "This brief summary of office and executive work illustrates the power of federated action in winning victories where moral issues were involved." The secretary took a hopeful view of the possibility of future success in the same field of work, and declared:—

A body of men that represents to any

extent a constituency that includes a church-membership of over seventeen millions, and a family and individual constituency of more than half the population of this nation of eighty millions, can but receive world-wide recognition from those who thoughtfully watch the trend of national and international affairs.

Plans of organization were approved looking toward the extension of this



DR. E. B. SANFORD, PERMANENT SECRETARY OF THE FEDERAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

principle of "combined influence," not only by making the Federal Council of Churches efficient in its operation, but by developing the same principle in the federation of the churches of each State, of each county, and of each city and town, until the whole country would thus be within the grip of this religio-political combination. An effective way to make this influence felt in the most practical manner was thus stated:—

The churches must know and have on record the position of every voter upon all moral questions, and then it is prepared to act upon such questions.

In the United States of America there have been exemplified, as in no other country upon the face of the earth, the benefits arising from a practical application of two great principles—Protestantism and republicanism. Never since the birth of this nation have these principles been in such peril as now. When the right of private judgment, the rights of conscience, and the independence of the individual are sacrificed to the demands of a great religious combination, and when the representatives of the people are compelled to yield to the dictates of an organization so powerful that it may well be termed another government,—an *imperium in imperio*,—then the days of freedom are numbered, the fires of religious persecution may soon be rekindled, and the downfall of the republic is impending.

It is time to sound the alarm. The American people should be awake to the situation. An experiment of a most dangerous character is being made upon their liberties. Let there be a tremendous protest against this unchristian and un-American combination for influencing legislation.

An Intolerant Association

IN the annual report of the International Federation of Sunday Rest Associations of America for 1908, a statement is made concerning the effort to secure the passage of a Sunday law for the District of Columbia. The whole paragraph follows:—

A bill was prepared early during the last session of Congress, and that the best results might be obtained, a committee, composed of Protestant and Catholic ministers and laymen, and representatives of the labor unions, all residing

in the District of Columbia, was appointed to secure its passage. Rev. Wallace H. Radcliffe, D. D., of Washington, was chairman of the committee. We placed in his hands a copy of the large petition we had secured, and brought to bear the influence of the Federation wherever possible in favor of the passage of the bill. We urged that if a law be passed, it should prohibit unnecessary business, such as the selling of candies, cigars, etc., as well as labor, and that no exception be made because of religion. The bill at this time has not been finally acted upon.

From this report it is entirely apparent that the movement was a religious one, although at the time this was denied. The united influence of the local committee and that of the Federation was brought to bear in favor of the bill. It is worthy of note, also, that so far as the Association was concerned, it was urged "that no exception be made because of religion." This shows plainly what may be expected when the principles urged by these Sunday-law advocates are adopted. The persecutions of medieval times will be revived.

Religion by Edict

ACCORDING to a recent press report, King Edward, of England, has issued an edict forbidding public entertainments in the theaters or music halls on Sundays, Christmas day, or Good Friday. This effort to establish religion by royal authority is consistent with the relation which government sustains to religion in Great Britain, and with the basis upon which Sunday observance rests. The state exercises a considerable degree of authority over the established church in Great Britain, although in issuing this arbitrary decree it is said that "the king has now turned to good account the survival of medieval despotism," which has been invoked on another occasion recently, and excited much criticism. In

classing Christmas day and Good Friday with Sunday, King Edward indicates his knowledge of the fact that they all rest upon the same authority,—the command of the church. What King Edward of England has attempted to control by royal edict, Sunday-law advocates are seeking to induce legislators to regulate by legal enactment. In neither case is the cause of true religion advanced.

source, and the only source, from which free institutions have proceeded, and therefore she is the only force which can maintain them.

There are some things connected with the history of Magna Charta which "the reverend Lutheran and Baptist gentlemen" probably know, and which the Hon. Bourke Cockran ought to know.

The Truth About Magna Charta

Hon. Bourke Cockran's Inquiry Considered

ONE of the features of the great Roman Catholic Church Missionary Congress held in Chicago was the address of the Hon. Bourke Cockran, a representative in Congress from the State of New York, which was characterized as "a comprehensive exposition of the position of the Roman Catholic Church toward the state from the time of Constantine down to the year of our Lord 1908."

The purpose of the orator was to reply to the letters and resolutions of the Lutherans and the Baptists protesting against President Roosevelt's letter in which he asserted the eligibility of a Roman Catholic to the presidency. One of these letters is printed in another part of this magazine, and they therefore need no further explanation here.

In the course of his speech, to which it is said that scores of prelates listened so intently that they were too absorbed even to applaud, Mr. Cockran said:—

Do the reverend Lutheran and Baptist gentlemen realize where we find the political germ of the Constitution?—We find it in the Magna Charta. Do the reverend gentlemen know that the Magna Charta was wrested from his lawful sovereign by a Catholic prelate at the head of rebellious barons? . . .

The Catholic Church is the champion of progress and the light of humanity. There is not a monument of value in the political world which can not be traced back to the church. The church is the



HON. BOURKE COCKRAN

For the information of any who may not be familiar with this period of English history, and as showing the exact value of Mr. Cockran's eloquent claims in behalf of the Roman Catholic Church, we will state some well-attested facts.

After the English barons had compelled King John to sign Magna Charta, the king sent a copy of the charter to Pope Innocent III, asking that he absolve him from his oath to observe it—that is, "that the pope, as God's representative, should release him from the obligation to obey a promise solemnly made to his own countrymen concerning their own domestic laws and policy."

The pope was greatly aroused over this successful move on the part of the barons to secure a greater measure of liberty, and "in his rage he swore that, cost him what it would, he would never suffer their rashness to go unpunished." King John's request was granted. The pope "annulled the charter, absolved the king from his oath, and wrote to the barons commanding them to renounce what they had extorted from John, as the

rily represent the interests of the papacy.

With these facts before us, we may properly make some inquiries. Does Mr. Cockran "realize" that, under the threat of having his kingdom taken from him and given to the king of France, Pope Innocent III compelled King John to sign a charter turning over to him the kingdom of England, thus making a free people vassals of a foreign potentate? Does Mr. Cockran "realize" that Pope

Innocent III absolved King John from all obligations to keep his oath to observe the provisions of Magna Charta in order that the people of England might be kept under the rule of the papacy? Does Mr. Cockran "realize" that, acting under papal in-



MAGNA CHARTA ISLAND IN THE RIVER THAMES

On this island the representatives of King John and the representatives of the barons met and signed the famous charter

only means of escaping the pontifical wrath."

In the reign of Henry III, and again in the reign of Edward I, efforts were made with the co-operation of the then reigning popes to annul the charter, but the people successfully resisted these attempted encroachments upon their liberties.

Archbishop Stephen Langton, the representative of the pope in England under King John, to his everlasting credit, sympathized with the barons in their efforts to save themselves from becoming the mere slaves of the Roman hierarchy. For this reason, he soon lost his standing with the pope, and a legate was sent to England who would more satisfacto-

Henry III attempted to annul the great charter? Does Mr. Cockran "realize" that Pope Alexander IV absolved King Henry from any obligation to grant the concessions which the barons had wrested from him, and that this absolution was confirmed by Pope Urban IV? Does Mr. Cockran "realize" that Pope Clement IV sent a legate to England with a bull of excommunication against the barons? Does Mr. Cockran "realize" that by every means possible known to the papacy, the effort was repeatedly made to deprive the people of England of all the benefits and privileges conferred upon them by Magna Charta?

It is true that the barons were Roman Catholics in religious faith. "They

loved their religion, but they loved freedom also; and for loving freedom they were cursed, anathematized, and despoiled by the church of Rome! They did not believe the pope to be infallible, and for this they were consigned to eternal torment in the world to come!" In open opposition to the principles of the Roman Catholic Church, in open opposition to the wishes and commands of popes, and in open opposition to the traditional attitude of the papal hierarchy on the question of religious liberty, the English barons by force of arms secured from the king, who was subservient to the pope of Rome, the great charter. Query: Was Bourke Cockran justified in claiming credit for the Catholic Church in securing Magna Charta? and was the Catholic Church the "only force" which maintained its provisions?

The assertion that the papacy has always been the champion of liberty can be justified only by perverting history.

An Interesting Parallel

THAT study of history is in vain which does not enable us to interpret the present and to avoid the errors of the past. This principle applies with great force in the field of religious liberty, where history is now repeating itself.

In the time of Henry III of England, there was a bitter struggle between the pope of Rome, aided by an army of Italian priests appointed for that very purpose, on the one hand, and the subjects of the king on the other hand. As one incident of this struggle we learn:—

The English bishops, stimulated by the pope, claimed jurisdiction over civil affairs, upon the pretense that there was hardly any case but what *religion* was concerned with,—the logical result of the papal demand that the pope shall be regarded as *infallible* upon all questions of *morals* as well as of faith.

Compare with this statement the fol-

lowing extract from the resolutions presented by the Committee on the Church and Modern Industry at the recent meeting of the Federal Council of Churches:—

It [the church] must give itself fearlessly and passionately to the furtherance of all reforms by which it believes that the weak may be protected, the unscrupulous restrained, injustice abolished, equity of opportunity secured, and wholesome conditions of life established. Nothing that concerns human life can be alien to the church of Christ.

Inasmuch as these proposed reforms are the legitimate object of civil government, and, as the world is now constituted, can be secured only by legislation, it follows that when the church gives itself "fearlessly and passionately" to the work of securing these reforms, it must of necessity enter into the sphere of civil affairs, mingle religion and civil government, and employ the influence of the church in the affairs of the state.

The result of this illegitimate union of church and state during that period of English history already referred to is forcibly described in these words:—

It would be impossible to enumerate, indeed, within a compass less than a volume, the outrages and enormities practised in England during this gloomy period by kings and popes, who considered the assertion of any single popular right as a crime which God had appointed them to punish!. The power, oppressions, and vices of the papacy had nearly reached their culminating point, and the pure religion of Christ and his apostles, which was designed to purify and refine the heart and soul of man, was entirely subordinated to temporal and selfish ends, and made to play the ignoble part of ministering to the worldly ambition of the popes and their prostituted army of ecclesiastics.

Even though the purpose of the representatives of the churches may now be to bring relief to those who are oppressed by rampant greed, yet they ought to regard the lesson, repeated so many

times in history, that when the church abandons the work of preaching the simple gospel according to the instruction of the great commission, and attempts to accomplish even results desirable in themselves, by alliance with the civil power, she forfeits that which alone can make her work successful,—the presence of her divine Lord,—and becomes herself a mere human organization with only human power for the accomplishment of her ends.

The American Church and the American Sabbath

IN another article in this department, under the title, "A Dangerous Combination," some facts are stated concerning the Federal Council of Churches, an organization which the Philadelphia *North American* regards as a demonstration of the fact that "there is what may be actually called an American church, a consolidated Protestant church of the United States." In this article we purpose to set forth the action taken by this Federal Council concerning Sunday observance, and to point out the significance of that action.

The resolutions reported by the committee on Sunday observance, and adopted by the council, read as follows:—

It is the sense of the council that a new and stronger emphasis should be given in the pulpit, the Sunday-school, and the home to the Scriptural observance of the first day of the week as the sacred day, the home day, the rest day, for every man, woman, and child.

That all encroachments upon the claims and sanctities of the Lord's day should be stoutly resisted through the press, the Lord's Day Associations and Alliances, and by such legislation as may be secured to protect and preserve this bulwark of our American Christianity.

That we rejoice in the prospect of unity

of action among the various organizations striving in America for the preservation of the Lord's day as a day for rest and worship.

Although we are strongly of the opinion that there is no Scriptural authority for the first day of the week as the Sabbath, yet we freely grant to those who entertain a contrary view the fullest right to teach their doctrine in their pulpits, their Sunday-schools, and their homes, and the same privilege which we concede to others we claim for ourselves; namely, the right to present publicly and privately what we understand to be the teaching of the Scriptures upon this subject. If the committee had confined its report to this one recommendation, there would be no occasion for a protest, and this article would never have been written.

It becomes evident at once that as soon as an attempt is made to resist "all encroachments upon the claims and sanctities of the Lord's day," the necessity arises of determining definitely which is the Lord's day. It is well known that there is a division, even among professed Christians, over this question, some maintaining that the original commandment requiring the observance of the seventh day of the week has never been annulled, and that there is no divine authority for substituting any other day in its place. Moreover, there were delegates in the council itself, representing a Christian body of believers (the Seventh-day Baptists), who not only acknowledge the propriety of keeping the seventh day, but do themselves actually observe that day as the Sabbath. For the council to place itself on record as demanding legislation which would enforce upon all at least an outward observance of the first day of the week, while one of their own constituent bodies conscientiously rests on the seventh day, was an exhibition of Christian unity not contemplated under the program, and led to a protest which took

the form of this resolution, presented by one of the delegates:—

Resolved, That it is not our intention that anything shall be done to interfere with the convictions of those brethren represented with us in this council who conscientiously observe the seventh instead of the first day of the week as a day for rest and worship.

The adoption of this resolution would plainly be tantamount to the acknowledgment that some other day than Sunday might be the Lord's day, which would naturally bring out in bold relief the inconsistency of asking for legislation in behalf of one day, when another day was acknowledged to have at least equal claims to sanctity. The necessity for defining and limiting the Lord's day arose even sooner, probably, than the council anticipated, being precipitated by this proposed resolution; but the issue was accepted without any hesitation. One delegate said:—

Some people do not believe in the Lord's day, but some other day as the Sabbath. If we do not take a stand upon which day we believe we should observe as a day set apart for the worship of God, and for rest, this will give a wrong impression to the people. Is it the Lord's day or some other day that we are standing for? If it is the Lord's day, we should take the resolutions by the committee, and nothing more, and I trust that the resolution as proposed will not be accepted. We believe in the Lord's day, and must stand for it.

A leading representative of the Baptist denomination, who evidently believed in those principles of religious liberty in behalf of which members of that body have suffered in the past, earnestly supported the resolution, and one of the Seventh-day Baptist delegates made an urgent appeal to the council in behalf of the conscientious convictions of the people whom he represented, to which the reply was made, in one form or another, that in order to make their demands for the observance of the Lord's day effective,

they must allow only one day to be entitled to that distinction. In support of this view, one of the bishops of the Methodist Church declared:—

We must decide on one day as a Sabbath, or the whole purpose goes for naught. If we make a formal consent to another day, how can we hope to bring about proper observance of the first day of the week in our mission fields, and in places where there is little disposition to observe it in our own country?

The logic of this argument is irresistible. When once a great religio-political combination has committed itself to a demand for legislation in behalf of the Sabbath, it follows at once that the whole effort will prove useless unless a definite day is designated as the Sabbath. Instead of withdrawing the demand for legislation when the evil consequences were perceived, the advocates of compulsory Sabbath observance urged their claims with increasing vehemency. One argument ran thus:—

The question is whether this council will step back and leave that first day of the week without its due recognition from us as a body. I believe in some Sabbath day, and this is the only Sabbath day we will be able to get in this country in one hundred fifty years.

One consideration which was urged against the adoption of the resolution is worthy of special note:—

If we were to accept the resolution, that gives the impression that we acknowledge that there is another day than the first day of the week which is the Lord's day, the Sabbath, a day of rest and for the worship of God, I say that there are those who will take advantage of any such admission on our part. The Jews will feel a little stronger assurance in their belief. They will say that we acknowledge that there is another day than the first day of the week which is the Lord's day.

The Seventh-day Adventists will take heart in their antagonism to many of the things which we hold sacred, in addition to their assaults upon the first day of

the week as a day for rest and worship.

After a most spirited discussion, of which the merest outline has been here suggested, the resolution was rejected by a decisive vote, and the result was greeted by vigorous applause on the part of the majority.

Thus one of the considerations, and without doubt a leading one, which in-

mentioned in the fourth commandment. There was thus manifested a determined purpose not only to urge the observance of the first day of the week, but to repudiate the observance of the seventh day of the week; and in taking this action the council preferred to disregard the rights and convictions of one denomination (the Seventh-day Baptists) who



THE DELEGATES TO THE FEDERAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

The figures indicate the officers of the council: 1. Dr. W. H. Roberts, the retiring president; 2. Bishop E. R. Hendrix, the newly elected president; 3. Dr. E. B. Sanford, the permanent secretary; 4. Dr. R. D. Lord, recording secretary; 5, 6, 7, 8, assistant secretaries

duced the Federal Council of Churches to take such action as would authoritatively declare the first day of the week to be the Sabbath, and to refuse to acknowledge that "there is another day than the first day of the week which is the Lord's day, the Sabbath," was their determination to have nothing in common with the Jews, or even any Christians who observe the day specifically

had accepted the invitation to form a part of the council, rather than to give any countenance to the practise of the Jews and of those Christians who have a conscientious regard for the claims of the fourth commandment.

From the facts here stated we are warranted in saying that the Federal Council of Churches has decided:—

1. That the first day of the week,

Sunday, is the Lord's day, the sabbath.

2. That the united influence of this great combination shall be used to secure such legislation as may be deemed necessary for the protection of that day, and for the enforcement of at least an outward regard for it.

3. That there can be no other sabbath than the first day of the week.

4. That the observance of the seventh day of the week can not be regarded as the Scriptural observance of the sabbath.

5. That it would be injurious to the cause of Christianity to admit that the Jews observe the true Sabbath.

We are now prepared to understand more clearly the results which are likely to follow from this action of the Federal Council of Churches, and in pointing this out it will be necessary to refer to a former period of church history.

In the early part of the fourth century, steps were taken which led to a complete union of church and state, and the full development of the papacy; and the center around which this whole movement revolved was the question of the Sabbath. First came Constantine's famous Sunday edict, in A. D. 321, in which he declared: "On the venerable day of the sun let the magistrates and people residing in cities rest, and let all workshops be closed." Next came the decision of the Council of Nice, A. D. 325, requiring that throughout the whole empire Easter should be celebrated on Sunday. In the letter from the council to the churches, the decision was communicated in these words:—

We have also gratifying intelligence to communicate to you relative to unity of judgment on the subject of the most holy feast of Easter: for this point also has been happily settled through your prayers; so that all the brethren in the East who have heretofore kept this fes-

tival when the Jews did, will henceforth conform to the Romans and to us, and to all who from the earliest time have observed our period of celebrating Easter.

From a letter written by the Emperor Constantine to the churches upon this same subject we take the following:—

In the first place, it seemed very unsuitable in the celebration of this sacred feast that we should follow the custom of the Jews, a people who, having imbrued their hands in a most heinous outrage, and thus polluted their souls, are deservedly blind. . . . Let us, then, have nothing in common with this most hostile people, the Jews.

This disposition to exalt Sunday, and to cry out against the observance of the seventh day because it was kept by the Jews, came to a climax in the Council of Laodicea, about 364 A. D., which enacted the following canon:—

Christians shall not Judaize and be idle on Saturday, but shall work on that day; but the Lord's day they shall especially honor, and, as being Christians, shall, if possible, do no work on that day. If, however, they are found Judaizing, they shall be shut out from Christ.

An appeal was made to the civil power to enforce these decisions of the church, and thus the way was opened for that union of the church with the state which effectively established the papacy.

It hardly needs to be pointed out that the Federal Council of Churches is in effect repeating the history of the fourth century; and it is perfectly clear that in their action on the question of the Sabbath, first, in deciding that the first day of the week and not the seventh is the Sabbath, and second, in demanding the enforcement of the day on the part of the civil power, they are taking the steps which will lead directly to the union of church and state. In view of their refusal to adopt the resolution which would permit the observance of

the seventh day without interference, it is also plain that their action, when carried into practical effect, must lead to persecution.

It is true that there has been in years past a demand for the passage of Sunday laws, but never before in the history of this country has a combination claiming to represent more than half the population of the United States formally

respect for the sultan, on whose appearance at the chamber with his six sons, the deputies and senators, some two hundred in number, rose and remained standing while the chancellor, Ali Bejewad Bey, read the speech from the throne. In this speech the sultan makes known his attitude toward the new order of things as follows: "When I first proclaimed a constitution, thirty-two years ago, there were many difficulties in the way of its execution, and I was advised

to suspend it momentarily. In the interval great efforts were made toward popular education, and for the establishment of institutions of a nature calculated to elevate the public enlightenment. I am now happy to know that the people are more able to understand the benefits of a constitution, and I was heartily glad to restore it, notwithstanding influential advice to the



MEETING-PLACE OF THE FIRST TURKISH PARLIAMENT

Turkey's first national parliament, under the new constitution, assembled Dec. 17, 1908, in the palace of the ministry of justice (P), overlooking the sea of Marmora. It is a beautiful and spacious building, and is only a short distance from the famous church of St. Sophia, once a Christian church, now a Turkish mosque. The four minarets of St. Sophia can be seen in the background

registered such a demand. From such action as this, by such a body as this, the cause of enforced Sunday observance will without doubt receive a tremendous impetus, and we may expect to see results in the near future.

Opening of Parliament in Turkey

THE peaceful revolution which took place a few weeks ago under the auspices of the so-called Young Turks, culminated December 17 in the opening of a parliament in accordance with the constitution promulgated by the sultan last July. The parliament was characterized by much solemnity, and with every evidence of

contrary. My will is definite and unalterable, and henceforth the constitution will regulate the affairs of the nation. The cabinet which Kiamil Pasha has formed will fulfil our decision.—*North-western Christian Advocate*.

Great changes have come in Turkey since the constitution was made effective. Within the course of a few weeks the government passed from the most absolute despotism into one of the freest countries in the world. Newspapers have been greatly multiplied. Addresses on political subjects have been freely given. The members of the royal family have appeared in public. Travelers are no longer vexed with useless restrictions.

Religious liberty has been proclaimed, and preachers of the gospel are freely permitted to proclaim the principles of Christianity. Turkey is now in advance of several countries dominated by papal principles; for in these latter countries no one is permitted to teach a religion contrary to the prevailing one. Thus Constantinople has taught Rome an important lesson in religious liberty.

The Possibility of a Roman Catholic President

THE letter of President Roosevelt concerning religious liberty, printed in our last issue, has done much good in calling the attention of the people to the principles of religious liberty, through the discussion which it has stirred up. The principles of Romanism and its opposition to republican government have been brought to the light again, and incidentally and necessarily the attitude of the true Catholic toward the Constitution and the liberties which it guarantees. There is no doubt that President Roosevelt's idea of religious liberty and the right of every man to profess what religion he will, is in harmony with the national Constitution, and all that he said in reference thereto is founded upon right principles. The difficulty comes in the effort to make the principles fit a system which is more than a religion, a political organization which carries on its operations upon a religious basis. Such a system builds up in every free country a government of its own, opposed to the civil government existing there, and, when occasion arises, at war with its fundamental principles.

The policy of the papacy in this regard has been plainly stated by a recognized Catholic authority, the *Catholic World*, which declares that the pope, "as the head and mouthpiece of the Catholic Church, administers its discipline, and

issues orders to which every Catholic, under pain of sin, must yield obedience." — *Vol. VII, No. 41, page 577*. The same journal, in the preceding number of the same volume, page 433, says: "The authority of the state must be braved, human affections must be disregarded, life must be sacrificed, when loyalty to truth and to the will of God require it." But "loyalty to truth and to the will of God" means unquestioning submission to the decrees of the "infallible" head of the system, and that this is in civil as well as religious matters is shown in the statement that the "authority of the state must be braved." That declaration means that the papacy feels itself at liberty in this country to build up a system of its own, bringing under its control both the civil and religious concerns of the people of the country, and that without the interference or challenge of any human authority — a system irresponsible to any law of the people, overriding every authority in state or nation, and compelling from all obedience to the decrees of its ruler "under pain of mortal sin." The following from "Brownson's Essays," pages 282-284, expresses the pith of Rome's pretensions in this regard, and Dr. Brownson speaks with the approval of the papacy:—

She [the Catholic Church] is, under God, the supreme judge of both laws [natural law, and revealed or spiritual law], which for her are but one law; and hence she takes cognizance, in her tribunals, of the breaches of the natural law as well as of the revealed, and has the right to take cognizance by nations as well as of its breaches by individuals, by the prince as well as by the subject, for it is the supreme law for both. The state is, therefore, only an inferior court, bound to receive the law from the supreme court [the church], and liable to have its decrees reversed on appeal.

Thus does the papacy assume to itself the overlordship of the entire world in all matters affecting any of the con-

cerns of men, civil or religious, temporal or eternal. That there may be no misunderstanding as to the full meaning of that overlordship, we quote again:—

The people need governing, and must be governed. . . . They must have a master. . . . The religion which is to answer our purpose must be above the people, and able to command them. . . . The first lesson to the child is, obey; the first and last lesson to the people, individually and collectively, is, obey; and there is no obedience where there is no authority to enjoin it. . . . The Roman Catholic religion, then, is necessary to sustain popular liberty, because popular liberty can be sustained only by a religion free from popular control, above the people, speaking from above, and able to command them; and such a religion is the Roman Catholic. . . . In this sense we wish this country to come under the pope of Rome. As the visible head of the church, the spiritual authority which Almighty God has instituted to teach and govern the nations, we assert his supremacy, and tell our countrymen that we would have them submit to him. They may flare up at this as much as they please, and write as many alarming and abusive editorials as they choose, or can find time and space to do—they will not move us, or relieve themselves from the obligation Almighty God has placed them under of obeying the authority of the Catholic Church, pope and all.—“*Brownson's Essays*,” pages 380-383.

“*Brownson's Essays*” has never been placed on the *Index Expurgatorius*; his declarations have never been denied by papal authority; he speaks the purpose of the Catholic Church concerning both individuals and nations, but especially concerning this nation. Catholic prelates frequently discourse eloquently concerning the freedom of the church in this country, freedom of conscience, and freedom in general. But by these terms the Catholic orator never means what his Protestant hearer understands him to mean. This has been well stated thus:—

When a Protestant talks of freedom, he means the self-government of the peo-

ple in all their civil affairs; when the papal hierarchy talk of it, they mean the freedom of the papacy to govern the world, through the pope and themselves as his agents and auxiliaries. And when, in this country, we speak of “liberty of conscience,” we mean that every man shall be permitted to worship God as his own personal convictions of duty shall dictate. But the papal hierarchy have no such meaning, and intend nothing of this sort. With them “liberty of conscience” consists merely of “the right to embrace, profess, and practise the Catholic religion,” in a Protestant country; not the right to embrace, profess, and practise the Protestant religion in a Roman Catholic country! And why do they not concede this latter right, while demanding the former with such steady persistence? The answer with them is always at hand, when it is expedient to make it: because “infidelity” is “the last logical consequence of Protestantism” [“Protestantism and Infidelity,” by Dr. Weninger, a Jesuit, page 278]; and, therefore, Protestantism, being thus opposed to the law of God, can not be tolerated or compromised with without sin, and must be exterminated.—“*The Papacy and the Civil Power*,” page 35.

It is because of such considerations as the foregoing that Protestants who understand the situation can not admit the eligibility of a loyal Roman Catholic to the office of president of the United States. It is not his religious belief, but his complete domination by a foreign ruler, that makes him ineligible to that position. No subject of Great Britain can be president of the United States, neither can a subject of the czar of Russia occupy that position. Manifestly, then, a loyal subject of the pope of Rome is excluded also; for these foreign rulers claim no more of their subjects than he does of his—in fact, far less. No Roman Catholic can take oath to support the Constitution of the United States so long as he recognizes the control of the Vatican in the affairs of state. The policy of the Vatican is diametrically opposed to that Constitution.

Contributed Articles

A Letter to President Roosevelt

[It is not surprising that President Roosevelt's vigorous letter, in which he expressed the belief that Roman Catholics would at some time in the future be chosen as presidents of this republic, should awaken a wide-spread interest, and arouse some antagonism. Soon after this letter had been given to the public, a protest was issued in behalf of the Synodical Conference of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of America. In this protest attention is called to the well-known teaching of the Roman Catholic Church concerning the proper relation between church and state, and the position is taken that the Roman Catholic who is loyal to the principles of the papacy could not defend the Constitution of the United States, which requires a separation of church and state. As this letter of the conference to the President deals with questions of vital importance, we republish it entire.—EDITORS OF LIBERTY.]

Hon. Theodore Roosevelt, White House, Washington, D. C.

SIR: Convinced of your deep sincerity, and in full agreement with you as to the fundamental principle of the separation of church and state, as enunciated in your letter to Mr. J. C. Martin, members and pastors of our church, and other churches as well, have been amazed to see the indiscriminate and self-contradictory application you make of that principle itself, and this in the stricture made by you on those who might refuse to vote for a Roman Catholic for the highest office in the gift of our people.

Of course, it is subversive of the basic principle of a real separation of church and state to permit the religious belief or non-belief of any candidate for public office to determine the casting of one's vote for or against such candidate, except when that very religious belief or non-belief antagonizes this principle of

complete separation of church and state, and all those rights and liberties which are included therein and safeguarded thereby. We agree with you, therefore, that those citizens are to be severely criticized who vote against a man merely because he is a Unitarian, a Jew, a Methodist, or any other religionist.

But are you not aware of the fact that the Roman Catholic Church has again and again, for centuries back and down to modern times, through its official head and other authorities, denounced as wholly wrong and as things to be tolerated only so long as they can not be changed, the complete separation of church and state, full religious liberty, freedom of conscience, of speech, and of the press, and that, moreover, it proclaims its teachings and principles to be unchangeable, and boasts of being *semper idem*?

Lest we be accused of either misapprehension or misrepresentation, permit us to quote some of the pertinent official declarations of the authorities of the Roman Catholic Church.

Pope Boniface VIII, in his famous bull, "Unam Sanctam," declared:—

"In this church and in its power are two swords,—to wit, a spiritual and a temporal,—and this we are taught by the words of the gospel. . . . Both, therefore, the spiritual and material swords are in the power of the church, the latter indeed to be used for the church, the former by the church, the one by the priest, the other by the hands of kings and soldiers, but by the will and sufferance of the priest. It is fitting, moreover, that one sword should be under the other, and the temporal authority subject to the spiritual power. . . . We, moreover, proclaim, declare, and pronounce that it is altogether necessary for salvation for every human being to be subject to the Roman pontiff."

Pius IX, in his syllabus of 1864, condemns as an error the proposition that "the church must be separated from the state and the state from the church."

Leo XIII, in his encyclical "On the Christian Constitution of States," Nov. 1, 1885, indorses this declaration of Pius IX; and in his encyclical "On Human Liberty," June 20, 1888, he condemns what he terms "the fatal theory of the right of separation between church and state."

In the same encyclical Leo declares:—

"From what has been said, it follows that it is quite unlawful to demand, to defend, or to grant unconditional freedom of thought, of speech, of writing, or of worship, as if these were so many rights given by nature to man."

Pius IX, in his syllabus of Dec. 8, 1864, on "The State," declares that it has not the right of establishing a national church separate from the pope, nor the right to the entire direction of public schools.

Have these declarations ever been revoked by the Roman Catholic Church? If so, we have gained no knowledge thereof. All that we have read by Roman Catholic writers was merely an attempt either to justify these declarations or to take the edge off of them in order to meet attacks from those who maintain that the Romanist, if he be a loyal adherent of his church, its official teachings and principles, is in irreconcilable conflict with the principles set forth in the Constitution of the United States. Even Cardinal Gibbons, in his book, "The Faith of Our Fathers," makes these significant statements, the best he has to offer in vindication of his church against the charge that it is opposed to civil and religious liberty:—

"A man enjoys religious liberty when he possesses the free right of worshipping God according to the dictates of a right conscience, and of practising the form of religion most in accordance with his duties to God."—*49th edition, 1897, page 264.*

"The church is indeed intolerant in this sense, that she must never confound truth with error; nor can she ever admit that a man is conscientiously free to reject the truth when its claims are convincingly brought home to the mind. Protestants seem to be very much disturbed by some such argument as this: Catholics are very ready now to proclaim freedom of conscience because they are in the minority. When they once succeed in getting the upper hand in numbers and power, they will destroy this freedom because their faith teaches them to tolerate no doctrine other than the Catholic. It is, therefore, a matter of absolute necessity for us that they should never be allowed to get this advantage.

"Now, in all this there is a great mistake, which comes from not knowing the Catholic doctrine in its fulness. I shall not lay it down myself, lest it seem to have been gotten up for the occasion. I shall quote the great theologian Beccanus, who taught the doctrine of the schools of Catholic theology at the time when the struggle was strongest between Catholicity and Protestantism. He says that religious liberty may be tolerated by a ruler when it would do more harm to the state or to the community to repress it. The ruler may even enter into a contract in order to secure to his subjects this freedom in religious matters, and when once a contract is made, it must be observed absolutely in every point, just as every other lawful and honest contract."—*Page 268.*

What else are these obviously mildest declarations of Romanists but a confirmation of the charge that the Roman Catholic Church does not stand for full and perfect religious liberty, as understood by all Americans, and defined in our federal Constitution, that every man shall be free not only to worship God according to the dictates of a "right conscience" and to practise a "religion most in accordance with his duties to God," but according to his conscience



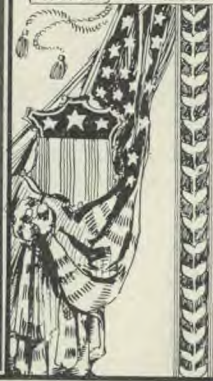
HON. JAMES S. SHERMAN, of NEW YORK, VICE PRESIDENT ELECT



HON. CHAMP CLARK, of MISSOURI, LEADER OF THE MINORITY HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES



HON. ELIHU T. ROOT, SEC. OF STATE WHO WILL SUCCEED HON. T. PLATT AS A SENATOR FROM NEW YORK



HON. PHILANDER C. KNOX, SENATOR FROM PENNSYLVANIA WHO HAS BEEN SELECTED AS SEC. OF STATE IN MR. TAFT'S CABINET



HON. TRUMAN H. NEWBERRY, SECRETARY OF THE NAVY, SUCCESSOR TO HON. VICTOR H. METCALF



and his conception of his duties to God, right or wrong, so long as he is not thereby led to endanger the equal rights and liberties of his neighbor, or to interfere with the free exercise of the government's power in the equal protection of all citizens?

Is any comment necessary on the cardinal's quotation from Becanus to show that it in no wise commits the Roman Catholic Church to the principle of religious liberty, but most clearly decries that principle as an evil to be tolerated only by reason of necessity, "when it would do more harm to the state or to the community to repress it"?

Are we not, then, compelled to maintain that a loyal Roman Catholic who fully understands the allegiance required of him by the pope can never sincerely subscribe to the federal Constitution, or, if he does subscribe to it, never can be expected to abide by it, enforce and defend it? Papacy and Vaticanism can not be separated from the Roman Catholic religion. If any one should entertain an idea that this were possible, let him read Cardinal Gibbons's afore-quoted book.

How, then, could we, as firm believers in the principle of complete separation of church and state, and the liberties based thereon and safeguarded thereby, conscientiously and consistently help to elect to the presidency a member of the Roman Catholic Church, so long as that church does not officially, through its pontiff or church council, revoke its diametrically opposed declarations now on record?

Are the two million and more Lutherans of this country, not to speak of the millions of other Protestants, who take this position for the reasons stated, to be accused of bigotry or fanaticism because of such, their stand, aye, be denounced as being disloyal American citizens? We protest that it is neither personal feeling nor religious antagonism which determines our attitude in this matter, but solely our disagreement with the Roman Catholic Church

on this basic political principle,—a disagreement growing out of the rejection and denunciation by the Roman Catholic Church of that very principle which you admonish all faithfully to uphold not only in theory but in practise.

We do not wish to be understood as though we mean to accuse the bulk of the Roman Catholics of being disloyal American citizens. We sincerely believe a great many do not fully realize the position the hierarchy of their church maintains with reference to the principle in question, especially in view of the outgivings of their teachers in this country; and that if it came to an issue compelling a decision either for the Constitution or the papal hierarchy, they would decide in favor of the former, upholding the Constitution of the United States. Yet, in determining our attitude in this matter, especially when it comes to electing a man to the highest public office, we must be guided by the official teachings of the recognized authorities of the Roman Catholic Church.

We have considered it to be our duty not to keep silence in this matter because, in our judgment, that would have been an act of cowardice, nor do we wish to do any one an injustice, nor in any manner traduce any man or body of men. If, therefore, in aught we have said we are laboring under error, we shall be pleased to have you enlighten us, and with us the millions who occupy the same position, and shall be sincerely grateful to you for such enlightenment. But if we are right in our contention and position, we ask you to show your unquestioned sincerity and courage by an acknowledgment of the correctness of our contention and the attitude based thereon.

We are very respectfully,

WILLIAM SCHOENFELD,

MARTIN WALKER,

*for the New York Pastoral Conference
of the Synodical Conference of the
Lutheran Church.*

The Johnston Sunday Bill — Exceptions

G. B. THOMPSON

SENATE bill 3940, introduced by Senator Johnston, of Alabama, is entitled "An Act for the Proper Observance of Sunday as a Day of Rest in the District of Columbia." This bill, which has been passed by the Senate, and is now in a committee of the House of Representatives, provides, "that it shall be unlawful for any person or corporation in the District of Columbia, on the first day of the week, commonly called Sunday, to labor at any trade or calling, or to employ or cause to be employed his apprentice or servant in any labor or business, *except*"—except what? Here are a few of these exceptions:—

1. "Except in household work or other work of necessity or charity." Here the usual exception found in Sunday bills for works of "necessity and charity" is given. "Household work" is here listed as a necessity. But who is to settle just what household work is necessary?

Then whose "necessity" is meant in the bill? Is it the one who works, or the one for whom the labor is performed? It might be necessary, in order to keep warm, to repair a furnace on Sunday. This might make the work of a plumber or a tinner necessary. A farmer may decide that in order to get his crop planted in time, it is necessary for him to work on Sunday. Or in harvesting the same, he may think it necessary, in order to save his crop from destruction, that he not only work himself, but employ others on that day. Who is to determine this,—the farmer, the judge, or the jury?

What is the word "charity" intended to cover? Is it relieving pain, helping those in trouble, and doing kindly acts? If so, these can be made to cover a multitude of things which Sunday-law advocates do not sanction. It might be a commendable act of charity to chop wood on Sunday for a sick person, or to haul

a ton of coal to a widow. Would this excuse from arrest the man who chopped the wood or hauled the coal?

Nor do we deny the fact that there are works of charity and necessity on the Sabbath, and that these are justified by the words of Christ, "It is lawful to do well on the Sabbath days;" "The Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath." But just what these works are, and when any work is lawful or unlawful on the Sabbath, each individual must decide for himself before God. His own conscience, enlightened by the Word of God, and guided by the Spirit of God and the circumstances connected with each particular case, must determine this, and not some human enactment or court of law.

2. "Except also newspaper publishers and their employees." Why should a man who uses his capital in conducting a newspaper be allowed to work on Sunday any more than the man who uses his capital in building houses, or bridges, or in manufacturing useful articles, all of which are necessary to the comfort and well-being of society? Why exempt the one, and punish the other? Or why should a man who makes his living working in a printing-office be permitted to work on Sunday, while a bricklayer, stone-mason, or mechanic in other lines can be fined and imprisoned for doing honest work on the same day? In what way does this differ from class legislation? The application of this proposed legislative exemption by Congress is evidently unjust as well as absurd.

3. "Except also public-service corporations, in the necessary supplying of service to the people of the District." We are here again involved in doubt as to just who shall decide what is included in "the necessary supplying of service to the people of the District." We presume the intention of the framer of this bill is to exempt the railroads, street-cars, taxicabs, automobiles, and such other public conveyances as may be used in the District. But are these all "necessary?" is the question. In Canada a

rigid Sunday law has been enacted. This law makes provision for works of "necessity." But the running of street-cars on Sunday is prohibited, evidently being considered as not "necessary" in the "supplying of service" to the people of the Dominion.

4. It is further provided in this bill that its provisions shall not be construed so as to prohibit "sacred concerts, nor the regular business of hotels and restaurants on said day; nor to the delivery of articles of food, including meats, at any time before ten o'clock in the morning of said day, from June first to October first; nor to the sale of milk, fruit, confectionery, ice, soda- and mineral-waters, newspapers, periodicals, cigars, drugs, medicines, and surgical appliances; nor to the business of livery stables, or other public, or the use of private, conveyances; nor to the handling and operating of the United States mail."

These provisions permit the holding of "sacred concerts." But who is to decide whether a concert is "sacred,"—those who provide it, those who attend it, the clergy, or the courts? Why should there be any more restriction concerning the delivery of food in June than in May? And why should a man be a criminal, and brought to court for following his usual work at 10:05 A. M., on some Sunday in July, while at 9:55 A. M. he is not a criminal? Think of a thief in court being asked what time of day he committed his deed!

In closing, we can not better express the folly and absurdities of such exemptions as are found in this bill and other similar bills than to quote a statement from "Sabbath Laws in the United States" (page 99), by R. C. Wylie, D. D. Dr. Wylie is a prominent advocate of Sunday laws, but in commenting concerning the exemptions in the Sunday law of Louisiana, he says:—

"The list of exemptions enumerated in the law of Louisiana is so formidable, and some of the things excepted are so objectionable, that serious doubt might be entertained as to the law's utility. It

might be better for the people to engage in some of the things prohibited than to spend the day in the enjoyment of the things excepted."

So this noted apostle of compulsory Sabbath-keeping openly advocates a disregard of the provisions of the Sunday law of Louisiana, as preferable to observing it in all its details, simply because the things excepted do not meet his mind. If a bill with exceptions such as meet Dr. Wylie's mind should be passed, would anybody be permitted then to follow his advice? If not, why not?

The observance of the Sabbath, being a matter of conscience, should be left with the individual and God.

The Labor Unions and Freedom of Speech

C. M. SNOW

THE sentence of imprisonment pronounced upon President Samuel Gompers, Vice-President John Mitchell, and Secretary Frank Morrison of the American Federation of Labor, is regarded as marking a crisis in the history of labor unionism in this country. The sentence was pronounced by Judge Daniel Thew Wright of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia on December 23, and the defendants were admitted to bail, pending the verdict of the District Court of Appeals, to which their case now goes. If the Court of Appeals sustains the decision of Judge Wright, the case will then be taken to the Supreme Court of the United States, provided the Court of Appeals grants a writ of certiorari. If it refuses to grant this writ, the defendants must then enter upon their respective terms of imprisonment, which are, for Mr. Gompers, one year; for Mr. Mitchell, nine months; for Mr. Morrison, six months.

It is not the purpose here to go into the history of this case further than to state the principal facts in its development, that the situation as it now stands may be understood.

As a result of the refusal of the Bucks Stove and Range Company to yield to certain demands of its union employees, the Federation of Labor, in March, 1907, declared a boycott against that company, and published its name on the "unfair" list and the "we don't patronize" list of its official organ. The Federation of Labor then entered on an active campaign to cause

tradesmen to cease handling the Bucks stoves and ranges, and to compel individual members of the Federation to withdraw their patronage from any firm that handled the stoves and ranges manufactured by the boycotted concern. Thus was instituted a boycott not of one firm only, but of every firm in the country that would not submit to the dictation of the American Federation of Labor, and help to ruin the Bucks Stove and Range Company. A suit was brought by the

stove company to enjoin the Federation from continuing the boycott. After a hearing in the case, Judge Gould, of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, issued the injunction on the ground that such a boycott was in itself a violation of law. It is a matter of interest that in Judge Gould's decision there is quoted the following definition of the word "boycott," as given by Judge (now President-Elect) William H. Taft in 1893:—

"A boycott is a combination of many to cause a loss to one person by coercing others, against their will, to withdraw

from him their beneficial business intercourse, through threats that, unless those others do so, the many will cause serious loss to them. . . . Boycotts, though unaccompanied by violence or intimidation, have been pronounced unlawful in every State of the United States where the question has arisen, unless in Minnesota; and they are held to be unlawful in England."



JUDGE DANIEL T. WRIGHT

Who rendered the decision in the case against the officers of the American Federation of Labor for contempt of court

In addition to this the Supreme Court of the United States has decided that the boycott is a violation of the Sherman Anti-trust Law, because it is an action in restraint of trade. That this particular boycott did seek to restrain trade, both State and interstate, can not be denied, and that not of one firm but of many, and not only to restrain, but to crush out, if necessary to its purpose. The case was decided Dec. 17, 1907; but the injunction did not issue until six days

later, when the requisite bond was filed by the plaintiff. Between these two dates a large number of copies of a pamphlet were sent out by the Federation, in which the Bucks Stove and Range Company appeared on the "unfair" list, it being the purpose of the Federation officials to get as many as possible of these pamphlets into the mails before the injunction should issue. Of course the Federation officials knew that many of these pamphlets, in which the boycotted stove company is named as "unfair," would be delivered after the injunction was issued, and it is Judge

Wright's dealing with this feature of the case that has elicited the most criticism. It was the purpose of the Federation to injure the stove company all it could, and as long as it could; yet it is impossible that the injunction could be considered in effect until it was really issued; and when issued, it could not be considered retroactive, that is, covering deeds done previous to its issuance. But the judge holds that inasmuch as the pamphlets were delivered after the injunction issued, and the postal officials were the agents of the Federation in delivering its literature, the Federation is guilty of contempt of court on this count as well as others which it specifies. While there can be no question that the Federation was committing an unlawful act in boycotting at all, there is much question whether the higher court will hold that the defendants are guilty of contempt on this particular count—that is, guilty of disobeying an injunction which was not issued.

The Federation organ, of which Mr. Morrison is editor, discontinued the publication of the stove company's name in

its "unfair" and "we don't patronize" lists, but the same effect was produced by other skilfully worded expressions. Mr. Gompers, in his speeches, made frequent reference to the Bucks Stove and Range Company, ingeniously turning phrases so as not to violate the injunction openly, and yet so as to keep the firm before the members of the Federation as the enemy of organized labor, not on their published "unfair" list, but still "unfair" nevertheless; and Mr. Mitchell, one month after the injunction was issued, presided at a meeting of the United Mine Workers of America, in which a resolution was passed which did in explicit terms place the Bucks Stove and Range Company on the "unfair" list.

Now it is claimed by labor leaders throughout the country that the injunction and its enforcement infringe the free-

dom of the press and of speech which are guaranteed by the Constitution of the nation and the constitutions of all the States. But let it be remembered at the outset that there is something else as well as the freedom of speech and of the press that is guaranteed by the con-



RISKING THEIR LIBERTY FOR THE CAUSE
OF LABOR

Seated are Samuel Gompers and John Mitchell (with an umbrella), while behind them stands Frank Morrison. These men are appealing against jail sentences in a contempt case arising out of their use of the boycott in defiance of a court injunction

stitution of the States and of the United States, and that is the protection of the individual in person, property, and reputation. The national Constitution guarantees the greatest liberty; but every man's liberty must be bounded by every other man's right of protection. This marks the difference between civilization and savagery, between the rule of law and the rule of anarchy. The Constitution guarantees freedom of the press, but it does not guarantee immunity from punishment when that freedom is abused; otherwise it would be impossible to punish him who would use the press to libel another, defame his character, or destroy his property. A man's business is his property. The state is in duty bound to protect a man in the possession of his property. The state must stand between a man's business and him who would ruin it. For that reason the state can not sanction the boycott; it can not sanction means, either direct or indirect, that are used to bring about a boycott, or continue it after it is instituted. To claim that freedom of speech and of the press are infringed when men are restrained from saying or writing that which will bring injury upon another, shows a complete misunderstanding of what that freedom means and what law stands for. While freedom of speech and of the press does not mean that only pleasing things can be said and written, neither does it mean that the press and the platform can be lawfully used to malign and destroy. Such an interpretation of that freedom would mean human passion run riot and human rights trampled in the dust—the football of the mob.

It is not the restriction of freedom of speech and freedom of the press which the Federation fears, so much as the restriction of its right to use the press and the platform to institute and perpetuate boycotts. This has been unionism's strongest weapon in beating down opposition to its demands. Small wonder, then, that it should strenuously oppose

a decision or an injunction which takes from it the strongest weapon in its arsenal.

Judge Wright has been strongly criticized for the vehemence of his language, which it must be admitted is in many places lacking in the usual calmness of judicial decisions. The reason for this will be found in the following extract from that document:—

“Before the injunction was granted, these men announced that neither they nor the American Federation of Labor would obey it; since it issued, they have refused to obey it; and through the American Federation of Labor, disobedience has been successfully achieved, and the law has been made to fail. Not only has the law failed in its effort to arrest a wide-spread wrong, but the injury has grown more destructive since the injunction than it was before. . . . There is a studied, determined, defiant conflict precipitated in the light of open day between the decrees of a tribunal ordained by the government of the federal Union and of the tribunals of another federation, grown up in the land; one or the other must succumb, for those who would unlaw the law are public enemies.”

The judge looked upon the action of the Federation officials as an attack—successful unless prevented—upon the very foundation of civilized society, the law itself. The injunction had failed to prevent the attack. Viewing the matter in this light, the fervid denunciations of the judge may be understood, if not excused. Believing the injunction disobeyed, and the law itself set at naught, there was no course open but to punish the offenders. Criticism of the judge's vehemence should not be allowed to obscure the facts, nor should the plea of “freedom of speech and of the press” be made a shield to protect those who use such freedom to injure and malign. Liberty is not license, and freedom is limited by just laws. These principles must be regarded.

Is Liberty Imperiled?

ALLEN MOON

LIBERTY to worship God according to the dictates of one's conscience is the gift of God. Our fathers fled from the Old World for a place in the wilderness of the New, that they might enjoy liberty of conscience. Their children established a government based upon principles designed forever to safeguard this liberty. This government, in its fundamental law, recognized the right of every man to believe or not to believe, to worship or not to worship, and protected every man in that right.

This recognition has made the United States of America the envy of the liberty-loving of the wide world. From all parts of the globe, men have flocked to the one bright spot, to bask in the sunshine of liberty. But alas! that which was designed to make men free to worship God in God's own way, at the same time opens the gates for the admission of that which has brought ruin to many a government and people, and which has designs upon this.

Almost from the very beginning, those who have sought a monopoly of religion have assailed the principles of liberty of conscience, and have hurled their forces upon the government, to compel aban-

donment of the original exalted purpose. It may be said, to the shame of people known religiously as Protestants, that they have in the past been most active in opposition to the government's determination to show no favoritism in matters of religion; but now, and for some time past, a more formidable foe of the divine principle claims the attention of lawmakers and people. As usual, this is a religious movement, and threatens to engulf the nation as completely as the calamity which recently visited Italy.

During the month of November, 1908, the First American Catholic Missionary Congress convened in the city of Chicago, under the auspices of the Catholic Extension Society of America. Speaking at this congress, and for the society, Hon.

W. Bourke Cockran, of the House of Representatives at Washington, is reported to have said:—

"The church is the true ally of the state. They can not be separated—never, so long as democratic governments are relied upon to rule men. It is true that their organizations may be separate, but they are inherently inseparable and interdependent. It is true that the state needs no longer the support of the church; but under democratic government, the church must ever be the mainstay of the state. It is time that there should be a plain, clear, unmistakable, unanswerable



definition of the Catholic position on this important point."

When we consider that Hon. Mr. Cockran claimed to speak for seventeen millions of people in the United States, it becomes gravely significant. The census of 1850 revealed the fact that one fifty-fifth of the population of the Union were members of the body referred to, and the census of 1900 recorded more than one seventh of the population Catholic. The vast increase is due primarily to the emigration of this element from the Old World.

In a paper read before the Missionary Congress, the question of promoting the emigration and colonization of Catholics was strongly presented. The proposition to colonize these emigrants in non-Catholic communities, for civic as well as religious purposes, received hearty indorsement from the delegates. Plans were perfected for the accomplishment of this work, and the body now speaks confidently of the prospect of an early realization for the church of the declaration of Hon. Mr. Cockran; and also of the further statement of another speaker of the Congress, who said:—

"Protestantism never did and never can convert a nation. This remains for the Catholic Church. Catholic societies are bound together for Catholic purposes, and the question of the day is, Shall the Catholic cause live in America?"

Since this body has enjoyed all the freedom afforded any one by this government, the above can have no meaning other than a purpose to effect complete subjugation and domination. This was further emphasized by the statement of another speaker, who said: "What the church has done for Europe, she will do for America."

Reference was made to the act of the French government in separating church and state, and this was declared to be an act of persecution. If to separate the church from the state is persecution, then to withhold from the church the control

of the state, is oppression, is the logic of the present movement; for it was said that the church must become nationalized in this country.

This First Catholic Missionary Congress was indeed a revelation of the real designs of that church toward the government. In the past, designs upon the people of this nation have been hidden



CARDINAL MERRY DEL VAL, THE PAPAL SECRETARY OF STATE

under various pretexts of intended benevolence. Now, it is regarded safe to discard the cloak, and stand out before the people in the true character. Doubtless this attitude is largely due to courage gained from the example of Protestants.

It is needless to ask, "Are the liberties of the people jeopardized?" "Will this government continue to be an asylum for the priest-ridden of earth?" It is true, as the President of the nation has said, that the Roman Church has an equal right with other religious bodies to promulgate its faith among the people, and by all means open to other bodies to advance its cause. But it is not true that

any religious body has any right, human or divine, to seize the reins of government for the purpose of furthering its ends.

There is a vast difference between liberty to obey the convictions of conscience, and liberty to accept the will of the church, enforced by the power of the state.

A National Lord's Day Alliance For the United States

W. A. COLCORD

NOR content with the organizations already formed, the friends of Sunday enforcement in the United States have formed a new organization, called the Lord's Day Alliance of the United States.

The convention called for this purpose met at Pittsburg, Pa., Dec. 1-3, 1908, in the Second Presbyterian church. In the announcement sent out for the convention, the object of the gathering was stated as follows: "The object will be to enable the friends of the Lord's day to unite in organizing a National Lord's Day Alliance for the United States."

Prominent Sunday-law workers from various parts of the country attended the convention, and gave addresses on such topics as: "The Needs of the Hour as Indicated by Present Conditions in the United States;" "The Sunday Laws of the States;" "The Practical Working of the Lord's Day Alliance of Canada;" "The Wisdom of a Similar Organization in the United States;" and "What Can We Do with a National Association?"

One of the leading speakers present was Rev. T. Albert Moore, secretary of the Lord's Day Alliance of Canada. The prevailing sentiment of the convention seemed to be a desire to return to Puritanical methods, and to effect an organization for the United States similar to the one in Canada, where Protestants and Catholics and labor organizations have united in demanding the compulsory observance of Sunday, and succeeded recently in obtaining from the Dominion

Parliament a strict Sunday law, defeating even the effort to include in it a clause exempting conscientious observers of another day.

The following statements from different speakers are characteristic of the addresses delivered:—

"I believe there is enough Puritan sentiment to conserve the best interests of the Lord's day."

"We live in a land of liberty, yes, of the highest form of liberty; but let it be remembered that it is a liberty regulated by law."

"In this day of organizations we can not accomplish results in any other way."

"In Canada they are ahead of us. They have been accomplishing wonderful things there for preserving the sanctity of the Sabbath."

"Some of us have been down to Harrisburg lobbying. If they see that we are a compact force, they will recognize that. They can ignore individuals, but they can not afford to go against the combined Christian forces."

"We have never yet reached the pinnacle of an effective national organization for the preservation of the Lord's day."

"If we as a church desire to see the return of the people to our sanctuary, we must uphold and establish the laws of the Sabbath; and above all the law of God."

One speaker rejoiced because of the fact that "in some parts there have been some imprisonments under Sunday laws."

These men were evidently impressed with the idea that they were engaged in important business; and indeed they were, though not in the way they thought, for they were planning a movement which, if successful, will overthrow one of the fundamental and most sacred principles of the government of the United States,—that of religious freedom, or the separation of church and state.

In announcing the session for the organization of the new association, and

urging all delegates to be present, the chairman, Dr. T. T. Mutchler, said: "There has never been a session of any men since the Declaration of Independence that means more than the session that is to meet here this afternoon."

As we listened to this strong announcement, we thought: A session called to form an organization to enforce Sunday observance by law may mean *as much* as that which framed the Declaration of Independence, but it certainly does not mean *the same*. That meant liberty, freedom, and equality; this means bigotry, bondage, and oppression. That was the beginning of a new nation, founded on principles of

justice and liberty; this is the beginning of an organization destructive of justice and liberty. That was the dawn of an epoch of civil and religious freedom; this the herald of a night of oppression.

On account of some difficulty in adjusting matters satisfactorily with the officers of the American Sabbath Union, the final steps in perfecting the Lord's Day Alliance of the United States were not taken at this convention, but were left in the hands of a committee, with the power to act. The organization, however, was launched, and we may expect to hear of its doings later.

That the whole movement is religious, and that the underlying thought and ultimate object of the newly formed organization, as its name would imply, is

the religious observance of Sunday, were apparent to any one who listened to the addresses, and took note of the proceedings of the convention.

As with the movement in Canada, while Protestants were the leaders, there was a manifest desire on the part of the convention that Catholics should join in this movement, and labor organizations be induced to add the weight of their influence to it. When all these forces shall combine for the accomplishment of



THE COURT-HOUSE, PITTSBURG, PA.

this thing, we may expect a revival of boycotting measures and persecuting edicts, and can bid adieu to religious liberty in this land.

The Exemption Clause in the Johnston Sunday Bill

K. C. RUSSELL

ONE of the most remarkable features contained in the Johnston Sunday bill for the District of Columbia is its exemption clause in favor of those "who are members of a religious society, who observe as a sabbath any other day in the week than Sunday." This clause at once stamps the bill as unmistakably a

religious measure, for it plainly provides that those who are exempted from its penalty must be members of a religious society who observe another day of the week than Sunday as the Sabbath. No one could possibly question the religious character of such a provision. The bill itself, therefore, is a most flagrant violation of the first amendment to the United States Constitution, which says: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

The bill not only requires the citizen exempted to observe a sabbath, but definitely specifies how he shall observe it, for it must be kept "as herein provided." The state has no more right even indirectly to require a person to observe a sabbath than it has to require him to pray, to be baptized, or to perform any other religious act. Furthermore, it has no more right to define how people shall observe the Sabbath than it has to say how they shall be baptized — by immersion, sprinkling, or pouring.

Again: it will be seen that the passage of this bill would mean the establishing of an inquisition, for, in dealing with those who observe some other day than Sunday, it would be necessary for the state to determine whether they are really members of a "religious society," and also whether they have observed the Sabbath as defined by the law. It must be evident to all that at best such a provision for those who observe any other day is only an act of toleration. It should also be remembered in this connection that toleration is not liberty, but, instead, is the first step toward oppression.

Even though an exemption for those who observe another day were granted without any of these restrictions, there would be no guaranty that it would be of permanent character, for the same power that could exempt one from the penalty of the law has the authority to withdraw such an exemption.

At the hearing of the celebrated Blair Sunday Rest bill in the United States

Senate, Feb. 18, 1890, the reason was plainly stated, by one of the champions of that bill, why the observers of the seventh day of the week should be granted an exemption from the penalty provided in the bill: "We have given them [those who observe the seventh day of the week], an exemption clause, and that we think will take the wind out of their sails." It will be noted from this that at first it was not designed to provide any exemption for seventh-day observers, but to pacify them until the Sunday law should be secured, they added one.

The present Johnston Sunday bill (Senate bill 3940), before it was amended, contained no exemption clause for those who observe another day of the week as the Sabbath, and also Senate bill, No. 6535, for a Sunday law in the District, contains no exemption for seventh-day observers. Thus it will be seen that, as in the case of the Blair bill, the author of this bill (S. 3940) did not design that it should exempt those who observe another day of the week as the Sabbath. The *Literary Digest* of Oct. 13, 1908, quoting from the *Christian Observer* regarding the purposes of the Federation of the Sunday Rest Associations of America, says: "Among the things demanded [during the first session of the Sixtieth Congress] was to secure a Sunday law for the District of Columbia, which would prohibit unnecessary business, such as the selling of candies, cigars, etc., as well as labor, and that no exception be made on account of religion."

Let none be deceived, therefore, by this apparently beneficent provision to exempt those "who are members of a religious society, who observe as the Sabbath another day in the week than Sunday, . . . as herein provided."

Every effort to justify or palliate the evil of religious legislation by offering an exemption clause on religious grounds, is simply an open confession of the religious character of the legislation sought, and is one of the clearest proofs of a union of church and state.

State Indorsements of the Famous Sunday Mail Reports of 1829 and 1830

W. A. COLCORD

JUST now, when the question of Sunday legislation is so prominently before Congress, a study of the famous Congressional Sunday Mail Reports of 1829 and 1830 is eminently in place. These reports were not only the voice of Congress on this question at that time, but they expressed the sentiments of a large share of the intelligent, thinking people of the country. They were masterly documents, and their candid arguments, their cogent reasonings, and their unanswerable logic carried conviction wherever read.

It is perhaps not generally known that these reports received the hearty indorsement of various State legislatures soon after their adoption by Congress, as well as the commendation of the public at large. But such is the case. In its memorial indorsing the Senate Report of 1829, the General Assembly of Indiana, Feb. 15, 1830, said:—

“That we view all attempts to introduce sectarian influence into the councils of the nation as a violation of both the letter and the spirit of the Constitution of the United States and of this State, and at the same time dangerous to our civil and religious liberties.”

“That all legislative interference in matters of religion is contrary to the genius of Christianity; and that there are no doctrines or observances inculcated by the Christian religion which require

the arm of civil power either to enforce or to sustain them.

“That we consider every connection between church and state at all times dangerous to civil and religious liberty.”

On Jan. 22, 1831, the Senate and the House of Representatives of the State of Alabama, in General Assembly convened, passed a joint resolution, stating that such action on the part of Congress “would be a violation of the spirit of the Constitution;” and “repugnant to the principles of a free government;” and added:—

“*Be it further resolved*, That the sentiment expressed in the report of the committee at the last session of Congress, in opposition to the suspension of the mail on Sunday, is entitled to the highest consideration of the friends of the Constitution, and every lover of civil and political freedom.”

Another resolution instructed their senators and requested their representatives in Congress “to use their exertions in opposition to any measure” of this kind.

A memorial adopted by the General Assembly of Illinois, Jan. 21, 1831, said:—

“Inasmuch as it is believed that such an innovation upon our republican institutions would establish a precedent tendency dangerous to our privileges as

freemen, by involving a legislative decision in a religious controversy on a point in which good citizens may honestly differ; and whereas, a free expression of sentiment by the General Assembly on the subject may tend, in a great degree, to avert so alarming an evil as the union of church and state; therefore,—



COL. RICHARD M. JOHNSON OF KENTUCKY, WHO WROTE THE FAMOUS SUNDAY MAIL REPORTS OF 1829 AND 1830

"Resolved by the people of the State of Illinois, represented in the General Assembly, That the able report made by Col. Richard M. Johnson, of Kentucky, in the Senate of the United States, on the 19th January, 1829, . . . meets our decided approbation."

In view of the present wide-spread agitation for Sunday legislation, and the fact that no fewer than ten Sunday bills were introduced at the last session of Congress, it would be well if these masterly reports of Col. Richard M. Johnson could again be scattered throughout the land, and read by the people. It would doubtless be well also if State legislatures, and that of the State of Alabama in particular, one of whose senators introduced no fewer than three of these measures, should again express themselves upon the question of Sunday legislation, and instruct their senators, and request their representatives in Congress, to "use their exertions in opposition to any measure" of the kind.

The Sunday-Law Movement in California

J. O. CORLISS

FOR certain reasons California is now an object of much solicitation on the part of many people. It is the only State in the American Union without a Sunday law. This is not because well-organized efforts have not been made to place such a law among the statutes of the most western State of the continent. Four attempts in this direction have been made by religious bodies, and four failures stand on record against these undertakings.

Yet California appears to have about the same sorts and forms of religious belief as other States having Sunday laws. There seems also to be among these the average enthusiasm in all religious enterprises. No noticeable difference, in fact, is discernible between the people of California and those of the Eastern States in the usual course of things, except that of thrifty industry.

Another attempt to saddle California with a legal weekly rest day is already organized, and the bill looking to that end has been drafted, though at this writing the legislature has not convened. The bill, therefore, has its origin outside of the legally constituted lawmakers of the State. This fact leads to the inquiry of the bill's authorship. A statement designed for publication, in which are set forth the limitations of the proposed law regarding a certain class of religionists, was duly signed thus: "G. L. Tufts, Author of the Sunday Rest Bill."

From the list of proposed exemptions, "great care" evidently has been used not to offend any of the sporting element of the State, lest some part of its constituency become alarmed, and organize a campaign against the measure. In this form the law is to be simply an "educator" until public sentiment will sustain an effort to make it "ideal." What the *ideal* law will be, according to the demands of this churchly Reform Bureau, can be known only by the concessions to be granted it by the civil power.

One thing, however, seems certain. Since the church power has framed the Sunday-rest bill, if, when it asks the legislature to make it a law of the state, the representatives of the state accede to the request, then the state has united with the church to make a law designed to further the aims of the church. Having secured the one victory, the church will make further demands on the state, and in a short time, the history of the "Holy Roman Empire" will be repeated.

Let not the listless or proud carper satisfy his mind by saying that such a prediction is trivial. Already initial steps are being taken to secure to the church the power of the state. The federation of the thirty-three church sects, with diverse beliefs regarding Christian life and church polity, has not come about for the purpose of giving the gospel a louder note and wider range. This was already being wrought out by the separate denominations, each in its appointed way. Besides, the new arrangement does not



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The National Conservation Commission Which Met in December, 1908, in Washington, D. C.

The commission was divided into four sections: one on Forests; one on Mines and Mining; one on the Improvement of Arid Land; and one on Public Waterways. The illustration presents the members of each section, with the appropriate background. The general chairman was Gifford Pinchot, chief of the United States Forest Service, whose picture is in the center of the page. The names of the members of each section are given herewith, beginning in each case with the chairman in the upper left-hand corner, and following the pictures around the group, to the right:—

Members of the section on Forests: Reed Smoot, Chairman; J. B. White, Henry S. Graves, William Irvine, Newton C. Blanchard, Charles L. Pack, Irving Fisher, Overton W. Price, Gustav H. Schwab, Champ Clark, Charles F. Scott, Albert J. Beveridge.

Members of the section on Mines and Mining: John Dalzell, Chairman; Philo Hall, James L. Slayden, Andrew Carnegie, Charles R. Van Hise, John Mitchell, John Hays Hammond, J. A. Holmes, I. C. White, Lee S. Overman, Frank P. Flint, Joseph M. Dixon.

Members of the section on the Improvement of Arid Land: Knute Nelson, Chairman; N. B. Broward, James J. Hill, George C. Pardee, Charles MacDonald, Murdo Mackenzie, T. C. Chamberlin, George W. Woodruff, Frank C. Goudy, Herbert Parsons, Swagar Sherley, Francis E. Warren.

Members of the section on Public Waterways: Theodore E. Burton, Chairman; William Warner, John H. Bankhead, W. J. McGee, F. H. Newell, Herbert Knox Smith, Joseph E. Ramsdell, W. L. Marshall, G. F. Swain, Thomas R. Shipp, Jonathan P. Dolliver, Francis G. Newlands.

anticipate the breaking down, or modification, of denominational dogmas. No; each sect intends to maintain its distinct organization, as in the past. What, then, can be the object of federation? This has been well stated by some of the promoters of that organization, as follows:—

“This is an age of federation. At last the different denominations are realizing it, and joining in an offensive and defensive warfare. We should note the many sacred movements of moral and civic righteousness, and join their forces. We can gain much more by uniting with those who are seeking a similar end than we can by a single combat.”—*Boston Defender, October, 1906.* The same paper further outlines its case: “One very evident need of federated reform is seen in connection with our lawmaking bodies, whether they meet in Washington or in different State capitals. It is the duty of the reform forces to see that men are sent to these places who shall represent the ideas which they [the reform forces] hold most important and sacred.”

Is it not plain that the design of the federated churches is to control civil legislation, or rather, that it may change the civil legislature into one that shall do the bidding of these united churches? Is any one so blind that he can not see that, when this state of things obtains, every civil office in the state will be at the disposal of the churches? Would not that be a return of the church-and-state power of past ages?

Well, then, the first thing these churches unite in demanding is a universal legal rest day in each week. All the States except California already have some kind of a Sunday law,—not an “ideal” one, be it remembered. Every possible effort, open or concealed, is to be brought to bear to wheel California into line this winter, so that the federated churches, through their ally, the National Sabbath Alliance, may move with a united front throughout the land to secure an ideal Sunday-rest law as the ultimate of their efforts.

Public Opinion

*Pertinent Extracts from Various Writers
Relating to Religious Liberty*

A Supposed Case

IF any great form of religion now existing should turn itself into a political organization, form secret societies for the control of the government, command its votaries how to vote, call down the curses of heaven upon them if they dared to vote otherwise than instructed, and subtly, as an organization, endeavor to ensnare every candidate nominated for election, and require every one of its members in every sphere of life to take instructions from it as to voting and conducting himself in public office— we mean if any religion, Jewish or Christian, should thus become a controlling force which demanded the diversion of the public funds to its own purposes, either upon the direct line with arrogance and publicity or obliquely by personal seductions, it would be a proper thing for all other religionists and all citizens with no religion to refuse to vote for a candidate thus enchained.—*The Christian Advocate.*

An Impending Peril

WHEN the founders of this republic placed in the Constitution of the United States the article, “Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof,” they performed the greatest service in the cause of liberty that the world had ever witnessed. Great had been the Declaration of Independence, great had been the revolutionary struggle, great had been the proclamation of political liberty, great had been the establishment of a republic; but greater far than all these wondrous achievements was this definite indication that in this new government there was to be a complete separation of church and state.

Would that there were no disquieting symptoms that determined and constant efforts are being made to undermine this basic principle; would that there were no narrow spirit existing through the length and breadth of the land, that attempts to arouse prejudice against a candidate for the highest office in the gift of the people,—a man noble and true and fit in all respects,—to arouse prejudice against such a man because he is a Unitarian and does not believe in the divinity of Christ. There is a movement ramifying into all parts of the land, the object of whose leaders and promoters it is to resurrect the unholy alliance between church and state which the fathers of the republic thought they had made impossible by making the separation a part of the law of the land.—*David Philipson, in The Chicago Israelite, Dec. 12, 1908.*

Religion in Politics

SUPPOSE a candidate "religiously" believes that he owes allegiance primarily, not to his government, but to an ecclesiastical potentate, who claims infallibility in temporal as in spiritual things; and believes, too, that this potentate's claims to universal allegiance from all the rulers of all the earth are well founded, though in every country where his supremacy has been acknowledged it has resulted in the ignorance of the masses, in religious, and social, and political intolerance and despotism. Is it an "outrage" for the elector about to deposit his ballot to stop and "religiously" inquire into the "religious belief" of this candidate for his suffrage? If a candidate's church has, on his entering it, exacted from him a vow of primary allegiance to its ecclesiastical potentate, he must either prove false to his vow or to his government. In either case, he is not to be trusted.

Suppose, again, that a part of a candidate's religion is a belief that it is morally and politically right to have many wives instead of only one wife, and that

government should be so framed and conducted as to protect him in his polygamous practises? Is it an "outrage" for the voter to agitate the question of that candidate's religious conviction?—*Extract from an open letter to President Roosevelt from Dr. Silas C. Swallow, of Harrisburg, Pa., a former candidate for the presidency on the Prohibition ticket.*

The True Protestant Position

ROMAN CATHOLICS in this country have taken great offense at the action of those Lutheran and Baptist bodies which have disapproved of President Roosevelt's published letter sanctioning the idea of a Catholic president of this republic. They loudly deny the statements made in the letter of protest published by the Lutheran clergy of New York, but in quoting from this letter they are careful not to give that part of it which quotes official papal utterances proving the truth of the contention that the pope assumes the right to direct his followers in political as well as in religious affairs. They dare not quote this part of the Lutheran letter. They do not want such testimony brought into public view.

In defending the position of their church in the matter, Catholics point to the fact that there have been many instances of church and state union in Protestant governments, and that Protestants in this nation are seeking for such a union to-day. In this the Catholics are correct; and it only emphasizes the truth that every justification by Protestants of such a union exposes them to the charge of inconsistency, which Catholics are not slow to bring against them. The true Protestant position never sanctions union of church and state. The unions of that sort which have been maintained by Protestant nations were based not on the principles of Protestantism, but on those of the papacy, from which Protestants were not in many cases able to shake themselves wholly free.—*The Watchman.*

Religion and Science

The Unsettled Controversy

EDITORIAL

It is plain to any candid observer that the old controversy between Biblical religion and the teachings of modern science is no nearer a final settlement than when the conflict was first begun.

It is true that some who have been regarded as leaders of religious thought have attempted to bring about a reconciliation by yielding much of the ground to the claims of scientists, but great questions are never settled by a compromise. The interpreters of modern science will be satisfied with nothing short of a complete denial of the supernatural; and while there are a few of the most advanced thinkers in the theological field who have practically granted this claim, there is still a large number who have not yet departed so far from the old landmarks, while there is still another contingent who maintain the old beliefs and place the authority of the Scriptures above the deductions of modern science.

The latest word of science concerning this controversy is found in "Science and Immortality," by Sir Oliver Lodge, which has recently appeared. From this we learn that the very nub of the controversy is found in the nature and being of God and in his relation to his created works. To quote:—

"How can it be said that the atmosphere of modern science and the atmosphere of religious faith are incompatible? Wherein lies the incompatibility? My reply briefly is—and this is the kernel of what I have to say—that orthodox modern science shows us a self-contained and self-sufficient universe, not in touch with anything beyond or above itself,—the general trend and outline of it known; nothing supernatural or miraculous, no intervention of beings other than ourselves being conceived possible."

"Is the world controlled by a living

Person, accessible to prayer, influenced by love, able and willing to foresee, to intervene, to guide and wistfully lead, without compulsion, spirits in some sort akin to himself? Or is the world a self-generated, self-controlled machine, complete and fully organized for movement, either up or down, for progress or degeneration, according to the chances of heredity and the influence of environment?"

We have long maintained that a consistent evolutionist could not believe in such a personal God as is revealed in the Scriptures, and we think it a decided advantage to the cause of religion that the leading exponent of modern science should now distinctly disavow his belief in any personal Being as the Creator and Ruler of the universe. This makes the ground of the controversy clear, and from this standpoint we shall discuss this question in this department of this magazine.

God in Nature

MRS. E. G. WHITE

THE things of nature upon which we look to-day give us but a faint conception of Eden's beauty and glory. Yet much that is beautiful remains. Nature testifies that One infinite in power, great in goodness, mercy, and love, created the earth, and filled it with life and gladness. Even in their blighted state, all things reveal the handiwork of the great Master Artist. Though sin has marred the form and beauty of the things of nature, though on them may be seen traces of the work of the prince of the power of the air, yet they still speak of God. In the briars, the thistles, the thorns, the tares, we may read the law of condemnation; but from the beauty of natural things, and from their wonderful adaptation to our needs and our happiness, we may learn that God still loves us, that

his mercy is yet manifested to the world.

"The heavens declare the glory of God;
And the firmament showeth his handi-
work.

Day unto day uttereth speech,
And night unto night showeth knowl-
edge.

There is no speech nor language,
Where their voice is not heard."

Apart from Christ, we are still incapable of interpreting rightly the language of nature. The most difficult and humiliating lesson that man has to learn is his own inefficiency in depending upon human wisdom, and the sure failure of his efforts to read nature correctly. Of himself he can not interpret nature without placing it above God. He is in a condition similar to that of the Athenians, who, amid their altars dedicated to the worship of nature, had one inscribed, "To the unknown God." God was indeed unknown to them. He is unknown to all who, without the guidance of the divine Teacher, take up the study of nature. They will assuredly come to wrong conclusions.

In its human wisdom the world knows not God. Its wise men gather an imperfect knowledge of him from his created works; but this knowledge, so far from giving them exalted conceptions of God, so far from elevating the mind and the soul, and bringing the whole being into conformity with his will, tends to make men idolaters. In their blindness, they exalt nature and the laws of nature above nature's God.

God has permitted a flood of light to be poured upon the world in the discoveries of science and art; but when professedly scientific men reason upon these subjects from a merely human point of view, they are sure to err. The greatest minds, if not guided by the Word of God, become bewildered in their attempts to investigate the relations of science and revelation. The Creator and his works are beyond their comprehension; and because these can not be explained

by natural laws, Bible history is pronounced unreliable.

Those who question the reliability of the Scripture records, have let go their anchor, and are left to beat about upon the rocks of infidelity. When they find themselves incapable of measuring the Creator and his works by their own imperfect knowledge of science, they question the existence of God, and attribute infinite power to nature.

In true science there can be nothing contrary to the teaching of the Word of God; for both have the same author. A correct understanding of both will always prove them to be in harmony. Truth, whether in nature or in revelation, is harmonious with itself in all its manifestations. But the mind not enlightened by God's Spirit will ever be in darkness in regard to his power. This is why human ideas in regard to science so often contradict the teaching of God's Word.

The work of creation can never be explained by science. What science can explain the mystery of life?

The theory that God did not create matter when he brought the world into existence, is without foundation. In the formation of our world, God was not indebted to pre-existing matter. On the contrary, all things, material or spiritual, stood up before the Lord Jehovah at his voice, and were created for his own purpose. The heavens and all the host of them, the earth and all things therein, are not only the work of his hand; they came into existence by the breath of his mouth.

"Through faith we understand that the worlds were framed by the word of God; so that things which are seen were not made of things which do appear."

"By the word of the Lord were the heavens made;

And all the host of them by the breath of his mouth. . . .

He spake, and it was;

He commanded, and it stood fast."

Men of the greatest intellect can not

understand the mysteries of Jehovah as revealed in nature. Divine inspiration asks many questions which the most profound scholar can not answer. These questions were not asked that we might answer them, but to call our attention to the deep mysteries of God, and to teach us that our wisdom is limited; that in the surroundings of our daily life there are many things beyond the comprehension of finite minds; that the judgment and purposes of God are past finding out. His wisdom is unsearchable.

Skeptics refuse to believe in God, because with their finite minds they can not comprehend the infinite power by which he reveals himself to men. But God is to be acknowledged more from what he does not reveal of himself than from that which is open to our limited comprehension. Both in divine revelation and in nature, God has given to men mysteries to command their faith. This must be so. We may ever be searching, ever inquiring, ever learning, and yet there is an infinity beyond.

After the Higher Criticism — What?

A FEW days ago a professor in the University of Chicago was reported as saying that Christianity is not of divine or miraculous origin:—

“It is not a religion from a god, but an achievement of man, who created his own gods, in ancient times, in order that he might have them to help him in his defenselessness and ignorance; to aid him in conquering his foes, and to dispel the darkness of his future, and the fear of death. More and more, people are giving up the idea that their religion is something handed down to them from a divine source. . . . Consequently, religion is on a more rational basis, as people are cultivating it just as they cultivate music, language, science, and morality.”

To verify this quotation is hardly necessary; for if this particular man did not

say this particular thing, the words fairly represent the attitude of many of our higher critics. Their comments recall the satire of Kipling's “story of Evarra—man—maker of gods in lands beyond the sea.” It is all very well to protest, as the higher critics do, that the Bible still remains one of the noblest monuments of literature. In the past, people have not cared whether this Book was literature or not; the vital point was that it was the inerrant Word of God, the infallible rule of life. If it be robbed of this authority, what, we may ask, is science offering as a substitute? What is to come after higher criticism has done its work?

We put the question in no spirit of hostility. Far from it. We would have the truth at any cost. We are not among those who would cling to a superstition because it happens to be comfortable, or because it helps to keep order among the masses of the rude and ignorant. We would not dwell in a fool's paradise. If the church rests its claims on certain traditions and documents, we would have those traditions and documents submitted to the most searching tests; for nothing can be gained in the long run by building either a house or a church on a foundation of sand. If we have been deceived as to the origin of the Bible and the sacraments, if the ten commandments were not handed down from Sinai, let us face the disagreeable facts. But let us also face the facts that if the moral law is not God-given, if the fear of hell and the hope of heaven are illusions, the average man will not look upon life and its duties quite as he did a few decades ago. Clergymen sometimes attempt to conceal the change from themselves and their followers by sticking desperately to the old phrases,—though in a new sense,—and by sweeping generalizations about the unvarying validity of the essential sanctions of morality. But educated people perceive the hollowness of such formulas. Accepting the methods, if not in every case the detailed results, of scientific criticism, they turn to our pro-

fessed spiritual guides for some reconstruction of creed that shall touch the emotions as did the old which is now destroyed; or, as Wilfrid Ward has put it, for something that shall keep "a truly spiritual ideal of life . . . untainted by the maxims of an unbelieving generation," and shall help "the affections and the imagination against an importunately visible world."

There are, we grant, men of stoic temper with whom such considerations weigh little. They will pursue their way steadfast and unterrified, though the earth rock beneath their feet. Few of us, however, are made of such stern stuff. For the rank and file of humanity it is not exhilarating to reflect that the night is behind and before us; that our tiny globe is but one of a million spinning through the unfathomable gulfs of the universe; that we ourselves are but microscopic specks crawling for a little while in the dim and fleeting light; and that our consolation and our bulwark have been a few silly fables of our own feeble invention. . . .

A cold, relentless, impersonal power, even though it make for righteousness, is not the same thing as a Father that pitieth his children. For the jubilant lines,—

"Jesus lives! No longer now
Can thy terrors, Death, appal us;
Jesus lives! by this we know
Thou, O Grave, canst not enthrall us,
Alleluia!"

we have the lament:—

"Now he is dead! Far hence he lies
In the lorn Syrian town;
And on his grave, with shining eyes,
The Syrian stars look down."

What, then, does science say to those who long to feel that the eternal God is their refuge, and that underneath are the everlasting arms?

The difficulty is staggering, but the duty of the leaders of Christianity is none the less imperative. They can not much longer postpone the task of addressing themselves to it with energy.

For at present most of the churches seem to be drifting without chart, compass, or pilot. We hear on every side the complaint that men of character and capacity will not enter the ministry, but there was never a time when character and capacity were more needed for this great business of readjusting ancient beliefs to modern knowledge. No ecclesiastical organization can retain its vitality or can serve mankind unless it can lift them above their trials, and fortify them against temptation; for what shall it profit us to turn from the doubts and hesitations of our daily toil to the profounder doubts and more disquieting hesitations of a stumbling, groping church, uncertain whence it came and whither it goes? "Thou art the true peace of the heart," cried the author of the "Imitatio," "thou art its only rest; out of thee all things are full of trouble and unrest. In this peace that is in thee, the one chiefest eternal Good, I will lay me down and sleep." But for the higher critics and their confused disciples of to-day the promise of a peace which passeth all understanding is nothing more than an empty echo from the age of faith.—*The Nation*, Dec. 24, 1908.

Reason and Faith

GEORGE MC CREADY PRICE

PROTESTANTISM is dying. Within a generation we have watched her sicken and decline, have watched the hectic flush o'erspread her cheek, until now the very convulsions of death seem to be racking her frame. Though every inducement in the way of entertainments, social brilliance, and intellectual culture is pressed into service, the world still allures her children, and the scientific skepticism of the day makes sport of the doctrines she used to teach, till the rising generation is ashamed of the great truths for which the Reformers gave their lives. Those who are not beguiled in this way are duped into following some of the many religious fakes arising like mushrooms on every side, or per-

chance if classically or pietistically inclined, they find a welcome at the ever-open doors of the so-called "Holy Catholic Church."

Yes; Protestantism is dying; but why? The primary reason, of course, is that she has failed to live up to the advancing light as it came to her, and so has been left in darkness. The details of the how and the why might be traced if we had the time, and we would find many causes at work, and many instructive principles involved. Here we can dwell on only one feature, though large and important, which has prepared the way for the unscientific delusions of our time, of which the "New Thought" and the "New Theology" are the full-blown flower.

On the awakening of the human mind from the slumber of the Dark Ages, man had God's two books before him, the written Word and the book of nature. Eagerly he studied both; and so long as the study of the latter was subordinated to that of the former, or so long as the Bible was allowed its proper place as the key to the mysteries of God's larger book, the human race made rapid progress in understanding these two great revelations.

But gradually and unconsciously the world began to use the study of the details of the things of creation in a way calculated to becloud the mind, and obscure creation itself. The great facts of nature which may be discovered by the use of the senses, give us data for forming definite conclusions by inductive methods of reasoning. And so long as we confine our conclusions to subjects regarding which we have *all* the data in hand and understand them perfectly, our conclusions have all the force and value of correct reasoning. That is, so long as we do not exceed the limits of our data by jumping at conclusions beyond the scope of what we have in hand, we are safe. But in the very nature of things, our data concerning the universe are in little, separate groups, or patches, not perceptibly connected with each other; while immeasurably higher

and broader than any of these conclusions based on sense perception are the great spiritual truths of revelation, such as creation and redemption, which ought ever to be given power to guide and shape all our investigations of the book of nature. With these as the supreme test of any new idea, we have a right to be suspicious of anything based on the scattering, fragmentary evidence we can glean from the field of nature, which is essentially out of joint with the far more certain, far better-established truths of revelation.

Inductive methods of reasoning are of value. They have a high place in the development of the human mind, and constitute one of the ways in which God designed that we should attain knowledge. But there is a higher light than inductive reasoning,—a light beneath which all nature is illuminated,—and this light comes from God's Word, or may be flashed into the soul by the search-light of God's Spirit. If the knowledge of nature that we can gain through sense perception and inductive reasoning is used only as a stepping-stone to the great temple of God's truth, or as an encouragement to faith, it is being used as it was designed. But when it becomes the all in all, when the investigator ignores the higher light from revelation given to guide us amid the intricate mazes of scientific investigation, then such a study becomes a delusion and a snare; and the human mind, forming universal conclusions in a haphazard way from its narrow, limited data, will always find it has been tricked regarding the most solemn questions of origin and destiny.

Let me restate this matter, for it is of supreme importance. By no means within our power can we, by facts from nature alone, gain such a broad view of our relationship to nature and the God of nature that we can safely depend upon the conclusions thus formed. Altogether too many factors in the equation have been neglected. We know how our ordinary senses will deceive and trick us at

every turn, until trained to see and feel and hear. And in the same way our reason, though it is one of the noblest faculties we possess, is not a safe or a sufficient guide in matters relating to duty and destiny. It needs divine enlightenment to keep us within safe lines; and it was for this very purpose that God gave us his written Word.

But for these many years the Protestant world has not used the Bible as a guide to the study of the book of nature. It has not considered spiritual law any higher, or plainer, or more important than the glimpses we can obtain of physical law. It has not considered the moral atrocities involved in the evolution doctrine any surer or better way of gauging the worthlessness of this theory than the long, devious reasonings and uncertain data connected with biology and geology. With infatuated confidence in the torch-light glimmerings of scientific reasoning, it has berated the Bible, the light of heaven, because it did not sanction the conclusions thus obtained; and of late years has gone so far as to give up using the Bible in the old-fashioned way, and has demanded a complete reconstruction of theology in accordance with the fashionable theories of science. Protestantism, which gained her name and her reason for existence because she said that the Bible, and the Bible only, should be our guide in all matters of moral and religious belief and practise, has now so far denied the historic doctrine of her origin that she has renounced the Bible for the teachings of so-called modern science. The church which boldly defended the Bible against venerable ecclesiastical tradition, has now quietly surrendered her guide-book to the noisy arrogance of science. Surely another reformation, a revival of old-time Protestantism, is the next thing in order. The problem before the world in the sixteenth century was the Bible versus ecclesiastical tradition; the twentieth-century problem is to defend the Bible against the dogmatism and inconsequent reasoning of so-called science.

An Unsatisfactory Compromise

THE more the man of science reads, the more he suspects that Sir Oliver Lodge is simply giving science away for the sake of reconciliation; and the more the man of religion reads, the more clearly he sees that he is giving religion away. Take the man of religion. Does Sir Oliver Lodge accept the statement that the blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth us from all sin? If he does not, there is no reconciliation. The warden of the marshes is not protecting valuable territory; he is simply riding over waste land. He is simply looking after a waste and dreary wilderness, wherein is no water. And how mocking his reconciliation to a thirsty traveler! "If any man thirst, let him come unto me and drink." Unto *me*, and unto *me* only; for the Son of man came to give his life a ransom. The scientist, if we may use Mr. Johnston Ross's ugly word, has to do with physical things, with things which he can taste, and see, and smell. The religionist has to do with spiritual things, with things which he can not taste or touch. What reconciliation is possible? The religionist may be also a man of science, and the scientist may become also a religious man. That is the only reconciliation. There is no reconciliation conceivable between things that can not even be compared.—*From a Review of Sir Oliver Lodge's "Man and the Universe," in the Expository Times for December, 1908.*

ONE of the most interesting of recent discoveries in Egypt is that of the hieroglyphic record of the seven years of famine described in Genesis. The inscriptions tell that the Nile did not overflow for seven years, and that therefore the vegetation withered and failed, the land was devoid of crops, and famine, pestilence, and misery devastated the country. The date of record is 1700 B. C., which is the date of the close of the years of famine as given in the book of Genesis.—*Selected.*

Temperance

Alcohol as a Chief Cause of Crime

ACCORDING to the modern view, criminality implies, to some extent, defective mentality. A man with normal mental vision realizes intuitively that a law-abiding course enhances his own interests as well as those of the community.

If he departs from such a course, it is only under the stress of unusual temptation, or at a time when his judgment is impaired—in particular, that judgment as to social relations which we commonly speak of as "moral sense."

Now, it is a characteristic effect of alcohol to produce impairment of this highest mental faculty while at the same time stimulating various lower propensities and passions. We might infer, almost without argument, therefore, that an agent which inflames the passions and lowers the moral sense

must make for the commission of crime. This inference, as regards alcohol, is abundantly justified by every-day experience; yet perhaps few people fully appreciate the power of this agent to interfere with the orderly course of society. It is rather startling, for example, to read the declaration of the Lord Chief Justice of England that, "if sifted, nine tenths of the crime of England and Wales could

be traced to drink." But when we examine the abundant statistics, and note the force of their unsifted and, therefore, highly conservative verdict, we are led to feel that the estimate is by no means unreasonable, and that it may be applied with equal justice to practically every civilized nation.

Thus the famous investigation of the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Statistics revealed the fact that eighty-four per cent of all criminals under conviction in the correctional institutions of that State owed "the condition which induced the crime" to intemperate habits. The investigation included the inmates of such minor correctional institutions as jails and workhouses, a very large proportion of whom were arrested for being "drunk and disorderly;" but if these were excluded, and attention confined to charges other than drunkenness, alco-

hol could still be made responsible for 50.88 per cent, or more than half, of all crimes. An almost identical result was reached quite independently by the investigators of the Committee of Fifty, who very carefully scrutinized the records of 13,402 convicts in seventeen prisons and reformatories scattered through twelve States. The investigation did not include ordinary jails, and



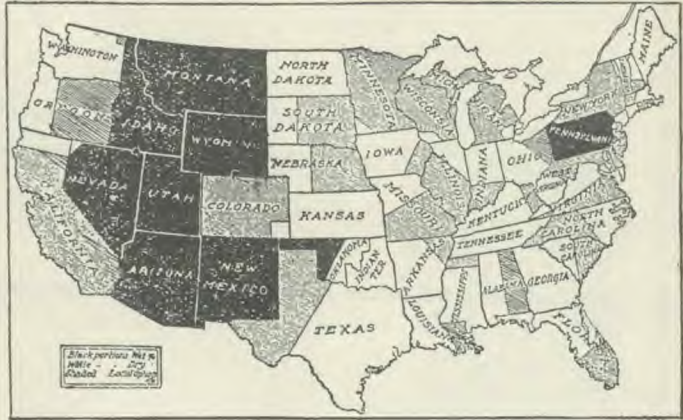
SPEAKING OF VICE —

therefore took no account of "persons convicted for misdemeanors, drunkenness, or violation of the liquor laws." The investigation was conducted with great care, in many instances by the chaplains, in others by the superintendents of the prisons and reformatories in question. The results showed such discrepancies as must be expected where comparatively small numbers of cases are investigated by different observers, the cases in which intemperance was a recognized cause of crime varying from 26.16 per cent in one institution to 72.47 per cent in another. The average, however, was 49.95 per cent, a percentage which the committee puts forward with much confidence as representing "an approximate expression of the truth."

It is very justly urged that the agreement between these figures and those of the Massachusetts Bureau (as just cited) "is too striking to need further comment."

It is of interest to note that the institution whose inmates showed the lowest percentage of intemperance in the above-cited investigation of the Committee of Fifty was Sing Sing prison. At first glance this seems surprising, since this prison is recruited so largely from New York City. The explanation is found in the fact that only first-term men are sent to Sing Sing, which therefore "gets an unusual class of prisoners; in fact, a great many are from the higher walks of life, men in business and the professions, as well as trusted employees, etc." It is a matter of course that intemperance should figure as a relatively infrequent cause of crime among this class of prisoners; yet even here, as we have just noted, one man in four owes his fall to alcohol. Moreover, it is reported that

"of 233 cases of convicts in the Sing Sing and Auburn prisons, Mr. Dugdale found that of those who had committed crimes against the person, 40.47 per cent were habitual drunkards, while of those convicted of crimes against property 38.74 per cent were habitual drunkards. Of the former about 38 per cent, and of the latter about 43 per cent, came from intemperate families. Among 176 habitual criminals, 45.45 per cent came from



TEMPERANCE MAP OF THE UNITED STATES

intemperate families, and 42.46 per cent were habitual drunkards." — *Henry Smith Williams, M. D., LL. D., in McClure's Magazine, December, 1908.*

A New York Physician on Alcohol

DR. FREDERICK PETERSON, of New York City, professor of psychiatry at Columbia University, in an address on "The Influence of Alcohol upon the Public Health," delivered before the New York State Conference of Charities and Correction, in Elmira, November 17, said: "I believe that human evolution has now reached the stage when the abolition of the use of alcohol as a beverage is expected and required."

After a terrible arraignment of alcohol drinking as the cause of disease, insanity, idiocy, and degeneracy, Dr. Peterson continued:—

"The discussion as to whether alcohol is ever a food is idle and evasive of the main issue. It is not a food like bread and butter, for it has venom in it. As Professor Abel of Johns Hopkins University says: 'It is an easily oxidizable drug, with numerous untoward effects, which inevitably appear when a certain minimum dose is exceeded.'

"I have italicized the word drug because it is as a drug that alcohol is now regarded by most physicians. It is placed among the narcotics and anesthetics.

"I should like here to present a very brief summary of what scientific investi-

the muscular tissue and in the cells and fibers of the nervous system.

"7. Its habitual use lessens the normal defenses of the organism against infectious diseases, especially tuberculosis.

"If you find here and there some dissenting voice, that of some university professor perhaps, you may be sure that it is not that of a person with medical experience or any one familiar with the material which all may read, but rather the voice of some one perversely interested. You might well question whether such a one is simply seeking sensational exploitation of himself, or whether he might not even be subsidized by the vast commercial interests at stake; for you must remember that the annual consumption of alcoholic drinks in the United States is over a billion gallons.

"I believe that human evolution has now reached the stage when the abolition of the use of alcohol as a beverage is expected and required. Abstinence is one of the principles of human eugenics, that new science that is just being born."

Referring to the necessity for a great campaign of education for the purpose of eradicating the alcohol evil, Dr. Peterson quoted as a good example the anti-alcohol posters used in public hospitals in Paris, and the

warning printed on their prescription blanks. On his own prescription blanks, Dr. Peterson says, he prints the following:—

"Alcohol is a poison.

"It is claimed by some that alcohol is a food. If so, it is a poisoned food.

"The daily, regular use of alcohol, even in moderation, often leads to chronic alcoholism.

"One is poisoned less rapidly by the use of beer than by drinking wines, gin, whisky, and brandy.

"Alcoholism is one of the most common causes of insanity, epilepsy, paralysis, diseases of the liver and stomach, dropsy, and tuberculosis."—*The Union Signal*.



"WELL, HE FELL LIKE A MAN!"

"Let a man strive in freedom; if he win, well. If he fail, at least he will fail like a man."—
From advertisement of Pennsylvania State Brewers' Association

gators have recently determined to be the action of this drug:—

"1. It is no longer considered to be a stimulant, but rather a depressant.

"2. It perverts digestion,

"3. It depresses and weakens the heart action.

"4. It decreases the capacity to do muscular work.

"5. It diminishes the intellectual functions by dulling the creative faculty, impairing judgment, vitiating the correctness of perceptions, and by general timidity.

"6. It brings about slow, far-reaching anatomical changes, such as fatty degeneration of the heart, kidney diseases, diseases of the blood-vessels, changes in

News and Notes

A SINGULAR and noteworthy feature of the political campaign in Missouri was the signal defeat of Governor Joseph W. Folk in his attempt to secure the primary nomination for United States senator, to succeed Senator W. J. Stone, who triumphed over his political adversary by a majority of eighteen thousand votes. No political battle in Missouri ever was waged more fiercely than this. Governor Folk made an unprecedented canvass on the strength of his record of "law enforcement;" and it was at Kirkwood, in a political speech, that he qualified "law enforcement" as meaning "Sunday closing," as "the prosecution of those who violate Sunday laws." Both Mr. Folk and Mr. Stone are strong members of the heretofore dominant political party in Missouri, but the struggle for the senatorship engaged in by them so divided the party as to make it possible for the Republicans to elect Attorney-General H. S. Hadley governor of the State. Thus, in the defeat of Judge Wallace in his effort to secure the nomination for governor, and the defeat of Governor Folk to reach the United States Senate, two of the most formidable civic warriors for "strict compulsory legal sabbath observance," the ablest champions

of religious legislation in the civil state in Missouri, that grand old commonwealth is temporarily rid of bigotry and intolerance, and, under God, the principles of religious liberty, and its advocates, have triumphed. Governor Folk has said that he would retire to private life and the practise of law; while Judge Wallace's term of office as criminal judge having expired, there seems no other course open to him than "private life and the practise of law." So, in Missouri, the political skies seem to have

cleared from the threatening clouds of intolerance and persecution. But, alas! the battles won today are often lost to-morrow.



HERBERT S. HADLEY, GOVERNOR OF MISSOURI

THE following news dispatch was sent out from Rome, under date of Dec. 9, 1908: "The pope to-day blessed President - Elect Taft and his family. The blessing was declared in the presence of Archbishop J. J. Glennon, of St. Louis, who was one of the first persons received in audience by the pope on his resumption of audiences following his recent indisposition. Archbishop Glennon told the pope that he had received a letter from Mr. Taft, in which the president-elect expressed his cordial friendship for Roman Catholics. The pope received the news with delight, and immediately pronounced his blessing upon Mr. Taft and his family."

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WHILE we hope that all the articles in this number of LIBERTY will command a thoughtful reading, we invite special attention to those which present the facts concerning the Federal Council of Churches and interpret the meaning of this movement. In view of the avowed purpose of this organization, we feel fully justified in designating it as "A Dangerous Combination." Its attitude toward liberty of conscience is considered in the somewhat lengthy article entitled "The American Church and the American Sabbath."

SINCE the article in the body of this magazine, dealing with the situation in California, was prepared, the assembly has convened, and within a few days of the opening of the session three Sunday bills and a constitutional amendment to make them effective were introduced. In opposition to these measures, a monster petition, with 35,535 names attached, was presented to the assembly from the Pacific Religious Liberty Association, asking the legislature to refrain from passing any form of Sunday legislation. This is the largest petition ever presented to the California Legis-

lature. It is plain that a vigorous campaign will be carried on to secure the enactment of a Sunday law in California, the only State in which such legislation in one form or another is not already upon the statute-books. We hope to report this campaign and its results in the next issue of this magazine.

IN this number of LIBERTY we introduce a new department, Religion and Science. This enlarges our field of work, so that hereafter we shall consider not only the relation between religion and civil government, but also the relation between religion and science. The calm assurance with which scientists are authoritatively denying the claims of revelation, and the confidence with which they are asserting the conclusions of science, constitute a sufficient reason for entering this field of discussion. We stand for the emancipation of religion from the dogmatism of science.

IN addition to the large and influential movements in behalf of Sunday observance to which specific reference is made in this number of LIBERTY, there have been during the last quarter an unusual number of efforts, covering a wide extent of territory, to enforce existing Sunday laws or to secure the passage of ordinances requiring the people to pay some sort of regard to Sunday. Those who are taking note of these things, must be impressed with the significance of this wide-spread and growing sentiment in favor of the enforced observance of the first day of the week. We have already attempted to interpret the meaning of this tendency toward the restriction of religious liberty, and we invite all citizens of every class to an earnest study of this question.

True Protestant Principles



THE principles which had led the Protestants to sever themselves from the Roman Church, should have taught them to bear with the opinions of others, and warned them from the attempt to connect agreement in doctrine or manner of worship with the necessary forms of civil government. Still less ought they to have enforced that agreement by civil penalties; for faith, upon their own showing, had no value save when it was freely given. A church which does not claim to be infallible is bound to allow that some part of the truth may possibly be with its adversaries; a church which permits or encourages human reason to apply itself to revelation has no right first to argue with people, and then to punish them if they are not convinced.— *From "The Holy Roman Empire," by James Bryce, Chap. 18, Par. 8.*



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