

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*



GEORGE MASON

Author of the famous Virginia Bill of Rights

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Religious Liberty Association

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

Scriptural Basis: "Render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and to God the things that are God's." "The powers that be are ordained of God."

1. The Bible is the Word of God, and Jesus Christ the Saviour of the world.
2. The ten commandments are the foundation of all morality, and comprehend the whole duty of man, both to God and man.
3. The religion of Jesus Christ, being founded in the love of God, needs no human power to support or enforce it. Love can not be forced.
4. It is the right, and should be the privilege, of every individual to worship, or not to worship, according to the dictates of his own conscience, provided that in the exercise of that right he does not interfere with the equal rights of others.
5. Civil government is of divine origin, designed for the protection of men in the enjoyment of their natural rights. It is ordained to rule in civil things, and in this realm is entitled to the respectful obedience of all.
6. The civil power is not authorized to enter the realm of religion, enacting legislation to define or to enforce any religious dogma, ritual, or observance. Coercion in matters of religion always means persecution.
7. All religious legislation on the part of the state, and all movements tending to unite church and state, are subversive of human rights, persecuting in character, and opposed to the best interests of both church and state.
8. It is proper, therefore, for all to protest against, and use every laudable and legitimate means to prevent, religious legislation, or the union of church and state, in order that all may enjoy the inestimable blessings of religious liberty.
9. The warfare of modern science and modern theology upon the Word of God is a warfare upon the liberties of men, which are defined and guaranteed by that Word.
10. The liquor traffic is a curse to the home, to society, and to the nation, and a menace to civil order, and should be prohibited by law.

For further information regarding the principles of this association, address the Religious Liberty Association, Takoma Park, Washington, D. C. (secretary, K. C. Russell; corresponding secretary, S. B. Horton), or any of the affiliated organizations given below:—

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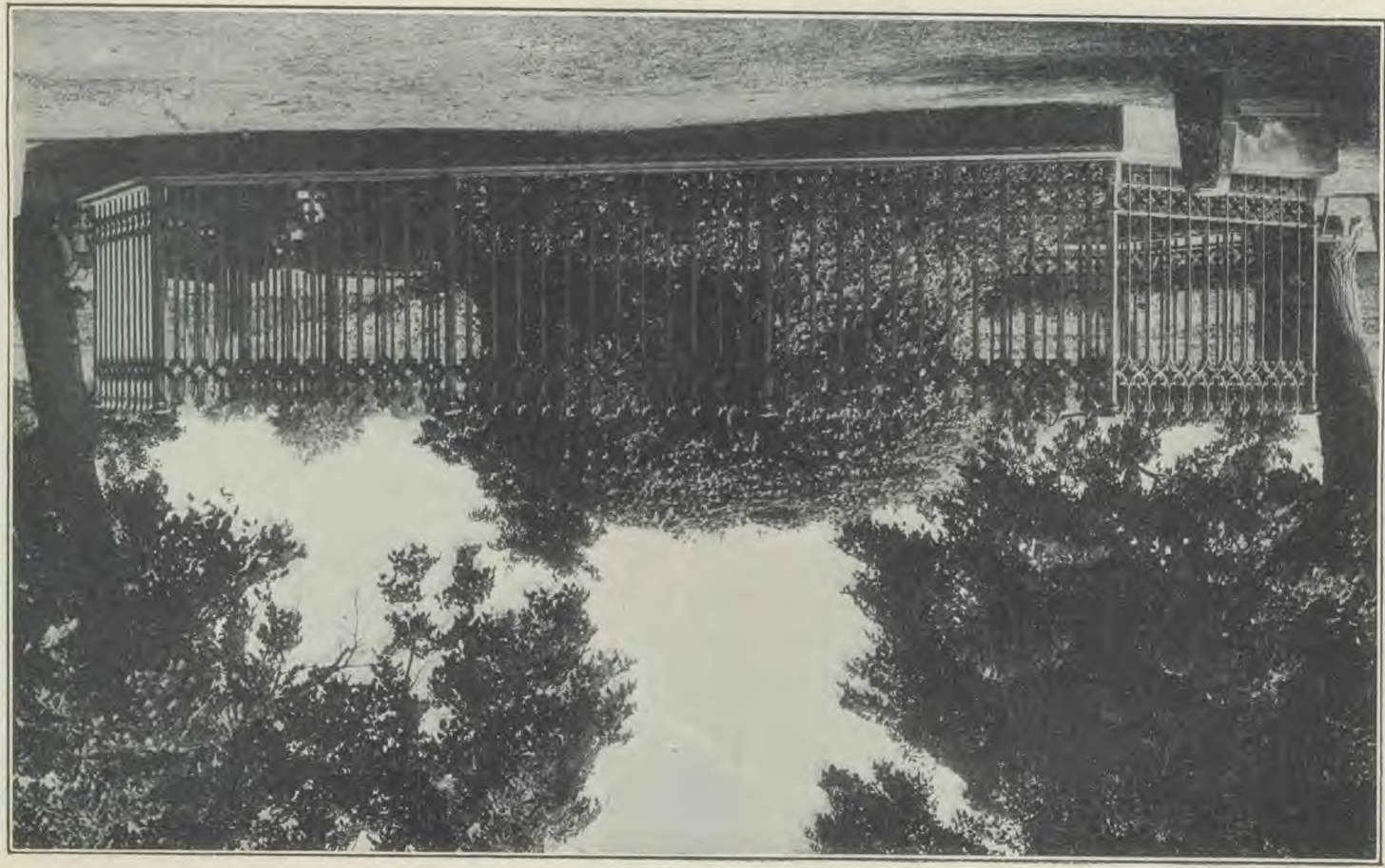
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WHERE STANDS THIS VINE-COVERED STONE, JOHN HUSS WAS BURNED ALIVE, JULY 6, 1415, IN CONSTANCE, GERMANY
It is civilization's saddest admission that wherever liberty of conscience has been secured, the road to it has been
stained by such blood-marks as this.



LIBERTY

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

VOL. VI

THIRD QUARTER, 1911

No. 3

Editorial

IN the light of the teachings of Jesus Christ, it is impossible for us to comprehend how professed Christians can use the lash of the civil power to whip men to the altar of their creed. It is a safe proposition that they who do so have first turned their backs upon Him whose name they bear.

As it takes more than ceremony to make a saint, so it takes more than the establishment of religion by compulsion of law to bring the kingdom of God in any nation. That kingdom, when it is finally ushered in, will mean more than a mass of glittering generalities and pious phrases spread upon the statute-books of states and nations.

Looking at the World

WE have endeavored in this issue of LIBERTY to give our readers an intelligent idea of conditions in the other principal countries of the world so far as they relate to freedom of conscience. It seemed to us that this innovation would be welcomed especially at this time of

year, when the attention of the people in every city and village has been specifically directed to the principles upon which rest the liberties, both civil and religious, of American citizens.

We wish that we might speak with approbation of the conditions which obtain in these various countries. We can applaud the fact, however, that even where oppression of conscience is most severe, there is going on an agitation for better conditions, for freedom of conscience. Agitation is the harbinger of progress, and wherever it is going on in behalf of freedom of conscience the friends of truth and light and justice should welcome and encourage it. But what can we say when we look at the recent movements in our own country which tend in the opposite direction? When we note this trend of events in the home land, and realize that the oppressed of other nations are looking to us for succor, and that legislators of many of the nations are looking to us for an example, we are bound to experience a feeling of sorrow and chagrin. What means the perennial endeavor of certain legislators in Congress, backed by certain strong re-

ligious organizations, to force upon the people a religious ordinance or practise or sacrament, and compel its observance under penalty? And what means the introduction into the national Congress of a bill proposing to adopt "the decalogue and Jesus' rule as standard measure for laws and regulations of the government of the United States"? To carry out the provisions of such a policy as that would make necessary a national church, would make religion a matter of civil control and direction, and put a premium upon formality and hypocrisy. That was the policy and the procedure under which the inhabitants of the colonies writhed in the early days. That is the régime dominant to some extent in all the countries of the Old World and South America and dominant to a cruelly oppressive extent in a large number of those countries, at the present time. The idea that in some way government and religion must be joined is responsible for these disastrous conditions.

In every part of the world it has been demonstrated that religion is purest where the government has the least to do with it; and that where the union between the two is most complete, there religion is most formal and has the least power over the hearts and lives of those who profess it. The separation of religion and state insures freedom in religion. Where there is not true freedom in religion there is no true religion save that which maintains itself in spite of the law's condemnation, and goes to the stake or the prison rather than recant.

It is no proper business of government thus to harass and oppress and dispose of its most conscientious citizens.

May a study of these world conditions awaken in American hearts a higher appreciation of the provisions incorporated into our national government for insuring freedom of conscience in America.

Signing the Document

WHEN Patrick Henry was pleading with the members of the Philadelphia convention to sign the Declaration of Independence, a crisis had been reached in the history of the world as well as in the colonies of America. But the crisis to-day is as vital as when the eloquent words of the orator of the Revolution were ringing through Independence Hall. By signing that document, they established a nation and secured liberty for themselves and for their posterity. If to-day we repudiate the principles of that document and of the Constitution framed for the nation to which it gave birth, we insure the nation's disintegration, and fling to the winds the liberties of ourselves and of our children. The powerful influences at work to-day against the principles of those documents are a graver menace to the nation's prosperity and the people's liberties than were the soldiers of the king or any acts of Parliament. As he pleaded for our fathers to sign the Declaration, so do we plead for our brothers to stand by the principles contained in the two documents, and make them vibrant in their lives.

The powerful combinations in our day to effect religious ends by political means, to enforce by human laws the ordinances of the Most High, to favor some religious bodies at the expense of others, to penalize honest labor one seventh of the time, to punish one class of citizens for not worshiping as another class does, thus putting on a basis of inequality those whom the great Declaration declares equal,—these constitute the menace to-day to our beloved nation and the dearest liberties of its people. "Sign, sign!" said Patrick Henry. Would we have signed had we been in that assembly? If so, shall we repudiate the principles now which they signed then, under the shadow of the gallows? If we would be loyal to those principles, we can not give

our consent to any legislation, municipal, State, or national, which savors to any extent whatsoever of the union of civil and religious things.

What Is Involved in Sunday Legislation?

THE logical outcome of religious legislation is a theocracy.

The first step in the direction of religion by law involves the last step. If civil government is authorized to direct in the least matter of religion, it is equally authorized to take full control of the conscience, and to enforce the observance of all the divine precepts. There can be no escape from this conclusion.

There are those, however, who admit the correctness of these statements in theory, and yet advocate the enactment of laws which demand a recognition of, and at least an outward regard for, a religious institution. They would have all rest from their usual work on Sunday, inventing the fiction of a civil sabbath, or urging man's need of cessation from labor at least one seventh of the time, to justify this legislation. Their plea appears disingenuous, inasmuch as they invariably insist that the one seventh should be Sunday, although rest upon any other day would certainly be equally beneficial from a merely physiological standpoint. But with a certain class of persons, zeal for what they think to be right seems to blind the mind and prevent them from perceiving the irrelevancy of their premises and the inconsistency of their logic.

In marked contrast with this mental shuffling and shifting is the attitude of those who know what they want and demand it openly without any attempt to hide the principle involved. A good illustration of their unconcealable desire to unite church and state in this country is furnished by a joint resolution recently

introduced into the House of Representatives, which we reprint entire:—

62D CONGRESS, 1ST SESSION

H. J. RES. 93

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

May 9, 1911

MR. PEPPER (by request) introduced the following joint resolution, which was referred to the Committee on Rules and ordered to be printed.

JOINT RESOLUTION

For adopting the decalogue and Jesus' rule as standard measure for laws and regulations of the government of the United States.

Whereas, The Christian party asks all lawmakers and rulers to adopt and use the decalogue and the golden rule formulated by Jesus Christ as the standard measure for all our laws and government; and,—

Whereas, Said party believes in rightful ground and income tax; and,—

Whereas, It disapproves of a standing army and the expense of further preparation of war; and,—

Whereas, It demands the divorcement of our government from the liquor traffic, that the manufacture of alcoholic beverages be stopped, and, under a proper compensation for business losses, the suppression of the saloon system; and,—

Whereas, It protests against the unsettling of business by unjust tariff legislation; and,—

Whereas, It favors a direct vote of the people (women included) in electing all officers; and,—

Whereas, It relies upon God's blessing, in his name under his authority, and seeks the support and cooperation of all patriots, regardless of sex, nationality, creed, race, or party, to his glory and for humanity, and for the overthrowing of Satan's kingdom on earth: therefore be it—

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the use of the decalogue and Jesus' rule be the standard measure for the laws and

regulations of the government of the United States, regardless of sex, nationality, creed, or party; and,—

Resolved further, That the united prayer and cooperation of all Christians and patriots is asked for the adoption and use of the Lord's standard nationally as an expression and example to the world.

This resolution carries with it its own antidote. It is so bald an attempt to establish a theocracy that there is not the least likelihood that it will be adopted. Even those who strenuously advocate a civil sabbath would doubtless balk at this program as being contrary to the Constitution, both in spirit and in letter.

But it is proper to emphasize right here the assertion that this resolution is, after all, not one whit more a violation of the Christian and American principle of the separation of church and state than is such a measure as the Johnston Sunday bill now pending before Congress. This bill, if enacted into a law, would compel people to rest on Sunday, and the real reason for such compulsory rest on that day is found in the belief that the fourth commandment requires it. In other words, it is making the decalogue "the standard measure for the laws and regulations of the government of the United States." It is legislation in harmony with this freak resolution, favored by those who would oppose the resolution,—utterly inconsistent action,—and yet the inevitable consequence of the ill-advised attempt to establish a religious observance upon a civil basis.

The only sure way to avoid such an illogical mix-up is to hold, in fact as well as in theory, to the right principle,—the separation of religion and government,—and to leave every man free to follow the dictates of his own conscience in matters of religion, so long as in so doing he does not interfere with the equal rights of others. This is the Christian and the American principle of civil government.

W. W. P.

The Observance of Sunday in Post-Offices

A BILL for the observance of Sunday in post-offices was introduced into the House of Representatives by the Hon. James R. Mann, May 16, 1911. It is known as H. R. 9433, "A Bill for the Observance of Sunday in Post-Offices," and seeks to bring about the observance of Sunday in the post-offices of the United States. This bill evidently is an attempt on the part of the advocates of Sunday legislation to focus the public sentiment which has been aroused during recent months for the closing of post-offices on Sunday.

Against this wide-spread movement for the closing of post-offices on that day, as long as legislation was not demanded to bring it about, this magazine entered no protest; for it believes that it is the right of any citizen, or class of citizens, to create public sentiment in any proper way they may elect regarding any matter that does not invade the rights of conscience; but when any citizen, or class of citizens, seeks the aid of the civil power in attempts to require the closing of post-offices on Sunday, we most earnestly protest.

We are not surprised that such a bill has been introduced into Congress; for it is part of a program which the champions of Sunday legislation have long been attempting to carry out. For instance, a very determined and persistent effort has been put forth during recent years at the national capital to get Congress committed to Sunday legislation by enacting a Sunday law for the District of Columbia, in order that, through the influence of such a law, the state laws could be made more effective. What they are seeking is the influence of the federal government in the interests of such legislation. It is very evident that this proposed law is another step in that

direction, inasmuch as the post-offices are under the supervision of the national government.

Even if the closing of the post-offices were a proper question to legislate upon, it has been demonstrated that it is unnecessary; for public sentiment has already succeeded in closing many of the post-offices throughout the United States without the aid of such legislation. And it should also be remembered that it is within the province of the Post-Office Department to make such rulings concerning the work of the department as it deems necessary and proper without any special act of Congress. Therefore, again this bill is unnecessary.

It is well to observe that clergymen throughout the country are among the chief promoters of this Sunday-closing movement. There is no question but they are more interested in the exaltation of the day than in the matter of securing rest for the overworked employees of the Post-Office Department.

The question involving the right of Congress to prohibit the transportation of mails on Sunday was thoroughly considered by both Houses of Congress over eighty years ago, and it was decided that such an interference was not within the province of Congress. This decision by Congress is contained in the famous Sunday Mail Reports which were adopted, first by the Senate in 1829, and second by the House of Representatives in 1830. The reports were prepared by Richard M. Johnson. The following extracts from these reports are very pertinent just now:—

“The transportation of the mail on the first day of the week, it is believed, does not interfere with the rights of conscience. The petitioners for its discontinuance appear to be actuated by a religious zeal, which may be commendable if confined to its proper sphere; but they assume a position better suited to an ec-

clesiastical than to a civil institution. . . .

“The committee can discover no principle on which the claims of one [the conscientious observer of the first day] should be more respected than those of the other [the Jew and the Sabbatarian]; unless it be admitted that the consciences of the minority are less sacred than those of the majority.

“It is the opinion of the committee that the subject should be regarded simply as a question of expediency, irrespective of its religious bearing. Congress has never legislated upon the subject. It rests, as it ever has done, in the legal discretion of the Postmaster-General, under the repeated refusals of Congress to discontinue the Sabbath mails. His knowledge and judgment in all the concerns of that department will not be questioned.”

“If the Almighty has set apart the first day of the week as a time which man is bound to keep holy, and devote exclusively to his worship, would it not be more congenial to the precepts of Christians to appeal exclusively to the great Lawgiver of the universe to aid them in making men better—in correcting their practises, by purifying their hearts? Government will protect them in their efforts. When they shall have so instructed the public mind and awakened the consciences of individuals as to make them believe that it is a violation of God’s law to carry the mail, open post-offices, or receive letters on Sunday, the evil of which they complain will cease of itself, without any exertion of the strong arm of civil power.”

The foregoing quotations from these reports need no comment; for they are too clear to be misunderstood. In conclusion, we would add that there is no disposition on the part of the writer to overlook the right of every employee in the Post-Office Department to a weekly day of rest, but we believe that this ob-

ject can be secured without any act of Congress, as has been demonstrated already by the popular, wide-spread campaign for the Sunday-closing of post-offices in this country.

K. C. R.

Sunday Laws Not Consonant With Republicanism

THE Revolution was a war against imperialism, the old order of things; and its success was the enthronement of republicanism, the new order of things,—a success which we commemorate in the fourth of July celebration.

Sunday as an institution and laws for its enforcement are both of pagan origin. Says the Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia (1891 edition, page 2259): "Sunday (*dies solis*, of the Roman Calendar, 'day of the sun,' because dedicated to the sun), the first day of the week, was adopted by the early Christians as a day of worship. . . . No regulations for its observance are laid down in the New Testament, nor, indeed, is its observance even enjoined." The first laws for its observance were imperial, and not the voice of the people. The first Sunday legislation "was the product of that pagan conception, so fully developed by the Romans, which made religion a department of the state. This was diametrically opposed to the genius of New Testament Christianity. It did not find favor in the church until Christianity had been deeply corrupted through the influence of Gnosticism and kindred pagan errors. The emperor Constantine while still a heathen — if, indeed, he was ever otherwise — issued the first Sunday edict by virtue of his power as Pontifex Maximus in all matters of religion, especially in the appointment of sacred days. This law was pagan in every particular."

While here, it might be interesting to refer to the Constantine Sunday law of 321 A. D.:—

Let all judges, and all city people, and all tradesmen rest upon the venerable day of the sun. *But let those dwelling in the country freely, and with full liberty, attend to the culture of their fields*, since it frequently happens that no other day is so fit for the sowing of grain or the planting of vines; hence, the favorable time should not be allowed to pass, lest the provisions of heaven be lost.

It will be noted that the first Sunday law contained an exemption clause.

Of course, it is well known that an imperial form of government is one wherein the government is largely assumed by a few individuals without reference to the will of the people over whom the government has jurisdiction. The pagan Roman conception of government was that religion was to be considered a department of the state. The papal Roman conception of government coincides in a way with the pagan idea, with this difference, however: the papal system holds that the state is to serve the church.

Contradistinguished from empire or monarchy is the republican form of government, as illustrated in the American republic. Here the people rule; for all elections are limited as far as time is concerned. During our colonial days America was passing through an experience of Puritanism, which included Sunday-law intolerance, etc. And it was against this Puritanism, as well as against the European idea of civil government, that the forefathers contended when they wrote the Declaration of Independence and fought the war of the Revolution. A new order of things was henceforth to be established in this country.

In the light of what is presented thus far, let us consider the grave question which now confronts us in the shape of Senate Bill No. 237. That bill is a call for religious service to be rendered the civil government. That bill belongs to the legislation which prevailed under the

old order of things. Has 1911 marked the limit of the new order of things? If this government shall enter upon a program of which the Johnston Sunday bill would seem to be the introduction, this will certainly be the case. Senator Johnston himself has stated that the ten commandments are not kept in Washington, calling especial attention to the Sabbath command. And his bill calls upon Congress to supply the deficiency through the passage of such a law.

Said Congress in 1830:—

If Congress shall declare the first day of the week holy, it will not convince the Jew nor the Sabbatarian. It will dissatisfy both, and, consequently, convert neither. Human power may extort vain sacrifices, but the Deity alone can command the affections of the heart.

If a solemn act of legislation shall, in one point, define the law of God, or point out to the citizen one religious duty, it may, with equal propriety, proceed to define every part of divine revelation, and enforce every religious obligation, even to the forms and ceremonies of worship, the endowment of the church, and the support of the clergy. . . .

When man undertakes to become God's avenger, he becomes a demon. Driven by the frenzy of a religious zeal, he loses every gentle feeling, forgets the most sacred precepts of his creed, and becomes ferocious and unrelenting.

When republicanism supplanted imperialism in this country, the citizens of the country were made free civilly and politically. When the administration of religious affairs was taken out of the hands of civil officials, and when the administration of civil affairs was taken out of the hands of church officials, the church was free, the state was free, and the individual soul was free. Religion was free then, and only when it is free can it be pure. When we find purity in religion where there is a union of church and state, that religion is pure because the individuals who possess it are in uncompromising opposition to the state-church

régime, and are suffering for it. Republicanism stands for the greatest amount of individual freedom consistent with the equal freedom of every other individual. But where religious laws of any kind are enforced upon men, some one's idea of religion or religious duty is being forced upon some one else who has an equal right to his own opinion and his own conviction of religion and of religious duty. Thus we see that the whole idea of religious legislation is imperialistic and antirepublican, and has no logical or rightful place in the scheme of our government. Sunday laws are, therefore, not consonant with republicanism or with individual liberty.

A Plea for Religious Liberty in Argentina

IT has been several years since the Sunday laws of Argentina have been strictly enforced upon the people. It is apparent that the government did not intend by these laws to cause persecution. But the laws became more and more complicated until the government saw that it would be impossible to maintain all the various proscriptions without doing gross injustice.

A decision was finally reached to abolish them all, and entrust the department of labor with the task of framing an entirely new law. What that new law will be is not yet known; but it is certain that the government can not enact any Sunday law without intermeddling in religious matters, as the weekly rest day is entirely of religious origin.

How some of the people of Argentina look upon the proposal to enact a Sunday law may be seen by the following letter—a protest against Sunday laws and a plea for religious liberty—which was recently sent to the department of labor:—

FLORIDA, F. C. C. A.,
May 8, 1911.

To the Minister of the National Department of Labor, Buenos Aires, South America.

VERY DEAR SIR: Having seen in a recent number of *La Prensa*, a statement to the effect that the department of labor had been asked to draft a new Sunday law, it seems to me an opportune time to call attention to a few facts which should be taken into consideration in dealing with a subject of such importance as that of Sunday rest.

In the first place, we are confronted with the fact that after the Almighty created the heavens and the earth in six days, he rested the seventh, and established this day as a day of rest for man. The Biblical account of this says:—

“And on the seventh day God ended his work which he had made; and he rested on the seventh day from all his work which he had made. And God blessed the seventh day, and sanctified it; because that in it he had rested from all his work which God created and made.” Gen. 2: 1-3.

The Lord desires that this day shall be kept by his people at all times and in all parts of the world. The divine command concerning this is as follows:—

“Remember the Sabbath day, to keep it holy. Six days shalt thou labor, and do all thy work: but the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God: in it thou shalt not do any work, thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, thy man servant, nor thy maid servant, nor thy cattle, nor thy stranger that is within thy gates: for in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is, and rested the seventh day: wherefore the Lord blessed the Sabbath day, and hallowed it.” Ex. 20: 8-11.

From this it is clearly seen that whenever a Sunday law is enacted, it obliges the people to observe another day of the week instead of the seventh, which the Lord commands should be observed.

Permit me to ask what you would do in case a human law were enacted requiring you to act contrary to what you considered a moral obligation before God. Do you think you would be honoring God when you disobey him in order to obey a

human law? Or would you think it indispensable to obey God first?

Here in the Argentine Republic, as well as in nearly every other country of the world, there are those who keep the seventh day (Saturday) in obedience to the command of God in his holy law. These people, as well as all others, desire to be left free in the practise of their religion, and they believe that the civil government should not dictate laws which curtail liberty of conscience. If, therefore, it is true that in the Argentine Republic we have religious liberty, no civil law that requires the people to keep one day of the week as a day of rest, can be enacted.

It would, therefore, be expected that the government would avoid religious questions, and leave every one free to observe or not to observe any or no day of rest, according to one's belief.

If the government establishes the precedent of legislating concerning religious questions, it will be hard to tell where to stop. If it takes upon itself the right of prescribing a religious act, such as the observance of the day of rest, it can also claim the right of prescribing all the details of one's worship. And as it can not permit that its laws be disobeyed, the only alternative would be to use force, and compel obedience to its requirements.

From this we see that in case a Sunday law is enacted, if a man disobeys it, notwithstanding he is an upright citizen in every other respect, the government, in order to maintain the law, must punish him for not keeping Sunday. In the beginning, these punishments may be more or less light, consisting perhaps of imprisonments or fines, but they may also be terribly severe, and not only reach the point of closing up one's business and confiscating his property, but also (if the one who violates continues in his refusal to keep Sunday) one may be considered a rebel against the civil power, and be punished with death, for not keeping this religious ordinance which the civil power undertakes to enforce. Notwithstanding the fact that the legislators do not desire that matters should reach such extremes, there is no other logical conclusion when the civil power undertakes to legislate in matters of religion.

Therefore, for the love of the right-

eous principle of liberty of conscience, — a principle which the national constitution recognizes for all without distinction, for believers as well as for infidels, — for the love of this noble principle which is threatened by the Sunday law, and for love of the national honor, the civil government should leave the people free to observe whatever day they wish, or no day at all, as their consciences may dictate.

With the desire, therefore, that no law be drafted that may be contrary to the command of God, and that no religious law be enacted by the civil government, I subscribe myself your friend and servant,
ED. W. THOMANN.

The South American countries are looking to the United States as a pattern of republican government. As there is such a tendency in most of the States of the Union to enact more rigorous Sunday laws, there is a strong probability that the South American countries may follow that retrogressive example. Some have done so already. If the lawmakers of South America could be made to understand — what the lawmakers of North America have no excuse for not understanding — that the Sunday institution is a religious and not a civil institution, the majority of them would refuse to have anything to do with the enactment of such laws. There is always the danger, however, that some will do as Pilate of old, yield to the clamors of the multitude, and then wash their hands, declaring they are “innocent of the blood” of those who suffer in consequence of these unrighteous laws. But those who clamor for such laws, and those who enact them, are alike responsible for the evil which they entail.

When the government keeps its hands off religious things, and the church keeps its hands off civil things, then will both church and state have peace and prosperity, and each will do the work appointed it of Heaven. The conditions in South America are a grave warning against any union of religion and state.

The Johnston Sunday Bill

THE well-known Johnston Sunday bill (S. 404) died with the close of the Sixty-first Congress. But hardly had the Sixty-second met, and that, too, in extra session, before practically the same bill was introduced by the same senator, and was passed to a committee for consideration and report.

A hearing was granted the opponents of this measure on May 17 before a subcommittee of the Senate District Committee. One religious organization and one secular organization presented arguments against the bill, showing unquestionably that it was a religious measure, and one, therefore, with which Congress could not legitimately have anything to do. The following document was presented to the committee at the time of the hearing, and is given here because of its succinct presentation of the chief objections to all such legislation: —

A Protest Against Senate Bill 237

In presenting our protest against the passage of S. 237, “A Bill for the Proper Observance of Sunday as a Day of Rest in the District of Columbia,” we beg to express our sympathy with all legitimate reform movements, and to declare our willingness to cooperate in every proper effort to improve moral and social conditions. We are of the opinion, however, that the end which is evidently in view in this proposed legislation should be sought by some other means than by legal enactment. The grounds of our opposition to this bill we will state in as brief form as is consistent with the importance and scope of the subject-matter.

Its Religious Character Demonstrated

We are opposed to this bill because it appears to us to be a more or less direct attempt to establish a religious observance by law. No such legislation is demanded in behalf of purely civil holidays, on which the general transaction of business is legally suspended, but the people are left free to observe Washington’s birthday, the fourth of July, Thanksgiving day, and other similar days, without

legal restrictions. The only basis upon which honest labor and lawful sports are prohibited on Sunday is the supposed religious character of the day. But "the proper observance of Sunday as a day of rest" being a religious question, is outside the sphere of legislative bodies, and should be left between man and his Maker.

We are opposed to this bill because by its many exceptions it creates confusion and uncertainty, and establishes arbitrary distinctions between legal and illegal acts, and in the second section makes the striking of the clock a boundary line between legitimate business and crime. Such legislation tends to breed contempt for law and to turn honest citizens into criminals.

All legislation requiring cessation of labor or amusements, or both, on Sunday is necessarily religious legislation. Labor or amusements which are legitimate on other days are, from a civil standpoint, legitimate on Sunday. Whatever is immoral on Sunday is equally immoral on other days, and any restrictive legislation should apply on every day.

Opposed to Constitution

All such legislation is contrary both in spirit and in letter to the first amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

All such legislation infringes upon the religious liberty of all classes of men, not only of those who observe another day and those who observe no day whatever, but as well of those whose present religious sentiments lead them to the voluntary observance of the first day of the week as a day of rest and worship.

All such legislation is outside the proper sphere of civil government, whose duty it is, not to favor any religion or any sect of any religion, but to protect all its citizens in the exercise of their religious belief (so long as in so doing they do not interfere with the equal rights of others), or in their refusal to exercise a religious belief.

All such legislation constitutes a decision of a religious controversy as to the proper day to be selected for rest and worship, which is at present a much mooted question. Such laws, if enforced, lead to religious persecution, as has been clearly demonstrated in the recent history of various States in which more than one hundred citizens who ob-

served another day than Sunday have been fined or imprisoned or sentenced to the chain-gang through the administration of Sunday laws.

Means Union of Church and State

All such legislation is in effect a union of church and state, or a long step toward such union, and is therefore both un-American and un-Christian.

All such legislation, although professing in the interest of the laboring man, really enslaves all labor. The assumption of the right to forbid honest labor on one day, involves the right to forbid it on any or all days.

All such legislation degrades the whole idea of Sabbath observance to a mere outward ceremony and secular affair, as is evidenced by the attempt of the advocates of this legislation to justify their demands by inventing the fiction of "a civil Sabbath."

That the real purpose of this bill is to enforce at least an outward regard for Sunday as a religious institution is clearly shown by the exemption clause attached to the first section. "The proper observance of Sunday as a day of rest" is enforced upon all persons except those "who are members of a religious society who observe as a Sabbath any other day in the week than Sunday." In other words, all persons in the District of Columbia must religiously regard one day in the week, preferably Sunday. But the religious observance of another day will be accepted in lieu of the observance of Sunday. It is difficult to see how the religious character of this proposed legislation could be more clearly indicated than by this exemption clause.

An Unsafe Basis for Religious Rights

Furthermore, where perfect religious freedom exists, any restrictive legislation of this kind, even with an exemption clause attached, is a step toward intolerance. It is the assumption of the right to control the religious conduct of men. And when this is conceded, the same power which grants the exemption may afterward withhold it. The only safe basis for religious freedom is found in the denial of the right of any lawmaking body to enforce even an outward regard for any religious institution.

Inasmuch as it was stated in a report to the Senate during the Sixty-first Congress, that the Seventh-day Adventists were opposed to a similar bill then before the Senate, because it did not require the observance of the day upon which they rested, it is proper that we should declare our opposition to any bill enforcing the observance of any day as a day of rest, even though that day should be the seventh day of the week. And the fact that nearly one hundred thousand persons in the United States who profess the Christian faith voluntarily observe the seventh day of the week as the Sabbath, without demanding any legislation in its behalf, even though secular business is constantly carried on all about them on that day, is incontrovertible evidence that there is no legitimate ground for asking special protection in favor of one day of the week above another.

Such laws as protect religious assemblies on some days of the week, are sufficient to protect them on all days of the week. Any further legislation is necessarily in behalf of the day, rather than in behalf of the assembly.

"Civil Sabbath" a Misnomer

The attempt is often made to justify Sunday laws on a civil basis, but it has been truly said by the late Mr. Justice Brewer of the United States Supreme Court: "It is true in many of the decisions this separation of the day [Sunday] is said to be authorized by the police power of the state and exercised for purposes of health. At the same time, through a large majority of them, there runs the thought of its being a religious day, consecrated by the commandment, 'Six days shalt thou labor and do all thy work; but the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God; in it thou shalt not do any work, thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, thy manservant, nor thy maidservant, nor thy cattle, nor thy stranger that is within thy gates.'"—*"The United States a Christian Nation,"* pages 29, 30. The frankness of this admission does credit to this distinguished jurist, and his statement of the case is entitled to much weight in deciding the religious character of Sunday legislation.

The Religious Basis Proved

That the purpose of legislation in behalf of the first day of the week is to

establish and protect a religious institution is clearly shown by the phraseology employed in the various Sunday bills which have been introduced in Congress during the last twenty years. The first bill introduced into the Senate, by Hon. Henry W. Blair, of New Hampshire, on May 21, 1888, frankly stated that the act should "be construed, so far as possible, to secure to the whole people rest from toil during the first day of the week, their mental and moral culture, and the religious observance of the Sabbath day." Another bill introduced (Dec. 14, 1909) into the House of Representatives by Mr. Heflin, of Alabama, was entitled "A Bill Prohibiting Labor on Buildings, etc., in the District of Columbia on the Sabbath Day." Several other bills have employed the same form of title as is found in the one now under consideration, namely, "A Bill for the Proper Observance of Sunday as a Day of Rest." No such language is used in bills relating to the conduct of men upon other days, and is appropriate to this legislation only on the basis that the day is treated as a religious day. It is further worthy of note that the "Interdenominational Committee on Sunday Observance" for the District of Columbia, in a report dated Oct. 1, 1907, made the following statement concerning their work: "The main and necessary feature of such a movement should be the enlistment of all good citizenship for the procuring of efficient Lord's day legislation for the District." This committee, through its chairman, has repeatedly urged the passage of just such a bill as the one now under consideration.

District Sunday Law Abrogated

It is of interest to recall in this connection that the Maryland Sunday law of 1723, which became a part of the District code by act of Congress in 1801, was set aside in the District police court in October, 1907, and that the District Court of Appeals to which the case was carried, sustained the decision of the lower court. The opinion of the court of appeals was clear and forceful, and appears to us to be pertinent to the present case. We quote briefly from it: "If, therefore, the act in question was intended to enforce the observance of the Sabbath as a religious obligation, and not a civil

duty, whatever power the colonial legislative assembly may have had to prescribe and enforce such a law, we are of the opinion that it can not be legally enforced under our present constitutional form of government. The Constitution of the United States guarantees to the citizen absolute religious freedom in that it forbids the enactment of any law respecting the establishment of religion or that will prohibit the free exercise thereof." "The statute before us is part of a peculiar class of legislation that was enacted in many of the colonies during the seventeenth and the early part of the eighteenth centuries. The object of such legislation was . . . to enforce the strict religious observance of the Sabbath day. Such laws were the outgrowth of a system of religious intolerance that prevailed in many of the colonies." While the bill before us (S. 237) does not employ the same language as the old Maryland Sunday law, it does require at least an outward regard for Sunday as a day of rest and worship, and the language quoted therefore appears to us as applicable to its provisions.

A Historical Illustration

That Sunday laws do not necessarily promote the morality or insure the stability of a nation is a plain lesson of history. Commencing with the Sunday law of the emperor Constantine, A. D. 321, laws many and severe, relating to the observance of the first day of the week, were placed upon the statute-books of Rome during the fourth and fifth centuries, and during the same period the empire was hastening to its downfall. Shall this history be repeated in the case of the United States?

As Viewed by Senators

When the bill S. 404, almost identical in its provisions with the present one, was

under discussion in the Senate, Jan. 26, 1910, statements were made by senators which are worthy of consideration at this time. The whole debate could be read with profit, but we are able to present only brief extracts. Referring to the fact that certain labor organizations were asking for this legislation in order to compel all persons following the same calling to close their places of business on Sunday, Senator Bailey, of Texas, said, "I am not disposed to allow any class to come and ask for a law that interferes with some man who wants to



TABLE ON WHICH GEORGE MASON WROTE THE VIRGINIA BILL OF RIGHTS, NOW IN INDEPENDENCE HALL, PHILADELPHIA

This document as amended by Patrick Henry and James Madison, contains the real germ of American liberty.

pursue his calling, simply because some other man does not want to pursue it." In the same connection, Senator Dixon, of Montana, spoke as follows: "If there is going to be a religious test applied in the capital of the United States, then the bill should so specify and cut out many of the exemptions that are in it. If it is not a religious test, then there is no occasion for the passage of this kind of a law in the capital of this great republic. I think in a republican form of government one of the most dangerous programs that legislatures can enter upon is anything looking toward the establish-

ment of a religious test through a court of law."

When the same bill was under consideration in the Senate on the following day, there was some discussion over the amendment offered by Senator Smoot, of Utah, and the reading of this discussion, as found in the *Congressional Record* for Jan. 27, 1910, will show plainly that the purpose of those who were urging the passage of the bill was to secure the observance of one day in the week as a Sabbath. This is another clear indication of the religious character of the proposed legislation.

Not Merely a Local Issue

The movement to secure a general Sunday law for the District of Columbia is not a merely local one and the influence of such legislation will be far-reaching. We submit the following facts as justifying these assertions. The executive committee of the Federation of Sunday Rest Associations of America, at a meeting held in Philadelphia, in May, 1907, urged all affiliated societies to petition Congress for "an efficient Sunday law for the District of Columbia." During the session of the International Sunday Rest Congress, held at the Jamestown Exposition in September of the same year, action was taken urging the passage of such legislation. The report of this body, which was distributed during its sessions, contained the following paragraph: "The District of Columbia has no Sunday law. We should secure one by an act of Congress as soon as possible." From the petitions which have been laid before Congress from time to time, both urging and opposing Sunday legislation, it is plain that the people of the country, as a whole, are interested in this matter, and regard it as of national significance. It ought not, therefore, to be treated as a question of minor importance embodying merely a police regulation for the District of Columbia.

Testimony of Idaho's Governor

As the result of a vigorous campaign on the part of those who advocate Sabbath observance by human law, a Sunday law was enacted during the ninth session of the State legislature of Idaho. After a sufficient time had elapsed to give the law a fair test, Governor James H. Hawley, in his message to the legislature, Jan.

3, 1911, spoke of the unsatisfactory working of the law, expressed his personal belief that it was not proper to legislate upon matters of this kind, and made the following recommendation: "As a result of its experience in construing this law, the supreme court has proposed in its report to the governor, that it be so amended as to make it intelligible. Undoubtedly the act needs amendment if it is continued in force, but I would suggest as a still better remedy that the entire act be repealed, and the subject-matter of it relegated to local authorities in the various municipalities of the State." Idaho's experience certainly suggests the propriety of leaving the code of the District of Columbia free from any similar statute.

We are in hearty sympathy with those who desire to rest one day in the week, but we respectfully submit that it is not proper for Congress to compel any one to rest who does not choose to do so. The same logic which would justify such an interference with personal rights on the ground of health or the general public welfare would also justify laws regulating the time and hours of sleep, and the quality and quantity of food taken. These questions, however, are outside the proper sphere of legislation.

Would Alter a Century's Record

In closing this protest, we beg to call attention to recent movements in the Old World, as in Italy, France, Spain, and Portugal, tending toward the separation of church and state, and to express the hope that the United States Congress will not at this very time change the consistent record of more than a century by enacting legislation looking toward the union of church and state, or the interference of government in matters of religion.

In spite of the unanswerable arguments presented in this protest and in the speeches made before the committee, the bill was favorably reported to the Senate. A history of its vicissitudes since its presentation there will be found on the last page of this issue. The bill has not yet had an opportunity for full consideration or for any considerable amount of discussion by the Senate.

Religious Liberty in Germany

H. F. SCHUBERTH

It is more than a hundred years since the ardent desire of the nations for freedom has supplanted the dark shadows of heathenism and the middle ages. The United States of America was the first land to accord perfect liberty of faith and conscience to every citizen, as is provided in the Declaration of Independence and the national Constitution. However, since 1848, the Germans have also in their fundamental law had the following articles:—

“ART. 5, SEC. 14: Every German has full liberty of faith and conscience.

“ART. 33, SEC. 1: The enjoyment of state or township rights shall not be dependent upon nor hindered by the religious belief of any citizen.

“ART. 35: No one shall be compelled to take part in any ecclesiastical ceremony or festival.”

So much for the letter: but in practice it is found to be quite a different matter; for very often he who would proclaim any truth of the Bible which is opposed to the church established by the state in which he may be living, has many difficulties placed in his way. In the German empire the established religions are the Catholic, the Evangelical, and the Jewish confessions. So far as the state is concerned, one is not permitted to exercise any other belief. For example, if the parents have not allowed their children to undergo the customary infant baptism, these little ones must be subject to many inconveniences as soon as they enter school. It is just the same way if a youth of fourteen does not wish to be confirmed; but the greatest difficulties appear when an unbaptized person is to be buried. There are many instances also where preachers, who are not recognized by the state, are denied the privilege of saying a word or of offering a prayer at the burial of one of their own members. A few years ago, I was at a certain place, and experienced something of this. Two policemen were

sent to the cemetery to take notice of our proceedings, and in case I had requested those who were present to offer merely a silent prayer, I should have been taken at once to prison.

In certain parts of Germany, the outlook, so far as religious liberty is concerned, is still very dark. In one grand duchy, for example, no religion except the Lutheran is allowed. On the nineteenth of May, 1909, a number of believing Christians assembled in the capital city of this grand duchy, and desired to study the Scriptures with one another in one of their own dwellings; each was fined \$1.25, and the minister who was present had to pay \$5 fine.

The conditions are about the same in one of our small and most densely populated kingdoms,—a land whose Lutheran subjects are ruled over by a Roman Catholic king, and which might be characterized as the cradle of the Reformation. On the twenty-seventh of April, 1909, the following notice was received by a gentleman residing in one of the leading cities of this kingdom:—

“As is known here, representatives of the Seventh-day Adventists have repeatedly baptized adherents of this sect. Although these baptisms have not been brought about by them, still they have given their consent to all those things which were necessary for their accomplishment, and they have personally been present. In consideration thereof, the repetition of this or of similar offenses, which are classed under the participation in forbidden religious ceremonies, is hereby definitely forbidden, with a threatened punishment of one hundred marks' fine; in default of the payment of which ten days' imprisonment for each offense will be the penalty.

“Inside of fourteen days from the receipt of this notice, you are to pay five marks' cost at the district police station.”

In harmony with these words, a dissenter is threatened with a fine if he

continues to attend a baptismal service in company with the adherents of his church, and within fourteen days he must pay five marks.

Again, the military service causes much suffering to dissenters. Often young Christian men who would not violate their conscience and serve in the army on the Bible Sabbath have been condemned to imprisonment in the fortifications. A short time ago there was a case of this kind in which a young man was punished with five and a half years' imprisonment for disobedience. A sec-

this man, who is to be shattered to pieces, has still been able to accomplish, through a faith in his God and his Redeemer which could remove mountains, that which all the freethinkers of Germany, with their hundreds of thousands of meetings and lectures and articles in the papers, have been able imperfectly to bring about; he has been able to unmask before all the world the Prussian patented amateur Christianity, in its entire glory."

A district judge has written concerning this case:—



PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE

ular periodical speaks thus concerning this case:—

"We are of the opinion that it would be impossible to conceive a case which would more pronouncedly, more truly, and more effectively mirror the spirit of the Prussian officialism of our times than the misfortune of this poor man. If there were nothing left of the Prussia of our times, neither the cathedral of Berlin, nor the parliament building, still a simple plain story of the fate of the Adventist—will place our descendants in a condition to clearly appreciate the sublime spirit of the beginning of the twentieth century. . . . Forsaken of all the world, crushed by the pitiless law,

"The sentence of the martial court shows very clearly to what it leads, when one is really in earnest concerning his belief, and is not ashamed to literally follow the convictions of his conscience. The accused believes that he would have occasion to fear for his salvation were he to work upon the Sabbath. Now, what is the attitude of the state to this belief?—The martial court does not pay any attention to it, because the existing statutes do not acknowledge Sabbath observance. The accused is thrown into prison because he regards the Word of God higher than the commandments of men. The state's attitude toward the Adventists would be just if the state

treated every religious confession in the same way. However, the state is still far from such an impartial attitude as this. The soldier does not need to serve on Sunday; he dons his parade dress, and is marched into the church, where he may give official expression to his religious feelings. The army has its special chaplains, Catholic and Protestant. But why are only certain confessions favored? Why should not every one be allowed the free exercise of his faith? Why may the Adventist be continually



LUTHER'S STUDY IN THE WARTBURG CASTLE

insulted in the exercise of his inmost religious convictions? Have the Protestants and the Catholics produced the evidence that only their faith is well founded? We will summarize the results of our observations: The Adventist, because, in the exercise of his devout faith he had refused obedience, is condemned to a long imprisonment, although he was in no way conscious of the illegality of his proceedings, but rather took such an attitude as he thought would be compatible with the fulfilment of his duties. On the other hand, the regiment had a right to demand service of —, and to punish him for disobedience. Thus the sentence of the martial court shows the clashing contradictions between the demands of the various ecclesiastical confessions."

What must we conclude from that which we have just cited? What caused the clashing contradictions between the demands of the religious confessions and those of the state? How is it that a minister of the gospel is not permitted to show the last tokens of honor to the dead? How is it possible that Christians, who come together for a mutual consideration of the Holy Scriptures, must be punished as a consequence? What is the reason that he who attends a Biblical baptism is threatened with a heavy fine for it? The cause of these troubles and of those between the pagan-Romish faith and Christianity are the same. It was then said: Whoever shall introduce a new religious confession, which is not recognized by the Roman state, must go into banishment if he belongs to the higher classes, and must suffer the death penalty if he belongs to the lower. It is the same cause that has produced martyrs at all times, and that has caused persecution for conscience' sake; because there is in Germany the non-Biblical union of church and state.

GIVE me a state full of men who are afraid of nothing but sin and God's displeasure, who love nothing but God and men's souls, and it makes little difference, so far as they are concerned, what laws men may pass. It is the church's business to instill that fear and that love. And she can not do it by any force save the force of love. Should the state attempt to bring it about, the result would be, on the one hand, persecution and martyrdom; and on the other, mockery and hypocrisy, the ruin of character and the degradation of religion. The returns do not justify the expenditure.

England and Religious Freedom

Tendencies That Bode Ill

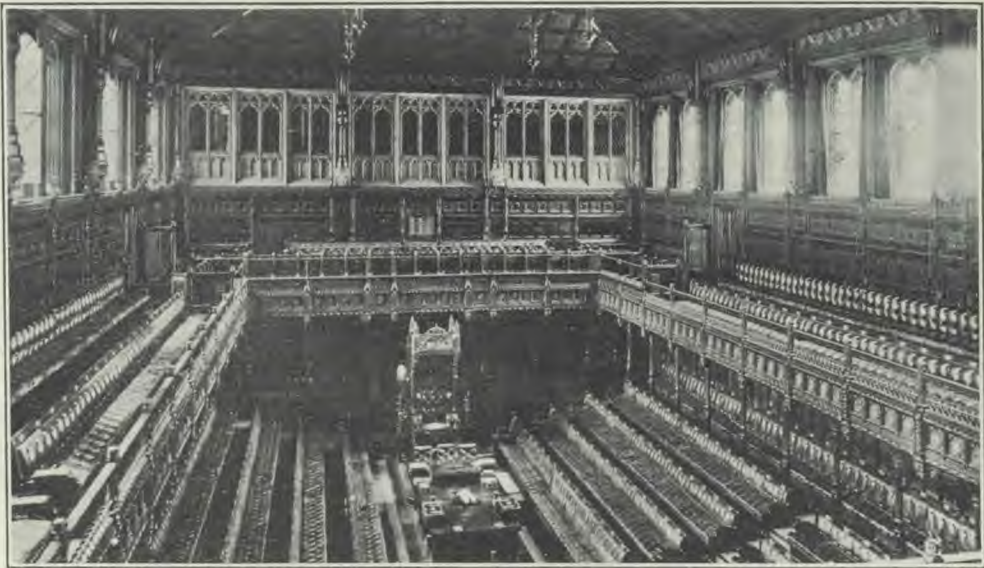
W. T. BARTLETT, EDITOR OF PRESENT TRUTH

CIVIL and religious freedom in England has required centuries to grow to its present stature, and many a life has languished in a prison cell, or poured itself out on a bloody scaffold, that this freedom might not perish. To-day we enjoy the blessings of an almost perfect liberty, so far as legal guaranties can secure it to us.

Our navy is no longer recruited by the old press-gang methods, and no one is

Catholic and the Jew are welcome in the House of Commons, and only a very few of the highest offices in the realm are denied to them.

All the religious bodies have entire liberty in England to carry out their various forms of worship, and all are protected therein by the law of the land. Here the Jew, fleeing from persecution on the Continent, finds a peaceful asylum; the Quaker grows wealthy and influential;



HOUSE OF COMMONS AND SPEAKER'S CHAIR

forced into the ranks of our army by the "blood-tax" of conscription. Unfettered speech is the right of all; the social agitator is as free to proclaim his doctrines on the street corners or by the printed page as the most respectable and orthodox defender of vested interests. No religious tests bar the doors of our great universities against the conscientious dissenter. It is no longer required of the candidate for municipal office that he receive the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, or subscribe to the articles of the Church of England. The Roman

the Salvation Army, with its big drum and brass band, marches through the streets and sets up its banner in the market-places. The Roman Catholic Church builds itself a great cathedral at Westminster, divides up the country among its archbishops and bishops as if England had fully returned to the papal allegiance, organizes processions, and does generally as it pleases. Religious orders, expelled from France and Portugal, establish themselves here on the choicest estates. Even the Mormon propagandists, when threatened with mob

violence, find numerous defenders, not because their tenets are admired, but because the principles of religious liberty require that they be unmolested as long as they commit no crime.

There is still a union of church and state in England, but the advantage enjoyed by the established church is principally one of social preeminence. At all national functions, it is the Church of England that represents the cause of religion. In Wales this church is soon to be disestablished, but there is little prospect at present that the same step

custom may hold its victories as securely as the slaver once did his unhappy prey.

Freedom can only be preserved as it is rightly used. It is not an end in itself, only a means. The right use of freedom is seen when it affords full scope for a noble character to reveal itself. An ignoble nature, with the same measure of opportunity, will but manifest its shame and bring reproach upon the liberty that has made the exposure possible. Only those who are worthy of freedom can keep it.

The enjoyment of liberty by any peo-



WHERE THE LAWS FOR THE BRITISH REALM ARE MADE

will be taken in England. There is not much enthusiasm to-day for ecclesiastical reforms.

Notwithstanding its past victories, however, and present apparent security, freedom's battle is by no means finally won. The old evils are not all eradicated. It is no longer necessary to take up arms against a royal tyrant; the government is in the hands of the people; yet even under the forms of democracy a majority may deal unjustly. A free press may degenerate into an instrument for enslaving mind and heart; and evil

ple gives no assurance that the boon will continue; it simply creates an unrestricted opportunity to demonstrate whether or not they are deserving of freedom. No matter how many or how strong the constitutional safeguards against civil or religious oppression, let freedom be put to an unworthy use and immediately there come creeping in by a hundred unsuspected channels, social, commercial, political, religious, the evils that in time corrode a nation's liberties and infuse into its sluggish blood the instincts of servitude.

"They enslave their children's children, who make compromise with sin!" History has demonstrated that freedom denied to others can not long be possessed. It must be dealt out in unstinted measure, or its essence will be lost. The principles of militarism and civil freedom can not exist together. In England we have a growing movement, with Lord Roberts at its head, calling for a great increase in our military strength and the compulsory training of every able-bodied man for service. A few years ago compulsory service was unthinkable; to-day its advocates have grown exceeding bold. Even our children are being leavened with the ideals of militarism.

Another feature of the times that augurs ill for future liberty is the readiness of the people to turn their individual responsibilities over to the central government. The state now educates the children, supplies meals for them sometimes, and provides medical examination and assistance. It pensions the aged, and is about to insure all workers against sickness and unemployment. The assumption by the state of these burdens will, under existing circumstances, relieve much suffering, but it will also tend to weaken the sense of individual and family responsibility. And few can afford to suffer any loss in this respect.

Governments seem to be afflicted with a tendency toward paternalism, toward encroaching unduly on the rights of the individual. Their opportunity to do so comes when the individual neglects his duties. The best way to confine a government to its proper sphere is to give no such excuse for interference. Unfortunately, the idea is gaining ground in England that it is the duty of the government, rather than of the individual, to put right whatever is wrong, and thus the way is being opened for the state to exercise an undue control.

This disposition is manifest in quarters where it might least be expected. If the history of the past teaches one lesson more emphatically than another, surely it is the great truth that religion

derives no blessing, but only a fatal curse, from state compulsion, exercised on its behalf. England has purged itself gradually from much of the taint of religious compulsion, but there are still religious laws lingering more or less discredited on our statute-books. These are mostly in behalf of Sunday observance. Instead, however, of joining in a movement to sweep away these remnants of a disgraceful past, the churches are too often guilty of the sins of their fathers by clamoring for stricter legislation to enforce more thorough Sunday observance. A powerful organization, the Imperial Sunday Alliance, has been brought into existence for this very purpose, and at the present time there is a bill before the House of Commons designed to reduce the volume of Sunday-trading.

To many this seems a move in the right direction, a needed reform. The people, they say, are rapidly losing their day of rest, and, unless the government interposes, will soon lose it altogether. This has always been the plea for state interference, and it has been used just as logically to compel attendance at mass, and confession to the priest. By such intervention, the government usurps the place of God, and seeks to rule in a realm where man has no right to intrude. It is because Sunday legislation keeps alive the old principles of persecution and intolerance that its existence and growth to-day menace religious freedom.

Few, however, see any danger in Sunday laws. Few ever do when the fatal steps are being taken into bondage. But unless the forces of darkness have lost their old-time energy and cunning, they will know well how to take advantage of this opportunity.

While a review of what has been gained in England inspires gratitude and rejoicing, we see also influences at work that may yet undo all the good, unless the principles of spiritual freedom are more truly prized and exalted. Old foes are about us under new disguises to re-establish the reign of darkness, and lead England back into captivity.

Religious Conditions in Austria

J. WOLFGARTEN

It is not more than fifty years since the Austrian Protestants obtained full rights and privileges, the same being granted on the eighth of April, 1861. The emperor assured his evangelical subjects complete freedom in their confession, whereby a new era dawned for them in Austria. The bonds which had oppressed them during the centuries of short-sighted intolerance and religious fanaticism, were now lifted. Protestants ceased to be merely second-class in their religious position in the eyes of mankind.

The stubborn spirit, which succeeded the persecuting time of the Reformation oppositions, was not overcome until Joseph II, the son of the great empress Maria Theresa, took his stand at the helm of state. His edict of toleration of 1781 was the first document of freedom ever issued to the Protestants. He pronounced the conviction "that any violence offered to conscience is detrimental, and that religion and state can only succeed by a true Christian tolerance in faith." Churches were allowed to be built in places where there were more than one hundred anticatholic families, although neither steeples nor bells were permitted, and the churches should not have direct entrance from the street.

The noted year of 1848, which, in spite of its revolutionary character, brought a flood of freedom to Europe, made our land happy with the precious blessing of liberty in faith and conscience. The calamitous time of the concordats suffocated the young plant of liberty until at last in 1861, after difficult struggles, the righteous cause gained the victory. In commemoration, a medal was struck in April of this year, with the image of the emperor on one side and a superscription of a woman with a cup and a Bible on the other.

Many difficulties are put in the way of denominations' teaching Protestant doctrines, however. Any one is liable to be condemned to as much as three months in jail if he makes propaganda for a forbidden denomination. Liberty of faith and conscience is accordingly not extended to every citizen.

Recently the demand for a separation of church and state has become more pressing. Canvassing is forbidden here. Catholic marriages can not be annulled.

And yet the day will come when Rome will be for a time without influence, so that the last work on earth (Rev. 14:6-14) may be quickly completed.

Finland and Religious Freedom

L. MUDERSPACH

SOON after the Reformation gained headway in Germany and began to exert an influence among adjacent people, it entered the northern country. The new light was kindled in Finland (which was then a part of Sweden) at about the same time that it began to shine in Scandinavia.

Simultaneously with the rise of the Reformation there began to come in a better understanding of the rights of men in religious things; and although the re-

ligious liberty idea has never come to any degree of perfection in Finland, still it has been acknowledged, and the laws of this country show in some degree the impress of the principles of freedom of conscience.

In Finland all have full liberty to believe what may seem to them the truth, and to preach that which they believe. Like most other countries, we have a Sunday law, but it is not enforced to any considerable degree. Some manufac-

tories operate their plants every day in the week.

When Finland, in the year 1809, came under the jurisdiction of Russia, she came in touch with a people that was far behind the Finnish people; and there have been times when it seemed that Russia would take away from the people of Finland their laws and their liberties. This unhappy possibility is strikingly illustrated in the engraving which follows.

But the Finnish people have stood for their rights as strongly as men could under existing circumstances, and are still enjoying their religious freedom.

One Russian emperor, especially, has been a good friend to Finland. This was Alexander II, and to his memory the people have erected a statue in Helsingfors, a reproduction of which appears on page 37.

Helsingfors, Finland.

Portugal and the Separation of Church and State

C. E. RENTFRO

SINCE the beginning of Portugal as a separate state, the Catholic religion was the state religion until April 20, 1911, when the law was enacted which dissolved church and state union in Portugal.

A short time after the proclamation of the republic, decrees were issued giving liberty and protection to all citizens, natural and foreign born, in their religious belief. For some time a project of law was studied in order to bring about a separation of church and state. Some of its dispositions are as follows:—

“CHAPTER I,
ARTICLE I.—The republic recognizes and guarantees the plain liberty of conscience to all Portuguese citizens, and also to the foreigners that dwell in Portuguese territory.

“ART. 2.—Beginning with the publication of the present decree with the

force of law, the Roman Apostolic Catholic religion ceases to be the religion of the state, and all churches or religious confessions are equally authorized as legitimate private congregations, so long as they do not offend public morals, neither the principles of Portuguese political law.

“ART. 3.—Within the territory of the republic no one may be persecuted for motives of religion, nor asked by any authority about the religion he professes.

“ART. 4.—The republic does not recognize, nor does it support nor subsidize, any wor-



A REPRESENTATION OF FINLAND'S FEARS

The double-headed eagle of Russia is striving to wrest from Finland the book of her liberty.

ship. . . .

“ART. 7.—Private or domestic worship of any religion whatsoever is abso-

lutely free and independent of legal restrictions.

"ART. 8.—The public worship of any religion is also free in houses for this purpose that may always take the exterior form of a temple; but must subordinate itself in the interest of public order and of the liberty and safety of the citizens, to the legal conditions of the exercise of the rights of meeting and association, and specially those contained in

"ART. 19.— . . . [This and other dispositions not being possible] the members shall be able transitorily to contribute to the public worship in their meetings effected by private initiative, but the minister of the worship must organize the accounts of receipts and expenses and have them always up to date, at the disposition of the contributing members and [representative of the public authority] under pain of disobedience and of being



THE CAPITAL OF THE YOUNGEST REPUBLIC

the present decree with force of law.

"CHAP. III, ART. 43.—The public worship does not depend upon previous authorization, neither upon the notification to which refers the law of July 26, 1893, now regulating the right when it is exercised in the places which have been destined to this, or that shall legally be in the future, and between the rising and setting of the sun.

"CHAP. II, ART. 16.—Religious worship, whatever may be its form, can be exercised and sustained only by the individuals that freely belong to the respective religion as its members or faithful.

"ART. 17.—The members or faithful of a religion can contribute collectively only to the general expenses of the respective worship by means of any of the corporations, exclusively Portuguese, of beneficence or assistance. . . .

subject to the prohibition of the respective worship."

In the above articles we have about all the declared principles of liberty. Many other articles treat of the legal restrictions, or rather the means whereby the religious faiths may become legal. All other societies have their statutes approved by the government. The wish of the government seems to be to put religious societies on the same footing as all others.

We who have been so accustomed to perfect freedom of organization, speech, and press, judge this law to be full of restrictions; but the Portuguese intend by this not to allow any religion to become powerful enough to dictate to the state what it shall do or say.

The experience of several centuries has created a spirit of reaction against all

religious beliefs, and of retaliation upon those who have so long abused the rights of mankind. Many of the Protestants are fearful of the results of this application of the law, and it is meeting with considerable criticism abroad.

It is a little early to say what the real application of the law will be. We are sure if Mr. Alfonso Costa could have his way, he would do justice to Protestants. The public authorities have been very

be brought before the house of deputies, or congress, where it may suffer some modifications.

In these changes we can but see the fulfilment of prophecy. Other changes will also come about very rapidly. The experience of Portugal with that religious power which has been dominant so long in her affairs should be a lesson to America, and warn her statesmen against the increasing influence of that same



CITY AND HARBOR OF LISBON, PORTUGAL

kind to us, in protecting us and in giving permission and information for organizing our work. This law will, of course,

spiritual power in American civil and religious affairs.

Lisbon, Portugal.

Liberty of Conscience in China

J. N. ANDERSON

ALL false religions are intolerant, and that very fact is in itself evidence that they are false. It is only truth that has no fear of fair play in the race for supremacy. History witnesses to the fact that in every effort to hold their own or to displace a rival faith, false religions have resorted to physical force. This charge is abundantly proved in the case of China.

Confucianism is the state religion of China, though in the strictest sense it is

rather a code of morals and ethics for both the state and the individual. A missionary to China of long experience and close observation speaks of Confucianism as follows: "They [the Chinese] have the loftiest moral code which the human mind unaided by divine revelation has ever produced, and its crystalline precepts have been the rich inheritance of every successive present from every successive past. The certainty that this is the best system of human thought as re-

gards the relation of man to man is as much a part of the thinking of every educated Chinese as his vertebræ are a part of his skeleton; and the same may be

gospel of the risen Saviour in the Roman empire. It came by invitation of the emperor Ming, who in a dream had seen a golden man flying into the audience-



THE FOUR PRINCIPAL FIGURES IN THE NEW GOVERNMENT OF PORTUGAL

said of the uneducated when feeling is substituted for thinking."

In the face of this faith, Buddhism made its appearance in China about the time the apostle Paul was preaching the

hall, bidding him send to the West for an alien faith. (What would have been the history of China had the embassy gone still farther west and found the Christian religion?) Once introduced

into China, Buddhism at times spread rapidly, while at other times it was nearly exterminated by persecution. In the year 845 A. D., forty-six hundred monasteries and forty thousand smaller religious houses were destroyed, their copper bells and images were made into cash, and two hundred sixty thousand monks and nuns were forced to return to secular life. But to-day, in spite of Kang Hsi's seventh edict,—“Discountenance and banish strange doctrines, in order to exalt the correct doctrine,”—pointed especially at Buddhism as opposed to Confucianism, Buddhism is in the ascendancy and enjoys government favor.

The Nestorians entered China as early as 505 A. D., and carried on their work for eight centuries. It is said that some of the emperors actually accepted the faith, lent their influence to its establishment, and caused “illustrious churches to be erected in every province.” The faith spread very extensively in China, but the tide turned—an imperial edict of the year 845 A. D. forced three thousand of its priests into private life, followed by severe persecutions, until to-day their books, churches, and adherents are all gone. The stone slab at Singan-fu, containing a brief account of the rise and success of this faith, is the sole remaining trace of Nestorianism.

The Jewish faith entered China at an early date, and for many centuries maintained a precarious foothold, not because of persecution, but because of the surrounding heathenism which finally swallowed it up. Mohammedanism, ever relying on the sword, knows no persecution for itself. It has a considerable following in China.

The next alien faith to enter China was the Roman Catholic, as early as 1291. John of Montecorvino entered into the very heart of the empire by making Peking his headquarters. His successor, Nicholas, with his twenty-four Franciscan assistants, followed up his work, but as they labored almost exclusively for Mongol tribes under a Mongol emperor, their work fell to the ground when the

Mongol dynasty was destroyed. Buddhism, aided by imperial favor, displaced the Catholic influence.

Just after the Protestant Reformation of the sixteenth century, Jesuit craft brought Rome's emissaries from South China to the imperial capital, Peking, and under various guises they won for themselves and their faith open doors and large success. Imperial favors were bestowed, and the fullest liberty to propagate their faith was granted them. This probably would have continued indefinitely had it not been for the disputes and quarrels of the Jesuits with other Catholic orders over the name of God in Chinese and the relation of ancestral worship to Christianity. Contrary to the decision of a former Pope, the Pope finally decided against both the Jesuits and the opinion of the emperor of China. This resulted in an imperial rescript (1724), strictly prohibiting the propagation of the Tien Chu Chao, or the Lord of Heaven sect. A period of eclipse followed, lasting until the treaties of 1858 inaugurated a new era. “During these thirteen decades persecution, exile, imprisonment, and death were common experiences, and some of the most heroic and devoted deeds are recorded of both missionaries and their converts.”

In this situation China was a closed nation; and when Morrison entered Canton in 1807, he was under the ban of the empire. His Chinese teacher carried poison on his person to end his life in case he were found teaching a foreign missionary the Chinese language. This state of affairs continued almost half a century, when a door of entrance to Christianity and missions was made by war and diplomacy. Of the significance of the revocation of the persecuting edicts of 1724, and later the issue of a decree of toleration, resulting from the war (1842), Dr. Wells Williams says: “Looked at in any point of view, political, commercial, moral, or intellectual, it will always be considered one of the turning-points in the history of mankind, involving the welfare of all nations in its wide-reaching consequence.”

It was at this point that China "faced about" in her attitude to modern missionary movement. It was not indeed by China's choice; it was rather God's hand that swung open the door of gospel opportunity to the millions of the Chinese world. It must not be thought that, once missionaries were free to enter China under treaty rights, no persecutions fell to the lot of the missionaries and their

"It went badly with the chapels that we rented. They were often assailed; roofs were broken up, doors were battered in, and furniture was carried off. There was nothing else to do but to keep at it. Driven out of one place, we betook ourselves to another, according to instructions. But we did not leave the country as the literati desired, and we did not intend to. We wore them out,



MONUMENT TO KING VICTOR EMMANUEL II OF ITALY, RECENTLY DEDICATED;
COST, \$20,000,000

converts. For decades Chinese pride and superstitions set themselves against the Christian faith with a fierce and deadly hatred. The following account is a faithful picture of how the missionaries fared in those days: "We were mobbed in the *fu* city, mobbed in the district cities, mobbed in the large towns. We got so used to being pelted with mud and gravel and bits of broken pottery that things seemed strange if we escaped the regular dose. . . . We went out from our homes bedewed with the tears and benedictions of dear ones, and we came back plastered over, metaphorically speaking, with curses and oburgations from top to bottom.

as an anvil sometimes wears out the hammer."

This same spirit has repeatedly revealed itself in mob attacks and bitter opposition in nearly all the provinces, culminating in the Boxer uprising of 1900, when one hundred eighty-eight Protestant missionaries and forty-four Romanists, and thousands of native converts laid down their lives. Nor is the national spirit of China more than merely tolerant to Christianity to this day, notwithstanding the fact that treaties between China and all the Western powers guarantee the fullest liberty of conscience to both the missionary and the native convert in every province in the empire.

Religious Liberty in Italy

L. ZECCHETTO

ITALY, once the land of papal supremacy, and for centuries the land of religious oppression, now grants as much liberty of conscience as does any other country in the world.

We have here in Italy the so-called "Sunday law," but any recognized organization is free to select any day out of seven as its day for rest and worship. The Sunday law is applied to store-keepers especially. Those engaged in agricultural or mechanical work of any kind, independent of any organization, may work every day in the week, and nobody will molest them. Sabbath-keepers, therefore, are at liberty to rest on the Sabbath and to work on Sunday, if they choose so to do.

We have perfect freedom to advertise our meetings, to pray, to sing, and to read the Scriptures in public. Not long ago I went to Montaldo (Bormida, a small town in Piedmont) to hold a few meetings, which were to be illustrated with a stereopticon. Before beginning the meetings, I called on the mayor of the town and asked his advice in regard to the necessity of protection against the possibility of any disturbance. He answered that there would be no need of sending the police, and said he himself would come and speak a few words to the people before my first meeting should

begin. He kept his promise, and gave the audience some very strong words of caution against molesting the speaker or in any way disturbing his meetings. This helped me to conduct my meetings without being in the least molested.

This is a year of jubilee in Italy, it being the fiftieth anniversary of the proclamation of the unity of the kingdom of

Italy with Rome as its capital. The king opened the celebration, and in the course of his remarks made this significant declaration: "This ever-memorable day is the record of fifty years of religious liberty in our country, and I shall do all in my power to maintain this liberty of conscience and freedom in religion." These words will pass into history, and ever remain among the records of the nation. They mean much to evangelical Christianity in Italy, and much to the individual who knows that true religion is



VICTOR EMMANUEL III, KING OF ITALY

a matter between each man and his Maker.

It is true that Italy has a large number of Jesuits, and their shrewd work is well known throughout the world, but it is very significant that on the invitation of the mayor of Rome, extended to eleven thousand mayors in Italy, requesting them to take part in person at the dedication of the monument of King Victor Emmanuel II, all but four ac-

cepted the invitation, declaring that they joined heartily in the great national event commemorating the unity of the country with Rome as its capital.

Thus, in spite of the protests of Catholics in all parts of the world, there was unveiled at Rome, on the fourth of June, in the presence of all the members of the royal house of Savoy and representa-

tives from all parts of Italy, a splendid monument to the first king of united Italy. It took almost thirty years to complete this monument, which was erected at an expense of fifty-six million francs. It was this first king of united Italy, Victor Emmanuel II, who took away the temporal prestige of the Pope.

Rome, Italy.

Religious Liberty in Switzerland

JEAN VUILLEUMIER

WHAT is the condition of religious liberty in Switzerland at the present time? or, in other words: How far is liberty of conscience and worship guaranteed and respected, so far as religious minorities are concerned? It has been remarked, indeed, that only religious minorities are ever threatened in their religious rights. Laws always reflect the sentiments of majorities. Whenever laws ignore or infringe upon rights, it is because these rights are ignored by the majority. It is the glory of the twentieth century that the right of minorities to a free exercise of their religion has been recognized.

The Helvetic Constitution

As regards freedom of conscience, our federal constitution speaks as follows:—

“Freedom of conscience and belief is inviolable.

“No one can be compelled . . . to re-

ceive religious teaching or to perform religious acts, and no one can be punished on account of his belief.”

This statement of principles is broad enough to include all forms of religious

liberty; but its logical consequences have not been developed in our country. Our three philosophers, Vinet, Secretan, and Naville, who were the foremost advocates of religious liberty in Switzerland and in Europe during the latter half of the eighteenth century, were unanimous in condemning the union of church and state as a contradiction of, and a menace to, liberty of conscience. There are in Switzerland three recognized national churches: the Catholic, the Prot-



INTERIOR OF CATHEDRAL OF ST. PETER,
AT GENEVA, SWITZERLAND

estant, and the Jewish. These three religions are supported by the state, which means, of course, by every tax-paying citizen. This includes the members of religious minorities who do not belong to

these three state churches, and is therefore an obvious injustice to them.

As a consequence of the union of church and state, it follows, here as elsewhere, that some religious minorities have to suffer the deprivation of their rights. One point, however, has been guarded by the legislator. Article 27 of the constitution says that "compulsory primary education must be taught in the public schools in such a way that these schools may be attended by pupils of all religious denominations without infringement upon their religious rights."

Sunday Laws

The existing Sunday laws in Switzerland are a consequence of this union between church and state, and these laws here, as everywhere else, are an encroachment upon the liberty of

Jews and all Christians who observe the seventh day of the week. If they work on Sunday after resting on the Sabbath, they enter into conflict with the law; and if they do not, they lose one sixth of the time which rightfully belongs to them, and are therefore deprived of one sixth of their income.

A religious publishing-house, all of whose employees rested on the seventh day, was, in 1894, compelled to cease its operations entirely, and its manager was fined, imprisoned, and finally banished, because the institution was operated on Sunday, after having remained idle on the seventh day.

The Public Schools

The Sunday rest made compulsory by law is also a cause of conflict in the public schools. These schools being open on Saturday, it follows that seventh-day observers are under obligation either to send their children to school on that day or to teach them at home. Very few, if any, can do this, and thus they find themselves under the sad necessity of sending their children to school on the day when they themselves go to church.

As a compensation and an attempted consolation to Sabbath-keeping parents, they are sometimes reminded by school boards that their children shall be free on Saturday from all manual exercises, such as writing, drawing, physical drills, etc., the only thing asked of them at school being oral work. The



FREE CHURCH IN GENEVA, WHERE PREACHED MERLE D'AUBIGNE AND GAUSSEN (FOUNDED IN 1833)

casuistic distinction between mental and manual work is rather surprising for a country enlightened by Protestantism and the Bible. It is based on a purely Judaic and Pharisaic interpretation of the fourth commandment.

Is the Principle Understood?

It must be admitted that in Switzerland religious freedom, as far as outward signs are concerned, is full and complete. With few exceptions, no denomination or propaganda is disturbed on the part of the authorities or the people. Does this mean that the spirit of Christian tolerance is everywhere under-

stood and impressed upon the minds and hearts?

The Separation of Church and State in Geneva and Basel

The principle of the separation of church and state—which was ably laid down forty years ago by the three above-mentioned men—has since then made some advancement. In Geneva two years ago, the separation was brought about, but unfortunately not through the Protestant element. A small body of religious men did hail the movement and its consequences. The majority dreaded it and only submitted to it. The main effort was made by non-believers with the help of the Catholic element. Since 1880, this element in Geneva was deprived of government support, and it took this occasion of "getting even."

One year ago, January 21, the separation became a fact in the city of Basel. There also—as had been the case in Geneva—the Roman Catholic Church had been supplanted by a rival church independent of the Pope. The Roman Catholic branch asked to be represented on the state budget for the amount of forty thousand francs a year. Instead of that, the legislators, after a careful examination of the matter, proposed the suppression pure and simple of all church support. This result was reached after a dignified debate, following a masterly written report by Herr Burekhardt-Schatzmann, then chief of the government. The evangelical church accepted the new situation with better grace than had been the case in Geneva. It enjoys, though unsupported, a recognition as the favorite church of the community.

Sunday Movements

Ever since 1877 there has existed in Switzerland an International Federation for Sunday-keeping. This society, seconded by a national committee and by cantonal branches, has manifested considerable activity in Switzerland. At the start, this activity had a religious character, and aimed at the sanctification of the day. But later on, the outward

object of the society changed. In view of the growing Sunday desecration and of a failure in reaching their object, these societies adopted the idea of *Sunday enforcement* as their leading purpose. Many petitions were circulated and the legislators were solicited and canvassed; thus several legislative measures were adopted by various cantons, such as Berne in 1885, Basel Land and Geneva in 1905, Zurich and Vaud in 1907, Neuchatel in 1910.

Since taking this new direction, placing itself upon a hygienic and social basis, the Sunday movement has received the cooperation of the labor unions and the socialists. From this union between the religious and the non-religious elements, there has resulted a compromise which the new Sunday bills make very noticeable. They are a confused and contradictory mass of prescriptions and exceptions.

All parties are agreed that Sunday is becoming more and more a holiday of unwholesome pleasure and dissipation. Thus nothing is being gained. All the efforts put forth result in no betterment of the situation. Where is the remedy for the situation?—We see only one thing,—a coming back to the point from which the wrong road was taken; leaving the Lord's day what it is, an exclusively religious institution; ceasing the attempt to place it in the hands of the state, which is in itself a profanation; placing the whole question upon a Bible basis, and returning to the law of God, which says, "Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy."

But this will reopen the great question as to which day is the Sabbath. Let it be opened then; Christians do not need to be afraid of it. Let it be sifted to the bottom. It is the only way of settling it. It does not matter if this should place the church under the awkward necessity of reforming one of its old practises. What matters that? To be right is everything. "Let us finish the Reformation," said Count de Gasparin; "this is the only way of saving it."

Gland, Switzerland.

Church and State in Sweden

S. F. SVENSON

GUSTAVUS VASA, the first Lutheran king of Sweden, was the founder of the state church of that country. Both he and his energetic son, Charles, cherished a strong tendency to rule the church; but they were opposed by such powerful Reformers as Olaus Petri and Olaus Martini, who partly succeeded in neutralizing their effort to put the church wholly in subjection to the state.

Though the church continued to be connected with the state from the time

religious persecution has not been so severe in Sweden as in many other Protestant countries, yet there has been more than enough of it even here. The result of a union of church and state has, as a general rule, always been persecution, to some extent. Thus Swedish history informs us that persons holding different views from the established church have often been fined, imprisoned, and at times have even been put to death. Nay, they did not even need to differ from her



THE ROYAL PALACE AT STOCKHOLM

of the Reformation, yet she succeeded for a long time in preserving a certain amount of liberty; but in the year 1686 a complete union was effected. What both Gustavus Vasa and Gustavus Adolphus had aimed at was carried out by Charles XI, who permitted the church to come entirely under the control of the state. From that time church and state were one. Thus it continued unchanged until the time of Charles XV.

While Swedish citizens, professing a different faith than that of the Lutheran, were granted certain privileges in 1741 and 1781, it was not until 1860 that they were permitted to leave the state church and organize churches of their own.

While it may perhaps be true that re-

with reference to doctrinal points. Previously to 1860 a revival began in different parts of the country. Laymen gathered the people together in the houses and explained to them the Word of God according to the Lutheran tenets. Frequently they were interrupted by the state-church preacher or the sheriff, who would break up the meeting, and have the leader fined or put in jail. It will be readily seen that when they could thus treat those of their own faith, their treatment of Baptists and others would be still more severe.

The state still governs the church. The king is her head; the state is her legislator. Consequently the laws of the church are made by a body whose mem-

bers do not have to belong to the church at all, nor even be Christians. It is, therefore, plain that the stronger the element in the parliament (*riksdag*) becomes that is indifferent or hostile to the church, the stronger the pressure will be under which she labors. She is simply a state institution; her ministers are servants of the state, and, as such, viewed with suspicion by many of the rank and file. Quite frequently the state's business which the ministers have to transact, encroaches materially upon their work for the church.

Strange to say, in some respects the

abridged. There is no church discipline to be found within her organization, save the personal warnings and admonitions of the ministers. She lacks the power to disfellowship even those members who publicly deny her faith and blaspheme her religion. She does not even possess authority to grant the request of an infidel that he be dropped as a member when he finds his position dishonest and false. She can do nothing toward those who deviate from her faith, but such remain as members, often injuring the church and gaining adherents for themselves at her expense. She is forced to



SWEDISH HOUSE OF PARLIAMENT

state church does not enjoy even the liberty and privileges that other societies and churches do. Thus she can not, as the church of Sweden, get record conveyance of real estate donated to her; and rarely, if ever, is it possible for the local churches to secure legal possession of the real estate or buildings belonging to them. It is all booked as the property of the state. Generally speaking, the church can not be said to have any real estate at all that she can call her own. It all belongs to the state.

The church is really in a deplorable condition. She does not own her property, and consequently her liberty is

allow almost unlimited doctrinal freedom to her ministers and teachers. The state authorities, often indifferent as to doctrinal points and the purity of her faith, do not like to have her bring charges against those of her teachers and ministers who do not stand on the foundation of her confession. Thus it will be seen that her condition is anything but enviable. She has consented to be married to the worldly power, and that power is clasping her so tightly in its embrace that her spiritual life is almost extinguished.

Owing to the treatment that she has accorded to other denominations in times

past, which work she would undoubtedly again resume, had she the power, she meets with no sympathy from them. On the contrary, their aim is to undermine her foundations. Infidels, as a matter of course, are all against her. These, together with the socialistic element, hope some day to gain complete control of her, and turn her into an institution that shall be a means of propagating that kind of "scientific religion" where reason is enthroned as the high priest.

There are demands everywhere for separation of church and state. Twice since 1908 have motions been made in the Lutheran Church council to that effect. Both have been made by the founder of the largest free church movement in Sweden, Professor Waldenstrom. He has placed before the leaders of the church the necessity of their taking the first step toward the dissolution. Others have

held out before them, as an object-lesson, the experiences of the church in France,* prophesying that the church of Sweden will inevitably meet with the same fate. But they will not forego the support of the state, which they dearly love. Yet among her ministers there are some noble exceptions. Many are praying for the day when the separation shall come.

As far as liberty to worship God according to the dictates of one's own conscience is concerned, there is nothing that

hinders in Sweden. Yet everybody, whether he belongs to the state church or not, has to pay his share of the taxes that support her. His leaving the church does not relieve him from the burden of supporting her financially. Children who go to the public schools, must be instructed in religion according to the

tenets of the state church, even if the parents are against it; and if the children receive private instruction or attend other schools, it is the parents' duty to see to it that they receive at least the amount of religious instruction taught in the public schools; otherwise the children can be taken from their parents and put in the public schools.

There are Sunday laws on the statute-books, but they are very seldom enforced. There is, however, a strong undercurrent in favor of stricter observance of Sunday. The attention of the legislators has, time and again,

been called to this subject, but thus far the stricter enforcement of Sunday observance has met with no approval. Sunday is preeminently a day of sporting in Sweden. There is no Sunday-keeping, such as we see in the United States. We thank God for the amount of religious liberty that exists here, and long for the day when the principles of freedom of conscience shall have permeated everything, and true liberty shall be found everywhere.

Stockholm, Sweden.



PROFESSOR WALDENSTROM, D. D., PH. D.,
WHO IS SEEKING TO BRING ABOUT A
SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND
STATE IN SWEDEN

The Status of Religious Liberty in Russia

C. E. HOLMES

THE cause of religious liberty in Russia has passed through many vicissitudes, and complete freedom of conscience is not yet attained. The germ of intolerance in religious matters has been at work in this great nation for centuries. However, there seems at present to be a prospect that a considerable degree of freedom will yet be enjoyed in the land of the czar.

In the latter part of the fifteenth century efforts were made to reform the church; but the orthodox party was too strong for the pioneers of reform. In 1504 many were tried for heresy and sentenced, some to be burned at the stake, others to have their tongues cut out; and still others were imprisoned or banished.

A controversy over the revision of the liturgy and prayer-books of the Russian church in the seventeenth century caused a division, and persecution was brought to bear upon those who would not accept the innovation. The persecution continued to grow in severity, and in 1681 the leader of the schismatics, with a number of his disciples, was burned at the stake. A few years later a law was enacted under which all schismatics were liable to be given to the flames, and their property was subject to confiscation. Within five years after the making of this law as many as twenty thousand persons burned themselves alive rather than surrender to the officers of the government. We can hardly appreciate the spirit which urges men so mercilessly to hound human beings to the death merely because they differ with them over the spelling of the name of Jesus, or whether there should be priests or not. But that was the case in this instance.

With the addition of new territory containing a Protestant population, Peter the Great issued a manifesto in April, 1702, which allowed them freedom of worship. A part of it declares:—

"We will never, by the power given us

by the Almighty, use any force over the consciences of men, but willingly leave to every Christian the care of his salvation on his own proper responsibility."

This decree, however, applied only to those outside the state church, and did not in any way relieve the disabilities of those within. All heresies and schisms which have grown up within the Orthodox Church itself have been, until recently, within the purview of the criminal law. "By the ukase of Empress Anna (Feb. 22, 1735), which is still the law, religious tolerance is defined to mean merely freedom of worship, but not the freedom of preaching for the purpose of making converts among Russian subjects, which is prohibited under severe penalties."

Conversions by Sword and Lash

The repressive policy of the established church in the middle of the nineteenth century is well illustrated in the "conversion" of the Uniats. With the exception of their belief in the supremacy of the Pope, the Uniats adhere to the doctrines of the Greek Catholic Church. "It was deemed imperative to 'reunite' them to the established church. Missionaries were sent out among the Uniats, and wherever persuasion failed of effect they were reenforced by the police and the military. Uniat priests who objected to joining the established church were imprisoned and banished; their churches were placed in charge of Orthodox priests, and their parishes were officially declared 'reunited.'"

From the report of eye-witnesses this conversion and reuniting were carried forward with a fiendish cruelty worthy of the dark ages. Says one:—

"The peasants of a whole village were driven to a barn near the church, stripped bare, and flogged by the Cossacks till the military doctor said further lashing would kill them. They were then forced, at the whip's end, to enter a half-frozen

river, immersed up to the waist,—which was the Cossacks' idea of baptism,—and after this they were conducted through files of soldiers to the parish church, where their names were entered as 'petitioners to be received into the Orthodox faith.' As they were sent home again, they all cried, 'You can call us Orthodox, but we cling to the faith of our fathers.'

It would seem that after centuries of ineffectual effort to smother non-conformity, some recognition and liberty would have been given them by those in authority. They were not few in number. The report of the procurator of the Holy Synod estimates the membership of dissenters for the years 1894 and 1895 to be 13,000,000. The Orthodox Church has a membership of 87,000,000.

The Czar's Manifesto

However, the day at last began to dawn. In 1903 a manifesto was issued by the present czar on religious toleration. It was to secure, in matters of religion, "strict observance, by the authorities, of the mandates of tolerance inscribed in the fundamental laws of the Russian empire, which, devoutly respecting the Orthodox Church as supreme and dominant, grant to all our subjects of heterodox and non-Christian denominations the freedom of observing their faith and worshipping in accordance with the rites thereof."

But, after all, this manifesto is merely a reiteration of the manifestoes given by

Peter the Great and others of his successors.

The manifesto of 1903 was followed by another on Easter, 1905, which gave the long-desired freedom to leave the Orthodox Church. Thousands are said to have outwardly severed their connection with this body immediately upon the publication of the edict. It says in part:—

"We ordain that the falling away from the Orthodox faith to any Christian confessions of faith shall not give ground for any persecution, and shall not work disastrous consequences to the personal or civil rights of such a person."

In October, 1904, followed still another imperial ukase, granting full religious freedom to the old believers. According to this law—

"any dissident sect numbering fifty persons, whose aims are not immoral, or having tenets such as refusal to do military service, can apply for and receive permission to organize churches, con-

duct services, build schools, and elect clergy who shall be exempt from military service and be entitled to wear vestments and perform baptism, marriage, and other sacraments."

These manifestoes, or decrees, have not yet been enacted into laws with provisions for their execution. The old laws have not been repealed, and there are no new laws and regulations for the new conditions created. This has led to confusion on the part of local officials.

In November, 1906, a decree was sent



STATUE OF EMPEROR ALEXANDER II, OF
RUSSIA, IN HELSINGFORS, FINLAND

to the governors of Russia, granting Seventh-day Adventists equal freedom with the Baptists. This was signed by P. Stolypin, of the ministry of the interior. But both the Adventists and the Baptists have discovered that this decree amounted to very little, so far as real religious freedom is concerned. At a general meeting of the Northern Baptists in Philadelphia, June 17, a resolution was adopted petitioning the President of the United States to interfere in behalf of their persecuted brethren in Russia. A number of Adventists are languishing in prisons in spite of appeals to the high officials of Russia by that body of Christians.

One who has been in close touch with the Orthodox Church has some misgivings as to favorable results from these decrees. He says:—

"It is by no means clear what the czar means by his promise of religious liberty; it is very doubtful whether it implies any change in the relation of the church and state; very doubtful whether it will lead to any change in the policy of the government as to the toleration of foreign missionaries in the empire."—*Rev. George Washburn, D. D., LL. D., Constantinople.*

Baron Waldemar Uxkull, one of Russia's own sons, views the situation thus:—

"It is a sad thing that we can not trust absolutely our government and its promises. The constitutional rights of Finland were confirmed by the emperor, and after some years the government tried to annihilate these rights. . . . I think, too, that many high officials of the state church would gladly welcome the abolition of religious liberty, but they understand that it is impossible to control the consciences of one hundred thousand men. They are afraid to produce more trouble, and we have had enough already in Russia. We must remember the verse, 'It is better to take refuge in Jehovah than to put confidence in princes.'"

The reason for questioning the sincerity of the czar's promises grows out of

the fact that persecution still continues in spite of the manifestoes. The intolerant spirit found in thousands of the Orthodox Church can not be overcome in a few days or months.

Conditions Strikingly Illustrated

About a year ago a large number of Russian Baptists and a few Jews planned for a picnic in Odessa. They had scarcely arrived at their destination when they were pounced upon by the police, and over two hundred were arrested, and imprisoned for two months.

The animus behind this persecution is the same as found throughout the history of the church of God. It was exposed by a Russian periodical. The *Zaria u Rodina* (For Czar and Fatherland), commenting upon this incident, stated:—

"Many Jews were arrested who had been invited and summoned by the Baptists. A touching union indeed of Stundists and Jews!

"The object of both is one and the same: the perversion of true believers and the undermining of the firm ground on which the power of holy Russia stands. It is a new method of undermining the foundations of the Russian empire, and the champions of freedom are hypocritically using prayer as their instrument in this wicked and abominable deed, in order to deceive the people and gain adherents.

"It is shamefully insulting that the misleading of Russian subjects from the true faith is permitted in holy orthodox Russia. This is not a case for tolerance; nor is it a case of freedom of conscience and of religion, but it is a case of the public persecution and perversion of Orthodox Christians."

The attitude of the Orthodox Church toward the Bible and its distribution is to be commended. Bibles are carried free of postage anywhere and admitted into Russia without duty. There is hope for the downtrodden of this vast country when, with the advance steps already taken toward freedom of worship and propaganda, the Word of God, which teaches the only true liberty, can be secured by all.

A Notable Address

The Speech of Ernest Nathan, Mayor of Rome, Delivered Before the Breach of Porta Pia, Rome, Italy, Sept. 20, 1910; Together With the Pope's Reply and the Mayor's Rejoinder

CITIZENS, I do not speak only in the name of Rome; you have the evidence of this in the wreath this moment presented to me by the council of the province here assembled together with its distinguished vice-president. It is for the land around us, it is for the entire province joined to this city, united in the same convictions and popular aspirations,— for these I speak.

And if again I address you on this historic spot, it is because of your will recently expressed by your suffrage; you asked that the voice of the popular administrator should again resound here, and just in the year when, from all parts of Italy and from abroad, from the two hemispheres, fellow citizens and foreigners will pilgrimage to Rome to commemorate the day, half a century ago, when the Sub-Alpino Parliament, with clear vision of the national destiny, proclaimed Rome the capital of the new Italy.

Urged by the will of the people, stirred by the work of the grand factors, the soldier, the king, the statesman, nerved by the brave army, by the valorous volunteers, by the citizens and all who toiled, suffered, died, under the light that sometimes illumines men and assemblies, that illustrious, patriotic parliament so decreed and through the maturing of subsequent events so it happened.

To express our approbation of that solemn vote, we are here to-day; and tomorrow the whole world, through its many representatives, will meet here to observe how well the present Rome, the Rome of the third Italy, has resumed the march toward its destiny; to what extent it has succeeded in summing up in itself the will and the aspirations of a great people; how much it has done and is doing to establish brotherly relations with other nations through its own life and thought which sweep over the barriers of mountains and seas.

Such is the Rome that I have the honor to represent, vindicator of freedom of thought, which entered through this breach together with the tricolored flag.

But another Rome, the Vatican, image of the past, shuts himself into a compass narrower than the walls of Belisarius, with the idea of compressing thought into that little circumference, for fear that, if it should come into contact with the free air, it might, like the embalmed dead of ancient Egypt, be resolved into dust. From there, from that fortress of dogma, as a last desperate effort to perpetuate the reign of ignorance, comes, on the one hand, the order to banish from the religious schools all magazines in which modern life and thought are considered; on the other hand, comes the thundering proscription—negative electricity without contact with the positive pole—against men and associations desirous of reconciling the practises and teachings of their faith with the teachings of the intellect, the vital life, and the moral and social aspirations of the civic soul.

Like cosmic matter in dissolution, that city on the slope of the Janiculum is a fragment of an extinguished sun, hurled into the orbit of the modern world.

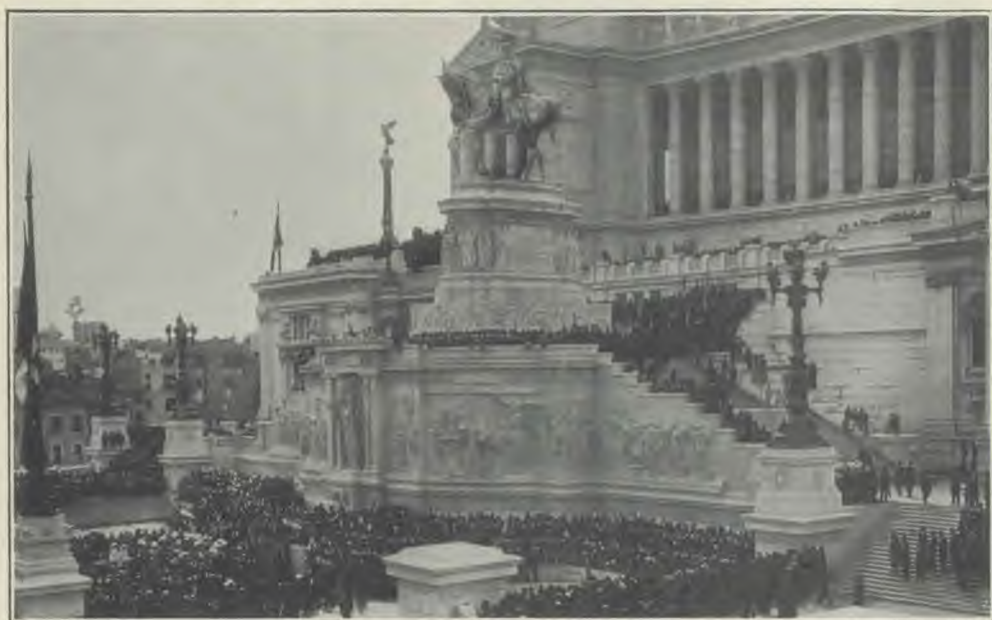
Think for a moment, citizens, of Rome as it was one year before this breach was made, the year 1869. There came then on pilgrimage Catholics from all parts of the world, called here for a great and solemn affirmation of the reigning Catholicism. The church of St. Peter, in its monumental majesty, gathered within its large womb the representatives of dogma in ecumenical council. They came to proclaim that the Pope, because of his unbroken succession from Christ, should inherit, as the Son, omniscient power over men, and that his decrees should not be submitted to any human tribunal by virtue of his infallibility proclaimed.

recognized, and accepted. It was the reversal of the Biblical revelation of the Son of God making himself man on earth; it was the son of man making himself God on earth!

There was one, Döllinger, who with full knowledge of the history of the pontificate through the ages, revolted at the blasphemy against God, and men. He stood alone! To call in question, to discuss the decrees of the head of the church, was for the hierarchy the first

this memorable day; tell me if the destruction of a few stones is not converted into an altar of country and of world progress!

The Roman pilgrimage of 1869 was for the purpose of decreeing the infallibility of the Pope; that infallibility which, born of tradition, passed into custom, and to-day unfortunately manifests itself in the popular ignorance which, at the first appearance of an epidemic, hangs votive offerings before the Ma-



A NEARER VIEW OF THE GREAT ITALIAN MONUMENT, BETTER SHOWING ITS MASSIVE PROPORTIONS

step toward submitting themselves to free examination; it was the little hole through which would pass the oxygenized air of science, of civil progress. And, therefore, upon the old walls of dogma they placed infallibility. That was, before the world, the last pilgrimage to the Pope-King.

Compare that event with the one for which we are now preparing, the exposition, and measure the distance we have advanced in forty years, a day in the life of the Eternal City. Compare the material and moral exhibitions of that Rome with those of the present Rome, and then tell me if you, if the representatives here assembled, must not celebrate

donna, and kills the persons appointed to apply scientific remedies; that infallibility which stimulates the Pope to boycott the most legitimate human aspirations, the searchings of civilization, the explorations of thought, and moves him to plan new darknesses for the exclusion of the light of day. The pilgrimage of this next year will have quite a different meaning.

Ancient Rome, of which we have so many evidences in the still-existing monuments and inscriptions, was the center and soul of a civilization that transformed the world. It came into existence, lived a glorious life, and disappeared after having spread among the

nations the truth entrusted to it. Again Rome arose, the center and soul of a second civilization. This medieval Rome proclaimed the Oriental truth that possessed its bosom, and then in turn its glorious life declined, and it disappeared. But, unique in the history of human annals, once more Rome shakes herself free of her grave-clothes, emerges from the tomb, and, center and soul of a new people, broken, disjoined, and recast in unity, resuscitated for a grand nation, passes through the breach of Porta Pia, becomes still another time the apostle of civilization to herald its message of union among men for the progress of humanity. . . .

In the old days of papal Rome they were always building more churches, while the citizens asked for schools; to-day we have enough churches, perhaps too many; while the more schools we have, the more we want! Such is the significance of the breach in this old wall, citizens! No church without school! Enlightened conscience for every faith! This is the meaning of modern Rome.

Why have I spoken in this way? Why have I recalled the past, comparing it with the present? Do you think it is because of my love of polemics? or that I desire to answer the stupid accusations and insults hurled against us?—Truly, no. A feeling higher and worthier moves me; namely, that of putting before your eyes, and above all upon your hearts, the moral responsibilities that rest upon us, to the end that you tarry not along the way, and that Rome, individually and collectively, may be conscious of its duty to country, democracy, and the future. I have spoken at some length of the past with the intention of showing the evils, the enslavements, under the despotism, under the reign of a class, even the priestly class, in the name of religion. If this lesson should be forgotten, and in the prevailing power of one or several classes we should lose sight of the people as a whole, the nation, if the country should be bandied about in the hands of personal interests, then this breach would have been opened to kindle strife between

classes, and not for the good of country and mankind.

With this conviction, I sent in your name the following telegram to the head of the nation, His Majesty Victor Emmanuel III, who exemplifies the virtue of the country: "While all Italy, from Turin to Marsala, reviewing in thought the resurrection of fifty years ago, meeting on this twentieth of September, measures the distance advanced since Italy passed through the breach of Porta Pia to proclaim to the world from the summit of the Capitoline Hill freedom of conscience, freedom of institutions, and Rome capital, we, conscious of our great task, turn our hearts and minds to your majesty, leader and educator of the risen nation; and we express once more our devout and steadfast affection, our faith in the destinies of the country, foretold and prepared for by the great forerunners and instruments of the third Italy."

And the answer of the king is this: "I am deeply grateful for Rome's thought of me, and I send the dear city the expressions of my warm affection. With great pleasure I follow the commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of our resurrection, a commemoration celebrated with sure conviction of progress attained and with unshaken faith in the civil liberties. From this celebration of sacred memories I draw for our country happy augury of glorious fortune, and also I repeat the vows that the capital of the kingdom renews on such a solemn day. Signed, Victor Emmanuel."

Citizens, everywhere, from Turin to Marsala and Palermo, from Naples to Perugia, to the fields of Castelfidardo, Italy has commemorated the heroic facts of its unity, and everywhere Rome has been present with the hearts of all its citizens and with the word of its representative. To-day, the fortieth anniversary of the beautiful day which sealed the unity of our country, all Italy is present here in its highest representative, the king, who with us remembers the past, side by side with us toils for the present, and, conscious of a common duty, with us prepares the future. May only one

shout come from your breasts before this breach: Long life to the third Italy!

The Pope, in a Letter to One of His Cardinals, Makes Reply

Cardinal, an event of exceptional gravity moves us to address to you to-day our word to express to you the deep grief of our soul. Two days ago a public functionary, in the exercise of his power, not satisfied to celebrate solemnly the anniversary of the day in which the sacred rights of the pontifical sovereignty were trampled upon, lifted his voice to hurl scorn and insult against the doctrines of the Catholic faith, against the vicar of Christ on earth, and also against the church. Speaking in the name of Rome, which should be according to authoritative agreements, the honored and peaceful abode of the pontiff, he assailed also our spiritual jurisdiction, impudently denouncing and ridiculing before the public even the acts of our apostolic ministry. To this audacious attack upon the institution given by Christ, our Lord, to Peter and to his successors, he added blasphemous thoughts and words, and dared to incite others publicly against the authority of its councils.

And since to hatred of the church is naturally added a hatred more violent for every manifestation of Christian piety, he did not draw back before the wicked and antisocial proposition of offending the religious sentiment of a believing people.

Because of this mass of impious accusations, so uncalled for and altogether blasphemous, we are compelled to raise high our voice of just indignation and of protest, and at the same time, through you, cardinal, to call the attention of our children of Rome to the many affronts ever greater, against the Catholic religion, given in the name of public authority, in the very seat itself of the Roman pontificate.

Certainly this last and most grievous exhibition has not escaped the notice of all the faithful of the Catholic world. It has offended, we are sure, all those who united with our dear children of

Rome to raise with fervor their prayer to the Most High, to the end that he may arise to the defense of his divine spouse, the church, thus basely made the object of calumny ever more venomous and of attacks ever more violent, because of the unpunished boldness of its enemies.

We express our hopes that, for the honor of the Eternal City, they may not allow these intolerable attacks to be made again.

And now, cardinal, as token of our special good-will, we impart to your heart the apostolic benediction.

The Mayor Makes Public Reply

For the acts of my office I am responsible to the council, to the competent authorities from whom I receive my office.

There is published in answer to my discourse of September 20, a letter from the high pontiff to his most eminent cardinal, calling the attention of the citizens of Rome, of Italy, of the whole world, to my words. Respect for all civil society demands a further word.

He, raging from the Vatican against the one who is in the mayor's office on the Capitoline, does he not make clearer the subject of my discourse, the contrast between the Rome of the past and the Rome of the present?

Am I at fault, as he says, "on the anniversary of that day in which the sacred rights of the pontifical sovereignty were trampled upon;" "committing offenses ever greater against the Catholic religion"? Have I "raised my voice to hurl scorn and insult against the vicar of Christ on earth"? or have I not rather placed before the eyes of the citizens a faithful mirror, that all might see for themselves reflected the events of the past, those events contrasted with another government, another will, other teachings, other aspirations?

I am not the author or inventor of the ban driving from the schools and seminaries all secular periodicals. Not I the one to conceive solemn condemnations against Christian democracy, against the Modernists, against the Sillonists, against all who act zealously in the search of a

faith that reconciles intellect and heart, tradition and evolution, knowledge and religion; not I the one to melt together dogma, right, and religion in a way to deny the consolation of faith to one who could not yield a blind submission to the changeable doctrines and will of men; not I the one to create the ignorance that, abandoning itself to superstition, brutally pushes back knowledge; not I the one to be wanting in respect for the creeds of others, the inalienable rights of the individual conscience, nor even to be wanting in the respect due to the pontiff, that man called to the highest office (of his church), who, within the limitations set by the capacity of his mind, sacrifices himself for love of the good, according to the dictates of his conscience.

As the high pontiff from the papal chair of St. Peter's considers it a duty to speak the truth as it appears to him, to his followers, so the very little mayor of Porta Pia, the spot that to his mind marks the beginning of a new political and civil era, has an equal duty to all

civil society. He offends the ears of him who declares that "the rights of the pontifical sovereignty were trampled upon." But it is not the man, nor his words, it is the historical fact which offends, oppresses, preoccupies, exasperates; the deed which happened in the past; the deed which projects itself ominously into the future, with step more firm in the measure that the dawning day of the new Italy illumines the path for the anxious, trembling travelers; the deed which guides the people, is written in the teachings of the law by the hand of progress that governs the universe; the deed which is higher than pontiff or mayor.

Everything moves, evolves, enlarges, and men turn their eyes upward in search of faith, illuminated by knowledge.

If I have broken the law, I am willing to answer before the tribunal of the law; if I have transgressed the duties of my office, judgment awaits me at the hands of the citizenship of Rome; if I have offended religion, my conscience, undismayed, without an intermediary, shall answer before God.

A Dash for Liberty in Argentina

C. E. KNIGHT

It is inspiring to observe that in this land of priests and church holy days some minds are exercised over the question of liberty of conscience and equal rights for all, and that this feeling is strong enough within them to cause energetic action against the evils accompanying state-prescribed religion. It is true that this country has not known any other condition, but that does not convince some sound minds that it must always continue so.

I can not do better than to quote from a lengthy article upon the "Union of Church and State," which appeared in the May number of a magazine published in Buenos Aires, entitled *Revista de Derecho Historia y Letras* (Review of Right History and Letters). After dis-

cussing upon the subject in ancient times, the writer presents some forcible statements more applicable to the present time, in the following extracts, which I have translated from the Spanish:—

"Our republics have no inheritance, neither have they been able to inherit anything from the kings of divine right. Patronage exercises it as its own and original right in the name of national sovereignty. . . .

"In the order of purely human interests is explained the established partnership between the monarchy and the church, through the necessity they had of maintaining their power over the fraud of the divine delegation; but there is no reason for preserving it between the republic and the church, because the re-

public is the expression of truth: it is the personification of democracy.

"The republic, when it exercises the right of compelling in religion, is unrelenting, and that too in matters which do not concern its object (which is purely human); disowns the doctrine of liberty of worship, which is contrary to the existence of an official church, and blots in a certain way the principle of equality, according to which there ought not to be

"Those who judge thus think wrongly of the subject with which I am occupied. The union of the state and the church does inconvenience, because it is, in the first place, an onerous burden, because it punishes the forces of conscience and the interests of society, and equally disturbs for the future, because the church is a parasite that lives at the expense of the tree of liberty. . . . As to the opportunity, the time for it is already here.



CITIZENS OF ARGENTINA WHO FOLLOW THEIR FAITH THROUGH TRIBULATION

The man sitting was most severely beaten by members of the "orthodox" church for permitting Protestant ministers to hold meetings in his house.

privileged classes, nor privileged interests within the state.

"In effect: When the national constitution permits the union of the state with the church, it stimulates disunion in its citizens for religious interests, and deposits in their hearts the germ of civil war, perchance also the fomenting of fanaticism and delinquency. . . .

"As in all countries, there are frivolous men to whom the gravest social and political problems are things of little moment. I well know that they will say, 'The union of state and church does not inconvenience us, neither does it disturb us for the future. The separation will come when the opportunity arrives.'

When one definitely adopts the representative democratic régime as a form of government, the church should remain eliminated as an institution. To retain it as a national institution is incongruous in a republic.

"In various republics exist Catholic parties that always have been and always are in conflict with the civil power, and this conflict will continue while exists the union of the state with the church.

"In the United States there never has been an official church to regret having its ancient metropolis.

The English who immigrated to North America brought in their conscience their free beliefs, and in their heart the love of liberty. Persecuted in their native country for their religious faith, they came to people virgin soil, where they might be able to build new altars for their worship and a new country for their sons.

But what must this writer think, if he understands that there is under headway a mighty effort in the United States to condemn and sacrifice this precious boon? I believe some people in the United States may heed counsel from a country that is suffering the inevitable consequences of church and state union.

Buenos Aires, Argentina.

Books

The following books should be in the library of every student of our times.

The True Faith, and How I Found It, by Samuel McGerald, D. D. True Faith Company, Buffalo, N. Y.; 163 pages, 75 cents net.

Books portraying the errors of Roman Catholicism are numerous, yet many of them are open to the objection of being written in a spirit of antagonism rather than in one of investigation. Mr. McGerald's book is entirely free from ultraism, and brings to the reader the consciousness of a soul seeking its way from the unsatisfactory experience of formalism into the blessedness of an experimental religion. Born of Roman Catholic parents, in his boyhood days he was intimately acquainted with the priesthood of the parish in which he lived. In his book he describes the steps which led him away from Rome to Christ, and at last into the Christian ministry. The fallacy of Roman Catholic teaching is dwelt upon throughout the book, and the manner in which error is refuted is refreshing. To read the book is to be helped mentally and spiritually. The citations in the closing chapters from Lord Acton and others on the question of liberty of conscience are invaluable. The triumph of Roman Catholicism means the revival of persecution. The book is certain to do good, and after reading it, one wishes that it might be read by every Roman Catholic and Protestant.

Protestant Missions in South America, by a committee of prominent Protestant missionaries, who write from experience in the mission work in the various republics of that long-neglected continent. The Student Volunteer Movement, New York City; 238 pages, manila cover.

This book gives one a striking and well-epitomized array of facts showing what the real conditions are in South America so far as relates to the civilization, the moral status, and freedom of worship and of propaganda. The various writers who have contributed to this work do not hesitate to lay the blame where it belongs for the intolerant and unpromising conditions which exist there. Every Protestant ought to read this book that he may see what is the fruit of Romanism where it has for centuries held undisputed sway. For price, address the publishers.

Christian Science, the Faith and Its Founder, by Lyman P. Powell. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York City; 261 pages; cloth.

The author of this work is a well-known clergyman of New England, who has made an exhaustive study of the cult of Christian Science, searching the works of both its friends and its critics, and judging the system also by its direct teachings and the fruit of their application. The attitude of the author toward that system may be gleaned from a few expressions. He says: "When members of any Christian church turn to Christian Science healing, they usually turn away from historic Christianity. . . . The good in Christian Science is the good in other religions, and therefore requires no special emphasis, while the evil is distinctive and needs analysis and publicity to make it evident." He shows beyond question the direct antagonism between that cult and true Christianity, points out the fallacies of Mrs. Eddy's work, "Science and Health," and the undoubted origin of the ideas on which the system is based. The work contains a good account of the life of Mrs. Eddy, and closes with a chapter on the unhappy and dangerous attitude of Christian Science toward the family and the home. It would seem that a perusal of this book ought to be a shield to any one against falling into the fatal deception which this work lays bare.

The Two Babylons, or Papal Worship Proved to Be the worship of Nimrod and His Wife, by Rev. Alexander Hislop. S. W. Partridge & Co., 8 and 9 Paternoster Row, London, England; 330 pages; cloth; well illustrated.

The author proves the assertion made in the title of his book by a close and searching comparison of the characteristics of the two systems. Practically every distinctive feature of papal worship is traced to its origin in the false religions of Babylon, Assyria, Egypt, Greece, Rome pagan, etc. The striking analogy is more than a coincidence, as every fair-minded reader must admit. The library of every American ought to contain a copy of this invaluable treatise.

John Knox and the Scottish Reformation, by G. Barnett Smith. Review and Herald Publishing Association, Takoma Park, D. C.; 160 pages; cloth; price, 60 cents.

The story of John Knox is a thrilling one. This advocate of the gospel was a true and fearless pioneer of Christianity in Scotland, and maintained a strong and strikingly consistent course for his time in behalf of a religion that was under the ban of his ruler. It will prove a source of inspiration to every lover of Christianity to read the record of such a life.

"American State Papers"

Bearing on Sunday Legislation. New, Revised,
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COMPILATION of rare and valuable documents on religious legislation, which have appeared at various times during our colonial and national history, showing, by plainest principles of deduction, the attitude civil government should sustain toward such legislation. It is one of the most interesting books on the subject published, and invaluable to a correct solution of some of the most vital questions now confronting men in both political and religious life. It presents, in their own words, the ideas of the founders of the American government upon the great question of the proper relation of church and state. The book is divided into eight parts, besides an appendix, as follows:—

PART I deals with the Colonial period. In this are given numerous examples of the Sunday laws of all the early American colonies; a sketch of Roger Williams; and the claims of Rhode Island to its being the earliest civil government founded upon the principle first enunciated by Jesus Christ—complete separation of church and state.

PARTS II AND III contain, in documentary form, a history of the development of this principle during the Federation and National periods. In these are found some of the most profound utterances to which American minds have given expression—veritable masterpieces of English and sound logic—bearing on the rights of conscience and the province and limits of civil authority; Patrick Henry's great speech; history of Liberty Bell; full text of the famous Sunday Mail Reports of 1829 and 1830; history of the National Reform Association; Sunday legislation in California; the Blair, Breckinridge, and other Sunday Rest bills; Sunday closing of expositions; memorials to Congress; and a list of all the religious measures introduced in Congress since 1888.

PART IV contains important Court Decisions relating to Sunday laws and religious instruction in the public schools, including the Supreme Court, "Christian nation" decision of 1892.

PART V is entitled "State Constitutions and Sunday Laws."

PART VI deals with the Operation of Sunday Laws in the United States, narrating about one hundred prosecutions under these laws.

PART VII is entitled "Sunday Laws Before the Bar of Reason;" and—

PART VIII presents, in brief, the History of Sunday Legislation from Constantine to the present time. In the appendix will be found the Declaration of Independence; the Constitution of the United States; terse arguments on precedent and the constitutionality of Sunday laws; Senator Heyburn's speech in the United States Senate, May 26, 1911, against the Johnston Sunday bill; and gems from noted men and well-known authors.

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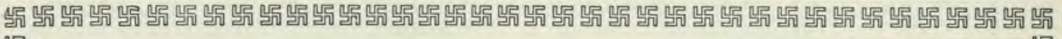
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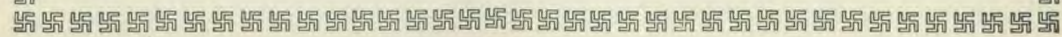


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LIBERTY

*The Official Organ of the Religious
Liberty Association*

A Department of the General Conference of
Seventh-day Adventists

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WE have no warfare with men or religion. It is because we believe in religion and love men that we are opposed to any organization that seeks to curtail or infringe upon the rights and liberties of men, and by so doing, make religion seem an instrument of oppression.

A Martyr's Testimony

JAMES CHALMERS, the martyred missionary of New Guinea, in addressing a large meeting in London, said:—

I have had twenty-one years' experience among the South Sea islanders, and for at least nine years of my life I have lived with the savages of New Guinea. I have seen the semicivilized and the uncivilized; I have lived with the Christian native, and I have lived, dined, and slept with the cannibal. But I have never yet met a single man or woman, or a single people, that your civilization without Christianity has civilized. Wherever there has been the slightest spark of civilized life in the Southern Seas, it

has been because the gospel has been preached there; and wherever you find in the island of New Guinea a friendly people, or a people that will welcome you, there the missionaries of the cross have been preaching Christ.—*The Missionary Review of the World, November, 1909.*

On the Trail of the Johnston District Sunday Bill

APRIL 6—Johnston Sunday bill for the District of Columbia introduced.

May 17—Public hearing granted on this bill.

May 22—Favorably reported without amendment to the Senate by Senate District Committee.

May 24—An effort made by Senator Johnston to have it passed. Opposed by Senator Smoot, and laid over.

May 26—Again presented for consideration. Opposed by Senator Heyburn, who made a vigorous speech against it.

May 29—Came up again on the Senate Calendar. Senator Heyburn objected. The bill went over.

June 1—Senator Heyburn objected to its consideration. Bill went over.

June 8—Senator Dixon objected. Bill went over.

June 16—After considerable discussion between Senators Heyburn and Johnston the bill went over.

June 20—The bill again came up on the Senate Calendar. Senator Heyburn again objected, and the bill went over.

The bill is still on the Senate Calendar, and may be brought up at any time.

From the time when this bill was favorably reported to the Senate, May 22, until this writing, June 20, there have been over two hundred twenty-five memorials and petitions against it presented to the Senate by different senators, and printed in the *Congressional Record*. These were sent in from twenty-one different States. The Washington, D. C., Chamber of Commerce also adopted a resolution against this bill and forwarded it to the Senate.

Only seven memorials in favor of this legislation have been recorded, during the same period of time, six of these being from single individuals.

C. E. HOLMES.

The Perfect Law of Liberty

"He that looketh into the perfect law, the law of liberty, and so continueth, being not a hearer that forgetteth but a doer that worketh, this man shall be blessed in his doing." James 1:25, A. R. V.

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

MAN'S DUTY TO GOD

I.

"I am Jehovah thy God, who brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage. Thou shalt have no other gods before me."

II.

"Thou shalt not make unto thee a graven image, nor any likeness of anything that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth: thou shalt not bow down thyself unto them, nor serve them; for I Jehovah thy God am a jealous God, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children, upon the third and upon the fourth generation of them that hate me, and showing loving-kindness unto thousands of them that love me and keep my commandments."

III.

"Thou shalt not take the name of Jehovah thy God in vain; for Jehovah will not hold him guiltless that taketh his name in vain."

IV.

"Remember the Sabbath day, to keep it holy. Six days shalt thou labor, and do all thy work; but the seventh day is a Sabbath unto Jehovah thy God: in it thou shalt not do any work, thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, thy man-servant, nor thy maid-servant, nor thy cattle, nor thy stranger that is within thy gates: for in six days Jehovah made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is, and rested the seventh day: wherefore Jehovah blessed the Sabbath day, and hallowed it."

MAN'S DUTY TO MAN

V.

"Honor thy father and thy mother, that thy days may be long in the land which Jehovah thy God giveth thee."

VI.

"Thou shalt not kill."

VII.

"Thou shalt not commit adultery."

VIII.

"Thou shalt not steal."

IX.

"Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor."

X.

"Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's house, thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife, nor his man-servant, nor his maid-servant, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor anything that is thy neighbor's."

"On these two commandments the whole law hangeth, and the prophets." Matt. 22:40.

These precepts wrought out in human lives are the surest guaranty of human liberties.

THAT religion, or the duty which we owe to our Creator and the manner of discharging it, can be directed only by reason and conviction, not by force or violence; and, therefore, all men are equally entitled to the free exercise of religion according to the dictates of conscience; and that it is the mutual duty of all to practise Christian forbearance, love, and charity toward each other.—
Article XVI of the Virginia Bill of Rights, adopted June 12, 1776.

