

LIBERTY

A MAGAZINE OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM



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WASHINGTON, D. C.

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.

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INTERIOR VIEW OF THE HOME OF THOMAS JEFFERSON

LIBERTY

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

VOL. VII

FIRST QUARTER, 1912

No. 1

The Freedom of the Press Endangered

Proposed Legislation Which Will Curtail the Liberties of American Citizens

W. W. PRESCOTT

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press.—*The Constitution of the United States.*

Our liberty depends on the freedom of the press, and that can not be limited without being lost.—*Thomas Jefferson.*

It is quite unlawful to demand, to defend, or to grant unconditional freedom of thought, of speech, or writing, or of worship, as if these were so many rights given by nature to man.—*From the encyclical letter "Libertas Præstantissimum," of Leo XIII, June 20, 1888.*

It is untrue that the civil liberty of every form of worship, and the full power given to all to openly and publicly manifest whatsoever opinions and thoughts, lead to the more ready corruption of the minds and morals of the people and to the spread of the plague of religious indifference.—*Condemned in the Syllabus of Dec. 8, 1864, prop. 79.*

It is true that freedom of worship granted by the States, and permission given to every one to publish all manner of opinions and views, lead easily to the corruption of manners and of sentiments among the nations, and to the diffusion of the bane of indifference.—*The interpretation of prop. 79 of the syllabus by the Jesuit Schrader in "Der Pabst und die Modernen Ideen."*

THE discussion of purely theological questions would hardly come within the province of this magazine; but, as has been well stated by Gladstone, "It is a peculiarity of Roman theology that, by thrusting itself into the temporal domain, it naturally, and even necessarily, comes to be a frequent theme of political discussion." This statement is sufficient justification for the consideration in this article of such teachings of the Roman Catholic Church as relate to the question of the freedom of the press. The reason for introducing this topic at

the present time is found in the following facts:—

At the annual convention of the American Federation of Catholic Societies held in New Orleans in 1910, the following resolution was passed:—

"Resolved, That the Congress of the United States be earnestly requested to amend Section 3893 of the revised statutes of the United States relating to the mailing of 'obscene, lewd, and lascivious' literature, so that the same may include the mailing of books, papers, writings, and prints which outrage religious

convictions of our citizens, and contain scurrilous and slanderous attacks upon Faith."

What was done to carry this resolution into effect was told in the annual report of the secretary of the federation, printed in the *Bulletin of the American Federation of Catholic Societies* for October, 1911:—

"Mr. A. V. D. Waterson, chairman of the law committee, took up the matter with Hon. Francis J. Burke, a Catholic member of Congress. Mr. Burke informed Federation that the extra session of Congress would hardly consider the matter, and advised that the matter be taken up next fall when the regular session of Congress will begin. We hope to be able to report at the next convention that such a measure has been passed by Congress, which will put a stop to the circulation through the mails, at least, of books and papers which defame religion and their spiritual leaders."

The delegates to the tenth annual convention of the federation held at Columbus, Ohio, Aug. 20-24, 1911, reaffirmed the desire for this proposed legislation in the following resolution:—

"Resolved, That the Federation of Catholic Societies do enter their solemn protest against the mailing or offering for sale of obscene literature, including under this title books, papers, writings, and prints which outrage religious convictions of our citizens and contain scurrilous and slanderous attacks upon our faith."

Before entering upon a discussion of this proposed legislation, we wish to call attention to the fact that in taking this action, calling upon Congress to amend the present law so as to abridge the liberty of the press, the American Federation of Catholic Societies is acting in perfect harmony with the principles laid down by the highest ecclesiastical authorities of the Roman Catholic Church. This will be clearly seen from the extracts here given from papal documents.

In the Syllabus of Dec. 8, 1864, published by Pope Pius IX, which con-

demned the "principal errors of our time," various "errors having reference to modern liberalism" are condemned, and among these "errors" is the following:—

"It is untrue that the civil liberty of every form of worship, and the full power given to all to openly and publicly manifest whatsoever opinions and thoughts, lead to a more ready corruption of the minds and morals of the people and to the spread of the plague of religious indifference."

In his book "Der Pabst und die Modernen Ideen," the Jesuit Schrader, a vigorous defender of the Papacy, interprets this proposition into this positive form:—

"It is true that freedom of worship granted by the States, and permission given to every one to publish all manner of opinions and views, lead easily to the corruption of manners and of sentiments among the nations, and to the diffusion of the bane of indifference."

In his encyclical letter "Immortale Dei," Nov. 1, 1885, Pope Leo XIII expressed in no uncertain form the papal view concerning liberty of thought, of speech, and of the press. To quote his words:—

"So, too, the liberty of thinking and of publishing whatsoever each one likes, without any hindrance, is not in itself an advantage over which society can wisely rejoice. On the contrary, it is the fountainhead and origin of many evils."

"Gregory XVI, in his encyclical letter 'Mirari Vos,' of date Aug. 15, 1832, inveighed with weighty words against the sophisms, which even at his time were being publicly inculcated; namely, . . . that it is lawful for every one to publish his own views whatever they may be."

In his encyclical letter "Libertas Præstantissimum," June 20, 1888, the same Pope gave further expression to his views upon the subject of liberty:—

"We must now consider briefly liberty of speech, and liberty of the press. It is hardly necessary to say that there can be no such right as this, if it be not

used in moderation, and if it pass beyond the bounds and end of all true liberty." "If unbridled license of speech and of writing be granted to all, nothing will remain sacred and inviolate. . . . Wherefore, this liberty [of teaching] also, in order that it may deserve the name, must be kept within certain limits, lest the office of teaching be turned with impunity into an instrument of corruption." "From what has been said, it follows that it is quite unlawful to demand, to defend, or to grant unconditional freedom of thought, of speech, of writing, or of worship, as if these were so many rights given by nature to man."—"*The Great Encyclical Letters of Pope Leo XIII.*," *New York, Benziger Brothers, pages 123, 151-153, 161.*

These official utterances of recent popes are cited here to establish beyond question our claim that in its action referred to above, the American Federation of Catholic Societies is in line with the well-known traditions of the church, and that in its effort to secure the enactment of the proposed legislation it will have the moral support of the Roman hierarchy.

It will require no long process of reasoning to show that the freedom of the press, so far as it relates to any discussion of the doctrines and practises of the Roman Catholic Church, will be practically abolished, if the American Federation of Catholic Societies is successful in securing such an amendment to the existing laws as it has proposed. What is likely to be included in the definition of "writings . . . which outrage religious convictions of our citizens" is clearly indicated by the language used in characterizing articles in Protestant publications which are displeasing to the representatives of the Papacy. As an illuminating example we refer to a criticism upon the following statement in an editorial in the *Outlook* of November 11:—

"Protestants and many Catholics will regret that the Pope has missed a great opportunity of elevating to the college of cardinals those Roman Catholic eccle-

siastics in this country upon whom the American people, without regard to religious differences, look as religious statesmen and natural leaders in the movement for the brotherhood of man."

This mildly worded suggestion concerning the Pope's action was deeply resented by the *Catholic Standard and Times* (Philadelphia), and this strong language was used concerning it in its issue of Nov. 18, 1911:—

"The language of the article in which this insult is offered to the Pope is, without exception, the most freezingly cynical that ever was printed. It is the worst example of bad taste that ever emanated from a printing-office, implying the right to criticize the action of the Pope in the government of the church, on the part of critics who always emphatically repudiate the right of the Papacy to regulate even its own etiquette in the reception of American visitors [referring to the Fairbanks-Roosevelt-Vatican incident]."

If such a conservative criticism upon the Pope's action is regarded as an "insult" by Roman Catholics of influence, how much freedom of press will remain in America if a law is passed classing any writings "which outrage religious convictions of our [Roman Catholic] citizens" with "obscene, lewd, and lascivious" literature, which is now excluded from the United States mails?

It is perfectly clear that the proposed legislation would not in any way interfere with the fierce attacks which are now made in the Roman Catholic press upon the tenets and teachings of Protestantism, inasmuch as such writings do not in any way outrage the religious convictions of Roman Catholic citizens.

Such a law as has thus been asked for would establish a rigorous censorship of the press which would become a formidable rival of Rome's *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*, with the civil power of the United States to enforce its provisions.

We do not believe in making scurrilous attacks upon any person or any

religion, and we are not pleading for that privilege; but we are opposed to any legislation which will make it possible to abolish the freedom of the press, or to establish a censorship in favor of an ecclesiastical organization. The present laws are adequate to protect both persons and organizations. The legislation demanded involves most dangerous possibilities.

To what an extent Rome can carry this principle of prohibiting the circulation of publications to which she takes any exception, is shown in a startling way by the opposition of the Papacy to the Bible societies devoted to the circulation of the Holy Scriptures throughout the world. To quote a Roman Catholic authority:—

“The attitude of the church toward the Bible societies is one of unmistakable opposition.”—*The Catholic Encyclopedia, Vol. II, page 545.*

We regard the proposed legislation as a most dangerous innovation which should be vigorously opposed by all who value and desire to maintain that freedom of the press which has been the glory of this country and which has contributed so much to its intellectual and moral development.

We regard the proposed legislation as a startling indication of the purpose of

this powerful Roman Catholic organization to interfere with the rights and privileges of American citizens.

We regard the proposed legislation as the first step in an effort to secure from the United States government special protection for the Roman Catholic faith, such as is not accorded to any other ecclesiastical body.

We regard the proposed legislation as a signal of the danger which threatens this country as the result of the influence which representatives of the Roman Catholic faith have gained over government officials.

We regard the proposed legislation as absolutely inconsistent with the principles of the American government and as a step toward the use of governmental power to suppress heresy, and we are profoundly impressed that the placing of such legislation upon the statute-books of the United States would be equivalent to a surrender to the demands of one religious denomination as against all the others.

Those who desire to preserve intact the principles of freedom which have made the United States a beacon-light among the nations, should use their influence to prevent the enactment of any such legislation.

Washington, D. C.

A Visit to a Dutch Prison

A Museum of the Inquisition

G. H. HEALD, M. D.

AT The Hague we did not fail to visit the old prison, with its many instruments of torture, which were once supposed to be a necessary part of the propagation of religion. But perhaps I should not reproach this people by calling this prison Dutch, for the Dutch were the victims rather than the perpetrators of the atrocities committed here.

In looking to Germany and to Luther as the storm-center around which the Reformation gathered, we are perhaps

likely to forget the part the Lowlands had in the fight for liberty of conscience.

In the twelfth century, long before Luther's time, there were heretics in the Netherlands, as the country bordering on the North Sea and now known as Belgium and Holland was called. As these "heresies" sprang up, they were followed by relentless persecution. The suspected were forced to pass through ridiculous ordeals in order to prove their innocence, and if "guilty" the ordeal

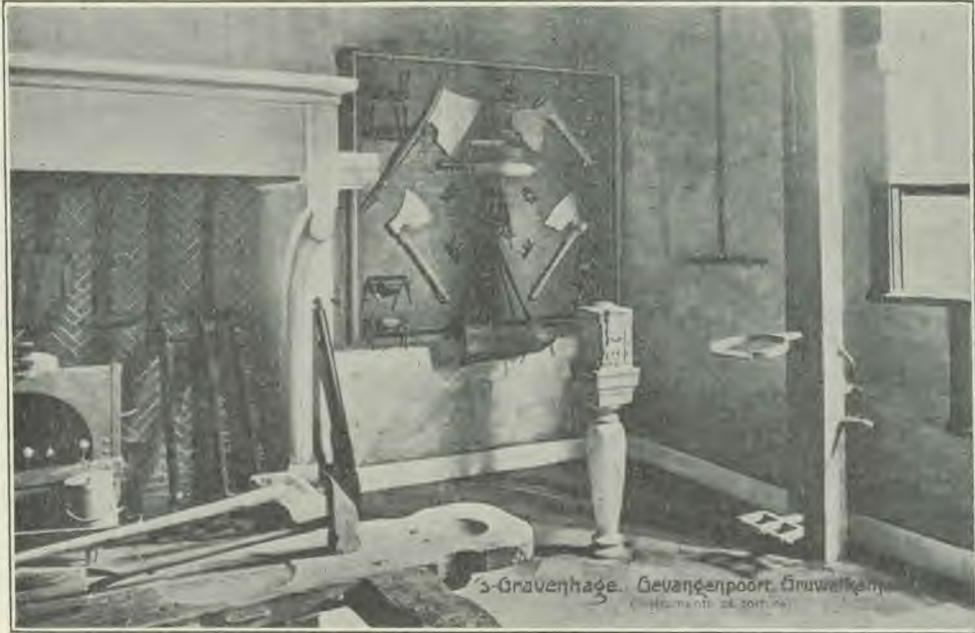
was followed by fire,—“the usual, but perhaps not the most severe, form of execution.” Anything worse than fire? — Yes, when religious fanaticism begins to invent tortures for those of different faith, it finds some torments to which even burning is mild; but we forbear.

All this persecution, waged by determined oppressors on the “heresy,” only caused it to increase.

By marriage of rulers this country be-

Reformers better than that of arguing with them. The scaffold was the most conclusive of syllogisms, and was used upon all occasions. Still the people remained unconvinced. Thousands of burned heretics had not made a convert.”

Many have seen a picture representing an old man and his daughter reading a Bible, and looking up in evident fear that they are going to be detected. It was not safe to read the Bible when these



INSTRUMENTS OF TORTURE IN A ROOM OF THE INQUISITION AT THE HAGUE

On the rude cross the victim of religious persecution was laid, while the heavy hammer was being used in breaking his bones. In the little box on the pedestal the witnesses were expected to drop contributions for the victim's widow.

came linked with the empire of Spain, and Charles V, who became emperor in 1516, issued a series of imperial edicts of suppression intended to snuff out Protestantism in his realm. The reading of the Bible was forbidden, and the discussion of religion even in one's own house was likely to be followed by the death penalty.

We are told in “Historians' History,” Vol. XIII, page 378, that “the edicts were no dead letter. The fires were kept constantly supplied with human fuel by monks, who knew the art of burning

fanatical followers of Rome were ruling.

In 1555 Charles gave up his throne to his son Philip II, who with much more vehemence continued the work of repression, and introduced in all its fury the Inquisition, which has been described as “a machine for inquiring into a man's thoughts, and for burning him if the result is not satisfactory.”

The plan of the Inquisition was, briefly, to torture suspected heretics until, in their agony, they confessed that they were guilty, and then they were usually burned.

This course of repression, while it terrified some, nerved others to a spirit of resistance and heroic courage that has seldom been equaled in the history of persecutions.

About 1555 Peter Titelman, we are



PATRIOTS PUT TO DEATH IN BRUSSELS UNDER
THE REGIME OF THE DUKE OF ALVA

told in "Historians' History," Vol. XIII, page 393, "executed his infamous functions throughout Flanders, Douai, and Tournay, the most thriving and populous portions of the Netherlands, with a swiftness, precision, and even with a jocularly that hardly seemed human. He burned men for idle words or suspected thoughts; he rarely waited, according to his frank confession, for deeds."

The terrific tortures to which Protestants were subjected set up a reaction against the Catholic Church, which

finally resulted in a fury of iconoclasm (literally destroying idols). Mobs entered about four hundred Catholic churches, and destroyed images, pictures, emblems connected with the worship, and even the buildings. Here again was a proceeding that no one but a partizan writer would defend as right. But the terrible and constant ordeal to which these people have been subjected until their very beings revolted, may serve as an excuse. The Protestant leaders were not instigators of these mob-risings, and deplored them. A remarkable fact is that the iconoclasts did not injure any of the Catholic worshipers, and did not attempt to carry away anything from the churches. Their object seemed to be accomplished when they had broken the images, which they thought desecrated the worship of God.

Shortly after this, there was an agreement entered into that the Inquisition should be abolished, and Protestant churches began to be erected all over the country with marvelous rapidity. Men gave work and gave jewels gladly for the erection of places of worship, which had been so long denied them.

But the work of the iconoclasts had caused a revulsion of feeling,—a reaction on the part of many against the Protestants. Moreover, it was not long before Spain, in 1567, sent the Duke of Alva with seventeen thousand Spanish soldiers to subdue the Reformation. For six years he ruled with an iron hand. He had headquarters at Brussels, in Belgium, and there employed the *Porte de Hal* as a *bastille*, or political prison, and hundreds of patriots were beheaded. He was determined at all hazards to crush out Protestantism and liberty. It is said that he and his bloody council had passed the death sentence upon every

Protestant in the country, and he was proceeding to execute it as rapidly as he could.

But in 1673, when his fleet suffered defeat, he was recalled to Spain. Meantime, in 1672, the people had revolted and declared William of Orange governor. Later, the southern provinces, which afterward became the kingdom of Belgium, returned to Catholicism, but the northern, or Hollandish, provinces remained true to Protestant principles, although even as Protestants they did not always hesitate to punish one another, even unto death, for difference of belief.

The Prince of Orange, who fought bravely against the Spanish, was assassinated; and the Dutch people chose his son, only eighteen, to rule in his stead. He was a worthy son of his father, and fought gallantly against the Spanish.

About this time Queen Elizabeth of England, who was a Protestant, sent help to the Dutch, and in 1609 Spain had to treat with the Dutch as an independent nation.

But to return to the Dutch prison. We were shown one torture room after another. Just across a narrow alley from the kitchen, and up one story, was a cell where prisoners were starved to death. They could smell the food cooking, and sometimes food was held up in their sight. The hospital looks like a series of bins for storing grain. In one room we were shown an inscription on the wall written with the prisoner's own blood. Everything was crude, but admirably adapted to secure the discomfort and break the wills of the prisoners so unfortunate as to get within the clutches of these old regulators of conscience.

Increasing Church Attendance by Law

Governor Osborn's Unique Plan Examined

A. J. SAXBY BOURDEAU

In the *Detroit Free Press* of Oct. 27, 1911, there appeared an editorial entitled "Compulsory Church Attendance." The editor takes Governor Chase S. Osborn, of Michigan, severely to task for having asserted, in a recent interview, that he favored free Sunday amusements for the laboring classes on the following conditions:—

"Suppose that no one could attend a Sunday-amusement place without a ticket stamped at the church or Sunday-school at the close of divine services, certifying that the bearer had attended divine service of some kind."

Desiring to get at the truth concerning this purported interview, the writer addressed a letter to Governor Osborn under date of December 7, quoting the above paragraph and sundry comments of the *Detroit Free Press* thereon, and requesting a copy of the interview, assuring him that only such statements would be published in LIBERTY as he would authorize.

In reply, the governor dictated the following communication:—

"State of Michigan,

"Executive Chamber, State-house,

"Lansing, Dec. 13, 1911.

"Mr. A. J. S. Bourdeau,

"Washington, D. C.

"DEAR SIR: In reply to your letter of December 7, I am enclosing you brief of paragraphs, which will, I think, give you the information you desire.

"Yours very truly,

"CHASE S. OSBORN.

The "brief" containing the governor's interview reads as follows:—

"The question of Sunday amusements has come close to Lansing just now. I feel that many of those who favor rigid Sabbath observance fail to realize how hungry for respite, change, and amusement those become who work all week at confining occupations. It is true that there is no rest nor happiness equal to that obtained from being in perfect tune

with the Infinite. That tunefulness is not easy to accomplish by all who are tired and hungry. Why could not reciprocal arrangement be entered into between church authorities and public-amusement caterers? In this connection I may state that all Sunday amusements, if any are permitted, should be either conducted by the municipality or carefully supervised by it. Then suppose that no one could attend a Sunday - amusement place without a ticket stamped at the church or Sunday-school at the close of services, certifying that the bearer had attended divine service of some kind. All of this presumes only wholesome Sunday amusements.

"I have a real sympathy for those who, because of the driving necessities of life, come to look forward to Sunday as a day of rest and pleasure. They should attend at least one church service of some kind. This might be one way to increase church attendance and elevate Sunday amusements."

The Proposal Unconstitutional

Commenting upon this proposed arrangement, which, no doubt, expresses the governor's sincere desire to make the lives of the working people more cheerful, the editor of the *Detroit Free Press* (October 27) makes the following pertinent remarks:—

"This is not an extract from a sermon of Cotton Mather, nor an edict of the Holy Inquisition. It purports to be the utterance of a governor of the State of Michigan in the second decade of the twentieth century. Of course, before

the law could compel a citizen to attend 'divine service' before exercising his right to go to a show, there might have to be a change or two in the State and federal constitutions, as both those obsolete instruments have something to say against the requirement of religious tests. But that would present no difficulty to a man like our governor. He would amend them at once, or, if not, ignore

them. What's the constitution among friends, or in the way of 'reform'? The ridiculous old chaps who made the constitutions didn't know everything. Besides they have been dead these many years. Why should we of this advanced generation be bound by what they thought or wrote into the law? Aren't we competent to make constitutions ourselves, or get along without them?

"That the people have come to despise constitutions should be evident to all, if only from the fact that we no longer make governors in this State and in many others except of men who know nothing and care nothing about constitutions. There are some people so ridiculous as to maintain that constitutions are deliberate agreements entered into between majorities and minorities, wherein the former agree, under no circumstances, to do certain things to the latter. Otherwise the latter would not play at all at making governments with them. Minorities are so absurd as to raise the point of honor on such subjects. In our day, however, minorities have no rights, and whatever the majority wishes must be done, even though all the rules of the game be violated."



PORTE DE HAL

This building, still standing in Brussels, was used by the Duke of Alva as his political prison. In this building thousands paid for their faith with their lives. See article on page 6.

With all due respect to Governor Osborn's proposed plan to ameliorate the condition of the working classes, elevate Sunday amusements, and incidentally fill the churches, the carrying out of this plan would most certainly result in a union of the church and the civil power both in *name* and in *fact*. It would result not merely in a union of church and state on an equal basis, but rather in the elevation of the church above the state.

No powerful church seeking the aid of the secular power to further her ends has been satisfied with being on an equality with the state. Her aim is ever to seek to control the state. Commenting upon the desire of the worldly church to enter into unlawful relations with the civil power, Dr. Philip Schaff, the historian, says on page 11 of his work "Church and State:" "Secular power has proved a satanic gift to the church, and ecclesiastical power has proved an engine of tyranny in the hands of the state." And in his essay on "Southey's Colloquies," Lord Macaulay well said, "The whole history of the Christian religion shows that she [the church] is in far greater danger of being corrupted by the alliance of power than of being crushed by its opposition." Further, in his letter written to Edward Everett, in 1823, President James Madison said: "Religion is not in the purview of human government. Religion is essentially distinct from government and exempt from its cognizance. A connection between them is injurious to both."

Not a New Idea

This idea of church control of amusements and other human activities on Sunday is not a new thing. As far back as the fourth century we find the first Sunday law, the famous Sunday law of Constantine, enacted March 7, 321 A. D., forbidding work by the professional classes, judges, town's people, and mechanics, but permitting agricultural pursuits to go on as usual. This law was in force until 386, when, according to Neander (Church History, Vol. II, page 300), "Civil transactions of every kind

on Sunday were strictly forbidden. Whoever transgressed was to be considered, in fact, as guilty of sacrilege."

But this religious legislation did not fill the churches. Not being allowed to do any work on Sunday the people naturally flocked to the theaters and the circuses, which were crowded every Sunday. The object of the Sunday laws being then, as to-day, to increase church attendance, the ecclesiastical authorities of the fourth century held a convention at Carthage in 401 A. D., at which time the bishops passed a resolution to petition Emperor Constantine, "that the public shows might be transferred from the Christian Sunday and from the feasts to some other days of the week;" and the reason they gave for making this request was that "the people congregate more to the circus than to the church." See Neander's Church History, Vol. II, page 300, note 5.

In response to this request of the church authorities in Carthage in 401, a Sunday law was secured in 425 which closed the public amusements on Sunday, the reason for its passage being "in order that the devotion of the faithful might be free from all disturbance." (Id., page 301.) But then, as now, most of the professed Christians preferred to go to the theaters or other amusements on Sunday. Consequently, the next logical step for the church authorities to take was to compel the people to be religious and to go to church. Accordingly we find the Catholic Church authorities advancing the following theory, voiced by St. Augustine, who wrote:—

"It is indeed better that men should be brought to serve God by instruction than by fear of punishment, or by pain. But because the former means are better, the latter must not, therefore, be neglected. Many must often be brought back to their Lord, like wicked servants, by the rod of temporal suffering, before they attain to the highest grade of religious development."—*Schaff's Church History, Vol. II, sec. 27.*

According to Neander's "History of the Christian Religion and Church:"—

"It was by Augustine, then, that a theory was proposed and founded which . . . contained the germ of that whole system of spiritual despotism, of intolerance and persecution, which ended in the tribunals of the Inquisition."—*Vol. II, sec. 2, part iii, div. 1.*

In Operation in Colonial Times

As a sample of this same church and state endeavor to make men religious, we find Sunday laws enacted in our colonial history, the penalties ranging from light fines to punishment by death, as provided for in the Massachusetts Sunday law of 1671. Section 10 of this same law also provided that "whosoever shall frequently neglect the public worship of God on the Lord's day, that is approved by this government, shall forfeit for every such default convicted of, ten shillings, especially where it appears to arise from negligence, idleness, or prophaneness of spirit." See "Book of the General Laws of New Plimouth," published by the General Court June 6, 1671, chapter 3, sec. 10.

A civil officer known as the "tithing-man" was appointed by the government to see "that no young people walked abroad on the eve of the Sabbath." He also "marked and reported" all those "who lye at home," and others who "prophanely behaved," "lingered without doors at meeting time on the Lordes Daie," all the "sons of Belial strutting about, sitting on fences, and otherwise desecrating the day." These offenders were first admonished by the "tithing-man," then "sett in stocks," then "cited before the court." They were also "confined in the cage on the meeting-house green, with the Lord's day sleepers." The tithing-man could arrest "any who walked or rode too fast a pace to and from meeting," and he could arrest any who "walked or rode unnecessarily on the Sabbath." "Great and small alike were under his control." See Earle's "Sabbath in Puritan New England," page 74.

Imagine President Taft, for instance, being arrested by a tithing-man some Sunday morning for "riding" to church! Yet that very thing happened to President George Washington, in the year 1789, as will be seen from the following notice published in the *Columbian Centinel*, of December of that year. The article is entitled "The President and the Tything-Man," and reads as follows:—

"The President (George Washington), on his return to New York from his late tour through Connecticut, having missed his way on Saturday, was obliged to ride a few miles on Sunday morning in order to gain the town at which he had proposed to have attended divine service. Before he arrived, however, he was met by a tithing-man, who commanding him to stop, demanded the occasion of his riding; and it was not until the President had informed him of every circumstance and promised to go no farther than the town intended that the tithing-man would permit him to proceed on his journey."—*Id.*, page 75."

Empty Pews and Church Decadence

Empty pews are merely a sign of church decadence, and all efforts to remedy church decadence by law are bound to result in religious persecution.

Commenting upon the decadence of many of the popular churches, which is recognized by earnest thinkers everywhere, the *Universalist Leader*, of Aug. 27, 1904, well says:—

"A great cause, if not the greatest cause, of the decline is found in the fact that the church has ceased to be a church where the people may come for the worship of God, and through that worship receive the divine influence into their souls, and become almost everything the ingenuity of man could conceive. The church has become a social center, a lectureship school, a college, a literary society, a place of amusement, a bazaar, a library, an institution of philanthropy, a nursery, a kindergarten, a soup-kitchen, an employment bureau, or a political caucus. . . .

"And you ministers are responsible for this absence of soul-life. You have sold your divine birthright for a mess of pottage. . . . You have not stuck to your calling, you run after every scheme of saving the world by fiat, or by vote, or by purchase, or by organization, or by institution, when there is no other name under heaven by which the world can be saved except Christ Jesus; and if you do not believe that, what are you doing in the Christian ministry? You know ten times as much about the Bible as the Fathers did, but you do not know as much Bible; you know all the theories of prayer, but you do not pray. You are the victims of every fad; you had rather quote Browning than Jesus Christ; you had rather lecture on the

north pole than to preach the gospel; you had rather write a popular novel than to write a sermon; you ride your hobbies, you get up excursions, you give entertainments, you take up an agency or run a hotel, anything, everything, except sticking to your calling to which you are called of God."

All of the great reformers and religious leaders who have preached the pure gospel of God's Word, untainted by higher criticism, have invariably faced full pews, and the sound methods used by these men of God to draw large audiences are the only ones which will fill our churches to-day, and yield an abundant harvest of consecrated lives, and save souls.

Washington, D. C.

James Madison on a Modern Problem

W. F. MARTIN

OF all the patriots whose names are an honor to the American roll of statesmen, none stand higher than James Madison. He was not only a patriot, but one of the best scholars of his time. He was, withal, an earnest Christian. A good portion of his early studies was given to theology. A firm belief in the Deity and faith in the Bible run through all his writings. Madison was an uncompromising opponent of a union of church and state.

At the session of the Virginia Legislature held in 1784 there was a strong effort made for the enactment of a law to assess the people of the State for the support of teachers of the Christian religion. At the same session a concerted move was made to reestablish the Church of England. Nearly all the rising statesmen, such as Patrick Henry and John Marshall, favored these measures. Madison opposed them. His biographer, in speaking of this, says: "He was an enlightened believer in the truth and divine authority of the Christian system; but in an enforced union between religion and the state he saw only omens of

evil to both, and a fatal departure from principles he held sacred."

He made a speech against the assessment, going exhaustively into the subject. He contended that religion is not within the province of the civil power, and that every attempt of the kind tends necessarily to encourage projects of compulsory uniformity, and further, that religion needs no earthly props. His reasoning was not whether religion is necessary, but that religious establishments by law are not necessary for the good of religion. He proved from history that religion had been invariably corrupted by legal establishments. In the course of his great speech, he showed that as the benefits from the proposed law were to go to *Christian* societies, it would devolve upon the courts to decide what constitutes Christianity. In so doing, they would need to decide what was heresy. That would be destructive of the rights of private conscience. The question was laid over till the next meeting of the legislature. In the interim Madison wrote a memorial against the measure, and sent it to the people to be signed

and returned to the capital. Some of Madison's strongest opponents were the Presbyterian clergy. Almost to a man they were in favor of the assessment. Following are a few of the arguments presented in the memorial, and in view of the wide-spread demand now for the recognition of the Christian religion, these statements will be read with interest:—

"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, and not by force or violence. The religion, then, of every man must be left to the conviction and conscience of every man to exercise it as these may indicate. This right is in itself an unalienable right. . . .

"Who does not see that the same au-

thority which can establish Christianity to the exclusion of all other religions, may establish with the same ease any particular sect of Christians to the exclusion of all other sects.

"Experience witnesseth that ecclesiastical establishments, instead of maintaining the purity and efficiency of religion, have had a contrary operation. In no instances have religious establishments been seen as the guardians of the liberties of the people."

Thousands of people signed this remonstrance, and sent it back to the legislature. The fate of the assessment bill was sealed. The God-given principles of religious liberty triumphed, and this question was settled for a long time, and there is no reason for reopening it.

Portland, Oregon.

An Inadequate Remedy for Religious Intolerance

W. M. HEALY

THE desire for power, the desire to rule over others, is a leading passion of human nature. This passion uncurbed leads to the most heartless cruelty. Kings and queens are supposed to inherit authority, and are therefore in great danger of arbitrary rule, not being considered amenable to any higher power. In a republic the danger is less, as the authority is delegated, temporarily, to the officials, who are responsible to the people for their acts. Some form of civil government is necessary to control the lawless, and secure the rights of citizens; therefore a poor government is better than none. Religion being a matter of the individual conscience, needs no authority for its protection or enforcement. It should be *permitted to rule within its own province, the individual conscience*, and be prohibited from exercising control in any other domain, or through any other power than the power of divine love and personal conviction. True religion is an excellent thing; but when those who profess it

attempt to make it an instrument of coercion, the religious form thus enforced becomes a dangerous evil.

The church founded at Rome in the days of the apostle Paul increased in membership and wealth, which enabled it to procure what was considered the ablest talent for its teachers. This made it a popular place for the settlement of controverted questions. Frequent appeals to its teachers and leaders for instruction not only brought forth their opinion of the matters referred to them, but developed in them the natural desire to rule and enforce those opinions. To obtain authority for this the church appealed to the civil government, and from it received various decrees and favors until in 533 A. D. the emperor Justinian decreed that the Church of Rome should stand at the head of all the churches, and its bishop should be the dictator of faith and the corrector of heretics.

The spirit that desires power is ever ready to exercise it, and those who would

not yield their conscience to be ruled by others, were tortured and put to death by the most horrible methods it was possible to invent. This condition of things continued, varying in degree, until after the Reformation of the sixteenth century. The Reformers of this time were called Protestants because they *protested* against the church, or government, ex-

schoolboy has tingled at the recitation of the patriotic words of Patrick Henry, "Give me liberty or give me death!" This seemingly noble sentiment could easily carry with it selfishness, and oppression equal to that from which the people were trying to escape. *It only demanded liberty for "me and mine."* True liberty was taught by Jesus Christ,



LANDING OF THE PILGRIMS, PLYMOUTH ROCK, 1620

ercising the power to rule and bind the conscience. To obtain liberty of conscience our Pilgrim fathers came to America, and founded this government. They were seeking liberty for the exercise of *their* conscience; but they were not looking for any liberty for a Baptist or Quaker conscience, as shown by their persecution of them. Protestantism, with all its good, has often come short in seeking liberty of conscience, in this that it has sought it more as power than as a universal blessing to mankind. They sought liberty of conscience *from coercion, with power to coerce others.*

The blood of many an American

who sought it for others, though to obtain it for them he himself suffered oppression and death. The Roman Catholic Church in America is constantly asking for what she calls her liberty, and trying by all possible means to obtain control of the civil government; and for what possible purpose other than that she may advance the supposed interests of the church at the expense of the liberty of the individual? The principal denominations of Protestantism have federated in one body, trying so to influence the civil government that they may use it to secure to themselves greater liberties and greater power to

control others. Catholic and Protestant alike are seeking the power to deprive others of the very thing which they are demanding for themselves. For instance, in demanding laws to make it easier for themselves to keep Sunday, they would by the same law deprive others of the liberty to exercise their conscientious convictions in the observ-

ance of another day, or at least make it more difficult for them to do so. By the same stroke they would destroy all liberty for those who did not choose to observe any day. *All religious legislation is unjust, and oppressive.* There is no other way in which it can exercise itself than in coercion and oppression.

San Diego, Cal.

Should the State Teach Religion?

The Impossibility of Its Doing So, Clearly Proved

L. A. SMITH

MANY people of this country to-day answer this question in the affirmative. Many who occupy the position of teachers and who are molders of public opinion, are calling for such a change in our educational system as will introduce religious teaching into the public schools. Indeed, an organized campaign in behalf of such a "reformation" in the state schools is being conducted by the National Reform Association, and other great religious organizations in this country are lending their influence to the same end. The campaign is based upon the plea that we must have religion taught in the schools in order to develop good citizens. The very life of the nation, it is asserted, depends upon accomplishing this change in our "godless" system of state education.

This is an important question. The union of religion with the state for any purpose, at any point in the economy of government, is no light thing. The consequences may be momentous. History has taught us to beware of such alliances. Let us therefore examine the question carefully in its various bearings, before coming to the conclusion that the teaching of religion by the state is the remedy needed to cure the prevailing moral degeneracy of the times.

In theory, the teaching of religion by the state works out nicely; but this proves nothing as to its practical results. It is *assumed* that the state has

the knowledge and power necessary to the inculcation of the right religion; for it is, of course, not desired that false religious teaching should be imparted. But there are some very weak points in this assumption.

The Question in the Light of History

Let us inquire, first, as to the results which have followed where state teaching of religion has been carried into effect; for we have, fortunately, an abundance of historical testimony on this point. We may judge the tree by its fruit. The idea that the state ought to teach religion is not a new one. The theory as to the benefits to be derived from such an educational system has had a long and thorough trial in various countries, and is on trial in some of them at the present time.

For examples, consider such countries as France, Spain, Portugal, Russia, Italy, Peru, and Mexico. What started the recent separation of church and state in France? It is well known that it began with a revolt against the teaching of religion in the state schools. For centuries this had been the practise in France, and what had been the result? Had the country gained anything from such teaching? Had the country been saved from godlessness? Had the theory been demonstrated that state teaching of religion was necessary to the state's salvation? The truth is that the conviction had come upon the leading statesmen of

France that the abolition of religious teaching in the state school was necessary to the country's salvation. And this was the conviction not of men who were opposed to the religion of the church that furnished the religious teaching, but of men who were and have remained members of that church.

And as regards state religious teaching as a means of salvation from godlessness, it is well known that atheism is and long has been more prevalent in France than in any other country except such as have maintained a similar educational system.

There is no disputing the fact that anarchy is especially prevalent to-day in France, Spain, and Italy, — countries that have for centuries enjoyed the full "benefits" of state-taught religion.

In Russia the state is very careful to inculcate full religious teaching in the schools; yet the state of morality among the people may be judged by the dreadful massacres of Jews in that country which recently shocked the civilized world.

Such is the fruit that is borne to-day upon the tree of state teaching of religion. What of those countries which adopted the system in past centuries? Not one of them, we find, was ever saved by it from decay and dissolution. In the balances of history the system has been repeatedly weighed and found wanting.

The Question in the Light of Reason

The theory as to the benefits of religious teaching in the state schools is, as before stated, very plausible. But does it necessarily follow from the premises of the evil of a godless education and the desirability of a knowledge of God

and his will, that the intended benefits of the religious system of instruction will be realized by the pupil in the school?

Is it certain, in the first place, that the state has a knowledge of the true religion, which it assumes to teach? Can its representatives who may be entrusted with the work of providing the course of instruction to be given in religion, be depended on to distinguish between religious truth and religious error? Will they be able to make an exact science of religion as is done with secular education? Evidently there is abundant room for doubt on this point.

And secondly, can the teacher be depended on to impart the right instruction, even supposing the course of instruction provided by the state to be free from objection? Will there be no religious or antireligious bias in the teacher's mind which would defeat the end that the course of instruction had in view? Will the state be able to select teachers qualified as religious instructors, as it can those having to deal with secular branches of education? These are questions that no one can assume to answer



THE PRISON GATE, BRUSSELS

In this gloomy prison many a noble person perished for having a religious belief differing from the church and the rulers,—an example of religion by compulsion of the state.

in the affirmative. The probability lies more plainly in the other direction.

And would the pupil, even supposing the teacher to have faithfully imparted a correct course of instruction, be empowered thereby to live an upright life so as faithfully to discharge the obligations of a good citizen? In other words, would the knowledge of God and of moral obligations supply the power to live in harmony therewith? Very plainly, there is no necessary sequence here. That "knowledge is power," is not to be asserted in the realm of religion. Thus we see that the conclusion that upright lives will follow from the imparting of religious instruction in state schools, does not logically follow from the premises laid down, but rests upon assumption only.

The Question in the Light of the Scriptures

We must not overlook the testimony of the Bible on this subject. The Bible is the only infallible text-book of religion, and it gives us a revelation of truth from the mind of Omniscience.

In the Scripture we find a plain statement of truths which goes to the very foundation of this question. We find it stated there that "the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God: for they are foolishness unto him: neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned." 1 Cor. 2:14. Right at the start, therefore, we are met with the difficulty of imparting spiritual truth, which can only be spiritually discerned, to pupils who have had no change of the natural heart. Such a difficulty is insuperable.

The only true religion is Christianity; and Christianity is a system of spiritual truth. It must be spiritually discerned. But no one has spiritual discernment

who has not experienced the new birth. To the natural heart, Christianity is foolishness. Is it desirable, then, that we should have the truths of the Spirit of God set forth in the schools, to appear as foolishness to the pupils who receive the instruction? Such will be the case, according to the Scripture, if the teaching given is really Christian truth. If it is not Christian truth, it is religious error, and therefore only capable of doing harm instead of good.

And further, we find that the only divinely authorized teacher of spiritual truth is the Holy Spirit. He is the guide for all into all truth. So it is stated in John 14:26 and 16:13. So, then, when the Holy Spirit comes to be at the command of the state for the teaching of religion in the schools, then and then only will it be possible for state teaching of religion to become reliable and effective for the development of upright character.

Religion can be taught by the state, certainly. It has been so taught in many lands. But not the Christian religion. The state never has taught and never can teach Christianity. Christian truth can not be settled by majority vote; nor can the state provide the avenues through which the Holy Spirit, the divine Guide into all spiritual truth, shall operate to illuminate the mind of the Bible student. Nor, as before stated, can this divine Guide illuminate any mind that has not first yielded to the Spirit as a reprover of sin.

The whole history of state teaching of religion, so far from proving its efficacy for the salvation of society, leads rather to the conclusion that such a system is destructive of the higher interests of both church and state.

Nashville, Tenn.

Fundamental Principles of Religious Liberty

J. M. ELLIS

GOD requires his creatures to worship him, and such requirement carries with it the *right* to worship him; for God would not ask a man to do a thing he has no right to do. This demand is made on the ground of God's being our creator, hence the right to worship him lies in the creation of things, and as such grows out of the very nature of things. Such a right is evidently inalienable, and is therefore called an inalienable right. Now all human beings owe their existence to creation, and are, therefore, on an equality in that which gives rise to their existence.

Hence we hold these truths (which some deny) to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, and that they are endowed with certain inalienable rights, among which is liberty. Now since all are equal in the sight of God and in the eyes of the law, since all sprang from the same creation, and since rights sprang from the same source, it follows that no creature has a monopoly on rights. All are equal before God in the exercise of such rights. In other words, since rights and humanity both owe their existence to the very same act of God, it is evident that we are all on the same footing as regards those rights, and no one has a superiority in the exercise thereof.

Since there is no superiority in the exercise of these rights, it follows that no man can of right interfere with another in the exercise of such rights. He must in the very nature of things, allow him liberty to exercise those rights. Such liberty, from a religious standpoint, is religious liberty; and as such, from the standpoint of rights, can never be withheld from any creature. Hence we conclude that one fundamental principle of religious liberty is inalienable rights in matters of conscience.

In the Scriptural saying, "Choose you this day whom ye will serve," we

see that even God himself does not interfere in the exercise of our inalienable rights. Why, then, should any man presume to interfere?

God tells us of the blessings that will follow a good choice, and of the evil consequences of a bad choice, but he does this because the consequences also are inalienable, and not because the consequences are arbitrary. God does nothing arbitrarily; for an arbitrary act is an act for which no reason can be given. But there are reasons why certain results should follow certain choices. Those reasons are as natural as are the rights of choice. A mother does not caution her child against touching a red-hot stove because she will make the stove burn the child on account of its violation of her word, but because it is in the very nature of a red-hot stove to burn what touches it. The mother, by compulsion, can keep her child from getting burned; and some have concluded that compulsory laws can save a man from hell. If they could, God would do the compelling, or at least authorize some one to do it for him; but since he does not compel, it must inevitably follow that compulsion in religious matters does not save one from the consequences of a bad choice. If an overt violation were the only kind of violation in existence, then could men be saved by compulsion; but since the violation of every law must exist in one's desires, before ever the violation becomes overt, and since compulsion can not stop the desires, it follows that compulsion can not save. The consequences follow the violation of the spirit of law, as inevitably as they follow the violation of the letter. Now no man can prevent another from exercising his mind in a bad channel. Neither can God, unless he invades that being's inalienable rights, and thus makes of man a mere machine; but this God can not do, in justice to

himself, hence the man is left free to think for himself, so far as compulsion is concerned. Admonitions, advice, persuasion, cautions, and warnings can of right be given him as to his thoughts; but even then it remains with him alone to decide as to whether he will think on things that are true, that are honest, that are just, that are pure, that are lovely, that are of good report. These eternal, self-evident, natural-born, inevitable, inalienable truths call in thunder tones for religious liberty, and are therefore among the fundamental principles of such liberty.

There are two kinds of creatures in existence: the animate and the inanimate. The one can choose; the other can not.

Since God made a part of his creatures intelligent, and therefore capable of choosing, it follows that he did not want them to be machines; and why should we endeavor to make machines of that which God did not? The right of choice carries with it liberty to exercise one's self in that choice; but such liberty in religious matters is religious liberty, and therefore the very fact that each is to choose for himself, as to whether he will or will not serve God, puts at once the matter of choice at the very foundation of religious liberty, and can therefore be said to be one of the fundamental principles of religious liberty. "Choose you this day whom ye will serve."

Bluffton, Ind.

Spain and Religious Liberty

WALTER G. BOND

So long has Spain been robbed of religious liberty and terrorized by a domineering clergy that one can scarcely think of the name without associating with it the dark scenes of the Inquisition.

Spain, we may say, in the words of Scripture, is "a land of wheat, and barley, and vines, and fig-trees, and pomegranates; a land of oil olive, and honey; . . . a land whose stones are iron, and out of whose hills thou mayest dig brass." "Under its former occupants, from the Phenicians to the Moors, it was one of the granaries and gardens of Europe." Its commanding position on the great highway of the world's commerce, the fertility of its soil, its mineral treasures, and the industry and energy of its people, secured for it unquestionably the first place among the nations of Europe. But under the paralyzing influence of a religio-political tyranny its colonies disappeared; its cities fell into decay; its fields were smitten with barrenness; its commerce and manufactures perished, until it retained but the ruins of its former greatness. "Who is wise, and he shall understand these things? prudent, and he shall know them?" "The

wicked shall do wickedly; and none of the wicked shall understand; but the wise shall understand."

For a number of years the decadence has been arrested, and a measure of improvement can be traced. There is a burning desire in thousands of Spanish hearts for freedom of conscience; and these liberty-loving souls, scattered about in every city, town, and hamlet of the nation, are anxiously longing for the time when liberty shall be proclaimed, and Rome's heavy yoke be broken forever.

The struggle is on. The despotism of former years is being succeeded by anarchy. The people are rapidly passing from superstition into infidelity, great multitudes of them having already done so. But Rome still rules; nor does she expect to leave the field of battle unless forced to do so. Her influence is still far-reaching. Not that the masses are in love with her nor with her doctrines, but they are anxious to keep on good terms with her, so that she will do them no harm; just as the heathen worship evil spirits so as to keep them in a good humor. This very condition has created a nation of hypocrites. There are com-

paratively few who have the courage and moral backbone to speak out their convictions and act accordingly. In every walk of life it is the same.

A short time ago I visited the proprietor of one of the principal printing-houses in Spain. During our conversation he said: "We dare not publish any literature on moral or religious subjects that is not authorized by Rome. We would gladly do so, but it would ruin our business. The question is not, Is it good or right? but, Is there a possibility of its offending Rome?"

Rome's Idea of Religious Liberty

Recently the city of Cartagena was greatly stirred by a series of gospel meetings, held by my brother, F. S. Bond. These meetings called forth the following, which I copy from the Catholic paper of that city:—

"Protestant Propaganda"

"On various occasions we have called attention to the scandalous frequency with which acts of this character are being repeated. In the very presence of the authorities who do not uphold the religion of the state; with evident offense to Catholic sentiments; with a boldness that would stir one's very soul, the Protestants continue their infamous propaganda, without any one's rising up to put a stop to it.

"From different parts of this province we receive letters which manifest that this propaganda is already proving to be intolerable. Before our eyes we have an announcement that has been scattered broadcast in Cartagena and its suburbs, inviting all to a series of meetings being held in a gospel chapel, which has been opened to the public with permission from civil authorities. Let all Catholics keep this in mind that they may not be deceived. To-day we will do nothing more than call the attention of the au-

thorities to this scandalous abuse which in some other locality might give rise to more serious trouble."

The present government is by far the most liberal and progressive that Spain has had for years. It is struggling for liberty. In congress the "Carlists" recently deplored the fact that the present administration is failing to manifest due



ALFONSO XIII, KING OF SPAIN

respect for the Pope King. To this Premier Canalejas responded: "For Spain there is but one king, and he is King Alfonso XIII. No foreigner shall rule in Spain."

We expect more to follow. We are thankful for the liberties that are granted us. But who can forecast the future of Spain? Her only hope is in the gospel of Jesus Christ, which includes complete religious liberty and the entire separation of church and state.

Barcelona, Spain.

America a Beacon-Light to the Nations

The Hand of God in the History of the Nation

A. J. SAXBY BOURDEAU

It is most interesting to trace the hand of God in the history of nations. This is especially true in the making of America, which has become a beacon-light to all the world. The beneficent principles underlying its government have leavened, to a greater or less extent, the laws and customs of many other peoples and governments.

For most of the progress that has been made in the world in the realm of civil and religious liberties since the founding of our nation, we must, in justice, give the credit to the glorious principles of human freedom sounded forth to all the world through the American Constitution and the Declaration of Independence.

That George Washington, the "father of his country," recognized the hand of God in American history, is evidenced by the following utterances in his first inaugural address, delivered April 30, 1789:—

"It would be peculiarly improper to omit, in this first official act, my fervent supplication to that Almighty Being who rules over the universe, who presides in the councils of nations, and whose providential aid can supply every human defect, that his benediction may consecrate to the liberties and happiness of the people of the United States a government instituted by themselves for these essential purposes. . . . No people can be bound to acknowledge the invisible hand which conducts the affairs of men more than the people of the United States. Every step by which they have advanced to the character of an independent nation seems to have been distinguished by some token of providential agency."

This noble speech but echoes the sentiments expressed by Nebuchadnezzar, in the year B. C. 570:—

"That the living may know that the Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men,

and giveth it to whomsoever he will." Dan. 4:17.

In his preface to "The Rise of the Dutch Republic," John Lothrop Motley, the well-known historian, comments thus upon the influence that one progressive nation has upon the others:—

"So close is the relationship between the whole human family, that it is impossible for a nation, even while struggling for itself, not to acquire something for all mankind.

"The maintenance of the right by the little provinces of Holland and Zealand in the sixteenth, by Holland and England united in the seventeenth, and by the United States of America in the eighteenth centuries, forms but a single chapter in the great volume of human fate; for the so-called revolutions of Holland, England, and America are all links in one chain.

"For America the struggle is one of still deeper import. . . . The lessons of history and the fate of free states can never be sufficiently pondered by those upon whom so large and heavy a responsibility for the maintenance of rational human freedom rests."

In the providence of God, the foundations of our nation were laid upon Protestant principles, for the early settlers were made up largely of Hollanders, Pilgrims, Puritans, Huguenots, and Quakers, all of them Protestants. As the historian Bancroft says:—

"The thirteen colonies were all Protestants. Even in Maryland, the Roman Catholics formed scarcely one eighth, perhaps not more than one twelfth of the population; their presence in either province except Pennsylvania, was hardly perceptible. America was most thoroughly a Protestant country. The whole number of Roman Catholics within the

(Continued on page 39)

Editorial

THE Spanish Chamber of Deputies is now discussing what is known as the Padlock bill, which prohibits the formation of monastic establishments. The bill has already passed the Senate, and the premier is strongly urging its passage.

THE *Sunday Guardian* (July-August issue), published in London, England, announces that the Imperial Sunday Alliance is now amalgamated with the Sunday Lay Movement. It is expected that as a result of this amalgamation of the two forces much more will be accomplished in the matter of compulsory Sunday observance than has ever before been accomplished. This organization claims the approval of the king in its efforts, and expects great advantage from that approval.

To the Christian doctrine of the distinction between what men owe to God and what they owe to the state, Americans are indebted for the liberties which they enjoy, both civil and religious. Under that régime which puts the church above the state and binds all men in subjection both temporally and spiritually, there is no liberty, either civil or religious. Therefore, the rapid growth in America of the organization which does that must be viewed with the deepest concern by all who prize such liberties as Americans now enjoy.

CONGRESS had been in session but two days when a proposition was placed before it to enact a religious law. This proposition was in the form of a bill introduced by Representative James T. Heflin, of Alabama, prohibiting "labor in constructing buildings, or railroads, or work on streets, or hauling material in

the District of Columbia on the Sabbath day," this prohibition to be enforced by a fine of "not less than twenty-five dollars nor more than five hundred dollars." This bill is practically a reproduction of one introduced by the same gentleman in the first session of the Fifty-ninth Congress, and reintroduced later. By making such a bill a law of the District of Columbia, the government of the United States would be compelling the observance of a religious ordinance under penalty of a heavy fine. It is hardly the province of a civil government to compel the observance of any religious ordinance; and no government can do that without making religion a test of good citizenship, and to that extent establishing religion by law. Against that the whole genius of American government has set itself. The District commissioners acted wisely in reporting adversely on the bill.

THE greatest schism the world ever knew was fostered and propagated by ignorance of Bible truth. If the Word of God is designed of heaven as a light for the feet of earthly wayfarers, and if ignorance of that Word fosters superstition, heresy, and false doctrine, can we consider it a Christian duty to forbid the people to read and study that Word? Can we consider it a Christian duty to permit ourselves to be deprived of the reading of that Word through the edict of any man or organization, church, or hierarchy?—Nay, verily. The messages contained in that Book are for individual men and women.

One can not answer for another; one can not stand at the bar of God for another. One may refuse to read that Book for himself; but when he assumes to forbid another to read it, he has assumed an

authority for which he has no warrant from heaven, and heaven will never hold any man, woman, or child a sinner for refusing to obey such a command.

Study the Bible, and find in it God's

personal message to you. The Word of God is light, and is meant for you. Ignorance of the Bible imperils the very foundation of Christianity. "Let there be light!"
C. M. S.

An "Official" Thanksgiving Service

THE possibility of turning the national custom of observing Thanksgiving day, to the advantage of one religious sect and to the disadvantage of others,

nation on the American continent whose chief executive issues proclamations on the subject.

But in 1909 the prelates of the Roman



PRESIDENT AND MRS. TAFT ARRIVING AT ST. PATRICK'S CHURCH, WASHINGTON

is to be seen in the so-called Pan-American Thanksgiving service conducted by the Roman Catholic clergy of Washington, D. C.

Thanksgiving services are held in the United States presumably out of deference to, and in response to, the proclamation of the President. It is an occasion distinctively American in conception and practise. We know of no other

Catholic Church conceived the idea of arranging a pan-American affair, which is very much in keeping with the customs in countries having established churches. The President of the United States, the Cabinet, and other national officials have attended this function since 1909, and the occasion is now looked upon as an official episode. In fact, the *Washington Herald* of Novem-

ber 30 referred to the recent service at St. Patrick's Church, as follows:—

The only official celebration of Thanksgiving will occur at St. Patrick's Church this morning at eleven o'clock, where the third Pan-American Thanksgiving-day service will be held. President Taft, Secretary of War Stimson, and Secretary of the Interior Fisher, Chief Justice White of the United States Supreme Court, Justice McKenna, and representatives of all the Latin-American countries, will be in attendance.

brated at St. Patrick's Church yesterday morning in the presence of President Taft, members of his Cabinet, justices of the Supreme Court, members of both houses of Congress, the diplomatic representatives of twenty Latin-American republics and other countries, and members of official and resident society, could not have been more beautiful and impressive.

It goes without saying that the President and other officials have the undoubted individual right to attend any



PRESIDENT AND MRS. TAFT LEAVING ST. PATRICK'S AFTER THE MASS

Cardinal Gibbons will assist at the mass.

And, impressed with the pomp and circumstance of the incident, the same paper on December 1 commented as follows:—

If the state and the church were united in this country, the pomp and circumstance with which the third Pan-American Thanksgiving mass was cele-

religious service they may choose. But, as we see it, when these officials take part in a pan-American service created by, and held under the auspices of, the Roman Catholic or any other church, they do so in an official and representative character. We believe this practise to be open to serious objection, in the light of the American principle of the separation of church and state. S. B. H.

The Russian Passport and Religious Liberty

Two of the greatest nations of earth are now much exercised over the abrogation of a treaty. That treaty was supposed to guarantee to citizens of either country, bearing passports, the right to enter the other country, for business or travel or residence, and be fully protected in their rights as citizens.

The two nations in question are Russia and the United States. Russian citizens have been coming freely into the United States, and, in harmony with the provisions of that treaty, have been receiving the protection of the laws even as citizens of the United States. But a certain class of American citizens, bearing American passports, have been turned back at the Russian frontier, the Russian government refusing them permission to enter its territory for any purpose whatever. For years the American government has been protesting against this refusal of Russia to honor American passports; but Russia has been firm in her refusal to honor the passports of this certain class of American citizens.

Where lies the difficulty, and upon what ground can Russia divide American citizens into classes, admitting one class and turning back the other? The whole difficulty lies in the fact that in Russia there is a union of church and state. Russia has what some religious organizations are advocating that we should have in America — a national religion. The Greek Catholic Church is the church of the Russian nation; and government and people are both opposed to the religion of the Jew, and to the Jew because of his religion. It is Russia's refusal to recognize the principle of each individual's right to practise what religion he will, that has brought about the demand for the abrogation of the treaty. But such a position as Russia takes, is the logical outcome of the

religion and state idea dominant there.

In this controversy between the two nations we see exemplified on an international scale the protest of an individual soul against the oppression of a persecuting church. The Russian government, on its side, is standing upon the principle that it is the right of a government to say what shall be the dominant religion in the nation, and to say what shall be the religion of the individuals who make up the nation, and to exclude from its domains any other religion than the approved and established religion, and any individual possessing any such religion.

The new Russian ambassador to the United States, in an interview published in the *Washington Herald* of Dec. 17, 1911, is reported as admitting it to be Russia's practise to exclude "missionaries representing any of the Protestant faiths, and Catholic priests, excepting those desiring merely to travel. Those desiring to spread the faith which they hold are absolutely barred from entrance into Russia or residence there." This, he claims, Russia does, not on account of their religion, but because she classes them as "undesirables;" but it is their religion that makes them "undesirables" in her eyes, and it is her union of religion and the state that makes it possible for her to put them into such a class.

We have in this controversy a most unique spectacle. The American nation, which started its career as the guardian of the religious rights of its citizens, is now insisting that another nation shall recognize those same rights. The government declared in its first public document that "all men are created equal," and that without any reference to religion. It is now insisting that another nation shall recognize that same principle, at least so far as American citizens are concerned. The Sulzer resolution,

which passed the House by a vote of 301 to 1, recites: "That the people of the United States assert as a fundamental principle that the rights of its citizens shall not be impaired at home or abroad because of race or religion." But to assert that principle now is merely to *re-assert* it; for upon that principle the nation was founded.

This Russian-treaty controversy has in it a hint for Americans as well as Russians. There has been a decided trend of late years in America toward the violation of the principle asserted in the Sulzer resolution, and the rights of American citizens at home have been impaired because of their religion. That

principle is violated wherever an observer of the seventh day is compelled to rest also on another day of the week. He has a right to six days' labor. The passage of a Sunday law robs him of one day's labor in the week, and therefore of one day's pay. He is deprived of his rights because of his religious belief. How can we ask Russia to respect the religious rights of American citizens if we do not respect them ourselves? No man should be deprived of his civil rights because of his religious belief; and in asking Russia to observe and respect this principle, let Americans not, by their own course, furnish her an embarrassing answer to their protests. C. M. S.

An Example Worthy of Emulation

THE *Detroit Free Press*, of Dec. 3, 1911, contains an interesting account of a parochial school recently established in Atlanta, Ga., by the North Avenue Presbyterian Church of that city, in which account is plainly outlined the reason for the existence of this school:—

Home life has changed, as well as educational methods. Children no longer are drilled in the Bible at home. The Sunday-school actually gives only about twenty minutes a week for Bible study. This means that the children who are passing through what the pedagogues call the memory period are practically without training in the Bible. As is frequently pointed out by educators, a new generation of educated Americans is growing up without familiarity with the book from which most literary allusions are taken. Modern education is practically non-religious. The vital ideals that are embodied in the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures are missed by the youth of to-day. Because it felt itself confronted by these conditions, the North Avenue church established its own parochial school.

This movement is one that can not be too highly commended in these times

when there exists such a growing demand on the part of many people for the state to introduce religious instruction into the curriculum of the public-school system. There could be no stronger rebuke to those who are seeking to have religious instruction made a part of the curriculum of the public schools of this land, or to the Roman Catholic plea for a division of the public-school funds, than is made by this worthy example set by this church in establishing and maintaining its own parochial-school system.

The parochial-school-system idea also obtains among the Episcopalians, Lutherans, Seventh-day Adventists, and others without their experiencing any difficulty whatever. The establishing of such schools without state aid shows a supreme respect for the grand principle of the separation of church and state which was enunciated by Jesus Christ when he said, "Render therefore unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's; and unto God the things that are God's;" and which is also voiced in the First

Amendment to the United States Constitution: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." This immortal principle was clearly recognized by the illustrious U. S. Grant, when he said in a speech in Des Moines, Iowa, in 1875: "Leave the matter of

good character of its citizens, and that the Bible is the only true standard of moral character; but, when it is advocated that such instruction should be required by legal enactment, and be inculcated by the state, we most earnestly protest. Religion is a matter of the heart, and can not be taught as a mere matter



ANOTHER HALL OF HORRORS IN THE HAGUE INQUISITION CHAMBERS

Everything seen in this room was used for inflicting the keenest torture upon individuals who chose to worship God according to the dictates of their own conscience.

religion to the family altar, the church, and the private school, supported entirely by private contribution. Keep the state and the church forever separate."

Those who are advocating the teaching of religion in the public schools of America reason that upon the high moral character of its citizens depends the stability of the nation, and that the true standard of character is the Bible and the Christian religion; therefore, in order to develop the best class of citizens, the Bible should be taught in the public schools.

We most willingly concede that the stability of a nation depends upon the

of schoolroom routine or be forced upon the people under pains and penalties of civil law. The church, and not the state, has been ordained by God for the purpose of teaching Christianity; and for the state to undertake such a responsibility, is for it to attempt to exercise its functions outside its legitimate sphere.

It will be readily perceived that only those who are truly converted and possess a real experimental knowledge of the Christian religion would be competent to teach religion. Should the teaching of religion be made a part of the regular work of the public school, it would necessitate the examination of the

teachers as to their religious qualifications before they could be accepted as proper public-school instructors. When an employee of the state is subjected to a religious test, there is at once a violation of the Sixth Article of the Constitution, which reads that "no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office."

The fact that we have many different bodies of religionists, and that a large

proportion of our citizens are unbelievers, forbids that any one standard shall be erected and all others coerced into compliance with that; otherwise, untold strife and trouble would be engendered. Again, it should be remembered that an institution supported by the state, the revenues of which are obtained from the taxes of all its citizens, can not be devoted to sectarian teaching without violating fundamental principles. K. C. R.

The Church in Politics

THE church of Jesus Christ though in the world should not consider itself of the world. The church is necessarily made up of individuals; and concerning those individuals the Master himself declared that "they are not of the world, even as I am not of the world."

When a church declares that it is "going into politics," or when it goes into politics without the declaration, the world has a right to question whether that body is not misrepresenting rather than representing the One whom it professes to serve. The "church in politics" is a misnomer. In truth there is no such thing. The meaning of the word church in the original proves this. That organization was the *ἐκκλησία*, the *called out*. It was called out of the world, out of politics. When that organization faces about and goes into the world, into politics, it turns its back upon the One who called it out, and hears and answers a call from the opposite direction. Is it then "the church"? It may still cling to the name; but its heavenly credentials are gone, and it can no longer, as a body, reasonably expect divine leading.

The moment the church, or the body calling itself such, ceases to be divinely led, it is certain to stumble, and to use its power and its influence in the wrong direction.

Such was the condition of an organization calling itself the church at the time when Pope Gregory IX issued the Decretals, of which the following is a portion:—

Temporal princes shall be reminded and exhorted, and if need be, *compelled*, by spiritual censures, to discharge every one of their functions; and that, as they would be accounted faithful, so, for the defense of the faith, they publicly make oath that they will endeavor, *bona fide*, with all their might to *extirpate from their territories all heretics marked by the church*; so that when any one is about to assume any authority, . . . he shall be held bound to confirm his title by this oath. And if a temporal prince, being required and admonished by the church, shall neglect to purge his kingdom from this heretical pravity, the metropolitan and other provincial bishops *shall bind him in fetters of excommunication*; and if he obstinately refuse to make satisfaction within the year, it shall be notified to the supreme pontiff, that then *he may declare his subjects absolved from their allegiance, and bestow their lands upon good Catholics*, who, the heretics being exterminated, may possess them unchallenged, and preserve them in the purity of the faith.—*Decretal Gregorii IX, lib. v, tit. vii, cap. xiii*; quoted in "*The Papacy*," by Rev. J. A. Wylie, pages 137, 138.

No church, with that name legitimately upon her, and no church mantled

with the robe of heaven's approval, could have issued such a decree, or could have made such a declaration as this which follows:—

Those are not to be accounted homicides, who, fired with zeal for mother church, may have killed excommunicated persons.—*Decreti, pars ii, causa xxiii, quest v, cap. xlvii.*

But when the church goes into politics, turning her back upon her Lord in order to do so, there is no length of cruelty and oppression to which she may not go.

The above citations should be a warning to every church against the fearful blunder of becoming entangled in the things of this world. Politics is not the Christian's business. The great commission can not by any possible means be made to authorize the entrance of the church of Jesus Christ into the political affairs of this world. The admonition to the believers to "walk even as He walked" and to keep themselves "unspotted from the world" positively forbids any such enterprise. C. M. S.

Religious Measures Before Congress

THERE are at the present time three measures of religious character pending in the Sixty-second Congress, one of which is "A Bill for the Proper Observance of Sunday as a Day of Rest in the District of Columbia" (S. 237). The second is entitled "A Bill for the Observance of Sunday in Post-Offices." The third, introduced by Mr. Heflin, of Alabama, is: "A Bill Prohibiting Labor on Buildings, and So Forth, in the District of Columbia, on the Sabbath Day." The intent of these three measures is to intermeddle directly with the religious practise of the people. The title of the Senate measure reveals its intent and purpose. The author of the bill, in reporting the same to the Senate from the committee to which it had been referred, denied that the legislation was "an attempt to legislate the fourth commandment into law." In the same report, the Senator made the following statements in justification of the bill under consideration:—

The seat of government of the United States is, with one exception, the only territory within its jurisdiction in America where the fourth commandment has been repealed or is practically ignored, or where at least the universal

sentiment in favor of a legislative day of rest does not prevail. If we have no reverence for the ten commandments, no sense of obligation or duty to carry out the divine law, and no faith in the existence of a Supreme Being, who guides the affairs of men and nations, still the universal experience of mankind teaches us that one day in seven for rest is a necessity.

The most casual reader will observe in the language herein quoted that religious legislation is proposed by the bill. Although the author of the bill denies that it is an attempt to legislate the fourth commandment into law, yet, because the "fourth commandment has been repealed or is practically ignored," and because there is "no reverence for the ten commandments, no sense of obligation or duty to carry out the divine law," therefore it must needs be that Congress come to the rescue, and remedy this situation.

If the proposed legislation is not religious, then upon what grounds can the "delivery of articles of foods, including meats, at any time before ten o'clock of the said day [Sunday] from June first to October first," be considered as legitimate and proper, whereas to do the same

thing one minute after ten o'clock in the morning of Sunday becomes criminal?

Again, if the measure is not religious, then why exempt from its provisions those "persons who are members of a religious society who observe as a sabbath any other day in the week than Sunday"? In this proposed exemption from the penalties prescribed in the act, it is clearly implied that the observance as a "sabbath one day in each seven" is "herein provided."

The bill under consideration is the product of one or more minds that are concerned regarding the non-observance of the fourth commandment in the District of Columbia. Notwithstanding the fact that the fourth commandment

calls for the observance of the seventh day of the week, the bill penalizes the non-observance of the first day of the week under the pretext of securing the observance of the fourth commandment. In this, there is evidently a discrimination in favor of the sects that regard

Sunday observance as being in accord with the fourth commandment. On this point the supreme court of California before the repeal of its Sunday law held that—

the enforced observance of a day held sacred by one of these sects is a discrimination in favor of that sect, and a violation of the religious freedom of the others. . . . Considered as a municipal regulation, the legislature has no right to forbid or enjoin the lawful pursuit of a lawful occupation on one day of the week any more than it can forbid it altogether. — *Ninth California, 502.*

Our patriotic forefathers decided, in the United States Senate in 1829, concerning a proposal to prohibit the transportation of the mails on Sunday, that—

the proper object of government is to protect all persons in the enjoyment of their religious as well as civil rights, and not to determine for any whether they shall esteem one day above another, or esteem all days alike holy.

The argument herein applies with



THE PRESIDENT

President William H. Taft, addressing the Executive Committee of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, at a reception tendered the committee at the White House on Jan. 25, 1911, said: "It is true that we have no established religion here, and it is also true that that fact declared in the Constitution has led a good many people who do not understand our government and our people and our Constitution to think that the absence of a provision of that kind in the Constitution is dictated by some sort of hostility of the civil government toward the churches and toward religion. Nothing could be farther from the fact."— *Second Annual Report of the Committee, page 36.*

equal force against the bill proposed in the House of Representatives for the observance of Sunday in the post-offices, H. R. 9433 (the title of which bill indicates a yielding to the demand for the religious observance of Sunday), and also against Mr. Heflin's bill for the prohibition of certain labor "on the Sabbath day." The word *observance* is largely, if not usually, used in connection with matters of religious character or import, "usually with a sense of strictness and fidelity, as, the *observance* of the Sabbath is general."—*Webster's International Dictionary*. When a similar measure was introduced in the Congresses of 1829 and 1830, it was reported that—

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 ecclesiastical than to a civil institution.

We are not opposing the closing of the post-offices on Sunday in the District of Columbia or elsewhere. Let the Post-office Department issue the order to this effect if it deems it for the interest of the service; but let not Congress be asked to pass a law which involves the selection of one day in the week as a sabbath.

S. B. H.

Cardinal Gibbons on Church and State Union

IN the *Outlook* of November 4 there appeared an article by John Callan O'Laughlin setting forth the position of Cardinal Gibbons, and, through him, the position of the Roman Catholic Church in America, upon the American doctrines of freedom of worship and the separation of church and state. Cardinal Gibbons was quoted in that issue as voicing sentiments which read very much like true American doctrines. One of these expressions reads as follows:—

There is one feature especially, any change in which he [the Roman Catholic] would oppose with all his strength, and in this attitude he would have the determined support of the Catholic clergy. I refer to the provisions respecting freedom of religious worship. These provisions he regards as the corner-stone of liberty.

Speaking as the mouthpiece of the cardinal, Mr. O'Laughlin, the writer of the article in which the cardinal's views were quoted, said:—

He holds that Catholic teaching clearly defines the distinction between the civil

and the ecclesiastical power, and that there is no twilight zone which can lead to controversy. . . . The church holds that the limits of each are well defined, that within its domain the civil government, in all matters which do not violate the moral law, is supreme; that within its sphere the church is supreme. Neither has the right to meddle in the affairs of the other.

If we had no other authority than that of the cardinal, or if the cardinal were speaking the language and voicing the ambition of even the majority of the American priesthood, or if he were speaking *ex cathedra* as the visible head of the church, and his words could be interpreted only in the sense of their obvious meaning, Americans might rest content with his assurances. But, unfortunately, this is not the case.

Alongside the cardinal's declaration that his church and his clergy stand for freedom of worship, let the reader consider the following from the decrees of Pope Marcellus:—

It is permitted neither to think nor to teach otherwise than the court of Rome

directs.— *Pope Marcellus's Decrees, Corpus Juris Canonici, part 2, chapter 18.*

As "Rome never changes," that decree stands to-day as authoritative as on the day on which it was written; and if that church is infallible, the decree must be true and be Rome's policy to the end of time. But we have a more recent utterance from a pope which is in perfect harmony with the decree of Pope Marcellus, and is also a direct contradiction of the words used by Cardinal Gibbons. Pope Leo XIII says:—

It is in no way lawful to demand, to defend, or to grant promiscuous freedom of thought, of speech, of writing, or of religion, as if they were so many rights which nature had given to man.— *Encyclical on Liberty, issued June 20, 1888.*

Is the Catholic Church in America in rebellion against the hierarchy of Rome? Does the cardinal mean what he says when he declares the Catholics of America and the priesthood of America would oppose with all their strength any change in the guaranties of our government respecting freedom of religious worship? If he does, then the Catholic Church in America is in rebellion against the hierarchy of Rome. If he means what he says in defending freedom of religious worship in America, he is doing an unlawful thing, according to the above decree of Leo XIII, and is himself in danger of excommunication.

Pope Gregory IX spoke substantially as follows in regard to this matter of freedom of worship:—

The secular powers shall swear to exterminate all heretics condemned by the church; and if they do not, they shall be anathema.— *Decretals of Gregory IX, book 5, title 7.*

Equally decisive and equally contradictory to the expressions used by Cardinal Gibbons is the following from the "Directory of the Inquisition:"—

A heretic merits the pains of fire. By

the gospel, the canons, civil law, and custom, heretics may be burned.— *Part 2, chapter 2.*

The following editorial utterance in the *Western Watchman* (Roman Catholic) of Dec. 24, 1908, presents the matter as it is; but it does not agree with the words used by Cardinal Gibbons:—

Protestants were persecuted in France and Spain with the full approval of the church authorities. We have always defended the persecution of the Huguenots and the Spanish Inquisition. Wherever and whenever there is honest Catholicity, there will be a clear distinction drawn between truth and error, and Catholicity and all forms of heresy. When she thinks it good to use physical force, she will use it. . . . But will the Catholic Church give bond that she will not persecute at all? Will she guarantee absolute freedom and equality of all churches and all faiths? The Catholic Church gives no bond for her good behavior.

The statements of Cardinal Gibbons in this matter are thus directly contradicted by the highest authority in his church and by at least one of the leading Catholic journals in his official see.

What about the declaration that Catholic teaching clearly defines the distinction between the civil and ecclesiastical powers, and that "neither has the right to meddle in the affairs of the other"? In this matter also we hear one speaking who is of higher authority in the Catholic Church than Cardinal Gibbons. In the syllabus of December, 1864, issued by Pope Pius IX, there is given a list of condemned doctrines, and among those condemned doctrines is this that "the church ought to be separated from the state and the state from the church." Therefore, if Cardinal Gibbons has seriously adopted the doctrine of the separation of church and state, he has adopted a doctrine condemned by the highest authority in his church, and has laid himself open to the charge of heresy and rebellion against the church. But has

the cardinal really adopted the American doctrine in this matter in opposition to that held by his church?—By no means. The union of the church and state of which the Pope approves is the union of the Catholic Church and the state; and the separation of church and state of which the cardinal approves is the separation of the Protestant church from the state, or the separation of all churches from the state where the Catholic Church is not in the majority. The cardinal quoted the following words from the encyclical of Pope Leo XIII, entitled “*Sapientiæ Christianæ*,” Jan. 10, 1890:—

The Almighty has appointed the charge of the human race between two powers, the ecclesiastical and the civil; the one being set over divine, the other over human things. Each in its kind is supreme, each has fixed limits within which it is contained, limits which are defined by the nature and special objects of the province of each. . . . Neither obeys the other within the limits to which each is restricted by its constitution.

In the encyclical from which this is taken, the last sentence above quoted, and in fact the whole excerpt, is modified by the sentence which immediately follows:—

It does not hence follow, however, that church and state are in any manner severed, and still less antagonistic.

Why did not the cardinal quote this with the other? Those who truly believe in the separation of church and state are likely to draw the inference that its omission was not an oversight.

Moreover, the sentence which the cardinal omitted is in perfect accord with the policy of the hierarchy as definitely expressed by more than one pope. Pope Boniface VIII, speaking *ex cathedra*, in the famous bull “*Unam Sanctam*” declared:—

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

the material. The former is to be used by the church, but the latter for the church; the one in the hand of the priest, the other in the hands of kings and soldiers, but at the will and pleasure of the priest. It is right that the temporal sword and authority be subject to the spiritual power. Moreover, we declare, say, define, and pronounce that every human being should be subject to the Roman pontiff, to be an article of necessary faith.—*Ecclesiastical History by Du Pin, Vol. XII, page 7.*

Who that is acquainted with history can truthfully assert that individual, civil, and religious liberty will be safe in the hands of any official who owes allegiance first to an ecclesiastical potentate across the sea who holds over that official's head the potent threat of excommunication for failure to obey?

It is therefore proved by the highest authorities in the Roman Catholic Church that Rome, instead of standing for freedom of worship and the separation of church and state, as Americans understand the terms, is unalterably opposed to freedom of worship and the separation of the church from the functions of civil government. Again and again have her popes declared against such separation in bulls and encyclicals, and have denounced in strongest terms and anathematized the principles of religious liberty. With the published documents of the popes alone to draw from, every statement of the cardinal in this matter is refuted. Rome does not stand for the principles of American liberty; she has never, in any country, been the conservator of the liberties of the individual; and he who places his confidence in that system as the custodian of the liberties which Americans have been taught to prize, is doomed to a bitter disappointment. The scheme of the American government was devised with a view to conserving the liberties of the individual. The Roman system stands upon an entirely different basis; and that basis

is *submission to authority* in both the temporalities and the spiritualities. The constitutions of the two powers are diametrically opposed to each other, both

in letter and in spirit, and to welcome both and laud both and be loyal to the principles of both at the same time is an impossibility.

C. M. S.

State Sunday Laws Versus National Rights and Guaranties

THE Supreme Court of the United States may some day be asked to hand down a decision on this question: Do not the Sunday laws of certain States infringe and abridge the rights of the citizens of the United States? Section 1 of the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution guarantees:—

All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State in which they reside. *No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the rights or immunities of citizens of the United States*, etc.

Two things are clearly set forth in this amendment, one of which is that all persons born or naturalized in the United States are recognized first as citizens of the nation; and, second, that this citizenship is surrounded with certain guaranties, the inviolability of which may not be set aside nor menaced by State laws. The question, whether or not the enforcement of Sunday laws abridges the privileges and immunities of citizens of the United States, must be determined by the results of the enforcement of those laws.

First, Sunday observance is a religious act. The Sabbath is not a civil institution. Justice Brewer, writing in his work entitled "The United States a Christian Nation," pages 28-30, makes the following statements:—

By the English statute of 29 Charles II, no tradesman, artificer, workman, laborer, or other person was permitted to do or exercise any worldly labor, business, or work of ordinary calling upon the Lord's day, or any part thereof, works

of necessity or charity only excepted. That statute, with some variations, has been adopted by most, if not all, the States of the Union. . . . Indeed, the vast volume of official action, legislative and judicial, recognizes Sunday as a day separate and apart from the others, a day devoted not to the ordinary pursuits of life. It is true in many of the decisions this separation of the day is said to be authorized by the police power of the city, 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.

Second, Sunday laws interfere with the religious as well as the civil liberties of the people. On this point Chief Justice Terry, of the California Supreme Court, in 9 California 502, wrote this opinion:—

The enforced observance of a day held sacred by one of these sects is a discrimination in favor of that sect, and a violation of the freedom of others. . . . Considered as a municipal regulation, the legislature has no right to forbid or enjoin the lawful pursuit of a lawful occupation on one day of the week, any more than it can forbid it altogether.

In the case of *Watson versus Jones*, 13 Wall. (U. S.) 728, is the following wise utterance on religious liberty:—

In this country the full and free right to entertain any religious belief, to practise any religious principle, and to teach any religious doctrine which does not violate the laws of morality and propriety, and which does not infringe personal rights, is conceded to all. The law knows no heresy, is committed to the support of no dogma, the establishment of no sect.

As a result of enforcing Sunday laws in some of the States, more than one hundred seventh-day Christians have been imprisoned for doing lawful work on the first day of the week. In nearly every case it was shown that the Sunday statute was used against these people because of their practise and preaching concerning the Sabbath question. This fact, together with the many efforts being put forth by religious leaders to enforce Sunday observance by civil law, clearly illustrates the truth of the claim made herein, that Sunday laws are religious in their aim and character and thus violative of the spirit of the Constitution.

But, whether or not the Supreme Court of the United States shall ever have this question involving the rights of citizenship under the Fourteenth Amendment to decide, it is very likely that the court will be called upon to determine whether or not the Sunday laws of the States interfere with the business of the nation. The following incident, published in the *Washington Post* of September 8, will serve to indicate the possibility of just such a case:—

State Laws Halt Troops

Army Officer Agitated by Stopping of Trains on Sunday

A grave question has been raised as to the right of a State to prevent the movement of United States troops by stopping railroad transportation on Sunday. When the camp of instruction was held at Chickamauga National Park last year, the arrival of the First North Carolina Infantry and the Third South Carolina Infantry was delayed by the South Carolina law prohibiting the running of special trains on Sunday.

A similar law exists in Georgia, and two companies of coast artillery moving by special trains from Mobile to Charleston, were compelled to lie over at Augusta because of this law. Brigadier-General Mills, commanding the department of the Gulf, has brought the matter to the attention of the War Department, with a view to such action as will prevent unnecessary delay in the troops' movements. It is possible that the matter will be referred to the Attorney-General and the Interstate Commerce Commission to determine what course shall be pursued.

The outcome of this grave question will be watched with considerable interest and concern by the political as well as the religious forces of the United States.

S. B. H.

Deserting the Pulpit

IN one local conference of a numerically strong denomination it was recorded in September last that during the year previous fifty-seven "charges" had been vacated. The report published in the press at the time read as follows:—

Fifty-seven men, the greater number of them young and in the prime of life, will quit the ministry at this time to engage in secular lines of work. Many of these men are only a few years out of the university and seminary. The general complaint is that the salary paid is not sufficient.

The professed reason given is neither logical nor consistent. Nevertheless, the *real* reason is so plainly expressed even

in this short quotation that he that runs may read it, and read it running if need be. These men were the professed followers of Jesus Christ, who had not where to lay his head. We do not hear of him complaining of his salary; he had none to complain of. Paul was an example to the believers. But we hear of no complaints from him about the meagerness of his wages. He worked with his own hands for the supplying of his physical needs, and suffered hardships such as have fallen to the lot of few. Yet when he was waiting the execution of the death sentence, we hear him saying: "I have fought a good fight, I have fin-

ished my course, I have kept the faith."

There is the secret of his triumph — he had "kept the faith." But these young men, but recently out of the seminary, have had their faith shaken by the studies of the higher criticism and science falsely so-called. The man who has been taught that the Bible is not the Word of God, that it is full of errors, and who, through his teaching, has become skeptical as to the existence of a personal God, has lost connection with that divine impelling power that sends men out on such missions as that of Paul, Luther, Adoniram Judson, William Carey, Livingstone, or Dwight L. Moody. The cry of John Knox, "Give me Scotland or I die," never could issue from the lips of one who had sat four years under the tutelage of a higher critic and had imbibed his teachings.

The higher critic preacher, who holds lightly the Word of God or holds it up to contempt, and is not even sure of the existence of the God whose name he utters, is not deserving of any salary whatever from the contributions of believers in Jesus Christ. He has no business in the sacred desk; he is what the printer calls a "wrong font;" and the more charges left vacant by such men, the better it will be for the charges. But he has no just complaint that his wages are small. If he teaches what he believes, then he teaches that there is no necessity for his teaching; and he need not expect the people will exert themselves much to pay him a liberal salary for teaching that the Bible is only a human book; that Jesus Christ was only a man; that God is not what the Bible represents him to be; that the only punishment we get we receive in this life; that the law of God was the invention of a man and can still be improved upon by man. It is much cheaper for an audience to stay at home and read the works of Ingersoll and Paine and Vol-

taire, and let the preacher go into business and provide for his own salary. And that is just about what is taking place. And that is why it is that the average amount given per church-member for foreign mission work per year by the churches of the United States amounts to but twenty-seven cents. Alongside that average of twenty-seven cents per member, place the \$6.58 per member paid for foreign missions by one denomination that has not put evolution in the place of creation, nor the higher critic in the place of the Holy Spirit as the interpreter of the divine Word. That amount, however, is nothing to glory over; it ought to be more; but in comparison with the other amount it illustrates to some extent the difference between the fruit borne by the two systems of teaching.

With the preachers deserting their charges because dollars look bigger than souls to them, it need not be wondered at if the lay members desert the pews because dollars seem more precious to them than classic lectures based on scriptures that they are taught to doubt, and on the utterances of a God whose very existence the preacher himself seems to question. There is no compelling incentive for the preaching of a message which the preacher himself does not believe, from a text which he considers uninspired and "could improve upon himself."

But that is just the situation that evolution and the higher criticism developed when they stalked into the sacred desk to scatter infidelity with a clerical trademark, and established their chairs in theological seminaries to turn out infidels in clerical frocks. While the shepherds are out in the hills seeking the lost, the wolves have broken into the sheep-folds.

To the honest, sincere seeker after truth, the Bible is still the word of God,

the light to guide through the darkness of this world, the personal instruction of a loving Father, the revealer of the true way to the kingdom of God, setting forth that life which is our pattern in righteousness and true holiness, and that Saviour who is able to save to the uttermost all who come unto God through him.

C. M. S.

Religion and State in Turkey

REPORTS from Albania indicate that the merciless tenets of the Mohammedan faith are spreading death and desolation in that mountain province. Thousands upon thousands of Albanians have fled into Montenegro to escape the terrible vengeance of the Moslem soldiery. Here are religion and the state in perfect union, and the same result follows that has always followed such an alliance,—persecution, torture, destruction, and death. Why should the world need further lessons to prove that whenever religion and the state are united, religion is debauched and the state is degraded?

Spain Tired of National Reformism

A PETITION signed by 150,000 Spaniards has been presented to the Spanish legislature, asking for absolute religious freedom. Of these petitioners, at least 120,000 must have been Roman Catholics, for there are only 30,000 non-Catholics in all Spain. The conditions which have existed in Spain for centuries are the very conditions which will obtain in America if ever national reformism is brought to a successful issue. Spain knows what national reformism is from practical experience. The fruit of its operation there has put Spain at the rear of the procession of the nations. Now her people are turning against it; and yet in America, where the opposite principle, which has placed America at the

very front of the procession, has been in practise for more than a century, powerful organizations are at work to abolish the very guaranties for which weary, struggling, tortured Spain is asking today. Spain, where the principles of national reformism were carried out by the Papacy to such an extent that the work of the Reformation was blocked, and the Inquisition flourished at the expense of human liberty and the gospel; Spain, whose bravest and best were made food for flames and dungeons through groaning centuries, has sickened of the spectacle, and her people are asking for absolute religious freedom—even for heretic Protestants. The world moves; but while some parts of it are moving forward, others are moving backward.

Fears Well Grounded

SOME of those who are most deeply interested in conditions in Turkey as regards religious liberty, do not share the feelings of those who think that liberty, equality, and fraternity will now take the place of hatred, oppression, and massacre. The trouble is that the Koran itself makes it practically impossible for Christians and Mohammedans to live together in peace where Mohammedanism is dominant. The patriarch of the Armenian Church is quoted as saying the declaration of lofty principles may for a time deceive Europe as the Turks have in the past, but will never inspire confidence on the part of those who know from past experience that Western civilization is inapplicable to Turkish society so long as the Mohammedan canon law remains as a tenet of the national constitution. The fears of the Armenian patriarch are well founded; for Mohammedanism is a union of religion and the state, and no government that has had such a union has ever dealt justly with

all classes of its citizens. That has been a characteristic of all such unholy alliances, and will be just as surely demonstrated in America when that union is accomplished, as it has been in Moham-medan and papal countries, and as it was in our own colonial governments in the early days. American history warns Americans against such an alliance.

SAYS the *Washington Herald* of December 18, speaking editorially: "For years and years the State Department has appealed to Russia to cease its discrimination against American citizens on the ground of religion." The effort is a worthy one; and we commend it. For years and years the magazine LIBERTY and its supporters have been appealing to the American Congress and

to State legislatures not to discriminate between American citizens *in America* "on the ground of religion." Such discrimination there always is wherever a law is passed compelling all men to cease work on a day held sacred by some of the people and not so held by others. The willing observers of that day, made a rest day by law, have six days of uninterrupted labor guaranteed them. The remainder have but five, unless they violate their consciences and labor upon a day which they hold to be sacred. It will be well for Americans to see to it that the rights of American citizens which we ask Russia to respect we do not violate ourselves within our own borders by trampling upon the religious rights of our own citizens; and they are violated and trampled upon wherever a Sunday law is enacted.

America a Beacon-Light to the Nations

(Continued from page 22)

thirteen States, as represented by themselves, in the year 1784, was 32,500."

Following are two of the many evidences that might be presented, showing the watch-care of God over the destiny of this nation, especially during its formative period:—

1. The isolation of America from Europe's social, religious, and political customs and traditions.

2. The emancipation of North America from the control of Roman Catholic powers. Witness the final defeat of the French in Canada, thus securing that land to Protestant England; also, the promulgation of the Monroe doctrine, frustrating the attempts of the Holy Alliance (Roman Catholic), of Europe, to set up Catholic governments on the American continent, to serve as a base of attack upon our Protestant government and institutions.

In this connection, note the providential defeat of the attempt by the Holy

Alliance to establish Emperor Maximilian upon the throne of Mexico.

The almost unlimited material resources of America constituted in themselves a tremendous power and influence over the world.

America Demonstrates a Mighty Truth

Referring to America as "an asylum to the human race," Mirabeau in his "Considerations on the Order of Cincinnati" (London, 1785), wrote:—

"The delegates, representatives, and legislators of the American people have made equality the basis of their insurrection, their work, their demands, their rights, and their code. For this reason they occupy among the powers of the world the rank and separate position to which they are entitled by virtue of the laws of nature and of nature's God."—*Pages 31, 32.*

And again the same writer declared:—

"America can, and is going to, determine with certainty whether the human

race is destined by nature to liberty or slavery. No republican government has ever found in any part of the globe such favorable circumstances."—*Id.*, pages 32-34.

In the appendix to his "Considerations," Mirabeau published a letter written by the famous Turgot to Dr. Price, an Englishman favorable to American principles, from which we quote:—

"America is the hope of the human race, and ought to become the model for humanity. She ought to prove to the world in fact that man can be free and tranquil and dispense with the chains of all kinds which tyrants and charlatans have imposed on pretext of the public good. . . . She ought to be an example of liberty of all kinds,—political, civil, religious, commercial, and industrial. The asylum she opens to the oppressed ought to console the world. The facility of profiting therefrom to escape the results of bad government will force all governments to be just and to enlighten themselves."—*Page 95.*

As one of the French noblemen who had taken an active part in helping America to achieve her independence, General Lafayette was anxious to have the French Constituent Assembly also draft a constitution for France. On July 12, 1789, Lafayette, a member of the assembly, and commander of the national guard, made a speech stating that in his opinion "the opportunity had now come for France to imitate the example set by the Americans." Explaining further the influence which the American principles had upon this French leader, the historian Scherger says:—

"While in America, Lafayette had imbibed the principles put forth during the Revolution. On his return to France, he enclosed a copy of the American Declaration of Rights in a valuable frame. Beside the Declaration there was an empty column headed Declaration of Rights of the French people."—*Evolution of Modern Liberty*, page 222.

On July 27, 1789, Champion de Cicé, Archbishop of Bordeaux, the reporter

for the committee of the constitution, said, in a speech made before the assembly:—

"This noble idea [Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen], conceived in another hemisphere, ought to be because of its excellence, at once transplanted among us. We have participated in the events that gave to North America her liberty; she has shown us upon what principles the conservation of our own should rest; and it is the New World, whither we had formerly carried only weapons, which to-day teaches us to secure ourselves against the misfortune of betaking thither our persons."—*Archives Parlementaires*, 1787-99 (Paris, 1867-80), Vol. VIII, page 281.

Germany Acknowledges America's Influence

The struggle for liberty in America also met with the approval of the best thinkers in Germany. In 1783 there appeared in a Berlin journal an ode containing these words:—

"And thou, Europe, raise thy head.
Soon will shine the day when thy chains
shall break.

Thy princes expelled, thou wilt hail a
happy free state."

Addressing America, the poet continues:—

"Thy example speaks loudly to the
farthest nations.

Free is he who wills it, and is worthy
to be so;

Yet ever-raging despotism, which, break-
ing God's laws,

Serves but the great, frightens the na-
tions."

—*Berliner Monatsschrift*, 1783.

In conclusion, the same writer blesses "the better hemisphere, where sweet equality reigns."

A German nobleman, in the American service, wrote to his friends in Europe enthusiastic accounts of the "beautiful and happy land, without kings, priests, farmers of taxes, and lazy barons, the land where every one is happy and poverty is unknown."—*Schlözer, Briefwechsel*, VII, page 333.

An Austrian Recognizes America's Influence

Modern writers in Europe have also borne testimony to the tremendous influence for liberty exerted by America upon the nations of the Old World, but not all of them commend that influence. In the year 1828, for example, the celebrated Frederick Schlegel, "one of the most distinguished men of Europe," delivered lectures at Vienna, on "The Philosophy of History." At the close of his seventeenth lecture (Vol. II, page 286), he speaks thus of America:—

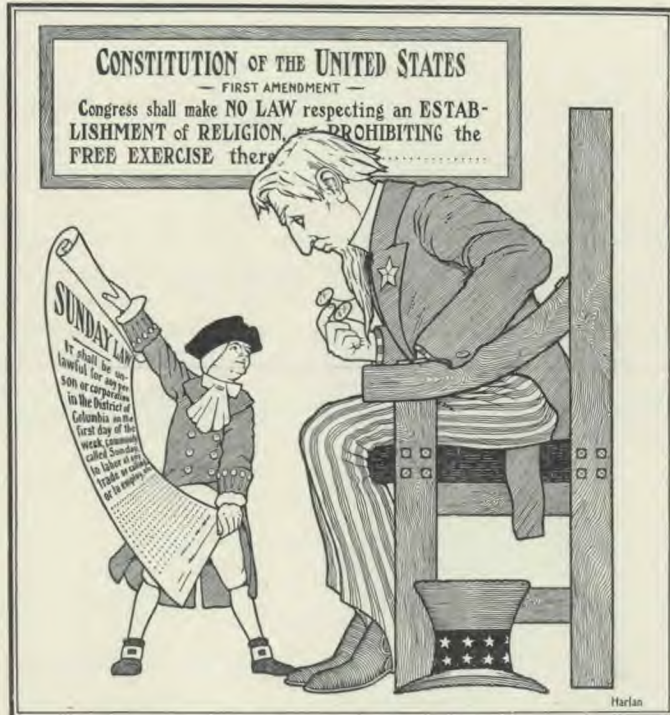
"The true nursery of all these destructive principles, the revolutionary school for France and the rest of Europe, has been North America. Thence the evil has spread over many other lands, either by natural contagion or by arbitrary communication."

This eminent Catholic lived for years in Vienna as secretary of the court and counselor of legation. And it was largely through his influence that there was formed in Austria a society known by the innocent name of the "St. Leopold Foundation," the true purpose of which was to carry out the well-laid plans of the Holy Alliance, of Europe, to subvert and destroy American liberties and free institutions. This plot was laid bare by our American ambassador at Rome, the distinguished Prof. Samuel F. B. Morse, inventor of the electric telegraph, who, under the signature of "Brutus," published a series of articles in the *New York Observer*, in the year 1834, under the title of "A Foreign Conspiracy Against the Liberties of the United States." In 1836 these articles

were republished in book form, by Van Nostrand & Dwight, N. Y.

France's Premier Testifies

The recent testimony of the leaders of the French nation shows that France still looks to America as her example, especially in the matter of the separation



A PERTINENT INQUIRY — IS IT CONSTITUTIONAL?

of church and state. In the *Cosmopolitan*, for November, 1905, for instance, Georges Clémenceau, a French senator, and at one time premier, writes thus in an article giving "the government view" of the "separation of church and state in France." Addressing the American people, he says:—

"Your destiny was to work freely on a cleared and open field at an epoch when the chief data of modern society were already being evolved. You have begun afresh, from one end to another, whereas the old European nations continued to work on the ancient foundations, lopping, and patching up the shreds of discredited institutions, completing them with new portions more or less adapted

to the purpose. . . . While not despising the respectable traditions of olden days, you have boldly traced out your own route,—a very modern route,—through the noble débris of the past.

“In the matter of religious liberty, your work was the more deserving as your great Puritan ancestors, beginning with the ‘blue-laws’ of New England, thought to found their ideal society on an absolute confession in the political and religious arenas. But into this very religious arena itself, reform had brought her fertile seed of the New World,—liberty,—and with your care the little grain pushed down its timid roots, and spread out toward the sky a frail stem from among the wild rocks of New England. A century and more has passed since then, and now the tree extends its majestic branches over an immense civilized continent.”

Thus through the influence of liberty-loving America, there exists to-day the same religious liberty in Turkey as in the United States; France has divorced the church from the state; Switzerland enjoys religious freedom; Portugal has shaken off her ecclesiastical fetters; even Roman Catholic Spain is struggling toward the light; and the oppressive band of civil and religious intolerance has been removed to quite an extent from the necks of the people. Fearing the loss of their subjects, through emigration to free America, the autocratic rulers of Europe have loosened their grip upon the minds and consciences of their subjects. It is to be hoped America may remain true to the principles on which the nation was founded, and continue to be a beacon-light to all nations.

Roosevelt on Liberty

C. E. HOLMES

ONE of the addresses delivered by Mr. Roosevelt on his return from Africa was given at the Sorbonne, Paris. It is said by many to have been the crowning speech of his life. His statements regarding liberty are worthy of notice:—

“Probably the best test of true love of liberty in any country is the way in which minorities are treated in that country. Not only should there be complete liberty in matters of religion and opinion, but complete liberty for each man to lead his life as he desires, provided only that in so doing he does not wrong his neighbor.”

It was one of the crowning acts of our forefathers that separated religion from the state. It has helped to make us one of the greatest nations which ever existed. The value of the divine principle of liberty is even to-day so well recognized, at least in theory, that various religious sects clamor for the credit supposed to be due them for securing this liberty to our country. The Baptists and Presbyterians each claim to have been the guardians of religious freedom in Virginia; Roman Catholics seek to prove their loyalty to American principles by citing the establishment of the Maryland colony.

However, we are not so much concerned about the question as to who should receive the glory for establishing religious liberty in this country as we are about the problem as to who is going to uphold the principle of liberty to-day. Nearly every religious body in this country is now endeavoring to secure some sort of religious legislation.

When religious practises or tenets are enacted into law, it is clear enough that the beliefs of the minority when they conflict with the statutes, will not be respected. As Colonel Roosevelt stated, the test of liberty is found in the manner in which minorities are treated. To pass any law enforcing any religious measure would make it impossible for us to stand unblushingly the test stated by the colonel. No such law can be enacted even if unanimously demanded, without infringing liberty; for even those who demand it and enact it have a moral right to change their minds on religious questions; and to do so after passing such legislation would be to make themselves lawbreakers.

Temperance

The Liquor Traffic and the Home

MATILDA ERICKSON

WOULD you know the real character of the liquor traffic? Then ask the homes that have felt its cruel hand. No-where else can you learn so fully, so truly, the havoc made by this common foe. The liquor traffic enters the home unmasked. It leaves all pretense beyond the threshold. There it drops all false promises of pleasure, health, and prosperity, and deals with ungloved hand its merciless blows of sorrow, suffering, and death to the loved ones in the family circle.

It is the home that knows the full meaning of the depleted pocketbook, that feels the full measure of the sorrow and suffering born of intemperance. It is the home that hears the sobs of heart-broken mothers, and the cries of starving children. And the saddest fact is this, that wherever the liquor traffic goes, it always finds the homes; and upon their ruination the success of its cruel business depends.

We shudder when we read the cold statistics of the liquor traffic, but what would these figures mean to us could we see the homes they represent? Nearly every dollar used in the liquor traffic has been drawn from a family purse somewhere. Every crime casts a shadow over some home. Every murder hangs crape on one door, and usually thrusts into another home a sorrow that knows no utterance. Every person sent to the lunatic asylum leaves a vacant chair in a lonely, saddened home. Every divorce case means a broken home and aching hearts.

But the thousands of young men and women claimed annually by the liquor traffic are costing our American homes rivers of tears; for it is the home, and only the home, that knows the full value of the boy who has bartered his man-

hood and the girl who has sold her virtue. After all, it is only the home that knows the traffic as it really is. It knows what is required to support the traffic,—in dollars and cents, in sorrow and suffering; for every barrel that leaves the brewery rolls its curse to some family door.

Remember that the statistics of the liquor traffic are not merely cold figures. They represent so many homes. Every unit in these statistics means at least one home. The two billion dollars used annually in the traffic drip with the blood of fathers and mothers, and the tears of their innocent children. All this money the traffic draws from our American homes, and in return it gives them nothing wherewith to clothe, to feed, to develop, or to comfort their families. No; for value received the traffic each year gives to the homes of this nation about "2,500 smothered babies, 5,000 suicides, 10,000 murders, 60,000 fallen girls, 3,000 murdered wives, 100,000 paupers, 100,000 orphan children, 100,000 criminals, 100,000 drunkard's graves, and 100,000 fallen boys."

What does all this mean to our American homes? And remember that these are but partial statistics for the destruction wrought by the traffic in only one brief year. Every year this terrible curse sweeps over the land, leaving its black trail of ruined homes and lost hopes.

But, if the liquor traffic succeeds, homes must be sacrificed. As surely as the flour-mill needs grist, so surely the liquor traffic must have men and money for carrying on its business. Some homes must supply the money. Some homes must give up their sons to be drunkards, and their daughters to live immoral lives. The traffic will continue

to multiply murders, suicides, divorces, poverty, suffering, and crime. There will be an increasing number of mothers weeping over lost sons and daughters. Many more young wives will sink into untimely graves as their brightest hopes go down in the writhing sea of intemperance. All this and much more we must expect as long as the liquor traffic exists; for the traffic besieges every home, and conquers many. Its path has always been strewn with victims.

Knowing this to be true, the friend of our American homes must be a foe to the liquor traffic, and surely must they also who profess to be followers

of Him who lived to bless others. If we are indifferent, our very indifference will help the liquor traffic. While the limp arm of justice is suffering this destroyer of homes to stalk through the land, what are we doing to oppose its progress? In behalf of suffering humanity, and especially in behalf of the youth of our land, let us place our lives between the liquor traffic and the American homes, and let us heed no weariness until our Heavenly Father shall destroy sin in all its forms, and establish the home where changes and sorrows never come.

Washington, D. C.

An Important Temperance Convention

THE fourteenth national convention of the Anti-Saloon League of America was held in Washington, December 11-14. Excellent addresses were delivered by Hon. John G. Woolley, Congressman Richmond P. Hobson, of Alabama, Senator Geo. F. Cotterill, of Washington, Judge A. Z. Blair, of Portsmouth, Ohio, and others. The spirit of the convention seemed to hold as fundamentally important the points that (a) it is first necessary to obtain a vision, so to speak, of the conditions resulting from the manufacture and sale of alcohol, to be followed by (b) a stirring program of education, and (c) the commitment of the boys of our country in particular, by pledge, to abstinence from intoxicating liquor.

It was held that the universal abolition of the liquor traffic rests upon two principles: moral suasion and legal suasion. Did space permit, it would be interesting to refer to all the speeches made upon this important subject. We will, however, refer to two of the speeches. Emphasizing the fact that the nation's life itself is at stake in the liquor habit, Congressman Hobson said:—

“The menace of this destroyer extends yet farther, to the very life of the nation itself. In the rural life of the country, the people do not have the poison

continually in their path, so in spite of unusual hardship the great law of evolution and progress causes numbers to increase and each generation to be higher than the previous. Thus it is that the great empires and enduring civilizations of history were all built upon rural life. A time comes, however, in the life of each nation when its citizens, having accumulated wealth, gather into cities to enjoy it. There the great destroyer does his deadly work. . . .

“It is not a day too soon to grapple with this foe. We have reached the beginning of the second stage of American life. When degeneracy has gone much farther, it will be too late. At the present rate it will not be long before abnormals and degenerates will swamp our cities and overrun our States. Nature will not tolerate a race of degenerates. A backward and usually a despised race, but undegenerate, is found ready to give the *coup de grâce*. When Persia degenerated, Greece was on hand to strike. When Greece degenerated, Rome was ready. When Rome degenerated, Gaul was ready.

“If America degenerates, the yellow man will be on hand. Some may make light of the yellow man; so did Romans make light of the ‘barbarians.’ The

yellow man is not degenerating. He can shoot as straight as a white man now; and, undegenerated, he can live on one tenth of what is necessary for the white man while they are in the field doing the shooting. A race of degenerates can not occupy the American continent. In this generation our people must take their choice; in the next generation it may be too late. There is no alternative. We are fairly in the death-grapple. All the pages of history are crying out to America, 'Conquer the great destroyer, or perish.' The first law of nature, self-preservation, which holds for a nation or for a man, demands of the nation the death-warrant of the saloon.

"Suppose America should go down before this destroyer, whither will a rural and frugal fragment of America go to start a new empire? History leaves no hope to go back eastward. There is no longer any westward. We have reached the shores of the last ocean. In America the star of empire moving westward finishes the circle of the world.

"In America we are making the last stand of the great white race, and substantially of the human race. If this destroyer can not be conquered in young America, it can not in any of the old and more degenerate nations. If America fails, the world will be undone, and the human race will be doomed to go down from degeneracy into degeneracy till the Almighty in wrath wipes out the accursed thing."

Mr. Woolley, in a masterly address, said among other things:—

"A prohibitory liquor law is directed at the *business* of selling poison as a beverage and of maintaining a rendezvous for temptation, dissipation, and disorder. It says to no man: 'Thou shalt not buy nor drink'—though it may, and may well, come to that. It is in the nature of a quarantine regulation, which never says, 'Thou shalt not catch yellow fever,' but, 'Thou shalt not spread yellow fever.' Incidentally, a law that restrains a man from selling liquor to his neighbor, diminishes the neighbor's lib-

erty to spend his own money and experiment with his own body, but that does not make it a sumptuary law.

"Prohibition rebukes personal selfishness. But how does it violate personal liberty? Personal liberty, according to Judge Cooley, our greatest writer on constitutional questions, is simply that condition in which rights are established and protected by means of such limitations and restraints upon the action of individual members of the political society as are needed to prevent what would be injurious to other individuals, or prejudicial to the general welfare. That is to say, 'Obedience to law is liberty,' and the liquor dealer is incorrigibly a traitor in the camp of law.

"Absolute liberty exists only where the person possessing it is powerless to injure others. A shipwrecked man, alone on a raft in mid-ocean, has it, but would give the whole world to swap it for the limitations; that is to say, the enlargements of civil liberty—the only kind of liberty that anybody but a fool or a villain counts worth having. In short, absolute liberty is only the obverse side of vital bankruptcy.

"The liquor business is injurious to everybody, including the owner, and prejudicial to every public interest. Nobody denies that. Prohibition is not tyranny, but protection for all men, women, children, and domestic animals.

"Does prohibition hurt business?—Yes, all the business that tends to ruin—brothels, gambling-dens, the white-slave trade, vagrancy, begging, pawning, divorcing. But it helps every business that makes for 'more abundant life.'"

S. B. H.

CIVIL liberty, the great end of all human society and government, is that state in which each individual has the power to pursue his own happiness according to his own views of his interest and the dictates of his conscience, unrestrained, except by equal, just, and impartial laws.—*Sharswood's Blackstone, 127, Note 8.*

**THE
PROTESTANT
MAGAZINE**

ADVOCATING
PRIMITIVE
CHRISTIANITY

PROTESTING
AGAINST
APOSTASY

**The True
Apostolic Succession**

K NOW thou that he only is apostolic who is the keeper and guardian of the apostle's doctrine—and not he who boasts himself to be seated in the chair of the apostle, and in the meantime dishonour acquit himself of the charge of the apostle.—*Claudian, Anecdotes of Turin, A. D. 510-529.*

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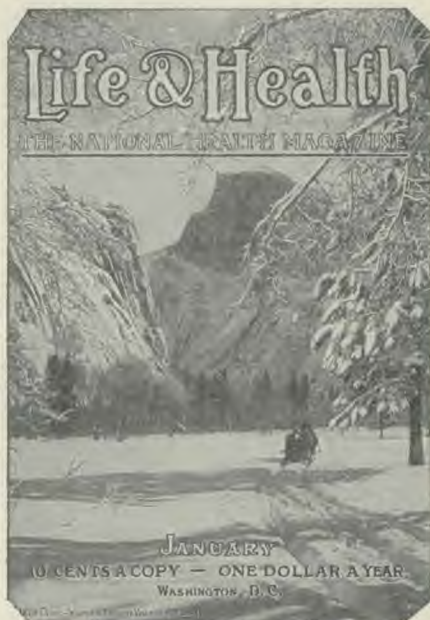
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POPE GREGORY XVI, in his bull of 1844, says: "We confirm and renew the decrees recited above, delivered in former times by apostolic authority, against the publication, distribution, reading, and possession of books of the Holy Scriptures, translated into the vulgar tongue."

WE are in receipt of many clippings and marked periodicals from different sections of the country which indicate that the agitation for the enforcement of a religious ordinance by law is in no whit abated. This argues for a more widespread circulation of LIBERTY, that the people may know what consequences are involved in such legislation. Show your copy of this magazine to your neighbor, interest him in the principles for which it stands, and if possible secure his subscription. Any one can do this much. Are you not sufficiently interested in

these principles to do this for your neighbor and for your country? Let every subscriber who reads this paragraph make an honest effort to secure one subscription for LIBERTY. Every reader of this magazine can do that. Will you do it?

THE appointment of priests or ministers to positions of responsibility in their respective churches is not an affair in which government officials are concerned. And they do not generally concern themselves in such appointments. The recent elevation of three American clergymen to the college of cardinals in the Roman Church has furnished a remarkable exception to this rule, and an exception which can be noted only to be regretted. The manifestation of this interest on the part of civil officials in the internal affairs of any church is not warranted by the American and Christian doctrine of the separation of divine things from the temporalities.

THE following extract from an English journal contains food for thought. A unity of Christendom under one temporal and spiritual control has long been the goal toward which the Roman system has looked with strong yearning. Will united Protestantism help her to attain the object of her age-old ambition? We quote:—

"At a conference at Sheffield on Monday, the Rev. J. H. Freedrough, the newly elected president of the Wesleyan Reform Union, speaking on the hope for the future unity of the Christian church, said he firmly believed the great agency for the unification of Christendom was the Roman Catholic Church.

"No other church had the outlook, machinery, tradition, wealth, and ability to bring together all the forces of Christendom. It was a strange thing to say in a Protestant union, but the secret lay there."—*London Daily Mail, Overseas Edition, Aug. 6, 1910.*

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.

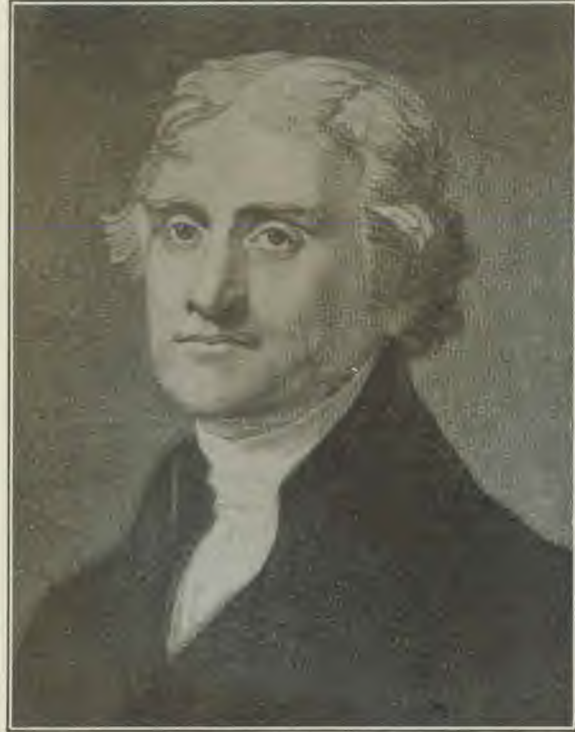
"Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor."

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.



THOMAS JEFFERSON

Author of the Declaration of Independence

I have sworn upon the altar of God eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man.—*Writings of Thomas Jefferson, Ford Edition, Vol. VII, page 460.*

I am for freedom of the press, and against all violations of the Constitution to silence by force and not by reason the complaints or criticisms, just or unjust, of our citizens against their agents.—*Id., page 328.*

Our liberty depends on the freedom of the press, and that can not be limited without being lost.—*Id., Vol. IV, page 132.*

Where the press is free and every man able to read, all is safe.—*Id., Vol. X, page 4.*