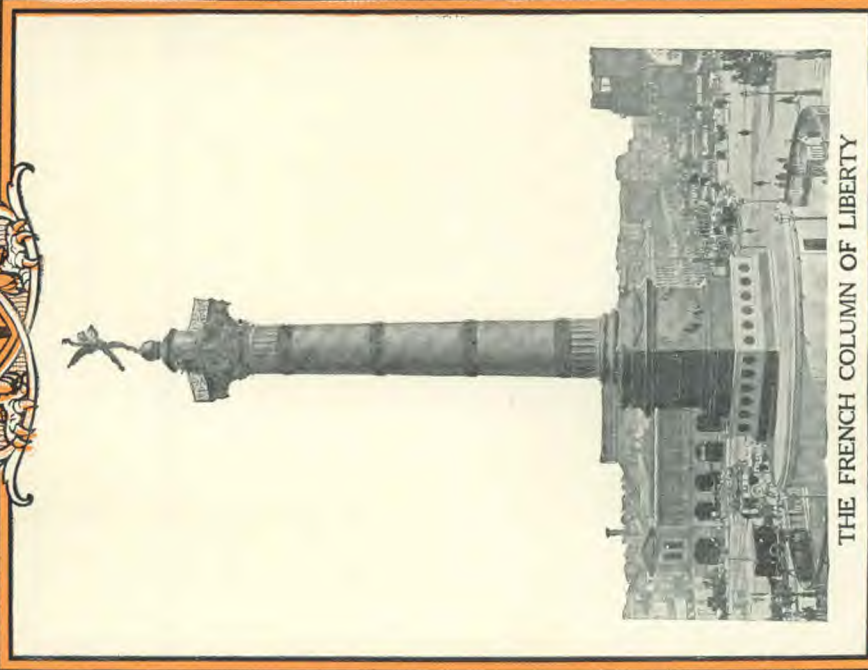


# LIBERTY

A MAGAZINE OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

*The Complete Separation of  
the Church and the  
State*

*The Emancipation of Religion  
from the Dogmatism of  
Modern Science*



THE FRENCH COLUMN OF LIBERTY



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## Executive Mansion,

Washington, \_\_\_\_\_ 1863

Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth, upon this continent, a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that "all men are created equal."

Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived, and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battle-field of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of it, as a final resting place for those who here gave their lives that the nation might live. This we may, in all propriety do. But, in a larger sense, we can not dedicate—we can not consecrate—we can not hallow, the ground—the brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have hallowed it, far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember what we say here; but it can never forget what they did here.

It is rather for us, the living, <sup>we have no objection</sup> to stand here, dedicated to the great task remaining before us—that, from these honored dead, we take increased devotion to that cause for which they here gave the last full measure of devotion—that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this nation, shall have a new birth of freedom; and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

# LIBERTY

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

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No. 2

## *Editorial*

THE increasing demand for religious legislation is a summons to all lovers of religious liberty to continue a campaign of education concerning the principles involved in making religion a matter of legal enactment, and the results which will follow the establishment of religious observances by law.

RELIGIOUS liberty does not depend upon the will of the majority, but is the inalienable right of the individual. Government can not bestow it, and any attempt on the part of government to curtail it is a usurpation of power and a violation of the divine principles upon which civil government was established.

WHEN the rights of the minority in religious matters are defined, there are some who are ready to cry out zealously in behalf of "the inalienable rights of the majority." The majority has no right of any sort to oppress the minority in things religious. The conscience of the individual can be rightfully opposed to the demand of any number of persons when a religious conviction is at issue; provided, of course, that no one can plead conscientious conviction as a basis for interfering with the civil rights of others.

### *A Christian Platform*

As Christians who desire the prosperity of both the church and the state, we advocate a complete separation of the two.

We believe that civil government was ordained by divine authority, just as was the church; but we maintain that a separate sphere was assigned to each one, and that the functions of each are wholly distinct from the other.

It is not within the province of the state either to define or to enforce religious dogmas or duties. Neither is it the legitimate work of the church to enact civil laws or to prescribe to the civil power the laws which it should enact.

In its sphere the church deals with the relations which exist between man and God; in its sphere the state deals with the relations between man and man, between citizens.

The church teaches conformity to the law of God interpreted in its application to man's spiritual need; the state enacts and enforces laws which pertain to man's temporal welfare, protecting each citizen in the exercise of his rights.

To unite church and state, or in any way to confuse these two spheres, will



be contrary to the divine plan of government, and will be an injury to both the church and the state.

We therefore oppose the first step toward such a union, not because we are opposed to religion, but because we believe in the divine principle enunciated by the Author of our religion: "Render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's."

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### *A Congressman's View Reviewed*

THE effort to secure the passage by the Sixtieth Congress of a Sunday law for the District of Columbia called out written protests from many different quarters. Citizens of many States wrote letters to their congressmen asking them not to vote for the passage of such a bill, on the ground that any Sunday legislation by Congress, although of a local application, would yet have great influence in strengthening the sentiment in favor of such legislation throughout the whole country.

Some of the replies made to these protests show that the writers have not given this subject discriminating study, and that they do not perceive that the vital principles of religious liberty are involved even in what purports to be a civil measure for the general benefit of the community, and especially for the relief of certain classes of employees. From one such letter, written by a congressman who was not a member of the Committee on the District of Columbia, we take this extract:—

I have to confess that I do not understand the argument against the passage of this bill. The bill as I read it, makes no pretense of establishing a religion or of prohibiting the free exercise of religion. It simply provides for the good of man and beast that there shall be one day of rest in the week. Georgia has had such a law almost if not entirely since

it has been a State. There is no body that can pass such a law for the District of Columbia except Congress, and why citizens of Georgia should object to citizens of the District being required to have one day of rest I do not exactly understand. Why should not the people of the District of Columbia be on the same footing as the people of the State of Georgia? You are required by law to observe Sunday as a day of rest, and why should not the people of the District be likewise required? I do not understand your opposition.

The bill referred to was the Johnston Sunday bill, which has been thoroughly analyzed in previous issues of LIBERTY. It is modeled after the usual form, making all common labor a crime on the first day of the week, but with a long list of exceptions, and an exemption clause in favor of those who "observe as a sabbath any other day in the week than Sunday."

This writer declares that the bill "simply provides for the good of man and beast that there shall be one day of rest in the week," which is one of those half-truths which really misrepresents the fact. The bill does require "one day of rest in the week," but specifies that that day shall be the first day of the week, or Sunday. The advocates of such legislation as this are unwilling to accept "one day of rest in the week" unless that day be Sunday. This has been clearly demonstrated in California, where a vigorous effort has been made to secure a Sunday law, although there has been a statute in force for many years providing one day of rest in seven for the working men, without specifying Sunday. This determined purpose that Sunday shall be the day of rest indicates the religious character of the legislation, which is further shown by the activity of a large number of religious organizations in behalf of the measure.

The inquiries made at the close of the



letter are certainly interesting if not convincing. They may be paraphrased thus: The religious liberty of the citizens of Georgia has been outraged by a drastic law compelling them to observe Sunday under severe pains and penalties; what reason therefore can possibly be given why the citizens of the District of Columbia should not be deprived of their religious liberty in the same way? Does not one bad law justify another? When the citizens of any portion of the country protest against a yoke of bondage being placed upon them, is it not sufficient to reply that other citizens are already wearing the same yoke?

We would like to impress upon the minds of all men, especially legislators, some simple principles which appear to be too little understood. All Sunday legislation is religious legislation. It is impossible to compel the observance of Sunday without infringing upon the religious liberty of every citizen, even of those who desire to observe Sunday as a sabbath. The effort to secure laws making labor on Sunday a crime, rests in the last analysis upon a regard for Sunday as a religious institution, and is an attempt to compel all persons to recognize the supposedly religious character of the day. All legislation purporting to be in the interests of the working men which requires cessation of labor on the first day of the week under pains and penalties, is in effect legislation in behalf of a religious institution, and is an infringement upon religious liberty. Apart from religious considerations, there is no reason for requiring men to cease from labor on Sunday more than on any other day of the week.

If all congressmen would recognize these fundamental facts, they would never pass a bill requiring any one to treat Sunday as a sacred day, or to recognize it as a sabbath. They would

leave every man free to regulate his own conduct on Sunday so long as he committed no uncivil act.

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### *Some Questions Answered*

A BILL was recently introduced into the legislature of one of the New England States amending the existing game laws by such a change as involved the recognition of Sunday as a religious institution. A public hearing was granted on this bill, at which arguments were made both for and against the proposed legislation. During the progress of the hearing, one speaker who made a strong protest against the bill was asked a large number of questions by members of the committee. As a good proportion of these questions deal with general principles, and represent to a considerable extent the inquiries which are often made on such an occasion, we have thought that the interests of religious liberty might be well served by answering these questions in the columns of this magazine.

*Question.*—Would you favor some other day?

*Answer.*—We are opposed to any legislation which makes a distinction between the days of the week on religious grounds. While we believe that the seventh day is the Sabbath, and that there is no Biblical authority for observing any other day, yet the principle of the separation of church and state, for which we stand, would just as clearly prohibit the state from enacting any legislation compelling the observance of the seventh day of the week as of the first day of the week. We are therefore not in favor of any legislation which would compel any one to observe any day of the week. We give our hearty support to such legislation as requires all citizens to be civil on every day of the week, but this does not require a law which makes it a crime to



do on one day of the week what is freely permitted on other days.

*Q.*—Do you claim that the legislature has no right to compel you to rest on any day?

*A.*—The legislature has authority in civil matters, but no authority whatever concerning matters of religion. The observance of any day as a sabbath is a religious act, a matter wholly between man and God, with which civil government can of right have nothing whatever to do.

*Q.*—Do you believe in no law at all in behalf of Sunday observance?

*A.*—The principles already laid down furnish an answer to this question. The observance of any day as a sabbath is a matter wholly outside the sphere of civil government. Every Sunday law is an infringement of the rights of conscience. Even those who choose to observe Sunday as a sabbath ought not to be placed under the compulsion of law. "Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind."

*Q.*—Do you not believe the majority ought to rule?

*A.*—We stand for the majority rule in civil affairs, and for the inalienable right of the individual in religious matters. If one man out of a thousand has a clear conviction as to his own religious duty, the other nine hundred and ninety-nine have not the least right to compel him to adopt their views and to follow their practise. It must, however, be insisted that no one has a right to do an uncivil act on the ground of religious conviction. When one sets up a claim of religious conviction as a justification for theft, murder, or polygamy, he mixes things religious with things civil, and has no just ground for his plea. The conscience of the individual is supreme in religious matters. The law enacted by the majority is supreme in civil matters when it does not contravene the natural and inalienable rights of man.

*Q.*—Do you not believe that improper conduct on Sunday ought to be punished?

*A.*—Improper conduct on any day of the week ought to be punished, but conduct that is proper on the other days of the week is proper on Sunday, so far as civil government has jurisdiction. Civil government has no right to make an act a crime because committed on Sunday.

*Q.*—Do you not believe that the courts have the province to define what a crime is?

*A.*—A crime is an offense against civil society, and should not be confounded with sin, which is the transgression of God's law as such. No body of men has a right to treat crime and sin as synonymous, and to inflict penalties upon those who transgress God's law. "Who art thou that judgest another man's servant? to his own master he standeth or falleth."

*Q.*—Would not an exemption clause meet your desires?

*A.*—Where there is a Sunday law without an exemption clause, the granting of an exemption is toleration, and is a step toward liberty. Where there is no Sunday law, the enactment of a Sunday law, even with an exemption clause, is a violation of religious liberty, and is a step toward intolerance. The insertion of an exemption clause in a law which violates the principles of religious liberty does not justify the law, even though it makes its enforcement less oppressive. An exemption clause does not therefore satisfy those who seek religious liberty not only for themselves but for all men.

*Q.*—Are you aware of the fact that far more stringent laws are already on the statute-books? Why then do you argue against a milder form of law?

*A.*—A greater wrong does not justify a lesser one. The fact that there are bad laws upon the statute-books is not a sufficient reason for enacting more of them. Legislators should be more ready to remove from the statute-books laws which



are wrong in principle and oppressive in application, than to enact more laws of the same kind.

Q.—Do you not believe in obeying existing laws?

A.—Every Christian citizen will loyally obey the laws of the state so long as they deal with subjects within the sphere of civil government, even though they may seem unjust and oppressive, but human law which requires one to disobey God's law is an encroachment upon the rights of conscience, a flagrant usurpation of power, and may properly be disregarded. The testimony of history justifies this view. The three Hebrew worthies refusing to bow down to Nebuchadnezzar's image, Daniel making his prayer to his God contrary to the law of the Medes and Persians, Jesus and his disciples preaching a new religion contrary to Roman law, and the martyrs of all ages, declare with united voices that "We ought to obey God rather than men."

Q.—Do you believe in the ten commandments?

A.—Yes; but the ten commandments constitute the law of God, and are not to be enforced as such by legislation.

Q.—Do you believe that it is proper to legislate upon stealing?

A.—Stealing is an offense against civil society, a disregard of the rights of property, and is therefore a proper subject for legislation; but stealing should be punished as a crime and not as a transgression of God's law.

Q.—Why is it proper to legislate upon one commandment, and not upon another?

A.—It is not proper to legislate upon any one of God's commandments. No legislature has been granted authority to represent God in the enforcement of his law.

Q.—Is not stealing a sin against God also?

A.—Yes; but civil government was not ordained either to define or to punish sin.

Q.—What do you think would be the moral effect upon the community if all the Sunday laws should be abolished?

A.—The morals of the community are not primarily the concern of civil government. It is the duty of the state to protect every citizen in the enjoyment of his rights, but it is not within its province to attempt to regulate the conduct of its citizens—only so far as is necessary to prevent one from encroaching upon the equal rights of others. God has ordained other agencies to minister to the morals of the people, and the state can not undertake this work without passing beyond its legitimate sphere. The fact that the State of California has had no Sunday law for many years, and yet maintains as high a standard of morals as other States, is a sufficient answer to this question.

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### Cardinal Gibbons's Views on Church and State

PLAUSIBLE in its statements and generally dignified in tone, is the article by Cardinal Gibbons entitled "The Church and the Republic," in *The North American Review* for March. In view of Cardinal Gibbons's position as head of the Roman Catholic Church in America, it is fitting that some attention should be paid to his utterances, which represent the Catholic position on the proper relation between church and state.

Referring to the general attitude of Roman Catholics toward the American form of government, Cardinal Gibbons states the case thus:—

They prefer its form of government before any other. They admire its institutions and the spirit of its laws. They accept the Constitution without reserve, with no desire, as Catholics, to see it changed in any feature. They can with a clear conscience swear to uphold it.



. . . The separation of church and state in this country seems to them the natural, inevitable, and best conceivable plan, the one that would work best among us for the good both of religion and of the state.

In marked contrast with these affirmations of the cardinal was the view taken by Pope Leo XIII, who touched upon this same question in his encyclical of Jan. 6, 1895, to the hierarchy in America. After referring to the general conditions in this country as being such that the church "is free to live and act without hindrance," he deplored the separation between church and state in these words:—

Yet, though all this is true, it would be very erroneous to draw the conclusion that in America is to be sought a type of the most desirable status of the church, or that it would be universally lawful or expedient for state and church to be, as in America, dissevered and divorced. The fact that Catholicity with you is in good condition, nay, is even enjoying a prosperous growth, is by all means to be attributed to the fecundity with which God has endowed his church, in virtue of which, unless men or circumstances interfere, she spontaneously expands and propagates herself. But she would bring forth more abundant fruits if, in addition to liberty, she enjoyed the favor of the laws and the patronage of the public authority.

This estimate of the advantages which would accrue to the Roman Catholic Church if there were in this country a union between that church and the state is in perfect harmony with the principles laid down by the same Roman pontiff in his encyclical of Nov. 7, 1885:—

Every Catholic should rigidly adhere to the teachings of the Roman pontiff, especially in the matter of modern liberty, which, already, under the semblance of honesty of purpose, leads to destruction. We exhort all Catholics to devote careful attention to public matters, and to take part in all municipal affairs and elections, and all public services, meet-

ings, and gatherings. All Catholics must make themselves felt as active elements in daily political life in countries where they live. All Catholics should exert their power to cause the constitutions of states to be modeled on the principles of the true church.

It is certain that the Constitution of the United States is not modeled on the principles of the papacy. It is, therefore, certain that the position taken by Cardinal Gibbons concerning the American Constitution is squarely contradictory, not merely to the utterances of many representative Roman Catholics, but to the authoritative instruction of the head of the church speaking *ex cathedra*. We leave the reader to decide which representative of the church presents the true principles of the papacy.

#### *Distinction but not Separation*

In discussing the proper relation between church and state, Cardinal Gibbons declares that "the distinction between the civil and ecclesiastical powers is very firmly established in Catholic teaching," and states the position of the church thus:—

The church, then, holds that the civil government has divine authority, just as has the ecclesiastical; that the limits of each are fixed by the nature of its purpose; that within these limits each power is supreme; consequently, that the church can not intermeddle in affairs purely civil, nor the state in affairs purely ecclesiastical; and that members of the church are bound to obey the state, within its own domain, in all things that do not contravene the moral law.

It should be noted that Cardinal Gibbons does not speak of *the separation* between the civil and the ecclesiastical, but of "the distinction," and there is much significance in this fact. Another Catholic writer, "Very Rev. D. I. McDermott," of Philadelphia, throws light upon the matter in these words:—

In advocating a moral union of church



and state, the popes teach that state and church are distinct and supreme, each in its order; but that they are not separated; that they are united, just as body and soul, though distinct, are united.

It thus appears that Roman Catholic writers can dwell eloquently upon the distinction between church and state, and can declare that each one is supreme in its sphere, and at the same time can consistently believe in the union of church and state. This view of the subject dates from the writings of Thomas Aquinas, whose illustration of the proper relation between the two powers has been perpetuated in later writings:—

Human government is derived from divine, and should imitate it. . . . For the temporal power is subject to the spiritual as the body to the soul, therefore it is not a usurpation of jurisdiction if a spiritual prelate intrudes himself into temporal affairs.

To the same effect is the utterance made in March, 1897, by Mgr. Schroeder, then Professor of Dogmatic Theology in the Roman Catholic University in Washington, who strongly condemned the tendency toward liberalism:—

It is the great heresy of the nineteenth century—the negation of the supremacy of Christ and his church over state and society in general.

Protestant readers, then, should understand that Cardinal Gibbons is not advocating the separation of church and state as a right principle, but merely that dis-

tinction between the two which does not forbid such a union as exists between the soul and the body. History testifies in the most emphatic manner that this principle of union has been advocated and adopted in all countries where the Roman Catholics were in the majority, and where such a union meant the union of the Roman Catholic religion with the state.



HIS EMINENCE, CARDINAL GIBBONS

Toward the close of his article, Cardinal Gibbons again states the teaching of the Roman Catholic Church upon the question of the relation between the church and the state:—

Her doctrine on the subject has been this: In a country wholly or predominantly Catholic, the most desirable relation is the friendly union and co-operation of church and state, neither power sacrificing its liberty and each acknowl-



edging the other. That this is the ideal relation, provided liberty be assured to those not of the established church, no sensible man can deny. The Catholic Church states in form of doctrine what all history shows to be inevitable: that where the church and the state are practically two names for the nation viewed as a body of worshipers and as a political entity, it is impossible to prevent an intimate union.

This language is clear, and there is no need that any one should misunderstand it. It lays down the principle that "the ideal relation" between church and state is that there should be a "friendly union" between the two "in a country wholly or predominantly Catholic." Of course, if this is a true principle and not a special plea for the Roman Catholic Church, it follows that in every country where the membership of any church constitutes a majority of the population, there should be what the cardinal calls a "friendly union" between that church and the state. This being true, we must conclude that "the ideal relation" in America would be a union between the Protestant religion and the state, inasmuch as this country is predominantly Protestant; but Cardinal Gibbons would be the last one to agree to this proposition. "The separation of church and state in this country seems to them [him] the natural, inevitable, and best conceivable plan." This goes to show that the doctrine of "friendly union" between church and state is only applicable when the church is the Roman Catholic Church; and so it again appears that Cardinal Gibbons does not believe in the separation of church and state as a general principle, but only as a matter of expediency when Roman Catholics are in the minority.

In declaring himself in favor of a "friendly union" between church and state, "in a country wholly or predominantly Catholic," with the proviso that

"liberty be assured to those not of the established church," Cardinal Gibbons adopts the Roman Catholic idea of religious liberty; namely, liberty granted by the will of the majority, rather than as the inalienable right of the individual which can neither be bestowed nor withheld by any other person or combination of persons. It is utterly impossible that there should be an "established church," and that the minority should at the same time enjoy equal religious rights. They may be granted toleration, but this is far from liberty. "Toleration which may be withdrawn means disapproval primarily, and then grudging concession."

#### *The Pope and Civil Affairs*

As to the possibilities of political interference on the part of the pope in the civil affairs of the country, Cardinal Gibbons writes:—

Suppose, it is said, the pope were to issue commands in purely civil matters, should not Catholics be bound to yield him obedience? The pope will take no such act, we know, even though it is not a part of Catholic faith that he is infallible in the exercise of his authority; but were he to do so, he would stand self-condemned, a transgressor of the law he himself promulgates.

Passing by the almost innumerable instances recorded in history in which the pope, or some representative of his, has attempted to direct in civil affairs or to control the votes of Catholic citizens, we call attention to the following despatch from Rome, dated March 7, which presents an interesting feature of the election then held in Italy:—

One of the leading features of the contest was the suspension of the "non-expedit" for the first time since 1870, thus bringing many Catholics into the lists against the anticlericals. The pope, who ordered the removal of the "non-expedit" from seventy-two constituencies, including three in Rome, took a lively interest in the fight and scru-



tinized with great eagerness the returns telegraphed to the Vatican. Catholics everywhere were directed to support the monarchist candidates against the anti-clericals.

For thirty-nine years Roman Catholics in Italy have been forbidden to take any part in elections, on the ground that it would justify the state in depriving the pope of his temporal power; but now that it seems expedient to the present pope to remove this embargo, he does it; but as an essential part of this action he directs Roman Catholics how they shall exercise the privilege which he grants to them. Could there be any plainer case of the interference of the pope in civil affairs? and this is not in medieval times, but in the year of our Lord 1909. Can any one doubt that if it seemed expedient to the pope to do so, he would direct American Catholics how they should cast their votes? We leave to Cardinal Gibbons the difficult task of harmonizing his statement with this latest fact of history.

#### *The True Papal Doctrine*

In his article Cardinal Gibbons has expressed in his own language what he declares to be the doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church concerning the relation between church and state, and has made certain quotations (without giving definite references to original documents) from the writings of Pope Leo XIII and Pope Pius IX. Cardinal Gibbons, however, does not quote from the celebrated bull of Pope Boniface VIII, *Unam Sanctam*, issued in 1302, which still stands as an authoritative statement of the Roman Catholic Church as to the true relation between the church and the temporal power. As being altogether pertinent to the discussion, we quote the following paragraph:—

Either sword is in the power of the church, that is to say, the spiritual and

the material. The former is to be used by the church, but the latter for the church. The one in the hand of the priest, the other in the hands of kings and soldiers, but at the will and pleasure of the priest. It is right that the temporal sword and authority be subject to the spiritual power. Moreover, we declare, say, define, and pronounce that every human being should be subject to the Roman pontiff, to be an article of necessary faith.

Cardinal Gibbons may be expressing his own individual view, and possibly that of some American Catholics, when he attempts so to interpret the doctrine of his church that it shall appear to approve of the separation of church and state, but in doing this he is certainly giving an entirely new meaning to the *ex-cathedra* utterances of infallible popes. This savors of that "Americanism" which Pope Leo XIII. in his letter to Cardinal Gibbons, dated Jan. 22, 1899, condemned in these words:—

It is manifest, beloved son, that we are not able to give approval to those views which, in their collective sense, are called by some "Americanism." For it would give rise to the suspicion that there are among you some who conceive and would have the church in America to be different from what it is in the rest of the world.

In presenting the views of Leo XIII, Cardinal Gibbons ought not to forget the letter to himself from the same pope which speaks so strongly against any departure from, or any new interpretation of, the teachings of the church which have once been clearly stated.

#### *France and America*

It may not be out of place in this connection to call attention to an interview with Cardinal Gibbons published in the *Baltimore Sun* of Dec. 14, 1906, in which he made this statement:—

If the separation of church and state in France meant just what it means in



the United States, there would have been no such hue and cry raised against it. Very likely to many it would have been by no means undesirable.

In response to this declaration in favor of separation as exemplified in this country, Paul Sabatier, a French writer, pertinently urged:—

Let American Catholics who boast so highly of their separation read simply the bull *Vehementer*. Therein they will see that separation is absolutely condemned. If, then, the holy see supports it in America, it is a toleration entirely forced upon it, and merely provisional.

Unprejudiced readers of the bull of Boniface VIII, *Unam Sanctam*, and the encyclicals and syllabus of Pope Pius IX, will be forced to the conclusion that Sabatier is correct, and that Cardinal Gibbons can not be in harmony with the authoritative doctrines of his own church while appearing to advocate the separation of church and state.

#### Conclusions

From the testimony submitted in this article we feel warranted in drawing these conclusions: In expressing his satisfaction with the Constitution, Cardinal Gibbons is quite out of harmony with the utterances of so noted a head of the church as Pope Leo XIII. Cardinal Gibbons does not believe in the separation of church and state as a right principle which should control the relation of these two powers, but, on the other hand, believes in a "friendly union" when the majority of the citizens of any country are communicants of the Roman Catholic Church. Cardinal Gibbons confounds religious liberty with toleration. Cardinal Gibbons declares that the pope would issue no commands in purely civil matters, while the last election in Italy has furnished the latest instance of such interference. We are therefore constrained to say that in his article "The Church and the Republic" Cardinal Gib-

bons does not advocate the truly Christian and the truly American principle of the separation of church and state, and, on the other hand, advocates a practise which the founders of this government, in view of the warning furnished by other nations, intended explicitly to prohibit.

### Washington's Letter on Liberty of Conscience

It was indeed most fitting that the Declaration of Independence should be first printed on the press owned by a people who were the truest exponents



AN OLD PRESS

The Declaration of Independence was printed on this press

of religious liberty in America at that time—the Seventh-day Baptists, who then, and have always till the present time, protested against the interference of the civil magistrate in matters of religion. As civil liberty is robbed of its real significance where religious liberty is denied, they stood for the principle of liberty in both regards. When the new American government had been established, the Seventh-day Baptists, fearing that their observance of the seventh-day Sabbath might make them the victims of persecution, and that their religious liberties might thus be swept away, addressed a letter to President George Washington. His reply, which follows, is still preserved in the original at Ephrata, Pa.:—

If I had had the least idea of any difficulty resulting from the Constitution adopted by the convention of which I had the honor to be president when it was formed, so as to endanger the rights of any religious denomination, then I never should have attached my name to that instrument. If I had any idea that



the general government was so administered that the liberty of conscience was endangered, I pray you be assured that no man would be more willing than myself to revise and alter that part of it, so as to avoid all religious persecution. You can, without any doubt, remember that I have often expressed as my opinion, that every man who conducts himself as a good citizen is accountable alone to God for his religious faith, and should be protected in worshiping God according to the dictates of his conscience.

It was not long after this, and no doubt due to the direct personal influence of President Washington, that the first amendment to the Constitution was adopted, taking from the general government the power to legislate upon religious questions.

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### *A Good Record Maintained*

THE Sixtieth Congress closed without passing any one of the several Sunday bills which had been introduced. The principal effort to secure such legislation was made in behalf of the Johnston bill, providing for the "proper observance of Sunday as a day of rest in the District of Columbia." An extended report of the public hearing on this bill before the House Committee on the District of Columbia is printed in another part of this issue. This bill was passed by the Senate during the first session of this Congress, but was not reported to the House.

For quite a period of years persistent efforts have been made in every Congress to secure from the national legislature some legal recognition of Sunday as the Christian sabbath; but thus far that body has refused to reverse the decision made fourscore years ago, that it was no part of the duty of the representatives of the people to decide a religious controversy and to enforce a religious dogma upon dissenters.

While the advocates of religious lib-

erty may feel gratified at the success which has thus far attended their efforts to defeat religious legislation, they need not flatter themselves that the contest is now ended. We may be reasonably sure that the determined and long-cherished purpose to establish the observance of Sunday by national law has not been abandoned, even in the face of repeated defeat, and it will doubtless be necessary to fight the same battle for freedom over again during the next Congress. The old proverb, "To be forewarned is to be forearmed," is of force in this instance; and those who desire to preserve intact liberty of conscience, and to prevent the encroachments of the civil power upon the domain of religion, should by no means diminish their activity in the dissemination of right principles.

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### *The Legal Sunday*

At the very time when an effort was being made to secure from Congress the passage of a law requiring rest from ordinary labor on Sunday in the District of Columbia, a movement was on foot in Massachusetts to so modify the present Sunday law of that State as to provide for one legal rest day in seven, without that day necessarily being Sunday. The discussion of this question includes some statements worthy of note. One is made by Dr. Gordon, of the Old South Church (Congregational) of Boston:—

If civilization demands that a man work Sunday, he should have some other day of rest. Sunday can not be arbitrarily set as that day.

The second is credited to the pastor of the Warren Avenue Baptist Church of the same city:—

We are willing to let men decide for themselves whether or not they shall have a sabbath day, and how they will observe it.

The third is found in an editorial from the *Morning Star* (Baptist) of Boston:—



Either we must invade the field of conscientious conviction, and attempt to compel the Jew to keep the Christian Sunday, which would not be relished if it were a case of the Jew trying to compel Christians to keep the Jewish sabbath, or else we must agree to let each party observe his own rest day and work on the other six, provided he does not disturb anybody's worship.

This is a frank statement of the actual situation. A law requiring rest on Sunday invades the field of conscientious conviction, and indirectly punishes those who obey the commandment of God. The only defensible course is to leave each one free in the choice of a day of rest, and to protect all in their right to hold a peaceable assembly for public worship on any day of the week.

In its further discussion of the question, the *Morning Star* makes this inquiry:—

How will it affect the rest of us to put Sunday on a kind of secular level with the other six days of the week?

This question broadly suggests that Sunday now depends upon legal enactment for any superiority over other days of the week. If Sunday is a genuine religious institution supported by divine authority, it has no need of the support of the state. If it does not rest upon divine command, it ought to give way to the true Sabbath. In any case, there can be no justification of legislation in its behalf.

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### *The Relation Between the Church and the State*

#### *The Roman Catholic Doctrine*

ONE direct and valuable result of the discussion which has followed Theodore Roosevelt's letter on religious liberty is that it has called forth from several representatives of the Roman Catholic Church a clear statement of their position on the union of church and state.

In the effort to parry the effect of quotations made by Protestants from official utterances of the popes who have unqualifiedly condemned the separation of church and state, it has been claimed that these declarations were applicable to Catholic countries in the Old World, but that the position of the church in America, a Protestant country, was quite different. It is therefore of interest to read the statements of representative Roman Catholic teachers who set forth their interpretation of papal bulls and define the position of American Catholics upon the question of the separation of church and state.

#### *The Syllabus Explained*

Our first quotation is from a sermon delivered at Philadelphia by Rev. David Hillhouse Buel, S. J., who declared:—

The Catholic Church has always taught that religious liberty, freedom of conscience, and freedom of worship should be allowed to the sincere and honest of every persuasion, whether Jew or Chinese. But she has also taught that the rebel Catholic, who knew the truth and rejected it, the man of bad will who acted against his conscience, should be forbidden religious liberty, freedom to worship as he pleased, or say what he pleased, to write or to print what he pleased. This is the meaning of the seventy-ninth proposition condemned in the syllabus of Pope Pius IX.

This statement certainly reveals a unique conception of what constitutes religious liberty. Those who are "sincere and honest" should be allowed "freedom of conscience and freedom of worship," but the liberty of "the man of bad will" should be restrained. In the application of these principles there must of course be some authority who shall determine whether a man is "sincere and honest," or whether he is a man "of bad will;" and although it is not so stated in this paragraph, the history of the Roman Catholic Church proves that



that body claims this right. What, then, becomes of religious liberty? It is granted or withheld at the discretion of the church, which is only another way of saying that there will be liberty to believe and practise Roman Catholicism.

#### *The Doctrine for America*

Another utterance of some significance is made by Rev. Thomas F. Burke, of the Paulist Fathers, who is reported in the *New York Times* as saying:—

No matter how much the church may advocate the union of church and state where ideal conditions prevail, no matter how much she has insisted upon such a union in other lands and in other times, she has never advocated a union of church and state in America. On the contrary, in her principles and in the writings of her supreme pontiffs, she has ever told the Catholics of America that they should give their entire allegiance to the Constitution of the country, and, if necessary, give their lives in her defense. With conscientious rectitude, therefore, every Catholic does, unequivocally, subscribe to the Constitution.

The real meaning of this explanation of the Roman Catholic attitude should not escape attention. The church advocates "the union of church and state where ideal conditions prevail," or in other words, where Roman Catholics are in the majority; and the reason she has never advocated the union of church and state in America is because she does not have the power to bring about a union between the Roman Church and the state, and she does not wish to see a union between the Protestant church and the state. Therefore, according to that principle of expediency which has characterized the history of the papacy, the Roman Catholics in this country can adopt the principle of the separation of church and state with apparent sincerity. If, however, they should at some time in the future realize their present purpose to make America Catholic, they would at once repudiate the principle

forced upon them and accepted as a matter of expediency, and would advocate the true papal principle—the union of church and state. Those who are familiar with the history of the papacy can entertain no doubt that this is a correct forecast of the situation.

#### *"A Moral Union"*

More authoritative and more clear than either of the declarations already quoted is the statement made by "Very Rev. D. I. McDermott," in a lecture delivered in Saint Mary's Church, Philadelphia, Dec. 6, 1908. This lecture, which is a reply to the letter of the Lutheran ministers to President Roosevelt, has been printed with the approval of the Catholic censor and Archbishop Ryan. In it the teaching of the popes concerning the union of church and state is thus interpreted:—

In advocating a moral union of church and state, the popes teach that state and church are distinct and supreme, each in its order; but that they are not separated; that they are united just as body and soul, though distinct, are united; that, as the welfare of the body depends largely upon its subjection to reason, so the welfare of the state depends largely upon following the guidance of the church; that, as the uncontrolled appetites of the body would war against the aspirations of the soul, and involve both body and soul in destruction, so would legislation uncontrolled by the law of God, war against the prerogatives of the church and inflict injury upon both state and church; that as the separation of the body from the soul is physical death, so the separation of the state from the church is moral death.

Here we have the papal idea of the relation between church and state clearly defined. With an exhibition of that casuistry for which Roman Catholic reasoners are noted, this lecturer declares that the popes regard the state and church as "distinct and supreme, each in its order," while at the same time affirming that they are as closely



united as body and soul. The illustration shows just to what extent the church and state are "distinct" in the Catholic mind.

When the position here taken is analyzed, it will appear that the principles advocated are in perfect harmony with the record of the church as exhibited in the history of the papacy. Popes have always claimed the right to dictate to kings and princes, and have not hesitated to hurl their anathemas against those who resisted these encroachments upon civil liberty. The principle that "the welfare of the state depends largely upon following the guidance of the church," when formulated in the light of history, means that the state is wholly subordinate to the church, and is to be administered in harmony with the wishes of popes and prelates.

#### *The Church as Arbiter*

Indeed, the claim is plainly made, in this lecture, that one of the purposes for which the church was established was that she might be a court of final appeal in determining the authority of the state. We quote again:—

As Christ certainly foresaw that it would perplex men at times to distinguish what belongs to the state from what belongs to God, he could not have neglected to establish an authority as competent as himself, to adjust differences, to settle disputes, to hold the balance evenly between the citizen and the country, in judging all questions of conscience. For this purpose, Christ established a church. . . . The church, then, no more than Christ, was to learn from kings, emperors, presidents, or legislatures what is politically right or wrong, whether the laws of men are in violation of the laws of God or not. On the contrary, they were to learn this from the church.

Comparing now these quotations from the utterances of American Catholics with the official documents issued by the popes, it is clear that the principles

maintained are precisely the same, the only difference being that in America the principles are not applied, for the very good reason that Roman Catholics are not in control of the affairs of state.

#### *A Religio-Political Organization*

Another statement of the position of the Roman Catholic Church concerning the proper relation between the church and state is made in a sermon by Rt. Rev. James J. Hartley, Roman Catholic bishop of Columbus, and reported in the *Ohio State Journal* of March 1. Some of the utterances in this sermon are very similar to those already quoted from other representatives of the Roman Church, but there are others which throw additional light upon the Catholic view. Here is one:—

The church also helps her children, by the religious training and education that she gives them, to fulfil their duties and obligations toward the state. Not only that, she is even obliged, when necessary, to resort to spiritual penalties to induce her subjects to perform their duties toward the state.

This shows that the Roman Catholic Church claims the right to direct its communicants in the discharge of their duties as citizens, and that she assumes the prerogative of enforcing upon them her own interpretation of such duties. But any church which adopts this principle is a religio-political organization, mingling the ecclesiastical with the political in a way to confound the proper spheres of the church and the state. This idea that it may sometimes be necessary for the church to come to the rescue of the state is further developed in the same address in this way:—

Where the church and the state have common interests at stake, let there be an agreement well understood on both sides. In the hour of danger let them stand together as mother and child.

In the illustration here used, the papal idea of the relation between the church



and state is plainly suggested. The state is the child of the church, and as such is in the last analysis subject to the control of the mother. So long as the child conducts itself in a way wholly satisfactory to the mother, there will be no interference; but in case there is too much spirit of independence, or a tendency to reject motherly counsel, wholesome discipline may become necessary to prevent successful rebellion against maternal control. The history of the papacy bears abundant testimony that this mother-child theory has been the rule of action in the relation of the papacy to governments.

#### *As to Persecution*

Toward the close of his address, Bishop Hartley makes the following statement:—

The Catholic Church loves liberty too dearly to lend herself in any way, however remote, to make even the lowliest of God's creatures a slave to tyranny or oppression, or the object of any kind of persecution.

We have not the space here to introduce the manifold proofs from history that the Roman Catholic Church has been a persecutor of dissenters when conditions were such as to make it possible, but we will present some plain statements recently made in a remarkable article in a Roman Catholic paper. In its issue of Dec. 24, 1908, the *Western Watchman* of St. Louis (Roman Catholic) has an editorial entitled "Afraid We Will Get Them," from which we quote:—

They [Protestants] know very little of the meaning and import of allegiance, civil or ecclesiastical; and they do not know what Catholics understand by the term. They have a very vague and indistinct notion of the union of church and state, and are not aware that such union exists more or less in every state in Christendom. What they really oppose, and what they wish to emphasize

by their vote, is that they do not want to be dragooned into the Catholic Church. They fear that if the Catholic Church should get the upper hand in this country, she might induce the state to suppress all heretical worship, and compel all to embrace the Catholic faith. And this fear is not irrational, if unfounded. The church has persecuted. Only a tyro in church history will deny that. The Apologists in the days of Roman imperial domination inveighed against persecution, and with Tertullian declared that "it was no part of religion to persecute religion." But after the days of Constantine, and under the reign of that first Christian emperor, the attitude of Christians underwent a change, and persecution of pagans took place in many places in the empire. A hundred and fifty years after Constantine the Donatists were persecuted, and sometimes put to death. Against this extreme measure St. Augustine raised his voice; but he was willing that they should be despoiled of their churches and of their goods. Protestants were persecuted in France and Spain with the full approval of the church authorities. We have always defended the persecution of the Huguenots, and the Spanish Inquisition. Wherever and whenever there is honest Catholicity, there will be a clear distinction drawn between truth and error, and Catholicity and all forms of heresy. When she thinks it good to use physical force, the church will use it. . . .

But will the Catholic Church give bond that she will not persecute at all? Will she guarantee absolute freedom and equality of all churches and all faiths? The Catholic Church gives no bonds for her good behavior. She has made mistakes in her policy which she promptly corrected as soon as discovered. She has countenanced violence when more human measures would have been of more avail. Her children and her clergy have often been carried away by popular passion. But she gives no bonds that such things shall not occur again.

This is a frank admission of facts which does credit to the honesty, if not to the theology, of the Roman Catholic editor, and it ought to bring to their



senses some Protestants who claim that the Rome of to-day is not the Rome of the Middle Ages.

#### Conclusion

In view of these utterances by prominent Roman Catholics, we are fully warranted in concluding that if at any time the Roman Catholic idea of the relation between church and state should become dominant in this country, a union of church and state would be inevitable. The proper way to guard against this contingency is to maintain inviolate the Christian and American doctrine of the entire separation of church and state.

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### An Unwarranted Demand

A RECENT number of *The Union Signal* contains an article on religion in the public schools, by Elizabeth W. Greenwood, evangelistic superintendent World's and National W. C. T. U. It is a distinct demand for religious teaching in the public schools. We quote some leading paragraphs:—

When the public school was first established, and for a hundred fifty years after, definite religious instruction was an important part of its curriculum. Today special religious teaching is often banished from the public schools of the country. . . .

This change in sentiment has resulted from the multiplication of religious sects, the so-called appeal to "fair play," the fear of sectarian training, and the inrush of immigrants from every land. . . .

Religious and moral teaching is essential to character. Any system of education which does not inculcate sound morality is defective and dangerous to the state. The culture of the conscience is far more essential to manhood and citizenship than the culture of the intellect. . . .

Our aim is *not* to teach Protestantism or Catholicism; *not* to unite church and state, and plunge into the difficulties of England or France, but to make religious and moral instruction one of the prime factors in our system of popular educa-

tion,—to teach every child the basic principles of the great religious truths which are supported by Protestant and Catholic, Jew and Gentile, and by all creeds: as, God's sovereignty; the immortality of the soul; the brotherhood of man; the fact of sin, and its consequences; the ten commandments; sermon on the mount; golden rule; lessons of psalm and proverb.

We freely grant that "religious and moral teaching is essential to character," but we affirm that it is not within the legitimate province of the state to provide such teaching. The genius of civil government was ordained of God, but it was not the divine purpose that civil government should undertake the work assigned to the church.

It will also be apparent at once that even the attempt to teach the subjects mentioned would lead to conflict and confusion. There are many professed Christians, and their number is increasing, who do not believe in natural immortality; there are other professed Christians who differ in their view concerning the ten commandments, some claiming that they have been abolished, others that they are in full force. The whole army of evolutionists deny the fact of sin, and claim that the only fall was a fall upward. Furthermore, the infidel has the same rights in the public school as the Christian, and his money, collected by the authority of the state, should not be used to teach a religion which he regards as false. The Christian method is to leave the teaching of religion as a voluntary work, to be done by those who believe in it. The teaching of religion in the public schools is impossible apart from a union of religion and government, which is the same thing as a union of the church and the state. It is vain to proclaim the purpose "not to unite church and state," and at the same time demand that which in itself requires such a union.



## *On the Wheel of History*

C. M. SNOW

OUT of the dark and into the light, out of the light into the darkness again, is the course of many a movement pictured in the history of the world. Historians recognize this ebb and flow of human experiences, though unable to account for the phenomenon. The epoch of the rise and decline of genuine religious freedom is conformable to the rule of this unexplainable repetition in history.

For centuries the world did not know the meaning of the term "religious freedom." It was clearly enunciated by the Carpenter of Nazareth; after long centuries it appeared in full bloom in the Constitution of our nation. Now the recessional period seems at hand, and the thoughtless multitude is turning the back upon it.

So far from compulsion in religious matters, the Author of salvation declared: "If any man hear my words, and believe not, I judge him not." But this was a doctrine unknown during the papal dispensation and during America's colonial period, save to those who smarted under the cruel hand of a persecuting hierarchy.

Jesus Christ found a condition of religious intolerance and a united church and state, and his teaching was a rebuke to it. He was lifted up upon the cross, a victim of the intolerance of his times. His followers were hunted in every country as the legal prey of the intolerant system. A time came when their increased numbers made them respected. That was the hour of the church's great temptation. The organized body yielded, as did Eve in Eden; and the great deceiver accomplished by stratagem and temptation what he could not accomplish by open threat and force. He induced the church as an organization to deny her Lord. She became an oppressor, not of the heathen only, but of the true

followers of the Lord she professed to serve, putting them to cruel deaths *in his name*.

Constantine's Edict of Milan, granting religious freedom to all, was repudiated by his sons in their acts, and the church he established relegated it to oblivion, so far as her interest in the edict's perpetuation was concerned. For fourteen hundred years the principles of that edict and the principles laid down by Jesus Christ found expression only among the scattered flocks of our Lord's fold in the mountains, the deserts, and the wilderness.

The Reformation broke the power of the papal church to a large extent; but the lessons of intolerance which Luther and Calvin had learned in the school of the Catholic hierarchy they practised upon those who differed with them, when they had the power so to do. They left the church as they found it, in unholy wedlock with the state, and forged new fetters to bind the consciences of men. This is demonstrated in the persecution and death of those who perished with their sanction or by their orders.

In spite of bitter persecution, in spite of death itself, there persisted, during all that dark time, a little band who would not yield their faith at the command of an earthly power. They were the Paulicians, the Albigenses, the Waldenses, and the Anabaptists. The first three named suffered all things at the hands of Rome, while the last named were the special object of attack by the established churches of the Reformation, as well as by the Catholic Church. It was these Anabaptists who became the real apostles of religious freedom for both the Old World and the New. Their blood flowed like water in Europe because they insisted on an unshackled conscience. That they were not exterminated in all Europe, as in Germany and Switzerland, was due to the championing of their cause by Prince William of Orange.



In 1647 the Westminster Confession of Faith was adopted, which authorized officials of the English church-and-state system to do all that Rome could have asked the state to grant her permission to do. In 1689 came the Toleration act of William and Mary, which granted toleration to Quakers and Protestant dissenters, but left Catholics and anti-trinitarians outside the scope of its beneficence. But for even this small measure of toleration we are indebted to the persistent agitation of the Anabaptists, many of whose tracts were written in prison. To these people we are indebted for the declaration that every man's worship should be in accordance with "the dictates of his own conscience." Through them the doctrine of religious liberty was transferred to America, and through their oppressors came the opposite principle in superabundance, so that in every colony save Rhode Island and Maryland the heavy hand of religious oppression was felt. Men and women were whipped, fined, imprisoned, and executed on the soil of the New World for exercising liberty to believe the Word of God and practise its teachings. The state established the church, supported it by general taxation, and compelled the people, under pain of fines and imprisonments, to attend its services and accept its teachings. All religious instruction not authorized by the established church was put under the ban, and all unauthorized teachers of the Word were criminals, to be dealt with by the state.

In spite of these forbidding circumstances, the leaven of better things was working in all the colonies. Where existed a system denying religious freedom to all save those of the established church, there was to be established a system that would recognize the freedom of the soul from the control of the civil power. Like the persecutions in the time of the apostles, the New England persecutions only served to spread the doctrine it condemned. The banishment of Roger Williams in 1635 planted a

State which stood for the principles for which he was banished. The history of all the different colonies where church and state were united reads very similarly in respect to religious intolerance. Though the manner of punishment for dissenters differed, the institution that fostered it was the same, and the church that persecuted dissenters in one colony had its own members persecuted in another. In each colony the fact was demonstrated that wherever a church is established by law, conscience is made an outlaw. In the midst of such travesties on true religion Roger Williams and his compatriots were making a "livelie experiment," which is still living, and the influence of which will never die. In the constitution, or charter, of Rhode Island we find the church disestablished, the principles of republicanism and the equality of man established, and the prohibition of all religious tests for the holding of public office — principles later incorporated into the Constitution of the United States, but logically lacking in the charters and constitutions of all the church-and-state colonies.

The uneasiness of souls in bondage, the leaven of a spiritual unrest, the persistent teachings of such believers as the Quakers and Anabaptists, and the inhuman punishments inflicted, were having their effect in all the colonies. The people were drifting away from their oppressive leaders. In New England the arrogance of the hierarchy was such that it resulted in its own downfall at the hand of the king of England, and the revocation of the colony's charter in the year 1685. In 1691 a new charter was granted to Massachusetts, which guaranteed religious liberty to all "except papists." But it was not until 1833 that church and state were finally separated in that State.

The same struggle went on in Virginia, where Baptists, Quakers, and Presbyterians felt the heavy hand of the established church. Not until 1774, two years before the Declaration of Independence, did light begin to break in Vir-



ginia. With the dawn of the Revolution came better days for the oppressed Christians of that commonwealth. The same year that the Declaration of Independence was adopted, the Virginia Convention adopted its famous Bill of Rights, whose sixteenth article declares the principle of religious liberty. The downfall of British rule in the United States was practically coincident with the downfall of the established church in Virginia.

The great majority of the State constitutions, while containing many of the grand principles of the national Constitution, contained also some of the principles of church-and-state union. Some seeds of the old order of things were left, and are bearing evil fruit to-day. The opponents of religious freedom in the days of the Constitution's adoption have never lacked successors. An attempt was made in 1829 to have Congress committed to a career of religious legislation. The effort was brought to naught by the masterly defense of Col. Richard M. Johnson; but in the year 1864 the forces opposed to the freedom of conscience began an active, systematic campaign to re-establish religious thralldom in this country. That organization, the National Reform Association, has called to its aid the American Sabbath Union, the W. C. T. U., the labor unions, the Lord's Day Alliance, the Roman Catholic Church, and numerous State organizations, to insure the enactment of laws for the enforcement of a religious ordinance — the Sunday sabbath — the first step toward a union of religion and the state. These organizations, banded together for the accomplishment of that purpose, must be looked upon as one in spirit, actuated by one motive. That motive has been forcefully expressed by the prime movers in the undertaking. It is that religion shall be established by law; that the hand of oppression shall be laid upon non-conformists again as in colonial days. In 1888 Congress was besieged again by the same forces for the same purpose, and found

an able champion in Senator Blair, of New Hampshire. In 1892 came the Supreme Court dictum that "this is a Christian nation," and the forces of retrogression and soul-thralldom had won a victory that meant much for them. Since that pronouncement, those forces have taken new heart, and redoubled their efforts to re-establish a censorship over religion in America.

To assist in the work outlined by the instigator of the undertaking — the National Reform Association — the various organizations named have pledged themselves. The most forceful and efficient ally of that organization is the Catholic Church, which sees in this backward movement the abandonment of Protestant principles. That she plans eventually to lead the undertaking is shown in the recent declaration of her purpose to build here an enduring edifice "upon the ruins of decaying Protestantism."

Seeing in such movements as the National Reform Association has inaugurated an unmistakable evidence of an abandonment of Protestant principles, and seeing the success of that organization in winning other so-called Protestant organizations to its standard, the Roman Church rightly argues that Protestantism is no longer a power to be dreaded, but a force to be guided; and she, the Roman Church, will act as the guide. She declared her intention of being that guide when she declared that "all Catholics should exert their power to cause the constitutions of States to be modeled on the principles of the true church."

This religio-political combination, which already professes to hold the Congress of the United States in its hands, is even now beginning to come under the leadership of Rome. When that combination, through its increased power and influence, shall have actually accomplished what it now professes to have already accomplished, and when Rome realizes her purpose to be the leader of the combination, as she confidently expects to do, it is not difficult to



foretell what the character of the nation and its legislation will be. The activity of the hierarchy in this country portends no good for the country; and the rapid abandonment of Protestant principles by professed Protestants is making Rome's victory easier with every new day. If Americans value civil liberty, if Christians value freedom of conscience and of worship, there is no more opportune time than now to let the fact be known. Religious liberty, without which all other liberties are valueless, is being attacked in front, flank, and rear—yea, even within its own citadel—by its professed defenders; and the horrors and hypocrisies of medieval and colonial days are in a fair way toward repetition in this country, so blessed of heaven, so forgetful of history.

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### *Attempted Religious Legislation in California*

J. O. CORLISS

SINCE 1883 no Sunday law has found a place among the statutes of California, and upon this fact hangs certain history, evolved from medieval customs and their advocates. Since the repeal of the Sunday law in the year mentioned, no less than five distinct efforts have been made by ecclesiastical direction to return to the statutes the requirement of Sunday observance, and five times the people, through their representatives in the legislature, have refused to place themselves again at the mercy of narrow-minded churchmen, in the matter of a religious rest.

The strongest, because the most persistent and subtle, has been the attempt before the last legislature. For a whole year prior to the assembling of that body, the Reform Bureau had an agent canvassing the State, creating sentiment in favor of a Sunday-rest law, and also raising funds in its behalf. In conjunction with others, he drew up a bill which was supposed to be invulnerable to the attack of religious liberty advocates.

Learning a lesson from the defeat of the Sunday bill presented two years before, from this one was eliminated every word having reference to religion or conscience.

But with all the careful legal verbiage employed, the real motive and design of the bill could not be concealed. To scratch any paragraph it contained was to reveal most vicious principles, carrying the seeds of relentless persecution.



HON. GROVE L. JOHNSON

Who introduced the proposed religious amendment to the constitution of California

But the proponents, though apparently satisfied with the crafty wording of their measure, were not sure that it would prove constitutional if passed. So, to obviate this possible discrepancy, they introduced an amendment to the constitution, providing for the legitimate enforcement of Sunday laws of the most

drastic nature. After a hearing before the committee having in charge this measure, it was reported back to the Assembly with the recommendation that "it do not pass." One dissenting member of the committee, however, made a minority report asking favorable consideration for the bill.

In the meantime, the committee in whose hands the bill for a simple statute reposed, gave a hearing, and, to a man, saw the religious features of the measure hidden beneath its fair exterior. So objectionable did the bill appear that the committee would not consent even to



review it in executive session, and it therefore was permitted to sleep in committee without any hope of a resurrection.

But while these things were transpiring, petitions against any and all measures of the kind, containing more than thirty-five thousand signatures, were presented in both houses of the legislature. This action was reported in all the principal newspapers of the State, accompanied with favorable comments. Only one daily paper, as far as the writer knows, indorsed the Sunday-rest bill.

When the amendment proposition came up for consideration in the Assembly, it was learned that considerable opposition to it had already developed. The proponents of the measure, fearing to have a vote upon it under such conditions, had it laid over for the purpose of removing what was considered its most objectionable features. This done, another postponement of one week was secured, for time to lobby in its behalf. This was done most strenuously, but counter influences neutralized all these efforts. It was then decided by its friends further to amend the bill from the floor, removing even the mention of any particular day of the week, thus making it provide for all laborers to have simply an indefinite day in each week for rest. It seemed, however, that a large majority of the As-

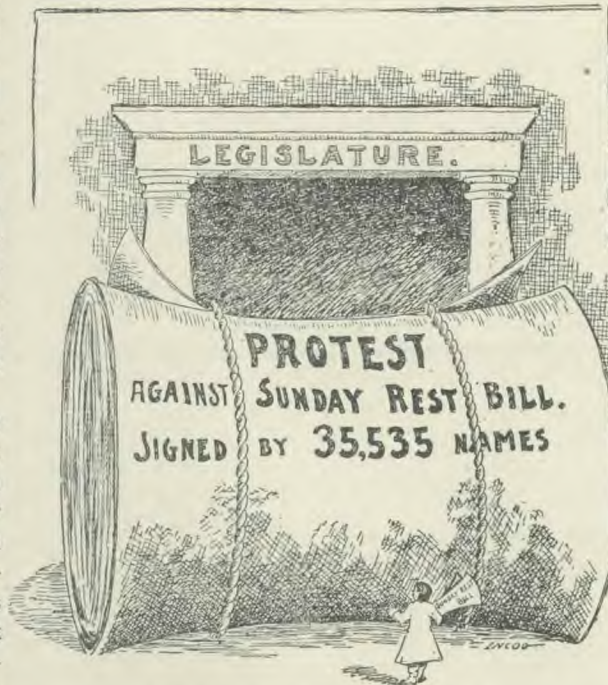
sembly had been notified of such intention, and so were prepared with a perfect storm of noes to vote down any such subterfuge, by which the constitution might finally be made to provide for a law requiring everybody to rest on some particular day of each week. They seemed to have discovered the "joker" in the amendment offered, which would permit the state, in time, to define which *one* of

the seven that day should be, and on constitutional grounds.

So the bill was forced to roll-call on its merits alone, with the result that it had but twenty-four votes in its favor, and fifty against it. Six members were absent from the chamber when the climax came, four of whom were known to be decidedly against the

measure. When it is considered that fifty-four votes were necessary to win the contest, the result must have been somewhat of a discomfiture to its advocates.

One thing, however, which contributed to so pronounced a defeat was the fact that, notwithstanding the Reform Bureau agent and his colleagues had stoutly maintained that these Sunday measures were in no way religious, but were solely in the interest of defenseless day laborers, when the assemblyman who fathered both the bill and the amendment, spoke in favor of the passage of the amendment, he said it was wholly religious, and should be passed in honor



"SHALL THE PEOPLE RULE?"



of the commandment which requires all to "remember the Sabbath day, to keep it holy." This admission was so startling as to cause some, who had been coached otherwise, almost to hold their breaths in astonishment.

Doubtless this was the means of changing a few decisions at the last moment. Some, indeed, in their speeches, openly thanked the assemblyman proponent of the measure for his honest admission, thereby revealing the motive behind the bill. In all probability, if the churchmen who insist on having Sunday laws would but honestly state, as did this astute lawyer on the floor of the Assembly, the true nature of their proposition, none outside of bigoted Sunday-keepers could be led to indorse them for a single moment. It is only by just such double-dealing as was uncovered in this California attempt, that otherwise generous-minded men are led to indorse Sunday-law demands.

That this is not judging harshly the leaders in these movements is plainly shown by the wholesale instruction given legislators prior to the vote taken on the Sunday-rest question herein reviewed. On the evening of January 17, Rev. Dr. W. H. G. Temple, of the First Congregational church of Sacramento, had a small audience of the lawmakers together, and strongly advocated the necessity of placing on the statutes four specific reform measures. Among these was a Sunday-rest law. In justification of such a law, he said, as reported the next day in the *Sacramento Bee*:—

"The question has been heatedly debated. You must disentangle argument from sophistry. It has been recognized for ages that man must have one day of rest. We do not stop harmless amusements. We ask for a day of rest. This is a Christian nation founded on prayer. We are not Mohammedans, nor Jews, nor Buddhists. We offer religious freedom to all, but we have a right to demand that the alien in religion shall conform outwardly to our customs. When one branch of the Christian church, so small that it is insignificant,

takes another day for Sunday, we have a right to make that sect conform to our practise."

Dr. Temple said more after the same order, but this quotation is enough to show how the advocates of a Sunday-rest law feel toward all who differ from them in their religious sentiments. More than that, it shows how little they regard the religious convictions of others who may happen to be in the minority. While professing to grant religious freedom to all, the demand is boldly made that "alien" religions must conform to the religion of the majority. This is the exact sentiment of the medieval ages when persecution befell all who dared to have a faith different from that of the majority.

But to gain the first foothold by which to climb to this authority, Sunday-rest bills are artfully drawn up by shrewd legal-minded men, so as to cover up the religious phase, and thus secure the consequent domination of the state by a federated church. It will pay to ponder well the past workings of such measures in this fair country of reputed freedom, before the liberties of the people are fatally jeopardized.

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### *Freedom of Conscience Defended* Protests Against a Proposed Sunday Law for the District of Columbia

A HEARING on the Johnston Sunday bill which had already passed the Senate was held on Monday, February 15, in the room of the House Committee on the District of Columbia in the new office building of the House of Representatives. Every seat in the main committee room was occupied, while many stood, filling the doorways and the adjoining space.

The time was granted to the opponents of the bill, but through their courtesy, several speakers who favored the measure were accorded the privilege of speaking.

The bill is a substitute of the one originally introduced by Mr. Johnston, and reads as follows:—



### "A BILL

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

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled,* That it shall be unlawful for any person or corporation in the District of Columbia, on the first day of the week, commonly called Sunday, to labor at any trade or calling, or to employ or cause to be employed his apprentice or servant in any labor or business, except in household work or other work of necessity or charity, and except also newspaper publishers and their employees, and except also public-service corporations and their employees, in the necessary supplying of service to the people of the District."

"Section 2: That it shall be unlawful for any persons in said District on said day to engage in any circus, show, or theatrical performance: *Provided*, That the provisions of this act shall not be construed so as to prohibit sacred concerts, nor the regular business of hotels and restaurants on said day; nor to the delivery of articles of food, including meats, at any time before ten o'clock in the morning of said day from June 1 to October 1; 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 operation of the United States mail.

"Sec. 3: That any person or corporation who shall violate the provisions of this act shall, on conviction thereof, be punished by a fine of not more than ten dollars, or by imprisonment in the jail of the District of Columbia for not more than ten days, or by both such fine and imprisonment, in the discretion of the court: *Provided*, That persons who are members of a religious society, who observe as a sabbath any other day in the week than Sunday, shall not be liable to

the penalties prescribed in this act if they observe as a sabbath one day in each seven, as herein provided.

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

#### *General Objections to the Bill*

The first argument against the proposed legislation was made by one of the editors of LIBERTY, who occupied fifteen



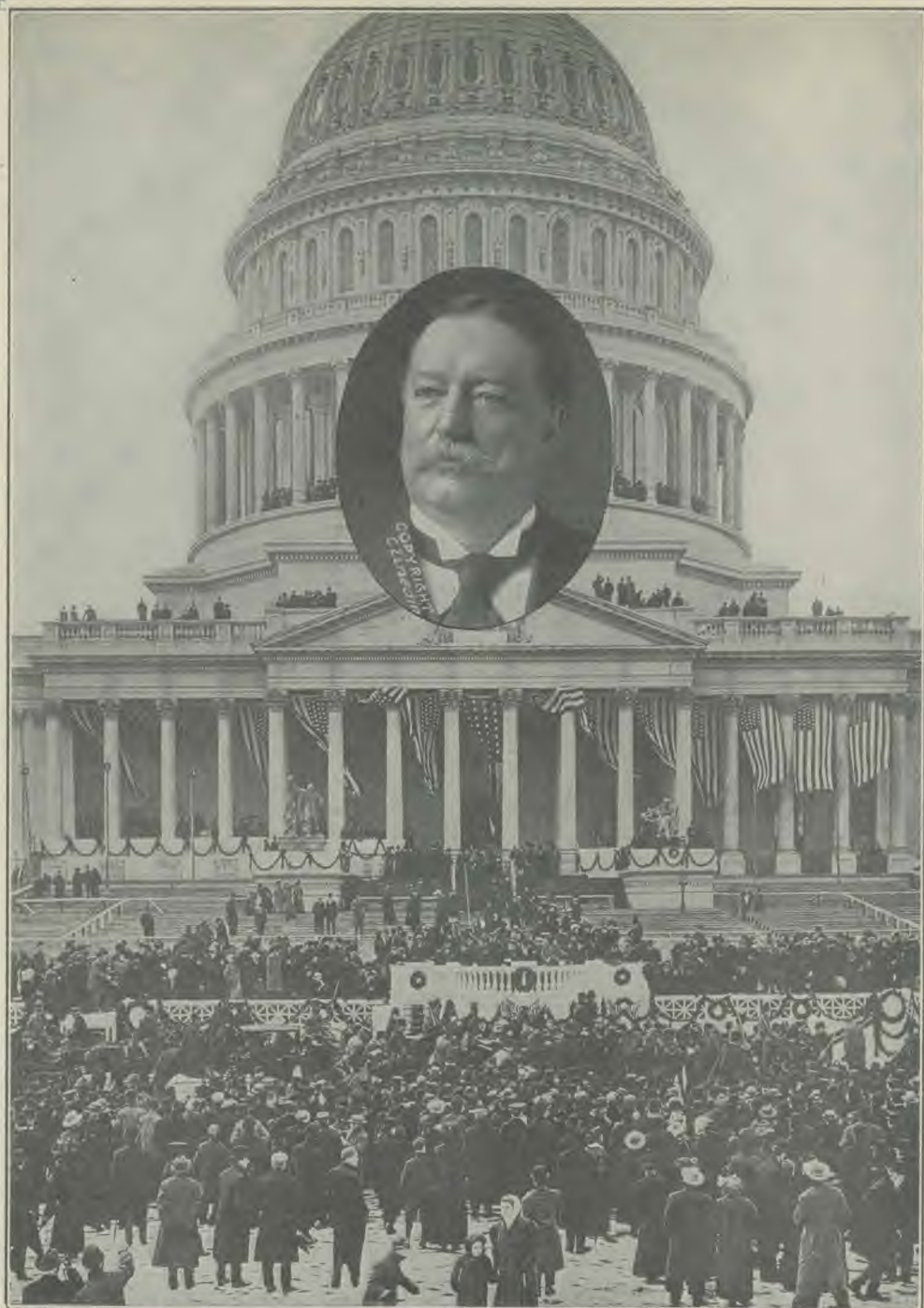
SENATOR JOHNSTON OF ALABAMA

Who secured the passage of the Johnston Sunday bill in the Senate

minutes in bringing to the attention of the committee a number of reasons why the bill should not be favorably reported. The following is a brief outline of these reasons, which were developed in the argument:—

1. There are a large number of associations and alliances pledged to secure the passage of State and national Sunday laws throughout this country.
2. These organizations have declared their purpose to secure a Sunday law for the District of Columbia.

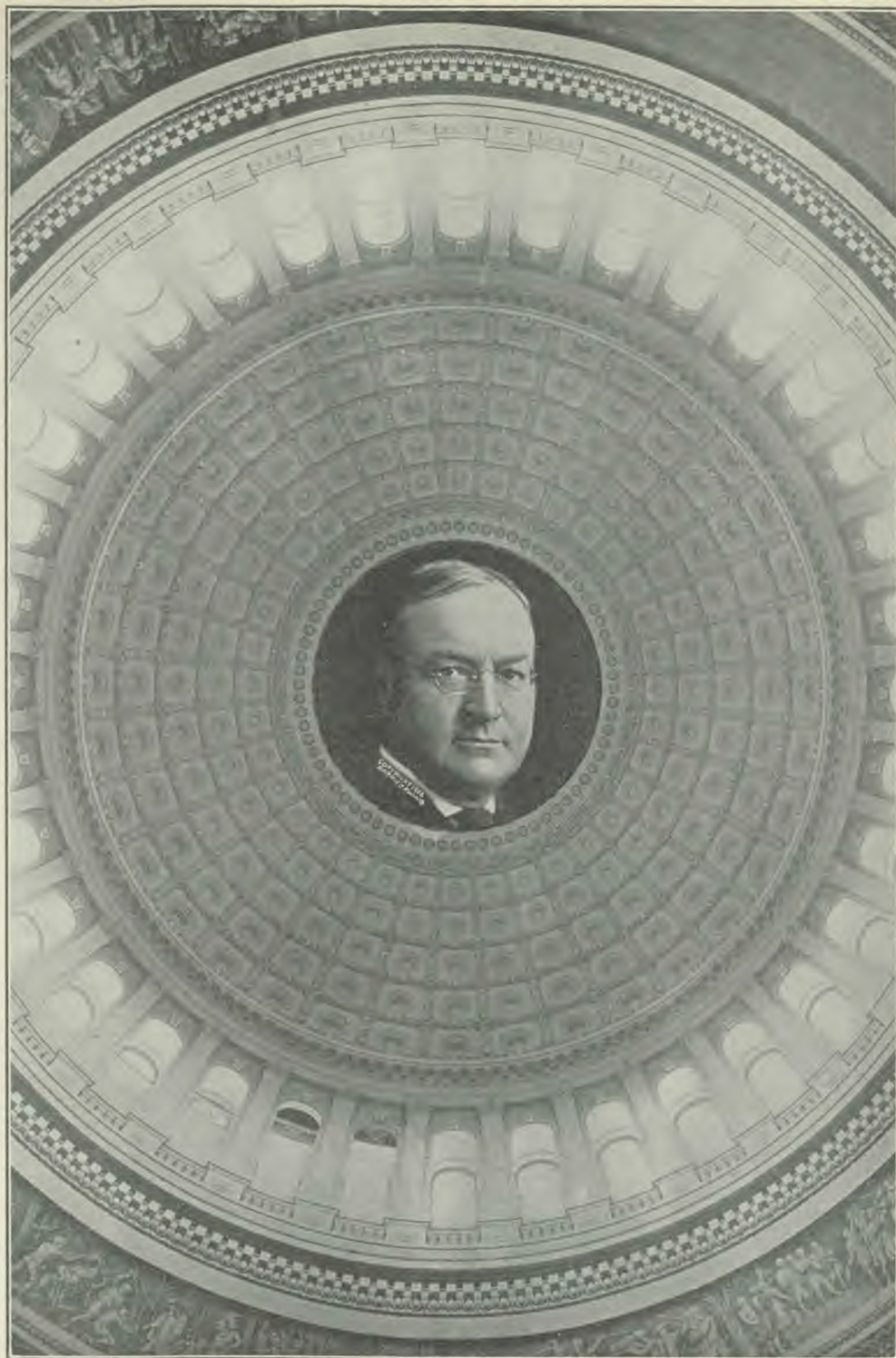




AT THE CAPITOL, MARCH 4

On account of the unfavorable weather conditions, the oath of office was administered by Chief Justice Fuller to the President Elect, Hon. William H. Taft, and he delivered his inaugural address in the Senate chamber. This is the first time that the inaugural exercises have been held in the Senate chamber for many years. Later the President appeared on the platform at the east front of the Capitol and paid his respects to the disappointed crowd





HON. JAMES S. SHERMAN, VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES  
Mr. Sherman's picture appears in the center of a view of the interior of the dome of the Capitol



3. In one of their official documents credit is claimed for the preparation of such a bill as the one now before the committee, and for bringing to bear "the influence of the federation wherever possible in favor of the passage of the bill."

4. The advocates of the enforced observance of the first day of the week desire to secure the action of Congress making a distinction between the first day of the week and other days, being assured that the influence of such legislation will be helpful in securing and enforcing State legislation upon the same subject.

5. Those who are demanding Sunday laws for the ostensible purpose of securing one day of rest in seven for the working men are not satisfied with a law which provides this very thing, unless that day of rest be specified as Sunday. This is shown by the present agitation for a Sunday law in California.

6. The representatives of over thirty Protestant denominations constituting the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America have declared in favor of Sunday laws, and have refused to adopt a resolution disclaiming their intention to do anything which would interfere with the convictions of those who conscientiously observe another day.

7. The exemption clause in the bill before the committee is most convincing proof of the religious character of the bill.

8. Prominent Sunday-law advocates have made most unseemly statements concerning their control of Congress, and their purpose to bring to an end the career of every politician who will not grant their demands.

9. The famous Sunday Mail Report adopted in the United States Senate in 1829 sounds a timely warning against permitting the influence of extensive religious combinations to control the action of Congress.

10. If the laboring men desire to rest upon one day of the week, they should assert their right to do so: no employer can compel them to labor against their will.

#### *A Remarkable Exemption Clause*

Referring to the exemption clause which was attached to the bill when reported by the Senate committee, the editor said: "An examination of this exemption clause will throw much light upon the real character of this proposed legislation. The clause reads thus:—

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

"The conditions herein prescribed should be carefully noted. In order to be exempted from the penalties of this act:—

"1. One must be a member of a religious society which observes as a sabbath some other day than Sunday.

"2. He must observe as a sabbath one day in each seven, 'as herein provided.'

"Interpreting the bill in the light of this exemption clause, it is perfectly clear that it is religious in its character, and that its intention is to require the observance of Sunday as the sabbath. The words 'as herein provided' are of no force whatever unless they mean that this act provides for the observance of one day in each seven as a sabbath. This conclusion is so clear that it requires no argument to establish it.

"Furthermore, although it is claimed in behalf of this bill that its purpose is to secure for employees that measure of rest which their physical nature demands, yet from the penalties of this act certain persons are exempted, not because they have had the benefit of the required physical rest on some other day, but because 'they observe as a sabbath one day in each seven, as herein provided.' That is to say, the purpose of this act is to require the general observance of the first day of the week, commonly called Sunday, as the sabbath, but the observance of some other day of the week as the sabbath will be accepted as a sufficient compliance with the general



spirit of the bill. It is plain upon the face of it that such legislation as this is religious, and from the evidence already submitted it is certain that if the religious bodies now seeking the passage of Sunday laws could have their own way in the matter, even the observance of another day of the week than Sunday as the sabbath would not be allowed as a compliance with the legislation asked for in behalf of the so-called Christian sabbath."

#### *Religious Legislation*

At the conclusion of this argument, W. A. Colcord, secretary of the Religious Liberty Bureau, of Washington, presented a clear and forcible protest against the bill, of which the following is a brief outline:—

Referring to the statement in the famous Sunday Mail Report that "if Congress shall, by the authority of law, sanction the measures recommended [prohibiting the transportation and handling of mails on Sunday], it would constitute a legislative decision of a religious controversy, in which even Christians themselves are at issue," he declared:—

"I bring the direct charge, therefore, that this proposed legislation is religious; that its principal promoters and supporters are religionists; that if passed, it will be the beginning of a religious establishment in the United States, and that in the end, as with all other religious establishments, it will result in religious oppression and persecution."

Convincing proofs were set forth in support of this charge:—

1. "The Sabbath itself is a religious institution."

2. "The chief promoters and supporters of this legislation are religious people."

3. "The movement in the District has been placed in the hands of the 'Inter-denominational Committee upon Sunday Observance in the Capital.'"

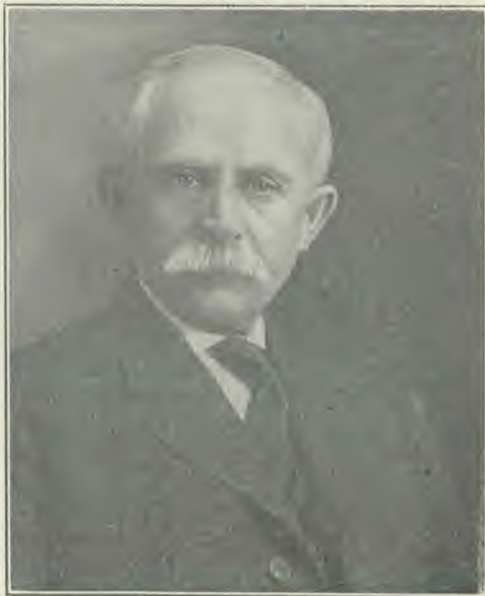
4. "The bill permits only 'sacred concerts' to be given on Sunday."

"5. It exempts upon religious grounds."

6. "Dr. W. F. Crafts said: 'A weekly day of rest has never been permanently secured in any land except on the basis of religious obligation. Take the religion out, and you take the rest out.'"

As to the province of civil government, the speaker said:—

"From a civil standpoint, the only standpoint from which civil government has a right to deal with any question, a



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HON. SAMUEL W. SMITH OF MICHIGAN  
Who was chairman of the House Committee on the District of Columbia, and presided at the hearing on the Johnston Sunday bill

man has as much right not to be religious and not to observe a day of rest as he has to be religious and to observe a day of rest."

As to the need of any legislation in behalf of religion, the speaker quoted Benjamin Franklin:—

"When religion is good, it will take care of itself; when it is not able to take care of itself, and God does not see fit to take care of it, and it has to appeal to a civil power for support, it is evidence to my mind that its cause is a bad one."

#### *Some Arguments Answered*

In answer to some of the arguments urged in behalf of Sunday legislation, the following statements were made:—



"It is asserted that the right of each to rest demands a law of rest for all. This may be good rhetoric, but it is poor logic. Two million Jews and a hundred thousand Christian observers of the seventh day in this country, without a law compelling others to observe it, disprove the statement.

"It is claimed that Sunday laws are essential to religion and the stability of

which would be exerted by the passage of this bill, the speaker, in conclusion, said:—

"If, in response to the wide-spread demand, Congress yields and enacts a compulsory Sunday law, it will in this act reverse the course it has so long consistently and persistently pursued, and repudiate one of the fundamental and most cherished principles of the national gov-



THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES' OFFICE BUILDING

The hearing on the Johnston Sunday bill was held in an office in this building

government. In reply, we need but cite the fact that Sunday laws did not save the Roman empire, nor make a nation of saints. Rome fell, and the Dark Ages followed.

"It is urged that the majority should rule. Not in religious matters, we reply."

Other considerations were urged against the measure, some of which are:—

"All Sunday legislation is a violation of that general constitutional principle so frequently expressed in American law, that 'no preference shall be given by law to any religious sect, society, or mode of worship.'

"No man has the right to compel another man by law to do in religious matters as he does, simply because he believes he is right, or because he may be in the majority."

As to the wide-reaching influence

of the bill, the speaker, in conclusion, said:—

It will be the first fatal step in the downward course of uniting church and state, and will open the flood-gates to a tide of evil, the results of which many little realize."

#### *The Secularist Plea*

Mr. H. C. Kirk, president of the Secular League of Washington, spoke in opposition to the bill, his chief reasons for his attitude being these:—

"We are opposed to this legislation, first, on the ground that where any social difficulty can be remedied without the passage of a law, it is better to accomplish it in that way than to enact legislation."

"The character of this bill, as tending to create new crimes and criminals, is self-condemnatory."

"There is more than that, however. The question of whether a man is a



criminal or not is made to turn upon such fine distinctions."

"Now, there are multitudinous reasons that could be urged against the passage of this bill. Can anybody doubt that it is really — while ostensibly an economic measure and presented as such — in the nature of Sunday legislation, and as such is contrary to the spirit and letter of the Constitution of the United States?"

#### *A Working Man's Argument*

John N. Quinn, of Takoma Park, who had been delegated by the employees of the largest private printing establishment in the District of Columbia to represent them before the committee, gave the following reasons for his opposition to the bill: —

"1. The working man can secure a weekly day of rest without legislation by civil government.

"2. Working men are not agreed either as to the method of securing a weekly rest day or as to the day itself.

"3. The proposed legislation is an acknowledgment of a lack of conscientious conviction.

"4. The working man will not be permitted to exercise his right to decide how he shall observe the day.

"5. It is religious as well as class legislation, and takes issue in a religious controversy.

"6. It places a 'big stick' in the hands of bigots.

"7. The spirit behind the movement is one of intolerance and persecution.

"8. To secure the weekly rest day by civil enactment is to do so illegitimately.

"9. The ultimate of Sunday enforcement will be disaster to religion, the state and the working man."

#### *The Rights of the Individual*

The next fifteen minutes were occupied by A. T. Jones, of Michigan, in an earnest argument against the proposed legislation. He first gave a sketch of Sunday legislation from the time of Constantine to the present, showing that all Sunday legislation in the United States

could be traced through the laws of the colonies and through the laws of England, to their original source in the Roman laws at the time when there was the closest union between church and state. In discussing the exemption clause in the bill, he declared: —

"By the Constitution of the United States and by the divine religion, which



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HON. SAMUEL MC MILLAN OF NEW YORK

A member of the Committee on the District of Columbia who said at the hearing, "I would rather have a love and a respect for the sabbath day implanted in a man's heart than all the laws you could put on the statute-books"

is Christianity, every individual has a divine right, and also a constitutional right, to be religious without belonging to any combination or society in any way whatever."

"This bill, then, plainly requires of all people that they must either observe Sunday or else be 'members of a religious society,' which the state approves, that observes another day. This legislation, therefore, leaves no place whatever for the individual relation to God, or for the individual choice of service to God, as to the observance of a day. Under this bill all the religion that any one is allowed to have as to the observance of a day must be derived from the sanction and the authority of the state."



"This bill makes religion the attribute of a corporation, and of a corporation only. By this bill a man must either observe Sunday as dictated by the state, from the church, or else by edict of the state he must be a 'member of a religious society.'"

"Gentlemen of the Committee: The conclusion of the whole matter, the sum of all that can be said, is that this legislation would doubly revolutionize this whole nation. First, in that, being essentially religious, it commits the nation to the old order of things,—governmental domination of religion and in religion. Secondly, in that it sweeps away absolutely and forevermore all right of individuality in religion. And in this double revolutionizing of things here, it is doubly unconstitutional and doubly antichristian."

#### *No Sabbath Legislation Wanted*

The next speaker was G. B. Thompson, who said, in part:—

"We are told that the reason we are here opposing this bill, Mr. Chairman, is because we keep another day than Sunday. Now, I want to say that we would be opposed to any law that would require anybody to keep the seventh day. We oppose this thing from principle; because the government of this nation has no right to legislate concerning Sunday, or the true Sabbath, or any other day. It is not proper for the state to legislate upon this question.

"Many of the promoters of this bill claim that they do not want religious legislation; that all they want is a civil observance of the day. Now, gentlemen, any law that will keep a man civil on Saturday or on Tuesday will keep him civil on Sunday. We have laws in the District of Columbia that require every man to be civil seven days in the week. Isn't that all that is necessary to make a man civil on Sunday?"

#### *Petitions Presented*

At this juncture petitions against the passage of the bill were presented by W. A. Colcord, secretary of the Religious Liberty Bureau, as follows:—

Two hundred fifty-three petitions from the various States, containing 10,962 signatures.

Eighty-six petitions from the District of Columbia, containing 1,321 signatures.

Three memorials signed by sixty merchants of the District.

Independent Citizens' Union of Maryland, 10,000 members.

Camp Six of Patriotic Order of Sons of America, 346 members.

One petition from California, addressed to Hon. J. C. Needham, containing 108 signatures.

Total, 345 petitions; 22,797 signatures.

There was also presented the following resolution, adopted the previous day:—

"*Resolved*, That the District of Columbia Conference of Seventh-day Adventists enters its most earnest protest against the passage of the Johnston Sunday bill now before the District Committee of the House of Representatives."

In addition to these petitions there have been sent direct to members of Congress a large number of petitions containing many thousands of signatures remonstrating against the proposed legislation. The total number of petitions thus presented to Congress was 1,331, with 52,097 signatures.

#### *Sufficient Legislation Already*

Mr. W. H. Rapley, manager of the New National Theater, and associate manager of the Academy of Music, opposed the bill on the ground that there was already sufficient legislation to meet all requirements.

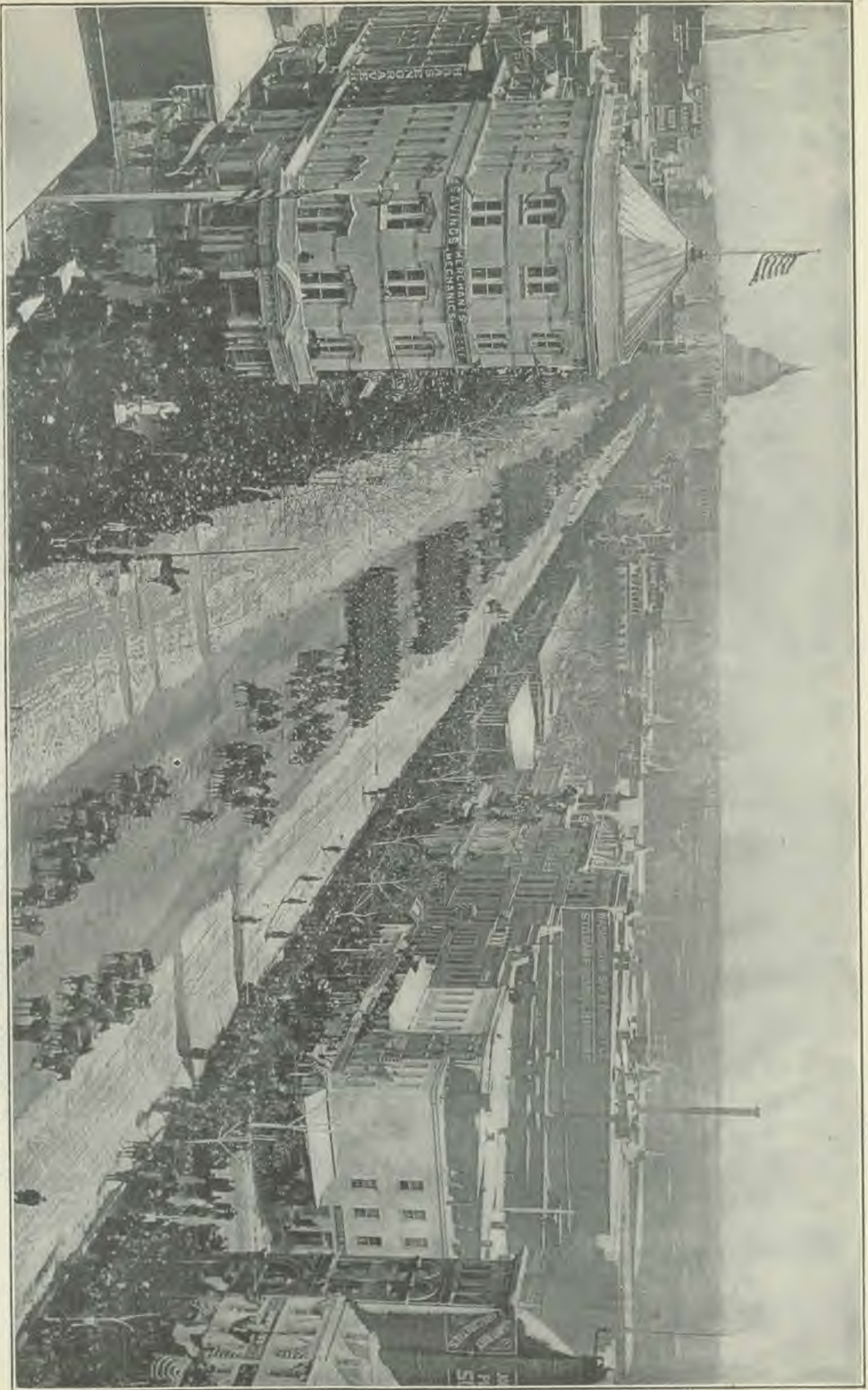
#### *Good Reasons for Opposition*

K. C. Russell, chairman of the Religious Liberty Bureau, presented the next argument against the bill, giving a variety of reasons for his opposition:—

"1. Because, should Congress pass this bill and it become a law, the national government would then be departing from the exalted position it has so long maintained on the principle of a total separation between the church and the state."



BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF THE INAUGURAL PARADE ON PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, MARCH 4, 1909





"2. Because it makes religion a test for a certain class of citizens, in order to be exempt from the penalties of the law; for the bill plainly states that the citizens who are exempted must be members of a religious society."

"3. Because, should the bill become law, it would necessitate that the judge of the police court of the District of Columbia should assume the position of a bishop or moderator in an ecclesiastical tribunal."

"4. Because it is a species of class legislation, based upon a selfish principle."

"5. This bill compels a man to rest on Sunday whether he wishes to or not."

"6. I am opposed to this measure because it would be allowing the majority to control the minority in matters of a religious character."

As illustrating the practical workings of Sunday laws, the following facts were stated:—

"From 1885 to 1896, as the result of the enforcement of Sunday laws, over one hundred Seventh-day Adventists in the United States were prosecuted for quiet work performed on the first day of the week, resulting in fines and costs amounting to \$2,269.69, and imprisonment totaling 1,438 days, and 455 days served in chain-gangs."

#### *A Challenge Accepted*

By the courtesy of the opponents of the bill, time was granted to some of those present who desired to speak in favor of the measure. Mr. E. Hilton Jackson, an attorney, claimed that the Supreme Court of the United States had recognized the constitutionality of State laws relating to the observance of Sunday, on the ground that they were a legitimate exercise of the police power of the State. He read an extract from a court decision which he claimed sustained his contention.

In reply to his challenge calling for a decision of the federal court in favor of the position taken by those who opposed the bill, A. T. Jones stated that

inasmuch as there was no federal Sunday law, there could be no federal decision upon the question, and for that reason it was impossible to produce one. He declared that Congress was prohibited from establishing religion, by the First Amendment; but at the very time when this amendment was adopted, every State, except one, already had an establishment of religion. So far as the United States Constitution is concerned, it would be possible for any State to establish religion by law, and to inflict the most severe punishment upon all who were regarded as heretics.

#### *An Attorney's Admissions*

Mr. Charles F. Diggs appeared as the attorney of one of the clerks' associations of Washington, and urged the passage of the bill in the interests of his clients. He claimed that there was nothing religious in the bill, and seemed to resent the fact that it should be opposed on religious grounds. In his replies, however, to some questions propounded to him, he inadvertently made very clear the real nature of the bill, and his own ideas concerning compulsory observance of Sunday. When asked, "What would you do with a man who does not observe any day?" he said, "I would make him observe the day which the law says." One member of the committee having stated that "the only object of this law is to make a man keep one day in the week, and it makes him do that by law instead of by love," Mr. Diggs acknowledged that this was the case with all Sunday laws, by saying, "That is the same thing that every statute throughout the country does." Being asked if the association which he represented could not protect their members, by adopting certain regulations. Mr. Diggs replied: "So far as the members of our association are concerned, I suppose our members could; but you can bind them much better if you have an act." To this a member of the committee added, "You can create an abuse much better, too."



5093



HITCHCOCK

WICKERSHAM  
CARPENTER (*President's Secretary*)

WILSON

KNOX

NAGEL

THE TAFT CABINET

MAC VEAGH

DICKINSON

BALLINGER

TAFT  
MEYER

*Copyright, Clinedinst*



*An Embarrassing Question*

Mr. King, the president of the Georgetown Citizens' Association, urged the passage of the bill in behalf of some of the residents of Georgetown, but introduced no argument of any weight. His chief plea was that unless all stores were closed on Sunday, those who did close would suffer the loss of their trade, which would be likely to be transferred to the stores which kept open. Being asked whether he knew of any city in the country where Sunday was better observed than in Washington, and being pressed to a definite reply, Mr. King was obliged to say, "No, I do not know that I do," and the member of the committee who asked the question then declared: "I would rather have a love and a respect for the sabbath day implanted in a man's heart than all the laws you could put on the statute-books." When pleading for Sunday laws to prevent the importation of the Continental Sunday into America, and citing the laxness with which Sunday was observed in London as an example of what should be avoided, Mr. King was considerably nonplussed to be told that there were twenty-seven Sunday laws in force in London.

*Sarcastic Mr. Sands*

Mr. F. P. B. Sands, representing the Master Butchers' Association of the District of Columbia and its employees, was the next speaker who undertook to urge the passage of the bill. Mr. Sands was very sarcastic in his reference to the opponents of the measure, saying: "We have listened to a great many essays upon religious views of individuals representing different religious bodies." He gave a brief outline of his hitherto unsuccessful efforts to secure the passage of the law for the benefit of his clients; and declared: "This is no religious question. I drafted the bill, and I never consulted or asked or talked with any priest or minister of any denomination." He argued that it was "an affront to the intelligence of the committee" for the opponents of the meas-

ure to criticize the exemption clause, which, he stated, "is intended to give them all the protection they ask for under the bill." It did not seem to dawn upon the mind of Mr. Sands that it was possible for any one to oppose this legislation because of the wrong principles involved, or that any one could have any other purpose than a selfish one, merely to avoid arrest and prosecution, in appearing against the bill.

*A Demand for Protection*

Mr. Henry I. Meader spoke in behalf of the retail grocers, stating: "We want a law here to protect those business men who do keep open, in closing on Sunday, so that they may close any day they see fit." "We appeal to you [the committee] that you give us the proper kind of day, that we may have a day of rest." "The Jews, and Seventh-day Adventists, and various other denominations can have their day of rest just the same as we are asking for here." If Mr. Meader, and those whom he represented, were willing to follow the example of Seventh-day Adventists,—decide upon a day which they would observe as the sabbath, and then observe it, without asking for a law compelling every one else to observe the same day,—there would be no occasion for further legislation, and congressional committees would not be compelled to devote any of their time to hearings upon proposed Sunday laws.

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It is not toleration which is established in our system, but religious liberty.—*Judge Cooley.*

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Of course, the church has and ought to have authority in the administration of her internal affairs, but she should have no authority whatever over the public, or over any individual outside her own institutions. Beyond her own walls let the church have unbounded influence, but not one iota of authority.—*Dr. Strong.*



## *A Proposed Religious Amendment to the Constitution of the United States*

W. A. COLCORD

ON February 4, Senator Richardson, of Delaware, introduced in the Senate of the United States, by request, the following joint resolution proposing a religious amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which was twice read and referred to the Committee on Judiciary:—

### “JOINT RESOLUTION

“Proposing an amendment to the Constitution acknowledging the Deity in this foundation document of the government.

“*Whereas*, Said acknowledging of the Deity is reasonably desired by many citizens of this country, and is in the interests of the highest vital truth, morality, and fitness; therefore be it,—

“*Resolved* by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following prefix be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, as part of the Constitution; namely,—

“The preamble to the Constitution shall begin with the words and sentence:—

“‘In the name of God.’”

The proposed amendment consists simply of the last five words, “In the name of God.” And although apparently so trifling and insignificant, and though put in a phrase so familiar and friendly to the ear, in this proposed amendment contained in these five short, monosyllabic words, is couched all the evils of National Reformism,—the principle of uniting church and state in the United States, the enforcement of religious observances here by law, and the oppression and persecution of all who refuse to conform to the religion and the religious observances here established by law. Add these words to

the Constitution, and the whole document will be leavened with National Reformism.

From the first, the National Reform Association has sought to secure a religious amendment to the Constitution of the United States. In the convention assembled at Xenia, Ohio, Feb. 3, 4, 1863, where this association had its origin, such an amendment was proposed. The convention, with its representatives from eleven Protestant denominations, was agreed in the proposition to make an effort “to secure an amendment which should suitably express the religious sentiment of the nation.”

Later conventions were called “to secure the religious amendment of the Constitution of the United States.” The convention held the next year at Allegheny, Pa., Jan. 27, 1864, passed a resolution to send a memorial and petition to Congress, asking that measures be adopted for amending the Constitution so as to read, in substance, as follows:—

“We the people of the United States [humbly acknowledging Almighty God as the source of all authority and power in civil government, the Lord Jesus Christ as the ruler among the nations, his revealed will as the supreme law of the land, in order to constitute a Christian government, and] in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity,” etc.

For years the association was called “The National Association for the Amendment of the Constitution.” For years it has circulated petitions calling for this amendment. Article II of its constitution reads:—

“The object of this society shall be to maintain existing Christian features in the American government; to promote needed reforms in the action of the government touching the sabbath, the institution of the family, the religious element in education, the oath, and public morality as affected by the liquor traffic and other kindred evils; and to secure such an amendment to the Constitution of the United States as will declare the



nation's allegiance to Jesus Christ, and its acceptance of the moral laws of the Christian religion, and so indicate that this is a Christian nation, and place all the Christian laws, institutions, and usages of our government on an undeniable legal basis in the fundamental law of the land."

In this latest effort, therefore,—the amendment introduced by Senator Rich-

It would remind us of the man in Texas, who, being himself unable to write, asked an amanuensis to write a letter for him to his lady friend. He said he did not know just what to say, but there was one word he desired in the letter, and he was not particular, he said, where it was inserted, whether at the beginning, in the middle, or at the close of the letter; and that was the word "neverthe-



*Photo by Chnedmst*

THE BLACK HORSE BRIGADE OF CLEVELAND, OHIO, — THE PRESIDENT'S ESCORT

This picture indicates the weather conditions which prevailed in Washington on inauguration day  
ardson in the last Congress,— can be seen all that the National Reform Association has been calling for all these years.

Did we not know the far-reaching design behind this, and the deep-seated evil involved in it, the proposition to add so few, so simple, and otherwise such harmless words to the great charter of the land, would seem almost ludicrous.

less." That, he said, was such a beautiful word he wished it in the letter.

So the National Reformers think of this phrase, "In the name of God." It is such a beautiful phrase they want it in the Constitution; and they are not very particular where it goes in,—at the beginning, the middle, or at the close,—just so it goes in. And their request might be granted without protest were



it not for the evil that would go along with it. But once let them succeed in this, and everything would be made of it, just as they have already made of the two words in parenthesis "(Sunday excepted)" found in the Constitution; and a new impetus would be given to the movement to establish religion and enforce religious observances, particularly Sunday observance, by law in this country. For this reason we are opposed to any such amendment.

### *The Limits of Civil Authority*

L. A. SMITH

THERE are limits to the authority of the civil power, and these limits should be clearly understood by the people. A republican form of government, as contrasted with an absolute monarchy, implies a limitation to the powers of the government beyond which it can not rightfully go.

Civil government is not the custodian of the souls of the people. Upon all the pages of human history the truth is written plainly that there are two spheres of life within which man moves, with one of which — the higher sphere of conscience and of his relation to God — the civil power can rightfully have nothing to do. Again and again the Almighty has vindicated the course of those who, in order to be true to him, have refused obedience to unjust mandates from the civil authority. The darkest pages of history are those recording the results of the invasion of the realm of conscience by the civil power. The early history of most of the leading religious denominations of this day was marked by their resistance to the dictates of the civil power outside the sphere of its legitimate authority.

The true sphere of civil government was well defined by the men who founded the American republic. The Declaration of Independence, justifying the separation from Great Britain, which led to the founding of this nation, says: "We hold these truths to be self-evident,

that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed." This is the principle of government upon which this nation is established.

### *Some Reasons for Opposing Sunday Laws*

K. C. RUSSELL

1. BECAUSE the enactment of Sunday laws is religious legislation, and is therefore unconstitutional.

2. Because to enact such laws involves a legislative decision on a religious question, which is not within the province of the state.

3. Because Sunday laws sanction majority rule in religious matters.

4. Because Sunday laws are a step in uniting church and state.

5. Because Sunday laws violate the principles taught by the founders of this country — Washington, Madison, Franklin, and others — on the limits of civil authority.

6. Because Sunday laws would establish a precedent for the enactment of other laws of a religious character.

7. Because such legislation has been a bane to every government which has consented to it.

8. Because the government, in making Sunday laws, must define which day of the week is the true Sabbath, and thus assume the right to be an interpreter of the Bible.

9. Because Sunday laws practically impose a tax of one-seventh part of time for the support of a religious institution.

10. Because such laws create a hypocritical form of sabbath observance, and thus bring religion into disrepute.

11. Because Sunday laws are a species of class legislation, in that they are in the interest of a certain class of citizens at the expense of others.



12. Because such laws encourage citizens to act as spies upon their neighbors who do not agree with them in matters of religion.

13. Because such laws interfere with the religious freedom, even of those who regard Sunday as a day of rest.

14. Because such laws destroy the peace and domestic tranquillity of citizens, by invading the rights of conscience on the question of Sabbath observance.

15. Because Sunday laws are designed to protect a certain day of the week, instead of the citizens.

16. Because such legislation is a governmental prop in support of the Sunday institution, which is devoid of divine authority.

17. Because such laws deprive the citizen of the right of choice in the matter of Sabbath observance.

18. Because such laws tend to produce a religious monopoly.

19. Because such laws make an act criminal on Sunday that is perfectly proper on other days of the week.

20. Because such laws promote hypocrisy, by making persons appear to be religious through compulsory rest on Sunday.

21. Because such laws are a violation of the golden rule, which says: "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them."

22. Because such legislation puts the state in the place of God, in that the state assumes the responsibility of dictating to the citizen when and how he shall observe the Sabbath.

23. Because Sabbath observance is to be rendered to God and not to civil government, according to Christ's words, "Render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's and to God the things that are God's."

THE whole history of the Christian religion shows that she is in far greater danger of being corrupted by the alliance of power than of being crushed by its opposition.—*Lord Macaulay.*

## Public Opinion

*Pertinent Extracts from Various Writers  
Relating to Religious Liberty*

### Government and Religion

THE less the state government has to do with questions that concern religion in any way, the better for the state and for religion.—*St. Louis Post-Despatch, March 7, 1909.*

### The Purpose Behind Sunday Laws

IF Sunday, as you [another writer] say, is merely a rest day, so made by law, and all forms of amusement should be barred chiefly because those who contribute to this amusement will be compelled to labor on that day, then we would have to do away with Sunday lectures, the pulpit, and all forms of Sunday labor. The preacher works with greater zest on that day; the musicians, the choir, all contributing to the entertainment of those who attend churches, work no whit less hard than the members of some dramatic company, and in a certain sense to the same end—entertainment.

And if Sunday is to be regarded merely as a rest day, how about the housewife at home, or the domestic, or the vast army of hotel waiters, or the employees at cafés and restaurants, who find the burden of work as great as on any other day, if not greater? . . .

Why not let the people have their choice as to how they shall spend their rest day, always barring on Sunday anything that should be barred on Monday, Tuesday, or any day in the week—anything vicious? . . .

The fact always remains that in all legislation restricting certain amusements on Sunday, the governing motive is a desire to coerce those whose sentiments in regard to the sacredness of the day



differ from their own. Their motive may be pure enough. It may be the same motive that caused the spanking when we went in swimming on Sunday. But when we set ourselves up as judges of conscience, we become bigots.

My neighbor may enjoy going to church to listen to Dr. Fourthly's sermons. No law says that he shall not, and I certainly do not say he shall not. Even the law upholds Dr. Fourthly in his perspiring work in the pulpit every Sunday. My neighbor's wife may find equal pleasure in showing off her new bonnet at that church, and to her Sunday may be a day of social conquest. I, on the other hand, regarding Dr. Fourthly as rather tiresome, but with a view toward mental relaxation, without which Sunday can not be a day of rest, would fain hie me to the athletic park and root for my favorite nine. But the law says I shall not. And it is because my neighbor says I shall not that the law says so.

Of course if one takes a strictly religious view of Sunday, regarding it as a day sacredly set apart by the Lord, then this enthusiasm for its strictly religious observance is explained; but the law can take no account of religious views. Why, there is a large and powerful religious denomination, one of whose tenets is the belief that it is a sin to eat meat on Friday. Were this denomination sufficiently strong to propose the enactment of a law prohibiting the eating of meat on Friday, would the people who now agitate the maintenance of laws as to how I shall or shall not amuse myself on Sunday, tamely submit? I hardly think so.—*N. H. Johnson, in Nebraska State Journal, March 4, 1909.*

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### *Alliance of Church and State*

ONE of the great questions that is going to confront the people of this country is the question of an alliance between church and state. The religious forces are more and more encroaching upon the confines of the

secular state. The church is making demands upon the state which it has no right to make. . . . To one who reads the signs of the times this is going to be the next great and vital question before the people of the republic. . . . It does not require a prophet's vision to forecast that this is a problem that is soon going to vex this country. When the biennial council of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations declared through a resolution that this was not a Christian country, a number of Christian denominations at once came out in protest against the position taken by the council. . . .

The Jew is far from attempting to dictate the policy of this nation. He does not need to attempt to dictate it. The position of this country on the church-and-state question has been dictated by the fathers of our country. The Jew is willing to abide by that, and he is anxious for all the citizens of this country to abide by their policy. There are not a few Jews who are of the opinion that the Jew should display the Marano spirit in this question and cowardly say nothing.

This is not a Jewish, it is not a Christian, question. It is an American question. Every true lover of his country should think deeply on this question. He should not view it from a narrow, selfish, creedal standpoint. He should view it in the broadest light of the truest and highest Americanism. If he does, there can be but one answer to this question, and that is that church and state should be kept apart. All citizens are not going to view it in this light. It therefore behooves all true lovers of their country, no matter what their creed, to band together to take a united stand on this question. It behooves all men who believe in a secular state to join hands and present a solid front so as to be prepared to meet the question when it comes before the public.—*Tobias Schanfarber, in The Chicago Israelite, Feb. 20, 1909.*



# Religion and Science

## Creation in Science

GEORGE MC CREADY PRICE

THE most obvious, the most patent explanation of the sea-shells on the mountain tops, and the forests buried a mile or so down in the ground,—conditions that prevail almost everywhere on earth,—is the Biblical explanation that they were buried by the waters of the great deluge. This explanation was virtually the only one generally received until about a hundred years ago, when another theory was invented, of quiet, gradual change prolonged over millions and millions of ages, which perhaps filled a "long-felt want" on the part of unbelievers. At all events, it soon became very fashionable, and is to-day generally accepted in modern, scientific circles.

It is true that the world of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries did not have any very profound knowledge of the rocks or the fossils. But they had gained only a very limited knowledge of the plants and animals still living in our modern world. It may surprise most of my readers to learn that up to the beginning of the nineteenth century geology and paleontology were much further advanced than botany and zoology. That is, in most of the important groups of plants and animals, the detailed knowledge of the fossil forms preceded by many years the knowledge of the corresponding living forms. In the same way the theories about the igneous origin of granite were invented before men knew the chemical make-up of these rocks or their microscopic construction. Hence I say that a knowledge of the rocks and the fossil forms had progressed more rapidly than most of the correlated sciences up to the opening of what we may term modern times, or the beginning of the nineteenth century.

But the most striking fact about the history of modern science is that, while the other branches of nature study have

made marvelous progress in theoretical as well as practical ways, geology all this time has been absolutely at a standstill. I do not mean that no great discoveries have been made in the field of geology in the meantime. Many and wonderful discoveries have indeed been made, perhaps more so than in any other branch of science except electricity and microscopic biology. But the difference is that, unlike the case of the other sciences, this progress in discovery has not been met with a corresponding advance and improvement in geological theory to keep the science up to date and consistent with the new facts. In every other branch of science men have felt compelled to continually revise their old theories whenever these have become outgrown, or whenever it is seen that these theories will no longer explain the newly discovered facts. This is true progress. But not thus with the antiquated science of geology. In this science the theories of a hundred years ago are still implicitly believed and followed, in spite of an accumulated mass of facts that ought to have put them into limbo scores of years ago. An all-embracing theory of the order in which the fossils would always be found to occur, was invented a hundred years ago in a little corner of western Europe to explain some local phenomena, and it was assumed on this narrow data that over all the rest of the world the fossils must always occur in the exact order there observed. And this theory has dominated the whole science since with such arbitrary power that modern explorers among the rocks in Asia, in Africa, and in America, are constantly called upon to deny the positive evidence of their senses whenever they find the strata occurring in the reverse of this accepted order. All kinds of imaginary folds or twists or slidings in mountain masses or even whole countries, involving thousands of square miles of territory, or perhaps the



turning upside down of a district four or five hundred square miles in area, are invented in demonstration of the loving allegiance with which the infallibility of this life-succession theory is regarded by modern geologists.

And this fanatical adherence to an antiquated theory is necessitated solely by the fear that otherwise we could not avoid the belief in the Biblical record of a universal deluge. The instinctive dread of seeing the ghosts of the antediluvian world arise from every stone-quarry or every mine shaft, confirmatory of the Bible record, has kept modern geologists whipped into line in obedience to this out-of-date theory. Because our increasing knowledge of the underground conditions in all parts of the world only confirms more and more the wonderful record of the Scriptures, that "the world that then was, being overflowed with water, perished."

And if the fossils in the rocks were placed there by the great watery disturbance of the flood, the conclusion is inevitable that, back of all this, there must have been a literal, immediate creation, at some definite time not very long previously.

Everywhere in the stratified rocks we find remains of plants and animals that once flourished in our world. They have been buried in the ground for untold centuries; and yet they are manifestly the predecessors or ancestors of the plants and animals now living. And when the human mind, inquiring into the origin of things, seeks to know how or when the present forms of life had their beginning, it becomes self-evident that the key to this question, if there be a key, is to be found in the right understanding of how these fossils were buried, and how they themselves originated.

Of course a superficial study of the question soon led people to talk of various successive ages in which these deposits had been made, thus extending the beginning of things back into the abysmal recesses of eternity, and laying the essential foundation for the development the-

ory. For often immensely thick deposits of rock were found interbedded between various types of life; and the discoverers would grow eloquent in picturing the vast eons that must have elapsed after the lower beds were formed before the upper ones were deposited. Perhaps the lower or older beds would be remains of land plants, and the upper fossils would be crinoids or other deep-sea forms, with all these strata hundreds of yards thick lying in between. It was such conditions as these that gave a seeming reality to the successive ages pictured in such vivid language by the fertile imaginations of geologists. And of course those types of life found at the bottom were necessarily the oldest of the series, and those on top were younger to the extent of the vast eons of time represented by the beds spread out between.

But these were altogether superficial conclusions; for it was soon noticed that not always the same kinds of fossils were thus found at the bottom, or next to the granite. Perhaps those found on top in one place, and thus judged younger at least than many others, would elsewhere be found at the bottom, or next to the Archæan or granite; that is, in the position of what were supposed to be the oldest. Or perhaps two distinct types of fossils, in many places found separated by vast beds of strata supposed to represent vast eons of time, would in other places be found the one on top of the other with nothing intervening, and with every physical appearance of having been deposited together at approximately the same time. Or perhaps in still another place, the traditional order in which the fossils ought to occur would be found entirely reversed, that is, the supposed "oldest" kinds would be on top where the youngest ought to be, while deep down beneath them would be the so-called "youngest," with every physical appearance of having been actually deposited in this order, and the whole on an immense scale extending over perhaps five hundred or a thousand square miles of territory.



The popular theory of successive ages represented by definite, successive types of life always found in an invariable order of sequence, is manifestly helpless to explain these facts. In reality they prove that no type of fossils is old, and none is young; that there is absolutely no way of proving one type older than another. This theory of successive ages of life never was a scientific generalization of any value, because it was adopted at the very dawn of the science on childish insufficient data. It was invented in France or England to explain the order in which the rocks seemed to occur in those localities; and from the first it involved the monstrous assumption that over all the rest of the world the rocks must always be found in the exact order observed in these insignificant corners of western Europe. It is surprising that men calling themselves scientific, and claiming to follow the methods of Bacon and Newton, should ever have been guilty of such slipshod reasoning. But it is absolutely amazing that modern scientists should still cling to such a primitive, puerile theory, in view of what we now know of the absolutely irregular order in which the rocks occur, taking the world all over. And I do not see how we can any longer avoid the conclusion that no one type of fossil is older than another, but all of approximately the same age, representing one complete world, and doubtless buried in one great universal catastrophe of world ruin.

Nothing resembles this childish theorizing of the geologists from such insufficient data so well as the exquisite fable of the three little green peas in the little green pod. These wise little fellows noticed that their little world was all green, and they themselves green likewise, and they shrewdly concluded that the whole universe must also be green. And yet we are not told of their traveling throughout the universe and systematically explaining all subsequently observed colors in terms of their theory, as the geologists have done for nearly a hundred years, blaming the Bible all the while because it

would not confirm their absurd speculations.

But with the great fossil world before us for explanation as to how it was buried, and with all previous theories exploded about a definite order in which they occur, or the successive ages which they were supposed to represent, the conclusion is absolutely unavoidable that they represent a complete world buried at one time, as the Scriptures state. While back of it all, looming up through the dawn as the mists of evolution and cosmological speculations clear away, twentieth century science must stand with uncovered head and bowed form in presence of that most august thought of the human mind, "In the beginning God created."

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### *The Unproved Assumptions of Evolution*

IF blind adherence to unproved assumptions constitutes mental freedom, one might readily understand the significance of the glowing tributes which are now being paid to Darwin's memory. Those eulogists are guilty of the same fault which they attribute to the supernatural believer. The man of supernatural faith believes, on the authority of God the revealer, things which can not be proved. These modern disciples of Darwin accept things without proof because of an overweening confidence in the superiority of their own intellect, which makes them believe that they see, when in reality they do not see.

The whole theory of evolution on its rational side is based on a series of assumptions for which no definite proof is forthcoming. Not only is it unable to indicate the start of life, but it fails utterly to explain the origin and growth of the noblest sentiments with which human nature is endowed.—*Selected.*

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"By the word of the Lord were the heavens made; and all the host of them by the breath of his mouth."



# Temperance

## The Emperor for Temperance

EDITORIAL

THE growth of the temperance sentiment throughout the world has not been as rapid as it might have been if those in authority had always used the strong influence of their example in the interests of right principles. The President who turns down his glass at a banquet where wine is served strengthens many another of weaker will to do the same on that or some other occasion. It is with pleasure, therefore, that the friends of temperance have learned of the action of Emperor William of Germany in regard to the use of alcoholic beverages. Induced, possibly, to take such action by the constant increase

of 2,020,674,300 gallons a year, or thirty-three and one-half gallons for every man, woman, and child in the whole German empire.

The emperor doubtless reasoned that his example would be more telling than his words in combating the evil. Therefore it was that he made the decision, in December last, to abstain henceforth from the use of intoxicating liquors as a beverage, and personally to use at state banquets and receptions a temperance beverage, specially prepared for that purpose. There is probably no other record in history of a crowned monarch taking such a position.

During the proceedings of the Methodist Preachers' Meeting at New York on Dec. 21, 1908, resolutions were adopted congratulating the emperor upon the position he had taken, and assuring him of the prayers of the 974 ministers present and the 200,000 communicants whom they represented. An engrossed copy of these resolutions, a reduced facsimile of which appears on this page, was forwarded to the emperor through the American minister at Berlin. It is hoped that from the influence of this example much good may accrue to the cause of temperance not only in Germany, but throughout the world.





## Personal Liberty

C. P. BOLLMAN

It is insisted by many that prohibitory liquor laws interfere with personal liberty; but the contention is false. No man has a right to do anything that needlessly places the life or property of others in jeopardy. No man has a right to domicile even his own family in an

It is not true that whisky does not hurt those who let it alone. It lays a heavy tribute of loss of property, of happiness, and even of life, upon thousands of innocent victims every year.

Have those who are taxed to support courts, jails, hospitals, and asylums no rights the saloon-keeper and the tippler are bound to respect? Has the sober workman no right of protection against the unsteady hand or the dizzy head of his intoxicated fellow workman? Have the men, women, and children who throng our streets or traverse our country roads no right of protection against the numerous accidents due not to their own personal indulgence, but to the indulgence of others, in intoxicating liquors? Have the wives and children of drinking men no right of protection against the drink demon?

Truly it is not only the right, but the bounden duty, of the state to extend protection to all these. As well claim personal liberty in justification of the reckless automobilist, the sneak thief, the thug, the mur-

derer, as for the drunkard and the saloon-keeper.



A FALSE PLEA

SALOONIST: "Don't interfere with personal liberty. I have a right to roll this stone where I please"

PROHIBITIONIST: "No, you have no right to wreck the lives of the people"

unsafe building. If he lives in a city, he has no right to maintain defective flues or use defective stovepipes. The law takes cognizance of these things, for the reason that by occupying unsafe buildings and using defective flues one jeopardizes life and property. For a like reason, civil law may properly prohibit the sale, and even the use, of intoxicating beverages, since every intoxicated man is a menace to the peace and safety of his neighbors, and a source of danger to their property.

### The Only Safe Way

ONE popular fallacy is that the moderate drinker may remain always as such; that he has the matter completely under his control; that he is master of the situation; that he can play with the serpent and not be bitten. "The prudent man foreseeth the evil, and hideth himself: but the simple pass on, and are



punished." This fallacious reasoning is the comfort and stay of the average moderate drinker (if he reasons at all), and the cause of the ruin of more lives than any other argument that has been brought forth to sustain the false doctrine that moderate drinking is always under control, and that the habit can be left off at any time, and always be kept within the limitations of safety and sobriety. . . .

As a rule, all habitual drinkers were once moderate drinkers. There may be instances where men have plunged suddenly into violent excesses with suicidal intent, but such exceptions are rare. The rule is that the habit starts from the first glass, and in some cases its course is run more rapidly than others. . . . There is only one safe and certain way, and that is, Avoid the use of alcoholic beverages in moderation, and you will never use them to excess.—From "The Moderate Drinker," by L. D. Mason, M. D.

## A Temperance Handbill

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#### Special Advantages

Special dividend of Delirium Tremens to old depositors.

Free ticket to ruin to all who pay well at the counter.

Free tickets every year to one hundred thousand depositors, securing for them drunkards' graves in the potters' fields

of our nation's numerous cemeteries.

Thousands and thousands of free admission tickets to jails, penitentiaries, and asylums every year.

Ten thousand murders and violent deaths annually.

Children of depositors sent free to almshouses and orphanages for other people to support.

Wives and mothers condemned to lives of drudgery and want.

We obey ALL laws EXCEPT those prohibiting gambling, allowing minors in saloons and selling to minors, harboring gambling slot-machines and lewd pictures, and the mandates of the great moral laws of Christianity, and are particularly desirous of the indorsement of wives and mothers.

(The reverse side)

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One was warned away from town under penalty of a five months' jail sentence if he returned.

Three were suspected of counterfeiting, and left.

A large number are frequently in jail.

Most of the balance ain't worth fooling with — they've got no money.

We are just obliged to have new customers, fresh young blood, or we will have to shut up shop.

Don't make any difference whose boys you are, we need you.

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# LIFE AND HEALTH

Takoma Park

Washington, D. C.



**LIBERTY***The Official Organ of the Religious  
Liberty Bureau*Department of the General Conference of  
Seventh-day Adventists

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READERS of LIBERTY throughout the country are invited to send to this Office clippings from papers and magazines pertaining to the current history of the rights of conscience. The name and date of the publication from which the article is taken should always accompany it.

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RELIGIOUS legislation has been proposed recently in a number of States, among which are these: Maine, Connecticut, New York (twenty-one bills), Indiana, Iowa, Wisconsin, Nebraska, Missouri (eight bills), Oregon, and California. The friends of religious liberty have been active in opposing all these measures.

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WE take pleasure in inviting attention both to the appearance and to the contents of this number of LIBERTY. The attractive appearance of the cover will constitute a pleasing invitation to examine the magazine, and we believe that candid readers will not be disappointed with what they find inside the cover. Being, so far as we know, the only magazine of its kind published in America, it is deserving of very wide circulation, and we invite all friends of liberty to

co-operate with us in enlarging the sphere of influence of a publication devoted to so worthy a cause.

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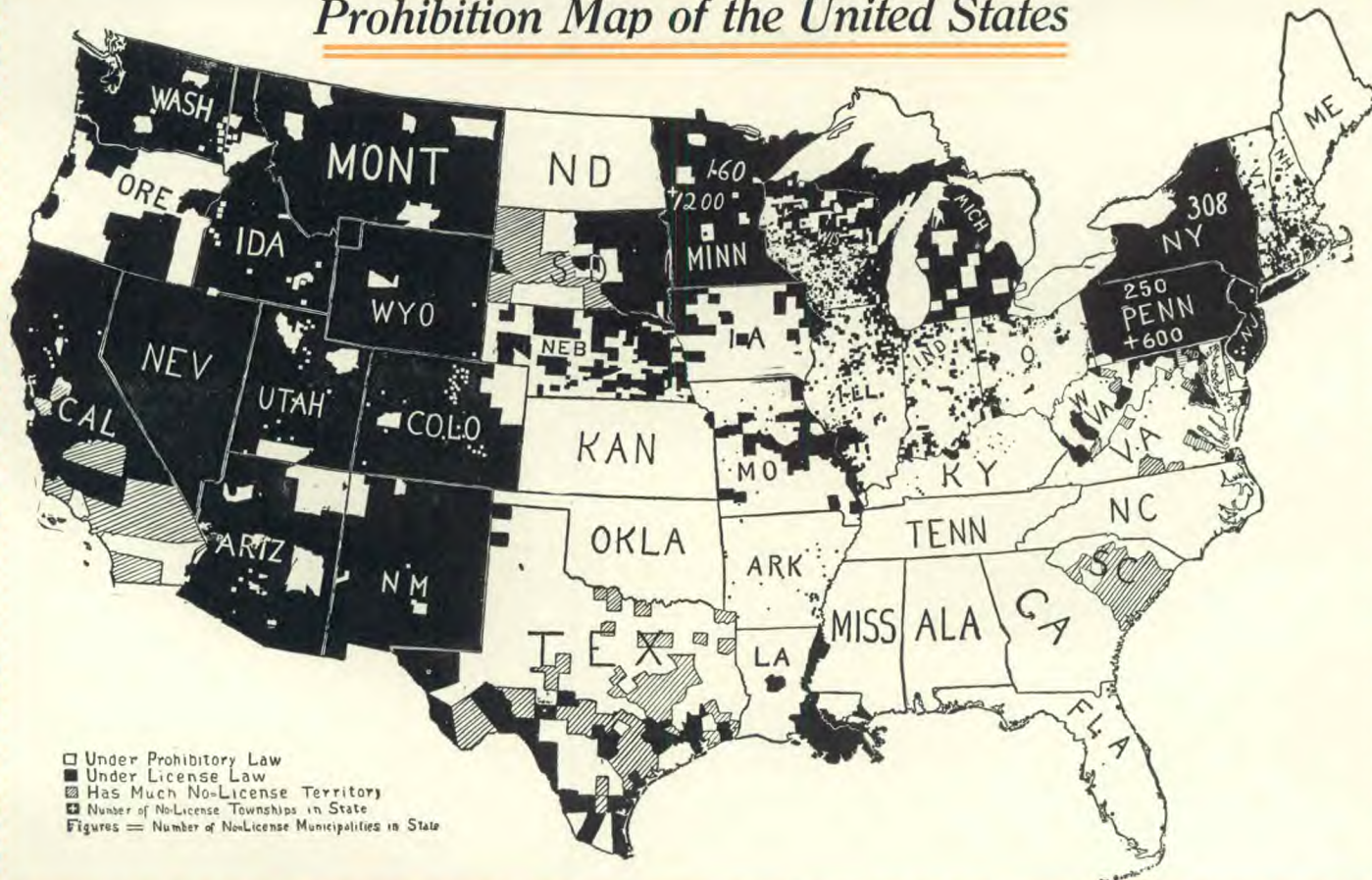
THOSE Constitutional provisions which were intended by the founders of this government as effective barriers against a union of church and state were established by Christian men, in harmony with Christian principles, and in the interest of a pure Christianity. Any effort to override these provisions, and to make use of the authority of the state for the furtherance of the aims of the church, however sincere may be the motives of those who make it, is contrary to Christian principles, and to whatever extent it is successful will prove detrimental to the best interests of both the church and the state.

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WHEN a man has been proved guilty of a certain offense, it is no justification of his course for him to declare that others have done the same thing. His assertion may be true, but his own offense is not excused thereby. So when it is clearly established by the unimpeachable testimony of history that Roman Catholics have been intolerant of dissenters and have used the state as an instrument of persecution, it is no excuse for their course to prove that Protestants have done the same thing. The Christian and the true Protestant principles forbid any effort to coerce the religious belief of any one, and the fact that these principles have been violated by professed Protestants is no just reason for abandoning right principles and for assuming lordship over the consciences of the people. All the sophistries of the dialecticians can not make wrong right. All the wisdom of all the medieval scholastics can not justify oppression or persecution in matters of religion.



## Prohibition Map of the United States





A large, ornate, black decorative initial letter 'C' with intricate scrollwork and floral patterns. It is positioned at the start of the first paragraph.

CIVIL liberty has never materially advanced and never has become satisfactorily secure except as it has been preceded by the recognition of man's right to religious liberty.

Religious liberty is the most convincing test of free institutions and of the genuine character of civil liberty.

Religious liberty, as we understand and enjoy it, is impossible where there is a union of church and state.

—James M. King.