

LIBERTY

A MAGAZINE OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM



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Religious Liberty Association

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

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

1. The Bible is the Word of God, and Jesus Christ the Saviour of the world.
2. The ten commandments are the foundation of all morality, and comprehend the whole duty of man, both to God and to 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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LIBERTY

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

VOL. VII

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No. 3

History and Meaning of the Declaration of Independence

SANFORD B. HORTON

It has been well said that the Declaration of Independence ought to be known by heart by every boy and girl in America. Not many years ago one of the features of a fourth of July celebration thought to be necessary was the reading in full of the "immortal Declaration;" but to-day we are confronted with the regrettable fact that noise and self-indulgence are more in evidence on July 4 than are patriotic joy and thankfulness for the blessings of liberty inherited from America's founders.

Shortly after the adoption of the Declaration of Independence by the colonial congress, John Adams wrote a letter to his wife, in which he said: "I am apt to believe that it [the day] will be celebrated by succeeding generations as the great anniversary festival. It ought to be commemorated as the day of deliverance, by solemn acts of devotion to God. It ought to be solemnized with pomp and parade, with shows, games, sports, guns, bells, bonfires, and illuminations, from one end of this continent to the other, from this time forevermore."

Speaking of this letter, one writer says:—

"These words have proved prophetic. That, as a people, Americans have emphasized the lighter part of the prophecy

in the spirit of their celebration is greatly to be deplored. The day at times appears rather to be an orgy than a solemn festival; a time of noise and self-indulgence rather than of patriotic joy and thankfulness."

When we call to mind the history of the colonial struggle for liberty, and the reasons actuating the adoption of the Declaration, the fourth of July will mean more to us than simply an occasion of noise and self-indulgence; for while the Declaration had to do primarily with colonial relations then existing with the mother country, under the reign of George III, yet in this document were proclaimed principles of eternal character which have served as the beacon-light of the nations in their march toward free government,—government of the people, by the people, for the people.

Historica.

The Declaration of Independence was the outgrowth of the spirit of independence which was taking fast hold of the colonial patriots. Several declarations had been written and adopted before July 4, 1776. The people of North Carolina claim some warrant to priority of action in the matter of independence. At a public meeting in Charlotte, Mecklenburg County, held May 20, 1775, a series

of resolutions was adopted, which have since been known as the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence. Another document, similar in character, found the light of day in the town of Palmer, Mass., June 17, 1776. The *Washington Post* of July 2, 1911, contains an article on "The First and Forgotten Declaration of Independence," from which we quote:—

"We, therefore, the inhabitants of this town [Palmer], do believe it absolutely necessary for the safety of the 'united colonies' to be independent from Great Britain and declare themselves entirely a separate state, as we can see no alternative but inevitable ruin or independence."

The document was signed by Pastor Robert Ferrell, moderator, and Robert Hunter, clerk, with the understanding that the sentiment expressed in the declaration should be communicated to the general assembly of the colony of Massachusetts.

Early in 1776, delegates in Congress from Massachusetts were instructed to vote for complete separation from England. Other colonies followed. At that time General Washington wrote:—

"A reconciliation with Great Britain is impossible. When I took command of the army, I abhorred the idea of independence; but I am now fully satisfied that nothing else will save us."¹

June 7, 1776, Congressman Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, proposed the resolution that "these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states." The resolution was adopted after four days' discussion; and two committees were appointed, one to present a declaration, the other a plan of federation. Jefferson, Franklin, John Adams, and Richard Sherman were appointed on the Declaration Committee, which reported June 28; but owing to the fact that the New York and the Pennsylvania members of Congress had received no instruction in regard to the

proposed Declaration, action was deferred until the fourth of July, when it was adopted, John Hancock signing it. Fifty-six others signed August 2.

It was decided that the adoption of the Declaration of Independence should be announced by ringing the old State-house bell, which bore the memorable inscription, "Proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof." The old bellman stationed his boy at the door of the hall to await the instruction of the doorkeeper when to ring the bell. At the word, the little boy rushed out, and flinging up his hands, shouted, "Ring! Ring!! Ring!!!"

"How they shouted! What rejoicing!

How the old bell shook the air,
Till the clang of freedom ruffled
The calm gliding Delaware!
How the bonfires and the torches
Illumined the night's repose,
And from the flames, like phenix,
Fair Liberty arose!"

Until 1894 the original Declaration of Independence was exposed to public view in the United States State Department; but owing to the rapid fading of the text and deterioration of the parchment, it was then placed in an especially prepared vault in the State Department at Washington.

Meaning of the Declaration

There has been considerable sentiment expressed concerning the material instrument above referred to, which is right and proper. But the value of the Declaration of Independence lies in the fact that it promulgates great and eternal principles. It maintains that certain truths are "self-evident,"—not truths of civil origin and sustained by governmental indulgence, but truths which have for their authority the word of Jehovah. It is in keeping with the statement, "Before man made us citizens, great Nature made us men." A few years ago these self-evident truths were attacked by some university professors in this country. In their estimation, that instrument was to be considered a mass of "glittering generalities," a "dead document." But we

¹ International Encyclopedia, Vol. IV, page 680.

submit that the safety of this or any other land governed by the people will be maintained by strict adherence to the principles contained therein.

The signers of this document justified the separation from Great Britain on the ground that freedom was a gift from God. They wrote their belief in the statement, "All men are created equal, and are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights." The Declaration, therefore, stands for inalienable rights, thus recognizing the fact that man has a relationship with God which can not be disturbed nor interfered with in the slightest degree.

An interesting evidence of the deep conviction that rested upon the signers of the Declaration of Independence in regard to the importance of its principles, is given in the following:—

In the year 1826, after all save one of the band of patriots whose signatures appear on the Declaration of Independence, had descended to the tomb, and only the venerable Carroll remained among the living, the government of the city of New York deputed a committee to wait on the illustrious survivor and obtain from him, for deposit in the public hall of the city, a copy of the Declaration of 1776, graced and authenticated anew with his sign manual. The aged patriot yielded to the request, and affixed with his own hand, to a copy of that instrument, the grateful, solemn, and pious supplemental declaration, which follows:—

"Grateful to Almighty God for the blessings which, through Jesus Christ our Lord, he has conferred on our beloved country, in her emancipation, and on myself in permitting me, under circumstances of mercy, to live to the age of eighty-nine years, and to survive the fiftieth year of American independence and certify by my present signature my approbation of the Declaration of Independence adopted by Congress the fourth day of July, 1776, which I originally subscribed on the second day of August of the same year, and of which I am now the last signer; I do hereby

recommend to the present and future generations the principles of that important document as the best earthly inheritance their ancestors could bequeath to them, and pray that the civil and religious liberties they have secured to my country may be perpetuated to remotest posterity and extended to the whole family of man."¹

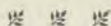
However, since those days of patriotic fortitude, a new doctrine has been asserted by so-called National Reformers, in which it is maintained that in religious matters "the greatest good to the greatest number" should be the law of the land. To follow this rule in the matter of religion, or in the duty that we owe our Creator, would be a manifest interference with man's individual relationship to his Creator. It has been well said that a human soul is of greater value than a human government, for the reason that God made the man, and has planned for his salvation; but man made the government, the nation; and we are told in the Scriptures that all the nations will be destroyed, and give place to the everlasting kingdom. The National Reform idea is that the state should resolve itself to be a Christian nation. But can there be such a thing as a nation having religious views, having a soul to save, having the promise of eternal salvation and everlasting life? The proposition is absurd on its face.

But if the views of the National Reformers shall be carried into effect by incorporating them into the legislation of this country, then will the Declaration of Independence fail of the purpose for which it was adopted. The doctrine of inalienable rights is a Christian doctrine. It was the main plank in the Protestant platform of the sixteenth century. The Reformation proclaimed the doctrine of justification by faith, which asserted man's right to think for himself, his right to act for himself, in his relation to God, independently of any priest, king, or ruler of any kind.

¹"Handbook of U. S. Political History," by Malcomb Townsend, page 73.

In conclusion, we wish to raise the question, Will America continue in the footsteps of its patriotic ancestry, and insist that the principles of the Declaration of Independence shall govern the legislative, judicial, and executive departments of the government? or will the United States repudiate the work of the fathers by taking the path which leads Romeward?

"The old bell now is silent,
And hushed is its iron tongue;
But the spirit it awakened
Still lives — forever young.
And while we greet the sunlight
On the fourth of each July,
We'll ne'er forget the bellman,
Who, 'twixt the earth and sky,
Rung out our independence,
Which, please God, shall never die!"



Columbus Day and Its Meaning

A. J. SAXBY BOURDEAU

One Item in Catholic Progress

THE unveiling of the Columbus Memorial Fountain in the Union Station plaza, Washington, D. C., June 8, 1912, in the presence of the President and leading men in state and church circles, is but one item in the program of the Roman Catholic Church to attract attention to herself through homage to one of her sons.

In order to perpetuate this hero-worship of Christopher Columbus, the Catholic navigator, by the American people, the Knights of Columbus, a Roman Catholic secret society, "numbering today 271,890 members," according to the Jesuit weekly *America* (May 25, 1912), has submitted to the legislatures of thirty-four States bills calling for the observance of October 12 in each year as a "legal holiday," to be known as "Columbus day."

The opening address at the Columbus Memorial unveiling was delivered by Justice Victor J. Dowling, of the supreme court of New York. In his remarks this speaker referred thus to the success of these efforts on the part of the Knights of Columbus to make Columbus day a holiday: —

"It is the appreciation of his [Columbus's] nobility of character which is leading to the spreading movement to make Columbus day a holiday, in which thirty States have now joined, and to whose ranks it is to be hoped the nation

itself will soon be added."—*Catholic Standard and Times* (Philadelphia), June 15, 1912.

"Now a Legal Holiday in Thirty States"

The progress of the Columbus day movement is thus reported in the *Catholic Standard and Times* of June 22, 1912, under the title "Columbus Day in Thirty States:"—

"Columbus day is now a legal holiday in thirty States in the Union.

"The youngest State in the Union, Arizona, was the twenty-ninth State to fall into line, and New Mexico the thirtieth.

"The thirty States are Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Idaho, Illinois, Kansas, Kentucky, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Texas, Vermont, Washington, and West Virginia."

Effort to Make It a National Holiday

For over six years the Knights of Columbus, aided by Italian organizations taking pride in the Genoese navigator, have put forth strenuous efforts to induce the Congress of the United States to enact a law making the twelfth of October a legal holiday. In this movement Congressman Wm. Sulzer, of New York, has taken the lead. The last bill

introduced by him (H. R. 4306, Sixty-first Congress, first session) reads as follows:—

“A bill to make October 12 in each year a public holiday, to be called Columbus day.

“*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That the twelfth day of October in each and every year, being the anniversary day of the discovery of America by Christopher Columbus, be, and the same hereby is, made a legal public holiday, to be called Columbus day, to all intents and purposes in the same manner as the first Monday of September in each year is now made by law a public and legal holiday.”

Thus far Labor day, the first Monday in September, is the only holiday legalized by Congress. Washington's birthday (February 22), Decoration day (May 30), Independence day (July 4), and Thanksgiving day (November) are, however, recognized as holidays in the District of Columbia and the Territories, but by no official act of legislation on the part of our national government.

There have been two hearings before the Committee on the Judiciary of the House of Representatives on Columbus day bills introduced by Messrs. Sulzer (H. R. 17350, 1906, H. R. 4306, 1910) and Harrison (H. R. 5696, 1909), one on April 28, 1906, and the other on April 19, 1910. At these hearings the patriotic or civic arguments in behalf of the proposed legislation were made prominent, the religious or sectarian features, and the Knights of Columbus as promoters, being naturally kept in the background. Owing to ignorance on the part of the people as to the sectarian purpose behind this movement, only the friends of the proposed bills appeared at these hearings.

Plan to Make It a Pan-American Holiday

A plan to make Columbus day more than national is being inaugurated by the Pan-American Union, a strong ally of the Knights of Columbus. This strong organization is described in its official

literature as “an international organization maintained by the twenty-one American republics, controlled by a governing board composed of the Secretary of State of the United States and the diplomatic representatives in Washington of the other American nations, administered by a director-general and an assistant director chosen by this board, . . . devoted to the development of commerce, friendly intercourse, and better acquaintance among all the American republics.” This union, composed, as it is, largely of Catholic nations, has a strong influence favorable to Catholicism upon the officials of our government, as witnessed in the Pan-American Thanksgiving mass held annually in St. Patrick's Cathedral, Washington, D. C., attended by the President, his Cabinet, members of the Supreme Court, and other national leaders.

The editor of the *Bulletin of the Pan-American Union*, a beautiful monthly magazine, contributed a valuable article to the November, 1911, issue, entitled “Columbus Day in the Americas,” in which appear striking illustrations of the voyage of Columbus, Columbus day parades in the great American cities, and a valuable sketch of the Columbus day movement. The opening paragraph reads:—

“The celebration of October 12 as Columbus day is becoming a movement of importance. There are increasing hopes that the goal of a Pan-American day—an international festival in which the entire western hemisphere will join in commemoration of the discovery of America—is every year closer to realization.”

After mentioning the States that have already declared the twelfth of October a legal holiday, the editorial continues thus:—

“This year the celebrations in all these States and republics were carried out with more than usual enthusiasm, and show that the desire to make October 12 an international holiday, which would in fact be almost unique in purpose, second only to the universal recognition and observ-

ance of Christmas, is increasing in strength and results.

"In Portland, Oregon, for example, where Columbus day was celebrated for the first time, the officials of the city took part in the ceremonies, and the school-children were given a prominent place. In Mobile, Ala., one of the States which has only just passed an act to observe the day, all business ceased, street parades and receptions were organized, and addresses were given on the life and deeds of Columbus.

"In New York City a glittering line of soldiers, sailors, and civic organizations, forty thousand persons in all, paraded in Manhattan, Brooklyn, and the surrounding towns. The cities of New Jersey also celebrated, and great enthusiasm marked both the native and the Italian participants.

"In the District of Columbia two purposes were held in view — one was that of the celebration itself, those interested in the matter desiring to give to the unofficial ceremonies all the elements of a general celebration, while those who had taken a glimpse into the future bent their energies toward *getting Congress to make the day a legal holiday* for the capital of the republic, and thus incidentally to *set an example for those States and countries* not yet arrived at definite action in the matter.

"Among those agitating for a universal American holiday are two kinds of organizations deserving especial attention. One is that of the numerous Italian societies; . . . the other is that organization known as the Knights of Columbus, a well-known fraternal society remarkably well extended in all parts of the United States, into Canada, Cuba, and the Philippine Islands. . . . One of its fundamental purposes is the popularization of the name of Columbus. Already a bill has been introduced before Congress to make the twelfth of October a legal holiday in the District, and its *ultimate success seems not far off. Persistent effort is to be made to have Congress recognize October 12 as Columbus day.*" (Italics ours.)

A Roman Catholic Holiday

The sectarian character of this festival is easily ascertained by reference to the boasts of Roman Catholics and the warnings of watchful Protestants. Witness the following concluding lines of an article on "The Columbus Memorial," by M. J. O'Connor, a Jesuit, in the Catholic weekly *America* (May 25, 1912):—

"This superb memorial, together with the proclamation of Columbus day as a legal holiday in many of the States in the Union, *both largely due to the virile efforts of the Knights of Columbus*, will forever abide with us to prove how little has availed narrow opposition to the national *reverence due to his memory.*" (Italics ours.)

According to the *Catholic News* (New York) of Oct. 1, 1910, the following statement formed part of an address read to Pope Pius X the summer of 1909, by Rev. M. J. McGivney, one of a delegation received by the pontiff in private audience:—

"The erection of a memorial to Christopher Columbus in the city of Washington by the United States government is *largely due to the work of the Knights of Columbus.* They also have been instrumental in having the anniversary of the discovery of America by Columbus made a legal holiday in fifteen States."

The following editorial in the *Pilot* (June 15, 1912), "official organ of the archdiocese of Boston," and mouthpiece of the militant Cardinal O'Connell, is especially significant:—

"The Catholic people have a right to take the largest share in the honors conferred upon Columbus. . . . It [the unveiling of the Memorial] was one of the most glorious events in the history of the national capital, and was of especial importance for *the great demonstration of Catholic faith and loyalty* which it called forth." (Italics ours.)

Again, the editor of the *Catholic Standard and Times* (Philadelphia) reveals the sectarian character of this holiday in the following sentiments found in the June 15, 1912, issue:—

"The Knights of Columbus are to be

congratulated on the part they have played in righting the wrong of generations toward 'the greatest mariner known to history,' as the President fittingly termed Christopher Columbus."

It should also be noted that an entire

bold-type sentiments can not be misunderstood:—

"It is the duty of every Knight of Columbus to be present at the unveiling of this memorial to our order's patron.

"'On to Washington' parties are be-



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PROMOTING COLUMBUS DAY IN WASHINGTON

Persistent effort is being made to have the federal government make October 12 a national holiday, to be known as Columbus day. Though such a law would apply only to the District of Columbia and the Territories, it would pave the way for the celebration of the day throughout the entire country. At the laying of the corner-stone of the Gibbons Memorial Hall in Washington, D. C. (a view of which appears above), Cardinal Gibbons, in his address, urged the Columbus day idea.

issue of the *Columbiad* (May, 1912), the official organ of the Knights of Columbus, was filled with strenuous appeals to the members of that Catholic order to attend the Columbus Memorial unveiling. The following first-page,

ing organized on all sides of you. Join one of them at once."

"Fifty thousand Knights of Columbus will march in imposing parade down historic Pennsylvania Avenue in the nation's capital. . . . The very flower and

strength of the Catholic citizenship of our country will pass in review before the President and his Cabinet, Princes and Dignitaries of the Catholic Church, Ambassadors, and Plenipotentiaries of foreign nations."

"Forward, Knights! On to Washington! Fifty Thousand Strong!" (Emphasized by the use of capitals.)

More significant still, however, are the title and contents of the following editorial utterances appearing in the *New World* (Chicago) of June 15, 1912. Under the heading "A National Event of Catholic Moment," the editor says:—

"The gathering of Catholics from every quarter of our country at the nation's capital last Saturday . . . is indeed a notable event in the history, *national and religious*, of our country. Fitting, indeed, it was that the function should bear at the same time *a national and a religious aspect*, for the great mariner . . . to whose memory this splendid monument in marble was unveiled came to our shores *in double mission*—with the compass of discovery and the *cross of redemption*.

"So the governmental executive at Washington *cooperated with the Knights of Columbus*, and made this erection of a memorial to Columbus a work of the nation."

On the first page of the *Tablet*, "the Catholic weekly of the Brooklyn diocese," representing "seven hundred thousand Catholics in Kings, Queens, Nassau, and Suffolk Counties" (June 15, 1912), appeared an article by "Valerian," entitled "The Catholic Pulse." In the sixth paragraph occur these words:—

"It must have been hard on General Miles when he stood on the stand for the unveiling of the Columbus statue in Washington, to see the Knights of Columbus pass by in parade.

"The *swords of the fourth degree men* must have convinced him that the order is but waiting the opportunity to *cut a path for the Pope into the White House*." (Italics ours.)

In his encyclical *Quarto abrupto sæc-* should be a day for all of us to honor the

ulo, issued July 16, 1902, Pope Leo XIII said:—

"For Columbus is ours; since if a little consideration be given to the particular reason of his design in exploring the *mare tenebrosum* [dark sea], and also the manner in which he endeavored to execute the design, it is indubitable that *the Catholic faith was the strongest motive* for the inception and prosecution of the design; so that *for this reason* also the *whole human race* owes not a little to the church."—"Great Encyclical Letters of Leo XIII," page 265.

Views of the Protestant Press

Prominent among the Protestant journals that have detected the hand of Rome in this movement, is the *Independent* (New York), which published a three-column editorial under date of Oct. 20, 1910, entitled "Columbus Day," from which we take the following extracts:—

"While the constituents of the magnificent processions are of different nationalities, the one thing that unifies them is *their religion*. They are all Catholics. The north of Ireland Orangemen take no part in it, nor the Scotch, nor the Lutherans of Germany. There is a Catholic organization known as the Knights of Columbus, and they have given a nucleus for the celebration of the day. . . . *We believe in Columbus day*." (Italics ours.)

One year later, however, the editors of the *Independent*, *having observed* the practical working out of the scheme of the Catholic Church to monopolize this holiday in the various States, voiced a dignified protest against the day. In their issue of Oct. 12, 1911, the following language appears:—

"There is coming to be one serious objection, we are sorry to say, to the celebration of Columbus day as a holiday, and that is that *it is being made a sectarian day*. There is nothing sectarian about Independence day, or Labor day, or Thanksgiving day. They are good for Protestants and Catholics and Jews alike. . . . So Columbus day might be and

discoverer of America; but *it is being perverted to be a specially Catholic holiday*, a day to magnify the glory of the Catholic Church. . . . Not only do the Catholic organizations devise the great processions of the day, but we observe that the Catholic newspapers are treating it as *specially their day*. Thus the Boston *Pilot*, owned by Archbishop O'Connell, says: 'Every Catholic man who is in a position to do so, should take part in the great parade of Columbus day. It should be a source of pride thus to *make public profession of the faith that is in him.*'

"Such a special right in the day does not encourage the remaining States to adopt it."

The Papal Flag Honored

Two flags preceded every division of the Knights of Columbus as they marched by the President's reviewing stand at the Columbus Memorial unveiling, June 8,—the papal and the American. They were borne by two standard-bearers marching abreast, the papal colors being next to the stand. Thus, in raising his hat to salute the American flag, the President also saluted the Pope's standard, to the strains of patriotic airs that were struck up by the many bands as they approached the reviewing stand. A very clever arrangement by the Catholic planners of the parade, indeed! This intermingling of the standards of the Pope and the United States is evident at all parades manipulated by the Catholic sponsors for the union of church and state.

The Meaning of "Columbus Day"

The enforced observance of this holiday means much to every patriotic citizen of the United States:—

1. Preceding the November elections by a few weeks, it will impress politicians of all parties and the people in general with the strength of the Catholic vote.

2. The union of church and state is fostered by the parades composed of the army, the navy, and secret Catholic

societies, all Protestant societies or anti-Catholic secret societies being ruled out.

3. It requires every non-Catholic citizen to surrender the exercise of his natural American right to labor or do business upon any day that he may choose, without let or hindrance by law.

4. It compels non-Catholics and Catholics to do honor to Roman Catholicism on the false plea of patriotism and loyalty to the Constitution.

5. The movement is calculated to deceive the American people, even to the brass badge "U. S. Constitution" worn on the breasts of the members of the Knights of Columbus. It is, in short, a church-and-state-union movement parading under the guise of loyalty to the separation of church and state principles of the Constitution.

Catholics and Non-Catholics Should Protest

It is to be hoped that the loyal American citizens of the eighteen States in the Union that have not yet legalized this sectarian holiday, will vigorously protest to their State legislatures against the enactment of any law that will recognize Columbus day or any other religious holiday or festival—Protestant, Mohammedan, Catholic, or Jewish—as a legal day of rest. Why should any Catholic citizen be *compelled* to do that which he even *wants to do*? Our government, State or federal, has no right, under the Constitution, to *compel* the *active* or *passive observance of any holiday* tainted with sectarianism, or having a religious origin. And this principle applies to the enforced observance of not only Columbus day, but of Sunday and every other religious holiday.

Let the voices of true citizens in every part of America be raised in protest also against the enactment of a *national* law by Congress sanctioning the enforced observance of Columbus day. Write your senators and your representatives at once, protesting against the enactment of the Columbus day bill now pending in Congress, giving good American reasons for your protest.

Sectarian Garb in Government Schools

Argument Presented by Hon. Robert G. Valentine, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, at a Hearing Before Secretary Fisher of the Department of the Interior, April 8, 1912, on the Question of Religious Garb in Indian Schools Conducted by the Government

(Concluded)

It is true that in the face of the liberal and increasing appropriations in the '80's, some commissioners appear to have believed that they had not sufficient funds both to erect and equip school buildings and to meet the cost of maintaining the schools; consequently, that they might make their funds go as far as possible, avoiding expenditures for buildings, they resorted to the contract system, by which they paid mission authorities for instructing children in mission schools. But the formal reports of the Indian Office clearly indicate that this contract system was considered but a temporary expedient.

That the mission authorities fared well by this arrangement is plain from the facts. Between 1886 and 1900 the Indian Office set apart on such contracts \$5,900,000, of which \$3,900,000 was for Catholic schools. In 1892 the maximum annual total was reached, a total of \$611,500 for all mission schools, of which \$394,700 was for Catholic mission schools. The ratio of the payments made by the government to the cost of maintaining Indian missions is obvious from that fact that in 1893 the director of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions stated that the expenses of the year of Catholic mission schools as met by Catholics were about \$50,000.

The significance of the figures just given is apparent if it is remembered that in 1902 the director of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions estimated the total yearly cost of all Catholic Indian missions at \$140,000. Other facts also show that there is no equity against the government; for instance, in 1912 contracts with Catholic Indian mission schools payable from tribal funds under the decision in the case of Quick Bear vs. Leupp, called for \$144,700; similar contracts with Protestant schools called for \$20,000. Furthermore, between 1900

and 1909, under special acts of Congress, gratuitous patents in fee to land on Indian reservations, were issued to Catholic Indian mission authorities for 1,658 acres, and to Protestant missions for 1,893 acres; under the general statute of 1909 the Catholic missions last year received patents in fee to 5,066 acres, and Protestants to 548 acres. Patents were issued to Catholic missions for considerable amounts of land on particular reservations; for example, for 1,900 acres at Cœur d'Alène, where sales averaged about \$21 an acre, and 1,250 acres at Flathead, where sales have averaged about \$50 an acre.

As early as 1888 the anomalous system by which the government was contracting away a purely governmental function and responsibility, and the abuses of the system, had aroused public opinion. The report of the Mohonk conference for that year called upon the Secretary of the Interior "to inaugurate at once a thorough and comprehensive system, providing, at national expense, on principles analogous to those which experience has incorporated in our public-school system, for the education of all Indian children."

In 1889 there was a new commissioner, and at once a new policy. In his report for that year the commissioner said:—

"The effort is being made to develop for the Indians a non-partizan, non-sectarian public-school system. . . . Special efforts are being put forth to increase the number as well as the efficiency of government schools.

"The system should be conformed [id., page 95] so far as practicable to the common-school system now universally adopted by all the States. . . . Of course, it is to be understood that in addition to all the work here outlined as belonging to the government for the edu-

cation and civilization of the Indians, there will be requisite the influence of the home, the Sabbath-school, the church, and religious institutions of learning. . . . But just as the public schools are supplemented in the States by Christian agencies, so the work of Indian education by the government should be supplemented by the same agencies."

April 23, 1890, the Indian Office notified the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions that it would enter into no contracts with new schools. Hence, after that date, no possible equity can be claimed against the United States by reason of investments subsequently made in buildings by mission authorities.

In 1891 (An. Rep., page 37), the secretary said:—

"The commissioner in connection with these [contract] schools expresses a very strong conviction that while support should not be given from public funds, there should be no violent nor sudden change, no action that can be construed as partial or unjust, but a gradual extension of the national system until it embraces the entire work."

In the same year the Board of Indian Commissioners (An. Rep., page 5) brought out the fact that the mission authorities were not giving needed attention to their peculiar duties. The board said:—

"[If appropriations continue to increase] the religious societies could then transfer to the Indian Bureau such schools as they have not the means to support. . . . Then, too, such societies could devote more means and force to their missionary work; and never has such work been more needed than now."

In the annual report for 1891 (page 68) the commissioners stigmatized the methods under which the contract system had grown in its flourishing years, and declared the ability of the United States to perform its duty:—

"The policy of aiding church-schools is one that has grown up as a matter of administration, having only a semblance of legislative authority; but the rapid

development of the public-school system has brought the government schools into a position where it is entirely feasible for them at an early day to assume the whole burden of Indian education so far as it is carried on by the government. I can not refrain from the expression of the earnest conviction that it is contrary to the spirit of the Constitution of the United States, and utterly repugnant to our American institutions and our American history, to take from the public moneys funds for the support of sectarian institutions."

Wide-spread public discussion and the facts of the case inevitably came to the attention of Congress. In 1894 this resulted in legislation, the import of which is unmistakable:—

"The Secretary of the Interior is hereby directed to inquire into and investigate the propriety of discontinuing contract schools, and whether, in his judgment, the same can be done without detriment to the education of the Indian children, and that he submit to Congress at the next session the result of such investigation, including an estimate of the annual cost, if any, of substituting government schools for contract schools, together with such recommendations as he may deem proper." (Act of Aug. 15, 1894, 28 Stat. L. 311).

Acting upon this direction, the Secretary of the Interior, Dec. 13, 1894, reported as follows (27 Cong. Rec., 1118):—

"I agree fully with those who oppose the use of public money for the support of sectarian schools. But this question should be considered practically. The schools have grown up. Money has been invested in their construction at a time when they were recognized as wise instrumentalities for the accomplishment of good. I do not think it proper to allow the intense feeling of opposition to sectarian education which is showing itself all over the land to induce the department to disregard existing conditions."

Congress put the recommendations of

the secretary into the following enactment:—

“Provided, That the Secretary of the Interior shall make contracts, but only with the present contract schools, for the education of Indian pupils during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1896, to an extent not exceeding eighty per cent of the amount so used in the fiscal year 1895, and the government shall, as early as practicable, make provision for the education of Indians in government schools.” (Act of March 2, 1895, 28 Stat. L. 903.)

This was followed by similar enactments, each making a further reduction in the amount that might be expended on contracts, until the act of 1899 said:—

“This being the final appropriation for sectarian schools.”

Two of the acts also contained the words:—

“It is hereby declared to be the settled policy of the government to hereafter make no appropriations whatever for education in any sectarian school.”

In the case of *Quick Bear vs. Leupp* (1908), the effect of these statutes was indicated, as follows:—

“Since 1899 public moneys are appropriated under the heading of ‘Support of Schools,’ ‘for the support of Indian and industrial schools and for other educational purposes,’ without saying anything about sectarian schools. This was not needed, as the effect of the legislation was to make subsequent appropriations for education mean that sectarian schools were excluded in sharing in them, unless otherwise provided.” (210 U. S., 50, 79.)

The purpose of this legislation is clear. It was intended that the government should withdraw from all appearances of partnership with the churches in the education of the Indians, that it should thereafter exercise that function through its own instrumentalities. Furthermore, if the acts of Congress reducing the sums of money that might be used for contracts caused any hardship, the hardship fell most lightly on the Catholic mis-

sions; for acting upon the intention of the law, the Protestants applied for no contracts after 1895 and 1896, and thus the Catholics, who alone remained, were able to receive more than their pro rata share.

That the continuance of contract schools was unnecessary is shown by the following statement made by the chief of the education division of the Indian Office, March 14, 1900 (Memo. Book, page 46), in a memorandum concerning a speech that had just been made in Congress:—

“For the entire period covered by the reducing acts of Congress, this office has easily cared for every child who has been debarred by reason of such reduction from attendance in contract schools, besides providing additional accommodations for 5,000 pupils in excess of that number. It has been demonstrated, as shown above (by details and figures), that the Indian Office is prepared to take care of every student these religious organizations may turn over to it at any time.”

When it became evident to every one that the old system of contract schools would cease, religious organizations began to develop mission schools supported entirely out of their own funds.

“In 1893 these [true] mission schools reported an attendance of 75 pupils; . . . for 1895, when the first reduction was made, 754 pupils; . . . and 1,261 in 1899. An analysis of the average attendance at all the [true] mission schools shows that the Catholic schools had an attendance of 259, the Protestant schools 855. It seems evident from this that the great Protestant organizations, in refusing the aid of the government for their schools, have maintained them in the true missionary spirit, out of their own funds.” (Memo., March 14, 1900, Memo. Book, page 52.)

The debates that occurred in the House at the time of the enactment of 1895, while showing that it was expressly agreed that the United States was under no duty to protect missions against loss, would indicate an intention that the Sec-

retary of the Interior should have discretionary power to acquire the buildings of such sectarian schools as could be used to advantage by the United States. On the floor of the House, however, the chairman of the House Committee on Indian Affairs said he was unofficially advised that Catholic authorities would sell none of their buildings. This statement was borne out by the subsequent course of events. In the annual report of April 8, 1904, page 6, the director of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions called attention to the fact that the sale of the buildings at Pryor Creek, Crow Reservation, Mont., where the mission school "was discontinued many years ago," and "the buildings were becoming dilapidated," was the "only instance of the sale to the government of a Catholic mission-school plant on any of the reservations." Two non-reservation schools, however, which can be classified only as Catholic schools, were sold to the United States, although not by the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions; they were Clontarf, Minn., with a capacity of 80 students, purchased in 1897 for \$10,060, and on Feb. 13, 1900, sold to M. P. Hobart, of Minneapolis, for \$4,000; and Morris School, Minn., with a capacity of 150 students, purchased in 1897 for \$18,336, and by the act of March 3, 1909 (35 Stat. L. 781, 792), granted to the State of Minnesota.

Although the Catholic authorities have in general refrained from selling their buildings to the United States, some other denominations and individuals sold a few of their buildings, of which I have a list here.

Presbyterians leased two buildings to the United States:—

"Ramona boarding-school, New Mexico, with capacity of 40, July 1, 1895, at \$60 per annum. This lease was continued for only nine months.

"Jemez day-school No. 1, July 1, 1896, at \$100. This lease was discontinued in 1909."

This plan of leasing school buildings has been used by the Catholics since

1896; they have now leased to the United States some fourteen schools, at the time of making the leases having their employees classified in the civil service without examination, in accordance with a ruling of the Civil Service Commission in its letter of June 10, 1895, as follows:—

"The commission is in receipt of your communication of June 3, requesting that the superintendents, teachers, and matrons of the following contract schools whose transfer to the government is pending, be included in the classified service without examination by the Civil Service Commission. In an interview with the superintendent of Indian schools the commission's attention was called to the fact that certain sectarian or contract schools proposed to transfer the entire schools to the Indian Service, and the commission agreed that these schools should be treated in the same way that a post-office is treated when it becomes a free-delivery office; that the fact of its becoming a free-delivery office extends the classification to that office; and as this was a condition also made by these contract schools in agreeing to the transfer, it has been ordered that the Montana Industrial School, Brow Agency, Mont.; Hope School, Springfield, S. Dak.; Greenville School, Greenville, Cal.; and the Wittenberg School, Wittenberg, Wis., be treated as having been brought into the classified service, including such of the employees as may be reported to the Civil Service Commission. Vacancies hereafter occurring in these schools, however, will be filled from the eligible registers of the commission.

"Please inform the commission of the names, with the positions and dates of entry into the service, of the employees at these schools, treated as classified."

Mission authorities who wished to sell their schools to the United States, definitely and finally parting with all interest in them, apparently had asked that their former employees be retained, and the letter of the commission resulted. Upon the soundness of the ruling of the com-

mission I do not here express an opinion, merely pointing out that the acquisition of a mission school conducted by private persons seems little analagous to a change of grade in the status of a post-office, which is already an instrumentality and a property of the United States. The point I wish here to make clear is that this arrangement for placing employees in the classified civil service when schools were purchased, was made to include employees—members of peculiar religious orders—of schools which were merely leased.

Statistical facts about persons at present in government employ who would be affected by Circular No. 601 are as follows: In 1896, and since that year, 42 mission employees have been "covered in." Of these employees, 32 have been Catholic employees, in almost every instance sisters, brothers, or priests of peculiar Catholic orders. Of these Catholic employees who were "covered in," 28 remain at the schools taken over by the United States.

Reports made to the Indian Office in February, 1912, show 51 employees wearing garb,—all wearing the peculiar garb of Catholic orders,—48 sisters and 3 brothers or priests.

	SISTERS	BROTHERS OR PRIESTS
Anadarko boarding-school	8	2
Fort Berthold boarding-school	6	1
Fort Totten boarding-school	9	
Jemez day-school	2	
Keshena Hospital	4	
Lac Courte Oreille day-school	2	
Odanah day-school	2	
Red Cliff day-school	2	
San Xavier day-schools	4	
Standing Rock Agency School	9	

The former mission employees of other denominations who wore distinct-

ive dress would seem to have discarded it upon taking up government work; for example, the superintendent of one of the boarding-schools, an Episcopalian clergyman, at once laid aside his peculiar garb, and has not since resumed it.

The recent reports of superintendents, referred to above, show that 51 employees were affected by Circular No. 601, whereas only 28 Catholic mission employees were "covered in" the classified civil service when schools were taken over, and are still in the Indian Service. This discrepancy arises from the fact that some former mission employees continued at the schools in positions unclassified in the civil service at the time the schools were taken over, but later regularly classified; two employees at Catholic mission schools had a status in the civil service when their schools were taken over; and some employees, as the four at Keshena Hospital, occupy positions that are not now classified.

It must be apparent that the action of the Civil Service Commission in its letter of June 10, 1895, can in no way be tortured into an expression by the government of any intention to continue the old system of partnership between the government and the church in the education of the Indians,—the system of contract schools. Whatever question may be raised as to the validity of the action of the commission, its scope is unmistakable; it had and could have no other effect than to take the persons concerned into the classified civil service. They then became officers of the United States, subject, in all respects and equally with other officers in the service, to whatever principles are binding on this government in the performance of its functions. And by the same token they became bound affirmatively to exemplify so far as they could the force and effect of those principles.

*No Moral Claim Against the Insistence on
the Enforcement of Constitutional
Principles*

In the face of this summary of the situation, it is difficult to see how any

equity can be claimed against the government that would prevent the issuance of Circular No. 601. There has been no lack on the part of the government of notice of its attitude. For forty years it has been giving repeated and unmistakable expression of its determination to conduct the Indian schools as purely national schools, free — as are all other American schools — from the injection, consciously or unconsciously, of any sectarian element.

The facts of the contract-school system can scarcely be urged in this connection. At best, that system never had more than the semblance of legislative authority; and from the public utterances of responsible government officials, it has been clear from the beginning that the system was never recognized as anything but an expedient. As early as 1890, notice was given the churches by the Indian Office that no contracts would be entered into with schools thereafter opened, while in 1899 Congress expressly declared that no further public moneys should be devoted to any sectarian schools. Further, so far as the expenditures incurred by the church have any bearing, there can be no ground for the assertion of an equity; for the church, so far from being the loser, has received more in money and land grants than it itself contributed. It may be true that some of the schools at which the teachers in question are engaged, were established at the expense of the church. But if there were no other reason, the theory reported to have been expressed, for example, by the director of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions, in an address in 1909 at the Catholic University, that it is the mission of the church not only to keep in its faith the Catholic Indian population, but also to convert Protestants as well as pagans, and the theory that Catholic schools are indispensable aids to missions, leave no room for a contention that the United States is under any obligation toward these schools. With this expressed ideal of the mission authorities, their attitude toward govern-

ment Indian schools is consistent. In the last report of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions, opposite a statement that in 1910 there were 207 less Catholic Indian pupils in government schools than in 1909, stands the note: "It will be observed that the minus sign may denote a gain, or vice versa."

It is only with hesitation and reluctance that these views are referred to at all. It ought to be inconceivable that they should have been held in this era of our national life. The government can not afford to run the risk of being in the position of giving its direct and active support to the attainment of the ideal set forth in the attitude of mission authorities; for the principle of the separation of church and state "is imperative wherever American jurisdiction extends, and no modification or shading thereof can be a subject of discussion."

The Peculiar Relation Between the Government and the Indian

So far, nothing has been said of what must be regarded as one of the most important factors to be considered if any adequate appreciation of the problem is to be had. It is urged in varying form that there are no complaints or objections made by the Indians against the display of religious garb in the schools. This is said to show that there is no necessity or reason for the order. Such an attitude must be considered as quite beside the point.

Apart from the fact that the argument would assert that what is illegal may be ignored because interested persons do not complain, it discloses a fundamental misconception of the peculiar relation existing between the government and the Indians. The Indians have been said to be the "wards of the government," and in more than a figurative sense they are. Without voice on their part, the government has undertaken the task of bringing them as a race to what we regard as manhood's estate. It has undertaken to bring to them the blessings of civilization. And as Congressional declarations,
(Concluded on page 130)



EDITORIAL



Sunday in the Post-Offices

WHILE the House Post-office Appropriation Bill was under consideration in the Committee of the Whole, Mr. Mann, of Illinois, offered an amendment providing, "That hereafter post-offices shall not be opened on Sundays for the purpose of delivering mail to the public." In the discussion of this proviso, a report of which will be found in the *Congressional Record* of April 16, 1912, the most important principles involved in this proposed law received no consideration whatever. The men who gave any attention to it, brought forward only trivial arguments and questions of expediency, ignoring the vital principles involved.

Mr. Fowler affirmed that "we are commanded to keep it [Sunday] sacred as a day of rest and spiritual worship." This is in direct contradiction of the fourth commandment, which expressly names "the seventh day," or Saturday, as the day of rest; but it shows that the religious observance of the day is the motive in this legislation.

While there is nothing in the proviso which refers to Sunday as a religious day, or which enforces its observance as such, yet the real reason for desiring a law which would require post-offices to be closed on Sunday, is the supposedly religious character of the day. This is further indicated in the statement made by Mr. Fowler:—

I would have no objection, Mr. Chairman, to closing the mails the greater part of Sunday, and I grant that they ought to be closed for the purpose of giving the people an opportunity to attend Sunday-school and church, places where everybody ought to have the privilege of going on Sunday.

In other words, it was thought the closing of post-offices on Sunday would contribute to the attendance of church and Sunday-school.

We have no objection against all persons who desire to do so, attending church and Sunday-school on Sunday, and if the Post-office Department should decide to close all offices on that day, we should make no protest against that action; but we do make a decided protest against any legislation by Congress which rests upon a religious basis.

Following a conference between several members of the House, the proviso introduced by Mr. Mann was passed, after being amended, as follows:—

Provided, That hereafter post-offices of the first and second classes shall not be opened on Sundays for the purpose of delivering mail to the general public, but this proviso shall not prevent the prompt delivery of special-delivery mail.

To the chairman of the Senate Committee on Post-offices and Post-roads, to which this bill was referred, the editor of *LIBERTY* addressed a letter, the larger portion of which follows:—

I desire it to be clearly understood that we are not opposed to the closing of post-offices on Sundays, and that we are not urging any action requiring them to be kept open. We are perfectly willing to leave this whole question to the discretion of the Post-office Department. We do protest strongly, however, against the method by which it is proposed to close these offices, and for the reasons hereinafter stated:—

1. We regard such legislation as entirely unnecessary. The Postmaster-General is clothed by law with sufficient power to enable him to govern the times of opening and closing post-offices by a

ruling of the Post-office Department; and if, in his discretion, he should decide to close certain offices on Sundays, we should raise no objection. If Congress decides this matter by legal enactment, it commits that body to a kind of legislation which it has thus far studiously avoided.

2. The proposed legislation is a violation of the precedent established by Congress nearly one hundred years ago, and which it has uniformly maintained since that time.

In response to petitions presented to Congress in 1829-30, requesting that the transportation of mails on Sunday be discontinued, adverse reports from the Committees on Post-offices and Post-roads were adopted in both branches of Congress, in which principles were laid down covering the present case. The reports will be found in full in "American State Papers," pages 233-268. I quote one statement only:—

"If the principle is once established that religion, or religious observances, shall be interwoven with our legislative acts, we must pursue it to its ultimatum. We shall, if consistent, provide for the erection of edifices for worship of the Creator, and for the support of Christian ministers, if we believe such measures will promote the interests of Christianity."

While the proviso in question does not deal directly with religion or religious worship, yet, in the last analysis, it rests upon the idea that Sunday is a day to be religiously observed.

3. If this proviso becomes a law, it constitutes in effect a legislative decision of a religious controversy. At first thought, this statement might not seem to be warranted, and I will, therefore, give some reasons for taking such ground:—

a. This proviso, although it does not directly refer to the religious character of the day, does yet make a distinction between Sunday and other days, and will be used as a precedent for securing more direct legislation to require the observance of Sunday.

b. A careful study of all the proposed legislation relating to Sunday will reveal the fact that it is prompted by religious sentiment, and therefore all such legislation comes under the head of religious legislation.

c. This proviso is a step in the direction of supporting a religious dogma by governmental influence. The legitimate object of civil government is to protect all citizens in their right to worship or not to worship, provided in so doing they do not interfere with the equal rights of others; but the influence of government should not be exercised in favor of any religion. Especially should Congress avoid any action which may be interpreted as favoring either side of a religious controversy, such as there is now over the question as to which day is the Sabbath.

d. If Congress may properly enact a law which even indirectly establishes any particular day as a day of rest, it may with equal propriety take action which would determine other religious questions, such as the ordinance of baptism, the most desirable forms of worship, etc. . . .

Allow me to suggest further, that if the real purpose of this proposed legislation is to secure to post-office employees one day's rest in seven for physical reasons only, this object could be attained by a proviso which would forbid the Post-office Department to require of any employee more than six consecutive days' service without allowing twenty-four hours' rest. In such a proviso no mention would be made of Sunday, and it could not be interpreted as favoring the religious observance of any day. We are, however, of the opinion that it would be preferable to leave this whole question to the discretion of the Post-office Department.

Nearly one hundred years ago, the Congress of the United States was petitioned to pass legislation prohibiting the transportation of the mails on Sunday, and in an exhaustive report, prepared by Col. Richard M. Johnson, of Kentucky, convincing reasons were given why Congress should not enact any such legislation. The report was adopted, and during all these years Congress has refrained from legislating upon this subject. The adoption of the amendment proposed by Mr. Mann, would be a departure from the wise precedent estab-

lished so long ago, and would commit Congress to a course of legislation which, if followed to the logical result, would lead to the enactment of laws requiring the religious observance of Sunday.

Against Religion by Law

The Mayor of Niagara Falls, N. Y., Vetoes a City Ordinance Forbidding Picture Shows on Sunday

IN a message to the city council of Niagara Falls, N. Y., vetoing an ordinance forbidding picture shows on Sunday, Mayor Philip J. Keller discussed in a clear way some questions of fundamental importance to free government, and incidentally gave some good advice to the ministers of that city. His message is a well-deserved rebuke to those who conceive it to be the duty of ministers of the gospel to employ the civil power as an agency for enforcing upon the citizens of the State their particular views of Christianity. Not every mayor would have the courage to oppose such a combination, and to face the threat of having his political corpse left in the street if he did not yield to its demands. It is to Mayor Keller's credit, not simply that he refused to approve the ordinance, but that he was able to justify his action in so convincing a document. We reprint a large portion of the message:—

May 22, 1912.

To the Honorable Common Council of the City of Niagara Falls, N. Y.

GENTLEMEN: I herewith return, disapproved, so much of the proceedings of your meeting of May 13, 1912, as reads as follows:—

“By Alderman Fell:—

“Resolved, That the resolution presented by me at the last regular meeting, prohibiting moving-picture shows on Sunday, be removed from the table and adopted by the council.

“Yeas, 7: Aldermen Bengough, Blinco, Fell, Gaiser, Murphy, Pfetsch, and Welch.

“Nays, 6: Aldermen Clancy, Gassler, Lafferty, Mansfield, Phelps, and Russ.

“Adopted.”

By this ordinance, herewith returned, the conduct on Sunday of any moving-picture entertainment is made a misdemeanor punishable by a fine of \$50, or six months' imprisonment, or both, and as a further and additional penalty, the person, firm, or corporation violating its provisions also becomes liable to the city in the sum of \$100, to be recovered in a civil action.

Church and State

Clearly, this ordinance is intended to enforce upon all the observance of the Christian Sunday according to the conceptions of the strictest Christian churchmen, and contrary to the ideas of the more liberal Christians. It is absolutely contrary to the religious views of our non-Christian citizens, whose rights and privileges we are also bound to respect so long as they do not disturb the peace of others. This is a Christian country or government only in the sense that the majority of our citizenship is Christian in its religious beliefs. Our proud boast is that in matters of religion, as in secular matters, we are a free people; and in the matter of legislation, above all matters, it is repellent to hear men of one nationality or denomination single out or denounce those of another who may oppose them. In the Declaration of Independence itself it is held that “all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.”

Council Line-Up

The passage of this ordinance by a bare majority of one out of a total of thirteen votes in the common council, all of the members of which body are of the Christian faith, shows a sharp division in the sentiment of the aldermen themselves. There is no consideration with respect to training, education, or

experience in public or private business, that I am able to discover, which reflects unfavorably against the soundness of judgment of the six aldermen who opposed the ordinance, as compared with that of the seven who supported it. One alderman who voted for the ordinance has stated openly that his vote was cast contrary to his better judgment, but was in obedience to a promise which he gave to his pastor at the beginning of the movement. I am satisfied that other aldermen who supported the resolution will at once concede that their official actions were influenced by their respective pastors, who appeared at various meetings of the council, and who, in most vehement appeals, denunciations, and exhortations, besought and demanded the enactment of the Sunday picture-closing law which they themselves had prepared.

Undue Influence

When we contemplate the spiritual supervision which so many of our Christian people acknowledge and yield to their priests and ministers, we can not escape the conclusion that the influence exerted by these clergymen, as above referred to, in connection with this ordinance, forced through the council what otherwise could never have been obtained from that body. It may be noted here, however, that all the clergymen of the city are not united in this movement; and it may be said also that one of the clergymen who assumed to represent his congregation in favor of the ordinance, found eventually that only one of six of his officers agreed with him.

But if that were all, I might not feel called upon to analyze or refer publicly to the methods employed in procuring the passage of this measure. Much more, enough more, in fact, to amount to absolute coercion, was done; and there is ample warrant for the assertion that the sober discretion and free agency which the people assume are at work in their deliberative bodies, were absolutely

thrown out of balance. This condition might and perhaps should have been publicly expressed sooner, and before this agitation became so bitter.

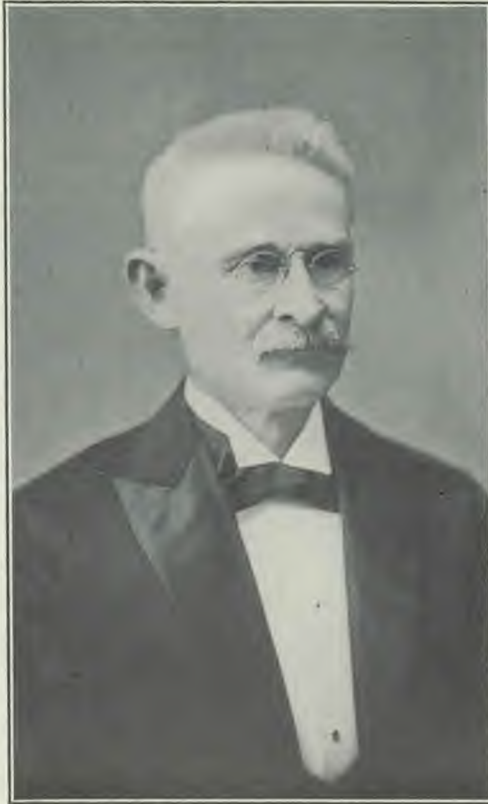
As to Political Corpses

Some of the clergymen, and I believe the most influential among them, on several Sundays during which this particular legislation was pending, devoted their sermons almost entirely to this ordinance; and among other things, threatened, in clear, emphatic, and almost violent language, that, in the event that their ordinance was not made a law of the city, our streets would be strewn with political

corpses at the next election; that, before that time, public officials would be removed from office; and, in one case, I am told, the preacher volunteered the opinion, in substance, that the mayor would veto the ordinance if only he dared to do so.

Promises Made

This ordinance was passed by the council on Monday night. Early Tuesday morning, long before the usual course of official business would bring the measure before me, a committee of clergymen



PHILIP J. KELLER, MAYOR OF
NIAGARA FALLS, N. Y.

called upon me, and demanded that I send for and sign the ordinance immediately, which I declined to do. Prior to this time, the clergymen had promised me every political support in the future if I would comply with their demands, and they had threatened to exercise every political influence against me if I should fail to do so. I have lived in this city fifty-five years. One of the most influential among these gentlemen appears to have lived in this country but a few years, comparatively; and some of the others have lived in this city a shorter time, and may be called away any day. They assume to understand better than the duly constituted authorities, the fair sentiment of the people, and tolerate no difference of opinion. And this is in America, the land of the free and home of the brave! It matters little what may become of my political corpse, or how long I remain in office; but it matters much whether the leaders of any religious sect or sects may, in this country, by coercion, use the duly constituted representatives of the whole people to either oppress or control the conduct of others of the same sect or different sects or creeds who differ from them in their views or conduct, but, nevertheless commit no breach of the peace nor encroachment upon the political, social, or religious rights of others.

Advice to Clergy

I venture the opinion that it is almost the universal sentiment of the people that their ministers should confine their activities to their vocation of persuasion among their followers. If, in that way, they can create a healthy sentiment upon any question which does not subvert the principles upon which our American institutions are founded, no one can complain, and that sentiment will find fit expression through the representative government we live under. Also, if they can persuade the people against patronizing picture shows, on Sunday or any other day, that is also legitimate. But if they can not so persuade them, and, regardless of natural sentiment, may resort to going themselves as the representatives of the

people direct to the fountains of the government for the purpose of compelling the people to do what they can not be persuaded to do, then we have indeed government by the church, or by the churches, a thing abhorred by liberty-loving Americans. Such practise is bound to create discontent, and augment religious antagonism and bigotry. Already the despicable murmurings of A. P. A.-ism are discernible as one of the results of the methods used to pass this ordinance.

No Compromise

If this were a proper ordinance, I would, nevertheless, disapprove it because of the improper methods employed to procure its passage; and, further, I shall disapprove any other ordinance of like or other character, which may be procured in like manner, until my term as mayor ends, by expiration, removal from office, or otherwise. . . .

A picture which does not offend good morals on Saturday or Monday will not do so on Sunday. . . .

For the reasons above stated, I return herewith the ordinance with my disapproval.

Yours very truly,

PHILIP J. KELLER,

Mayor.

We wish our position to be clearly understood. We are not defending immoral picture shows on any day of the week; and, further, we do not hold a brief for any kind of shows at any time; but we regard it as a misrepresentation of the very genius of Christianity when its professed representatives attempt to employ the authority and power of the state to compel any one either to accept or to act as if he did accept the creed of any religious body. We believe in the observance of the true Sabbath of the fourth commandment, and we are trying to persuade others to join us in this practise; but we reject all state aid and depend wholly upon the power of the gospel, and we urge all teachers of the truth to adopt the same plan.

Using the State to Glorify the Church

The Columbus Unveiling a Catholic Church Celebration Whose Expenses Were Met by the General Government

ON the eighth of June there was unveiled in the capital of the nation a magnificent monument to the memory of the famous Genoese who opened the way for the discovery of America—Christopher Columbus. Though this navigator never set foot upon the soil of North America, it is unquestionable that to his genius and persistence the discovery of the western hemisphere was due.

It is a matter of record that Columbus had with him on this voyage neither bishop, priest, nor acolyte. In fact, practically the whole Catholic world, save one lone woman,—and the whole known world was Catholic then,—scouted his “foolish notions” and ridiculed his impossible proposition. He was as much out of harmony with the belief and the purposes of the Catholic Church of that day as was Galileo when he declared that the earth revolved around the sun. One woman, Queen Isabella of Spain, had faith in Columbus’s ideas and his purpose; and through her influence and her financial help the voyage was made possible, in spite of the fact that the whole Catholic world, with that exception, denounced the “notion” and refused to aid the project.

In Ridpath’s “History of the World,” Vol. V, page 162, the condition of those times is tersely told. We read:—

The spread of such an idea [of the sphericity of the earth] . . . was first among the radicals and disturbers of that torpid society which, in conjunction with a *still more torpid church*, held possession of Europe in the fourteenth century. [Italics ours.]

From the same work, page 166, we glean this interesting bit of information:—

At last he [Columbus] was introduced to the king [Ferdinand, the Catholic

king of Spain], who heard him with indifference, and then turned him over to a *council of ecclesiastics*. This body, instead of considering the scientific possibility of the thing, brought out the Scriptures to show the *impiety of the project*, and declared that it was not becoming in great princes to engage in such a work. [Italics ours.]

It is thus demonstrated that what the world owes to the Catholic Church for the discovery of the New World, is actually less than nothing; for the influence of that church was against the undertaking.

However, now that the New World has been discovered in spite of the opposition of the Roman Church, that church is seeking to take to itself the entire credit for the discovery of America and for all that has come with that discovery. In line with this policy, Catholic influence was exerted in Congress to secure an appropriation from the national treasury for the erection of a monument to Columbus in the nation’s capital, with the intention of making its unveiling a great Catholic victory, and the monument itself a Catholic memorial, and all at the expense of the general government, using the funds of the state to advance the interests of the church, and to that extent uniting church and state. Plain evidence of this is found in the fact that an official of the Catholic organization known as the Knights of Columbus, was placed on the committee which was to arrange for the construction and location of the monument, and the ceremonies of the unveiling were entirely in the hands of that organization. A Catholic priest from the Catholic University of Washington delivered the invocation; a Catholic judge, Victor J. Dowling of the supreme



This statue, for which an appropriation of one hundred thousand dollars was made by Congress, stands in a conspicuous position. The unveiling ceremonies were held on the 15th of July, 1917.



View of second military field mass held on United States government grounds, Washington, D. C., July 15, 1917. Roman priests are officiating.



Unveiling of statue of
Christopher Columbus
Wash. D.C. June 9
PHOTO BY ARDUCN, WASH. D.C.

was erected on the plaza in front of the Union Station, in Washington, D. C., a most
noted as to make the event a Roman Catholic function



D. C., June 9, 1912. Under the flag-draped canopy at the right is the altar where
"sacrifice of the mass"

court of the State of New York, delivered the address, which an editorial in the Catholic journal *America* declares "was pregnant with Catholic thought;" and the Knights of Columbus, to the number of many thousands, with weap-

that day and the event which they set off are to be used as a lever for accomplishing another purpose, and the objective of that purpose is also the glorification of the Catholic Church. The erection of the Columbus monument and its unveil-



NEAR VIEW OF COLUMBUS MONUMENT BEFORE UNVEILING

ing ceremonies are to be used to influence the national government to make Columbus day a national holiday. When that has been accomplished, the wheels of the government and the wheels of the nation's industry will cease to revolve on each October 12 (even as they cease to revolve now in thirty of the States), while the people have impressed upon their minds the might and the glory of the Roman Church and its influence with the government.

That these Columbus celebrations are church affairs, the officials of that church admit. The *Boston Pilot*, official organ of Cardinal O'Connell (as quoted in the *Independent* of Oct. 12, 1911), speaking of Columbus day Catholic duty, says:—

ons of war in their hands, marched at the head of the great procession through the streets of Washington, passing in review before the President and the Secretary of State.

This was considered by Catholics everywhere a great day for the "mother church." But the result of it is not to end with the performances of that day. The spectacular ceremonies of

Every Catholic man who is in a position to do so, should take part in the great parade of Columbus day. It should be a source of pride thus to make public profession of the faith that is in him. He should not be deterred by false human respect. In honoring the great discoverer; he is paying tribute to the faith that prompted and still prompts greatness of character, high ideals, and noble achievements.

Of course "the faith" to which the cardinal's organ refers is the Catholic religion; and yet how that faith could be said to have prompted Columbus to his "noble achievement" when its "council of ecclesiastics" declared his undertaking an impious project and influenced the king against it, is one of those conundrums which can not be solved save by that system of logic which proves that things which we see do not exist. Nevertheless, the monument was

erected to the glorification of that church, and the money was taken from the treasury of the general public to pay the bills. Is it not time that the people should ask that church (and any church thus inclined) to keep its hands out of the national treasury? Is it not time that the people demand that there be a separation of church and state in fact as well as in name in this country? This fundamental principle is now being wantonly violated.

C. M. S.

A Move in the Wrong Direction

IN a memorial to the State superintendent of public instruction and to boards of education of the State of Oregon, the Presbyterian Ministers' Association of the city of Portland urges that moral instruction should be imparted in the schools of that State. After referring to "our growing and selfish materialism under the impetus of our intensely industrial life," and deploring the alleged fact that "a public sentiment has grown up that has forced our schools into methods that practically ignore the higher moral and religious nature," and after expressing their judgment of "the supreme importance of moral character as a foundation of citizenship," the members of this association submitted the following summary of their views as to the place of moral and religious instruction in the public-school curriculum:—

1. The moral law as summarized in the ten commandments is of divine authority, and is grounded in the conscience and religious nature of the individual.

2. As the basis and condition of social welfare, it should be given recognition in every department of education.

3. To give effect and establish in character the principles and spirit of this authoritative moral law, our teachers should be encouraged to use entire freedom, in obedience to sound principles of educational philosophy, in utilizing every incentive and appliance of experience, bi-

ography, history, and literature, in which the sacred precepts, warnings, and history of the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures that apply to this end should be given the place they deserve.

4. That our youth may admire and imitate the virtues embodied in character, they should be made familiar with the noble men and women who have exemplified our high ideals of service to mankind.

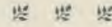
5. Memorial days and days of thanksgiving should be made the occasion for teaching the lessons for which the days are set apart.

6. Literature in verse and song should serve its high purpose, and the administration of the school should incorporate in spirit all that its precepts imply.

While admitting and emphasizing the irreligious tendencies of the time, we most positively affirm that it will be both unwise and improper to use the public school as the agency through which to correct these evils, and to renew the religious life of the people. The attempt to teach the ten commandments as the law of God in State schools supported by general taxation, would be a flagrant violation of the Christian principle of government—the separation of church and state; and while it would fail to remedy the evils complained of, it would open the door to still other evils. Though appreciating the value of moral and religious instruction, and urging that it should be

imparted in the home, the church, and the denominational school, we do not see how it would be possible to make this a part of the public-school curriculum without doing injustice to certain classes

of citizens, and without involving others in theological disputes and wrangles over dogmas. Keep the state and the church separate. Their union will be an injury to both.



Nullifying Constitutional Guaranties

IN guaranteeing the equality of citizens before the law, the framers of the national Constitution considered it necessary to specify some of the things guaranteed. Among those thus specified, and essential to that equality, are freedom of religion, freedom of speech, and freedom of the press.

We have shown in these pages, from issue to issue, the dangers that threaten the first of these, freedom of religion, and the combinations that have been, and are now being, effected to control religious belief and make religious practices matters of legal enactment. We have shown the danger threatening the freedom of the press in the proposed legislation that would exclude from mailing privileges publications unfriendly to a certain church. The supporters of both these movements have thus been working for ends that were in opposition to what the Constitution framers considered essential to the equality of citizens.

The other of the three guaranties mentioned is being attacked in various parts of the country. One of the most striking manifestations of opposition to this constitutional guaranty—freedom of speech—was witnessed recently in the city of St. Louis, Mo., when Lieut.-Gen. Nelson A. Miles, who has held the highest military office in the gift of the nation, found it impossible to address an audience of American citizens on one of the most vital issues of the day, and had to leave the city with his lecture undelivered.

General Miles has espoused the cause

of Constitutional guaranties, and is calling the attention of the public to the dangers which threaten the rights of the people. He stands for the principles incorporated in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States. Standing upon such principles, the people can not but consider as their enemies those who attack him and oppose and ridicule the principles for which he is contending.

General Miles was scheduled to deliver an address in the auditorium of the Odeon in St. Louis on the evening of May 24 on the general topic of "America's Danger." He also had contracted with the Second Baptist Church to use its auditorium for a similar address. On arriving in St. Louis, he found both his contracts canceled. Influences inimical to the principles for which he stood, and therefore inimical to the Constitution of the United States and to the guaranteed rights of the people, had been at work to stifle freedom of speech in St. Louis.

No theater can obtain a license to do business unless it is properly equipped with fire-escapes. The only way in which the Odeon could thus be equipped was to secure permission to extend its fire-escape over some property belonging to the Catholic Church. When the pastor of the Catholic Church, N. L. Franzen, learned that General Miles was to speak in the Odeon, he notified the manager that unless the contract with General Miles was canceled, the church would compel him to take down the fire-escape. This would mean that the theater would

have to be closed. The manager very naturally succumbed to this threat to ruin his business.

Why the Baptist Church canceled its contract we have not learned. Was it fear of offending the growing power and influence of the Roman hierarchy, or a failure to appreciate longer the vital principles enunciated in our nation's fundamental law? Whatever the reason, it operated to the same end, to close the mouth of one who is ably espousing the fundamental principles of Americanism.

The reason for Rome's bitter opposition to General Miles is that he is one of the highest officials in the new association known as the Guardians of Liberty, which organization holds to "the conviction that the greatest treasure possessed by the citizens of these United States is that of civil and religious liberty," and is seeking to "promote a deeper, stronger, and more active loyalty to the fundamental ideas of the founders of this republic."

What true American can consider this "conviction" unsound, and this purpose unworthy? Who can oppose such a conviction and denounce such a purpose, and then rightly pose as a supporter of the government or a true friend of the people?

It may be claimed that as long as no law is passed forbidding a lecturer to speak, the principles of the Constitution have not been violated. But a principle can be violated without the passing of a law. A mob may accomplish what the law expressly forbids, may take away life or property which the law has set itself to protect. The Constitution guarantees freedom of speech. A combination of influences in the case in question nullified that constitutional provision and laughed at the Constitution while it robbed the individual of his rights.

In taking this unconstitutional and unjustifiable course, the pastor of that

Roman Catholic church was but following the direction of the Vatican. Said Pope Leo XIII:—

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*," page 161.

It need not be a matter of deep concern to Roman Catholics that the Constitution guarantees freedom of speech, if by combination, influence, and threat they can dictate the nature and complexion of what shall be spoken from the pulpits of Protestant churches and the platforms of public halls. There ought to have been some Guardians of Liberty dealing with these matters during the past three or four decades. We greatly fear the organization will be tremendously handicapped in its undertakings because of the lateness of its arrival. The incident referred to proves the need of its existence, and emphasizes the dangers that threaten.

C. M. S.

The Mote and the Beam

IT is sometimes interesting to observe with what clearness some men can perceive the transgression of a principle—in the other fellow. Nearly all the Protestant bodies have no difficulty whatever in seeing that the wearing of a religious garb by the teachers in the government Indian schools is a violation of that fundamental principle of the national life, the separation of church and state; and they heartily commend Commissioner Valentine's order. But some of these same persons fail to appreciate the fact that laws requiring the observance of Sunday as a day of rest are a much more flagrant violation of the same principle, and that they more directly affect the

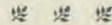
conduct of a much larger number of people.

Even the *Christian Statesman* feels called upon to protest against the doings of the Roman hierarchy in these words:—

Rome's claim to recognition as a temporal power, raises a spirit of resentment in the hearts of liberty-loving Americans; and when the issue is made as it was in this instance [the Foss-O'Connell episode], it is time to emphasize anew the principle for which Protestantism stands—entire separation of church and state.

The *Statesman* should not forget the instruction concerning the mote and the beam. In the very same issue it com-

mends a movement in Oregon in favor of religious instruction in the public schools; and it is constantly working for the enactment of Sunday laws, and for the more rigid enforcement of those already on the statute-books. It is no wonder that Roman Catholics accuse Protestants of inconsistency in this matter, and declare that Protestants do not believe in a real separation of church and state, but only in a separation of the Roman Catholic Church and the state. The only consistent position for the Christian to hold is that there should be a complete separation of the state from any and every church.



A "Cardinal" Principle

THE demand that precedence be accorded to the Roman cardinals over all ranks of state officials, has called forth many emphatic protests in publications of various classes. It has been generally agreed that such a recognition of an ecclesiastic is forbidden by the American principle of the separation of church and state.

The position of the *Christian Statesman* upon this question deserves some consideration. Referring to the claim that the usages of the courts of the Old World warrant the honor demanded for the cardinals, it very properly says that "these usages are not to be regarded in the New World when they conflict with any accepted principle of American civilization;" and adds:—

There is such a principle, and it is exactly applicable to the case in hand. It is the American doctrine of the separation of church and state. It is formulated in that provision of our Constitution which forbids Congress to make any law respecting an establishment of religion. No church as an organized institution, is to be established, supported, or controlled by the national government. This provision is often quoted as if it were in-

tended to divorce the American government from Christianity or any other religion. It had no such purpose, and has no such effect. Being a provision in restraint of otherwise unlimited powers of the government, it must be strictly construed. It forbids that which is described in the clause, and nothing more. It can not be extended by inference to cover what is not expressly named. It prohibits the setting up of an established church, supported and controlled by the national government. But it leaves the nation free to bear a Christian character and to be governed by the principles of the Christian religion.

Such reasoning as this is playing fast and loose with a great principle. It appears like an effort to apply the Constitution to the Roman Catholic religion, but to except the religion represented by the *Statesman*. We do not accept any such logic. We believe that the founders of this government, having before their eyes the evils which had resulted from a union of religion and government in the Old World, wisely provided for the complete separation of the two in this country. That this was their intent is plainly shown by various documents of that period. James Madison wrote July 10, 1822:—

Notwithstanding the general progress made within the last two centuries in favor of this branch of liberty, and the full establishment of it in some parts of our country, there remains in others a strong bias toward the old error that without some sort of alliance or coalition between government and religion, neither can be duly supported. Such, indeed, is the tendency to such a coalition, and such its corrupting influence on both the parties, that the danger can not be too carefully guarded against. And in a government of opinions, like ours, the only effectual guard must be found in the soundness and stability of the general opinion on the subject. Every new and successful example, therefore, of a perfect separation between ecclesiastical and civil matters, is of importance; and I have no doubt that every new example will succeed, as every past one has done, in showing that religion and government will both exist in greater purity the less they are mixed together.

In a memorial and remonstrance prepared in 1785 by the same statesman, we

find this clear statement of an important principle:—

We maintain, therefore, that in matters of religion, no man's right is abridged by the institution of civil society, and that religion is wholly exempt from its cognizance. . . .

Who does not see that the same authority which can establish Christianity, in exclusion of all other religions, may establish, with the same ease, any particular sect of Christians, in exclusion of all other sects?

We believe that all men ought to be governed by the principles of Christianity, both in private and in public life, thus making Christianity a most powerful influence in shaping the affairs of the nation; but we are uncompromisingly opposed to any union of religion and the government, or any governmental support of religion. In maintaining this position, we are acting in the interest of pure religion and good government.

A Dangerous Trend

THERE is a dangerous trend in this country toward the adoption of views which, when applied in practical experience, will, to a large degree, subvert the American principle of the separation of church and state. This trend is all the more dangerous because those who advocate these views do, at the very same time, make loud professions of adherence to the principles whose foundations they are undermining.

A demand is now being voiced that the church shall devote itself more directly to the solution of civic problems, and shall ally itself more closely with the state in the interests of a better civilization. In a recently issued book, with the title "The Church and Society," by R. Fulton Cutting, president of the New York Association for the Improvement of the Condition of the Poor, this new interpretation of the duty of the church is

quite fully set forth. A review of this book appears in the *New York Times* of June 9, 1912, under the striking heading "Is a Union of Church and State Needed in America?" In this article the teaching of the book is thus stated:—

Summed up in a sentence, Mr. Cutting finds that the social betterment of the race needs a stronger union of church and state than this country has had since it became a republic.

Some of the striking sentences quoted from Mr. Cutting's book are these:—

The church is living too much for Christianity, and too little for civilization.

The church must Christianize civilization practically, and the civil authorities of the democratic state are the tools she has herself so aptly fashioned.

But access to the individual is, in a large measure, to be secured through society, and the church must employ its machinery to increase her value in it.

She must know what society is, and she can learn much about it from the civil official.

The question of moral and religious training in the public schools, now conspicuously absent from our curriculum, can not be permanently banished by the discordance of religious beliefs.

This idea that the state would be benefited by a union of the church and the state is by no means a new one. Constantine entertained the same view in the early part of the fourth century, and the union which he brought about was the beginning of the great apostasy in the church.

It is true that the church can exert a great influence on society by doing its legitimate work; but when its purpose is merely to civilize, rather than to Christianize, it loses in a large degree its legitimate indirect influence. The words of the historian Neander are pertinent in this connection. He thus describes conditions at the beginning of Constantine's reign:—

In the relation of the church to the state, there occurred, with the commencement of this period, a most important change, the consequences of which extended to all parts of the church constitution, and which had an influence, in various ways, on the whole course and shaping of the church development. In the preceding period, the church stood to the state in the relation of an independent, self-included whole, and was to the state, for the most part, an object of hostility. At all events, the utmost which she could expect from the state was bare toleration. The important consequence of this was that the church was left free to develop itself outwardly from its own inward principle; that no foreign might could introduce its disturbing influence; and that the church itself could not be exposed to the temptation of employing an alien power for the prosecution of its ends, and of thus entering into a province that did not belong to it. But, on the other hand, the church had no immediate influence on civil society and its different relations. In this there was

much which stood in contradiction with the spirit that animated the church; the transforming influence which Christianity necessarily exercises on all with which it comes in contact, could not as yet here manifest itself. Only in an indirect manner—and in this respect, we must allow, although in a very slow, yet in the safest and purest way—could the church exert an influence on the state, by ever drawing over more of its members into itself, and communicating to them the spirit by whose influence everything must be made better.—“*General History of the Christian Religion and Church*,” Vol. III, page 174.

While “social service,” “social betterment,” and “social welfare” seem pleasant phrases to many clergymen at the present time, yet one of them has spoken frankly his view of this matter. In an article in the *World's Work* for June, 1912, entitled “The Matter With the Ministry,” a clergyman thus expresses himself upon this subject:—

The departments for “social welfare” which some of the denominations have recently organized, and the setting up of a “labor temple” in the metropolis, reflect not so much the church's passion for social service as the desperate situation in which the church finds itself. The so-called “social awakening” of the church is not a sign of hopefulness, but at bottom a desperate attempt to revivify an institution that seems to be decaying at both ends of the age line. It may seem strange that it should be so, yet so it is. The church's entrance into “social work” adds to the hopelessness of the ministerial profession. For the minister soon discovers that all these devices do not lead to the prosperity and success, do not produce the results which every man worth his salt wishes to achieve. Through it all a man may carry a bright face and be bright of speech, but deep down is the wish that he could escape from it all.

While we are heartily in accord with every good work, and believe that Christians should be identified with any legitimate movement tending to the general uplift of the community, yet we regard

it as a serious mistake for the church, as such, to turn from its commission to preach the gospel to every creature, and to substitute for this work an effort for a higher civilization. Christians make the best citizens, and the most valuable service which the church can render is in turning men from the power of Satan unto God. In this way it will transform the lawless into the law-abiding, and will lay stable foundations for society.

Religion by Force

If to any one belongs the right to compel worship, it would be to our Heavenly Father; but in these words, spoken for him by his Son, we find the Ruler of the universe recognizing the principle of religious liberty: "Whosoever will, let him take the water of life freely."

The gospel of Christ and religion by force are the antipodes of each other. Paganism had long driven men as mental and spiritual slaves under the lash of a compulsory religion; but the gospel of Jesus Christ is built upon this principle: "If any man hear my words, and believe not, I judge him not: for I came not to judge the world, but to save the world." But compulsory religion judges, condemns, and executes; and the spirit that would revive the practise is alive in our day. It is this generation's heritage from the ages of paganism. Its principles came with our ancestors in the "Mayflower," found deep rootage in the colonial establishments, and have found some to keep them alive through all the years from then until now. The attempt to unite all denominations for the enforcement of a sabbath upon all the people without regard to their rights, either temporal or spiritual, is as surely a heritage of paganism and medievalism as any that has come down to us. Force in religion is as old as Babylon, yea, as old as the murder of Abel by his

brother; and wherever we see combinations of men setting themselves the task of bringing about conformity in religion by compulsion of law, we see a repetition in spirit, and oftentimes in letter, of the intolerance of the first murderer for cause of religion, and of the oppression and persecution of men for religious belief in all the ages since. C. M. S.

Indorsing National Reformism

At the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, which was held at Minneapolis, Minn., in May, the program of the National Reform Association was indorsed, and delegates were appointed to the second World's Christian Citizenship Convention, to be held next year in Portland, Oregon, under the auspices of that association.

During the same month the Presbyterian General Assembly was in session at Louisville, Ky., and action was taken at that time by that body which commits the denomination to the principles of the National Reform Association; namely, the placing of the name of Deity in the national Constitution; the declaration that this is a Christian nation; the attempt to make the divine law the basis of all national legislation; and the establishment of a sabbath by compulsion of human law. This, says the resolution adopted by the assembly, is done "to the end that, by mutual understanding and concerted action, these evils may be met and overcome so that the kingdom of God may more fully appear." The indorsement of the National Reform Association's program by these two large and influential organizations will no doubt greatly help the association in winning its way among other bodies of professed followers of Christ. The result will be a marked increase in the efforts to secure religious legislation, both State and national, and a hastening of the day

when united Christendom, with its back turned upon its Lord, will demand and get laws that will make religion a matter of legal formality, oppressing the consciences of individuals, and starting a new list of martyrs for the cause of

Christ. He who expects to see "the kingdom of God" "more fully appear" by such means, is nursing a hope as delusive as the program is unchristian. No such program was followed by Christ or the apostles.

C. M. S.

Sectarian Garb in the Government Schools

(Concluded from page 113)

and report after report from the Interior Department, have shown, the public school was conceived as the most potent instrument to carry out that purpose and that pledge.

Even more scrupulously than would be the case in its representative capacity, must this government as a guardian and under its obligation of good faith assumed, labor to preserve the spirit and letter of our institutions in these schools. This must be so from every viewpoint: from that of the government itself, of course, since in this effort it represents the American people. But most important is the injunction laid from the viewpoint of the Indians and of our duty to them. If citizenship in American democracy demands anything, it demands an appreciation of the ideals of our institutions and a subscription to those ideals. If, then, our obligation toward the Indians means anything, it means that we shall guarantee to them a "proper appreciation and enjoyment of civil, political, and religious freedom." That they are without representation in the choice and regulation of the method but heightens the necessity for the exercise of the nicest care on the part of the guardian. That they may not make complaints of a particular method can scarcely affect the necessity, unless we are prepared to say that the obligation is binding only to the extent that the Indians demand it; that the measure of the guardian's duty is the desire of the ward; that the teacher shall take from the pupil the standards of American democracy.

How can it be that we are doing our whole duty by the Indians when in that governmental agency with which they

come into the most direct and intimate relation, in the one concrete expression of the government which avowedly represents at once the fulfilment of our pledge and the hope of the Indian in America, they see a standing denial, consistently asserting itself in graphic and unmistakable manner, of one of the very principles which professedly we are seeking to secure to them,—the principle that the church has no part as such in the state? For the Indian is peculiarly susceptible to religious influence, and to him of all persons signs are potent.

Circular No. 601 was issued to please no one and to offend no one, but only in the performance of official duty.

Fined for Working on Sunday

A Case of Sunday-Law Enforcement in Canada

J. A. STRICKLAND

RECENTLY two respectable citizens, quiet, conscientious, Christian men, members of the Seventh-day Adventist denomination, were arraigned before a magistrate at Harvey Station, York Co., New Brunswick, charged with desecrating Sunday. Their unlawful act was hauling hay on the first day of the week. The court-room was filled with listeners, many of whom were openly hostile to the Adventists. Before and after court, there was a noisy demonstration, with rowdy dancing, participated in by those who had congregated to see the Adventists "catch it." The defendants pleaded guilty to having worked on the first day of the week after conscientiously resting on the seventh day, according to the commandment of God. No witnesses were called, and no word of evidence

was given. The magistrate, who is a local elder in the Presbyterian Church, said that owing to the seriousness of the offense, he would fine the defendants ten dollars each and costs, and allow six days' grace. If the fines were not paid within that time, a distress warrant would be issued, their property levied on, and the amounts forcibly collected. Some present were dissatisfied with the verdict, and expressed their regret that the fine was not forty dollars instead of ten.

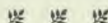
The defendants took an appeal and carried the case to the supreme court of New Brunswick. A decision was rendered June 20, and the conviction was quashed. The following report of the action of the court was printed in the *Daily Mail* (Fredericton, New Brunswick) of June 21, 1912:—

"The supreme court yesterday afternoon made a decision of considerable interest to this section of the province, quashing a conviction against Gilbert Graham and Robert Embleton, Seventh-

day Adventists of Harvey, by Mr. John W. Taylor, justice of the peace. This came under common motions.

"The King on complaint of James W. Robison versus John W. Taylor, *ex parte* Gilbert Graham and Robert Embleton.

"On motion of J. D. Phinney, K. C., the court made absolute an order nisi granted by Judge Barry to quash a conviction against Graham and Embleton, entered up before Justice Taylor at Harvey, York County, for violation of the Canada Lord's Day Act. The order was granted by Mr. Justice Barry on several grounds: No authority from the attorney-general proved; the conviction was joint instead of several; the conviction was invalid because the magistrate in delivering judgment gave consideration to alleged offenses by defendants of which there was no evidence, and stated that defendants had persistently violated the law; and that the offense alleged is not an offense under the prohibition of the Lord's Day Act."



The Ohio Constitutional Convention

E. K. SLADE

THE fourth constitutional convention of Ohio has completed its work after five months given to the consideration of a very large number of proposals as amendments to the constitution. Forty proposed amendments to the present constitution have been drafted, and later will be submitted to the voters of the State.

This convention has been an interesting one throughout. It has been looked to with deep interest by statesmen and politicians in all parts of the country, on account of proposals being submitted involving fundamental principles which are being considered seriously in a large number of States. Many prominent statesmen, and lecturers of international reputation, addressed the convention on important public issues.

When this convention was called, it was known that the so-called National Reform workers would well improve the

opportunity that the occasion would provide to introduce proposals for amendments to the State constitution, embodying their views and favoring their efforts to enforce religious conduct by civil law. There were delegates who freely worked with and for the advocates of religious legislation. Five attempts were made in the form of five proposals to embody in the fundamental law of the commonwealth a union of civil and moral questions in a way to make religious legislation constitutional. These proposals were artfully worded, and they will be read with interest. Note carefully the wording of each one.

"Proposal No. 56. *Resolved*, by the Constitutional Convention of the State of Ohio, That a proposal to amend the constitution shall be submitted to the electors, to read as follows:—

"The use of the Holy Bible in the

public schools, by those who desire to do so, shall not hereafter be prohibited by law."

"Proposal No. 121. *Resolved*, by the Constitutional Convention of the State of Ohio, That a proposal to amend the constitution shall be submitted to the electors, to read as follows:—

"We, the people of the State of Ohio, grateful to Almighty God for liberty, acknowledge him to be our supreme ruler, and his laws to be fundamental, and declaring this to be a Christian State, in order to establish justice, and secure the blessings of liberty for the whole people, do establish this constitution."

"Proposal No. 204. *Resolved*, by the Constitutional Convention of the State of Ohio, That a proposal to amend the constitution shall be submitted to the electors, to read as follows:—

"The general assembly of the State of Ohio shall never recognize by law the moral, religious, or divine character of the first day of the week, commonly called Sunday, for spiritual uplift or worship; but the general assembly shall always be actuated and guided in all its legislative work concerning the first day of the week by the idea and principle that the same is a mere civic, municipal, and police regulation and institution."

"Proposal No. 65. *Resolved*, by the Constitutional Convention of the State of Ohio, That a proposal to amend the constitution shall be submitted to the electors, to read as follows:—

"The general assembly shall at all

times protect the moral and religious and spiritual nature and Christian character of the divine institution of the Sabbath (commonly called Sunday), as the day of rest, worship, and spiritual uplift. The only exception of labor on the Sabbath should be that of urgent necessity."

"Proposal No. 321. *Resolved*, by the Constitutional Convention of the State of Ohio, That a proposal to amend the constitution shall be submitted to the electors, to read as follows:—

"The general assembly shall at all times protect the moral, religious, and spiritual nature and Christian character of the divine institution of the Sabbath, as a day of rest, worship, and spiritual uplift."

Strenuous efforts were made for the passage of these measures. Doubtless any one of them would have passed had it not been for the efforts of the Ohio Religious Liberty Association in opposition to such legislation. When

any one of these proposals was to come up for consideration, well-worded remonstrances came in from all parts of the State. Through the vigilance and faithful efforts of the Ohio religious liberty secretary, whose efforts were seconded by other workers, every measure was met at the proper moment by memorials and remonstrances, which were recognized and respected, and proved effective.

Proposal No. 321 was introduced late, after it was supposed that efforts in that line had come to an end. The advocates of the measure seemed to hope to pass



BOARD OF TRADE BUILDING, COLUMBUS, OHIO, WHERE WERE HELD MEETINGS OF PROTEST AGAINST RELIGIOUS AMENDMENTS TO THE OHIO CONSTITUTION

it through quickly and quietly before opposition could prevent. Arrangements were made for a public hearing by the committee to which the proposal was referred. In the few days preceding the hearing, a deluge of petitions poured in upon the convention from lovers of liberty throughout the State, opposing the proposal. When the time for the hearing arrived, the chairman announced that the hearing had been called off on account of the opposition there seemed to be to the proposal. It died in the committee.

When Proposal No. 65 was pending, a mass-meeting was called by the officers of the Ohio Religious Liberty Association in one of the largest halls of the city of Columbus. The addresses given by K. C. Russell (who was then the secretary of the Religious Liberty Association of Washington, D. C.) and others, on the blessings of liberty and the evils of intolerance, were listened to by many, and were favorably reported by the press of

the city and the State. A good influence was thus exerted.

We feel that through the blessing of God a decided victory has been won for the cause of liberty. All of these objectionable measures were defeated and rejected. The principles of liberty were given a prominence that will prove helpful. While opposing this attempt at objectionable legislation, the Ohio Religious Liberty Association memorialized the convention in favor of proper constitutional provision for the cause of temperance as a question wholly within the proper sphere of civil government. We hope for much good to come from our having presented most of the delegates with a copy of "American State Papers." We feel grateful to God that in the formation of a new constitution for the great commonwealth of Ohio, it has been made impossible for the enemies of liberty to carry out their purposes.

Mount Vernon, Ohio.



Religious Liberty in the Philippines

C. E. HOLMES

CONSIDERABLE interest has been aroused among Protestant denominations by the discovery of a circular issued by the Bureau of Education of the Philippine Islands. The text of this circular as sent to the division superintendents of the public schools of the Philippine Islands, is as follows:—

"BUREAU OF EDUCATION

"MANILA, March 11, 1908.

"Circular

"No. 32, s. 1908

"RELIGIOUS TEACHING FORBIDDEN

"To Division Superintendents.

"It appears from one or two cases recently occurring that former decisions relative to religious teaching by teachers are not now generally known by all concerned. In a case arising in 1902, the secretary of public instruction, in forwarding the papers to the civil governor, laid down the following rule:—

"Criticism by teachers of doctrines

of any church, religious sect, or denomination, and attempts by them to influence the pupils of any public school for or against any religion, are definitely prohibited by law. Under, and by virtue of, the terms of Act 74, Section 16: "No teacher or other person shall teach or criticize the doctrines of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or shall attempt to influence the pupils for or against any church or religious sect in any public school under this act. . . ."

The law can not be construed to mean that it was intended to regulate the conduct of the teacher in public only, and that privately, not to say secretly, the purpose of the enactment might be defeated beneath the shadow of his own roof with impunity; and even if it could, the teacher must not hope to escape administrative condemnation for his attempt to circumvent a law whose purpose is so plain and unequivocal. One of the

most serious obstacles which the American system of education has had to encounter and is now encountering in the Philippine Islands, is the suspicion of the native inhabitants that the school is to be used to undermine and destroy the faith of their children. That this suspicion is wholly without foundation goes without saying; but the American teacher who fails to recognize that it is a factor to be reckoned with, and to conduct himself accordingly, is a detriment to the service. . . . The first commandment of the insular government is: Respect all religions, war with none, favor none, teach none. The failure to be neutral in religious matters . . . not only seriously impairs his usefulness and efficiency as a teacher, but also hampers the administration in its work of maintaining good relations with the people of the islands, and serves to discredit its frequently announced policy of non-interference in purely religious matters.'

"In returning the above paper, the civil governor, among other things, said:—

"We occupy a peculiar position in this country in the teaching in public schools, which grows out of the fact that most people in the islands are Catholics, and have been used to the close union of religious and secular instruction. The priests and many of the people are naturally suspicious that the introduction of the new system bodes no good for the orthodox religion. If, now, agents of the government, in carrying on its schools, manifest opinions which are adverse and hostile either to the church, to their ministers, or to their religious methods of instruction, they disable themselves from performing the duties which they are employed and paid to perform, and much interfere with their powers for usefulness. The question whether the Bible shall be freely read by the young and the old without the assistance of ministers or others who can explain its texts, is a question upon which churches have differed; and whatever may be thought of it, it is not for the teachers in public

schools in this Catholic country either to encourage the study of the Bible—especially the Protestant Bible—among their pupils or to say to those pupils anything upon the subject.'

"In deciding upon a similar case, it was held by the Secretary of Public Instruction in June, 1904, that:—

"In view of the intimate personal relation of a teacher to his pupils, no religious instruction of any nature should be given by him at any time, even outside of the schoolroom.'

"It is not believed that anything further can be added to make more clear the attitude of the department and of the administration on this point. The above excerpts are published for the information and guidance of all teachers.

"DAVID P. BARROWS, *Director.*"

The carrying out of this order would forbid entirely the Protestant instructor from teaching or even mentioning his religious belief at any time to any pupil attending school in the district covered by this circular. It was because of this prohibition that a large number of American citizens have been protesting against it. The following letter, addressed to President Taft by the Presbyterian Synod of Michigan, may be given as an example of these protests:—

"135 ENGLEWOOD AVE., DETROIT, MICH.,
Oct. 18, 1911.

*To the Honorable William H. Taft,
President of the United States.*

"The synod of Michigan, representing nearly forty thousand communicants, in session at Woodward Avenue Presbyterian church of Detroit, Mich., Oct. 13, 1911, adopted by unanimous vote the following resolutions:—

"Resolved, That the Presbyterian Church in Michigan, as represented in this synod, earnestly protest against the action of the federal government in requiring from the teachers in the public schools in the Philippine Islands, that they maintain absolute silence, at all times, after school hours as well as during the same, on Sabbath days as well as other days, as regards Protestantism and

its principles, as taught in the Scriptures.

"That thus to demand and enforce the surrender of the right of free speech, even in one's home, or in one's church or Sabbath-school, on the Sabbath day, at the word of Rome, while the nuns and priests of Rome are given a free hand everywhere, savors too much of the Inquisition, and is contrary to the Constitution of the United States.

"And that this demand be made and enforced by the federal government is a humiliation to every liberty-loving and self-respecting citizen of the United States.

"*Resolved*, That the synod of Michigan respectfully urge President Taft to take immediate action, with a view to removing the above-referred-to, un-American, and obnoxious restriction.

"That a certified copy of this expression be sent to the President of the United States.

"In concurrence with these instructions I hereby certify that the above action was taken at the regular meeting of the synod.

WILLIAM BRYANT,

"Stated Clerk of the Synod."

This communication to the President was turned over to the Bureau of Insular Affairs, Washington, D. C., to answer. We give the reply entire:—

BUREAU OF INSULAR AFFAIRS,

WASHINGTON, D. C., Oct. 30, 1911.

"SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt, by reference from the President, of your letter to him of the eighteenth instant, quoting a resolution of the synod of Michigan, regarding the prohibition against religious instruction in the public schools of the Philippine Islands.

"The law regarding religious instruction in the public schools of the Philippine Islands does not differ materially from that in force in most of the States and cities of this country. Enclosed herewith is a copy of the order of the Bureau of Education of the Philippines covering the subject. This order seems to have been wrongly interpreted by a number of people in the United States,

but we have never heard any complaint regarding it from any one, American or otherwise, in the Philippine Islands. A great many teachers and other employees of the Philippine government visit this bureau while in the United States on leave of absence, and they are always encouraged to speak frankly in expressing their views regarding conditions and affairs in the islands, and particularly in the bureaus in which they are employed. None of them has ever found fault with this order, because they know that under conditions as they exist it is necessary to the successful development of the public-school system in the islands, and, furthermore, because they know that it does not interfere with their religious liberty, beyond prohibiting the giving of religious instruction to their pupils, either in or out of school hours.

"In Manila and the other larger cities of the islands where there are Protestant churches and Sunday-schools whose communicants are, for the greater part, Americans, the American teacher is just as much at liberty to teach in the Sunday-schools as he or she would be in this country, and many of the Protestant teachers there are active in religious work. Dr. David P. Barrows, the director of education who promulgated the enclosed order, while occupying that position was actively engaged in church and Young Men's Christian Association work in Manila, and on occasions delivered lay sermons in the Presbyterian church there.

Very respectfully,

FRANK MCINTYRE,

Colonel, U. S. Army, Assistant to Chief of Bureau.

Mr. William Bryant,

135 Englewood Ave., Detroit, Mich."

A reading of the bureau's explanation suggests a question. The letter states that "the law regarding religious instruction in the public schools of the Philippine Islands does not differ materially from that in force in most of the States and cities in this country." Where is there a law in this country that forbids any teacher at any time outside of school

hours to teach any religion to any person?

That the ruling of the Bureau of Education does interfere with the religious liberty of the teacher is conceded by this statement, as also found in the above letter: The teachers "know that it does not interfere with their religious liberty *beyond prohibiting* the giving of religious instruction to their pupils, either in or out of school hours."

The quotation from Act 74, Section 16, given in Mr. Barrows's circular, is in harmony with American principles of religious liberty. The state can not teach religion, as it has none to teach. The public schools are provided for pupils of various religious persuasions. It would be unjust to encourage or disparage any of the beliefs of the patrons of these schools. It makes no difference if in some places there is a majority of some one religious sect, the secular teaching should remain the same.

But the interpretation placed upon this section by the Secretary of Public Instruction introduces a principle entirely foreign to our school system. He declares that the teacher can not, outside of school hours, under his own roof, impart religious instruction to any attendant of the schools. Facts connected with this incident indicate that the whole case is but another scheme to keep Protestantism from being taught to Filipino Catholics.

Before Mr. Taft entered into negotiations with the Pope concerning the purchase of church property in the Philippines, Secretary of War Root called Mr. Taft's attention to several propositions, "which are deemed fundamental," the first one of which was:—

"One of the controlling principles of our government is the complete separation of church and state, with entire freedom of each from any control or interference by the other. This principle is imperative wherever American jurisdiction extends, and no modification or shading thereof can be the subject of discussion."

In the first communication to Mr. Taft, Leo XIII wrote:—

"Finally, the Holy See can not abstain from asking the American authorities suitable provisions for religious teaching in the public schools, especially the primary; and that the choice of teachers be made according to equitable principles, such as do not wound the rights and feelings of a people entirely Catholic."

Following the instruction of Mr. Root, Governor Taft said: "My instructions do not permit me to discuss the subject, but I may properly refer your eminence to Section 16 of the General School Law of the Philippines." It is plainly to be seen that neither Governor Taft nor the Pope placed the construction upon Section 16 which we find in the circular sent out by Mr. Barrows. But it was left for the Secretary of Public Instruction, who was a Catholic, to do this. That the reader may get a better understanding of this matter, we will quote a few paragraphs from the book "The Philippines and the Far East," by Homer C. Stuntz. The author of this book was a resident of the Philippines over two years. Speaking of the attempt of the Catholics to secure control of the public schools, he says:—

"Their first move was a master-stroke. A Catholic was made commissioner, and thus became Secretary of Public Instruction, as the successor of the outgoing commissioner-secretary. . . . A high percentage of new teachers coming from the States are Catholics. Every few days something transpires to keep us fully aware that 'changeless Rome' is tireless as well. Rome proposes to control the public school she can not destroy. With her Jesuitical methods and her tremendous political leverage in America, she can do us vast harm. . . ."

"The fight against the Philippine public schools will be largely carried on in the United States. It is there that commissioners are appointed. It is from there that teachers come. . . . It is in the United States that the exigencies of politics tend to force party leaders to make such compromises as will 'hold the Catholic vote in line.' It is there that we need help."—*Pages 205, 206.*

This incident, as well as many others of a similar nature that are occurring from day to day, shows the absolute necessity of strict adherence to the fun-

damental principles of religious liberty in order that the government may not fall into the hands of an intolerant ecclesiastical monarchy.



Compulsory Sunday Rest in Argentina, South America

E. W. THOMANN

ON Sunday, May 5, there was held in Buenos Aires, Argentina, a mass-meeting whose purpose was to urge the national government to make "absolute Sunday rest" obligatory.

The daily papers of the following day noted the fact that the leaders of the movement were determined not to cease their efforts until "absolute Sunday rest" is enforced by law. The leaders in this movement seem blind to the fact that they are really endeavoring to force a religious institution upon the people.

Before the mass-meeting, in the place where they were gathering, several persons distributed among the people a little leaflet in which several reasons against compulsory Sunday rest were presented. [We give a translation of the leaflet following this article.—ED.] But the spirit manifested toward them by leading persons of the compulsory Sunday-rest movement, was an omen of what may be expected when Sunday-rest laws are enforced. They were menaced, and threatened with death, if they would not desist from distributing these leaflets.

In one instance, a policeman who witnessed an attack against one of those who were distributing the leaflets, told the ones making the attack that, inasmuch as they were left free to express their ideas and opinions about the matter, they should also leave the dissenting ones at liberty to do so. This greatly disconcerted them. They seemed to have taken it for granted that nobody had any right to entertain or to give expression to any dissenting opinion.

It should be clear enough to any unprejudiced person that everybody should

be left free to express his views on such matters, and to observe any day or no day at all, according to his convictions.

That the day is fast coming when religious persecution will result from compulsory Sunday-rest laws, is evident. And Argentina is not the only South American country where compulsory Sunday rest is becoming a live issue. Sunday laws are being enacted, or are enacted already, in several of them. In Uruguay the matter is being agitated considerably. And strange to say, precisely the same persons who ask for Sunday laws (the enforcement of a religious institution), are also advocating the idea of the separation of church and state, as if the enforcement of religious laws and the union of church and state did not amount to exactly the same thing. One can hardly blame them for their blindness in the matter, however, because even in the United States, where the light of liberty has shone brightest, and where the Constitution recognizes the inalienable rights of conscience, there are not a few persons, who, while professing to favor the separation of church and state, are trying by all possible means to unite religion and government through Sunday-rest laws.

In South America, where intolerance has for centuries darkened the minds of the people, it is not strange that there should be very many who can not see that Sunday-rest enforcement and union of church and state are one and the selfsame thing. Every lover of liberty in the States, therefore, should protest loudly and emphatically against all union of religion and government or any ap-

proach thereto, so that the people, and especially the legislators, in other countries may understand that the people of the United States regard such legislation as inimical to the best interests of the nation, and an invasion of the rights of conscience; that such laws are held to be an apostasy from, and a violation of, the principles of equity, freedom, and liberty.

Those who know what liberty means, should do their utmost to enlighten the world upon this vital subject, so that the inalienable rights of conscience may not be trodden underfoot, and religious persecution come again, as in the dark ages, upon those who still have a live conscience and a conviction as to their accountability to God.

The following is a translation of the leaflet above referred to:—

A Movement in Favor of Obligatory Sunday Observance

Some Reasons Against It

It is already well known that among some classes there exists a determined purpose to induce the national government to make laws which shall compel the observance of Sunday, the first day of the week. It may be thought that their intention is innocent, but the movement is really an effort directed against liberty of conscience, and will result in depriving men of their inalienable rights, and consequently in persecution.

No one denies that Sunday, as a day of rest, is a religious institution; and to make its observance obligatory means to deprive the people of the right of choice in religious matters to that extent. It does not leave each one free to decide for himself in matters of conscience. The individual is deprived of the right to decide personally whether or not he wishes to keep this day. This is an injustice from whatever point of view it may be considered. In the first place, civil government was not instituted to prescribe the people's religion; and in the second place, each one should be left free to decide for himself his own course in religious matters.

When the state begins to legislate upon religious subjects, it goes out of its legitimate sphere, and assumes prerogatives which have never been given to it. Making religious laws is the prerogative of God, and no government can, without usurping divine prerogatives, presume to legislate in matters of religion.

The governments of the nations were instituted to conserve the civil interests of men. In this sphere they should receive the respect and obedience of all, as Christ himself showed, saying, "Render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, and unto God the things which are God's." This also shows that, while in civil things we should be subject to the government, in religious things we should be subject to God. He gave the church charge to watch over spiritual interests, and the governments to restrain violence, crime, and every overt act contrary to order and decency. So the church should not meddle with politics, neither should the government intermeddle in religious things. In religion every person is responsible to God alone.

The government can not, without passing the limits of its legitimate sphere, enact laws which would make the observance of Sunday obligatory, or enforce any other religious act. If any person believes that he can honor God by observing Sunday, the first day of the week, he can observe it without the necessity of being compelled to do so; but if he does not wish to keep it, who has the right to compel him? If, for example, some one learns from the Bible that God commands men to keep the Sabbath, the seventh day of the week, should he not have liberty to obey?—Surely. But even in that case the civil government has no right to compel him to keep it, because God desires voluntary obedience, and not that which is forced. Christ said: "If any man hear my words and believe not, I judge him not." So, if it be the Sabbath or Sunday, or any other day, that a person believes it his

religious duty to keep, he should be left free to follow his convictions.

It is well known that in matters of conscience the majority can not rightly dominate the minority. The conscience of one single person, although he be the most humble and poor, is just as sacred and inviolable as that of the great multitude.

Leave, then, to each one the liberty to keep the day which he believes that he should keep, knowing that in religious things and in matters of conscience every one will have to give account to God and not to man.

It should also be said that there is no civil reason for the government's prohibiting on any one day of the week what is legitimate and honorable on other days. Why should work be made a crime? Work is honorable, and workmen, more than any one else, should seek to honor it.

From a religious point of view solely, there may be a difference made between one day of the week and another; but as religion is not a matter for civil legislation, it should be left to every one to keep the day he chooses, or no day if he so chooses.

It is therefore the duty of every one who loves liberty to protest energetically against every attempt to make obligatory the observance of Sunday, or any other institution of a religious character.

Florida, Buenos Aires, Argentina.

No Religious Liberty Under Islam

THE German Orient Mission has a station at Philippopol, a city which belongs to Bulgaria and not to Turkey, where Pastor Aweteranian, a former Turkish priest, did valiant missionary work among the fanatical Mohammedans of Bulgaria and Turkey. Together with two other Turkish priests, who believe in Christ, he published a missionary paper, *Gunsch* (Sun), in which Christ was preached and the system of Mohammedanism was sharply criticized.

Letters came from all sides, some expressing bitter hatred, and others thanking the editors for their truthful and helpful articles. No attention was paid to the threatening letters, and the good work continued, until the news reached Aweteranian that a murderous assault was planned against himself and his two friends and helpers. He reported the matter to the government, and received the remarkable answer that the government would see that the murderers were punished if the three ex-priests were killed, but that it could not undertake to guarantee their safety.

Soon other disquieting news came. In a secret conference a resolution had been solemnly passed that the three who had forsaken Mohammedanism must die, and three days later a fanatical Mohammedan took an oath in public that he would kill the missionaries like dogs within one week. Then Pastor Aweteranian and his coworkers decided to leave Philippopol, believing that their death would be of little use to the cause of Christ. They fled to Germany, where they are to be teachers in the training-school for missionaries among the Mohammedans, which the Orient Mission is opening in Potsdam. The two ex-priests, who have not yet been baptized, will acknowledge Christ in public baptism. Pastor Aweteranian will administer the sacrament, and thus, probably for the first time since the days of Mohammed, a Turkish ex-priest will receive two other Turkish ex-priests into the church.—*Selected.*

UNITY of the churches to secure a greater combined influence in all the political, social, and religious affairs of the people, is the slogan of a mighty host to-day. But it is just as true to-day as it was when spoken nearly a hundred years ago, that religious combinations to effect a political purpose are always dangerous.

No religious organization when united with any civil power is a safe custodian of the rights of the people.



TEMPERANCE



The Real Trouble With America

GOOD government is built in the long run not so much on methods of ruling as on the character and aims of the great body of its citizens. . . .

Let us seek the real cause of the failure of civil government in America, the land of the free and the home of the brave. If the American citizen will but open his eyes and look, he will perceive an Old Man of the Sea on the neck of our government, national, State, and municipal, who will undoubtedly remain there until destroyed. This Old Man of the Sea is the liquor traffic.

The liquor traffic, united with predatory wealth, the two being brought together by old party political machines, is the real root of bad government. This is the force that brings to naught every reform scheme.

Most men see only predatory wealth at the bottom of our evil political and economic conditions. If these men will only look deeper, they will see predatory wealth getting its power from the baser elements of society through the saloon system.

Were the Socialist party to get the reins of government, harboring as it does the present liquor traffic, the traffic would demand protection and get it. It would then become the nucleus around which would be organized politically, as now, all the evil elements of society, and this organization would find socialism a great deal easier to control than society as now organized. As just stated, no greater misfortune could happen to the Socialists than to come into power with the Old Man of the Sea prominent in their organization.

But doubtless the reader is asking what proof or explanation can be adduced to show that the liquor traffic is the cause

of the political evils we see all around us. As regards capital engaged, men employed, and product, it is only a small part of business. Whence, then, is its power and influence?

The explanation is not difficult. It is the same as that of the control of large corporations by a few men with relatively small capital.

The good people of the land are divided among four political parties. The bad people are composed largely of the vicious wealthy and the vicious poor. The vicious wealthy have the "sinews of war," and the vicious poor have the votes. All that is needed to control elections is to swing the votes of about one tenth of our voting population. This is a comparatively easy matter. Predatory wealth easily provides the funds out of its vast stores, the political machines of the old parties take them, go to the saloons with promises of money, or the equivalent, for votes, and immunity from prosecution for the saloon-keeper himself, and get what they want. The men who are elected to office, whether executives, legislators, or judiciary, know they owe their election to the wealth that provided the funds and the saloons that provided the changed votes, and act accordingly after the election.

But suppose again it is asked, What is the evidence of this condition? The answer is, This evidence is on every hand piled mountain high.

Almost any voter can give evidence from his own experience or observation. Every newspaper publishes matter almost daily which would prove it, were the whole story back of the items made known.

The conduct of practically all our candidates for office proves it. They dare

not lift their voices against the giant evil of the times on pain of political annihilation. The magazines are full of the most direct and convincing proof of the truth of it.

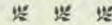
Lincoln Steffens, Judge Lindsey, Burton J. Hendrick, George Kibbe Turner, and a host of others describe in great detail how predatory wealth, the party machines, and the saloon vote control the country. Judge Lindsey's articles constitute a fearful arraignment of the alliance between predatory wealth, the old party machines, and the saloons in Colorado. Burton J. Hendrick, in his article on Seattle in *McClure's* magazine for October, 1911, describes this triple alliance in so many words. George Kibbe Turner, in his article on George B. Cox's control of Cincinnati (*McClure's*, March, 1912), shows Cox sitting regularly like a king in state in a German beer-garden, and from his "throne" ruling a great city, with the whole population helpless at his feet. In this instance, predatory wealth itself is helpless, saloon politics alone being in control. Here we have the very best evidence that primarily it is saloon politics that is controlling America, and not predatory wealth, except indirectly.

The existence of conditions like those in Adams County, Ohio, and Vermilion County, Illinois, proves it. Some "workers" among the better classes may be "hired," but this evil is a very minor one as compared with saloon population expenditures. It is the saloon element of society that is controlled by money. If a man like Senator Stephenson sends out \$108,000 into his State to get the primary election vote, into whose hands does this money go? Everybody knows. The saloon people, including, of course, the politicians, get it. A writer says, "Over the doorways of 10,000 (200,000) liquor dives of aristocratic and Bohemian character alike might well be placed the inscription, 'Votes bought and sold here, and duplicated in quantities to suit purchaser.'"

Another bit of convincing evidence consists in the fact that our county and

township governments are the purest, and our municipal government the most corrupt. Reason: The former are least concerned with the saloon's interests, and the latter is most concerned with them.

We have thus shown that the liquor traffic is at the bottom of our political crimes and shortcomings.—*J. V. Collins, in American Advance, May 25, 1912.*



What the State Gets Out of It

PHYSICIANS engaged in treating mental diseases are figuring on the percentage of the bill for the public care of the insane which is incurred on account of alcohol. The recent report of Superintendent Harrington, of the Rhode Island State Hospital for the Insane, deals with the magnitude of this account. He places the probable number of insane persons in public hospitals in the United States at one hundred fifty thousand, and estimates that twenty per cent of these, according to statistics given by Dr. George W. Webster, president of the Illinois State Board of Health, and others, owe their insanity directly or indirectly to alcohol. This useless army of thirty thousand persons maintained at public expense does not include those who are cared for by relatives.

Not all of the insanity due to alcohol comes from its direct use by the person afflicted. "There is a large mass of facts," says Superintendent Harrington, "to show that the progeny of habitual drinkers suffer in great measure from the effects of alcoholism in parents." Imbecility and epilepsy are largely due to inherited effects brought about through alcoholic drink, and many cases of degenerative insanity are induced by alcoholics. The dangers arising from what most persons would regard as moderate drinking, are becoming much better understood since a large body of scientific investigators have been giving their attention to the subject, and our evidence upon the degenerative influence of alcoholics, and upon the cost to the State and nation which the use of alcohol entails, is accumulating.—*The Scientific Temperance Federation.*

LIBERTY

A Magazine of Religious Freedom

Set for the Defense of the Rights of Conscience, and
therefore opposed to a Union of Church and State
in name or in fact

WASHINGTON, D. C., THIRD QUARTER, 1912

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At the present writing (July 8) no decision has been made public by Secretary Fisher on the religious garb order, although the hearing on this question was held nearly three months ago. We are slow to charge any unworthy motive as the reason of this delay, but in view of the activities of the Roman hierarchy in the political field and the administration's need of every helpful influence, it is almost impossible to avoid the feeling that there are other considerations besides the merits of the case which have delayed the decision. A Washington paper announced recently that the secretary would make known his decision at once, but some think it may be withheld until after the November election. We print in this issue the concluding portion of Commissioner Valentine's argument sustaining his order. The argument as a whole seems to us to be unanswerable — far outweighing any considerations of mere expediency.

No member of the House of Representatives has felt it incumbent upon him to introduce a Sunday bill for the District of Columbia during the present session of Congress, until Congressman William Schley Howard, of Georgia, introduced

his bill on Wednesday, July 10. The bill provides "that from and after the passage of this act, any person, firm, or corporation who shall follow their usual avocation or work of their ordinary calling on the Sabbath day, excepting works of charity and necessity, shall be punished as for a misdemeanor."

There is an exemption in the bill in favor of drug stores, news-stands, ice-distributing plants, newspaper offices, street-cars, and public conveyances. Drugs, newspapers, ice, cigars, and soft drinks are recognized as necessities of life, and the sale of these is permitted under the provisions of the bill. From the language of the bill, it is perfectly apparent that it is a piece of drastic religious legislation, designed to enforce the religious observance of Sunday. In behalf of the Religious Liberty Association, a request has been made for a hearing upon this bill; and if opportunity is granted, good reasons will be presented why this proposed Sabbath-enforcing measure should not become a law.

THE Publicity Bureau Concerning Activities of Roman Catholic Rulers Against the People's Rule, of which Chattin Bradway, Esq., 710 McLachlen Building, Washington, D. C., is the manager, has issued a pamphlet of about one hundred twenty-five pages, with the title "The Present Uprising Against the Roman Hierarchy." This pamphlet deals with the political record of the Roman Church, and attempts to show that its teachings and influences are opposed to progressive ideas in politics. Quotations are printed from *ex cathedra* utterances of the popes, and the writings and addresses of leading prelates are drawn upon to establish the main contention. Attention is directed to the record of the Roman Church upon the question of progressive free government in France, Italy, Austria, Portugal, Spain, and Germany, and to the present situation in the United States. Much valuable and timely information is contained in this pamphlet, and every citizen who reads it will have something to think about which is worth his while. It may be obtained of the publishers; the price is twenty-five cents.

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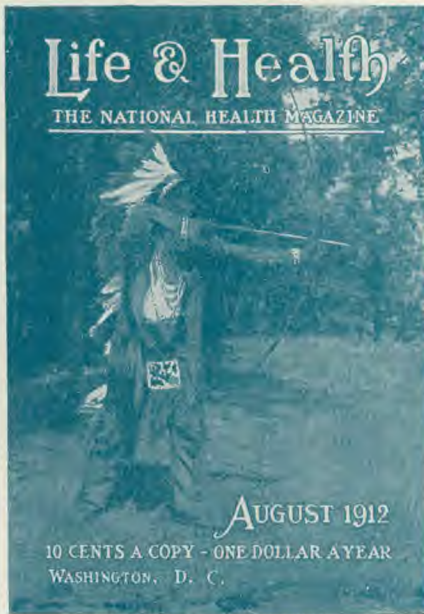
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One thought of vindicating liberty of religion for the conscience of the individual till a voice in Judea, breaking day for the greatest epoch in the life of humanity by establishing for all mankind a pure, spiritual, and universal religion, enjoined to render to Caesar only that which is Caesar's. The rule was upheld during the infancy of this gospel for all men. No sooner was the religion of freedom adopted by the chief of the Roman empire than it was shorn of its character of universality and enthralled by an unholy connection with the unholy state; and so it continued until the new nation, — the least defiled with the barren scuffings of the eighteenth century, the most sincere believers in Christianity of any people of that age, the chief heir of the Reformation in its purest form, — when it came to establish a government for the United States, refused to treat faith as a matter to be regulated by a corporate body, or having a headship in a monarch or a state.

Vindicating the right of individuality even in religion, and in religion above all, the new nation dared to set the example of accepting in its relation to God the principle first divinely ordained in Judea. It left the management of temporal things to the temporal power; but the American Constitution, in harmony with the people of the several States, withheld from the federal government the power to invade the home of reason, the citadel of conscience, the sanctuary of the soul; and not from indifference, but that the infinite spirit of eternal truth might move in its freedom and purity and power.— *Bancroft's "History of the Formation of the Constitution," Vol. V, chap. I.*