

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

Religious Liberty in America

CHARLES M. SNOW



TO THE NOBLE SOULS IN ALL
LANDS WHO HAVE STOOD FOR
AN UNFETTERED CONSCIENCE
AND FOR A RELIGION UN-
TAINTED BY POLITICAL IN-
FLUENCES. : : : : :

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REVIEW & HERALD PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION,
WASHINGTON D. C.

1914

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INTRODUCTORY

Attacking the Foundations

THE organized movement, now in full progress in America, which has for its object the control of the minds and consciences of men, is the sufficient excuse for the appearance of this monograph. For years the writer has followed the course and studied the aims of certain American organizations whose primal object is the control of religion and religious practises by human law. With much interest and concern, he has watched their progress toward a point of coalescence under common leadership. Realizing the rapid growth of their numbers, the coalescence of organizations, and the growing tendency on the part of politicians to legislate in harmony with organized demands rather than in harmony with broad principles of equitable government, he has become fully convinced that the success of that movement means abandonment of the principles that have made America great and stable and a beacon to the world.

God created the mind to be free. He has never conferred upon any one the right to imprison it. Human enactments which circumscribe conscience subject the soul to a thralldom more humiliating and more ruinous than any the body has ever endured. Where conscience is fettered, there is no freedom worthy of the name. It took many generations for men to learn that he who prescribes laws to hamper or to crush the consciences of men makes a slave of himself and of his posterity as well as of those against whom such laws are aimed. He only is free whose mind and conscience are unfettered. He is the greatest of slaves who must think and believe and worship only as human decrees permit or direct.

Law is good; but there is a domain into which human law has not been commissioned to enter,— the domain of the soul. There is an allegiance which the state has a right to claim; but there is another allegiance which only the Creator himself can of right demand. When the state enters that domain and demands that allegiance to itself, it usurps the prerogative of God.

The state is within its legitimate sphere when it deals with the temporal affairs of men. The church is within its legitimate sphere when it deals with the spiritual affairs of men, and even that not as a lord over men's consciences. When either of these organizations enters the domain of the other, there is discord, contention, bloodshed. When each conducts its operations within its own legitimate jurisdiction, there is peace, harmony, and prosperity, both temporal and spiritual.

The American government was established upon the principle of the complete separation of church and state, leaving each free to operate in its own appointed sphere, in full recognition of the principle that the interests of religion are best conserved when they are least entangled with the affairs of the state, and that the interests of the state are best conserved when it has the least to do with religion and the affairs of the church.

Our fathers bequeathed to us a glorious heritage,— the right of every man to think and to believe and to worship as he should choose. Freedom from the control of the nation across the sea was not the greatest of the liberties achieved in the founding of the American Republic. Without freedom in religious concerns, men are robbed of the capacity to enjoy any freedom, and all liberty is robbed of its significance. The mind that is free is the mind that achieves, that builds, that grows, that overcomes difficulties, driving through the

darkness of ignorance and superstition a shaft of light by which benighted men may see their way up to the mount of God. That light has been shining in the New World from the day the American nation was founded; and the nation has, in consequence, grown in power and influence. Its citizens have accomplished marvelous undertakings, and the genius of the Old World has been rekindled by the fire lighted in the New. History furnishes no parallel to the growth of this country in all that goes to make a nation great. This progress has not been a work of chance. This growth has been the direct result of the seed sown. Our fathers sowed wisely, and the growth has come true to the sowing. The nation's founders builded well, and the structure has become the admiration of the world.

It was one hundred and fifty-six years from the landing of the Pilgrims to the Declaration of Independence; and what was achieved in that long span of years? — Little. Their brightest minds and greatest souls groaned under the chains of a spiritual tyranny forged for them by a state church.

It is now one hundred and thirty-seven years since the signing of the Declaration of Independence: and what has been accomplished? Rather, what has not been accomplished? The very flood-gates of knowledge and progress were opened with the adoption of that Constitution which guaranteed to all men equality before the law, and recognized the realm of conscience as outside the jurisdiction of the state. That was the secret spring, so long hidden, which, touched by the finger of Destiny, has placed before the world a nation unsurpassed by any, and helping in the progress of all. That Constitution struck the shackles from the mind and conscience, and we are today viewing the result of

that mighty emancipation. As already indicated, that act has not been confined in its effects to the United States of America. The anvil sparks from that smiting have set the world on fire, and the people of every land are crying for liberty — and getting it, little by little.

But there has been and still is in this country a powerful influence for retrogression. There is an element in the religious world which considers itself robbed of its prerogatives so long as it is unable to dictate to men in spiritual things, and enforce compliance with its decrees under threat of pains and penalties. That element is not confined to the organization which held the consciences of men in the grip of tyranny through the dark ages. It has grown up, like the night-sown tares of the Bible, among the good plants of the better sowing. It is at the hands of a federation of these influential forces that our priceless heritage of liberty is threatened. In the year 1863 that force took definite form and shaped its purpose. Its allies have increased to prodigious proportions, and at the present time the halls of legislation are echoing with their insistent demands.

This persistent, aggressive force has set itself the task of removing the very foundations of our national structure, and building upon its ruins another edifice dedicated to the union of the sacred and the secular, making the consciences and the faith of men the football of religious or political majorities. It has set for itself the task of refurbishing the tyrannical fetters of past ages, that with them it may shackle the mental and spiritual activities of our age.

The danger is none the less because these powerful forces do not openly ask for the union of church and state. Rather, the danger is greater because they deny the

desire for such a union, while they industriously continue the effort to accomplish it. So long have we enjoyed the fruit of religious liberty that we have forgotten to guard and nourish the tree which bore it. Americans are studying many questions, are absorbed in many undertakings; but while we pluck the ripened fruit, we have been unmindful of the worm that is cutting away at the root of the tree.

This is the question which we ask the reader to consider; this is the danger which is looming large in the pathway of our spiritual and material progress. The value which we place upon the country's heritage of liberty will be judged by the interest we take in defending the principles and institutions bequeathed to us by the founders of this government, and to which the nation is indebted for all that has made it worthy the attention of the world. The situation is not an imaginary one. The danger is very real, and the forces of retrogression are sedulously mobilizing for the attack. Let us, therefore, enter with singleness of purpose into the study of the principles involved, that we may be better able to cope with the enemies of true liberty, and, if possible, cause even these to see the value of the heritage bequeathed to them and to us, in the immortal document that speaks a great nation's purpose. C. M. S.

SOUL FREEDOM

SAY not the heart, the head, the hand, must yield
A servile homage to a human creed.
His life that burst the shackles of the tomb
Will burst this prison, too. The mind of God
Is broader, deeper, than the wisest mind
His hand has fashioned from the clay of earth.
The strongest cord your puny hand may weave
Is rope of sand, and ne'er will anchor you
Within the veil. You cannot build a tower
More stable than the pile that crumbles now
On Shinar's plain; and such is every creed.
But hollow tombs are all these instruments
By human mind conceived, and empty all;
They are but shells, and all are tenantless;
For Christ is risen: you'll not find him there.

Nor is the presence of that Holy One
Enlinked with laws that seek by finite force
To scourge to God the unwilling wanderer.
The Son of God leans not on reed so frail
As human law, to work his holy will.
His law who made the spheres is not so weak
That laws of men must prop it or it fall.
We may not place against the ark of God,
Wherein his law abides, a steadying hand:¹
The lesson writ is ours to learn, and we
Are wiser when we heed. The fearful one
Who flees from laws oppressive to the shield
He finds in legal creeds, has buried deep
The love that would have won him to his God.

From such a tomb the Spirit flies. Our strength
Is weakness while we think to hold him there.
Proclaim this truth in glorious ministry:
Our Christ is risen, and the soul is free.

¹2 Sam. 6: 6, 7.

CHAPTER I

Origin of the Doctrine of Soul Freedom

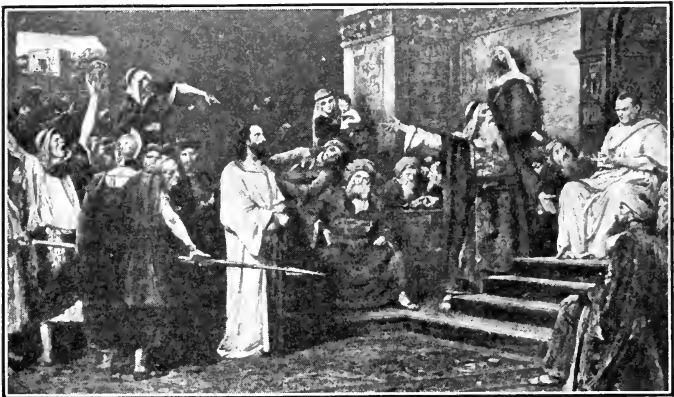
THE doctrine of religious liberty is considered by very many as of purely American origin; but freedom of mind and soul from the jurisdiction of earthly powers is a principle to which no one land may lay exclusive claim. As far as America is concerned, we must concede that religious liberty is a plant of exotic origin. Palestine was its home, and Jesus Christ the one who prepared the soil and planted the tree.

“If any man hear my words, and believe not,” said the Teacher of Nazareth, “I judge him not.”¹ That declaration of our Lord was the direct antithesis of the teachings and the practises of his time. In his day, to teach any religion or worship any god not recognized by the government of Rome was an offense punishable by banishment or by death, according to the social standing of the one so doing. Men must believe as the state directed, and worship as the state commanded, or suffer the severest penalties. To refuse such submission of the mind and conscience, would cause one to be arrested, condemned, and punished.

Against that condition of intolerance in that world empire, in all nations yet to be, in the hearts of unconverted men, and in the hearts of professed but intolerant Christians, Jesus Christ protested when he proclaimed the gospel of soul liberty — unwelcome in his day, and, throughout a large portion of Christendom, unwelcome in our day.

¹John 12: 47.

Because of a religious belief and teaching and practise different from that of Judaism, a cross was planted on Calvary, and the Lord of glory, the true Author of religious liberty, was crucified thereon. For the same reason, Stephen was adjudged worthy of death, and Saul, consenting unto his death, held the clothes of those who stoned him. For the same reason Paul himself was stoned at Lystra, and was dragged out of the city



CHRIST BEFORE PILATE

Intolerance in the matter of religion sent to the judgment-hall of Pilate and thence to the cross of Calvary the best friend humanity ever had — the Saviour of the world.

by the multitude, who supposed they had thus answered his arguments and closed his mouth forever. For the same reason all the apostles met cruel deaths, in various parts of the world where they sought to teach the principles of the kingdom of righteousness.

In such inhospitable soil that wonderful plant, religious liberty, first found lodgment, watered first by the blood of Him who set it there, and then by the blood and tears of his faithful followers. That plant

was rooted deeper than human hearts, and its branches towered higher than human hands could reach, else it must have been swept from the earth by the storms and fires of persecution that have raged for nearly two thousand years. The sharpest cruelties of a Nero or a Decius could not entirely uproot it. Its indestructibility under such treatment proves its origin divine.

It was most difficult for the Romans to see the need of any system of religion other than that which they already possessed. Every detail of life was governed by some religious formula. They considered themselves of all people the most religious. In fact, the multiplicity of their gods and the number of their religious exercises might be considered in some measure as a palliation, if not an excuse, for some of the laws which they finally passed against the introduction of other religions and the worship of new and strange gods. Religion, instead of a solace, had become a burden. "The Roman ceremonial worship was very elaborate and minute, applying to every part of daily life. It consisted in sacrifices, prayers, festivals, and investigations by auguries and haruspices of the will of the gods and the course of future events. . . . All pursuits must be conducted according to a system carefully laid down by the college of pontiffs. . . . If a man went out to



NERO

In this man, who bears on his breast the emblem of the sun god, is personified the religious intolerance of ancient paganism.

walk, there was a form to be recited; if he mounted his chariot, another." ²

While prohibiting the introduction of new religions and strange gods to add to the burdens already resting upon the people in this regard, the Roman state demanded that the religion which had been legalized must be practised with due industry, and the gods that were admitted to the roster of the state religion must be worshiped with all diligence by every subject of the realm, and that, too, whether such worship was pleasing to him or obnoxious. If pleasing to him, the state smiled upon his acquiescence in its religious formulas; but be done it must, even if a man's whole nature revolted against it. One of the commands of that man-made religious system was:—

"Worship the gods in all respects according to the laws of your country, and compel all others to do the same. But hate and punish those who would introduce anything whatever alien to our customs in this particular." ³

The laws of the Romans also provided that:—

"Whoever introduces new religions, the tendency and character of which are unknown, whereby the minds of men may be disturbed, shall, if belonging to the higher rank, be banished; if to the lower, punished with death." ⁴

This was a remarkably clever stroke by him who is at once the enemy of God and man, the maligner of true religion, the creator of false gods, and the inventor of idolatry. He had filled the heathen nations with idols, galled the necks of the people with the yoke of coun-

²"Ten Great Religions," James Freeman Clarke, 1889, chap. 8, sec. 3, pages 331-335.

³Neander's "Church History," Vol. I, sec. I, part I, div. 3, par. 2.

⁴Ib.

terfeit religions, and then planned to hide the true God from the eyes and hearts of the people, while the disciples of Jesus were estopped by the threat of death from making known to men the only religion that could lead them to a true knowledge of God and save their souls. To banish all Christians who were of the higher class, and to put to death all Christians who were of the lower class, would save that great stronghold of satanic power from the threatened invasion of the gospel — so thought the enemy of that gospel. But there is an element in the character of the true Christian which the great deceiver seems persistently to ignore; that is, love to God above everything earthly, even life itself; and obedience to God in spite of everything earthly, even death itself. That sent Christians to Rome or made converts in Rome, when they knew that their bodies might become food for the lions of the arena, or be used for torches to light up a night revel in honor of the gods of the heathen. The struggle went on in spite of Roman law and the most cruel punishments until the day dawned and the persecuted church found itself unshackled and free in the land of its enemies.

It is one of the anomalies of history that after the fierce struggle of the early Christians during three hundred years, the half-converted pagan emperor Constantine gave voice to principles in close harmony with the principles of true soul liberty. In the year 303 Diocletian determined to uproot Christianity, and enacted laws to that end. “By these enactments all Christian assemblies were prohibited; all churches were to be demolished; all copies of the Scriptures to be burned; all Christians who held rank or office to be degraded; all of whatever rank to lose citizenship, and be liable, as slaves, to the torture; Christian slaves were to be incapable

of receiving freedom; all bishops and clergy were to be thrown into prison and there compelled to sacrifice; and all Christians everywhere ordered publicly to worship the gods, under the usual penalty of torture and death.”⁵



STATUE OF CONSTANTINE

That régime was in operation during ten years. Then came the edict of toleration by Galerius. In the year 312 Constantine came to the throne, and one year later, in conference with Licinius, emperor of the East, he issued the famous Edict of Milan. By that edict there was granted to all men the utmost freedom of worship. In that edict are two points worthy of note,—first, it disestablished the heathen religion; and second, it did not establish any other religion. It was a direct step from soul thralldom to soul liberty without stopping at the half-way house of toleration.

But Constantine seems to have been unable to realize or to carry out in their fulness the principles of his own edict; for only eight years later, in the year 321, we find him enacting a religious law, the prototype and forerunner of all Sunday laws from his time until now. Nevertheless, after Constantine had con-

⁵“Church and State,” A. T. Innes (T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, Scotland, second edition), page 19.

quered Licinius, and had made himself the head of the entire Roman world, we find him issuing his famous proclamation to the peoples of the East, emphasizing and enlarging upon the principles contained in the Edict of Milan. That the reader may see how closely this proclamation harmonizes with the true principles of religious liberty as taught by their divine Author, we quote a portion of that document: —

“I hasten, O God, to put my shoulder to the work of restoring thy most holy house, which profane and impious princes have marred by their violence. But I desire that my people should live at peace and in concord, and that for the common good of the world and the advantage of mankind. Let the followers of error enjoy the same peace and security with those who believe: this very restoration of common privileges will be powerful to lead them towards the road of truth. Let no one molest his neighbor. What the soul of each man counsels him, that let him do. Only let men of sound judgment be assured that those alone will live a life of holiness and purity whom thou callest to find rest in thy holy laws. But for the others, who keep apart from us, let them, if they please, retain the temples of falsehood. We have the resplendent house of thy truth given us as our inheritance. But this we pray for them also, that they may come to share the gladness of a common belief. . . . Let all men henceforth enjoy the privilege placed within our reach, i. e., the blessing of peace; and let us keep our consciences far from what might hinder it. Whatever truth a man has received and been persuaded of, let him not smite his neighbor with it. Rather, whatever he has himself seen and understood, let him help his neighbor with it, if that is possible; if it is not, let him desist from the attempt. For it is one

thing to voluntarily undertake to wrestle for immortality; it is another to constrain others to it by fear." ⁶

Concerning this proclamation Sanford H. Cobb says:—

"The terms of this proclamation leave nothing to be desired, and the reader of it is impressed alike with its breadth and the deep spiritual insight it declares. That the privilege of freedom would 'lead men toward the road of truth,' that 'to constrain by fear' is no proper means of conversion, and that conscience demands for all men what it demands for itself, are truths which speak to us out of the turmoil of the fourth century with startling accents, soon condemned to silence until fourteen hundred years should give them voice again." ⁷

Constantine, *in this particular*, was far ahead of his time, *if* the preparation of this document may be accredited to him alone. In 337 he died, leaving his throne to his two sons, who soon began to use the same instruments of oppression against heathenism that Nero and Decius had employed against Christianity. First came this decree: "Let superstition cease; let the madness of sacrifices be abolished." In 353 Constantius ordered that the heathen temples be closed. He also decreed that "all abstain from sacrifices; if any be found doing otherwise, let him be slain with the sword."

This was the beginning of that reaction against paganism which resulted in the establishment of the Christian religion as the religion of the empire, and made possible that terrible caricature of Christianity which enthralled the minds and consciences of men for more than twelve centuries. But the principles of religious

⁶"Church and State," Innes, page 30.

⁷"Rise of Religious Liberty in America," Sanford H. Cobb, pages 27, 28.

liberty, though "condemned to silence," did not remain in the condition to which they were condemned during all that age of intellectual and spiritual darkness. They came to flower and fruitage again in various portions of Europe, breaking up through the crust of ecclesiastical oppression, now here and now there, in spite of the bitterest persecution from whatever religion happened to be the recognized religion of the state.

That the lessons of history may not be lost on us today, it is fitting at this point to institute a comparison between our times and the times of the early church. We are asked today by those who have forgotten — or have never known — the lessons of the past, to encourage the enactment of laws by the state which will deal with the religious affairs and the consciences of men. The state is importuned by the church to make certain religious requirements a part of the fundamental law of the nation. She asks that the God of the Bible be made the god of the republic by having his name engrossed upon the Constitution of the nation. Rome had its many national gods; America would then have its one. Rome legislated for the protection of its gods and the institutions sacred to them; America would then do the same. Rome banished and imprisoned and put to death men whose only offense was their religious belief and their mode of practising it. Will America follow to the logical result the career of the ancient republic? The answer to this question will be found in the events chronicled in this treatise.

The persecutions endured by the early church furnish one of the saddest spectacles in the history of the world, a spectacle the cruelty and bitterness of whose aspect can be exceeded only by the career of the power-blinded church itself, when through the long midnight

of its dominance, it well-nigh succeeded in sweeping the faithful followers of Christ off the face of the earth. But before condemning Rome pagan and Rome papal for their persistent, bitter, and bloody work against soul freedom and an untrammelled conscience, it is well for us to look into the principles upon which they operated, and see whether we may not be treading in the path that will lead us to the goal they reached, with



CHRIST OR DIANA

“Before all lovers she had chosen Christ;
Before all idols, God; before all wish
And will of loving man, her heart and hand
Were pledged to duty.”—*J. G. Holland.*

the same ruinous results. If we find that we are, we should then either retrace our steps or cease our condemnation of them.

The Roman state legislated upon religious things. It declared what gods might be worshiped; it appointed festivals in honor of these gods, and set apart days and seasons sacred to their worship; it drew up formulas to be repeated on stated occasions; it forbade any religious teachings or worship not licensed by the state;

it prescribed penalties for the infraction of these laws, it fined, imprisoned, banished, and put to death men, women, and children who did not obey these religious laws. Had it the right to do these things?

If the Roman state had the right to adopt a religion for the nation, it had the right to say what that religion should be. If it had the right to adopt a religion, it had the right to enforce it upon the people; for it represented the people in choosing the religion. To grant legislators the right to choose a religion and then deny them the right to compel the nation to accept the choice, would be to unmake the law; to declare a statute competent and incompetent in the same breath; to permit and refuse in the same decree. If Rome had the right to choose a religion, she had the right to enforce that religion upon her subjects; for to adopt a religion and have no one profess it would be too ridiculous a proposition for serious consideration. If she had the right to enforce it upon one, she had the right to enforce it upon all — and must enforce it upon all, or be guilty of discrimination among her subjects.

A state can enforce only through penalties. To deny it the right to penalize what it condemns is to make its most emphatic laws merely opinions and its legislators a jest. Admit Rome's right to adopt a religion for the nation, to choose a god or gods, to legislate upon religious things, and we must follow her to her conclusion — the penalizing of all religious belief and all religious practise not specially legalized in the national code. Admit the right of the United States of America to choose a national god by placing the name of God in the Constitution, to place religious rules and usages in the fundamental law of the nation, and otherwise legislate upon religious things, and we are sanctioning all

Rome ever did, and, to be consistent, must follow in her footsteps, even to the penalizing of the most Christian practises and the persecution of godly men and women.

But governments have no such rights. Whenever they have adopted such a course, they have trampled upon the most sacred rights of individuals, entered a forbidden realm, and usurped the prerogatives of God. The civil government which attempts to legislate upon religious things makes itself uncivil, and injures irreparably the cause it espouses. If the state can rightly enter the domain of the soul, and legislate upon what concerns the soul, then there never has been and there never can be any such thing as religious persecution, and Rome was right in drenching the earth with the blood of the martyrs for disobeying the laws of the state which forbade the religion that they professed. If the state had that right, then Jesus was a malefactor justly condemned. To grant to the state the right to dictate what the religion of the people shall be, is to make religion a matter to be regulated by majorities; and that would mean to drive all true religion from the earth; for, as all history attests, the majority has almost invariably been wrong in matters of faith and worship.

This is the lesson which history has left us. The principles adopted by Rome led to the climax which Christians have never ceased to deplore; and that fact should cause us to consider, with the utmost seriousness, whether we should recommend that our country adopt the same mischief-breeding principles. In opposition to all the teachings of his times stood the teachings and practises of Jesus and his followers. Said Jesus: "Render therefore unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's; and unto God the things that are God's." "If any man hear my words, and believe not, I judge

him not." The soil of that time was an unpromising soil for the plant of religious liberty; but He planted it, watered it with his own blood, and left it to us.

Says Dr. George Jellinek, of the University of Heidelberg: "With the conviction that there existed a right of conscience independent of the state was found the starting-point for the determination of the inalienable rights of the individual." ⁸

But a church craving power has never fostered the idea of individual rights, especially individual religious rights. There is nothing conducive to the exaltation of the church in the doctrine that men may disagree with its dictates and go unpunished. Clothe the church with civil power, and it begins at once to make war upon conscience and hunt down heretics. The following graphically sets forth this fact: —

"When the Christian church became the Roman Church, and the Roman Church, by the might of its unconquerable spirit and its indestructible faith, became the Roman Empire, . . . the church, instead of giving both hands to the Bible, gave one hand to the sword, and that not the left hand, and wickedly grasping a power under whose blows it had many times fallen prostrate and bleeding in the dust, the persecuted then became the persecutors, the sufferers became the avengers, only the victims were not their former enemies, but members of their own household of faith." ⁹

The same conditions are further described by Mr. Innes: —

"The wheel had now come almost full circle; for not only was Christianity now established, as paganism had

⁸ "Declaration of the Rights of Man and of Citizens."

⁹ "Religious Liberty," Henry M. King (Preston & Rounds, Providence), pages 4, 5.

been before, but the open exercise of the one religion was declared a crime against the state in the same way — and even in the same words — in which, in the previous century, the law had bent itself against the profession of the other.”¹⁰

The rider had changed steeds, but he was the same rider, and the hoofs that before had crushed the consciences and souls of men were just as cruel as of old. Join the best church in the world to the best state in the world, and the combination is bound to prove a curse to the world — and to the church. The church that seeks such union unclasps her hand from that of her lawful Spouse, and reaches out for that of another, who will accomplish her downfall. In seeking earthly power, she renounces the only power that can keep her and make her a blessing to the world.

¹⁰ “Church and State,” page 38.

CHAPTER II

Struggling Toward the Light

UNDER the sway of paganism, pagan and Jew found common victims in the persons of the followers of Christ. He who had given first utterance to the doctrine of soul freedom must, through centuries to come, witness the struggles and trials and martyrdoms of those who sought to practise his teaching and follow his example.

Then came the Reformation, and the legal establishment of certain Protestant churches. But the times were no easier for him who would enjoy for himself, and grant to others, "freedom to worship God." The follower of Christ, in the matter of soul freedom, had still two foes,—not now Jew and pagan, but Catholic and professed Protestant,—each taking toll in human lives from those who would persist in worshiping God "according to the dictates of conscience."

We saw in the previous chapter how little came of the Edict of Milan and the proclamation of religious freedom to the peoples of the East. The course entered upon by Constans and Constantius after the death of their father, put the Christian church on the throne of Europe, and placed a ban upon freedom of worship for pagan and Christian alike. It took heroic men and women in those days to worship God in any way other than that prescribed by the state. In proof of this, note the barbarous cruelties from which the Paulicians, Albigenses, and Waldenses suffered while clinging to their belief and mode of worship. The bloodiest and cruelest of military campaigns were carried on against

these and other sects. Concerning the war of extermination waged by the established church against the Albigenses, the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, under the title "Albigenses," says:—

"The history of the Albigenses may be said to be written in blood. . . . As town after town was taken, the inhabitants were put to the sword without



LA TOUR-VAL PELICE, THE WALDENSIAN CAPITAL

distinction of age or sex, and the numerous ecclesiastics who were in the army especially distinguished themselves by a bloodthirsty ferocity. At the taking of Béziers (1209 A. D.) the abbot Arnold, being asked how the 'heretics' were to be distinguished from the faithful, made the infamous reply, 'Slay all; God will know his own.' The war was carried on under Simon de Montfort with undiminished cruelty for a number of years. . . . The establishment of an Inquisition at Lan-

guedoc in 1229 accelerated the exterminating process, and a few years later the sect was all but extinct."

The Waldenses, for tenaciously holding to their belief, for their zeal in spreading it in spite of papal malediction, for their denunciation of the Catholic Church, for their appeal to Scripture instead of to the Pope, for their rejection of a definite priestly order, and for their



STORMING OF BEZIERS

"Slay all; God will know his own."

observance of the Sabbath of the decalogue rather than the day (Sunday) appointed and commanded by the church, became the special objects of the wrath of that church and the victims of its blood-mad legions. From the beginning of their history until 1848, they were regarded as a people beyond the pale even of toleration. As early as 1184 they were excommunicated by Pope Lucius III. Innocent III gave them similar attention in 1215. They shared with the Albigenses in the persecutions of 1209-29. From 1316 to 1378 they suffered bitterly at the hands of Pope John XXII, Pope Urban V, and Pope Gregory XI. The Duchess of Savoy began

a cruel war of extermination against them in 1475. A regular crusade was proclaimed against them by Pope Innocent VIII in 1487. They were mercilessly persecuted by the French in 1545. In 1655 such barbarities were inflicted upon them by the French, with the aid of the Irish brigade, that Cromwell intervened in their behalf. As Latin secretary under Cromwell, the poet John Milton wrote a famous protest against the barbarities then being practised upon them.¹ In 1686 the Duke of Savoy attempted their forcible conversion to Roman Catholicism, exiling to Geneva those who would not yield. Three years later many of them returned to their native valleys, and for a long period successfully resisted all attempts of their enemies to exterminate them or force them to conform their belief and practise to the teachings and the rituals of Rome. Finally, in the year 1848, Charles Albert, of Savoy, granted them full religious and political rights.

While the soil of Europe was still wet with the blood of these martyrs to the cause of religious liberty, while fire and rack, dungeon and thumb-screw, were still busy "converting" the people to the Catholic faith, the work of the Reformation began. In a way it grew out of those very conditions; for, as one writer says, "the religious consciousness of Europe was aroused" by the barbarities practised by the persecutors of the Waldenses, and, no doubt, by the cruel business of the Inquisition.

We can speak here of the Reformation only in its attitude toward religious liberty. Says Henry M. King:—

"As there were reformers before the Reformation, so there needed to be reformers after the Reformation, to take the work, painfully incomplete, on to its full

¹ See "History of the Waldenses," page 148.

completion. As yet, men demanded liberty for themselves, not for all men. Religious freedom meant their freedom, and not their neighbors' who differed from them. They shrank from the logical conclusion of their own theses."²

Luther's declared program — "the Bible, and the Bible only" — was wider than even he was willing to follow. We hear him declaring this truthful proposition: "No one can command or ought to command the soul but God, who



MARTIN LUTHER

alone can show it the way to heaven. It is futile and impossible to command, or by force to compel, any man's belief. Heresy is a spiritual thing, which no iron can hew down, no fire burn, no water drown." Again: "Whenever the temporal power presumes to legislate for the soul, it encroaches." The following words of the great Reformer show in what he trusted during the infancy of the Reformation, and furnish the key to the won-

² "Religious Liberty," page 7.

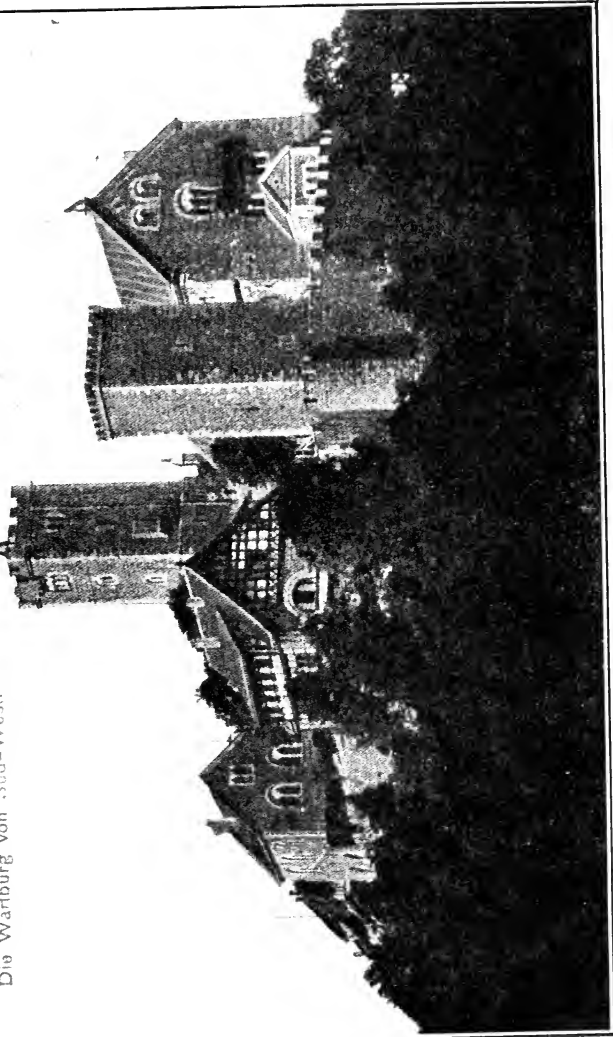
derful success of that movement in those days of its greatest trial:—

“The mass is a bad thing; God is opposed to it; it ought to be abolished; and I would that throughout the whole world it were replaced by the Supper of the gospel. But let no one be torn from it by force. We must leave the matter in God’s hands. His Word must act, and not we. And why so? you will ask. Because I do not hold men’s hearts in my hand as the potter holds the clay. We have a right to speak; but have *not* the right to act. Let us preach; the rest belongs unto God. Were I to employ force, what should I gain?—Grimace, formality, apings, human ordinances, and hypocrisy. . . . But there would be no sincerity of heart, nor faith, nor charity. Where these three are wanting, all is wanting, and I would not give a straw for such a result.

“Our first object must be to win men’s hearts; and for that purpose we must preach the gospel. . . . God does more by his Word alone than you and I and all the world by our united strength. God lays hold upon the heart; and when the heart is taken, all is won. . . .

“I will preach, discuss, and write; but I will constrain none, for faith is a voluntary act. See what I have done! I stood up against the Pope, indulgences, and papists, but without violence or tumult. I put forward God’s Word; I preached and wrote—this was all I did. And yet while I was asleep, . . . the Word that I had preached overthrew popery, so that neither prince nor emperor has done it so much harm. And yet I did nothing; the Word alone did all. If I had wished to appeal to force, the whole of Germany perhaps would have been deluged with blood. But what would have been the result?—Ruin and desolation both to body and soul. I therefore kept quiet and left the Word

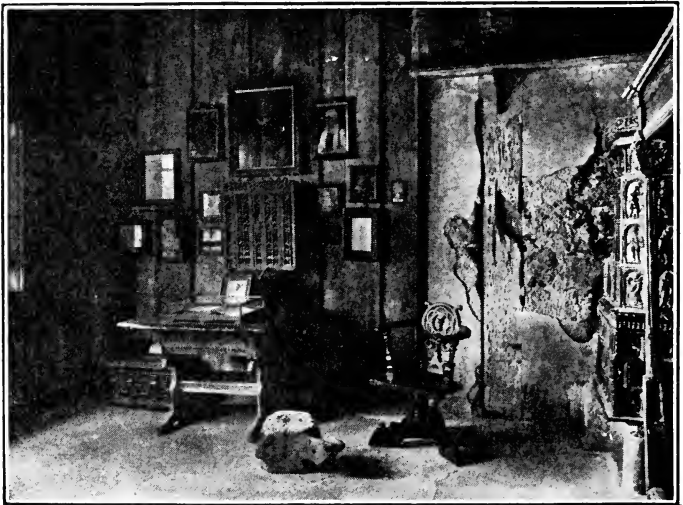
Die Wartburg von Süd-West.



SOUTHWEST VIEW OF THE WARTBURG, WHERE LUTHER WAS IMPRISONED

to run through the world alone. Do you know what the devil thinks when he sees men resort to violence to propagate the gospel through the world? Satan says: 'Ah! how wise these madmen are to play my game.'"³

These utterances of Martin Luther constitute as true religious liberty doctrine as any ever taught. They harmonize perfectly with the command of Jesus: "Render



LUTHER'S STUDY IN THE WARTBURG CASTLE

therefore unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's; and unto God the things that are God's." They seem an echo from the Edict of Milan and the proclamation to the peoples of the East, and are a justification of the course of the Paulicians, the Albigenses, and the Waldenses; but these doctrines did not characterize the acts of the early Reformers nor shape the course of the Reformation.

³ "History of the Reformation," D'Aubigne, book 9, chap. 8, pages 334, 335.

Had Luther and his coadjutors followed out the principles laid down in the above quotations, history would have told a very different story of the growth of soul freedom in Europe and America from what the record now reveals. They accomplished a great work; but they found the church in unholy wedlock with the state, and left it so. They found souls struggling for freedom of conscience, and they not only refused to help, but forged fetters of their own.

It is sometimes said that religious liberty grew out of the Reformation. It did grow *out* of it, because it was not permitted to grow *in* it. Says one writer: "The great Reformation movement of Europe was a case of arrested development." "Under the Reformation it was soon found that Protestant hierarchies and synods could fine and imprison and torture and burn dissenters from the state religion as vigorously as under the old names. . . . The Reformation of the sixteenth century failed to get possession of Europe, because it did not reform far enough — borrowed too much from Papacy, retained too much of Rome." ⁴

Upon the matter of religious freedom John Calvin wrote: "Godly princes may lawfully issue edicts for compelling obstinate and rebellious persons to worship the true God and to maintain the unity of the faith." But if "unity of the faith" had been of greater consideration than soul liberty, there would have been no excuse for the Reformation. Rome had been working industriously for "unity of the faith" and employing the same means of "persuasion" thereto as those which Calvin sanctioned — torture and death. There are two names which can never be dissociated,—Calvin and Michael Servetus, the latter burned for his faith, the

⁴"Struggles and Triumphs of Virginia Baptists," page 12.

former sanctioning the burning, and thereby indorsing the principle of persecution for conscience' sake.

And Luther, turning away from his declaration in behalf of religious liberty, said this: "Since it is not good that in one parish the people should be exposed to con-



MICHAEL SERVETUS

tradictory preaching, he [the magistrate] should order to be silent whatever does not consist with the Scriptures."⁵

That would make the civil ruler the judge of what is Scripture truth, and would give him the right to suppress whatever did not agree with his belief. Luther, writing of the Anabaptists in 1530, said, in a letter to Menius and Myconius: "Since they [the Anabaptists] are not only blasphemous, but

also seditious men, let the sword exercise its rights over them; for this is the will of God, that he shall have judgment who resisteth the power."⁶ That declaration was purely papal in its nature.

Zwingli was not free from the same intolerant spirit, and we find him virtually passing a death sentence upon his former schoolmate, Felix Mantz. Concerning this Prof. Williston Walker says: "The Zurich authorities, not without the approval of Zwingli we must believe, were led at least to add death to imprisonment, stripes, and banishment; and on Jan. 5, 1527, Felix Mantz became the first Anabaptist martyr at Zurich, meeting his death with heroic firmness, a death by drowning, in hideous parody of his doctrine of believers' baptism."⁷

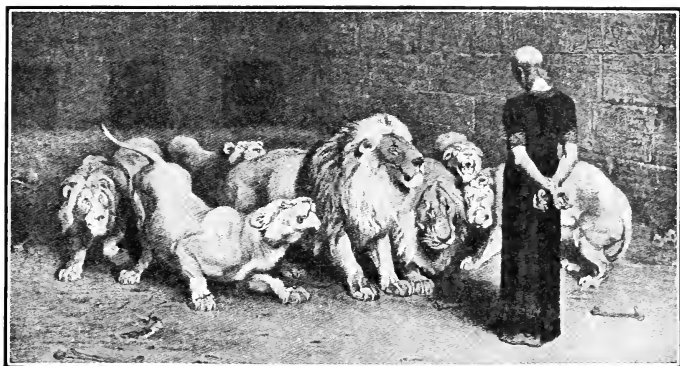
⁵ "Religious Liberty," page 26.

⁶ *Ib.*

⁷ *Id.*, page 27.

Nor can we pass by the name of Melanchthon in this connection, for it is recorded of him that in a letter to the Diet of Hamburg, written in the year 1537, he advised death by the sword to all who held Anabaptist views.

How similar to the course of these men was that of Saul, who went to Damascus, "breathing out threatenings and slaughter against the disciples of the Lord," determined to bring them "bound unto Jerusalem."



DANIEL IN THE LIONS' DEN
His only fault, the law of his God.

But our Lord asks, "Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?"

We do not desire to cast opprobrium upon any of these illustrious names. Their fault lay largely in their inheritance from the past. The wicked principle was hard at work in ancient Babylon, and had been transmitted from her through her successors to spiritual Babylon. It was that spirit of intolerance in religion which put Daniel in the den of lions, and the three Hebrews in the sevenfold-heated furnace. The schooling and the exam-

ple of centuries had had their effect upon the Reformers themselves, as well as upon the rest of the people. We desire by these citations merely to show out of what trials of faith, what turbulence, what strife, what cruel mockings, what bitter persecutions, there have come to us the blessings of religious liberty, and how difficult it is for men, even the professed followers of Jesus, to understand, appreciate, and practise its principles. Down through that dark and turbulent torrent of the centuries, from the days of Jesus to our own day, there has been flowing a small, silvery stream, pure and sweet and wholesome, sometimes almost obscured, and always threatened with complete extinction. But that little silvery streamlet has been always under the eye of God, flowing where he willed, but always flowing to bless mankind.

It has been one of the ever-present characteristics of a power-coveting church that it has been unable to see the sad result to itself in espousing and using the temporal power. In the first place, the possession of that power has inevitably made the possessor vain and unmindful of human rights; and in the second place, the use of such power, has brought reproach to the cause of Christ and has invited the condemnation of the One whom it professed to serve. Said Jesus: "It is impossible but that offenses will come: but woe unto him through whom they come! It were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and he cast into the sea, than that he should offend one of these little ones."⁸

Such is the condemnation pronounced by the holy Author of our religion upon the organization or the individual who inflicts punishments or hardships upon men because of their religious convictions. "The hour

⁸Luke 17: 1, 2.

cometh," said Jesus, "that whosoever killeth you shall think that he offereth service unto God." ⁹ But in these words the Master repudiates such service: "These things will they do, because they have not known the Father, nor me." ¹⁰ This is a serious indictment to bring against a professed church of Jesus Christ; but it is from the Master himself, and cannot be evaded. The church that uses the power of the state to oppress the consciences of men does not know either Christ or the Father. It is certain that they who do not know Christ and the Father can have no place with them in the great regeneration. Says Thomas Clarke: "All violence in religion is irreligious;" and "whoever is wrong, the persecutor cannot be right."

To persecutor and persecuted alike we commend these words of our Saviour committed to John on the isle of Patmos, and through him spoken to all who must suffer for Christ's sake: —

"Fear not the things which thou art about to suffer: behold, the devil is about to cast some of you into prison, that ye may be tried. . . . Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee the crown of life." ¹¹

These things are made plain by this scripture: The devil is the instigator of persecution; the reward is to those who bear it faithfully; *there is no reward promised to those who do the devil's work of oppressing their fellow men for conscience's sake.* That promise of our Lord has been the strength and comfort of the oppressed children of God from the time John penned it until the present moment; for through all the cruel persecutions of the ages men and women have exercised their God-given right to believe and worship according to the dictates of their own conscience, in spite of apostate religious powers

⁹ John 16: 2, A. R. V.

¹⁰ John 16: 3.

¹¹ Rev 2: 10.

and in spite of states dominated by established churches. The principles of religious liberty have never been obliterated since our Saviour proclaimed them. They have struggled up through the darkness of heathenism to the light of day, to maintain a consistent testimony against oppression till the end of time. It has cost much to maintain them; and if the elements of oppression that are being marshaled at the present time in this land succeed as they hope to do, it will still cost much.

Upon this point we commend to the reader's attention the following terse and emphatically true declaration of Thomas Clarke, in his "History of Intolerance:" "Nothing is more detrimental to the honor of the Christian name and the usefulness of evangelical truth than the ingrafting of a fierce, uncharitable, and intolerant spirit on the doctrines, discipline, and institutions of Christian worship."¹²

¹² "History of Intolerance," Thomas Clarke, Vol. II, page 363.

CHAPTER III

The Brave Stand of the Anabaptists

THE exaltation of the Pope above Christ, the papal determination to extinguish the essence of the gospel — soul freedom — and to traffic in “the souls of men,”¹ the cruel persecutions of the Roman Catholic Church against those who would be free in Christ,— these ripened the world for the great religious revolution of the sixteenth century.

The gospel of soul freedom proclaimed by Luther and others, together with their denial of and opposition to the principles of that freedom, ripened the world for a vigorous campaign in the interests of a free conscience. The first step out of bondage was justification by faith; the second was its logical result, religious liberty.

Two citations here must suffice to show the conditions in Reformation times. Rev. S. A. Swaine speaks thus of those conditions: —

“In the same year (1519), six men and a woman were burned alive at Coventry (England) for the crime of teaching their children the Lord’s Prayer, the Apostles’ creed, and the ten commandments in the common tongue. In 1521, the year in which Henry received the title of Defender of the Faith, the most horrible cruelties were practised on some simple folk in the diocese of Lincoln for their adhesion to evangelical doctrines.”²

Tyndale had translated the New Testament into the speech of the common people. Concerning its reception Swaine says: —

¹ See Rev. 18: 13.

² “The Religious Revolution in the Sixteenth Century,” page 108.

“The most energetic measures were being taken against that formidable book — formidable to the Papacy and the devil — the New Testament. The clergy everywhere inveighed against it, as containing an ‘infectious poison.’ The bishop of London, on the twenty-fourth of October, 1526, enjoined on his archdeacons the seizure of all English translations of the Scriptures, ‘with or without glosses;’ and the archbishop of Canterbury went so far as to issue a mandate against all the books which contained ‘any particle of the New Testament.’ So ‘exceeding mad’ were they against the gospel.”³

Out of that condition, similar in all the European countries, grew the Reformation.

In 1529, because of the attempt of the German ruler, at the Pope’s instigation, to crush out what liberty of conscience had been achieved, there was drawn up and presented to the authorities that celebrated protest from which comes down to us the name Protestant. The Protestants refused to consent to the repeal of the liberties already secured —

“Because it concerns the glory of God and the salvation of our souls, and that in such matters we ought to have regard, above all, to the commandment of God who is King of kings and Lord of lords, each of us rendering him account for himself, without caring the least in the world about majority or minority. . . . Moreover, the new edict declaring the ministers shall preach the gospel, explaining it according to the writings accepted by the holy Christian church; we think that, for this regulation to have any value, we should first agree on what is meant by the true and holy church. Now, seeing there is great diversity of opinion in this respect;

³ “The Religious Revolution in the Sixteenth Century,” page 113.

that there is no sure doctrine but such as is conformable to the Word of God; that the Lord forbids the teaching of any other doctrine; that each text of the Holy Scriptures ought to be explained by other and clearer texts; that this holy book is, in all things, necessary for the Christian, easy of understanding, and calculated to scatter the darkness; we are resolved, with the grace of God, to maintain the pure and exclusive teaching of his Holy Word, such as it is contained in the Biblical books of the Old and New Testaments, without adding anything thereto that may be contrary to it. This Word is the only truth; it is the sure rule of all doctrine and of all life, and can never fail or deceive us." ⁴

That meant "the Bible, and the Bible only," as the Christian's guide, and it also meant freedom of conscience. This is in perfect keeping with Luther's declaration, already quoted, that "no man can command or ought to command the soul but God, who alone can show it the way to heaven." There were thousands of honest-hearted souls to whom that doctrine was as the bread of life and the water of life. Hungry and thirsty, their souls cried out for it; and having feasted upon it, they could never go back to the husks of papal dogmas, doctrines, traditions, and with them, the slavery of the soul. They practised those precepts; and when, from the study of the Word, they learned new truths, long hidden under the rubbish of tradition, they began to practise their new-found freedom in believing and teaching these truths. Where these truths were beyond the leaders of the Reformation or were not understood by them, or where persons of a fanatical disposition mixed truth with error and taught that, the Reformers themselves began

⁴ "History of the Reformation," Vol. IV, book 13, chap. 6, pages 520, 521.

to feel that it was necessary to put a restriction upon religious liberty, and they did it. It was shown in the preceding chapter how dangerous it became for men and women to believe and teach contrary to the doctrines of the Reformers; how the same instruments used by the papal power to suppress the gospel were used by the Reformers to suppress teachings not in harmony with their creeds, till men and women were tortured and burned and drowned by them, or with their approval and consent, for no other crime than exercising liberty of belief and practise in things purely religious. The statue of Zwingli erected at Zurich in 1885, holding the Bible in one hand and a sword in the other, is a concrete characterization of later Reformation times when men paid with their lives for teaching what they believed to be truth.

Out of those times and conditions grew the Anabaptist movement. Misrepresented by many fanatics who were called Anabaptists, misunderstood and maligned by others, their very name (Rebaptizers) a contemptuous title invented by their enemies, they grew in spite of sword and fire and water, all of which were made instruments of death to them because of their faith. From the sermons and writings of Luther, from the famous protest to the Diet of Spires, but chiefly from the Word of God itself, they had drunk in the doctrine of soul freedom. This sect, "everywhere spoken against" by Catholic and Protestant alike, and everywhere persecuted by both with similar cruelty, became the herald of religious liberty not only for the Old World, but for the New as well. Concerning them we read:—

"Among the few and scattered European voices for religious liberty, heard in the two hundred and fifty years from the days of Luther, the place of honor is undoubtedly



LUTHER NAILING HIS THESES TO THE DOOR OF THE CHURCH

to be accorded to the Anabaptists. Their doctrine is one of the most remarkable things which appeared in that wonderful age. It comes to speech with a clearness and fulness which suggest a revelation, just as to Luther dawned justification by faith, soul-enlightening and uplifting. And no less notable, this doctrine came at the very opening of the Reformation, in the year 1524, just after the famous Diet of Worms, and while Luther was secluded in the Wartburg.”⁵

It will be of interest to know what the Anabaptists believed and taught. They insisted that freedom of conscience and of worship were essential to spiritual growth; that religion should be entirely exempt from the regulation or interference of the civil power, so that “a man’s religion should not work his civil disability.” They held that the church “should be composed entirely of the regenerate, membership therein to be conditioned” upon “the work of grace in the heart.” “In this last point,” says Cobb, “they anticipated by more than two centuries that distinction by Edwards which shattered the union of church and state in America.” In the plea for religious liberty written by Professor Hubmeyer, rector of the University of Ingolstadt (himself an Anabaptist), we find these declarations:—

“If men cannot be convinced by appeals to reason or to the Word of God, they should be let alone. One cannot be made to see his errors either by fire or sword.”⁶

Professor Hubmeyer proclaimed these principles openly, lost the friendship of Luther and Zwingli for doing so, and in the year 1528 suffered martyrdom, being tortured with red-hot pincers, beheaded, and his body burned. Just one year previous to his martyrdom the

⁵ “Rise of Religious Liberty in America,” page 63.

⁶ “Religious Liberty,” page 21.

Swiss Anabaptists issued a confession of faith, which is said to have been the first ever published "in which Christian men claimed absolute religious freedom for themselves and granted absolute religious freedom to others." Following are some of the principles held in common by the Anabaptist body, as set forth in Heinrich Bullinger's work against the Anabaptists:—

"That secular authority has no concern with religious belief; that the Christian resists no evil, and therefore needs no law courts, nor should ever make use of the tribunals; that Christians do not kill or punish with imprisonment or the sword, but only with exclusion from the body of believers; that no man should be compelled by force to believe, nor should any be slain on account of his faith; that infant baptism is of the Pope and the devil; that adult baptism is the only true baptism."⁷

On those principles they stood unflinchingly, and for doing so were tortured, drowned, burned to death, or beheaded. The whole world was arrayed against them and the principles which they espoused. A hundred years of persistent persecution succeeded in crushing out the Anabaptist movement in Germany and Switzerland. As the Waldenses fled from Catholic persecution, so fled the Anabaptists from Lutheranism and Calvinism. "They scattered all over continental Europe, and increased in numbers marvelously." Before Germany and Switzerland had extinguished the torch of this new Reformation, its adherents had kindled fresh lights in the western part of Europe and in England. In the Netherlands they became known as the Mennonites, and under Charles V more than fifty thousand persons, mostly Anabaptists, or Mennonites, paid with their lives for

⁷ "Der Wiedertauferen Ursprung," Furgang, Secten, Wesen, etc., quoted by Bax.

maintaining an unshackled conscience. But they were not exterminated. Prince William of Orange finally championed their rights, declaring to the magistrates of Middelburg: "You have no right to trouble yourself with any man's conscience so long as nothing is done to



PRINCE WILLIAM OF ORANGE

cause private harm or public scandal. We, therefore, expressly ordain that you desist from molesting these Baptists."

Concerning this prince, the historian Motley says:—

"His mind had taken a higher flight than that of the most eminent Reformers. His goal was not a new doctrine, but religious liberty. In an age when to think was a crime, and when bigotry and a persecuting spirit characterized Romanists, Lutherans, Calvinists, and Zwinglians, he had dared to announce freedom of conscience as the great object for which noble natures should strive. In an age when toleration was [regarded] a vice, he had the manhood to cultivate it as a virtue. . . . He was willing to tolerate all forms of worship, and to leave reason to combat error."⁸

It will not be out of place here to take a glance at the conditions prevailing in England at the time when Anabaptist principles, and incidentally the principles of soul freedom, were being promulgated on the Continent in the face of such bitter persecution.

Anabaptists, fleeing from the persecutions of Catholic

⁸ "The Rise of the Dutch Republic," Motley, pages 407, 408.

and Protestant alike on the Continent, crossed the English Channel by thousands, and settled in the eastern and southern counties of England. They were not received with open arms. Their doctrine, so inoffensive, so righteous, was looked upon by the state church, by the rulers, and by a great portion of the people, as a dangerous and revolutionary heresy. James I declared, "I will make them conform, or I will harry them out of England."⁹ Richard Hooker denominated freedom of conscience "a loose and licentious opinion of the Anabaptists."¹⁰

The Westminster Confession, which was adopted in 1647, set forth the illiberal principle that "civil government is designed to support the external worship of God, to preserve the pure doctrine of religion, and defend the constitution of the church." It further declared that any one who maintains or publishes erroneous opinions, contrary to the teachings and practises of the church, "may be lawfully called to account, and proceeded against by the censures of the church and the power of the civil magistrate;" that "the magistrate hath authority, and it is his duty to take order that unity and peace be preserved in the church, and that the truth of God be kept pure and entire, that all blasphemies and heresies be suppressed, all corruptions and abuses in worship and discipline prevented or reformed, and all the ordinances of God duly settled, administered, and observed."

A more perfect uniting of civil and ecclesiastical powers and functions could not have been presented by the Roman hierarchy itself. Whatever Rome did, the Westminster Confession authorized the church and state officials in England to do. Forty-two years after the adoption of the Westminster Confession, 1689, the

⁹"Religious Liberty," page 63.

¹⁰Id., page 64.

Toleration Act of William and Mary was passed. Toleration is always less than liberty; but this toleration



KING WILLIAM

act was not even full toleration. Quakers and Protestant dissenters were tolerated, but Catholics and anti-Trinitarians were outside the scope of its beneficence. Hallam says that the passage even of this kind of toleration was not accomplished "without murmurs of bigoted churchmen."¹¹

With such a condition obtaining as late as 1689, it can readily be seen that there

was little inclination to make it easy for the Anabaptists when they began to migrate to England, over one hundred and fifty years before. But it is not necessary to infer what those conditions were. The same year that Henry VIII became head of the English established church (1533), he issued two decrees against the Anabaptists, which show, first, that the Anabaptists were refugees from another country; and, second, that the spirit of the times was intolerance personified. King Henry's decrees were filled with invective and a cruel purpose to rid his realm of these



QUEEN MARY

¹¹ "Constitutional History of England," Hallam, Vol. III, page 170.

dissenters, taking the harshest measures if necessary in accomplishing it. All were to depart within ten days from the date of the decree, "on pain to suffer death, if they abide and be apprehended and taken."¹² Their only crime was "wicked errors and abominable opinions." "Cranmer and eight other bishops and clerics were subsequently commanded to proceed inquisitorially against the Anabaptists, to search for their books, and to scrutinize with all diligence their letters. Martyrdoms followed. The fires of Smithfield were rekindled. 'Cruelty,' it was said, 'was pastime and festivity to the king.'

Yet the religious errorists were increased by immigration, and the king's subjects were more and more infected by them. The king's care about religion failed to prevent 'divers great and real errors and Anabaptistical opinions from creeping about the realm.' Threats and executed penalty on the one



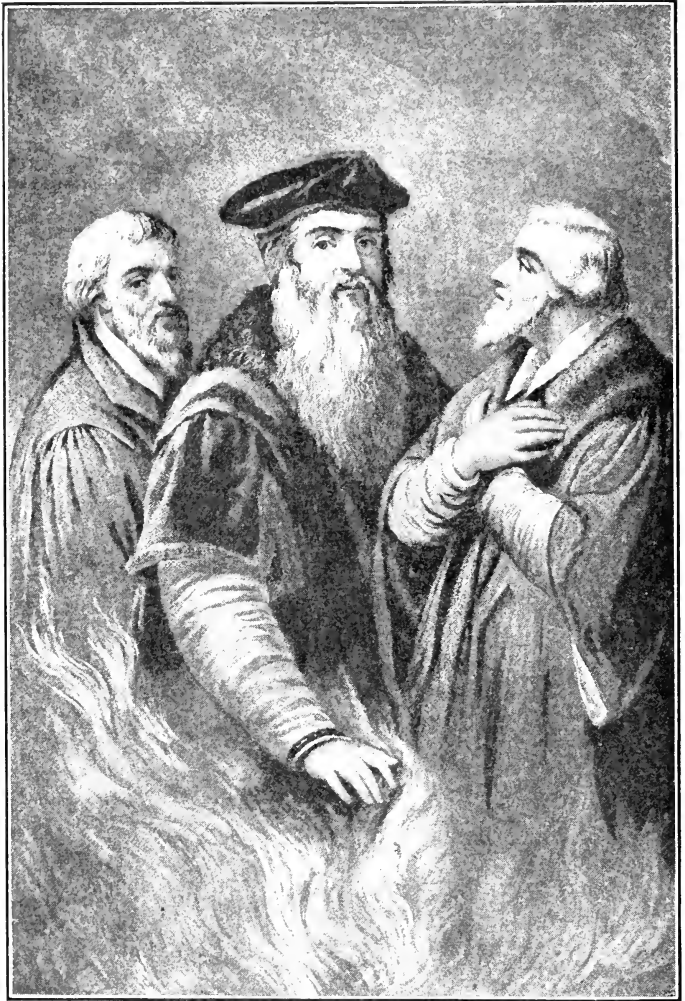
HENRY VIII

hand, and offers of royal clemency on condition of recantation on the other, were alike unavailing to prevent the spread of these imported 'heretical' opinions, which were the purest leaven of the Reformation."¹³ A veritable Inquisition was established as a result of the king's intolerant decrees.

Thus was demonstrated the fact that persecution does not depend upon *what* church is established, but upon the fact that *a* church is established. Church establishment and religious liberty cannot dwell together

¹² Wilkins' "Concilia," Vol. III, page 776.

¹³ "Religious Liberty," page 34.



BISHOP RIDLEY ARCHBISHOP CRANMER BISHOP LATIMER

Three English bishops who perished at the stake. Archbishop Cranmer, who had been active in the persecution of the Anabaptists, was himself burned as a heretic by order of Queen Mary.

in the same realm. Concerning the change in England from the dominance of the Roman Church to the dominance of the English Church, Hon. Woodrow Wilson says:—

“When the change had been made, stupendous as it looked amid the ruin of the monastic houses which the king had promptly despoiled, Englishmen found themselves very little more at liberty than before to choose forms of worship or of church government for themselves. The church had become more than ever a part of the state. The king was its head and master, instead of the Pope. He did not insist very much upon matters of doctrine, being himself in no case to set an example in that kind; but he did insist upon the authority of the church in matters of government,— upon uniformity in worship and in discipline; because the discipline of the church was now the discipline of the state, and part of his own sovereignty.”¹⁴



QUEEN MARY

Through the influence of this queen, known as “Bloody Mary,” the Roman Catholic religion was made the dominant religion of England, and Parliament voted that the nation return to its allegiance to Rome.

In spite of the cruel persecutions from which the Anabaptists suffered, the principles which they held continued to be disseminated throughout the realm. One of their principles, which was most obnoxious to the officials of the government and of the established church, was that “civil government had no concern with religious

¹⁴ “History of the American People,” Wilson, Vol. I, page 79.

matters." Strange, is it not, that for holding such opinions and promulgating them, Christian men should be hounded, exiled, tortured, drowned, and burned, and that by other men professing allegiance to the same Lord? But such was the ignoble inheritance from that power which was so ruthlessly regnant during the dark ages. It was an inheritance difficult to outgrow,—impossible to outgrow entirely where the condition which fostered it was continued; and that condition was a union of church and state. Wherever the Anabaptists, or Mennonites, went, they found that condition; and wherever they found it, they opposed it, and taught the opposite principle,—the principle upon which the American government is founded, the separation of religion from the functions of government.

The influence of their persistent teachings in the Netherlands resulted in the establishment of religious liberty in that country when its independence was secured; and there is not the least doubt that the measure of tolerance achieved in England in the time of William and Mary was due to the diffusion of the principles of soul freedom which the Anabaptists were promulgating throughout the land. Some of the tracts which they published were written in prison — not written in ink, for this was denied them; but written in milk on white paper, which, when heated, revealed the words of their arguments. Said one, "The arguments were written in milk and answered in blood." There comes down to us from that people a phrase that has become familiar to American ears. They taught, says Motley, that "every man was to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience." We have used that expression until we have come to feel that it is a product of American thought; but it comes to us out of the bitter experiences

of a despised people, who paid with their lives for the privilege of advocating and practising it.

The relations between the immigrant Dutch Anabaptists and the common people of England became very close in this way: the Dutch immigrants were a people skilled in manufacture, and carried on their business in England. But it was required of them that each manufacturer should educate a certain number of English lads in the business which he was conducting. The enforced apprenticeship system opened a field for the Anabaptists, which they were not slow in improving, and this operated perhaps as extensively as any other factor in bringing about toleration for dissenters.

The experiences of the Anabaptists in northern Europe and England were very similar to those of the Huguenots in France. We read of them:—

“In 1562 the great Huguenot civil wars broke out, to rage for more than twenty years; and France stained her annals with St. Bartholomew’s day, 1572. In driving the Huguenots forth to England and America, she lost the flower of her industrial population.”¹⁵

“Louis XIV, king in France, revoked the great Edict of Nantes, forbade the Protestants their worship in his kingdom, and so drove fifty thousand of the best people of France—soldiers, men of letters, craftsmen, artificers—forth from the land they had enriched, to make Holland, England, Brandenburg, and America so much the better off for their skill and thrifty industry.”¹⁶

“In France [at the beginning of the seventeenth century] individual initiative had been stamped out, and the authority of the church and state consolidated to command and control every undertaking.”¹⁷

¹⁵ “History of the American People,” Vol. I, page 22.

¹⁶ *Id.*, page 318.

¹⁷ *Id.*, page 23.

That has been the experience of every nation where church and state have consolidated "to command and control." Individual initiative has been strangled; the brightest minds have been eclipsed by dungeon walls; and the nation has gone backward, while the rest of the world forged onward in enlightenment and prosperity. What was France's loss in the persecution of the Huguenots was America's gain, and gain for every other portion of the world to which the Huguenots fled.

The Dutch Anabaptists, through the means provided them in England, planted in many English minds the idea of soul freedom; and from a people thus educated, there came to the New World some who would carry on the struggle for freedom to worship God according to the dictates of conscience, untrammelled by oppressive laws. There came others also seeking freedom to worship God, but unwilling that those who differed from them should enjoy the same freedom which they demanded for themselves. The attitude of these two parties and their descendants toward freedom of conscience constitutes the history of religious liberty in America. This history will be traced in succeeding chapters.

CHAPTER IV

Struggling Upward on New Soil

WHENEVER a church has sought power or support from the state, it has lost the grace of charity and kindness, and has harried the bodies of men with whip and rack, fire and sword, stocks and dungeon. Neither climate nor creed affects the result. Out of the union of church and state there is evolved a poison that works with the same results, no matter what the creed or name of the state-wooing church may be.

Lutheranism and Calvinism were as intolerant as the Papacy, against which they protested. Presbyterianism in Scotland and Episcopalianism in England made energetic application of the lessons in intolerance which they had learned of Rome. The realm of conscience has been the common hunting-ground of every established church, and the conscientious follower of the Word of God has been the common victim. Establish religion by law, and as sure as men study their Bibles, the prisons will be thronged with praying believers, and men of the establishment will find their hands imbrued in their brothers' blood. In every age it has been so; in every country this has been the history; and America is no exception.

Oliver Cromwell said:—

“Those that were sound in the faith, how proper was it for them to labor for liberty, . . . that men might not be trampled upon for their consciences! Had not they labored but recently under the weight of persecution? And was it fit for them to sit heavy upon others? Is it ingenuous to ask liberty, and not give it? What greater hypocrisy than for those who were op-

pressed by the bishops to become the greatest oppressors themselves, so soon as their yoke was removed!"¹

Cromwell's stand for liberty of conscience was in marked contrast to the general spirit of his time, and that spirit against which he spoke came to America with its earliest settlers, and came in superabundance. Massachusetts Bay Colony was the embodiment of religious intolerance; nor did the dissenter fare peaceably in New



OLIVER CROMWELL

Haven, New York, or Virginia. In these colonies were the most striking manifestations of intolerance. The Plymouth Colony manifested a spirit quite different from that of Massachusetts Bay. Had the members of the latter colony been as tolerant as the Pilgrims of Plymouth Colony, there never would have been such a record as that of the exile of Roger Williams, or the hanging and scourging of Quakers, or the whipping of Baptists, to stain the records of the Massa-

chusetts settlements. The record must stand that the Plymouth Pilgrims were not insensible to the religious rights of their fellow men. Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Maryland presented a striking contrast to the above-named colonies, while the remainder stood between the two extremes. New Hampshire seems to stand free of the charge of religious persecution until

¹ Cromwell's speech at the dissolution of the First Parliament, Jan. 22, 1655.

after her union with Massachusetts Bay. The conditions in Maryland were better than in most of the colonies; yet the Maryland Act of Toleration, passed in 1649, provided that blasphemy against God and a denial of the Trinity should be punished with death and confiscation of lands and goods, and that blasphemy against the Virgin Mary should first be punished by a fine of five pounds, and if persisted in, by a forfeiture of all possessions, and banishment from the colony.

Roman Catholics are taking much credit to themselves for the conditions which obtained in Maryland, and have set themselves forth as the true advance agents of religious liberty in America, because of what the Maryland colony did. The record shows, however, that although Lord Baltimore did recommend the passage of the Act of Toleration, the four Catholic members of the assembly voted against it, and the nine Protestant members voted for it.² The credit for the passage of the act can, therefore, hardly be given to the Catholic element in the colony. When we reflect that the English government had established a church and had outlawed Catholicism, it is easy to understand why Lord Baltimore did not establish the Catholic religion in Maryland. The English government could not permit in America the establishment of a church outlawed in the home land; nor



GEORGE CALVERT, LORD
BALTIMORE

² See "Founders of Maryland," Neill, page 120.

could she permit her colonists in America to be fined, imprisoned, or exiled by that outlawed organization. It appears that even during the lifetime of Lord Baltimore himself "not one-tenth part of its [Maryland's] people were of the proprietor's creed any longer."³ That condition was an invitation to the revolution which occurred in that State, when "taxes were ordered levied for the



WILLIAM PENN

support of the Church of England," and "the immigration of Roman Catholics was prohibited and the public celebration of the mass forbidden by law."⁴

These facts explain the anomaly of a "Catholic colony" taking a position diametrically opposed to the principles of the Catholic Church in the matter of religious liberty.

William Penn, who is thought to have been of Anabaptist descent, was opposed to any church establishment in his colony; and it was provided that in the colony of Pennsylvania, "all persons who confess and acknowledge the Almighty and Eternal God to be the Creator, Upholder, and Ruler of the world . . . should in no ways be molested, nor compelled to frequent or maintain any religious worship." Nevertheless, citizenship was granted only to those who professed faith in Jesus Christ; and the "separate" Quakers in

³"History of the American People," Vol. I, page 287.

⁴"Id., page 339.

the colony of Pennsylvania "were arrested, fined, and imprisoned for dissent." Religious liberty was not yet in full sway in Pennsylvania.

Puritan Massachusetts established Congregationalism, and supported it with the same instruments of oppression that made their own condition in England unbearable.

Virginia established the Church of England, and made life for Baptists, Quakers, and Presbyterians one long record of hardships and grievances. In Georgia the same church was established.

New York began her colonial career with the Dutch Reformed Church of Holland established, and closed it with the Church of England dominant, if not directly established. Thus the red thread of persecution for conscience' sake ran through the whole colonial period.

The chief purpose of the early colonizers of America, as expressed in charters and otherwise, was a religious one. True, it manifested itself differently in Massachusetts and Virginia. The Massachusetts Puritan insisted on conformity because he wanted to "make the state religious and to preserve the true religion in its purity," whereas Virginia "insisted on conformity because the church was a department of the state, and all dissent was indicative of civil disorder and insubordination."⁵ The end sought was not attained in either case. As Mr. Cobb says: "The Puritan experiment demonstrates that the effect of the union is essentially irreligious; while . . . the Virginian makes it clear that the law of conformity is the fruitful mother of disorder."⁶ No one can read the history of either colony without attesting the truth of this statement.

To show the dominance of the religious purpose in

"Rise of Religious Liberty in America," page 70.

⁶ Ib.

these two colonies, let some of the instructions sent out by the organizers of the companies in England to the governors of the colonies speak for themselves. The instruction to Governor Endicott reads: "The propagation of the gospel we do profess above all to be our aim: we have been careful to have a plentiful provision of godly ministers; we trust that not only those of our



Frank Cousins Art Co., Salem, Mass.

GOVERNOR ENDICOTT

From painting in Essex Institute, Salem, Mass.

own nation will be built up in the knowledge of God, but also that the Indians will be reduced to the obedience of God and Christ."⁷ Again: "We appoint that all . . . surcease their labor every Saturday at three of the clock in the afternoon, and spend the rest of that day in catechizing and preparation for the Sabbath. . . . We pray you make some good laws for the punishment of swearers."⁸ They made the laws not only "for the punishment of swear-

ers," but for the punishment of "Sabbath-breaking," non-attendance at church, preaching without a license, entertaining strangers without permission, teaching religious liberty, failure to pay a portion of the minister's salary, or for teaching any doctrine contrary to the teaching of the established church, etc. Only church-members were permitted to exercise the full rights of citizenship, and no man was certain of his own safety or the possession of his property if he at-

⁷ "Chronicles of Massachusetts," page 142. ⁸ *Id.*, pages 163-189.

tempted to teach anything at variance with the creed of the state church.

An idea of the minuteness of this state of supervision over religion in Massachusetts may be gained from the following laws:—

“Though no human power be lord over the faith and consciences of men, and therefore may not constrain them to believe or profess against their conscience, yet because such as bring in damnable heresies tending to the subversion of the Christian faith . . . ought duly to be restrained from such notorious impiety, if any Christian . . . shall go about to subvert . . . the Christian faith, by broaching . . . any damnable heresy, as denying the immortality of the soul, or the resurrection of the body, or any sin to be repented of in the regenerate, or any evil done by the outward man to be accounted sin, or denying that Christ gave himself a ransom for our sins, . . . or any other heresy of such nature and degree, . . . he shall pay to the common treasury during the first six months twenty shillings a month, and for the next six months forty shillings a month, and so continue during his obstinacy; and if any such person shall endeavor to seduce others, . . . he shall forfeit for every several offense, . . . five pounds.”⁹ The same records in which the above law is found contain a law against blasphemy, the penalty clause of which reads: “If any person or persons whatsoever within our jurisdiction shall break this law, they shall be put to death.”¹⁰ Certainly such laws indicate the religious purpose of the founders of the Massachusetts Bay Commonwealth. So severe was the rule in this respect that friends of the colony in England

⁹ “Massachusetts Records,” Vol. II, page 179.

¹⁰ *Id.*, page 177.

remonstrated with the Massachusetts authorities. Sir Richard Saltonstall, as one of these protestants, wrote to John Cotton as follows:—

“It doth not a little grieve my spirit to hear what sad things are reported daily of your tyranny and persecution in New England, as that you fine, whip, and imprison men for their consciences. . . . Your rigid ways

have laid you very low in the hearts of the saints.”¹¹ Thirteen eminent non-conformist ministers of England added their protest in a letter to Governor Winthrop, but the Massachusetts authorities resented the interference, and went on with the bitter work.



JOHN WINTHROP

The first article of “instructions” sent out by the founders of the Virginia Company directs the Virginia authorities “to take into their

special regard the service of Almighty God and the observance of his divine laws; and that the people should be trained up in true religion and virtue, . . . to the order and administration of service according to the form and discipline of the Church of England; carefully to avoid all factions and needless novelties, which only tend to the disturbance of peace and unity; and to cause that the ministers should be duly respected and maintained.”¹² Back of this instruction, and doubtless leading up to it, was the declaration of purpose on the part of the king, as re-

¹¹ “Collections,” pages 401-404.

¹² “Colonial Church,” Vol. I, page 321.

corded in the first charter granted to the Virginia colony. King James I, in this charter, expresses the hope and intention that "so noble a work may by the providence of Almighty God hereafter tend to the glory of his divine majesty in the propagating of the Christian religion to such people as yet live in darkness." To this he adds a direction to the effect that "the said presidents, councils, and the ministers should provide that the Word and science of God be preached, planted, and used, not only in the said colonies, but also as much as might be among the savages bordering among them, according to the rites and doctrines of the Church of England."¹³ This establishes the purpose of the founders of Virginia, and it also establishes the Church of England as the state church of the colony.



JAMES I

The logical result of these establishments was persecution for dissenters or non-conformists. Massachusetts was a very uncomfortable place for Anabaptists, Quakers, Presbyterians, Baptists, and antinomians; and Virginia was equally inhospitably inclined toward Congregationalists, Baptists, Quakers, and Presbyterians. But in all the colonies there was from the first a minority of godly men earnestly contending against the rigorous intolerance of the church-and-state régime. The leaven of better things was working, and working under discouraging and forbid-

¹³ "Rise of Religious Liberty in America," pages 74, 75.

ding circumstances. Out of such soil must spring the plant of soul freedom and the equality of man. They who had fled from the Old World to seek *for themselves* freedom to worship God, were to leave behind them a generation who would grant to *other men* the same freedom they asked for themselves in this regard.

The establishment of the church, the union of religion and the state, was the curse of both church and state in colonial days. Both church and state taught and practised intolerance, and individuals learned it and practised it toward one another. That condition made, or sought to make, reform and advancement impossible. Says Thomas Clarke: "The degradation of national churches has been completed, not so much by their being wicked as by their deliberately planning to perpetuate their wickedness, and cut off or put down reformers. There never yet has been an example of a church which had the power of scattering and silencing its enemies but has become a moral nuisance."¹⁴

¹⁴"History of Intolerance," Vol. II, pages 415, 416.

CHAPTER V

Conscience Outlawed in Massachusetts

NOTWITHSTANDING the fierce aspect of religious affairs in the New World when the colonies were fully established, a titanic struggle was then inaugurated, upon whose issue hung the destiny of the nation soon to be.

While one of the chief purposes of the founders of the American colonies was to secure for themselves freedom to worship God, the records of those times prove it to have been equally the purpose of the majority of them to obliterate in those same colonies all religious exercises and all religious belief not in harmony with their belief and rituals.

The Reformation in Europe had taken the people one long step out of the darkness of the dark ages, but failure to follow out the principles of Christ in the matter of soul freedom had in great measure hindered the real work of reform. The conscience had merely changed masters. The Reformation had found men's souls enthralled, and at the last had perpetuated the thralldom by establishing religion by law, and making non-conformity to the establishment a crime to be punished with avenging rigor.

The hand of God seems to have kept America hidden from the Old World until the time was ripe for a new order of things, a new step in the process of reformation. It was, however, the purpose of the enemy of truth to perpetuate in America that subtle *modus operandi* which had so materially interfered with the true progress of the

Reformation, arrested its development, and robbed it of its crown of glory.

We have learned in previous chapters how every American colony save one established in some measure a union of religion and the state; and how as a natural consequence, all save that one hounded conscientious Christians for their faith. Was the New World to perpetuate the terrible tragedies of the Old, and so blight the purpose of God in bringing men to her shores? It was made evident from the beginning of the colonial governments that a notable struggle was to take place in this land over the question of whether the civil power should dominate men's consciences.

Those early settlers had been educated in two very different schools. One class had been taught that "civil government is designed to support the external worship of God, to preserve the pure doctrine of religion, and defend the constitution of the church;" that persons maintaining or publishing erroneous opinions contrary to the creed of the established church "may be lawfully called to account and proceeded against by the censures of the church and the power of the civil magistrate;" that "the magistrate . . . hath authority, and it is his duty to take order, that unity and peace be preserved in the church, that the truth of God be kept pure and entire, that all blasphemies and heresies be suppressed, all corruptions and abuses in worship and discipline prevented or reformed, and all the ordinances of God duly settled, administered, and observed."¹

The other class, far less numerous, had been taught that "the magistrate, by virtue of his office, is not to meddle with religion or matters of conscience, nor to

¹"Declaration of Westminster Assembly," quoted in "Rise of Religious Liberty in America," page 57.

compel men to this or that form of religion or doctrine; but to leave the Christian religion free to every man's conscience, and to handle only civil transactions, injuries, and wrongs of man against man, in murder, adultery, theft, etc." ²

With views thus diametrically opposed, it is not to be



SCROOBY CHURCH

In this church the Pilgrims worshiped before leaving for Holland.

wondered at that the turmoil of the Old World over matters of conscience was continued for a time in the New. John Robinson, the "canonized pastor of the Pilgrims," defended the use of magisterial power "to punish religious actions, he [the magistrate] being the preserver of both tables [of the law of God], and so to

²"Confession of the General Baptist Church," art. 84.

punish all breaches of both, . . . and by some penalty to provoke his subjects universally unto hearing

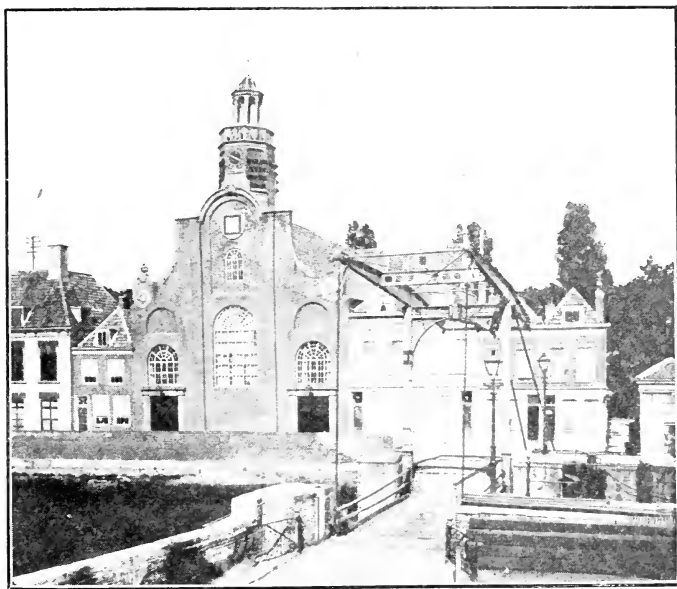


MEMORIAL TABLET TO REV. JOHN ROBINSON ON THE
CHURCH AT LEYDEN

for their instruction and conversion, yea, to inflict the same upon them, if after due teaching they offer not themselves unto the church.”³ “Bishop and king they

³ “Religious Liberty,” page 70.

had left behind, but the ghosts of both were with them still, in the union of church and state and in the use of violent repressive measures to preserve uniformity of religious belief. The Bible was in their right hand, and the sword in their left hand.”⁴ From the use made of



CHURCH AT DELFSHAVEN

In this church the Pilgrims worshiped before leaving Holland to find a home in the New World.

these two swords, it would have been truer to fact to state that the Bible was in their left hand, and the sword in their right.

Concerning the position taken by the leaders in the colonial establishments, Sanford H. Cobb says: “It is true that the Pilgrim Fathers, landing on the ‘stern and

⁴ “Religious Liberty,” page 71.

rock-bound' coast of New England, sought and obtained 'freedom to worship God.' But the usual understanding of Mrs. Hemans' lines, that they desired to establish anything like general religious liberty, is very far from the truth. Their conscious desire was freedom for themselves, never dreaming of extending an equal freedom to such as differed from them in religious opinion."⁵

Mr. Cobb's observation is correct, so far as the Massachusetts Bay Colony is concerned; but it would be hardly just to apply it unqualifiedly to the Plymouth Colony.

A law of Massachusetts, passed in 1664, corroborates Mr. Cobb's statements, and this is only one of many similar laws. After inveighing strongly against the Anabaptists, this law says: "It is ordered and agreed that if any person or persons within this jurisdiction shall either openly condemn or oppose the baptizing of infants, or go about secretly to induce others from the approbation or use thereof, or shall purposely depart the congregation at the administration of the ordinance, or shall deny the ordinance of magistracy or their lawful right or authority to make war or punish the outward breaches of the first table [of the law of God], and shall appear to the court wilfully and obstinately to continue therein after due time and means of conviction, every such person or persons shall be sentenced to banishment."⁶ This law was not permitted to become a dead letter. It was passed in order to enable those who passed it to carry out a set purpose, and they went about it with vigor. "The question of religious toleration," says Charles Francis Adams, "was, so far as Massachusetts could decide it, decided in 1637 in the negative. On that issue Massachusetts then

⁵ "Rise of Religious Liberty in America," page 68.

⁶ "Massachusetts Records," Vol. II, page 85.

definitely and decidedly renounced all claim or desire to lead the advancing column, or even to be near the head of the column; it did not go to the rear, but it went well towards it, and there it remained until the issue was decided." ⁷ John Cotton, than whom no one was better

able to proclaim the sentiment of the times, declared that "toleration made the world anti-christian;" ⁸ that "it was not lawful to persecute any, till after admonition once or twice." ⁹ And then, with that peculiarly sophistical reasoning characteristic of those wedded to the



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In this house in Plymouth, England, the Pilgrims were entertained after leaving Holland, and while waiting for the "Mayflower."

church-and-state idea, he goes on to justify persecution for conscience' sake in these words: "If such a man, after such admonition, shall still persist in the error of his way, and be punished, he is not persecuted for cause of conscience, but for sinning against his own conscience." ¹⁰ Thus did John Cotton and his contem-

⁷ "Massachusetts: Its Historians and Its History," page 11.

⁸ "Rise of Religious Liberty in America," page 68.

⁹ *Id.*, page 69.

¹⁰ *Ib.*

poraries ride over the rights of men, making themselves lords and judges over the consciences of others, and attempting to establish in America a duplicate of the inquisitions of the state churches of the Old World.

In his discussion with Roger Williams, John Cotton frankly declared that "persecution is not wrong in itself;



THE PILGRIMS PREPARING TO EMBARK

it is wicked for falsehood to persecute truth, but it is the sacred duty of truth to persecute falsehood."¹¹ It cannot be questioned that the colony carried faithfully into practise what it believed to be its duty in regard to this matter.

Rev. William Hubbard, the first historian of Massachusetts, in the course of his election sermon preached at the inauguration of Governor Leverett, in 1676, spoke

¹¹ "Beginnings of New England," Fiske, page 178.

thus concerning liberty of religious belief and teaching:—

“As Joab was taken from the horns of the altar, whither he was fled, so let all such heretical transgressors, that fly for safety to the altar of their consciences, seeing their practises and opinions are rather searedness than tenderness of conscience, and therefore such weeds justly



LEAVING THE OLD WORLD FOR THE NEW

deserve the exercise of his power to root them up that bears not the sword in vain.”¹²

Said the Rev. Urian Oakes, in an inaugural sermon preached in 1673:—

“I profess I am heartily for all due moderation. Nevertheless, I must add that I look upon an unbounded toleration as the first-born of all abominations.”¹³

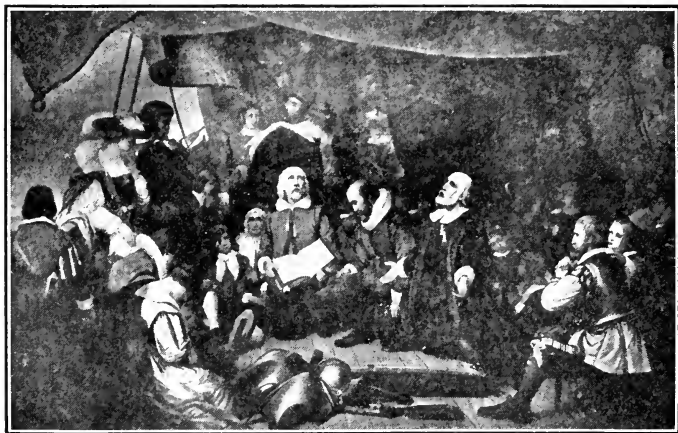
Rev. Thomas Shepard, pastor of the Cambridge

¹²“Massachusetts; Its Historians and Its History,” pages 15-17.

¹³“Ecclesiastical History of New England,” Vol. II, pages 504-506.

church, thus expressed the prevalent opinion of the times:—

“To cut off the hand of the magistrate from touching men for their consciences will certainly in time (if it get ground) be the utter overthrow, as it is the undermining, of the Reformation begun. This opinion is but one of



COMMITTING THEMSELVES TO THE KEEPING OF HIM WHO
HOLDS ALL THINGS IN HIS HAND

the fortresses and strongholds of Satan, to keep his head from crushing by Christ's heele.”¹⁴

Had Dr. Shepard's declaration been true, all the leaders of the Reformation would have been culpable and fighting against God in exercising the rights of conscience while Rome held sway over the consciences of men. It is beside the point to answer that the Catholic religion is false and Protestantism true. When Protestantism set itself over the consciences of men, it adopted the principles of the Papacy to that extent,—adopted

¹⁴See “Massachusetts: Its Historians and Its History,” pages 15-17.

the principles which made the Papacy what it was and is. The Roman Catholic has the same right to his belief and his system of religion that the Protestant has to his. The great iniquity comes in when the Catholic claims the right to compel other men to accept *his* religion and be religious in *his* way, or suffer the penalties of the law



JOHN ROBINSON AND HIS LITTLE FLOCK WATCHING THE
"MAYFLOWER" BEAR THEIR FRIENDS OUT TO SEA

for refusal. And if that is iniquitous in the Roman Catholic, it is iniquitous in the Protestant as well. In fact, the Protestant's cry against the course of the Papacy in this regard only accentuates the inconsistency of the Protestant when he advocates or practises the same principles.

It is equally beside the point to declare, when men are made offenders for matters of faith, that they are not arraigned because of religion or conscience, but because of disobedience to law. Governor John Winthrop, of Massachusetts, asserted emphatically that the courts had not censured doctrine, but only "declared it to tend to sedition." "We do not challenge power over men's

consciences," he said, "but when seditious speeches and practises discover such a corrupt conscience, it is our duty to use authority to reform both."¹⁵ Mrs. Anne Hutchinson was banished for her religious teachings; and yet the governor declared her "case was not a matter of conscience, but of a civil nature."¹⁶

The reply that John Cotton made to Roger Will-



THE "MAYFLOWER," IN ICY ARMOR, REACHES AMERICA
She is lying in what is now Plymouth harbor.

iams is characteristic of this style of reasoning:—

"To excommunicate an heretick, is not to persecute; that is, it is not to punish an innocent, but a culpable and damnable person, and that not for conscience, but for persisting in error against light of conscience, whereof it hath been convinced."¹⁷

Says Rev. Thomas Shepard again:—

"As for New England, we never banished any for

¹⁵ "Short Story," page 28.

¹⁶ "Massachusetts: Its Historians and Its History," page 21.

¹⁷ "Answer to Williams," in "Narragansett Club Collections," Vol. III, pages 48, 49.

their consciences, but for sinning against conscience, after due means of conviction.”¹⁸

The sophistry of such arguments should be apparent to all. It made the courts the judges of men's consciences. The courts must decide whether men, in following their religious convictions, were actuated by a good conscience or a perverse one. It made one man's con-



LANDING OF THE PILGRIMS

science the judge of another man's conscience. It established a reason for an inquisition, if it did not establish the Inquisition itself. The fallacious character of such reasoning is fittingly laid bare by the historian Buckle in these words:—

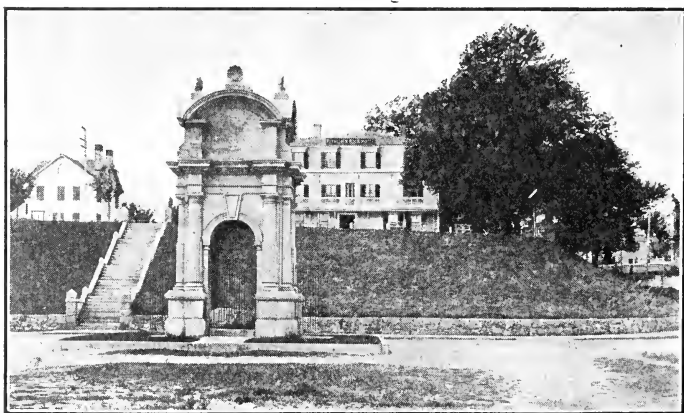
“This is the stale pretense of the clergy in all countries, after they have solicited the government to make penal laws against those they call heretics or schismatics, and prompted the magistrates to a vigorous execution,

¹⁸ Quoted in “Massachusetts: Its Historians and Its History,” page 23.

then they lay all the odium on the civil power, for whom they have no excuse, but that such men suffered, not for religion, but for disobedience to law." ¹⁹

This indictment should not lie, however, against all the clergy; for the freedom we enjoy today is concrete evidence that not all the clergy have been guilty of the charge.

In 1631 Roger Williams landed in Boston. He had



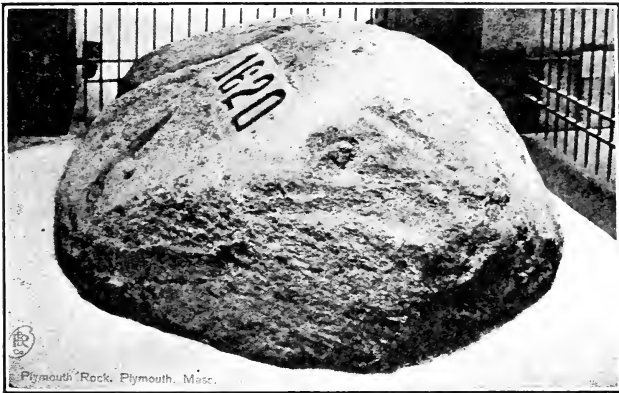
PLYMOUTH ROCK UNDER ITS STONE CANOPY

left England because of Archbishop Laud's animosity toward him and the views he held. He was not long in New England before he began to proclaim the doctrine of soul freedom, and the unrighteousness of the magistrate's interference in the realm of conscience. He proclaimed it openly; fearlessly, and in spite of the admonitions of friends and the warnings and threats of enemies. Realizing finally his imminent danger, Williams left Salem and went to Plymouth, where the more tolerant Pilgrims received him, and to them he ministered for two

¹⁹ "History of Civilization," Vol. I, pages 338, 339.

years. His return to a pastorate at Salem was soon followed (October, 1635) by his trial and banishment.

One year previous to Williams' banishment, Mrs. Anne Hutchinson landed at Boston, and soon found herself in the toils of the law for holding independent meetings, and for criticizing some of the clergy. Mrs. Hutchinson was banished from the colony, as was also her brother-in-law, whose offense lay in preaching a



PLYMOUTH ROCK

sermon defending her views. Banishment was the portion of many another who dared to assert his right to believe and to teach in accordance with his own convictions.

In those days there was no sin so heinous in the eyes of the established church in Massachusetts as the sin of being a Quaker. Ship captains were forbidden to bring Quakers into the country, under penalty of a fine of one hundred pounds, with imprisonment until paid.²⁰ A number of these proscribed people were beaten on the

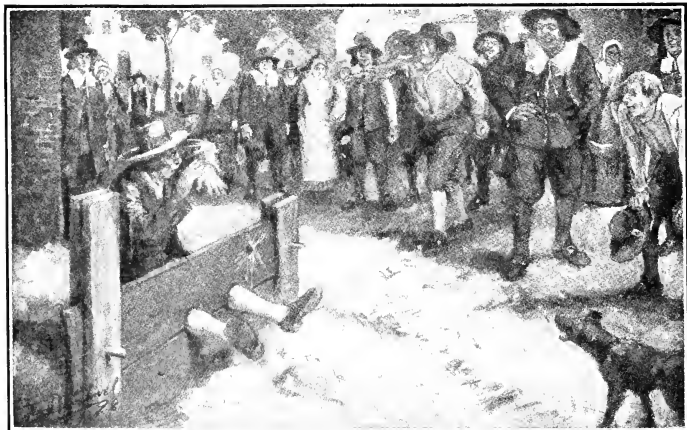
²⁰ See "Massachusetts Records," Vol. IV, part 1, page 278.



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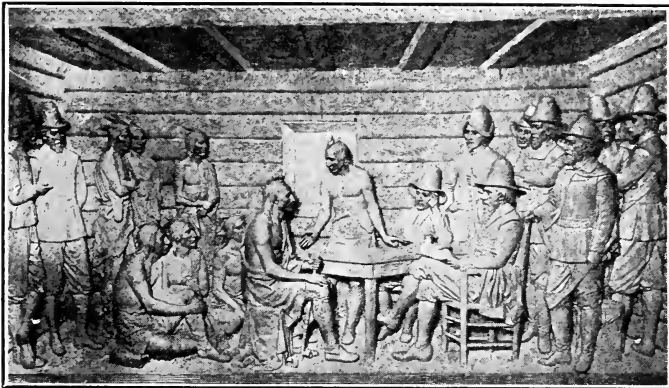
OLD FORT ON BURIAL HILL

This hill is now Plymouth Cemetery, where are buried most of the early residents of the place.



A QUAKER IN THE STOCKS FOR BEING A QUAKER

bare backs with whips through three towns; some (and these included women) were taken long distances into the wilderness, and left without food or shelter;²¹ others were imprisoned for as long as six days without food;²² their meetings were forbidden under pain of heavy penalties, and those who informed upon them were given one third of the amount of the fine. Four were hanged, and a fifth was sentenced to death; but the latter's fearless



THE PILGRIMS MAKING A TREATY WITH THE INDIANS ; SQUANTO
ACTING AS INTERPRETER

stand for his rights as a British subject averted the execution of the sentence. But the cruel persecution did not cease with that. There has, perhaps, been no more shocking illustration of the cruelty of the church-and-state régime than the sale, as slaves, of two Quaker children who had been deprived of their parents by the execution of the laws against Quakers.²³ Into such

²¹ See "History of the Quakers," Vol. II, page 184.

²² *Id.*, pages 228, 229.

²³ "Massachusetts Records," Vol. IV, part 1, page 366.



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FOREFATHERS' MONUMENT AT PLYMOUTH

On the front of this monument is this inscription: "National monument to the forefathers, erected by a grateful people in remembrance of their labors, sacrifices, and sufferings for the cause of civil and religious liberty."

terrible iniquity have professed men of God been led when they have abandoned the example and teaching of their Master, and so have made religion a matter of civil legislation, regulated under corporal pains and penalties in the interests of theological uniformity. Concerning that purpose Thomas Clarke says: "The Church of England was never in a worse condition than when the prisons were crowded with the victims of uniformity. Her ministers had no occasion to emulate the zeal and assiduity of schismatics; they could incarcerate them. . . . To promote and establish uniformity all means have been tried, not excepting the worst, and long tried, and tried under every diversity of circumstance, and with all the aids of subtlety and address. The experiment has failed and wholly failed."²⁴

The Puritan establishment had outlawed conscience, and in so doing it wrote a record from whose rehearsal later generations recoil in shame and pity. The suffering of the persecuted was a bitter cup, but their cruel tormentors and executioners will never cease to be reprobated so long as history is read. And yet their deeds were but the logical outgrowth of that iniquitous wedlock — a union of religion and the state.

²⁴ "History of Intolerance," Vol. II, page 416.

CHAPTER VI

Conscience Outlawed in Virginia

THE early history of Virginia proves again the proposition that wherever religion and the state are united, conscience is crucified, and the true worshipers of God are winnowed from the chaff by the fierce breath of persecution.

The first Virginia charter, issued by King James I, in the year 1606, specifically sets forth the religious character of the Virginia expedition. To that charter there was added the provision "that the said presidents, councils, and the ministers should provide that the Word and science of God be preached, planted, and used, not only in the said colonies, but also as much as might be among the savages bordering among them, according to the rites and doctrines of the Church of England." In the second charter, issued in 1609, the same provision was made for the establishment of the Church of England in that colony, and it also contained a provision designed to exclude from the colony those outside the fold of that church.

The company was licensed to take to Virginia "all persons wishing to go thither who would take the oath of supremacy." They must swear allegiance to the Church of England before the company would embark them. While this ruled out all conscientious dissenters, it opened the door to a multitude of unscrupulous persons who would have as much voice in the government, as much influence in molding sentiment toward dissenters, as would the kindest and most conscientious members of the establishment. It was but natural that such con-

scienceless individuals, desiring to stand well with the theocratic government, should assist in carrying into effect the harsh measures of the church-and-state régime, or even help in framing such measures. At the same time history testifies that these persons "displayed their condition in all kinds of looseness."

Another of the anomalies of the situation was illustrated in the fact that while sturdy, conscientious, and devout Christian dissenters were not permitted by the king's charter to enter the colony, yet the government attempted to make Virginia a place of exile for the criminals of England, and did succeed in sending over fifty of "such rogues as are dangerous to the common people." Concerning this policy Stith says, "It hath laid the finest countries in America under just scandall of being a mere hell upon earth."¹

This policy seems to have had a reflex influence upon the ministry itself, and many a great "scandall" was created by the clergymen of the established church, so that it became necessary to enact legislation specially covering transgressions of the clergy. The purpose named in the first charter — the conversion of the Indians — was greatly retarded by such conditions. A letter written at the time by a member of the colony to the bishop of London complains of the general conduct of the colonists, in these words: "Through the licentious lives of many of them the Christian religion is like still to be dishonored, and the name of God blasphemed among the heathen, who are near them and oft among them, and consequently their conversion hindered."²

These conditions were a source of anxiety to many from the first, and we find that as early as 1612 an at-

¹ "History of Virginia."

² "Virginia's Cure" (a letter written by R. G. to the bishop of London in 1661), in "Historical Tracts," Force, Vol. III.

tempt was made to remedy them by legislation. It was conspicuously a result of church-and-state union, and the remedy attempted was a church-and-state remedy. In the year named, Governor Dale proclaimed his "Lawes Divine, Moral, and Martial," and if religious legislation could make men moral and religious, the fact ought to have been demonstrated in Virginia on that occasion; for it is difficult to imagine more rigorous "lawes" than those of Governor Dale's rigid code. The following is the substance of some of them:—

1. To speak impiously of the Trinity or one of the divine persons, or against the known articles of Christian faith, was punishable with death.

2. The penalty of death avenged "blaspheming God's holy name."

3. To curse, or "banne,"— for the first offense some severe punishment; for the second a "bodkin should be thrust through the tongue;" if the culprit was incorrigible, he should suffer death.

4. To say or do anything "to the derision or despite of God's Holy Word," or in disrespect of any minister, exposed the offender to be "openly whipped three times, and to ask public forgiveness in the assembly of the congregation, three several Saboth daies."

5. Non-attendance on religious service entailed a penalty,— for the first offense, the stoppage of allowance; for the second, whipping; for the third, the galleys for six months.

6. For Sabbath-breaking the first offense brought the stoppage of allowance; the second, whipping; the third, death.

7. Whoever came into the colony must at once repair to the minister for examination in the faith. If it transpired that he was unsound, he was to be instructed.

Refusal to go to the minister for examination entailed a whipping. On a second refusal the culprit was to be whipped twice, and compelled to "acknowledge his fault on Saboth day in the assembly of the congregation;" for a third refusal he should be "whipped every day until he makes acknowledgment." ³

These laws in which the functions of church and state were so irreverently jumbled, signally failed in the work of producing a paradise of peace and morality, or in saving the souls of the hypocrites and the heathen. The fierce execution of these laws by Governor Dale's successor, Governor Argall, resulted in their repeal by the company in London, and the appointment of a new governor (Yeadley) in 1618.

The repeal of these laws did not, however, in any sense disestablish the church. The instructions to the new government directed the officials to "take into their special regard the service of Almighty God and the observance of his divine laws; and that the people should be trained up in true religion and virtue; . . . to the order and administration of divine service, according to the form and discipline of the Church of England; . . . and to cause that the ministers should be duly respected and maintained." ⁴

Members of the established church, dissenters, and members of no church were required to submit to taxation for the support of the state religion; and among the earliest measures of the first assembly whose acts have been preserved (that of 1623) was a law to the effect that "there should be in every plantation, where the people are to meet for the worship of God, a house or room sequestered for that purpose, and not to be for any

³"Historical Tracts," Force, Vol. III.

⁴"Colonial Church," Vol. I, page 328.

temporal use whatever.”⁵ It was further provided that “there should be a uniformity in our church as near as may be to the canons in England, both in substance and in circumstance, and that all persons yield readie obedience under pain of censure.”⁶ Penalties were provided for failure to comply with these religious laws; for instance, he who absented himself one Sunday from church was fined five pounds of tobacco.⁷

In 1629 the assembly passed a law ordering that “all ministers conform themselves to the canons of the Church of England.”⁸ Through this and other similar enactments the lot of clergymen who did not belong to the established church was made extremely uncomfortable. When Lord Baltimore, a Roman Catholic, came to Virginia on his way to establish the Maryland colony, the governor and council insisted that if he should make even a temporary sojourn in Virginia, he “must take the oath of supremacy.” As that would mean a renunciation of his faith, he refused to do this, and so was compelled to quit the colony.

For a time Virginia was quite tolerant toward the Puritans; but in 1639 there came a decided change. The Church of England archbishops, Bancroft and Laud, vehemently protested against allowing Puritans to settle in Virginia, and King Charles I finally issued a proclamation forbidding their emigration to that colony.⁹ In harmony with the example of the archbishops and king, the Colonial Assembly in 1642 began to enact legislation designed to strengthen the establishment against all its opponents. These new laws made obliga-

⁵ “Statutes at Large,” Vol. I, page 122.

⁶ *Ib.*

⁷ “History of the Virginia Baptists,” Semple, page 28.

⁸ “Statutes at Large,” Vol. I, page 149.

⁹ See “Rise of Religious Liberty in America,” page 84.

tory a rigid performance of the liturgy of the Church of England, disfranchised Romanists, and provided that any Roman Catholic priest entering the colony must depart within five days. Three Puritan ministers who had come down from Massachusetts in answer to a call for ministerial help, soon found conditions so intolerant there that they were compelled to leave, Governor Berkeley taking the position that "to tolerate Puritanism was to resist the king."¹⁰ Another minister also, a Mr. Duřand, was banished by the governor, and the Puritan services were suppressed. Members of the established church even went so far as to attribute the Indian massacre of 1644 to divine displeasure because certain members of the colony had harbored the Puritans.¹¹ Others attributed the massacre to divine displeasure because of the persecution of the Puritans. Thus was demonstrated again the ridiculous inconsistency of church-and-state union — the established church of Virginia persecuting the members of the established church of Massachusetts, and both claiming to be the body of Christ on earth, sole custodians of his truth, sole recipients of his blessings, and sole dispensers of salvation.

It was in Virginia particularly that the Presbyte-



WILLIAM LAUD, ARCHBISHOP
OF CANTERBURY

¹⁰ "Ecclesiastical History of New England," Vol. II, page 7.

¹¹ "Old Virginia."

rians learned what intolerance means. The Baptists had known for many years, practically as well as theoretically, the iniquity and cruelty of a union of religion and the state. The Presbyterians saw in Virginia, from a different viewpoint than ever before, how persecution looks to the one who experiences it. In Scotland the Presbyterians had conducted themselves toward dissenters very much as the Church of England had done. But in Massachusetts, where Congregationalism was established, the Presbyterians were not received with open arms; and in Virginia, where the Episcopal Church was established by the state, their worship was under the ban, and their ministers were subjected to many inconveniences and petty annoyances.

In Foote's "Sketches of Virginia," we find this statement in reference to conditions in that colony: "Toleration in the form of religion was unknown in Virginia in 1688. From the commencement of the colony, the necessity of the religious element was felt. The company knew not how to control the members composing the colony but by religion and law. They exercised a despotism in both."¹² Such a despotism has been the inevitable result of such a union.

In the year 1643 the colonial assembly passed a law requiring that all non-conformists depart from the colony "with all conveniency."¹³ The colonial charter made withdrawal from the established church a crime equal to revolt against the government. Any person so withdrawing from the "doctrines, rites, and religion now professed and established" was to be arrested and imprisoned until he should reform, or, "when the cause so requireth, that he shall with all convenient speed be sent into our

¹² "Sketches of Virginia," Foote, page 25.

¹³ "Statutes at Large," Vol. I, page 277.

realm of England, here to receive condign punishment, for his or their said offense.”¹⁴

An act passed by the Virginia Assembly in 1661-62, evidently aimed at the Quakers, as there were no Baptists in the colony at that time, reads as follows:—

“*Whereas*, Many schismatical persons, out of their averseness to the orthodox established religion, or out of the new-fangled conceits of their own heretical inventions, refuse to have their children baptized; be it therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid, that all persons that, in contempt of the divine sacrament of baptism, shall refuse when they may carry their children to a lawful minister in that country to have them baptized, shall be amerced two thousand pounds of tobacco; half to the informer, half to the public.”¹⁵

In the year 1643 a régime of the cruelest intolerance was instituted by Governor Berkeley, who strove by whippings and brandings to make the inhabitants of that colony conform to the established church. As a result of these bitter persecutions, the Baptists and Quakers were driven from the colony, and found refuge in North Carolina. Dr. Semple, writing of the experience of the early Quakers, declares that “the utmost degree of persecution was exercised against them.”¹⁶

Thomas Armitage, in his “History of the Baptists,” states that at this period in the history of Virginia the most dissolute among the orthodox clergy “so embittered the spirits of the baser class against the pure and godly men who went everywhere preaching the word, that, even after the Toleration Act [of England] had compelled

¹⁴ “History of the Baptists,” Armitage (Bryan, Taylor & Co., New York, 1887), page 724.

¹⁵ “Sketches of Virginia,” page 34.

¹⁶ “History of the Virginia Baptists,” page 29.

the colony to modify her laws, and they could not legally be imprisoned for preaching the gospel, mob law was let loose upon them everywhere, and they were thrust into prison for the sin of others in disturbing the public peace. Everywhere their congregations were disturbed and broken up." ¹⁷ Says Howe, "A snake and a hornets' nest were thrown into their meeting, and even in one case firearms were brought to disperse them." Taylor says that the Baptist ministers were "fined, pelted, beaten, imprisoned, poisoned, and hunted with dogs; their congregations were assaulted and dispersed; the solemn ordinance of baptism was rudely interrupted, both administrators and candidates being plunged and held beneath the water till nearly dead; they suffered mock trials, and even in courts of justice were subjected to indignities not unlike those inflicted by the infamous Jeffreys." ¹⁸ To such an extent can professed Christianity forget itself when wedded to the idea of a union of religion and the state!

About thirty Baptist ministers were imprisoned in Virginia, some of them several times; but they improved their time and opportunities by preaching through the bars of their prison to the crowds who came to listen; and through that preaching many were brought to Christ. Upon this point Dr. Hawks gives this testimony:—

"No dissenters in Virginia experienced for a time harsher treatment than did the Baptists. They were beaten and imprisoned; and cruelty taxed its ingenuity to devise new modes of punishment and annoyance. The usual consequences followed. Persecution made friends for its victims; and the men who were not permitted to speak in public found willing auditors in the

¹⁷ "History of the Baptists," page 729.

¹⁸ *Ib.*

sympathizing crowds who gathered around the prisons to hear them preach from the grated windows." ¹⁹

Interfered with in their intolerant plans by the home government, the local authorities and the established church devised a way to accomplish their aim. Says Semple:—

"It seems by no means certain that any law in force in Virginia authorized the imprisonment of any person for preaching. The law for the preservation of peace, however, was so interpreted as to answer this purpose, and, accordingly, whenever the preachers were apprehended, it was done by a peace warrant. . . . The first instance of actual imprisonment, we believe, that ever took place in Virginia was in the county of Spotsylvania. On June 4, 1768, John Waller, Lewis Craig, James Childs, etc., were seized by the sheriff, and haled before three magistrates. . . . They offered to release them if they would preach no more in the county for a year and a day. This they refused, and therefore were sent into close jail." ²⁰

Historians of the period give only a few "sample cases of imprisonment," declaring that "there were many others besides."

But it was not alone in the matter of the imprisonment of ministers that the established church showed how unlike Christ the professed Christian can be when he makes his religion an affair of law. Very ingenious devices were resorted to in order to make as difficult as possible the promulgation of principles or doctrines not authorized by the established church. For instance, after the passage of the Act of Toleration, which was

¹⁹ "History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Virginia," page 121.

²⁰ "History of the Virginia Baptists," pages 14, 15.

designed by King William to ease the condition of dissenters, the Virginia government made illegal the holding of meetings in any buildings not designated and licensed by the authorities as places of worship. These authorities were under the control of the established church, and it can readily be surmised that the designating and licensing of these places for dissenters to hold worship in was not very promptly nor enthusiastically attended to. Wherever these authorities could withhold such licenses with any show of excuse whatever, they did so. Upon one occasion the license for a place of worship was refused a Baptist company because there was already in that county a Presbyterian meeting-house. Even the licensed preachers among the Baptists were compelled to bear arms and attend the musters of the militia, a thing which was never required under any circumstances of the ministers of the established church. For a dissenting minister to preach in a meeting-house not designated in his license was prohibited by law, and Baptists, Quakers, and Presbyterians were forbidden to hold meetings at night.

On March 26, 1770, the Virginia Baptists petitioned the assembly, setting forth their grievances in the above matters, and asking for relief. The committee to which the petition was referred brought in this resolution:—

“Resolved, That it is the opinion of the committee that so much of the said petition as prays that the ministers or preachers of the Baptist persuasion may not be compelled to bear arms or attend musters be rejected.”

This was agreed to by the house. The unfairness which always manifests itself wherever religion and the state are united is well illustrated in the following:—

“The enemy, not content with ridicule and defamation, manifested their abhorrence to the Baptists in an-

other way. By a law then in force in Virginia, all were under obligation to go to church several times in the year; the failure subjected them to a fine. Little notice was taken of the omission, if members of the established church; but so soon as the 'New Lights' were absent [from church], they were presented by the grand jury, and fined according to law."²¹

And we have seen this same disposition manifested in our day, where observers of the seventh day of the week have been haled before the courts for failure to observe Sunday as a rest day, when at the same time others who did not profess to keep the seventh day were permitted to labor on Sunday unmolested. It was only necessary for the colonial magistrates to know that the Baptists had meetings of their own to attend, in order to exercise at once arbitrary and usurped authority over them. If persons were absent from the established church upon principle, it was an indictable offense; if they were absent to minister to their own pleasure, it was not so serious a matter to the minions of the establishment. And just so does it prove today when the labor performed upon Sunday is done by one who conscientiously rests upon another day, and just as conscientiously works upon Sunday.

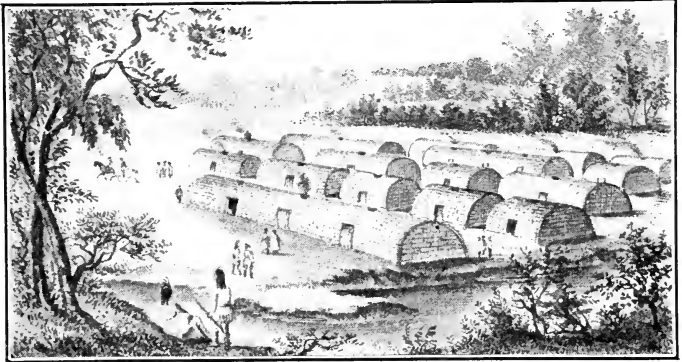
Thus has it been proved repeatedly that to establish a church, or to unite religion and the state, is to outlaw conscience. The established church has without exception been a mill whose grists were the consciences of men, and whose product, arrogance, strife, bitter persecution, hatred, and hypocrisy. The established church attempts to set itself in the very gateway of heaven, to determine who shall enter therein.

²¹ "History of the Kettocton Baptist Association," William Fris-
toe, page 69.

CHAPTER VII

Conflicts and Triumphs in New York

THE settlement of Manhattan [New York] grew directly out of the great continental struggle of Protestantism."¹ The truth of this statement will be recognized when we take into account the diversity of peoples who made up the majority of the earliest set-

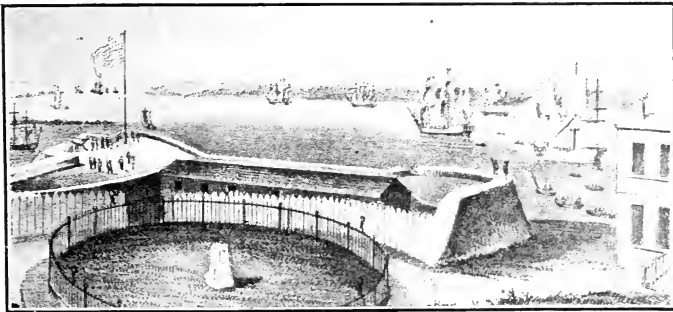


AN INDIAN VILLAGE OF THE MANHATTANS PRIOR TO THE
ARRIVAL OF THE DUTCH

tlers. From Germany came the Lutherans, out of the turmoil of the Thirty Years' war; from France came the Huguenots, seeking an asylum of refuge; from Scotland came the Presbyterians, as also they came from intolerant Massachusetts; while Jews, Quakers, Anabaptists, and Moravians formed no inconsiderable portion of the whole, coming from where they might. But towering over all in point of control was the Dutch Re-

¹ "History of the United States," Bancroft, Vol. II, page 277.

formed (Presbyterian) Church, which was made the established church of the colony. The first intent of the founders of the settlement on Manhattan was to give a very large measure of religious liberty. Although the founders declared that "religion shall be taught and preached there [in Manhattan] according to the confession and formularies of union here [in Holland] publicly accepted," it was further declared that no person "shall be hereby in any wise constrained or aggrieved in his conscience."² Two years later, 1640, the founders



BATTERY AND BOWLING GREEN, NEW YORK CITY, AS IT
APPEARED DURING THE REVOLUTION

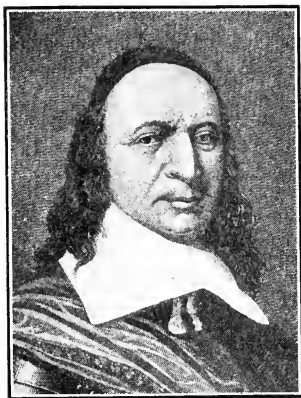
of the colony established the Dutch Reformed Church as the state church. The article of establishment reads:—

"No other religion shall be publicly admitted in New Netherlands except the Reformed as it is at present preached and practised by public authority in the United Netherlands; and for this purpose the company shall provide and maintain good and suitable preachers, schoolmasters, and comforters of the sick."

²"Colonial History of New York," Vol. I, page 110.

³Id., page 119.

This was church establishment pure and simple, a union of one church with the state, and the state supporting the preachers of the established religion, while the teacher of any other religion was made *persona non grata*. But notwithstanding the uncompromising language of the declaration, the conditions were not made severe for dissenters from the establishment until Peter Stuyvesant became governor. For instance, in the year



PETER STUYVESANT

1642, when the Rev. F. Doughty, who had been expelled from the church of Taunton, Mass., came to Long Island with a company of followers, they were given permission to settle there, and it was ordained: "They shall enjoy the free exercise of religion."⁴ The celebrated Anne Hutchinson, after her expulsion from Massachusetts, found an asylum in Manhattan.

There was a marked change, however, in the matter of tolerance, when, in the year 1646, Governor Stuyvesant of New York began his tempestuous reign. Whether a man was Dutch Reformed, Catholic, or general dissenter, he must supply his allotted portion of the support of the established church. In 1651 a law was passed requiring that judges must be "promoters of the Reformed religion."⁵ The Lutherans were the first dissenters to come into open conflict with the government over the matter of religion. They petitioned the government for liberty of worship

⁴"Laws of New Netherlands," page 27.

⁵Id., page 395.

and for permission to send for a Lutheran minister. The petition was denied in both particulars.⁶ They then held services in their houses without a minister. This aroused the wrath of the governor. He caused some of the offenders to be imprisoned, and warned all to cease dissenting worship. His course in this matter, however, was not pleasing to the directors of the colony in Holland, and he was ordered in future not to prohibit the Lutherans from holding worship in their own houses; but they were not permitted to send for a minister of their faith. Further than this, and most objectionable, they were required to bring their children to a Dutch Reformed church, and have them baptized at the hands of a Dutch Reformed minister.

The governor sent a special request to the directors asking that no Jews be permitted "to infest New Netherlands." The directors answered that the request was unjust and unreasonable; that Jews should be permitted to come on condition that they care for their own poor; but they were not to have "the privilege of exercising their religion in a synagogue or at a gathering. If they desire this, refer them to us."⁷

The holding of a meeting by a Baptist, and the complaint against the "unlawful service" made by the Dutch ministers, resulted in a stringent order by the council absolutely forbidding all conventicles or meetings, whether public or private, apart from the services of the established church, and imposing a fine of £100 Flemish upon the preacher holding such a meeting, and £25 upon every one found in attendance. Under this law a Baptist minister, Wickendam, was fined £100, and banished; the sheriff in whose house the meeting was held was

⁶ "New Netherlands," Vol. II, page 320.

⁷ "Laws of New Netherlands," page 193.

fined £50, and deprived of his office; and one Henry Townsend was fined £8 for having had prayer-meetings in his house. If he failed to pay the fine, the sentence provided that he should be whipped and banished.

Against the Quakers the governor is said to have been "exceedingly mad." Ten of this sect who had come to New Amsterdam (Manhattan) from Boston were immediately arrested and placed in jail, and that, too, without any overt act on their part. One of these, who escaped the arresting officer, and conducted meetings in Hempstead, was there arrested and brought back to the governor. The latter had this godly man thrown into jail, and finally condemned him to two years' hard labor "at the wheelbarrow with a Negro."⁸ Because of his inability or disinclination to work out this unjust sentence, "the governor caused him to be beaten unmercifully, several successive days, and to be strung up by his hands with a log tied to his feet. He was finally released through the intercession of Governor Stuyvesant's sister."⁹

New Amsterdam proved little better than Massachusetts Bay in its treatment of these inoffensive people. For daring "to provide a Quaker woman with lodging," the clerk of the town of Gravesend was fined £12 Flemish, and later he, with two others, Henry and John Townsend, was banished for "harboring Quakers." It was also "ordered that soldiers be quartered on all inhabitants of Rustdorp who did not promise to have nothing to do with Quakers."¹⁰

The restrictions against all non-conforming sects continued to increase in severity until the matter was brought strongly to the attention of the directors of the

⁸ "Rise of Religious Liberty in America," page 318.

⁹ *Ib.*

¹⁰ *Id.*, page 319.

company in Holland by one of the exiled Quakers, when a sharp letter of rebuke was sent by them to the governor, commanding a cessation of the unchristian course which the New Amsterdam government had been pursuing. This brought to an end the persecution in New Netherlands, as far as the Dutch governor was concerned.

In 1664 New Netherlands was compelled to surrender to the British, and became New York. When the Church of England assumed the prerogatives of an established church there, in place of the Dutch Reformed Church, the old story of intolerance was gradually taken up again, particularly under the administration of Lord Cornbury.

The members of the Dutch Reformed Church, because of certain provisions in the articles of capitulation, were more considerately treated by the new government than were the members of any other sect. The legislation relating to church establishment was very unsatisfactory to the English governor, Fletcher, during whose administration it was passed, and leaves considerable ground for the contention that the Church of England was never really established in New York. Nevertheless, the English governors, who were, of course, members and supporters of the Church of England, did presume to exercise much authority in matters of religion, always to the temporal advantage of the English church.

The Presbyterians seem to have been special objects of Governor Cornbury's wrath, manifested most conspicuously in two cases,— the spoliation of the Jamaica (N. Y.) church, and the arrest, trial, and imprisonment of Rev. Francis Mackemie.

The town of Jamaica was founded in 1656 by English people, the large majority of whom were Presbyterians

or of Presbyterian preferences. Forty-three years after the founding of the town, a stone church was built by public tax. After the building of this church, some members of the Church of England came to Jamaica. The fine stone church of the Presbyterians aroused in them the feeling of covetousness, and learning that the church had been erected by public taxation, they determined that it should be taken from the Presbyterians and turned over to the church established in the home land, which they claimed was now established in the colony. They needed a place for divine worship, and this offered a more attractive way of obtaining one than to bear the expense of erecting it themselves. In doing this, they were putting themselves in a paradoxical attitude — stealing a church in which to worship Him who said, "Thou shalt not steal." They eased their consciences, however, by the argument that the established church was the only church that had a right to profit by public taxation; but they overlooked two facts which should have had great weight in deciding the question of their right to appropriate the property: first, the people taxed for the erection of that church were almost wholly Presbyterians; and, second, if any church was established by the law of 1693, every church of Protestants was established, the Presbyterian as well as the Episcopal.

These facts, however, had no weight with the members of the Church of England newly come to the place, and they took steps at once to secure possession. A minister of their faith was invited to Jamaica, and one Sunday, after the Presbyterian pastor had closed his service, the Episcopal clergyman, with his people, slipped into the church, held a Church of England service, and laid claim to the building. The intruding congregation was expelled by the people of the town. Their ex-

pulsion aroused the wrath of Governor Cornbury, who took measures at once to turn the Presbyterians out of their edifice, and gave it to the Episcopalians.

Nor was this the limit of the outrage. The governor ordered the Presbyterian minister to vacate the parsonage. The minister, declining to heed the order, was ejected by the sheriff. At the same time the governor ordered the vestrymen of the church to put into the possession of the Church of England clergyman the land set aside by the parish for the benefit of the church, and the justices were ordered to levy a tax upon the general public for his support. When this outrage had been completed, the new pastor wrote home to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel that Governor Cornbury was "a true nursing father to our infancy here."¹¹

This questionable method of "nursing" the church was demonstrated in other places. At Newtown, N. Y., a building belonging to another dissenting church was put into the hands of another Church of England congregation by the same means. After four years the church at Jamaica came again into the hands of the Presbyterians. Possession was regained in the following way: the Episcopal pastor died, and his daughter married a Presbyterian minister, who at once took up his residence in the parsonage. The vestrymen of the church, all of whom were still Presbyterians, elected him to the pastorate of the church. The edifice from that time on remained in the possession of the Presbyterians.

Such acts as those of the governor and the established church in this instance can be truly denominated only as high-handed robbery; and no church, save one made blind to the precepts of the moral law by its dependence upon the arm of flesh rather than upon the power of God,

¹¹ "Documentary History," Vol. III, page 130.

could be a party to such disgraceful proceedings. But such moral obliquity has ever been the characteristic concomitant of a state-fostered religion. The name or the creed of the church has never been able to save it from trampling upon the most sacred rights of others, and even upon the precepts of the very law of God itself, when once the church has accepted the state as its "nursing father" or its companion in the unsanctified wedlock of church-and-state union.

In 1707 Rev. Francis Mackemie, who had for some years been aiding the cause of Presbyterianism in Virginia, came to New York on his way to Massachusetts, and was granted permission by the officials of the Dutch Reformed congregation to preach in their church. Governor Cornbury, learning of this, forbade the use of the church for that purpose, and declared it to be his prerogative to determine who should and who should not preach in that province. Mr. Mackemie was invited to preach in the home of Mr. William Jackson, and did so, "with open doors." Rev. John Hampton, who was traveling with Mr. Mackemie, also preached on the same Sunday at Newtown.

Governor Cornbury's ire was at once kindled, and he ordered the arrest of both men, who, he declared, had "taken upon them to preach in a private house, without having obtained any license for so doing." He further declared that they had "gone into Long Island with intent there to spread their pernicious doctrines and principles to the disturbance of the church by law established."¹² To the officials of an established church and to the officials of a government that establishes a church, all doctrine save that taught by the church so favored is pernicious doctrine. It is not enough that the doctrine

¹² "Rise of Religious Liberty in America," page 352.

be in perfect harmony with the Word of God. It must be in harmony with the creed of the established church, and licensed by the state, or it is unlawful and "pernicious." Thus does Satan, when church and state are joined, play the part of censor for the kingdom of Christ, and shackle the ordained ambassadors of that kingdom.

The two ministers were arrested and brought before the governor for examination. He arrogantly demanded, "How dare you to take it upon you to preach in my government without a license?"¹³ Mr. Mackemie declared that he had complied with the provisions of the Act of Toleration passed in the first year of the reign of King William and Queen Mary, and was therefore at liberty to preach in the dominions over which their jurisdiction extended. The governor loftily argued that the act did not extend to New York; but the undaunted preacher demonstrated that it did, and offered to pay the prosecuting attorney for showing a single sentence of the law that proved it local in its application. The attorney produced none. Baffled in his attempts to confound Mr. Mackemie, the governor then declared: "That act of Parliament was made against strolling preachers, and you are such, and shall not preach in my government."¹⁴

Mr. Mackemie showed the falsity of this argument by appealing to the law itself and the condition of the Quakers under it. He said:—

"There is not one word, my lord, mentioned in any part of the law against traveling or strolling preachers, as Your Excellency is pleased to call them; and we are to judge that to be the true end of the law which is specified in the preamble thereof, which is: 'For the satisfying

¹³ "Virginia Presbyterianism and Religious Liberty," T. C. Johnson (1907), page 17.

¹⁴ *Id.*, page 21.

scrupulous consciences and uniting the subjects of England in interest and affection.' And it is well known to all, my lord, that Quakers, who have liberty by this law, have few or no fixed teachers, but are chiefly taught by such as travel, and it is known to all that such are sent forth by the yearly meeting at London, and travel and teach over the plantations, and are not molested."

"I have troubled some of them," retorted the governor, "and will trouble them more. . . . You shall not spread your pernicious doctrines here."¹⁵

At the close of the examination, "the governor demanded that Mackemie give bond and security for good behavior, and that he should not preach any more in his government. The steadfast preacher replied that though he 'had no way broke' his behavior, endeavoring always to keep a 'conscience void of offense toward God and man,' yet, his lordship requiring it, he would give security for his good behavior, but that he 'neither could nor dared' give bond and security to preach no more in His 'Excellency's government.'" "Then," said Governor Cornbury, "you must go to gaol."¹⁶

Mackemie and Hampton were therefore thrown into jail, and the sheriff was ordered to hold them "until further orders," instead of "until delivered by due course of law." The form of commitment, as well as the arrest and imprisonment, was illegal. The whole procedure was based upon the arbitrary will of the governor, who, because at the head of a church-and-state system, felt that he must rule over the consciences and religious practises of men as well as over their temporal affairs.

Six weeks and four days these men were held in jail

¹⁵ "Virginia Presbyterianism and Religious Liberty," T. C. Johnson, page 21.

¹⁶ *Id.*, pages 22, 23.

awaiting the return of Chief Justice Mompesson. On the day of the preliminary hearing of the case, Hampton was released as "a man of less interest," but Mackemie was put under bonds to appear for trial at the next session of the court. This necessitated his return from Virginia at his own expense. The trial of Mackemie was a memorable one because of the issues involved. Three of the best lawyers of New York assisted the clergyman in his defense. At the conclusion of their remarks, Mackemie spoke in his own behalf, vindicating himself on every charge; and the jury, though declared to have been "packed to convict," brought in a verdict of "not guilty." The court showed its bias against the accused man, however, by making him pay the costs of the trial, *even to the fees of his prosecutor*, amounting in all to four hundred and five dollars. Mackemie had no little compensation, however, in the knowledge of the fact that he had won a fight for religious liberty that began to have almost immediate effect in curbing the imperious interference of the government in religious affairs.

It can readily be believed that the governor did not take his defeat with the best of grace, and his ire was manifested without delay. As soon as Mackemie was released, he preached a sermon in the church allowed to the French. His sermon was printed and caused much excitement. The governor made an effort to have him arrested again, but Mackemie escaped to New England, and began to agitate in both the colonies and the mother country the question of greater freedom of worship. His trial and the agitation of the question of man's right to freedom of worship, did much to bring about that freedom. "Never again did a New York governor attempt to silence any orderly preaching of the gospel."¹⁷

¹⁷ "Rise of Religious Liberty in America," page 353.

It was made apparent to the government "that a forcible conversion of a dissenting church to the Church of England, as well as the harsh treatment of non-conformists, was not advisable." Successive governors were instructed by the king "to allow liberty of conscience to all except papists."¹⁸ The victory of Mackemie was final, as far as it related to ministers of "recognized" denominations, but for those not "recognized" there was still trouble and oppression.

It would not seem at all fitting to leave New York's early experiences in the realm of church-and-state union, without some reference to the Moravians and the course which the government took toward them. New York's treatment of that body of self-sacrificing missionaries in early times is the most unreasonable and inexplicable episode of her history. The Moravians gave themselves almost wholly to missionary work among the Indians, lived among them, educated them, taught them the Word of God, and brought many of them to Christ. Their harsh treatment was due in a measure to the bitter feeling in the colonies against papists, and the suspicion of some of the ignorant populace that the Moravians were "disguised papists."

The Moravian teachers were summoned to New York City, and were examined before the governor and council; and notwithstanding the fact that the council "could find no fault with them," save that they refused to take the oath for conscience' sake, yet they were ordered to leave the province. "Thus from the narrowest of spirits was broken up a godly work, which only bigotry or malevolence could condemn. The banished Moravians took themselves and many of their converts, first to more liberal-minded Pennsylvania, and then to Ohio,

¹⁸ "Colonial History," John Winthrop, Vol. V, pages 95, 132.

where awaited them both a blessed work and the dreadful catastrophe of Gnadenhutton.”¹⁹

Even this did not satisfy the exponents of the established church, and in 1744 an act was passed purporting to guard against French and popish influence, but which was in reality aimed at the gentle Moravians, and was in itself as intolerant as the Papacy could be. It ordained that “no vagrant preacher, Moravian or disguised papist, shall preach or teach, either in public or in private, without first taking the oaths appointed by this act, and obtaining a license from the governor or commissioner in church for the time being.” The penalties provided for a failure to comply with the requirements of the act were fines, imprisonment, and banishment, and in case of return, “such punishment as shall be inflicted by the justices of the supreme court, not extending to life or limb.”²⁰



NICHOLAS LEWIS, COUNT
'ZINZENDORF

It was against this cruel and unchristian oppression of his brethren that the noble Count Zinzendorf made his famous protest to the “lords of trade.” This protest, together with one from M. de Gersdorff, was laid before Governor Clinton by the “lords of trade,” and the governor was asked to specify the misbehavior of the missionaries. His reply was a tirade of invective against them, with no tangible specifications. From that year, 1746,

¹⁹ “Rise of Religious Liberty in America,” page 358.

²⁰ *Ib*

the iron grip of the establishment began to loosen, and in 1751 we hear the Moravians calmly notifying the governor of their intention to build a church in the city of New York.

The harshness of the law, as in the case of the Quakers and Baptists, had not been able to stop the tide of Moravian immigration to the province of New York. It had, however, greatly hindered real missionary work among the Indians. Had it not been for those cruel and unjust laws against the Moravians, the history of gospel work among the Indians of America would read very differently from what it does today. Thousands upon thousands of the red men would no doubt have been won to Christ, many of the Indian massacres would have been prevented, and the civilizing effect of earnest gospel missionary work upon the Indians themselves it is impossible to calculate. For the sorrowful frustration of that work we have to thank the church-and-state idea in the province of New York, just as we are forced to lay at the door of that idea and that system so much of the strife and turmoil, injustice and bigotry, hatred and cruel punishment, that afflicted the other colonies from the day of their founding till their respective establishments were swept away.

CHAPTER VIII

The Making and Meaning of Rhode Island

THE story of the establishment of Rhode Island, without the story of Roger Williams, would be like the story of America with the Declaration of Independence omitted. Roger Williams was Rhode Island's Declaration of Independence; and from the constitution of the State which he founded, the great Constitution of the United States drew many of its most vital and valuable principles. It is therefore well worth while to study some of the experiences which led to the founding of that lone State in the woods of the Narragansett Indians.

Mr. James Bryce, ambassador from Great Britain to the United States, in writing the introduction to a book on Rhode Island, says: "The enormous changes which have passed over America during the last sixty years do not diminish — indeed, they rather increase — the value of a study of the days wherein the foundations of this mighty edifice were raised."¹ Mr. Bryce is the author of a work entitled "The American Commonwealth," and his extensive study of America and American institutions makes the remark just quoted a particularly striking one.

There have been great changes going on in America. Strong influences are at work undermining the fundamental principles of this great commonwealth, the very principles which made it possible for it to achieve

¹"Rhode Island; Its Making and Its Meaning," J. B. Richman, second edition, 1908, page viii.

its present greatness. The principles of church-and-state union, against which Rhode Island was an eloquent protest, are being again insidiously woven into the fabric of our national and State governments. Since 1863 an organized influence has been at work, constantly increasing in power, which proposes to bring the nation back to the principles that dominated the Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Virginia Colonies. They were all established upon a kind of theocratic basis,— God ruling through the magistrate, and all the observances of the established church made obligatory upon all persons dwelling within the realm. This was carried to such an extent that even the mere holding of opinions was penalized, if those opinions did not harmonize with the creed of the established church. It is these changes, Mr. Bryce says, that make essential a study of the fundamental principles of our government at the present time. If the changes were for the better, Mr. Bryce would not have considered a study of the fundamental principles so essential.

The date of Roger Williams' birth is not definitely known, but he was born in England about the year 1603. The years of his youth were times of great theological debates and strong theological feelings; for in those days it was a costly and generally very dangerous matter to hold opinions that were contrary to the creed of the established church. It mattered not how clearly those opinions could be proved from the Word of God, if they were contrary to the creed, they were dangerous heresies; and the more easily they were proved, the more dangerous they became—to the established church.

Those were the days of the Anabaptists, the Mennonites, the Separatists, the Pilgrims, and the Puritans. The first two named stood for the complete separation

of church and state, and were practically the same, the one having grown out of the other. The Separatists separated from the state church in order that they might find in their conventicles and prayer-meetings the religious refreshing which they did not receive in the meetings of the established church. The Pilgrims were Separatists who migrated to Holland in 1608, and twelve years later came to America. The Puritans were members of the established church who desired a simpler and purer form of worship in that church than that which obtained there. All were denominated non-conformists.

With the established church — the English Catholic — persecuting all these non-conformists, or dissenters, in England, and with the Presbyterian establishment doing the same for all dissenters from its creed in Scotland, with the Roman Church outlawed throughout the realm, Roger Williams had an excellent opportunity to study the workings of the church-and-state system. His early espousal of the principles of soul liberty soon made him an undesirable citizen in the eyes of the establishment, and his biographers indicate that when he left England, there were reasons of a very personal and imperative nature for his doing so; namely, to escape the wrath of the officials of the established church for the opinions which he held. A sample of the conditions existing in England at the time when Roger Williams left for America is seen in the way a man by the name of Leighton was treated for publishing his "Plea Against Prelacy." For that act he was committed to prison for life, fined ten thousand pounds, degraded from his ministry, whipped, pilloried, his ears cut off, his nose slit, and his face branded with a hot iron.

It was in 1631 that Roger Williams landed in Boston. He had come to America for freedom of belief and wor-

ship; but he found a church here as truly established and as truly despotic as the establishment in either England or Scotland. He refused to join the church at Boston because it still held communion with the Church of England, from whose oppressive jurisdiction he had fled. He thought it his duty to renounce all connection with a church that would imbrue its hands in the blood of the



TOWN SQUARE, PLYMOUTH, MASS., AS IT IS TODAY; BURIAL HILL IN THE BACKGROUND AT THE RIGHT

Lord's people. He made application for the rights of a "freeman" in the colony, but this was denied him because he refused to join the church, the rights of citizenship being specifically denied those outside the communion of the established church. It no doubt vexed the righteous soul of Williams to find in the New World the same oppressive conditions that had caused him to flee from the Old, and without delay or diplomacy he began to combat the principle.

In spite of the disapprobation of the general court of the colony, the congregation at Salem elected Williams pastor. He soon found it conducive to his temporal peace, however, to take up his abode in the Plymouth colony, where a greater degree of toleration existed, and there he continued to exercise his gifts as a minister of the gospel. He was again invited to become the pastor of the Salem church, and accepted the invitation, although the magistrates and ministers strongly objected. The majority of the church felt that they had a right to choose their pastor, and held to their choice. At once his opponents began to denounce his teachings, and he was summoned to appear before the court to answer charges brought against his "heretical" opinions.

One of the teachings for which Roger Williams was called to answer was that the civil magistrate had no right to enforce religion and religious practises. Such teaching, of course, was diametrically opposed to the principles upon which the Massachusetts Bay Colony was founded, and was regarded by the officials as a very serious matter. Three days after Mr. Williams' appearance in court to answer to these charges, the Salem church was refused legal possession of a certain piece of land for which they had applied, because of their having selected Mr. Williams as their teacher after being admonished by the magistrate not to do so.

Mr. Williams and his church then wrote letters of admonition to the churches of which those magistrates were members, setting forth the injustice of their action, and asking the churches to admonish the magistrates of the criminality of their conduct. These letters failed to have the desired effect, and even some of Mr. Williams' congregation, because of the official pressure, began to waver. The difficulty grew, and finally Mr.

Williams withdrew from the church because of its refusal to withdraw with him from the communion of the other churches. Mr. Williams' friend, Endicot, was imprisoned for the crime of publicly justifying Mr. Williams' letter of admonition to the churches, and a Mr. Sharpe was summoned to appear in court to answer for the same offense.

In October, 1635, Roger Williams was again summoned to appear in court. All the ministers of the colony were present. They had already decided that any one was worthy of banishment from the jurisdiction of the colony "who should obstinately assert that the civil magistrate might not intermeddle even to stop a church from apostasy and heresy." Mr. Williams bravely upheld his teachings, but the following sentence was passed upon him, all the ministers present, save one, approving of the deed:—

"Whereas, Mr. Roger Williams, one of the elders of the church of Salem, hath broached and divulged divers new and dangerous opinions, against the authority of magistrates; as also writ letters of defamation, both of the magistrates and churches here, and that before any conviction, and yet maintaineth the same without any retraction; it is therefore ordered that the said Mr. Williams shall depart out of this jurisdiction within six weeks now next ensuing, which, if he neglect to perform, it shall be lawful for the governor and two of the magistrates to send him to some place out of this jurisdiction, not to return any more without license from the court."²

Here, then, truth, asserting itself, met bigotry entrenched behind the breastworks of temporal power. The Christian commissioned of heaven to preach the gospel as taught by the Word of God and the Holy Spirit,

² "History of Baptists in New England," Burrage, pages 18, 19.

met the professed Christian bearing the sword of the civil magistrate and deciding for himself who shall and who shall not teach and what shall and what shall not be taught. The sword-bearing restricter of other men's liberties may triumph for the time, but his triumph is really a self-inflicted defeat; for in robbing other men of their liberties, he is robbing himself of his own. In imprisoning other men for their consciences, he is committing his own soul to the chains of soul slavery. The exiled Williams was defeated for the time; but out of that defeat grew a monument to his name that succeeding generations have learned to revere. The triumph of the party of oppression has crumbled and gone; the defeat of Williams grew into a State that has influenced not the nation alone, but the whole civilized world as well.

The sentence of Roger Williams to banishment from the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts Bay Colony bore date of Oct. 9, 1635, and was to take effect within "six weeks now next ensuing." Because of the inclemency of the weather at the time of year when his departure must take place, the time was extended. During this time Mr. Williams did not attempt to preach or teach in public; but a considerable number who sympathized with him would gather at his house from Sunday to Sunday, and listen to his discourses in private, thus absenting themselves from their accustomed places of worship on that day. This was very displeasing to the officials of the established church; it was also against the law, and increased the feeling of annoyance and irritation against him whom they had condemned to exile.

Roger Williams had for some time contemplated the founding of a state whose inhabitants should enjoy the fullest liberty in matters of conscience; and in founding such a state, he would recognize also the principle of

equity toward the original inhabitants of the land. In fact, one of the expressed reasons for the banishment of Williams was the fact that he had protested against the injustice of taking possession of the Indians' land without their permission. The purpose of Williams to establish a new state based upon the principles of freedom of conscience and the rights of the Indians, determined the Puritan officials to get him out of their colony without further delay. A vessel was then riding at anchor in Boston harbor, and it was determined to send Williams to England on board that ship. A warrant was despatched by the court at Boston, summoning Williams thither. He replied that he believed his life to be in danger, and did not obey the summons. An officer was despatched to bring him; but when the officer arrived at Williams' house, it was found that he had been gone three days, but to what place he had gone could not be ascertained.

Leaving his wife and three children, the youngest less than three months old, and having mortgaged his property at Salem for means to supply his wants, Roger Williams plunged into the wilderness to find among the savages that freedom which a union of religion and the state denied him among civilized men. He speaks of himself as being "denied the common air to breathe in, and a civil cohabitation upon the same common earth; yea, and almost without mercy and human compassion, exposed to winter miseries in a howling wilderness." These miseries of the wilderness he endured for fourteen weeks, "not knowing what bread or bed did mean."³ During this time whatever shelter he had was in the smoky, dingy lodges of the Indians. But their hospital-

³Williams' letter to Major Mason, of Connecticut, dated June 22, 1670.

ity to him in his extremity he sought, during all the remainder of his life, to requite by deeds of kindness. During these days and nights of distress, Williams was teaching the Indians the principles of the gospel, which he ever sought to illustrate in his treatment of them and the rest of his fellow men. He had learned the language of the Narragansetts, and through this exile he became



ROGER WILLIAMS SHELTERED BY THE NARRAGANSETTS

This illustrates the bitter mockery of a union of religion and the state. Such a combination, professing to represent Christ, drives out into the wilderness in winter-time a true minister of Christ, while the savages, with no religion, play the part of good Samaritan to him. From such experiences it might be reasoned that no religion at all is better than one thus misrepresenting Christ and his gospel through unholy alliance with the power of the state.

the first of the Pilgrims to carry the message of salvation to the Indians.

Circumstances so brought it about that the exile of Williams became for the New England settlements what the selling of Joseph by his brethren became to the children of Israel during the seven lean years. In the follow-

ing stanza Williams refers to the kindly hospitality of the Indians while he was plodding through the snow from one Indian settlement to another in search of a place of abode: —

“God’s providence is rich to his,
Let none distrustful be;
In wilderness, in great distress,
These ravens have fed me.”

At Seekonk, on the east bank of the Pawtucket River,



LANDING OF ROGER WILLIAMS

Williams broke ground for a habitation, and began to build and plant; but before his crop had had time to mature, the Plymouth officials learned of his whereabouts, and, despite his former ministrations among them, warned him that he was a trespasser upon their domain, and must move on. With five companions he obeyed the ouster of his Plymouth brethren, embarked

in a frail canoe, and began to descend the river. At the mouth of the Moshassuck River they landed, near a spring, and there founded a settlement, which they called Providence. This has since grown to be the city of Providence. "It was and has ever been," as E. B. Underhill says, in his introduction to the reprint of Williams' "Bloudy Tenent of Persecution," "the refuge of distressed consciences. Persecution has never sullied its annals. Freedom to worship God was the desire of its founder,—for himself and for all,—and he nobly endured until it was accomplished."

At several different times Roger Williams had it within his power to "avenge himself of his adversaries," but no such thought seems ever to have entered his mind; and more than once he went far out of his way to do invaluable favors for those who had banished him, or for their supporters. Samuel G. Arnold, in his "History of Rhode Island," dwelling upon the fact that some of the laymen opposed the decree for the banishment of Williams, while every minister save one approved it, makes the following truthful and striking statement: "A practical commentary is thus afforded on the danger of uniting the civil and ecclesiastical administrations. It suggests the reflection that, of all characters, the most dangerous and the most despicable is the *political* priest."⁴ There is no sadder demonstration in history than the demonstration of the truthfulness of that quotation.

It is outside the purpose of this treatise to give anything like a detailed history of Rhode Island, interesting as that history is. We shall have to content ourselves with the briefest possible statements in reference to its establishment and its organic law.

As soon as it was known that a settlement had been

⁴"History of Rhode Island," Arnold (1899), page 38.

started by Roger Williams among the Indians most friendly to him and most tractable, men of various beliefs and of no particular belief who had been oppressed by the hierarchy of New England began to gather around him. Land was purchased from the Indians by Williams, which he designed should be used as a mission station, but which was later divided among the thirteen original settlers. Other settlements were founded by his followers, and these were finally brought into one colony under the title of the Providence Plantations. But before these settlements had become one political unit, the Indians of New England had become restive under the oppressions of the whites, and had begun to form a confederacy among themselves, with the avowed purpose of exterminating all the English in New England. The powerful Pequots proposed to unite with the Mohegans and the Narragansetts to accomplish this purpose, in the hope of thus averting the calamity which they foresaw must soon annihilate the Indian race. It was indeed a perilous hour for Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Connecticut. Rhode Island was in no such imminent peril. The Rhode Islanders had paid for their lands, and were on most intimate terms with the sachems of the Narragansetts, their immediate neighbors.

The Pequot emissaries were among the Narragansetts to bring about the confederacy against the whites when the governor and council of Massachusetts wrote a most urgent letter to Roger Williams, desiring him to use his good offices to prevent the consummation of the Indian confederacy. He was recognized as the only man in New England who could avert the impending peril. With the memory of his persecution by Massachusetts still fresh in his mind, he did not hesitate to throw himself between "his own persecutors and their relentless

foes," notwithstanding he knew that in so doing he was risking his own life at the hands of the Pequot emissaries. Concerning this dangerous expedition Williams himself says: —

"The Lord helped me immediately to put my life into my hand, and scarce acquainting my wife, to ship myself alone, in a poor canoe, and to cut through a stormy wind, with great seas, every minute in hazard of life, to the sachem's house. Three days and nights my business forced me to lodge and mix with the bloody Pequot ambassadors, whose hands and arms, methought, reeked with the blood of my countrymen, murdered and massacred by them on the Connecticut River, and from whom I could not but look for their bloody knives at my own throat also. God wondrously preserved me, and helped me to break to pieces the Pequots' negotiations and design; and to make and finish, by many travels and charges, the English league with the Narragansetts and Mohegans against the Pequots."⁵

Thus was New England saved from probable extinction by one whom she would not permit to come within her borders, not even after rendering such signal service, except on humiliating conditions. The Pequots, foiled in their efforts to combine the New England Indians, determined to carry on the war alone. The result was the total extermination of the Pequots, which was brought about largely by the help of the very Indians whom Williams had prevented from joining the confederacy.

"It is a singular fact," says Arnold, "that Winthrop alone of all the old writers upon this war, makes any mention of the part performed by Roger Williams in

⁵ Roger Williams' letter to Major Mason, quoted in Arnold's "History of Rhode Island," page 91.

averting a fatal catastrophe." ⁶ Governor Winthrop and some of his council, in view of what Roger Williams had accomplished for the common good, moved in the general court that he be recalled from banishment, and honored by some high mark of favor. But the records do not indicate that the proposition was enthusiastically received. Until recently, historians believed that the governor's suggestion had been ignored. It appears, however, that an action was taken in reference to the matter on March 31, 1676; but it only conditionally revoked the act of banishment. The record of this action was discovered in the Massachusetts archives after the printing of the body of the "Acts of the Commissioners of the United Colonies," and was placed in the introduction to Volume II; hence was not entered in the index with the other acts. That act has interesting features, as will appear from reading it: —

"*Whereas*, Mr. Roger Williams stands at present under a sentence of Restraint from coming into this colony, yet considering how readily and freely at all times he hath served the English Interest in this tyme of warre with the Indians, and manifested his particular respects to the authority of this Colony in several services desired of him, and further understanding how by the last assault of the Indians upon Providence, his house is burned, and himself in his old age reduced to an uncomfortable and disabled state — Out of compassion to him in this condition the Council doe Order and Declare that if the sayed Mr. Williams shall see cause and desire it, he shall have liberty to repayre into any of our Towns for his security and comfortable abode during these Public Troubles, he behaving himself peaceably and inno-

⁶ Roger Williams' letter to Major Mason, quoted in Arnold's "History of Rhode Island," page 91.

fensively, and not disseminating and venting any of his different opinions in matters of religion to the dissatisfaction of any." ⁷

The wording of this act shows it to be both conditional and temporary. It covered only the time of "these Public Troubles," and necessitated the stifling of his convictions if he accepted its provision. The same spirit that banished him is plainly written in this temporary revocation of his sentence. The effects of the lapse of time and the natural influence of calamities and hardships modify only its temper, or tone.

Only six years after Williams' great service against the Pequot conspiracy, the Massachusetts government made further demonstration of its inability to appreciate the high service rendered it by the exiled Baptist. Certain disaffected ones in Rhode Island had placed themselves under the protection of Massachusetts, and when Massachusetts began to threaten trouble, Roger Williams was despatched to England to obtain a patent from the British government for the territory now known as Rhode Island. He was there none too soon; for he found the emissaries of Massachusetts on the ground endeavoring to obtain a patent covering the very same territory. Strange return for Roger Williams' invaluable assistance to them in the hour of their dire need! A document known as the Narragansett patent, placing the Providence Plantations under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, was actually drawn up and was signed by nine of the Parliamentary commissioners; but the influence of Roger Williams and Sir Henry Vane (at one time governor of Massachusetts) prevented the consummation of the iniquitous undertaking. Nevertheless, the Nar-

⁷ "Acts of the Commissioners of the United Colonies," Vol. II, Introduction.

Narragansett patent was made by Massachusetts the basis of a notification to the Providence Plantations to cease the exercise of all jurisdiction in the Narragansett country. No notice seems to have been taken of this notification, however, and Massachusetts, evidently realizing the groundlessness of her case and the worthlessness of the Narragansett patent, made no further move in the matter. Williams' petition for a patent covering the Narragansett Bay country was granted in 1643; but about this time a confederation was formed of the colonies of Massachusetts, Plymouth, New Haven, and Connecticut, which had for one of its objects common protection against the Indians, and for another "preserving and propagating the truth and liberties of the gospel." It was provided in this agreement "that no other jurisdiction shall hereafter be taken in as a distinct head or member of this confederation, nor shall any other, either plantation or jurisdiction, in present being, and not already in combination or under the jurisdiction of any of these confederates, be received by any of them."⁸ They felt themselves strong enough to protect themselves against the Indians without the help of Williams, and, in the confidence of their ability in that direction, they passed an act of ostracism against the man who had saved them from extermination. This was, of course, aimed directly at Rhode Island, aimed at her because of her founder, and was in perfect harmony with another act of those colonies in boycotting Rhode Island commercially, politically, and socially.

As a result of the commercial boycott, the Rhode Islanders were not permitted to receive goods from abroad through the ports of either Massachusetts or Connecticut. This was indeed a great hardship, and yet

⁸ Hazard's "State Papers," Vol. II, page 1.

they felt it a much smaller evil than to be compelled to live under the jurisdiction of either of those colonies, with their consciences outlawed. One of the earliest laws of Rhode Island shows one of the results of this commercial boycott. The Rhode Islanders, being quite largely cut off from communication with the outside world, began to be in need of many things, one of which was gunpowder, which they desired both for hunting and for their own protection against the Indians. Because of this lack, a law was passed making it obligatory upon every male between the ages of seventeen and seventy years to have in his house a bow and four arrows, with which he must exercise from time to time. It was also made obligatory upon each head of a household to teach his sons to shoot with the bow.

Another illustration of the boycott is seen in the following: A man by the name of John Green, who had come to America soon after the arrival of Roger Williams, and had settled in Salem, disliking the rigorous laws of Massachusetts in reference to matters of conscience, moved to the Providence Plantations. Later, on his return to Salem to dispose of his property, he was heard to make the remark that "the power of the Lord Jesus in Massachusetts was in the hand of civil authority." For this he was arrested by Governor Endicott, and put under bonds to answer for contempt. Two years later (1638) an act was passed by Massachusetts that "John Green shall not come into this jurisdiction upon paine of imprisonment, etc., and because it appears . . . that some other of the same place [Providence] are confident in the same corrupt judgment and practise, it is ordered that if they shall come within this jurisdiction, they shall be apprehended, . . . and if they

will not disclaim the said corrupt opinion, . . . they shall be commanded presently to depart." ⁹

This unchristian procedure,—the boycott,—together with the Salem church's excommunication of Roger Williams, was as near what the Catholic Church denominates "major excommunication" as anything could well be that was not so named; and it illustrates also that a union of church and state, being a pago-papal invention, always partakes of the characteristics of the Papacy.

In a work entitled "The Beginners of a Nation," occurs an expression which explains the reason for the inconsistent and unchristian acts of all false theocratic governments. The author says, "When once the civil government weights itself with spiritual considerations, its whole equilibrium is disturbed." ¹⁰ It is just as true that when once the church of Christ weights itself with civil considerations (affairs of state), its whole equilibrium is disturbed. "Liberty and justice seem insignificant by the side of the immensities." ¹¹ And yet the Word of God says, "Justice and judgment are the habitation of Thy throne." The inference is that they who profess Christianity and disregard justice and equity are misrepresenting the kingdom to which they profess allegiance.

The results of a union of religion and the state, as seen in the injustice which it works to the citizens of a country, stamp the system at once as opposed to the principles of the gospel of Christ, and utterly antagonistic to the purpose of God regarding man. That fact alone is sufficient to account for the cruel treatment ac-

⁹ "Massachusetts Colonial Records," Vol. I, page 224.

¹⁰ "The Beginners of a Nation," Edward Eggleston, page 294.

¹¹ *Ib.*

corded dissenters in New England by the established church and for the ingratitude of the Massachusetts and Connecticut governments toward Roger Williams and the Narragansett settlements after the invaluable services rendered.

One of the most persistent antagonists of Roger Williams and his followers was Rev. John Cotton, a former friend and associate of Williams, but "whose moral intuitions," says Eggleston, "were fairly suffocated by logic."¹² There was considerable correspondence carried on between Williams and Cotton over this matter of persecution. This suffocation of morals by logic is well illustrated in the reply of Cotton to the following words of Roger Williams:—



JOHN COTTON

"It is a monstrous paradox that God's children should persecute God's children, and that they that hope to live eternally with Christ Jesus in the heavens, should not suffer each other to live in this common air together. I am informed it was a speech of an honorable knight of the Parliament: 'What! Christ persecute Christ in New England!'"¹³

Mr. Cotton replied:—

"Though God's children may not persecute God's children, nor wicked men either for well-doing; yet if they be found to walk in the way of the wicked, their

¹² "The Beginners of a Nation," page 299.

¹³ "Bloody Tenent of Persecution," Roger Williams, page 370.

brethren may justly deprive them in some cases not only of the common air of the country, by banishment, but even of the common air of the world, by death, and yet hope to live eternally with them in the heavens."¹⁴

The sophistry of such logic needs not to be pointed out to him whose heart is enlightened by the light and love of Christ; but let men adopt the idea that it is the business of the church to meddle in civil government, and that it is the business of the state to interfere in matters of conscience, and such a statement as the foregoing seems not only logical but necessary. From such a viewpoint the advocates of theocratic government in New England guided their course of conduct in whipping Baptists, imprisoning, whipping, and hanging Quakers, exiling members of the established church who had opinions of their own, and finally attempting to rob the Providence Plantations of their colonial autonomy, as already set forth.

Mr. Cotton's reply just quoted is in perfect harmony with the doctrine enunciated by Augustine in the fifth century, that "many must often be brought back to their Lord, like wicked servants, by the rod of temporal suffering, before they attain the highest grade of religious development."¹⁵ The carrying out of that doctrine brought the martyrdoms of the dark ages; and the propounding of such doctrine by Rev. John Cotton and the clergy of his day shows the papal origin of the church-and-state doctrine, while the result of the effort to carry it out in New England likewise puts upon the system the stamp of the Papacy.

The patent for the Providence Plantations, which was secured by Roger Williams in 1643, protected Rhode

¹⁴ "Bloudy Tenent of Persecution," pages 370, 371.

¹⁵ "Church History," Schaff, Vol. II, sec. 27.

Island settlers against absorption by Massachusetts, and insured a republican form of government, but said nothing in reference to matters of faith and religion. Some have wondered at this omission; but the silence is eloquent. The one who was instrumental in procuring that patent recognized the faith and religion of the inhabitants as being entirely outside the jurisdiction of the state, and therefore it was unnecessary for the state to make any provision with reference thereto.

In the matter of government, however, the patent is sufficiently explicit. It gave them "full power and authority to rule themselves and such others as shall hereafter inhabit within any part of the said tract of land, by such a form of civil government as by voluntary consent of all, or the greater part of them, they shall find most suitable to their estate and condition. . . . Provided, nevertheless, that the said laws, constitutions, and punishments, for the civil government of the said plantations, be conformable to the laws of England, so far as the nature and constitution of the place will admit."¹⁶

In the above, emphasis seems to be laid upon the fact that this instrument is for the "civil" government of that colony, and the absence of any word about religion confirms the inference. That republicanism was also guaranteed by that patent is seen in the provision that the colonists were to have authority to govern themselves and those who came among them "by such a form of civil government as by voluntary consent of all, or the greater part of them, they shall find most suitable to their estate and condition." That was government by the consent of the governed, one of the first principles of

¹⁶ "Charters and Constitutions of the United States," pages 1594, 1595.

the Declaration of Independence, a Rhode Island doctrine for more than a hundred years before the drafting of the Declaration of Independence. It is not to be supposed, either, that such a doctrine in that patent was a product of the church-and-state idea as worked out in any country where it had ever obtained. Not even in the British Magna Charta, which was forced from an unwilling king at Runnymede, is the idea of the people's rule indorsed or recognized, though there were in it faint glimmerings of the light that was to dawn upon the world in the Declaration of Independence. Indeed, we may truthfully say that while Magna Charta did not guarantee the equality of men, it was a long step toward that goal, and in it slumbered some of the principles of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States. It is not impossible that the principles of Magna Charta may have been working in the mind of Roger Williams along with the religious liberty principles of the Anabaptists when the patent for the Providence Plantations (Rhode Island) was being perfected. There is no question but that he who took the long journey to England for the protection of the rights of his followers had much to do with the wording of the provisions of that instrument which was to guarantee those rights.

Upon the basis of that patent the code of laws for the Providence Plantations was framed. The closing sentence of the early code (1647) runs thus:—

“These are the laws that concern all men, and these are the penalties for the transgression thereof, which, by common consent, are ratified and established throughout the whole colony; and, otherwise than what is thus therein forbidden, all men may walk as their consciences persuade them, every one in the name of his God. And

let the saints of the Most High walk in this colony without molestation, in the name of Jehovah their God, forever and ever." ¹⁷

After the overthrow of the Oliver Cromwell régime in England, the Rhode Islanders began to fear that their patent might not be honored by King Charles, or that the enemies of their political entity might in some way rob them of the rights which they had attained through so much toil and opposition. Events proved that they had good reason to fear for their liberties. It was as true then as it is now that "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty."

Mr. John Clarke, a resident of Rhode Island, was in England at the time, acting as agent for the colony; and to him was entrusted the task of securing for the colony a new charter. Application for this charter was made in 1661, but it was not granted until 1663. In the second application for the patent occurs this memorable sentence:—

"Your petitioners have it much on their hearts (if they may be permitted) to hold forth a livelie experiment, that a flourishing civill state may stand, yea, and best bee maintained, and that among English subjects, with a full libertie in religious concernments." ¹⁸

The language of this second petition seems to have made a favorable impression upon the king, for the very wording of the above quotation is woven into the charter granted at that time. It will be of interest in this connection to quote the following portion of that charter:—

"Whereas, In their humble addresse, they have ffreely declared, that it is much on their hearts (if they may be permitted), to hold forth a livelie experiment,

¹⁷ "History of Rhode Island," Vol. I, page 210.

¹⁸ "Rhode Island; Its Making and Its Meaning," page 377.

that a most flourishing civill state may stand and best bee maintained, and that among our English subjects, with a full libertie in religious concernments; and that true pietye rightly grounded upon gossell principles, will give the best and greatest security to soveraignetye, and will lay in the hearts of men the strongest obligations to true loyaltie: *Now know yee*, that wee beinge willinge to encourage the hopefull undertakinge of oure sayd loyall and loveinge subjects, and to secure them in the free exercise and enjoyment of all their civill and religious rights, appertaining to them as our loveinge subjects; and to preserve unto them that libertye in the true Christian faith and worshipp of God, which they have sought with soe much travaill, and with peaceable myndes, and loyall subjectione to our royall progenitors and ourselves, to enjoye; and because some of the people and inhabitants of the same colonye cannot in their private opinions conform to the publike exercise of religion, according to the littyurgy, forms, and ceremonyes of the Church of England, or take or subscribe the oaths and articles made and established in that behalfe; and for that the same, by reason of the remote distances of those places, will (as wee hope) bee noe breach of the unitie and unifformitie established in this nation: Have therefore thought ffit, and doe hereby publish, graunt, ordeyne, and declare, That our royall will and pleasure is, that no person within the sayd colonye, at any time hereafter, shall bee anywise molested, punished, disquieted, or called in question for any differences in opinione in matters of religion, and doe not actually disturb the civill peace of our sayd colonye; but that all and everye person and persons may, from tyme to tyme, and at all tymes hereafter, freelye and fullye have and enjoy his and their owne judgments and consciences in matters of religious concernments,

throughout the tract of lande hereafter mentioned; they behaving themselves peaceable and quietlie, and not using this libertie to lycentiousnesse and profanenesse, nor to the civill injurye or outward disturbance of others; any lawe, statute, or clause, therein contayned, or to bee contayned, usage or custom of this realm, to the contrary hereof, in any wise, notwithstanding." ¹⁹

That "livelie experiment" in the separation of church and state has come down to us as the most precious heirloom of early colonial days. Like every good thing that has come to this world, it came into being through travail and perplexity and pain. As the dragon of the Revelation stood ready to devour the child Jesus as soon as it should be born, so stood the New England hierarchy on three sides of Rhode Island to snuff out its life in the days of its infancy.

Massachusetts had endeavored to blot the colony out of existence as an independent colony in 1643, and Connecticut attempted practically the same thing in 1661-63. Connecticut was endeavoring at that time to secure a patent or charter from King Charles covering the whole of the present territory of Rhode Island with the exception of the town sites of Providence, Newport, Portsmouth, and Warwick. Through the interposition of divine Providence, the undertaking of Connecticut was thwarted, and that beacon-light of religious liberty among the colonies was not suffered to be extinguished. The good hand of the Infinite was over the little colony in the wilderness of the Narragansetts. Rhode Island became a State among the States, holding aloft to the world as well as to her sister States the gospel of the only freedom worthy of the name.

¹⁹ "Charters and Constitutions of the United States," pages 1596, 1597.

We cannot pass from the consideration of the charter of Rhode Island without mentioning another fact which shows that when God has a truth for the world, he will permit nothing to stand in the way of having that truth made known. The gospel of soul freedom was due. The only political organization that professed to stand upon that principle was the infant colony of Rhode Island. That colony, in pleading for a charter from the crown of England that would guarantee soul freedom to the inhabitants, was appealing to England to *repeal her own laws* so far as Rhode Island was concerned. The laws of England rigidly required uniformity in religious belief. In its view, as expressed in its fundamental law, church and state were essential portions of each other. But the charter granted to Rhode Island in 1663 exempted Rhode Island from the operation of those laws, and by its provisions did literally disestablish the church so far as it affected the colony. It is a significant fact that in that royal charter were summed up, as the basis of Rhode Island's government, the very principles which characterize the American government, as expressed in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States,—republicanism and religious liberty.

For one hundred and seventy-eight years that royal charter remained the fundamental law of Rhode Island, and every vital principle of the charter was incorporated into the State constitution when adopted in 1842. The opening sentence of that constitution reads as follows:—

“We, the people of the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, grateful to Almighty God for the civil and religious liberty which he hath so long permitted us to enjoy, and looking to him for a blessing upon our endeavors to secure and to transmit the same, un-

impaired, to succeeding generations, do ordain and establish this constitution of government.”²⁰

One of the chief articles of that document is Article III, as strong and forceful a declaration upon the matter of religious freedom as men could devise. Section 3 of that article reads:—

“*Whereas*, Almighty God hath created the mind free, and all attempts to influence it by temporal punishment, or burdens, or by civil incapacitations tend to beget habits of hypocrisy and meanness, and whereas a principal object of our venerated ancestors, in their migration to this country and their settlement of this State, was, as they expressed it, to hold forth a lively experiment that a flourishing civil state may stand and be best maintained with full liberty in religious concerns; we therefore declare that no man shall be compelled to frequent or to support any religious worship, place, or ministry whatever except in fulfilment of his own voluntary contract; nor enforced, restrained, molested, or burdened in his body or goods; nor disqualified from holding any office; nor otherwise suffer on account of his religious belief; and that every man shall be free to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience, and to profess, and by argument to maintain, his opinion in matters of religion; and that the same shall in no wise diminish, enlarge, or affect his civil capacity.”²¹

In that constitution we find the church disestablished; we find the principles of republicanism; we find the equality of man; and we find the prohibition of religious tests as a qualification for holding public office. All these principles, thus handed down from, and so clearly expressed in, the charter of 1663, we find later incor-

⁰ “Charters and Constitutions of the United States,” page 1603.

²¹ *Id.*, page 1604.

porated into the Constitution of the United States; but none of them were to be found in any of the charters of any of those colonies where church and state were united. It is easy to determine, then, the germinant source of those principles which have made America great, and a refuge for the oppressed of every land. The nation's debt to Roger Williams is a debt that can never be canceled.

CHAPTER IX

The Laity Revolt in Massachusetts

PERSONAL experience and the history of all civilized lands teach that the kindness of Jesus is banished from the creed of a church united to a state. Jesus said, "If any man hear my words, and believe not, I judge him not." John 12:47. The church-and-state régime says, "If any man believe not, he is a heretic, a blasphemer, a dangerous character, a criminal."

The gospel of Jesus and the policy of enforced religion are thus seen to be utterly opposed to each other. That is why the enlightened consciences of the laity have so often been in opposition to the determined policy of the clergy when that clergy has been urging a union of religion and the state. The clergy, when wedded to the theocratic idea in government, have considered no punishment too severe to use in bolstering up the foundation of such a system, and have used the influence of their position to steel the hearts of their parishioners against every feeling of sympathy with the bodily sufferings of the excommunicated, and even to turn the hearts of the parents against the children and the hearts of the children against the parents, when they have feared the effect of opinions not in harmony with their creed. That policy was carried on in New England until there came an uprising of the people themselves that shook the hierarchy to its foundations and ushered in a day of better things.

The conditions were these: The Congregational Church was made the established church; it was supported by public taxation; all, whether belonging to that church or not, or whether belonging to any church or

not, must pay their portion of the amount necessary to the support of that establishment; attendance at church was compulsory under pain of a heavy fine; no work must be performed, no traveling done, on Sunday; no one must express an opinion contrary to the opinions propounded from the pulpits of the established church, under pain of fine, whipping, banishment, or even death; one man in ten was a "tithing-man," whose duty it was to see to it that the other nine attended to their religious duties; no church could be built without the consent of the state officials, and the state officials were the creatures of the state church; no one was allowed to hold meetings in his own home; in short, the state was under the complete domination of the church, and that church proposed to permit the existence of nothing within the jurisdiction of that state which was not under church control.

No sooner had the church-state entered upon the carrying out of its purpose, than the cruel and necessary results of its premises began to appear. It is true the large majority of those within the fold felt it necessary to their religious loyalty to steel their hearts against the expression of any sympathy with those who suffered. It is equally true that in those very religious bodies there were those who did sympathize with the oppressed, sometimes openly, but more often in silence, feeling the uselessness of protest. In calling attention to the following incidents, it is not the writer's purpose to heap contempt upon men, but to show the evil results of the course which they took and of the principle of the union of religion and the state:—

In the year 1644 the general court of Massachusetts ordered that if any should oppose the baptism of infants, or "attempt to seduce others to a disbelief in that practise," "every such person or persons shall be sentenced

to banishment." ¹ While expressing the sentiments of the power-blinded clergy, that law seems to have been unpopular; for in the year following its passage a number of merchants and others petitioned to have the law repealed, "because of the offense taken thereat by the godly in England." ² The court seemed inclined to accede, but the clergy opposed, and the court did nothing. The colony's agent in England in 1646, realizing the disapprobation of the home government toward the persecutions in the Massachusetts Bay Colony, attempted to apologize for his constituency in these words: "It is true that we have a severe law, but we never did or will execute the rigor of it upon any. . . . But the reason whereof we are loath either to repeal or alter the law is, because we would have it . . . to bear witness against their judgment, . . . which we conceive . . . to be erroneous." ³ It is true that at that time no one had been banished; but a Mr. Painter, for refusing to let his child be baptized, was brought before the court, and "sentenced to be whipped, which he bore without flinching, and boasted that God had assisted him." ⁴ The unmerciful whipping received by Mr. Obadiah Holmes, of Rhode Island, for the crime of ministering to the spiritual needs of one of his brethren (a Baptist) in Massachusetts, in the year 1651, was not without its effect in strengthening the opposition to religious persecution in that State. Like his divine Master, Obadiah Holmes prayed for his persecutors while they were laying the cutting strokes of a three-thonged whip upon his bleeding back. The record of it states that he was whipped with "such horrible severity that it was many

¹ "Massachusetts Records," Vol. II, page 85.

² "Colonial History," John Winthrop, Vol. II, page 251.

³ "Hypocrisie Unmasked," page 101.

⁴ "Colonial History," Thos. Hutchinson, Vol. I, page 208, note.

days before he could endure to have his lacerated back touch the bed, and he rested propped up on his hands and knees; . . . and his dignity and courage so impressed the people that, in spite of the danger, numbers flocked about him when he was set free, in sympathy and admiration.”⁵

In spite of the penalties suffered, the spirit of independence in “religious concernments” continued to grow. This was manifested in such incidents as the formation of a separate church by one Thomas Gould of Charlestown, because of the perpetual annoyance of the officials of the established church. For this crime of organizing an independent church, Gould was summoned to appear and listen to a setting forth of his sins. He was so strongly denounced by the minister of the church from which he had withdrawn that “many of the people went out; and these were the excommunicated persons.” The court took the matter up, convicted the “sectaries” of schism, and ordered them “to be imprisoned until further notice.” They were fined four pounds, and kept in confinement from April until October, when the legislature ordered them to be released upon payment of fines and costs. A few years earlier they would not have escaped so easily; but the leaven of a spiritual unrest — the unrest of the soul in confinement — was working among the people. The imprisonment and punishment of these sectaries not only did not cause them to recant, but “persecution added to their numbers.”

On March 27, 1668, this same Thomas Gould, with two others, styled by the hierarchy “obstinate and turbulent Anabaptists,” was banished under pain of per-

⁵ “The Emancipation of Massachusetts,” Adams (1887), pages 114, 115. See also “History of the Baptists in New England,” Backus, Vol. I, page 237, note.

petual imprisonment. They, determining to stay and face their fate, were imprisoned, and kept in prison more than a year. But the cruelty of their treatment was appealing to the people. A feeling of indignation and of sympathy was aroused, and sixty-six of the most influential inhabitants of Charlestown petitioned the legislature for mercy on behalf of the sufferers. Their petition was couched in humble and respectful language; but the document was voted "scandalous and reproachful," and the two chief promoters were censured and admonished, and fined ten and five pounds, respectively; the others were made to sign a paper expressing their great sorrow "for giving the court such just ground of offense." ⁶

The matter was next taken up in England, and thirteen of the most influential dissenting ministers in London (the Congregationalists themselves in England were dissenters) wrote the ministers of New England, begging that they exercise moderation lest the dissenters in England should be caused to suffer through retaliation. This plea of their own brethren was likewise disregarded, and the three prisoners were kept in jail. After their release, they were again arrested, and treated with the utmost rigor, and at least one of them is said to have died in prison.

While the hierarchy was thus tightening its grip on the cords of oppression, the loyalty of the people was drifting away from their oppressive leaders. These fearless Christian men, by their very sufferings, were teaching the people that the course of the church-state party was out of harmony with the gospel of Jesus Christ.

The sufferings of the Quakers, as well as of the Baptists, were appealing to the magnanimity and sympathy

⁶ "Massachusetts Records," Vol. IV, part 2, page 413.

of the people and helping to win their loyalty away from the hierarchy. After four Quakers had paid with their lives for exercising their rights of conscience, the popular indignation rose to such a pitch that it was deemed inexpedient to carry out the death sentence upon Wenlock Christison. After two years, however, a letter from the king confirming the Massachusetts charter, excluded the Quakers from the general toleration, and the old spirit of oppression against them was revived. They did not dare to put them to death, but adopted what some historians have called "a humaner policy;" that is to say, they were tied to a cart's tail and whipped through three towns; and this barbarous decree was carried out upon women naked to the waist, in the severest winter weather.

While these persons were not condemned to death, there is no doubt that many of them would have perished under the terrible scourgings had not the people interfered. They were sentenced under the Vagabond Act, which would seem to have been invented for use against them particularly. Under its provisions any foreign Quaker, or any native Quaker upon a second conviction, might be ordered to receive an unlimited number of stripes, which were laid on with a two-handed whip armed with lashes made of twisted and knotted cord or catgut. During the autumn following the enactment of this decree, it was found expedient to discontinue it; but it was again revived ten months later. An excellent testimony to the admirable characteristics of these persecuted, maligned, and oppressed Christians is borne by Hon. Woodrow Wilson:—

"The Quakers seemed everywhere to win the confidence of the red men upon the instant, as Roger Williams had won it, whose doctrines and principles of life were so

like their own. They won it by loving justice and keeping faith." ⁷

After the death of Governor Endicott, in 1665, there was a very distinct lessening of the fervor of persecution, though there were instances of oppression for conscience' sake several years later than this, as already pointed out in this chapter. It seems that the spirit of the common people was finding a reflection in many of the constables, and they were not so careful to arrest dissenters. In 1675 the hierarchy made one more desperate effort to fan the dying embers of persecution into a flame, and they secured the passage of an act fining constables who failed in their duty of breaking up Quaker meetings. One third of the fine was to go to the informer. A number suffered under this temporary revival of persecution. Two years before this last effort of the hierarchy, however, Sir John Leverett, who was opposed to persecution, was elected governor. By his election the people expressed their dissatisfaction with the cruelties which they had witnessed in the name of the Christian religion. They had protested faint-heartedly at first, and had taken punishment for protesting at all; but the ranks of the protesters increased, and their protests grew stronger, until the supporters of that false theocracy saw, in the election of Governor Leverett, the end of its active dominance.

⁷ "History of the American People," page 311.

CHAPTER X

Colonial Witchcraft, a Fruit of the False Theocratic System

NO story of the evil results of the union of religion and the state in colonial days can be considered complete which does not include the developments of witchcraft in those colonies. It is easily demonstrated that had there been no New England theocracy, there would have been no execution of witches in Connecticut and Massachusetts. The earliest histories of the earliest nations either are sprinkled with the blood of witches, or teem with the record of the incomprehensible or incredible marvels which the historians attributed to them. But wherever the blood of witches has been shed, we find that church and state, religion and the government, have been under one ruler, whether in the case of the true theocracy of Israel or the false theocracies of heathenism and Christendom.

Demonology is a science practically as old as the race; and demonolatry has been charged against men and women from times most ancient. That there has been foundation for the charges must be admitted in many cases; for demon-worship has been perpetuated in many lands for ages, and is still prevalent in some countries even in our day. In the book of Leviticus we read:—

“They shall no more offer their sacrifices unto devils, after whom they have gone whoring. This shall be a statute forever unto them throughout their generations.”¹

¹ Lev. 17: 7.

Wherever Israel touched heathendom, there was danger that the people would adopt the heathen modes of worship. The worship of idols and of demons was an established custom among the ancient heathen nations of the East, and in many instances the Israelites were induced to forsake the worship of Jehovah, and sacrifice to the idols and demons that their neighbors worshiped; therefore the prohibition of Jehovah. But notwithstanding that prohibition, the apostasy continued among the members of the chosen people; and the record says of them:—

“They moved him to jealousy with strange gods; with abominations provoked they him to anger. They sacrificed unto demons.”²

To such an extent did this apostasy develop in the time of Jeroboam that the priests of the Lord were cast off by that king, and fled for protection and support to Rehoboam, while Jeroboam deliberately established a system of demonolatry, appointing “priests for the high places, and for the devils, and for the calves which he had made.”³

Because, therefore, of the ever-present danger that the chosen people of the Lord might be turned from the worship of the true God to the service of demons, the code of that true theocracy contained a most stringent law in reference to witchcraft. No one could have a “familiar spirit” on pain of death. Lev. 20: 6, 27; I Sam. 28: 9. Necromancy (seeking counsel of the dead, or soliciting aid of the devil) was a forbidden practise. “Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live,”⁴ read the ancient law of Israel. And because of the practise of witchcraft among the early nations of Canaan, Jehovah permitted

² Deut. 32: 16, 17, A. R. V.

³ 2 Chron. 11: 15.

⁴ Ex. 22: 18.

them to be driven out. That is made plain in these words:—

“When thou art come into the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee, thou shalt not learn to do after the abominations of those nations. There shall not be found among you any one that maketh his son or his daughter to pass through the fire, or that useth divination, or an observer of times, or an enchanter, or a witch, or a charmer, or a consulter with familiar spirits, or a wizard, or a necromancer. For all that do these things are an abomination unto the Lord: and because of these abominations the Lord thy God doth drive them out from before thee.”⁵

Israel’s government was then a theocracy,— a nation governed by God himself through those appointed by himself to represent him and speak for him. This is shown by the message that the prophet Samuel received from the Lord when Israel demanded a king that they might be like the nations around them. The Lord said to Samuel:—

“Harken unto the voice of the people in all that they say unto thee: for they have not rejected thee, but they have rejected me, that I should not reign over them.”⁶

This was a change of kings, but it did not end the theocracy. The code given to the people by the Lord through Moses, and the sanctuary containing the representation of God’s government, were still retained, and God spoke to the kings through his prophets, directing as to what they should do in every crisis. The kings were often intractable; nevertheless, God did not abandon his sovereignty over that people until after they had slain the Lord of glory. Looking forward to the time when that chosen nation would smite the Redeemer, Jesus

⁵ Deut. 18: 9-12.

⁶ 1 Sam. 8: 7.

said, "Behold, your house is left unto you desolate."⁷ When the last act had been performed in the greatest of earth's tragedies, the apartment of the Jewish sanctuary wherein was set the symbol of God's government was thrown open by the angel hands that tore the temple veil in twain from top to bottom. Josephus tells us that on that occasion voices were heard in the temple saying, "Arise, let us go hence."

Jehovah had finished with that nation. The time had come when the Son of the "owner of the vineyard" had been slain by the wicked servants. Theocracy was finished, never to appear again in its true form until the time foretold by the prophet Ezekiel:—

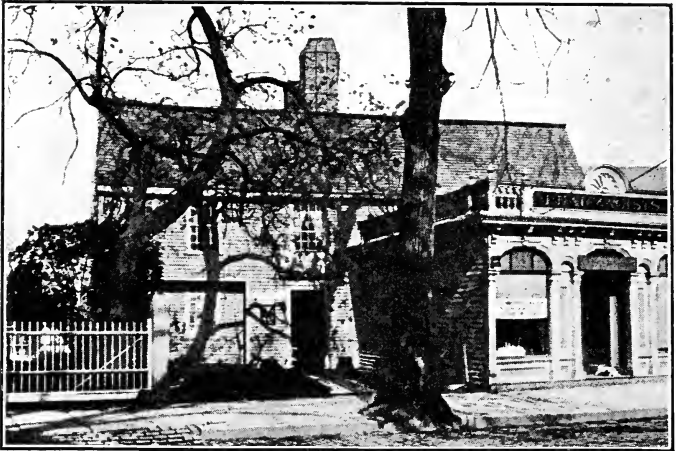
"And thou, O deadly wounded wicked one, the prince of Israel, whose day is come, in the time of the iniquity of the end, thus saith the Lord Jehovah: Remove the miter, and take off the crown; this shall be no more the same; exalt that which is low, and abase that which is high. I will overturn, overturn, overturn it: this also shall be no more, until He come whose right it is; and I will give it him."⁸

The possession of the miter and the crown by the one individual indicated the religious and civil rulership in that individual. But when that third overturning came, the verdict of Jehovah was that the theocratic system of government should never be reestablished until "He come whose right it is." Then, said he in whose power it is to set up and pull down kingdoms, "I will give it him." Jesus Christ, who purchased with his own life the right to the rulership of this world, has not yet come to take over that rulership. Consequently, any system of government setting itself forth as a theocracy between the time when Jesus of Nazareth was slain on Calvary

⁷ Luke 13: 35.

⁸ Eze. 21: 25-27, A. R. V.

and the time when Jesus Christ comes again to earth, is a false theocracy. Between those two events there can be no true theocracy in this world. There have indeed been many false ones, and being false, they have wrought untold havoc in the nations of the world; but there has never been a true theocracy in the world since the cruci-



OLD WITCH HOUSE, SALEM, MASS., WHERE VICTIMS OF THE
WITCHCRAFT DELUSION WERE CONDEMNED

fixion of Christ and the disintegration of the Jewish nation.

The purpose of this seeming digression is to make apparent where lay the blame for the terrible indignities and punishments suffered by innocent persons in New England (and incidentally in Europe) during the witchcraft trials.

The Massachusetts and New Haven Colonies were both established upon the theocratic basis; and Connecticut, while not so definitely founded on such a basis,

did exemplify very much of the theocratic principle. On June 4, 1639, the New Haven Assembly held its first "general meeting to consult about settling their civil government according to God, . . . for the establishing of such civil order as might be most pleasing to God, and for the choosing the fittest men for the foundation work of a church to be gathered." ⁹ That assembly entered into an agreement to the effect that "the Word of God shall be the only rule attended unto in ordering the affairs of government." ¹⁰ In harmony with the spirit of this provision, it was enacted that one of the duties of the general court should be "to provide for the maintenance of the purity of religion, and to suppress the contrary." ¹¹

The Mosaic code was the foundation of all law in New Haven, and any crime punishable by death under that code was made a capital offense by the New Haven theocracy. The law of God, as delivered by Moses, was made the law of the land by special enactment of the general court. None but church-members were admitted to the privileges of freemen of the colony; and regular church attendance was made compulsory under pain of a fine of five shillings for each offense. Finally, that there might be no possibility of a misunderstanding as to the basis upon which the government of New Haven rested, the assembly voted that "the Scriptures do hold forth a perfect rule for the direction and government of all men in all duties which they are to perform to God and men, as well in the government of families and commonwealths as in matters of the church." ¹²

⁹ "New Haven Colonial Records," 1639.

¹⁰ "New Haven Historical Papers," Vol. I, page 17.

¹¹ See "History of Connecticut," Johnston, page 98.

¹² "New Haven Colonial Records," 1639.

The government of the Connecticut Colony, while being somewhat different from that of New Haven, nevertheless partook very strongly of the principles of theocracy. For example, ministers of the gospel were supported by a regular tax, assessed by the selectmen of the town and collected by the regularly appointed tax-collectors. "The general court," says Sanford H. Cobb, "constantly regarded itself as responsible for the state of religion in the commonwealth, and for the purity of doctrine."¹³ In pursuance of its assumed duties in this matter, an act was passed in 1702, requiring that every person within that jurisdiction "carefully apply himself on the Lord's day to the duties of religion,— to attend public worship in some congregation allowed by law, provided that he conscientiously and conveniently can attend."¹⁴ In 1721 the election of tithing-men was provided for, whose duty was to "carefully inspect the behavior of all persons on the Sabbath, or Lord's day," and report to the authorities any person who was considered to be improperly observing the day.¹⁵

In 1723 Connecticut passed an "Act for Preventing Disorders in the Worship of God."¹⁶ One provision of this act was to the effect that those who "neglect the public worship of God in some lawful congregation, and form themselves into separate companies in private houses, shall each for every offense forfeit the sum of twenty shillings." Any person not a regular minister, who dared to administer the sacraments, was to be whipped, and, in addition, to pay a fine of ten pounds.

Concerning Massachusetts in this particular, the

¹³ "Rise of Religious Liberty in America," page 254.

¹⁴ "New Haven Historical Papers," Vol. III, page 399.

¹⁵ See "Massachusetts Records," Vol. VI, page 277.

¹⁶ "New Haven Historical Papers," Vol. III, page 386.

testimony of John Cotton is directly to the point. Dav-
enport, in his "Life of Cotton," says that Cotton was
appointed by the general court of Massachusetts to draw
up an "Abstract of Laws" for "the guidance of magis-
trates," patterned after "the laws of judgment delivered
from God to Moses." That abstract was accompanied
by the advice "that theocracy, i. e., God's government,
might be established as the best form of government,
wherein the people that choose rulers are God's people
in covenant with him, that is, members of the churches."
In writing to Lord Say and Sele, Cotton afterward de-
clared the government of Massachusetts to be a theoc-
racy. In 1641 the general court of Massachusetts
formally adopted the principle that "the civil authority
. . . hath power and liberty to see the peace, ordi-
nances, and rules of Christ observed in every church,
according to his Word," and declared that "it is the duty
of the Christian magistrate to take care that the people
be fed with wholesome and sound doctrine."¹⁷

Upon this basis, so completely subversive of in-
dividual conscience and freedom of worship, did these
three colonies conduct their governments. There is no
question but that those responsible for these conditions
and operations honestly believed they were working in
the interests of the Redeemer's kingdom. The result
of their operations, however, ought to have convinced
them, as it must convince us, that their fundamental
principle of government was a false one.

But having established their governments upon the
theocratic basis, what was more logical than that the code
of the Israelitish theocracy should be their code? They
did follow the logic of their fundamental principle in that
respect. Because God had said to the rulers of that

¹⁷ "Massachusetts Colonial Records," pages 100, 101.

ancient theocracy which he established, "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live," the rulers of these colonies considered that to be Jehovah's mandate to them also; and they acted accordingly. From their theocratic hypothesis, it became their bounden duty to root out witchcraft as soon as they were convinced that it existed among them.

But they reckoned ill-advisedly. Jehovah had *specifically brought to an end the theocratic system*, and had declared it should be no more until he himself should bestow the rulership of this world upon his Son. While the theocratic plan of government was in operation under Jehovah's direction, there was no possibility of injustice being done in the matter of the detection and punishment of those who had given themselves to Lucifer to do his bidding. He who made the law knew how to guard every individual from any unjust working of that law while it was in operation under his direction. He who gave his people the test by which to know a true prophet¹⁸ would not leave his prophets to the guidance of their own imaginations in detecting the necromancer, the wizard, and the witch. But the false theocracies of Europe and New England had no such guaranty against injustice and oppression. The establishment of these governments upon a theocratic basis was in defiance of the word of Jehovah according to which theocracy had been discontinued. When men attempt to operate a divine principle without divine sanction and in opposition to divine pronouncement, there is sure to be disaster.

When the agents of that false theocratic system known as the Papacy began the terrible business of extirpating heretics and witches, they opened up a field

¹⁸ See Num. 24: 4.

of operation in which a confederacy of human ingenuity, imagination, superstition, and spite, abetted by the cunning malignity of Satan himself, was to run a merciless course in two hemispheres, but chiefly in the mother lands. Concerning this James Russell Lowell says:—

“Toward no crime have men shown themselves so cold-bloodedly cruel as in punishing differences of belief,



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HOUSE IN WHICH LIVED REBECCA NOURSE, A VICTIM OF
THE SALEM WITCHCRAFT OUTRAGE

and the first systematic persecutions for witchcraft began with the inquisitors in the thirteenth century. It was then and there that the charge of sexual uncleanness with demons was first devised. Persecuted heretics would naturally meet in darkness and secret, and it was easy to blacken such meetings with the accusation of deeds so foul as to shun the light of day and the eyes of men.”¹⁹

¹⁹ “Among My Books,” page 130.

Thus does John M. Taylor, in his work on "The Witchcraft Delusion in Colonial Connecticut," speak of the origin of witchcraft persecutions:—

"Modern scholarship holds that witchcraft . . . was first exploited by the Dominicans of the Inquisition."²⁰

That it was exploited by them there is no doubt, and the foregoing quotation from Lowell gives a very cogent reason for the exploitation; but that it did not originate with them is proved both by the testimony of Holy Writ and by the oldest human records extant. The Code of Hammurabi (the Amraphel of the Old Testament, Gen. 14: 1), which was dug out of the necropolis mound of ancient Susa, in Elam, in 1901, proves the existence of witchcraft in that early age, and gives the rule for determining the guilt or innocence of the accused, as well as of the wizard who accused him. The bull of Pope Innocent VIII, issued in 1489, made a belief in witchcraft a fixed part of Catholic faith. On the title-page of that document is this significant legend: "Not to believe in witchcraft is the greatest of heresies."

With such a declaration from such an authoritative source, it is little wonder that a belief in witchcraft and in the necessity for its extirpation at the hands of those who were ruling over the bodies and souls of men, should have taken such strong possession of Christendom. And wherever a belief in prevalent witchcraft has been coupled with a belief in the baleful error that the civil power must look after religion, there has been just such trouble as that which harried New England in the witchcraft days, and polluted her annals with the blood of the innocent.

"Hundreds of innocent men and women were im-

²⁰ "Among My Books," page 10.

prisoned or fled into exile or hiding-places; their homes were broken up; their estates were ruined; and their families and friends were left in sorrow, anxiety, and desolation; and all this heroism was wrought at the instance of the chief men in the communities, the magistrates, and the ministers.”²¹ “The ministers stood with the magistrates in their delusion and intemperate zeal.”²²

As the New England colonies had brought their church-and-state ideas with them from the Old World, so also they brought their ideas of witchcraft and the methods for its extirpation. In the year 1541, by a statute of Henry VIII, witchcraft was made a felony. Canon Linden, an eye-witness of the dreadful deeds committed at Trier in 1589, says:—

“From court to court throughout the towns and villages of all the diocese, scurried special accusers, inquisitors, notaries, jurors, judges, constables, dragging to trial and to torture human beings of both sexes, and burning them in great numbers. Scarcely any of those who were accused escaped punishment. Nor were there spared even the leading men in the city of Trier. For the judge, with two burgomasters, several counselors and associate judges, canons of sundry collegiate churches, parish priests, rural deans, were swept away in this ruin. So far at length did the madness of the furious populace and of the courts go in this thirst for blood and booty, that there was scarcely anybody who was not smirched by some suspicion of this crime.

“Meanwhile notaries, copyists, and innkeepers grew rich. The executioner rode a blooded horse, like a noble of the court, and went clad in gold and silver. His wife

²¹ “The Witchcraft Delusion in Colonial Connecticut,” Taylor, page 26.

²² *Id.*, page 28.

vied with noble dames in the richness of her array. The children of those convicted and punished were sent into exile; their goods were confiscated; plowmen and vintner failed."²³

"In Bamberg and Wurzburg, Geneva and Como, Toulouse and Lorraine, and in many other places in Italy, Germany, and France, thousands were sacrificed in the names of religion, justice, and law, with bigotry for the advocate, ignorance for their judge, and fanaticism for their executioner."²⁴

Cotton Mather, as if to justify the course of the Massachusetts theocracy in its dealings with witches, tells, in his "Wonders of the Invisible World," of "certain strange doings in Sweedland in the years 1669 and 1670." He states that there were discovered no less than three-score and ten witches in one village, twenty-three of whom were condemned to death. "The rest (one pretending she was with child) were sent to Fahluma, where most of them were afterwards executed." Fifteen of this company who suffered death were children. Thirty-six other children who were considered less guilty "were forced to run the gauntlet, and be lashed on their hands once a week for a year together."²⁵

An English writer of that period gives this testimony:—

"We have multitudes of witches among us; for in Essex and Suffolk there are above two hundred indicted within these two years, and above the half of them executed."²⁶

At this time it was declared that Scotland was swarm-

²³ "The Witch Persecutions," Burr, pages 13, 14.

²⁴ "The Witchcraft Delusion in Colonial Connecticut," page 19.

²⁵ "Wonders of the Invisible World," Cotton Mather, pages 170, 171.

²⁶ "Familiar Letters," James Howell, 1646.

ing with witches, and that persons of good quality were executed daily. "Scotland set its seal on witchcraft as a crime by an act of its parliament as early as 1563, amended in 1649. The ministers were the inquisitors and persecutors. They heard the confessions and inflicted the tortures, and their cruelties were commensu-



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SCENE AT THE TRIAL OF GEORGE JACOBS, ACCUSED
OF WITCHCRAFT

rate with the hard-and-fast theology that froze the blood of mercy in their veins."²⁷

The Salem witchcraft delusion (in its homicidal manifestation) dates from February, 1692, to September 22 of the same year, though the danger was not past until May of the following year, when about one hundred and fifty persons who were still in prison for alleged witchcraft were set free. During this period nineteen were

²⁷ "The Witchcraft Delusion in Colonial Connecticut," page 21.

hanged for supposed witchcraft, fourteen of whom were women, and Giles Corey, accused of witchcraft, was



TRIAL OF MARTHA COREY FOR ALLEGED WITCHCRAFT

Giles Corey, who was pressed to death as a result of his trial on the same charge, stands at the left.

pressed to death "for his contumacy" in refusing to plead either "guilty" or "not guilty."

The New England persecutions for witchcraft were but an echo of what had occurred in the Old World, and they were superinduced by the same conditions,—a

union of church and state. The clergy of New England were as prominent in it as were the clergy of England and Scotland. Cotton Mather is pictured on horseback at the execution of the Rev. George Burroughs, who was hanged at Salem for alleged witchcraft, on Aug. 19, 1692. During Mr. Burroughs' speech and prayer on the scaffold, the people were so affected by his words that it was feared that some of those present might interfere with the execution. To forestall such action, some of Mr. Burroughs' accusers declared "the black man stood and dictated to him."

"As soon as he [Mr. Burroughs] was turned off [hanged], Mr. Cotton Mather, being mounted upon a horse, addressed himself to the people, partly to declare that he [Mr. Burroughs] was no ordained minister, and partly to possess the people of his guilt, saying that the devil had often been transformed into an angel of light; and this somewhat appeased the people."²⁸

There were others executed on the same scaffold with this minister of the gospel. The prominence of Mr. Mather in these executions did not in the least add to his popularity among the common people. Says Fiske:—

"One of the effects of the witchcraft episode at Salem was to cast discredit upon the clergy, who still represented the old theocratic ideal which had founded the commonwealth of Massachusetts. . . . To some extent Cotton Mather was made the chief butt of popular resentment because he and his father especially typified the old theocratic state of things."²⁹

The same author makes the following interesting observations upon the connection between theocratic rule and witchcraft:—

²⁸ "Salem Witchcraft in Outline," page 132.

²⁹ "New France and New England," Fiske, pages 197, 198.

“As literature and art have had their golden ages, so the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were especially the sulphurous age of the witchcraft delusion. It was the period when the Church of Rome was engaged in a life-and-death struggle with heresy, and obnoxious persons suspected of heresy could sometimes be destroyed by a charge of witchcraft when there was no other method



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HOME OF GEORGE JACOBS (DANVERS, MASS.), WHO WAS
HANGED FOR ALLEGED WITCHCRAFT

of reaching them. Thus the universal superstition was enlisted in the service of a militant and unscrupulous ecclesiastical organization with effects that were frightful. . . . It was already noted in Cromwell's time that independency in ecclesiastical matters seemed to be attended by a diminution of activity in the world of witches." ³⁰

³⁰ "New France and New England," pages 141-144.

The same observation fittingly applies to colonial days. The release from the bondage of the witchcraft delusion was synchronous with the growth of the spirit of revulsion from ecclesiastical control in civil things, which resulted finally in the overthrow of the ecclesiastical establishments. The rising light of religious liberty, resulting in the separation of church and state and the abandonment of the false-theocracy idea, cured the witchcraft delusion in New England; and that separation and that abandonment are the only certain preventive of a recurrence of that delusion. In view of that fact, the people of this nation should look with no little concern upon the declared purpose of powerful organizations to resurrect and reinstate theocracy in this land. Any theocracy that men may establish will be a false theocracy, and the result of its establishment must be certain disaster.

CHAPTER XI

The Massachusetts Hierarchy Goes Down Before the Throne

IN order that the great Reformation should be the success that God purposed it should be, it was necessary that theocratic forms of government should not be permitted in the United States of America. America, in God's providence, was to be a lighthouse for the world. The Reformation had brought to light the glorious truths of justification by faith; but the theater of its first operations soon became unwelcome ground for the gospel of a free conscience. To propagate in America that false theocratic theory which was binding consciences in the Old World and had begun to do the same in the New, would have been the second great calamity of the Christian era. It was time for the prison-house of the soul to be thrown open, and for the jailer of conscience to receive his discharge.

The revolt of the laity in Massachusetts, as pointed out in Chapter IX, strengthened the hand of the English king against the clerical power in the colonial government, and it must be confessed that the king's hands needed strengthening; for weak as the colony was, she was so determined in her course that she even defied the king's commissioners and the laws of the realm, and continued her audacious course for a number of years. The somewhat vacillating course of the king toward the Massachusetts Bay Colony was due to the fact that the necessity of preparing for his own troubles with the Continental countries left little time or means for carrying out his purposes in New England.

While King Charles was instructing Massachusetts to deal more gently with the Quakers, he was also becoming aware of the fact that members of the established Church of England were forbidden to worship in New England according to the dictates of their consciences, and also that free-born Englishmen were being denied the suffrage. He wrote to the colonial legislature, demanding that liberty of Episcopal worship be granted, that individual Episcopalians be admitted to the Lord's Supper in the Congregational churches, and be afforded the baptism of their infants. The general court replied, recounting the causes of Congregational immigration to New England, asserting that Congregationalism was established there, and begging that their "orthodox brethren would bear with" them.¹

Not liking the tone of this letter, the king appointed four commissioners to visit the colonies and regulate these affairs. In their instructions occur these words: "That such who desire to use the book of common prayer may be permitted so to doe without incurring any penalty, reproach, or disadvantage in interests, . . . it being very scandalous that any man should be debarred the exercise of his religion, according to ye laws and customs of England, by those who by ye indulgence granted have liberty left to be what profession in religion they please. . . . Differences of opinion doe not lessen charity to each other, since charity is fundamental in all religion."² The king's commissioners were charged to be very careful not to give the impression that it was the king's purpose to make any alteration in the church government, stating that his exception to their conduct was in the fact

¹ See "Massachusetts Records," Vol. IV, part 2, page 129.

² Hutchinson's "Collections," Prince Soc. Ed., Vol. II, pages 101-103.

that they denied "liberty of conscience to each other."³

An illustration of the impossibility of men acting justly and consistently when once wedded to the church-and-state doctrine, is seen in what the king's commissioners reported to the English secretary of state: "Those whom they will not admit to the communion they compel to come to their sermons by forcing from them five shillings for every neglect; yet these men thought their own paying of one shilling for not coming to prayers in England was an insupportable tyranny."⁴ The law to this effect is found in "Massachusetts Records," Vol. I, page 140.

In 1665 another demand was made by the English government for freedom of Episcopal worship in Massachusetts. To this the general court replied, again setting forth their reasons for coming to America, and declaring that for the Episcopal worship to be set up in that colony "will disturb our peace in our present enjoyments; and we have commended to the ministry and people here the Word of the Lord for their rule therein."⁵ This was a practical refusal to yield to the demand of their king and to permit the worship of which he was the head to be recognized as a legitimate religion in one of his colonies. They were espoused to the church-and-state idea, and yet took the inconsistent position of denying to the real and only legitimate head of their state the headship of their religion. It really amounted to this: If their king himself should come to New England, he would find the religion which he professed forbidden,

³ "O'Callaghan Documents," Vol. III, page 58.

⁴ Report of the King's Commissioners to the Secretary of State, quoted in "Rise of Religious Liberty in America," page 226.

⁵ "Massachusetts Records," Vol. IV, part 2, page 200.

and he himself a criminal for worshiping in harmony with his rituals.

This condition of affairs could not, of course, long continue; and yet the king seems to have borne very patiently with his colonial rebuffs. The commissioners themselves were powerless to enforce their king's demands, and the only satisfaction they had was in freeing their minds as to the unreasonableness of the colony's position. In their reply to the general court occur these words: "His Majesty does not impose the use of the common prayer-book on any, but he understands that liberty of conscience comprehends every man's conscience as well as any."⁶ But while the king's commissioners were saying this of him, he was industriously putting the Covenanters to death in Scotland, and was doing nothing to ease the afflictions of Congregationalists, Baptists, Presbyterians, and Quakers in Virginia. *This world has not yet produced an individual who can uphold the theory of a united church and state and at the same time act consistently and deal justly with all.*

In spite of the king's ill success in bringing about a speedy correction of the conditions against which he complained, and in spite of the recurring revivals of intolerance toward those not of the established church, the leaven of a change toward a better condition was persistently working. The Baptists built a church in Boston. This exasperated the hierarchy, and a law was passed sentencing the sect to banishment; but the law was not enforced. The Baptists had come to stay and to share with the Quakers the honor of securing liberty of conscience and of worship in Puritan Massachusetts. While the general court took no action to indicate that

⁶ Report of the King's Commissioners, quoted in "Rise of Religious Liberty in America," page 227.

dissenters were welcome, we hear no more of fines, imprisonments, and whippings for exercising the rights of conscience.

The king had empowered his commissioners to hear appeals from the decisions of the Massachusetts General Court. To this the clerical party was bitterly opposed. The general court maintained that the observance of their charter was inconsistent with appeals; and this was no doubt correct, for should an appeal be taken to the commissioners of the British government from a decision of the general court concerning the rights of those outside the established church,— especially if it were in the case of a Church of England man against a Congregationalist,— the commissioners would be bound to be guided by the laws of England rather than by the laws of the colony. They said: "Should it take place [that the commissioners be permitted to hear the appeals from the general court], what would become of our civill government, which hath binn, under God, the head of that liberty for our consciences for which the first adventurers bore all discouragements that encountered them in this wilderness?"⁷ The commissioners forced the issue by giving notice that on a certain day they would sit "to hear the case of Thomas Dean et al vs. the Gov. & Co. of Mass. Bay."⁸ Immediately the general court declared that the hearing would not be permitted; and it was not. The commissioners had no troops with which to enforce their purposes, and there the matter rested for the time. Several years elapsed, and in the meantime King Philip's war broke out. This was a disastrous affair for the colony, and the clergy taught that it was a judgment from God because of their "tenderness toward the Quakers."

⁷ Hutchinson's "Collections," Prince Soc. Ed., Vol. II, page 113.

⁸ "Emancipation of Massachusetts," Adams, 1886, page 194.

In the year 1674 the English government began to turn its attention again toward affairs in Massachusetts. The king sent a special agent, Edward Randolph, who was received by the colonial government with scant courtesy. The letter which he brought from the king to the Massachusetts government was received in a very disrespectful manner by the governor, who stated to the king's agent that the matters contained therein "did no way concern that government to take any notice thereof."⁹ When the legislature met, however, they did consent to send agents to represent them in England, as the king had commanded them; but to these agents they gave such explicit instructions and such restricted powers that practically nothing was accomplished. In the autumn of 1677 one of these agents wrote to the governor that unless something was done, a breach was inevitable. In the spring of the following year the law officers of the kingdom gave a decision that the misdemeanors alleged against Massachusetts were sufficient to void her patent. Later, new agents were sent over to England. Their powers were at once rejected, the patent was declared void, and the government agent, Randolph, was sent to Boston to serve the writ of *quo warranto*; but he was also charged to declare for the king that if proper submission were made, the charter would be restored. The magistrates, realizing the results of persisting in such a policy, voted an address to the crown accepting the proffered terms; but the clergy opposed it. So in 1685 the royal charter of Massachusetts was revoked, the Puritan hierarchy ceased to be, and a royal governor was appointed.

Among the first declarations of the king to the people of Massachusetts through the royal governor, Andros,

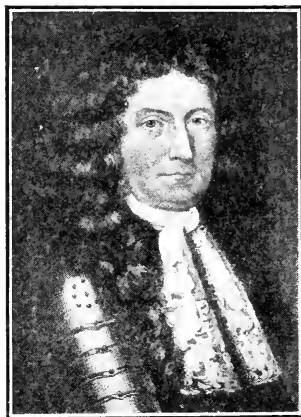
⁹ Hutchinson's "Collections," Prince Soc. Ed., Vol. II, page 240.

was this one: "We do here will and require and command that liberty of conscience be allowed to all persons, and that such especially as shall be conformable to the rites of the Church of England be particularly countenanced and encouraged."¹⁰ The governor proceeded at once to break down opposition to the Church of England form of worship by demanding a house of worship in which the liturgy of that church could be carried out. This was denied him, and he took forcible possession of one. The triumph of the governor in this broke the force of the opposition, and an arrangement was made permitting Episcopal worship in the churches on Sunday afternoons.

In 1687 the king published a proclamation of religious liberty which was designed to remove Catholic disabilities in Massachusetts. It was not received with any degree of enthusiasm in the colony, and when, in 1691,

a new charter was granted to Massachusetts, by which the colony of Plymouth was merged into the larger colony, it was decreed that "forever hereafter there shall be liberty of conscience allowed in the worship of God to all Christians (except papists)."¹¹

Thus it is seen that neither king nor colony under-



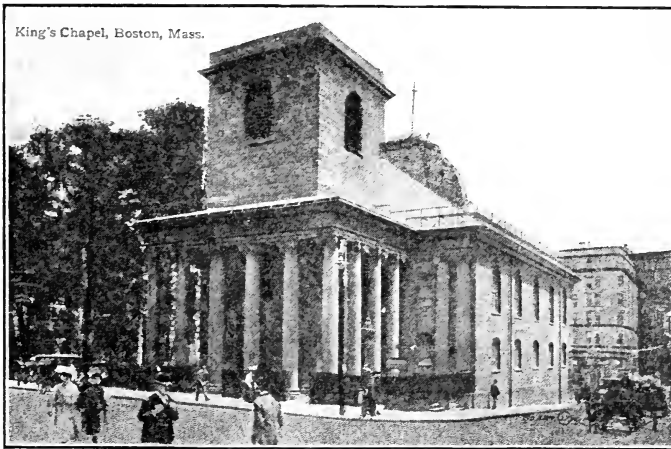
SIR EDMUND ANDROS

Governor Andros was the first royal governor of Massachusetts.

¹⁰ "Massachusetts Historical Collections," Vol. III, 3; 148.

¹¹ "Charters and Constitutions of the United States" (1878), page 950.

stood the true grounds of religious liberty. While they designated it "liberty of conscience," it was nothing more than tolerance in religious practise. That the king withheld it from the papists while granting it to all others, shows that he regarded the exercise of the rights of conscience merely as a privilege granted by him, which he had a right to withhold if he chose. The position taken by him in this, and the position taken by the Massachu-



KING'S CHAPEL, BOSTON, MASS.

Here was established the worship of the state church by the British government despite the opposition of the colonial establishment.

setts Bay Colony in their opposition to him and his mode of worship and to all forms of worship save their own, were no whit better than the doctrine of the Papacy, which they opposed.

Thus we have in Massachusetts for a time what was virtually two hierarchies opposing each other and hindering each other; and out of those oppositions and hindrances religious liberty was growing. But Massachu-

setts did not get rid of all her church-and-state trappings for many years, nor has she indeed done so even yet. Support of the church by public taxation was continued even to the year 1833, and there still remain on her statute-books laws *requiring* the observance of a religious ordinance — Sunday.

Wherever any religious ordinance is enacted into law, the governing motive invariably is a desire to coerce those whose sentiments differ from the sentiments of those who wish such laws enacted. Their motive may be pure enough and their zeal unquestionable, but the fact remains that when we set ourselves up as judges of consciences, we invariably become bigots. That is what Massachusetts and most of the other colonies did, and it has been a heritage which the later generations have found it extremely difficult to throw off. The unhallowed principle holds like a birthmark. The mellowing influence of the gospel in the hearts of individual men and women is the only influence upon which the kingdom of heaven depends for the establishment of the kingdom of righteousness in this world. Any state commissioned to do a religious work is commissioned by some power other than that of heaven.

CHAPTER XII

Virginia's Struggle for Soul Freedom

THERE were three parties who carried on the struggle for religious liberty in Virginia. They were, first, the Quakers, who suffered unresistingly; second, the Baptists, who suffered and protested vigorously against the suffering and the principles that involved it; and, third, the Presbyterians, who suffered less than the others, because of a private arrangement with the governor, yet not wholly without protest. Another reason why the Presbyterians suffered less than the others lay in the fact that Presbyterianism had never yet taken its stand against the doctrine of a union of church and state, and the Presbyterian Church of Scotland was a state church. The Virginia Presbyterians made no striking protest against the injustice of religious persecution until three years before the Revolution.

The Episcopal Church, or Church of England, was the established church of Virginia, and there was little choice between its treatment of dissenters and the treatment which they received in Massachusetts. It was the purpose of the leaders in that church-state to exclude all dissenters from the colony unless they were willing to conform to the state religion. The revolution in England in 1688 brought about the passage of the Act of Toleration, but Virginia did not propose that the provisions of that act should apply within her jurisdiction. The general court of Virginia, in 1689, construed that act to suit their own purposes, withholding its benefits from all dissenters until force of circumstances compelled them to yield to the growing demand for liberty of conscience.

Settlements of Scotch-Irish Presbyterians were established in the western portion of Virginia as early as 1738. The desire of the Virginia government to have settlements of the whites between the eastern settlements and the Indians, made it possible for these Presbyterians, through the synod of Philadelphia, to obtain from Governor Gooch of Virginia, an agreement by whose terms they were to benefit under the Act of Toleration. The governor was willing to permit them, in those remote counties, to enjoy freedom of worship because he knew that in case of an Indian outbreak the Presbyterians would form a first wall of defense for the colony, and bear the brunt of the suffering.

The Baptists settled in the southeast part of the State as early as 1714; but they enjoyed no such immunity as did the Presbyterians; for the government could not use them as a buffer between itself and danger. Neither could the Quakers be so used. Both were unwelcome; both were imprisoned; both were sent out of the State on account of their religion, and on that account alone. The Quakers' non-resistance and the established church's bitter persecution of them gave the people an object-lesson in the cruelties and injustices of a state religion. They saw its true character in its treatment of that people. And while the sufferings of the Baptists furnished the same object-lesson of the cruelty of such a régime, the Baptists also continually set before the people the principles of the gospel of Jesus Christ upon the question of soul liberty. To these two denominations must be given the chief credit for paving the way for and winning the glorious victory which was gained in Virginia over the foes of a free conscience. Those two denominations entered the New World with a clean record upon that matter, their history never

having been stained with the blood of mankind on account of differences of religious belief and practise.

The example which the Quakers set in mutely suffering had its effect in convincing many of the unrighteousness of persecution for conscience' sake, and to others the argument of the Baptists went home with strong conviction. This leaven began to work as soon as these people began to be oppressed, otherwise it would seem that the introduction of religious liberty into Virginia would have been completely forestalled; for it was enacted as early as 1643 that "all ministers should be conformable to the orders and constitution of the Church of England, and that no others be permitted to teach or preach, publicly or privately."¹ It was also expressly provided that the governor and council should take care that all non-conformists depart from the colony "with all conveniency."²

Under such regulations it would seem impossible for any sect to gain a foothold in Virginia. Not allowed to teach or to preach publicly, not allowed to remain in the colony, certainly every avenue for bringing the doctrine of religious liberty into that State was closed. The only method to pursue was that which was pursued, for the proscribed sects to enter *in spite of the unrighteous law*, and let its iniquity be exposed by the work which it would do upon them. When the fires of persecution became too fierce, they withdrew, but only to return to the contest with renewed vigor.

In 1642 three Congregational ministers from Massachusetts attempted to brave the law; but, like the Presbyterians, they themselves were not standing on the broad platform of absolute religious liberty for all (their church being the state church of Massachusetts), and their

¹ "Virginia Presbyterianism and Religious Liberty," page 12. .

² *Ib.*

attempt to propagate their faith, in opposition to the rigid law of the Virginia church-state, ended quickly in failure, and in their return to Massachusetts. The following year Governor Berkeley's attempt to convert all in the colony to the doctrines of the established church by means of whippings and brandings with hot irons, resulted in the withdrawal of the Baptists and Quakers to North Carolina. But other Baptists came, and other Quakers came; and the struggle went on.

Ten years after the passage of the Act of Toleration, the first license was granted to a Presbyterian minister, Francis Mackemie (previously mentioned), to preach in Virginia. Mr. Mackemie seems to have understood the law and the necessary requirements under it, and pressed the issue upon the Virginia government. This license, or certificate, was the first certificate of qualification for a dissenting minister granted in Virginia, and bears date of Oct. 15, 1699. Mr. Mackemie made application for and was granted the right to preach in two houses owned by himself, one at Pocomoke and the other at Onancock.

At this time the law required the registration of all places where dissenters worshiped, and the government did its best to keep down the number. In order to receive a certificate of qualification from the government, the applicant must subscribe to the thirty-nine articles of the Church of England, with the exception of the thirty-fourth, thirty-fifth, and thirty-sixth, and that clause of the twentieth which gave to the established church authority to decide for others religious controversies and to dictate rites and ceremonies. The applicant and the members of his church must also pay a pro rata portion of the expenses of supporting the ministers of the established church. This the Presbyterians and a portion of the Baptists did; but the Separate Bap-

tists, whose influence was strongest against the continuance of the church-and-state system, refused to enter into any such agreement. Another prerequisite to receiving the certificate of qualification was an agreement "never by word or deed to seek to injure the said [established] church."³ Having signed such an agreement, the signer was, of course, estopped from saying anything whatever against the belief or practise of that church. It is to the honor of the Separate Baptists that they refused to make any such agreement, and chose to suffer the consequences of their refusal rather than throw away their right to follow the example of their Saviour in such matters. Many of the Baptists who were arrested during those times in Virginia were arrested for "speaking against the canons of the Church of England" or for "reviling the bishops and clergy."⁴ The Baptists held that it was their right to speak against any doctrines which they believed to be wrong, and to rebuke iniquity in high places as well as in low. That they had good occasion for rebuking the clergy of the established church of Virginia is shown by the records of the time. Dr. Hawks says of the clergy of the established church:—

"They could babble in a pulpit, roar in a tavern, exact from their parishioners, and by their dissoluteness rather destroy than feed the flock."⁵

Bishop Meade testifies in reference to the same class:—

"Many of them had been addicted to the race-field, the card-table, the theater—nay, more, to drunken revel."⁶

³ "Struggle for Religious Liberty in Virginia," C. F. James, page 24.

⁴ "Sketches of Virginia," pages 160-162.

⁵ "History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Virginia," page 65.

⁶ "Old Parishes and Families of Virginia," Vol. I, page 118.

The bishop of London himself said in reference to the recruits for the ministry of the Virginia Colony:—

“Of those who are sent from hence a great part are the Scotch or Irish, who can get no employment at home, and enter into the service more out of necessity than choice. Some others are willing to go abroad to retrieve either lost fortune or lost character.”⁷

If there were no other proof that the union of church and state is contrary to the design of the Author of the gospel, the low moral character of a large portion of the priests of established churches would be proof enough; and it matters not what the name of the established church may be, or whether Catholic or Protestant. The Virginia Assembly was compelled to take cognizance of these conditions in the year 1776, when the following law was passed:—

“Be it further enacted by this general assembly, and by the authority thereof, that such ministers as shall become notoriously scandalous, by drunkenness, swearing, fornication, or other heinous and crying sins, and shall thereof be lawfully convicted, shall, for every such their heinous crime and wickedness,” etc.⁸

In contradistinction to these stood the Baptist, Quaker, and Presbyterian ministers, exemplary in their lives, and, by virtue of that contrast, winning the confidence of the people. Inasmuch as the Baptists were outspoken against the conditions and against the principles which made the conditions possible, they began to increase rapidly in spite of every method of oppression devised against them. One writer says of them:—

“While yielding a ready obedience to the civil authorities in all civil affairs, in matters of religion they recog-

⁷ “Sketches of Virginia,” page 38.

⁸ Hening’s “Statutes,” Vol. II, page 384.

nized no lord but Christ. They were truly apostolic in refusing to obey man rather than God." ⁹

The conditions existing at that time are described by Dr. Semple in the following words:—

"The great success and rapid increase of the Baptists in Virginia must be ascribed primarily to the power of God working with them. Yet it cannot be denied that there were subordinate and cooperating causes; one of which, and the main one, was the loose and immoral deportment of the established clergy, by which the people were left almost destitute of even the shadow of true religion. 'Tis true they had some outward forms of worship, but the essential principles of Christianity were not only not understood among them, but by many never heard of. Some of the cardinal precepts of morality were disregarded, and actions plainly forbidden by the New Testament were often proclaimed by the clergy as harmless and innocent, or, at least, foibles of but little account. . . . It was not uncommon for the rectors of parishes to be men of the lowest morals. The Baptist preachers were, in almost every respect, the reverse of the established clergy." ¹⁰

These conditions were bound to have their effect upon those who were truly thoughtful and truly religious; and as the Baptists especially increased, the promulgation of their views regarding church-and-state relations also increased, and the influence of the establishment began to decline. Thus the very conditions for which the established church was responsible helped to accomplish its overthrow. Then, too, in the year 1773 came a crushing blow to the established clergy. They entered into a contest with the people over their

⁹ "Struggle for Religious Liberty in Virginia," page 26

¹⁰ "History of the Virginia Baptists," page 25.

salaries, and lost. Patrick Henry figured prominently in that contest, making a powerful speech (his maiden effort) in opposition to their claims. From this time



PATRICK HENRY DELIVERING HIS CELEBRATED SPEECH

their power began to wane. They were experiencing the most natural result of church and state union.

“The Lord was marshaling his hosts for the liberation of this fair land from the dominion and curse of a priestly

hierarchy, and the souls of men from bondage to human law and custom." ¹¹

Among all those who struggled for religious liberty in those days, the chief credit must be awarded to the Baptists; for they alone pursued a consistent course in their attitude toward the state and toward the establishment of religion by law. This statement has no reference to the Quakers; for while their course was consistent, they can hardly be said to have struggled to attain liberty of conscience. They suffered under the conditions then prevalent, and did little in an aggressive way to alter them. The Baptists, from the time of their entrance into the colony, insisted upon the right to worship God according to the dictates of conscience, taught the inconsistency of state interference in religious matters and of religious interference in civil matters, and stood opposed to the legal establishment of religion in any guise whatsoever. They suffered much, but their cause and their course won adherents rapidly.

The Methodists, affiliating with the established church, upheld the church-state in its course, and opposed the efforts of the Baptists and Presbyterians to bring about a change in the oppressive conditions. The Episcopalians held tenaciously to the special privileges they had so long enjoyed under the establishment, and opposed every move looking toward liberty of conscience in Virginia. The Presbyterians, because of their agreement with Governor Gooch, were practically estopped from doing anything aggressive against the establishment until Revolutionary times. Nevertheless, they did protest against some of the oppressive conditions in Virginia, which affected them directly, as early as 1774.

In the year 1768 Baptist ministers began to be im-

¹¹ "Struggle for Religious Liberty in Virginia," page 26.

prisoned in Virginia. Two years later the Baptists began to petition the House of Burgesses for redress of some of their grievances. The House journal of May 26, 1770, has this record of the matter: —

“A petition of several persons, being Protestant dissenters of the Baptist persuasion, whose names are thereunto subscribed, was presented to the House and read; setting forth the inconveniences of compelling their licensed preachers to bear arms under the militia law, and to attend musters, by which they are unable to perform the duties of their function; and further setting forth the hardships they suffer from the prohibition to their ministers to preach in meeting-houses, not particularly mentioned in their licenses; and, therefore, praying the House to take their grievances into consideration, and to grant them relief.”¹²

One week later the committee to which the petition was referred reported, recommending the rejection of the appeal. The recommendation to reject was adopted by the House. The Baptists, however, were not discouraged, and two years after the rejection of their reasonable petition concerning their ministers serving in the militia, four petitions were presented to the House from the Baptists, all within the month of February, 1772. Concerning the first of these the House journal of February 12 has this record: —

“A petition of several persons of the county of Lunenburg, whose names are thereunto subscribed, was presented to the House and read; setting forth that the petitioners, being of the society of Christians called Baptists, find themselves restricted in the exercise of their religion, their teachers imprisoned under various pretenses, and the benefits of the Toleration Act denied them, although

¹² “Struggle for Religious Liberty in Virginia,” page 32.

they are willing to conform to the true spirit of that act and are loyal and quiet subjects; and, therefore, praying that they may be treated with the same indulgence, in religious matters, as Quakers, Presbyterians, and other Protestant dissenters enjoy." ¹³

The first favorable mention of these petitions occurs in the House journal of February 25. From that entry we read as follows:—

"*Resolved*, That it is the opinion of this committee that the petition of sundry inhabitants of the counties of Lunenburg, Mecklenburg, Sussex, and Amelia, of the society of Christians called Baptists, . . . is reasonable." ¹⁴

The resolution was agreed to by the House, and the "committee for religion" was ordered to bring in a bill in harmony therewith. Accordingly, on February 27, this entry appears in the journal:—

"A bill for extending the benefit of the several Acts of Toleration to His Majesty's Protestant subjects in this colony, dissenting from the Church of England, was read a second time," and "committed to the committee for religion." ¹⁵

This committee, in harmony with its instructions, prepared a bill, which was read a third time, on July 1, 1772; but it proved objectionable to both Baptists and Presbyterians, and never became a law. In the meantime, another Baptist petition had been presented, this one from Caroline County. On account of the disagreement between the governor and the House of Burgesses, nothing was accomplished in the line of legislation between the years 1772 and 1774. It was just at this time that James Madison, a college graduate twenty-one years

¹³ "Struggle for Religious Liberty in Virginia." page 33.

¹⁴ *Id.*, page 34.

¹⁵ *Id.*

of age, began to be heard on behalf of liberty of conscience. His first-known expression of sentiment upon this question occurs in a letter to a college friend at Philadelphia, by the name of Bradford. From that letter the following quotation is taken:—

“I have nothing to brag of as to the state and liberty of my country. Poverty and luxury prevail among all sorts; pride, ignorance, and knavery among the priesthood, and vice and wickedness among the laity. This is bad enough; but it is not the worst I have to tell you. The diabolical, hell-conceived principle of persecution rages among some, and, to their own eternal infamy, the clergy can furnish their quota of imps for such purposes. There are at this time in the adjacent country not less than five or six well-meaning men in close jail for publishing their religious sentiments, which, in the main, are very orthodox. I have neither patience to hear, talk, or think of anything relative to this matter, for I have squabbled and scolded, abused and ridiculed, so long about it, to little purpose, that I am without common patience. So I must beg you to pity me, and pray for liberty of conscience to all.”¹⁶

The clergy of whom Madison speaks so deprecatingly were the clergy of the established church; and the conditions which he depicts are the conditions that have always prevailed where religion, or a particular form of religion, has been established by law. The letter quoted was written on Jan. 24, 1774. On the first day of the following April, Madison again wrote to the same friend in reference to the matter; and this letter is interesting as showing the difficulties against which the advocates of religious liberty had to contend:—

“Our assembly is to meet the first of May, when it is

¹⁶ “Life and Times of Madison,” Rives, Vol. I, page 43.

expected something will be done in behalf of the dissenters. Petitions, I hear, are already forming among the persecuted Baptists, and I fancy it is the thought of the Presbyterians also to intercede for greater liberty in matters of religion. For my part, I cannot help being very doubtful of their succeeding in the attempt. The affair was on the carpet during the last session; but such incredible and extravagant stories were told in the House of the monstrous effects of the enthusiasm prevalent among the sectaries, and so greedily swallowed by their enemies, that I believe they lost footing by it. And the bad name they still have among those who pretend too much contempt to examine into their principles and conduct, and are too much devoted to ecclesiastical establishment to hear of the toleration of the dissentients, I am apprehensive will be again made a pretext for rejecting their requests. . . . That liberal, catholic, and equitable way of thinking, as to the rights of conscience, which is one of the characteristics of a free people, and so strongly marks the people of your province, is little known among the zealous adherents of our hierarchy." ¹⁷ Wherever there is church establishment, whatever its creed, this is its record.

The agitation then being carried on by the Baptists and Presbyterians, and such defenders as Madison and Jefferson, began to make the priests and officials of the established church fear for the continuance of their dominance and special privileges. Concerning this the historian Semple says:—

"The zealots for the old order were greatly embarrassed. 'If,' say they, 'we permit them to go on, our church must come to nothing; and yet, if we punish them as far as we can stretch the law, it seems not to deter

¹⁷ "Life and Times of Madison," Vol. I, page 53.

them; for they preach through prison windows, in spite of our endeavors to prevent it.'"¹⁸

The struggle was now on in earnest. It was the beginning of the grapple between the oppressor and the oppressed in Virginia. From this year, 1774, the Virginia hierarchy began to lose ground.

The first Presbyterian petition to the Virginia Assembly for relief from conditions unsatisfactory to them was presented in that year; but it has no bearing upon the struggle for religious liberty. It seems rather to infringe upon the principles of both civil and religious liberty; for in this petition complaint is made against the unsatisfactory plan of supporting their ministers by voluntary contributions, and they ask that an act be passed enabling them "to take and hold lands and slaves" for the purpose of helping them to support their pastors.

The complaint against having to support their pastors by voluntary contributions, is a bid for compulsory support, or for a share of the moneys raised by the established church. Where the value of true religious liberty is not sensed, there is no assurance that even the principles of civil liberty will be understood or respected. Thus the above-named petitioners could in the same breath ask for a law compelling other men to support their system of worship, and for another law that would authorize and empower that church organization to make merchandise of the bodies of men and women, that the support of their pastors might be assured. A true interpretation of the gospel of Christ, a true sense of the religious rights of men, would have precluded the possibility of that church or any church coming to any legislative body with such a petition as that mentioned. At the same time, that church condemned its own course

¹⁸ "History of the Virginia Baptists," page 20.

in a pastoral letter issued by the Presbyterian synod, closing with these words:—

“There is no example in history in which civil liberty was destroyed and the rights of conscience preserved entire.”¹⁹

In the year 1774 the presbytery of Hanover presented to the general assembly, or House of Burgesses, a petition protesting against certain objectionable features in the Toleration Bill then before that body. There is a vast difference between the position taken by the presbytery of Hanover, as set forth in this petition, and the position taken by the same body in 1777, as set forth in their memorial to the general assembly. In 1774 they were still bound by their agreement with Governor Gooch, and so could not say anything against the doctrines or the course of the clergy of the established church. Their compromise with the established church prevented their taking a strong, consistent stand in favor of soul freedom. Therefore, we find them saying, in their petition of 1774:—

“We are still willing that all our clergymen should be required to take the oaths of allegiance, etc., usually taken by civil officers, and to declare their belief of the Holy Scriptures. Likewise, as is required in the said bill, we shall willingly have all our churches and stated places of public worship registered.”²⁰

It is thus seen that they were still willing the state should exercise a certain supervision over their religious practises. Taking the oaths “usually taken by civil officers,” made their ministers in a sense civil officers,—a mingling of the secular and the sacred nowhere countenanced in the gospel, but rather subversive of the

¹⁹ “Records of the Presbyterian Church,” page 468.

²⁰ “Virginia Presbyterianism,” page 66.

principles of Christ's kingdom. They had not yet learned to distinguish between what belongs to God and what belongs to Cæsar, and their comprehension of their own religious rights was therefore hazy and uncertain.

But notwithstanding this lack of perception in the matter of religious liberty, this same petition does contain certain declarations and demands which show that the light of soul freedom was beginning to shine forth among the Presbyterians of Virginia. They were willing that their places of meeting be registered, yet they made bold to declare: "We cannot, consistent with the duties of our office, wholly confine our ministrations to any place or number of places." They felt they must "follow the example of" their "blessed Saviour, 'who went about doing good,' and the example of his apostles, who not only 'taught in the temple, but in every house where they came.'" ²¹ They were willing their ministers should take the "oaths of allegiance," yet protested against a condition of things which would make it necessary, in obeying the laws of Christ, to disobey the laws of their country. They were willing to obey the law which made it obligatory upon them to keep their church doors open during services, but they protested against the suspicion of disloyalty which it implied. They declared it their right to hold meetings at night when it seemed advantageous so to do, and declared their intention of continuing to baptize servants, with or without the consent of their masters, upon satisfactory evidence of such servants' true penitence and faith in Christ. They also demanded from the civil authorities the same protection for their ministers that was afforded the clergymen of the established church, the same right to freedom of speech and of writing, and also the right

²¹ "Virginia Presbyterianism," page 66.

“to have and to enjoy the free exercise of our religion, without molestation or danger of incurring any penalty whatsoever.”²² These demands form the groundwork of the First Amendment to the federal Constitution.

When the colonies had declared their independence of the mother country, the Presbyterians were no longer bound by the agreement made respecting their attitude toward the Church of England. Out from under the jurisdiction of that government, they were out from under the jurisdiction of the church which was its representative and agent. It was then that the Presbyterians began to assert the real and vital principles of religious liberty, as voiced in the memorial of the presbytery of Hanover in 1777, which will be quoted in this chapter.

In the meantime, the Baptists had been industriously laboring for the spread of religious liberty principles, and had even come to hope that the “establishment,” as the state church was now termed, might be actually overthrown, and unrestricted religious liberty be enjoyed by all. To this end, they circulated petitions vigorously among the people, and to aid in accomplishing this purpose, the Baptists of Virginia held a general council in May, 1775, at Manokin Town. Out of this meeting grew the petition to the Virginia convention, praying that “the church establishment should be abolished, and religion be left to stand upon its own merits.”²³ A committee of three was appointed to attend the convention and present the address of the Baptists. This address, which was adopted, and filed among the state papers of Virginia, “contemplated two objects,—the freedom of the colony from British rule, and the freedom of religion from all government trammels and direc-

²² “Virginia Presbyterianism,” page 68.

²³ “History of the Virginia Baptists,” page 62.

tion.”²⁴ In this address the Baptists asked that, in view of the impending struggle with England, their ministers be granted “the liberty of preaching to the



GEORGE MASON, AUTHOR OF VIRGINIA'S DECLARATION
OF RIGHTS

troops at convenient times, without molestation or abuse.” This portion of the address elicited the following resolution, which was passed by the convention:—

“*Resolved*, That it be an instruction to the command-

²⁴ “Early Baptists of Virginia,” Howell, page 143.

ing officers of the regiment or troops to be raised, that they permit dissenting clergymen to celebrate divine worship, and to preach to the soldiers, or exhort from time to time, as the various operations of the military service may permit, for the ease of such scrupulous consciences as may not choose to attend divine service as celebrated by the chaplain." ²⁵

"This," says Dr. Hawks, "it is believed, was the first step made toward placing the clergy of all denominations upon an equal footing in Virginia," and it is certain that it would not have been accomplished so easily but for the impending struggle with the mother country, in which the lead-



PATRICK HENRY

ers felt the need of the assistance of the dissenters.

Then came the Revolution; but twenty-two days before the Declaration of Independence was signed at Philadelphia, the Virginia convention adopted a "declaration of rights," prepared by George Mason, the sixteenth article of which (prepared by Patrick Henry) read, before its amendment, as follows:—

"That religion, or the duty which we owe to our Creator, and the manner of discharging it, can be directed

²⁵ "Struggle for Religious Liberty in Virginia," page 53.

only by reason and conviction, and not by force or violence, and, therefore, that all men should enjoy the fullest toleration in the exercise of religion according to the dictates of conscience, unpunished and unrestrained by the magistrates, unless, under the color of religion,

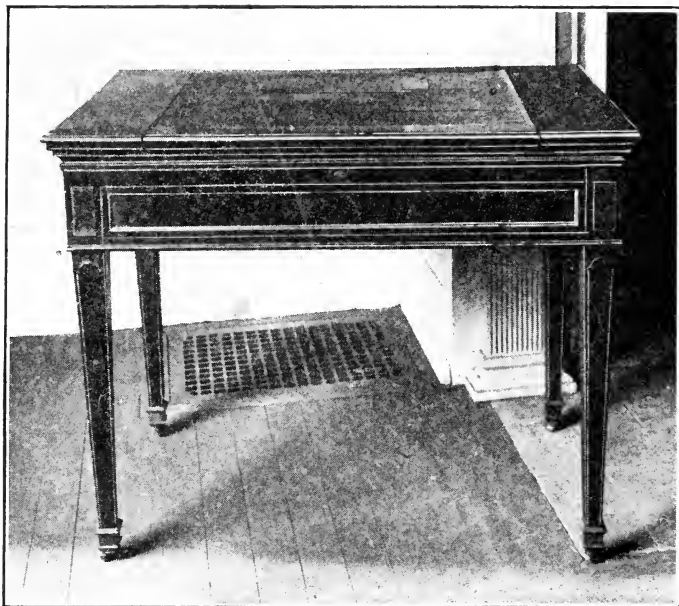


TABLE ON WHICH GEORGE MASON WROTE THE VIRGINIA
DECLARATION OF RIGHTS

This table is now in Independence Hall, Philadelphia.

any man disturb the peace, the happiness, or the safety of society; and that it is the mutual duty of all to practise Christian forbearance, love, and charity towards each other.^{27 26}

There was one friend of religious liberty in this con-

²⁶ "Struggle for Religious Liberty in Virginia," page 62.

vention who saw in that article of the bill of rights a phraseology which was inconsistent with the principles of true religious liberty. It was James Madison. When the bill came before the convention, he proposed an amendment to that article which would make it read as follows:—

“That religion, or the duty we owe to our Creator, and the manner of discharging it, can be directed only by reason and conviction, not by force or violence; and, therefore, all men are equally entitled to the free exercise of religion according to the dictates of conscience; and that it is the mutual duty of all to practise Christian forbearance, love, and charity towards each other.”²⁷

Between the two there is a world of difference. The first would permit an established church to relegate to itself perquisites and privileges that are denied to other organizations, merely *tolerating* other forms of faith and practise. The other puts all men upon an equality, religiously as well as civilly, and frees the souls of men from the chains of spiritual slavery. The difference between the two is bound up in the one word toleration. Historians have asked the question, “Where did the stripling [Madison] learn the distinction between religious freedom and religious toleration? It had not then begun to be recognized in treatises on religion and morals.” Dr. John C. Long says he learned it “from his Baptist neighbors, whose wrongs he had witnessed, and who persistently taught that the civil magistrate had nothing to do with matters of religion.”²⁸

It is quite possible that the Baptist committee of three sent up to this convention for the very purpose of lobbying in favor of the true principles of religious liberty,

²⁷ “Struggle for Religious Liberty in Virginia,” page 62.

²⁸ *Id.*, page 63.

should be given a large share of the credit for the wording of Article XVI, as finally passed. It was the bill of rights and this particular section of that bill in which the Baptists were especially interested, and we may be sure that if they did anything at all during the convention, it was in behalf of an amendment to that section. That they felt they had accomplished something is proved by the following reference to their work in Dr. Howell's account of the General Association of the Baptists for 1776. He says:—

“Its commissioners to the State convention, Mr. Walker, Mr. Williams, and Mr. Roberts, reported, giving a full account of their mission, and the extraordinary success with which God had crowned their endeavors. They received the grateful thanks and earnest congratulations of all their brethren.”²⁹

The Baptists had the best of reasons for opposing that clause of Article XVI which alludes to the disturbance of “the peace, the happiness, or the safety of society.” Many of them had been arrested as disturbers of the peace because they had been preaching the gospel. They had always been pleading for liberty and equality, and mere toleration was opposed to both. Though they produced no historic document like the memorial of the presbytery of Hanover, they pursued a consistent course throughout the struggle for soul freedom in Virginia, and unquestionably caused to be woven into that bill of rights principles which were finally incorporated into the Constitution of the United States, making it a lamp to lighten other nations along the road to religious liberty. “It [the passage of Article XVI of the bill of rights] marks an era in legislative history, and is believed to be the first provision ever embodied in any constitution or

²⁹ “Early Baptists of Virginia,” page 159.

law for the security of absolute equality before the law to all religious opinions." ³⁰

We would not take from Madison the honor due him in championing such a cause; but it is befitting that those who taught and struggled and suffered for weary years should have the credit due them for the work accomplished and the victories won.

Notwithstanding the broad principles laid down in the bill of rights passed by the Virginia Assembly, the real separation of church and state was not accomplished for a number of years.

The first session of the Virginia Legislature after the signing of the Declaration of Independence was besieged by petitions both for and against religious liberty. It was in the following year that the famous memorial of the presbytery of Hanover was presented to the legislature. This memorial is probably the strongest document prepared up to that time in reference to the question of the rights of conscience, and it seems evident, from the manifest difference between this memorial and the one presented three years earlier to the House of Burgesses, that there was a wide divergence of opinion in the Presbyterian Church upon this question. This is made more manifest by the position which this same church took several years later upon the question of the establishment of a national church or a national religion, and a general assessment for its support.

The memorial of 1777 was prepared by men who understood the true doctrine of soul freedom. The document presented three years previous to this was prepared by those who had not yet learned the fundamental principles of religious liberty; and the position taken by the Presbyterian Church, as shown in the work

³⁰ Chambers' "Library of Universal Knowledge," Vol. IX, page 334.

done by that body in 1785, demonstrates that the denomination was still far behind the principles enunciated in that memorable document. That the reader may see the position taken in 1777, the memorial of the presbytery of Hanover is herewith given in full: —

“To the Honorable the General Assembly of Virginia.

“The memorial of the presbytery of Hanover humbly represents that your memorialists and the denomination with which we are connected are most sincerely attached to the common interests of the American States, and are determined that our most fervent prayers and strenuous endeavors shall ever be united with our fellow subjects to repel the assaults of tyranny and to maintain our common rights. In our former memorial we have expressed our hearty approbation of the declaration of rights, which has been made and adopted as the basis of the laws and government of this State, and now we take the opportunity of testifying that nothing has inspired us with greater confidence in our legislature than the late act of assembly declaring that equal liberty, as well religious as civil, shall be universally extended to the good people of this country; and that all the oppressive acts of Parliament respecting religion which have been formerly enacted in the mother country, shall henceforth be of no validity or force in this commonwealth; as also exempting dissenters from all levies, taxes, and impositions, whatsoever, toward supporting the Church of England as it now is or hereafter may be established. We would, therefore, have given our honorable legislature no further trouble on this subject, but we are sorry to find that there yet remains a variety of opinions touching the propriety of a general assessment, or whether every religious society shall be left to voluntary contributions for the maintenance of the ministers of the gospel who are of different persuasions. As this matter

is deferred by our legislature to the discussion and final determination of a future assembly when the opinions of the country in general shall be better known, we think it our indispensable duty again to repeat a part of the prayer of our former memorial, 'that dissenters of every denomination may be exempted from all taxes for the support of any church whatsoever, further than what may be agreeable to the private choice or voluntary obligations of every individual; while the civil magistrates no otherwise interfere than to protect them all in the full and free exercise of their several modes of worship.' We then represented as the principal reason upon which this request is founded, that the only proper objects of civil governments are the happiness and protection of men in the present state of existence, the security of the life, liberty, and property of the citizens, and to restrain the vicious and encourage the virtuous by wholesome laws equally extending to every individual; and that the duty which we owe our Creator, and the manner of discharging it, can only be directed by reason and conviction, and is nowhere cognizable but at the tribunal of the Universal Judge.

"To illustrate and confirm these assertions, we beg leave to observe that to judge for ourselves, and to engage in the exercise of religion agreeable to the dictates of our own consciences, is an unalienable right, which upon the principles that the gospel was first propagated and the Reformation from popery carried on, can never be transferred to another. Neither does the church of Christ stand in need of a general assessment for its support; and most certain we are that it would be no advantage, but an injury to the society to which we belong; and as every good Christian believes that Christ has ordained a complete system of laws for the government of his king-

dom, so we are persuaded that, by his providence, he will support it to its final consummation. In the fixed belief of this principle, that the kingdom of Christ and the concerns of religion are beyond the limits of civil control, we should act a dishonest, inconsistent part were we to receive any emoluments from human establishments for the support of the gospel.

“These things being considered, we hope we shall be excused for remonstrating against a general assessment for any religious purpose. As the maxims have long been approved, that every servant is to obey his master, and that the hireling is accountable for his conduct to him from whom he receives his wages, in like manner, if the legislature has any rightful authority over the ministers of the gospel in the exercise of their sacred office, and it is their duty to levy a maintenance for them as such, then it will follow that they may revive the old establishment in its former extent, or ordain a new one for any sect they think proper. They are invested with a power not only to determine, but it is incumbent on them to declare, who shall preach; what they shall preach; to whom, when, or at what places they shall preach; or to impose any regulations and restrictions upon religious societies that they may judge expedient. These consequences are so plain as not to be denied; and they are so entirely subversive of religious liberty that if they should take place in Virginia, we should be reduced to the melancholy necessity of saying, with the apostles in like cases, ‘Judge ye whether it is best to obey God or man,’ and also of acting as they acted.

“Therefore, as it is contrary to our principles and interest, and, as we think, subversive of religious liberty, we do again most earnestly entreat that our legislature would never extend any assessment for religious purposes to us,

or to the congregations under our care. And your memorialists, as in duty bound, shall ever pray for, and demean themselves as peaceable subjects of, civil government.

“Signed by order of the presbytery.

“RICHARD SANKEY, *Moderator*.

“*Timber Ridge, April 25, 1777.*”³¹

It will be noted from the foregoing that the man or men who constructed that document believed in “equal liberty, as well religious as civil,” for all “the good people of this country.” They were opposed to the “oppressive acts of Parliament respecting religion,” from which they themselves had suffered in this country. They favored also “exempting dissenters from all levies, taxes, and impositions, whatsoever, toward supporting the Church of England as it now is or hereafter may be established.” They say further that they “are sorry to find that there yet remains a variety of opinions touching the propriety of a general assessment.” They even quote from a previous document this expression: “That dissenters of every denomination may be exempted from all taxes for the support of any church whatsoever.”

It is well to note the position taken in this document in reference to the purpose of civil government, which they say is simply “the happiness and protection of men in the present state of existence, the security of the life, liberty, and property of the citizens, and to restrain the vicious and encourage the virtuous by wholesome laws equally extending to every individual.”

Upon the matter of general assessment they say further: “Neither does the church of Christ stand in need of a general assessment for its support; and most certain we are that it would be no advantage, but an injury to

³¹ “Sketches of Virginia,” pages 326, 327.

the society to which we belong." Not content even with this statement, the authors of that memorial declare it to be their fixed belief "that the kingdom of Christ and the concerns of religion are beyond the limits of civil control," and that "we should act a dishonest, inconsistent part were we to receive any emoluments from human establishments for the support of the gospel." Having made these clear and truthful declarations, they then declare what would be the result in case the legislature should adopt the plan of a general assessment for religious purposes. That result, they assert, would be a revival of the old establishment in its former extent, or the creation of a new one, and thus would ensue legislative control of all things pertaining to the religious exercises of the people. The positions taken therein are true, and the consequences therein outlined would be certain to follow. Nevertheless, when the question came up some years later as to whether there should be a general assessment or not, the history of the times records the fact that the denomination which authorized the issuance of that famous memorial stood with the Episcopal, or established, Church in praying for a general assessment. Concerning this, Madison wrote to Monroe:—

"The Episcopal people are generally for it, though I think the zeal of some of them has cooled. The laity of the other sects are generally unanimous on the other side. So are all the clergy except the Presbyterians, who seem as ready to set up an establishment which is to take them in as they were to pull down that which shut them out. I do not know a more shameful contrast than might be found in their memorials on the latter and former occasions."³² These memorials to which he refers are the one above quoted entire, and the petitions

³² "Life and Times of Madison," Vol. I, page 630.

which they later sent in in favor of a general assessment for the support of religion. Again Madison says: "The Presbyterian clergy have remonstrated against any narrow principles, but directly favor a more comprehensive establishment."³³

Had this proposed measure become a law, Christianity—"general Christianity"—would have become the established religion of Virginia, as the measure was designed to compel all to support financially some form of the Christian religion. Against this proposed measure, Madison and Jefferson protested and labored earnestly and continuously. While the discussion was at its height, Madison proposed a direct appeal to the people over the matter, and drew up his famous "Memorial and Remonstrance," arguing that on the basis of the bill of rights which had already been adopted by Virginia, religion could not come within the purview of government. This remonstrance was circulated widely among the people, and resulted in an overwhelming demonstration against the measure, notwithstanding the fact that such men as Patrick Henry and R. H. Lee championed it, and Washington and Marshall were said to favor its passage. Jefferson, in his autobiography, declares that the debates over this question in the Virginia Assembly were the severest struggles in which he had ever been engaged.

The established church, fearing that if disestablishment should come, it would be impossible for the church to maintain itself by voluntary contributions, used every possible effort to secure a continuance of the establishment; but when the fall of the establishment was assured, it was then willing to compromise with the other denominations upon the matter of a general assessment, which

³³ "Rise of Religious Liberty in America," page 496.

would put a tax upon every inhabitant of the State for the support of some church, the individual himself to choose which church should receive his portion of the religious tax. Says Howell:—

“Meantime, a new theory of a state religious establishment was devised, and began, in private circles, to be warmly discussed. This theory had its origin with the Presbyterians, and was in their subsequent memorials tenaciously and elaborately advocated. It proposed, not the abrogation of the state religious establishment, the measure demanded by the Baptists, but that the state, instead of selecting one denomination, as the Episcopal, and establishing that as the religion of the state, and giving to that alone its support, should establish all the denominations — Presbyterians, Methodists, and Baptists, as well as Episcopalians — and make them all equally and alike the religion of the state, and to be supported by the state. . . . Of this plan of recognizing and harmonizing all parties, Patrick Henry was the ablest and most eloquent advocate.”³⁴

But the time had come for a new order of things. The States had declared their independence of the mother country, and the people in the States were now declaring their independence of the tyrannical power that had lorded it over their consciences from the very beginning of America’s colonial career.

It was in the year 1777 that Thomas Jefferson proposed his bill for the establishment of religious freedom in Virginia, the same year in which the Presbyterians presented their unanswerable memorial, but it was not until 1785 that this bill became a law. Between those dates the question of whether or not there should continue to be religious establishments in Virginia was fought out.

³⁴ “Early Baptists of Virginia,” page 165.

Concerning this bill, Jefferson says: "I prepared the act in 1777, but it was not reported to the assembly until 1779, and not passed until 1785, and then by the efforts of Mr. Madison." ³⁵ After a statement of principles in the preamble, the act proceeds: —

"Be it enacted by the general assembly, That no man shall be compelled to frequent or support any religious worship, place, or ministry whatever; nor shall be enforced, restrained, molested, or burthened in his body or goods, nor shall otherwise suffer on account of his religious belief; but that all men shall be free to profess, and by argument to maintain, their opinions in matters of religion, and that the same shall in no wise diminish, enlarge, or affect their civil capacities." ³⁶

By the terms of this complete act, religious liberty was established in Virginia upon "the broadest possible basis." Religion itself was exalted to a place of honor which it had not before known in that State. Its compulsory support had deprived it of what is most essential to pure religion,—the loyal, conscientious support of the people. From being a thing of merchandise and an instrument of tyranny, it had come to be a matter of choice, and its free exercise a sign and a guaranty of liberty.

³⁵ "Works," Jefferson, Vol. I, page 174.

³⁶ "Rise of Religious Liberty in America," page 498.

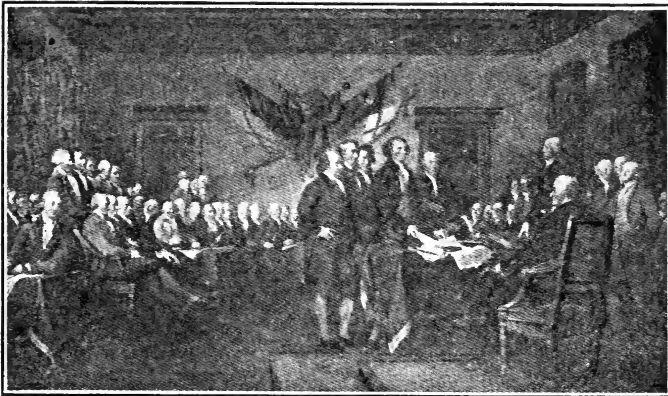
CHAPTER XIII

State Constitutions and Religious Liberty

FROM the birth of the colonies to the birth of the nation the consciences of men were struggling for freedom from the merciless grasp of a religious system made powerful and oppressive by its unholy union with a secular power. The battle in each colony was waged for the same principle, against the same foe, and yet the result was achieved in a different way in each colony, and that difference manifested itself later in the constitutions of the different States when Statehood had been reached.

Some of the men who labored for the recognition of the rights of conscience in the State constitutions carried on the same struggle for its recognition in the federal Constitution. Some of the State constitutions were adopted previous to the adoption of the federal Constitution, and some later. It cannot be laid down as a general proposition, therefore, that the federal Constitution drew its inspiration from the State constitutions or served entirely as their example. All these documents grew out of the same great struggle, which was going on in all the colonies at the same time. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that the principles found in the Rhode Island charters were incorporated into the Declaration of Independence, and that the Declaration of Independence planted germinant truths which did grow into constitutions, both State and federal. Concerning this document an English writer has said: —

“On fourth July, 1776, their [the States’] representatives met in Congress, and prefixed to their Declaration of Independence a statement of principles such as has hitherto been found only in the work of thinkers, theorists, and men under persecution: ‘We hold these truths to be self-evident, 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



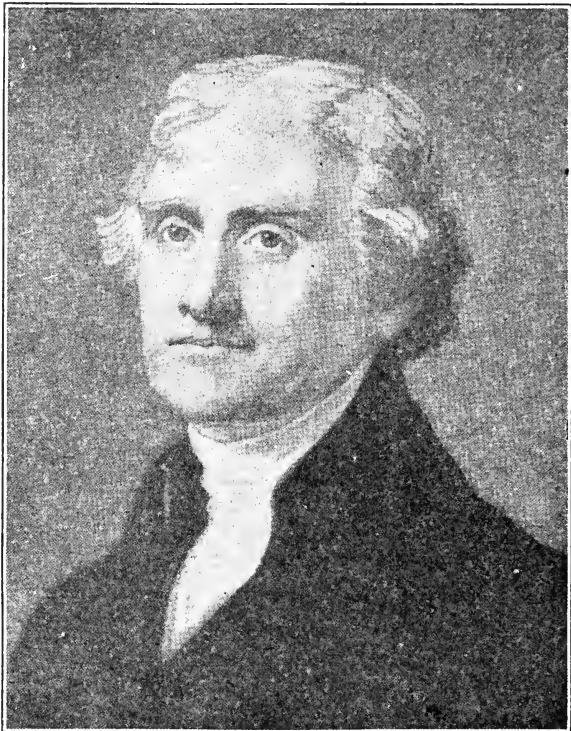
SIGNING THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

pursuit of happiness; and that, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.’”¹

In all the State constitutions those principles are found differently expressed, but practically identical and plainly indicative of common origin. The doctrine of the equality of man, if adhered to, was bound to develop into religious liberty; for two men cannot be equal if one has a right to dictate the religious obligations and practises of the other, or to formulate a declaration of belief

¹ “Church and State,” page 196.

to which the other must subscribe. But even with the adoption of that great principle as the guiding star of the new nation, that grander liberty — the liberty of mind and soul — did not receive recognition in the in-



THOMAS JEFFERSON

Author of the Declaration of Independence.

dividual State constitutions without individual State struggles. There has always been in this country an element that has stood for the doctrine of state control over things religious and religious control of things civil,

— a paradox in statement and a babel in action. That element contended as strongly against the separation of church and state as the Tories ever did against the separation of the colonies from the mother country. The Tories, however, have ceased to be; but that other element has never ceased. It continues even today to

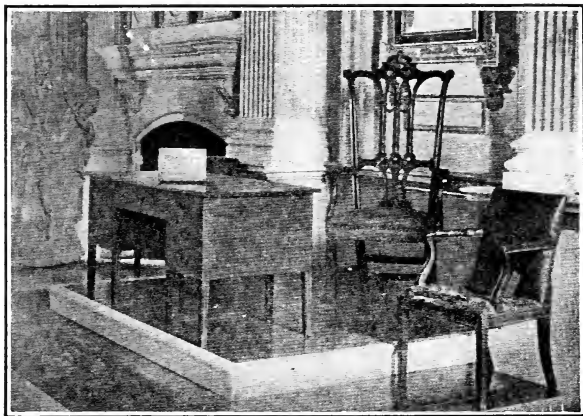


TABLE AND CHAIRS USED AT THE SIGNING OF THE
DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

These may now be seen in Independence Hall, Philadelphia.

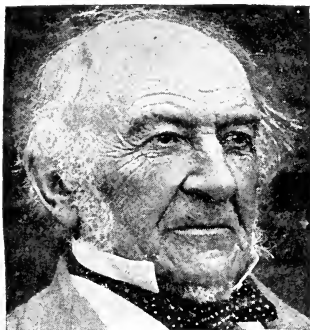
agitate for a return to the principles that antagonized soul liberty in colonial days.

Our federal Constitution, drafted in 1787, was declared by Hon. William E. Gladstone, a man well fitted to judge, to be "the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man."² That document, in the matter of the religious rights of mankind, speaks plainly in its declaration (Article VI) that "no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United

² Quoted in "Church and State," page 198.

States;" and also in its First Amendment: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

In that first-quoted declaration, the national government accepts the principle that every man has the right to choose for himself what religion he will profess, or whether he will profess any religion at all; while in the second the national government recognizes the principle that religion is a field into which human law can enter only as a trespasser. Against such trespass that amendment is a prohibition upon the national legislature, and, in principle, must stand as a protest wherever State legislatures attempt that thing. It cannot prohibit their trespass in that realm; but if the violation of that principle is iniquitous in the nation, it is equally iniquitous in the component parts of the nation, the individual States.



WILLIAM E. GLADSTONE

There was much discussion over these matters, and much diversity of opinion, among the national representatives who drew up the federal Constitution; and if we are to judge the state of the public mind upon the question of freedom of conscience by the diversity of sentiments expressed in the State constitutions adopted about that time, it is nothing less than a marvel that the national Constitution should speak so clearly, truly, and unequivocally upon that matter.

It is in the constitution of South Carolina, adopted

in the year 1778, that we find the greatest divergence from the federal Constitution upon the principles of religious liberty. The constitution adopted by that State in 1776, unlike the others adopted that year, said nothing upon the matter of religion; but the one adopted two years later more than made up for that lack. It did for that State what the federal Constitution prohibited the nation from doing, it established the "Christian Protestant religion" as the religion of that State. Article XXXVIII of the constitution of 1778 reads, in part: —

"That all persons and religious societies who acknowledge that there is one God, and a future of rewards and punishments, and that God is publicly to be worshiped, shall be freely tolerated. The Christian Protestant religion shall be deemed, and is hereby constituted and declared to be, the established religion of this State. That all denominations of Christian Protestants in this State, demeaning themselves peaceably and faithfully, shall enjoy equal religious and civil privileges."³

The framers of that constitution considered only Christians — and Christians of the Protestant type — as possessing any rights, civil or religious, within the bounds of that State. It is worthy of note also that this constitution says nothing in reference to the equal rights of men. It was consistent in this silence, if religion were to be established by law in that State; for the equality of man and an established church cannot exist in the same territory at the same time.

The constitution of 1778 not only established the Christian Protestant religion as the religion of South Carolina, but it prescribed a creed which must be signed

³ "Charters and Constitutions of the United States," 1878, page 1626.

by each denomination of Christians before it could be considered as a legal religion within that State. Following are the five tenets of that creed as they appeared in Article XXXVIII:—

“1. There is one eternal God, and a future state of rewards and punishments.

“2. That God is publicly to be worshiped.

“3. That the Christian religion is the true religion.

“4. That the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments are of divine inspiration, and are the rule of faith and practise.

“5. That it is lawful and the duty of every man being thereunto called by those that govern, to bear witness to the truth.”⁴

It is an indication of progress toward the light that in the South Carolina Constitution of 1790, Article XXXVIII of the previous constitution is repudiated, and in its place we read:—

“Article VIII, Section 1. The free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship, without discrimination or preference, shall forever hereafter be allowed within this State to all mankind:—

“*Provided*, That the liberty of conscience there declared shall not be so construed as to excuse acts of licentiousness, or justify practises inconsistent with the peace or safety of this State.”⁵

The constitution of 1865, Article IX, Section 8, repeats the foregoing declaration. The constitution adopted in 1868 changes the form of expression, but makes it no less emphatic: “No person shall be deprived of the right to worship God according to the dictates of

⁴ “Charters and Constitutions of the United States,” page 1626.

⁵ *Id.*, page 1632.

his own conscience." ⁶ Section 10 of Article I seems to take direct issue with Article XXXVIII of the constitution of 1778. Whereas the latter established the Christian religion as the religion of that State, Section 10, Article I, of the South Carolina constitution of 1868, says this: —

"No form of religion shall be established by law; but it shall be the duty of the general assembly to pass suitable laws to protect every religious denomination in the peaceable enjoyment of its own mode of worship." ⁷

This was a great advance from the position taken in 1778, establishing one form of the Christian religion as the religion of the State, and outlawing all who professed anything else or nothing; and though this constitution makes no declaration in reference to the equality of men, the recognition of that principle is seen in the document itself, and it furnishes a striking illustration as to how the doctrine of soul freedom was gaining ground among the people.

The first State to respond to the invitation of the Continental Congress in the matter of adopting a constitution was New Hampshire. The date of this, the first of the State constitutions, was Jan. 5, 1776, antedating the Declaration of Independence by six months. This constitution, however, said nothing in reference to freedom of conscience. It remained the supreme law of the State until June 2, 1784, when a new constitution was adopted. Articles II and III of this new constitution speak of the natural rights of man. Article IV deals with one of these natural rights as follows: —

"Among the natural rights, some are in their very nature unalienable, because no equivalent can be given

⁶ Article I, Sec. 9.

⁷ "Charters and Constitutions of the United States," page 1646.

or received for them. Of this kind are the rights of conscience.”⁸

Articles V and VI deal with the matter of religious liberty, and read as follows:—

“Every individual has a natural and unalienable right to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience and reason; and no subject shall be hurt, molested, or restrained in his person, liberty, or estate for worshipping God, in the manner and season most agreeable to the dictates of his own conscience, or for his religious profession; provided he doth not disturb the public peace, or disturb others in their religious worship.

“As morality and piety, rightly grounded on evangelical principles, will give the best and greatest security to government, and will lay in the hearts of men the strongest obligations to due subjection; and as the knowledge of these is most likely to be propagated through a society by the institution of the public worship of the Deity, and of public instruction in morality and religion; therefore to promote those important purposes, the people of this State have a right to empower, and do hereby fully empower, the legislature to authorize from time to time the several towns, parishes, bodies corporate, or religious societies within this State, to make adequate provision at their own expense for the support and maintenance of public Protestant teachers of piety, religion, and morality. . . . No subordination of any one sect or denomination to another shall ever be established by law.”⁹

The above-quoted articles were an attempt to establish religious equality; but they did it for a portion of the people only—those of the Protestant persuasion. Ar-

⁸ “Charters and Constitutions of the United States,” page 1280.

⁹ *Id.*, page 1281.

ticle VI, while declaring that no denomination shall be subordinated to another, does specifically, in its own provision, subordinate the Catholic to the Protestant. More than that, the constitution declares, in so many words, that no man shall be eligible to the presidency [governorship] of that State "unless he shall be of the Protestant religion."¹⁰ The same requirement is found in the constitution of 1792.¹¹

This constitution embodied all the religious provisions of the constitution of 1784, and added another which clearly makes religion a test of qualification for holding office. It reads:—

"Section 29. *Provided, nevertheless*, that no person shall be capable of being elected a senator who is not of the Protestant religion, and seized of a freehold estate," etc.¹²

It is thus evident that it was the purpose of the framers of both constitutions that Protestant Christianity should be the dominant form of religion in New Hampshire, notwithstanding the declaration of that same constitution that no sect nor denomination should be subordinate to another.

The Virginia Constitution followed New Hampshire in point of date. The bill of rights adopted on June 12, 1776, became a part of Virginia's Constitution, although the Virginia Constitution proper was adopted seventeen days later, June 29. That bill of rights contains this declaration:—

"Section 16. That religion, or the duty which we owe to our Creator, and the manner of discharging it, can be directed only by reason and conviction, not by force or violence; and therefore all men are equally entitled to the

¹⁰ "Charters and Constitutions of the United States," page 1287.

¹¹ *Id.*, page 1301.

¹² *Id.*, page 1299.

free exercise of religion, according to the dictates of conscience; and that it is the mutual duty of all to practise Christian forbearance, love, and charity toward each other." ¹³

In 1830 another constitution was adopted, in which it was expressly declared that the "declaration of rights" made on June 12, 1776, should bear the same relation to that constitution as it had to the previous constitution. In the year 1850 another constitution was adopted, and of this also the declaration of rights was made a part, with Section 16 intact. In the Virginia Constitution of 1864 the declaration of rights appears just as it did in the constitution of 1830. In the constitution adopted in 1870 the bill of rights was amended by inserting two additional sections, but without changing it in any particular. Virginia, unlike some of the other States, required no religious test for her governors or senators. The long struggle of her oppressed peoples seems to have taught her legislators the importance of keeping the church and state separate.

In order of date, the next constitution adopted was that of New Jersey,— July 2, 1776. While this constitution, by Article XVIII, seems to grant the utmost freedom of conscience, it is plainly shown by Article XIX that the freedom of conscience there guaranteed is the freedom of the Protestant conscience only. The two articles guaranteeing freedom of worship and the separation of church and state read as follows:—

"18. That no person shall ever, within this colony, be deprived of the inestimable privilege of worshipping Almighty God in a manner agreeable to the dictates of his own conscience; nor, under any pretense whatever, be compelled to attend any place of worship, contrary

¹³ "Charters and Constitutions of the United States," page 1909.

to his own faith and judgment; nor shall any person within this colony ever be obliged to pay tithes, taxes, or any other rates, for the purpose of building or repairing any other church or churches, place or places of worship, or for the maintenance of any minister or ministry, contrary to what he believes to be right, or has deliberately or voluntarily engaged himself to perform.

“19. That there shall be no establishment of one religious sect in this province, in preference to another; and that no Protestant inhabitant of this colony shall be denied the enjoyment of any civil right, merely on account of his religious principles; but that all persons professing a belief in the faith of any Protestant sect, who shall demean themselves peaceably under the government, as hereby established, shall be capable of being elected into any office of profit or trust, or being a member of either branch of the legislature, and shall fully and freely enjoy every privilege and immunity enjoyed by others their fellow subjects.”¹⁴

This constitution remained in force until 1844, when a new constitution was adopted. By this time the people seem to have seen the inconsistency of Article XIX of the older constitution; and while Article XVIII of the previous constitution became Article III of the new one, Article XIX was changed to read thus:—

“4. There shall be no establishment of one religious sect in preference to another; no religious test shall be required as a qualification for any office or public trust; and no person shall be denied the enjoyment of any civil right merely on account of his religious principles.”¹⁵

Thus altered, the constitution of New Jersey is consistent with itself, and stands upon the broad principles of true religious liberty.

¹⁴ “Charters and Constitutions of the United States,” page 1313.

¹⁵ *Id.*, page 1314.

The constitution of Delaware was proclaimed Sept. 21, 1776. It says nothing about governments deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, about the equality of man, nor about freedom of conscience. On the contrary, Article XXII contains the following provision, which is entirely subversive of the principle of religious liberty: —

“Article XXII. Every person who shall be chosen a member of either house, or appointed to any office or place of trust, before taking his seat, or entering upon the execution of his office, shall . . . make and subscribe the following declaration, to wit: ‘I, A. B., do profess faith in God the Father, and in Jesus Christ, his only Son, and in the Holy Ghost, one God, blessed forever; and I do acknowledge the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be given by divine inspiration.’”¹⁶

Article XXIX of this constitution declares: —

“There shall be no establishment of any one religious sect in this State in preference to another; and no clergyman or preacher of the gospel, of any denomination, shall be capable of holding any civil office in this State, or of being a member of either of the branches of the legislature, while they continue in the exercise of their pastoral function.”¹⁷

The framers of the last clause of this article doubtless feared that some denomination might succeed in getting enough of its ministers into the legislature to enact legislation favorable to that denomination, and antagonistic to other sects. Other States had a similar provision. In the year 1792 Delaware adopted a new constitution, and the first two sections of Article I of this constitution read as follows: —

¹⁶ “Charters and Constitutions of the United States,” page 276.

¹⁷ *Id.*, page 277.

“Section 1. Although it is the duty of all men frequently to assemble together for the public worship of the Author of the universe, and piety and morality, on which the prosperity of communities depends, are thereby promoted; yet no man shall or ought to be compelled to attend any religious worship, to contribute to the erection or support of any place of worship, or to the maintenance of any ministry, against his own free will and consent; and no power shall or ought to be vested in or assumed by any magistrate that shall in any case interfere with, or in any manner control, the rights of conscience, in the free exercise of religious worship, nor a preference be given by law to any religious societies, denominations, or modes of worship.

“Section 2. No religious test shall be required as a qualification to any office, or public trust, under this State.”¹⁸

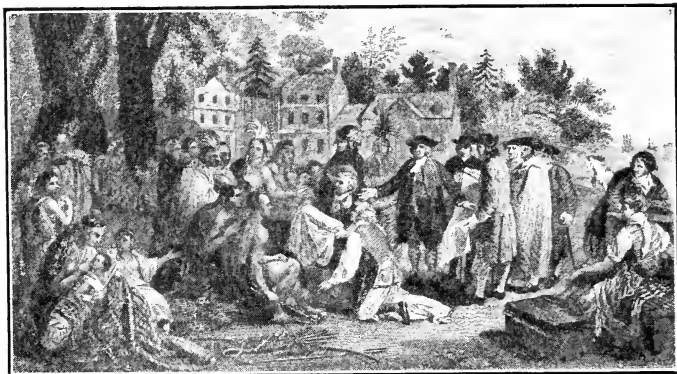
It seems that there came about a complete revulsion of sentiment after the adoption of the previous constitution, which required the strongest kind of religious test for the holding of public offices. The constitution adopted by Delaware in 1831 reenacts, practically word for word, the two sections above quoted.

On Sept. 28, 1776, Pennsylvania adopted its State constitution. Article I of that constitution declares the equality of men. Article II is very explicit in the matter of freedom of conscience, so explicit, in fact, as to deny, in effect, what it pretends to grant; while Section 10 of the “frame of government” practically nullifies whatever of Article II is not already nullified by its own provisions. Article II reads:—

“That all men have a natural and unalienable right to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of

¹⁸ “Charters and Constitutions of the United States,” page 278.

their own consciences and understanding; and that no man ought or of right can be compelled to attend any religious worship, or erect or support any place of worship, or maintain any ministry, contrary to or against his own free will and consent; nor can any man who acknowledges the being of a God, be justly deprived or abridged of any civil right as a citizen on account of his



WILLIAM PENN MAKING A TREATY WITH THE INDIANS

religious sentiments or peculiar mode of religious worship.”¹⁹

The latter portion of Section 10 above referred to reads: —

“And each member [of the house of representatives], before he takes his seat, shall make and subscribe the following declaration; viz.: —

“I do believe in one God, the Creator and Governor of the universe, the rewarder of the good and the punisher of the wicked. And I do acknowledge the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be given by divine inspiration.”

¹⁹ “Charters and Constitutions of the United States,” page 1541.

“And no further or other religious test shall ever hereafter be required of any civil officer or magistrate in this State.”²⁰

When the constitution of 1790 was adopted, Article II of the constitution of 1776 was divided, and a clause was added to the first portion in the seeming endeavor to make freedom of conscience more secure. The



WILLIAM PENN HOUSE, FAIRMOUNT PARK, PHILADELPHIA

amended article appears as Sections 3 and 4 of Article IX in the constitution of 1790, and reads: —

“Section 3. That all men have a natural and infeasible right to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of their own consciences; that no man can of right be compelled to attend, erect, or support any place of worship, or to maintain any ministry, against his consent; that no human authority can, in any case whatever, control or interfere with the rights of conscience;

²⁰ “Charters and Constitutions of the United States,” page 1543.

and that no preference shall ever be given, by law, to any religious establishments or modes of worship.

“Section 4. That no person who acknowledges the being of a God and a future state of rewards and punishments, shall, on account of his religious sentiments, be disqualified to hold any office or place of trust or profit under this commonwealth.”²¹

The clause concerning “no further or other religious test” does not appear in this constitution. It is evident from the two sections that a religious test is made, and that it is the rights of the Christian only that are guaranteed by this constitution. The constitutions of 1838 and 1873 are identical with the above in these particulars.

Rhode Island was the real birthplace of religious liberty in America, its charter of 1663 having been drawn with the very purpose of protecting men in their religious rights. That State was a pure democracy, which guarded jealously the rights of conscience and refused to recognize any right on the part of the state to interfere in “religious concernments.” The code of laws adopted by Rhode Island’s first legislature closes thus:—

“And otherwise than this [what was therein forbidden] all men may walk as their consciences persuade them, every one in the name of his God. And let the lambs of the Most High walk in this colony without molestation, in the name of Jehovah their God, forever and ever.”²²

When Rhode Island joined the confederation of the thirteen colonies, she did so under the charter of 1663, and continued that charter as the fundamental law of the State until 1842. Its section on “religious concernments” reads:—

²¹ “Charters and Constitutions of the United States,” page 1554.

²² “History of Rhode Island,” page 210.

“No person within the said colony at any time hereafter shall be anywise molested, punished, disqualified, or called in question for any difference of opinion in matters of religion; every person may at all times freely and fully enjoy his own judgment and conscience in matters of religious concernments.”²³

When in 1842 a constitution was adopted to replace the charter of 1663, the religious liberty of Rhode Islanders was guarded by Section 3 of Article I:—

“*Whereas*, Almighty God hath created the mind free, and all attempts to influence it by temporal punishments, or burdens, or civil incapacitations, tend to beget habits of hypocrisy and meanness; and whereas a principal object of our venerable ancestors, in their migration to this country and their settlement of this State, was, as they expressed it, to hold forth a lively experiment that a flourishing civil state may stand and be best maintained with full liberty in religious concernments; we therefore declare that no man shall be compelled to frequent or to support any religious worship, place, or ministry whatever, except in fulfilment of his own voluntary contract; nor enforced, restrained, molested, or burdened in his body or goods; nor disqualified from holding any office; nor otherwise suffer on account of his religious belief; and that every man shall be free to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience, and to profess and by argument to maintain his opinion in matters of religion; and that the same shall in no wise diminish, enlarge, or affect his civil capacity.”²⁴

Rhode Island never in any way made religion a test of qualification for office.

²³ “Charters and Constitutions of the United States,” pages 1596, 1597.

²⁴ *Id.*, page 1604.

Connecticut also considered her charter a sufficient constitution on entering the confederation of American colonies, and her legislature in 1776 declared it to be the civil constitution of Connecticut. That charter was silent in regard to freedom of conscience; but Connecticut as a colony maintained a close union between the church and the state.

It was not until 1818, when a new constitution was adopted, that Connecticut disestablished her hierarchical form of government. Sections 3 and 4 of Article I of her constitution read:—

“The exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship, without discrimination, shall forever be free to all persons in this State, provided that the right hereby declared and established shall not be so construed as to excuse acts of licentiousness, or to justify practises inconsistent with the peace and safety of the State.

“No preference shall be given by law to any Christian sect or mode of worship.”²⁵

Maryland, the Roman Catholic colony, furnishes a unique spectacle in the annals of Catholic history. It was unique because it was unlike any other Catholic commonwealth existing at that time, was out of harmony with the spirit of the Catholicism of the day, and is out of harmony with the rules and practises of the Roman Catholic Church in all countries dominated by her even in our day. Catholics today frequently refer to the history of Maryland to prove that Catholics are the friends of religious liberty, and were the original exponents of it in this country; but it is a singular coincidence that they never refer to the history of Mexico, of Peru, of Bolivia, of the Philippines, or of any other Catholic country, to prove the Catholic Church the parent

²⁵ “Charters and Constitutions of the United States,” pages 258, 259.

and protector of freedom of conscience. Reference has already been made to these claims, in Chapter IV.

Maryland's charter bears date of 1632, four years earlier than the founding of Rhode Island by Roger Williams, eleven years earlier than the granting of the first patent for the Rhode Island territory, and thirty-one years earlier than the granting of the memorable charter which governed Rhode Island from 1663 to 1842. But there was a vast difference. Rhode Island was founded upon the true principles of religious liberty. Maryland was not. She tolerated Protestants on condition that they said nothing disparaging of the Catholic religion and kept Sunday strictly. To speak aught against the Virgin Mary, the apostles or evangelists, was to subject oneself to a fine of five pounds sterling; to deny the Trinity or to blaspheme was punishable by death; and there were pains and penalties for other infractions of religious requirements. Unitarians, Jews, and infidels were not to be tolerated in the colony.

In the Maryland Constitution, adopted Nov. 11, 1776, Article XXXIII of the declaration of rights guarantees freedom of religious belief and practise; yet incorporated in that same article is a provision empowering the legislature to "lay a general and equal tax for the support of the Christian religion," leaving to each individual the right to designate to what denomination his religious tax should be apportioned. This was a union of church and state, the church depending upon the state for its maintenance; and Article XXXV of the same document makes "a declaration of belief in the Christian religion" a necessary qualification for holding office.

In 1810 the constitution was so amended as to abolish compulsory support of religion, but the religious test on office-holders remained. The new constitution

adopted in 1851 incorporated the anti-tax clause into its article guaranteeing religious freedom (Article XXXIII), but it retained (Article XXXIV) the religious test for office-holders. The same is true of the constitution adopted in 1864 and of the one adopted in 1867, with the exception of the religious-test clause, which in the latter merely requires a belief in the existence of God. These facts, with the legislation enacted upon religious matters, show that Maryland never has stood upon the true grounds of religious liberty. It is useless, therefore, to debate the question as to which State, Maryland or Rhode Island, was the first to establish in America freedom of conscience. Rhode Island was established upon that basis; Maryland was not, and has not yet attained to that eminence. If Maryland had not a union of church and state to the same extent that Massachusetts, Virginia, and some of the others had, the fact that she had it at all rules her out of the religious liberty class; and the fact that she has not yet repudiated it (as her present laws concerning religious matters clearly demonstrate, while Rhode Island was founded upon the basis of absolute religious freedom and equality) throws entirely out of court her contention that she was the first in the field.

North Carolina adopted her constitution Dec. 18, 1776. Article XIX of the declaration of rights declares: —

“That all men have a natural and unalienable right to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of their own consciences.”²⁶

But this did not grant equality in matters of religious faith and practise; for Article XXXII declares: —

“That no person who shall deny the being of God,

²⁶ “Charters and Constitutions of the United States,” page 1410.

or the truth of the Protestant religion, or the divine authority either of the Old or New Testaments, or who shall hold religious principles incompatible with the freedom and safety of the State, shall be capable of holding any office or place of trust or profit in the civil department within this State.”²⁷

In 1835 this article was amended by substituting the word Christian for Protestant; but the religious test, of course, still remained. Section 5 of Article VI of the constitution of 1868 disqualifies for office “all persons who shall deny the being of Almighty God,” and this same disqualification is taken over into the constitution of 1876. Article XXXIV of the constitution of 1776 declares the equality of all religions within the State, and the freedom of all persons from the compulsory support of religion. The later constitutions are silent upon this point, but repeat the declaration that “all men have a natural and unalienable right to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of their own consciences,” and add that “no human authority should, in any case whatever, control or interfere with the rights of conscience.”²⁸

The constitution of Georgia was adopted Feb. 5, 1777. Article LVI of that constitution reads:—

“All persons whatsoever shall have the free exercise of their religion, provided it be not repugnant to the peace and safety of the State; and shall not, unless by consent, support any teacher or teachers except those of their own profession.”²⁹

Section 5 of the constitution of 1865, treating of freedom in religion, reads:—

“Perfect freedom of religious sentiment be, and the

²⁷ “Charters and Constitutions of the United States,” page 1413.

²⁸ *Id.*, pages 1421, 1437.

²⁹ *Id.*, page 383.

same is hereby, secured, and no inhabitant of this State shall ever be molested in person or property, nor prohibited from holding any public office or trust, on account of his religious opinions." ³⁰

The constitution adopted in 1868 incorporates this section, with the provision that this religious liberty must not be construed to permit acts of licentiousness or practises inconsistent with the peace or safety of the people.

On April 20, 1777, New York adopted her constitution, and it speaks in no uncertain terms regarding the matter of religious rights. Article XXXVIII reads:—

“And whereas we are required, by the benevolent principles of rational liberty, not only to expel civil tyranny, but also to guard against that spiritual oppression and intolerance wherewith the bigotry and ambition of weak and wicked priests and princes have scourged mankind, this convention doth further, in the name and by the authority of the good people of this State, ordain, determine, and declare that the free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship, without discrimination or preference, shall forever hereafter be allowed, within this State, to all mankind.” ³¹

The article closes with the same provision as noted above in the remarks regarding the constitution of Connecticut. The substance of the above provision was reproduced in the constitutions of 1821 and 1846.

The constitution of Massachusetts was not adopted until 1780. Article I declares the equality of men; Article II provides for liberty of worship for all men; but Article III provides for the compulsory support of religion, and the maintenance of public Protestant teachers

³⁰ “Charters and Constitutions of the United States,” page 402.

³¹ *Id.*, page 1338.

of religion and morality. It also declares in its closing sentence that all denominations shall be equal before the law, and that there shall be no subordination of one sect or denomination to another. Nevertheless, it was not until 1833 that Massachusetts abolished the compulsory support of religion. Massachusetts also required of her governor that he "declare himself to be of the Christian religion." She also required (chapter 6, Article I) that her governors, lieutenant-governors, counselors, senators, and representatives should take oath that they believed the Christian religion and had "a firm persuasion of its truth."

It is thus seen that all the original thirteen States of this Union by some sort of declaration sought to guarantee freedom of conscience, even though in most cases the constitutions were inconsistent with that declaration because of some provisions which infringed the rights of a portion of the inhabitants.

CHAPTER XIV

The Federal Constitution and State Legislation

ON the tenth of May, 1776, the delegates of the thirteen original colonies, assembled at Philadelphia, Pa., passed a recommendation to the effect that each colonial assembly should meet and agree upon a constitution, or frame of government, for its people. On May 15 a preamble to this resolution was adopted, recommending that each colony declare it to be its intention to suppress the exercise of all British authority in that colony. Some of the colonies very explicitly and emphatically acted upon the recommendation of this general body; but, as already pointed out, all did not act upon the recommendation immediately. Some, interpreting aright the second sentence of the Declaration of Independence in reference to the equality of men, or having learned aright the lessons of religious tyranny rehearsed throughout their borders, asserted the equality of human rights in matters of conscience as well as in civil things. Therefore they were outspoken in their declarations in reference to freedom from human control in matters of religious faith and practise. Through flood and fire, through fine, imprisonment, and exile, the inhabitants of those colonies were learning the sacred value of soul freedom.

Out of that turmoil was coming a statement of a principle that was to characterize this country as different from any other upon the earth. That was the tenet that man is accountable to God alone in matters of faith

and conscience. Individuals had held it before, the colony of Rhode Island had asserted and acted upon it, but no nation had ever espoused it. That doctrine was germinant in the Declaration of Independence; for the equality of men precludes the possibility of one man regulating the religious belief and practise of another. That doctrine spoke out more plainly in Article VI of the federal Constitution, in these words:—

“No religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.”

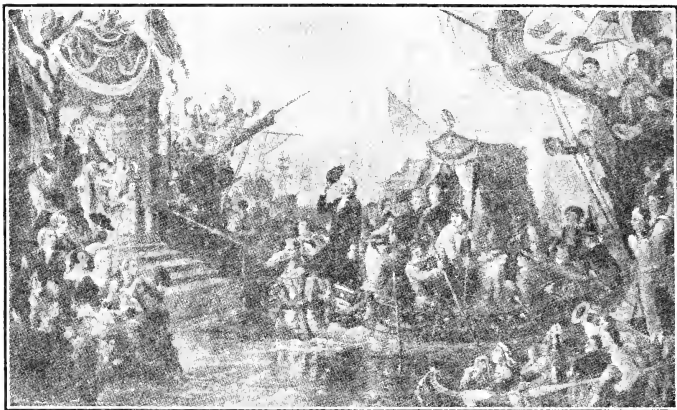
It is significant also that the First Amendment to the Constitution of the United States should further deal with this question so fundamental to true liberty. It reads:—

“Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof,” etc.

The language of these documents upon this question indicates that it was the purpose of their framers to leave religious faith unfettered and religious practises untrammelled by the enforcement of a legal ritualism. That doctrine, advocated by the Anabaptists on the continent of Europe and in the British Isles, and for whose advocacy thousands on thousands of them were slaughtered; that doctrine, whose acceptance and practise made martyrs of many New Englanders, and sent Roger Williams into exile to establish a better state and teach a more Christian brotherhood; that doctrine whose every inch of progress the established church of Virginia hotly contested for a hundred years,—that doctrine was set forth as the very guiding star of the infant republic of America. A nation assumed the rôle of teacher, and set a lesson for the world to learn. And the world

has taken note of it. Republics have sprung up, monarchies have granted constitutions and called the people into legislative assemblies, and nations centuries old in intolerance and persecution are granting to their people freedom of conscience and liberty of worship.

The world cannot deny to America the right to claim precedence in this matter of adopting, as a nation, this principle so vital to the best interests of both church and

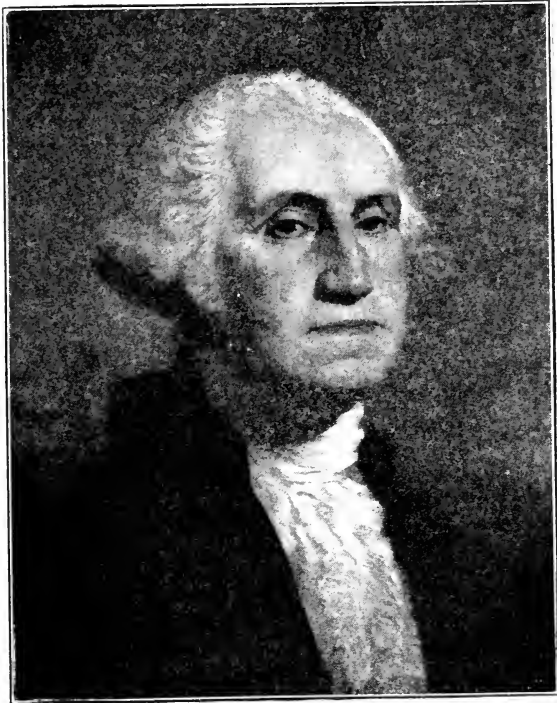


SCENE AT THE INAUGURATION OF AMERICA'S FIRST PRESIDENT

The Landing at New York.

state and to the peace and happiness of men; nor can America shirk her responsibility of maintaining in its purity that doctrine given her of Heaven. She has not maintained that doctrine as she should, but this fact does not prove that there is anything wrong with the doctrine. The truths found in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States are just as true, and their intrinsic worth is just as great, as in the days when the life of the nation was trembling in the balance.

The first President of the United States was most emphatic in his expressions as to the rights of men in matters of faith. When appealed to by the Seventh-day Baptists (some of whom had been fined and im-



AMERICA'S FIRST PRESIDENT

prisoned for working on Sunday) to know if he understood that the Constitution of the United States warranted such interference with their natural rights, Washington replied: --

“If I had had the least idea of any difficulty resulting

from the Constitution adopted by the convention of which I had the honor to be president, when it was formed, so as to endanger the rights of any religious denomination, then I never should have attached my name to that instrument. If I had any idea that the general government was so administered that liberty of conscience was endangered, I pray you be assured that no man would be more willing than myself to revise and alter that part of it, so as to avoid religious persecution. You can, without doubt, remember that I have often expressed my opinion that every man who conducts himself as a good citizen is accountable alone to God for his religious faith, and should be protected in worshiping God according to the dictates of his own conscience."

In a letter written by George Washington, while President, to certain citizens of Newport, we find this noble expression of the principles of liberty:—

"It is now no more that toleration is spoken of as if it were by the indulgence of one class of people that another enjoyed the exercise of their inherent natural right. For happily the government of the United States, which gives to bigotry no sanction, to persecution no assistance, requires only that they who live under its protection shall demean themselves as good citizens in giving it on all occasions their effectual support."

For more than a century the nation passed no law of a religious nature. But of no State in the Union can this be said, not even of Rhode Island. The tyranny of church-and-state union had been so amply illustrated in colonial days that the founders of the new nation determined to separate the two, allowing each to achieve its high purpose unhampered. But every religious law passed by any American legislature has helped to shatter the ideal upon which our government was founded; and

that shattering process has been going on, even from the very days of the nation's establishment. It has never been so strongly manifest, and never has seemed so certain of accomplishing its purpose against the guaranties of civil and religious liberty, as now in our own days, through the combination of great religio-political forces.

Many of the States denied the very liberty which they professed to grant, and did it in the fundamental



CHARLES II OF ENGLAND

The Sunday law enacted by this king in 1676 has served as a model for practically all Sunday laws enacted since that time.

law of the State, by making religion or the lack of it a test of qualification for the fullest citizenship; and in all of them, to a greater or less extent, laws have been passed that deal with "religious concernments," such as the "proper observance of Sunday." Indeed, Vermont went so far as to put into her constitution itself a clause demanding the observance of "the Lord's day," and a section requiring her representatives to declare their belief in God, acknowledge the in-

spiration of the Scriptures, and own and profess the Protestant religion; and these unjustifiable demands were made within a year of the signing of the Declaration of Independence.

It is indeed an anomalous situation that, while the nation is founded upon the idea of the separation of church and state, the component parts of the nation are practically a unit in acting upon the opposite principle, through the enactment of laws requiring the observance

of a religious ordinance, and enforcing the observance of that religious ordinance under pains and penalties. It cannot be considered surprising that a nation should eventually cease to stand upon a principle repudiated in practise by the States of which the nation is composed. That disintegrating process cannot go on forever and the nation maintain its stability upon the principle involved. In the early colonies men were imprisoned for being out of harmony with the religious laws of the land. That fact proved a union of church and state, and that punishment was religious persecution. In our own day, again and again, men have been arrested, fined, and imprisoned for performing the most quiet, orderly, and unobtrusive labor on Sunday. This, too, proves a union of church and state, and *this punishment also* is religious persecution.

So, while this nation was founded upon right principles in the matter of religious freedom, and while the States composing it have declared the rights of man and the freedom of the people in the matter of religious belief and practise, the position of both the States and the nation is being undermined by a subtle influence seeking to unite again the functions of religion and the civil power.

CHAPTER XV

The Campaign of Retrogression

THE doctrine of religious liberty, germinant in the Declaration of Independence and plainly outspoken in the national Constitution and in State constitutions, was never agreeable to a portion of the people. Jefferson plainly declares that the struggle for the recognition of that principle at the birth of the American nation was one of the greatest struggles in which he was ever engaged. It was not to be expected that the opponents of that principle would sink back confounded and overwhelmed, admit the finality of their defeat, and join with the victorious party to make a success of a work they had done their best to overthrow, and to promulgate a principle they had condemned and trampled upon. Neither did they.

Men reckoned among the ablest religious leaders of the times stood uncompromisingly opposed to the principle of soul freedom and the separation of religion from the functions of government. The nation hewed from the woods of the New World must, to meet their desires, bear the sword not only against foreign foes, but against "heretical opinions," and against all religions save the religion of the party in power. And not only this, but the government must tax the general public to promulgate the favored faith.

Since the days of Jonathan Edwards this un-American idea has not lacked able exponents, the most insistent of whom have been members of the Reformed Presbyterian Church. These have been so outspoken in their denunciation of the nation's attitude toward the

freedom of men in matters of religion, that, to be consistent with themselves, they have felt it to be a moral duty to refrain from voting, and to urge upon their followers so to do, until such time as this nation should amend its Constitution and recognize Jesus Christ as its King. Thus the attitude of those men who opposed the



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views of Madison and Jefferson when the nation was being established is perpetuated in our day in the attitude of men and organizations that are seeking to commit the government of the United States to a career of interference in the religious affairs of the people.

Before those who had directly to do with the establishment of this nation had passed away, a determined agitation was begun to force the nation upon a career of religious legislation. Laws making Sunday labor a penal offense were earnestly sought. Petitions were circulated, and Congress was memorialized to that end. In 1829 the Senate Committee on Post-offices and Post-roads had numerous petitions of this nature referred to it for consideration, and on January 19 of that year

Hon. Richard M. Johnson, the chairman of that committee, presented the committee's report upon these petitions. The document is calm, logical, and forcible in its wording, fearless and unanswerable in its reasoning,—a true classic on the principles of religious liberty. No adequate reply has ever been made, or can be made, to its axiomatic statements. From that report the following copious excerpts are taken:—

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

“We are aware that a variety of sentiment exists among the good citizens of this nation on the subject of the Sabbath day; and our government is designed for the protection of one as much as another.

“The committee would hope that no portion of the citizens of our country would willingly introduce a system of religious coercion in our civil institutions; the example of other nations should admonish us to watch carefully against its earliest indication. With these different religious views, the committee are of opinion that Congress cannot interfere. It is not the legitimate province of the legislature to determine what religion is true, or what false.

“Our government is a civil and not a religious institution. Our Constitution recognizes in every person the right to choose his own religion, and to enjoy it freely without molestation. Whatever may be the religious sentiments of citizens, and however variant, they are alike entitled to protection from the government, so long as they do not invade the rights of others. The transportation of the mail on the first day of the week, it is

believed, does not interfere with the rights of conscience. The petitioners for its discontinuance appear to be actuated by a religious zeal, which may be commendable if confined to its proper sphere; but they assume a position better suited to an ecclesiastical than to a civil institution. They appear in many instances to lay it down as an axiom that the practise is a violation of the law of God. Should Congress in legislative capacity adopt the sentiment, it would establish the principle that the legislature is a proper tribunal to determine what are the laws of God. It would involve a legislative decision on a religious controversy, and on a point in which good citizens may honestly differ in opinion without disturbing the peace of society or endangering its liberties. If this principle is once introduced, it will be impossible to define its bounds.

“Among all the religious persecutions with which almost every page of human history is stained, no victim ever suffered but for the violation of what government denominated the law of God. To prevent a similar train of evils in this country, the Constitution has wisely withheld from our government the power of defining the divine law. It is a right reserved to each citizen; and while he respects the rights of others, he cannot be held amenable to any human tribunal for his conclusions. Extensive religious combinations to effect a political object are, in the opinion of the committee, always dangerous. This first effort of the kind calls for the establishment of a principle which, in the opinion of the committee, would lay the foundation for dangerous innovations upon the spirit of the Constitution and upon the religious rights of the citizens. If admitted, it may be justly apprehended that the future measures of the government will be strongly marked, if not eventually

controlled, by the same influence. All religious despotism commences by combination and influence; and when that influence begins to operate upon the political institutions of a country, the civil power soon bends under it; and the catastrophe of other nations furnishes an awful warning of the consequence.

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

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

“If the 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.

“It is the settled conviction of the committee that the only method of avoiding these consequences, with their attendant train of evils, is to adhere strictly to the spirit of the Constitution, which regards the general government in no other light than that of a civil institution, wholly destitute of religious authority. What other na-

tions call religious toleration we call religious rights. They are not exercised in virtue of governmental indulgence, but as rights, of which government cannot deprive any portion of its citizens, however small. Despotism may invade these rights, but justice still confirms them.

“Let the national legislature once perform an act which involves the decision of a religious controversy, and it will have passed its legitimate bounds. The precedent will then be established, and the foundation laid, for that usurpation of the divine prerogative in this country which has been the desolating scourge to the fairest portions of the Old World.

“Our Constitution recognizes no other power than that of persuasion, for enforcing religious observances. Let the professors of Christianity recommend their religion by deeds of benevolence, by Christian meekness, by lives of temperance and holiness. Let them combine their efforts to instruct the ignorant, to relieve the widow and the orphan, to promulgate to the world the gospel of their Saviour, recommending its precepts by their habitual example; government will find its legitimate object in protecting them. It cannot oppose them, and they will not need its aid. Their moral influence will then do infinitely more to advance the true interests of religion than any measure which they may call on Congress to enact.”¹

The committee's report, and its determination to stand by the principles of the government,—equal and exact justice to all,—did not end the agitation. Petitions urging the government to enter the realm of religion continued to pour in. The friends of soul freedom, fearing the result of the continued importunities of the other

¹ “American State Papers,” Class VII, pages 225-229.

party, began to petition Congress, urging that body to refuse to enact any legislation of a religious character.

The year following (March 4, 5, 1830), the House Committee on Post-offices and Post-roads made its report to the House of Representatives upon the same matter, reiterating the same principles, and refusing to recommend the legislation demanded in behalf of a religious institution. These two reports should be familiar to every American citizen. The arguments contained therein are fundamental and the principles involved are vital to the maintenance of true freedom. The most striking portions of that report follow:—

“Congress acts under a Constitution of delegated and limited powers. The committee look in vain to that instrument for a delegation of power authorizing this body to inquire and determine what part of time, or whether any, has been set apart by the Almighty for religious purposes. On the contrary, among the few prohibitions which it contains, is one that prohibits a religious test, and another which declares that Congress shall make no law respecting the establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.

“The committee might here rest the argument upon the ground that the question referred to them does not come within the cognizance of Congress; but the perseverance and zeal with which the memorialists pursue their object seem to require a further elucidation of the subject.

“The catastrophe of other nations furnished the framers of the Constitution a beacon of awful warning, and they have evinced the greatest possible care in guarding against the same evil.

“If Congress shall, by the authority of law, sanction the measure recommended, it would constitute a legis-

lative decision of a religious controversy, in which even Christians themselves are at issue. However suited such a decision may be to an ecclesiastical council, it is incompatible with a republican legislature, which is purely for political and not for religious purposes.

“Despots may regard their subjects as their property, and usurp the divine prerogative of prescribing their religious faith; but the history of the world furnishes the melancholy demonstration that the disposition of one man to coerce the religious homage of another, springs from an unchastened ambition, rather than [from] a sincere devotion to any religion.

“The principles of our government do not recognize in the majority any authority over the minority, except in matters which regard the conduct of man to his fellow man.

“If the measure recommended should be adopted, it would be difficult for human sagacity to foresee how rapid would be the succession, or how numerous the train, of measures which follow, involving the dearest rights of all,— the rights of conscience.

“It is perhaps fortunate for our country that the proposition should have been made at this early period while the spirit of the Revolution still exists in full vigor.

“Religious zeal enlists the strongest prejudices of the human mind; and, when misdirected, excites the worst passions of our nature, under the delusive pretext of doing God service. Nothing so infuriates the heart to deeds of rapine and blood; nothing is so incessant in its toils, so persevering in its determination, so appalling in its course, or so dangerous in its consequences.

“The Constitution regards the conscience of the Jew as sacred as that of the Christian, and gives no more authority to adopt a measure affecting the conscience

of a solitary individual than that of a whole community.

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

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

“Every religious sect, however meek in its origin, commenced the work of persecution as soon as it acquired political power.

“The framers of the Constitution recognized the eternal principle that man’s relation with his God is above human legislation, and his rights of conscience inalienable. Reasoning was not necessary to establish this truth; yet we are conscious of it in our own bosoms. It is this consciousness which, in defiance of human laws, has sustained so many martyrs in tortures and in flames. They felt that their duty to God was superior to human enactments, and that man could exercise no authority over their consciences. It is an inborn principle which nothing can eradicate. The bigot, in the pride of his authority, may lose sight of it; but strip him of his power, prescribe a faith to him which his conscience rejects, threaten him in turn with the dungeon and the fagot, and the spirit which God has implanted within him rises up in rebellion, and defies you.

“If the Almighty has set apart the first day of the

week as a time which man is bound to keep holy and devote exclusively to his worship, would it not be more congenial to the principles of Christianity to appeal exclusively to the great Lawgiver of the universe to aid them in making men better — in correcting their practices by purifying their hearts? Government will protect them in their efforts. When they shall have so instructed the public mind, and awakened the consciences of individuals as to make them believe that it is a violation of God's law to carry the mail, open post-offices, or receive letters on Sunday, the evil of which they complain will cease of itself, without any exertion of the strong arm of the civil power. When man undertakes to become God's avenger, he becomes a demon. Driven by the frenzy of a religious zeal, he loses every gentle feeling, forgets the most sacred precepts of his creed, and becomes ferocious and unrelenting.

“Our fathers did not wait to be oppressed when the mother country asserted and exercised an unconstitutional power over them. To have acquiesced in the tax of threepence upon a pound of tea, would have led the way to the most cruel of exactions; they took a bold stand against the principle, and liberty and independence was the result. The petitioners have not requested Congress to suppress Sunday mails upon the ground of political expediency, but because they violate the sanctity of the first day of the week.

“This being the fact, the petitioners having indignantly disclaimed even the wish to unite politics and religion, may not the committee reasonably cherish the hope that they will feel reconciled to its decision in the case, especially as it is also a fact that the counter-memorials, equally respectable, oppose the interference of Congress upon the ground that it would be legislating

upon a religious subject, and therefore unconstitutional?"²

These reports were prepared by Col. Richard M. Johnson, who, in each case, was chairman of the committee. The language of both reports indicates the feeling of deep conviction which moved their author. He was not actuated by animosity toward religion, nor by prejudice against any sect; but seeing in the proposed legislation a tendency toward religious tyranny through the mingling of the sacred and the secular, he set himself determinedly against the tide of retrogression. Concerning the stand Colonel Johnson took in this matter, and the influences that were then operating against religious liberty, his biographer says:—

“Colonel Johnson proved himself not only a heroic soldier, but a profound and honest statesman. He has won not only the blood-stained laurel, but the civic wreath. He merits our esteem and admiration not only for breasting the battle-storm,—for risking his life in the deadly breach,—but also for the firm, patriotic, and undeviating course that has marked his political life; and especially is he entitled to our love and gratitude, and to the love and gratitude of all good men,—of all who love their country,—for his able, patriotic, and luminous report on the Sunday mail question. . . . I will hazard the declaration that Colonel Johnson has done more for liberal principles, for freedom of opinion, and for pure and unadulterated democracy than any man in our country, by arresting the schemes of an ambitious, irreligious priesthood. Charge him not with hostility to the principles of religion because he opposed the wishes and thwarted the designs of the clergy; rather say that he has proved himself the friend of pure religion by guarding

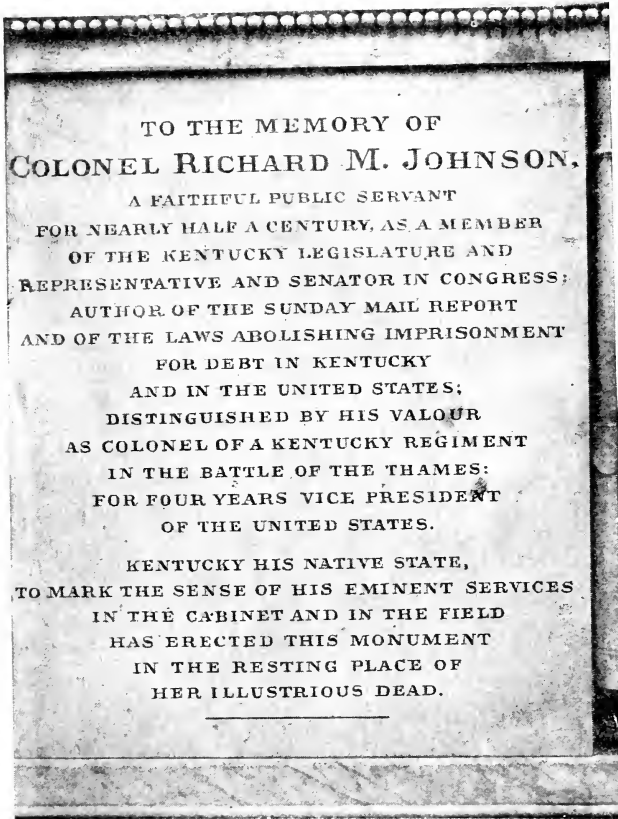
² “American State Papers,” Class VII. pages 229-235.

it against a contaminating alliance with politics. His strong and discriminating mind detected and weighed the consequences that would result from such a measure. He sifted the projectors of this insidious and dangerous scheme, and resolved to meet them full in the face, and by means of reason and argument to convince the honest and silence the designing. The honest he did convince, the designing he did defeat, though, strange to tell, did not silence: their obstinacy can only be equaled by their depravity. Their perseverance, however, can accomplish nothing so long as the people prize their liberties, and can have access to the Constitution and Johnson's reports.

"That man who can contemplate the misery and degradation that have ever resulted to the many from a union of the ecclesiastical and secular powers, must be a stranger to every patriotic feeling, callous to every noble impulse, and dumb to all the emotions of gratitude, not to admire and revere, honor and support, the man who had the honesty and moral heroism to risk his popularity by stemming the current of public prejudice, by exciting the bigot's wrath, and provoking the vigilant and eternal hostility of a powerful sect, whose influence is felt, and whose toils are spread, from Maine to California and from Oregon to the Atlantic. But the same determined spirit, the same sacred love of country, that prompted Colonel Johnson to face the country's open foe on the battle-field, urged him with equal ardor to grapple with its secret enemies in the Senate chamber.

"He who considers the influence which those reports are calculated to exert over the destinies of the republic as trifling or of small importance, is but little acquainted with the history of the past, and consequently but ill qualified to judge of the future.

“Colonel Johnson had been instructed by the philosopher and faithful historian, as well as by the teachings of his own mighty mind, that ‘human nature is never so



JOHNSON MEMORIAL TABLET

debased as when superstitious ignorance is armed with power.'

“He knew full well that whenever the ecclesiastical

and secular powers were leagued together, the fountains of justice were polluted; that the streams of righteousness were choked up, and that the eternal principles of truth and equity were banished from the land; that the people were degraded, their understandings enthralled, and all their energies crushed and exhausted.

“Colonel Johnson had not only a regard for the political, but also for the religious welfare of his country when he drafted those reports. He had been instructed by the history of the past that in proportion as a sect becomes powerful, from whatever cause, it retrogrades in piety, and advances in corruption and ambition. He was aware that the Christian religion no longer partook of the character of its Founder after the civil arm was wielded in its behalf. After it was taken into keeping by Constantine, . . . from that time to the present, with but few intervals, it has been wielded as a political engine, prostrating the liberties and paralyzing the energies of the nations.”³

These reports, though they did not put an end to the agitation, did set before the thousands among whom they were circulated the true principles of religious liberty. Nor did they fall upon leaden ears. The general assembly of Indiana adopted and sent to Congress a memorial indorsing the Senate report on the question of Sunday mails. The memorial was dated Feb. 15, 1830, and reads as follows:—

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

³“Authentic Biography of Col. Richard M. Johnson,” William Emmons, pages 64-67.

“That all legislative interference in matters of religion is contrary to the genius of Christianity; and that there are no doctrines or observances inculcated by the Christian religion which require the arm of civil power either to enforce or to sustain them.

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

This was followed by the memorial of the State of Illinois, dated Jan. 21, 1831, and reading:—

“Inasmuch as it is believed that such an innovation upon our republican institutions would establish a precedent of dangerous tendency to our privileges as freemen, by involving a legislative decision in a religious controversy on a point in which good citizens may honestly differ; and whereas, a free expression of sentiment by the present general assembly on the subject may tend, in a great degree, to avert so alarming an evil as a union of church and state; therefore,—

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

On the following day the senate and house of representatives of the State of Alabama adopted a joint resolution declaring that such action on the part of Congress as the petitioners for the closing of the mails on Sunday desired Congress to take, “would be a violation of the spirit of the Constitution,” and “repugnant to the principles of a free government;” and added:—

“*Be it further resolved*, That the sentiment expressed in the report of the committee at the last session of Congress, in opposition to the suspension of the mail on Sun-

day, is entitled to the highest consideration of the friends of the Constitution, and every lover of civil and political freedom."

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

Citizens of New Jersey, Vermont, New Hampshire, Pennsylvania, and Kentucky added the weight of their memorials and remonstrances to these declarations of the above-named State legislatures. Such legislators and such citizens determined to prevent a return to the bitter persecutions of the dark ages and of colonial times by blocking the nation's first backward step toward those intolerant conditions. They valued a free gospel above dogma enforced by law, and freedom of the soul above spiritual tyranny. The lessons of the past, to which Colonel Johnson refers, were fresh in the minds of many of the people. In that they had an advantage over the people of our day, so many thousands of whom are totally ignorant of the basic principles of religious liberty and of the struggles of the nation's founders to obtain it. If agitation, memorials, and remonstrances were necessary in those days to forestall a repetition of the dark scenes of colonial times, much more are they necessary now, when the mists of the past century have so nearly hidden them from our view.

Notwithstanding the publication of the two reports of the Committee on Post-offices and Post-roads, their indorsement by Congress, State legislatures, and multitudes of individual citizens, and their wide distribution throughout the country for the enlightenment of the people, the agitation in behalf of the principles against which they protested did not cease.

In the year 1863 the opposition to the nation's posi-

tion in this matter took organized form. The National Reform Association at that time came into being, and began a systematic agitation for the accomplishment of its purposes. The very name of the organization signified the organization's dissatisfaction with the principles upon which the nation was founded. Its purpose is to reform the nation; to establish the nation over again, and upon a different basis from that upon which it had set out to accomplish its mission in the world. The declared purposes of the organization are set forth in the following excerpt from the preamble of that organization's constitution, and in Article II of the same document, which read:—

“Believing that a written constitution ought to contain explicit evidence of the Christian character and purpose of the nation which frames it, and perceiving that the silence of the Constitution of the United States in this respect is used as an argument against all that is Christian in the usage and administration of our government,—

“We, citizens of the United States, do associate ourselves under the following articles, and pledge ourselves to God and to one another, to labor, through wise and lawful means, for the ends herein set forth.”

“Article II. The objects of this society shall be to maintain existing Christian features in the American government; to promote needed reforms in the action of the government touching the Sabbath, the institution of the family, the religious element in education, the oath, and public morality, as affected by the liquor traffic and other kindred evils; and to secure such an amendment to the Constitution of the United States as will declare the nation's allegiance to Jesus Christ, and its acceptance of the morals of the Christian religion, and to indicate that

this is a Christian nation, and place all the Christian laws, institutions, and usages of our government on an undeniable legal basis in the fundamental law of the land."

This meant, in case of its adoption by the nation, a complete repudiation of the principles upon which the nation was founded. It was a blow at the very foundation pillars of the national structure. In short, it was a declaration of war, not against the people, but against the government itself, not for the acquisition of its territory, but for the complete obliteration of its identity, the transformation of its character, the annihilation of its principles and purposes.

Where had stood the principle of the separation of church and state, the National Reform Association would put the principle of a union of religion and the state, or church and state, which is unquestionably its equivalent.

Where the nation had refused to require a religious test as a qualification for any office or public trust, they would place the religious test as the chief test.⁴

Where the nation refuses to permit the taxation of the general public for the promulgation of any religion, they would place the opposing principle requiring the teaching of religion at state expense.

Where the nation establishes the equality of all its citizens without respect to their religion, they would establish the superiority of the religious citizen above the non-religious citizen, by requiring the non-religious

⁴ Dr. J. S. Martin, general superintendent of the National Reform Association, in answering questions at the close of an address at Winona Lake, Ind., in August, 1909, stated unequivocally that the no-religious-test guaranty of the national Constitution ought to be modified. The purpose of the organization to accomplish that modification was plainly expressed also in the program adopted at the World's Christian Citizenship Conference held in Philadelphia, Pa., Nov. 16-20, 1910. That conference was held under the auspices of the National Reform Association.

citizen to yield a certain amount of homage to religious practises in which he has no faith.

Where the nation has refused to make any laws enforcing any religious ordinances, they would require the enactment of laws penalizing honest labor on a day which this transformed nation would select as a sabbath, thus making liberty in the matter of religious belief and practise a thing of the past, outlawing conscience, making of religion a legal formalism, and instituting again the religious tyranny of the dark ages. All this is not "nominated in the bond," is not openly declared, but it is all in the principle as truly as the chicken is in the egg or the tree in the acorn.

In view of what the Reformation did in bringing men from the darkness and misery of soul bondage into the light, and in view of the further step and the fuller accomplishment in this country in freeing conscience from the penalties of law, the success now attending that disintegrating propaganda is marvelous and alarming.

The nation, since the adoption of the First Amendment to the Constitution, has stood more squarely upon the Christian principles of civil government than any other nation in the world; and it has done this without making any declaration of purpose to be Christian, or to favor one sect above another. It has done this because it has made no such declaration, but in religion has left every individual free to follow the dictates of his own conscience. It has sought to guarantee to every inhabitant the greatest personal liberty consistent with the equal rights of all, a thing it could never accomplish did it attempt to exercise jurisdiction over the souls of men. The people are now asked to choose between a nation professing Christianity and scourging the bodies of men to save their souls, and a nation making no

such profession and practising no such unchristian barbarities.

Concerning the proposal to declare in the national Constitution the nation's allegiance to Jesus Christ, or put the name of God in the Constitution, Hon. George Shea, chief justice of the marine court of the city of New York, well says:—

“When our nation came to formulate and express its peculiar Constitution of government, a simple instrument of mere fedro-nationality, it was neither necessary nor desirable that such an instrument should contain an affirmative and declaratory formula, on behalf of the consociate States, that such a people, coming of such a lineage, believed in God and acknowledged Holy Writ. It would have savored of pretentious cant, and made at best only a parade calculated to offend men of good taste and sincere religious convictions.”⁵

Justice Shea further declares that the principles of Holy Writ were “not less understood, not less manifest, not less revered and obeyed, because not formulated by legislation.”⁶

It may not be a matter of common knowledge that during the civil war a determined effort was made to put into the national Constitution, after the introductory words, the following: “Humbly acknowledging Almighty God as the source of all authority and power in civil government, the Lord Jesus Christ as the ruler of nations, and his revealed will as the supreme law of the land, in order to constitute a Christian government,” etc. The president of the organization which sought to bring this about was no less a personage than Justice William Strong of the United States Supreme Court. It is plain

⁵ “Nature and Form of the American Government,” page 65.

⁶ *Id.*, page 66.

that to make such a declaration a part of our national Constitution would be to transform completely the basic principles of our government, form a hierarchy, establish the Christian religion as the only lawful religion, and outlaw all others. The effort failed.

The Confederate Constitution did contain the name of the Almighty. Nevertheless, it perished with the cause to which it was wedded. Concerning this, Dr. Philip Schaff says, "The name of God did not make it more pious or justifiable."⁷ And we may add, Neither did it insure the perpetuity of the Confederacy. This fact should have great weight when considering the claim put forth today that the United States Constitution must contain an acknowledgment of God and of Jesus Christ in order to insure the perpetuity of the nation. In attempting to weaken the force of this observation, one has said that God would not permit his name to go down to posterity linked with so horrible an institution as that of human slavery. But if he would not permit his name thus to go down to posterity linked with an institution that enslaved the bodies of men, much less, it may be observed, would he permit his name to go down to posterity linked with an institution that stands for the enslavement of the consciences and souls of men. That is a slavery which has darkened whole continents, steeped them in superstition and vice, and poured out upon the altar of ecclesiastical tyranny the best blood such countries could produce.

It should be apparent to every thinking person that a religion which needs a human law to make it a force in human lives can hardly be of divine origin. The gospel of Jesus Christ is not in need of any such assistance to enable it to accomplish its divine mission.

⁷ "Church and State in the United States," Schaff, 1888, page 39.

“Those statesmen who established our form of Constitution knew and were not unmindful of the warnings of history. Wherefore it is that Congress is prohibited by the Constitution from making any law ‘respecting an establishment of religion.’ When the Constitution thus guarded our religion as a thing which belongs not ‘to Cæsar,’ it, with rare force of asseveration, *acknowledges* that which it places beyond the consequences of human legislation. Let us pause for a moment to reflect, and gratefully, that they have placed beyond the meddling disposition of men met for secular legislation, that church which has proved to be the life and grace of all modern government; and particularly that we are thereby spared the incoherent strife begot by a parliament and by law courts disciplining the priesthood, as in the England of today. There is a class of erratic-minded religionists in our country whose mere feeling, or what they misconceive to be conscience, disquiets them, often to the extent of making them refuse to accept public trusts in the national and State services, or to sit even as jurors; and this because the Constitution, in their fancy, omits to establish, as by human positive law, that God exists; and (which would then ultimately and inevitably come to pass) take the church of Christ . . . under the oppressive and malign patronage of the civil service.”⁸

In harmony with these principles is the following from Count Leo Tolstoi:—

“How, why, to whom can it be necessary that another should not only believe, but also profess in the same way that I do? . . . Compel him to change his faith I cannot, either by violence, cunning, or deception. . . . It is impossible to force a man to believe that which he does not believe, that is, to fill his relation to

⁸ “Nature and Form of the American Government,” pages 14-16.

God, and because he who knows that faith is the relation of man to God cannot wish to determine the relations of other men to God through force or fraud.

"This is impossible, but it is done and has been done everywhere and always; that is, it could not be done since it is impossible, but something is being done and has been done that is very much like it. What is being done and has been done is the imposing on some by others the likeness of faith, and the acceptance of this likeness of faith by the others.

"Faith cannot impose itself, and cannot be adopted for the sake of anything,—violence, deception, or utility." ⁹

Count Tolstoi lived in a country where religion and state are united, and he saw continually the evil which that union wrought among the people. It has made a nation of idolaters, who superstitiously bow before the pictures of the "saints," pouring out there the worship that belongs to God. It has countenanced and fostered every species of spiritual tyranny, and has bound the consciences of men as with bands of steel.

He who denounced that system and those principles in the language above quoted was himself groping in the darkness for the spiritual light which that system had denied him, knowing that, as Thomas Clarke expresses it, "All violence in religion is irreligious," and, "whoever is wrong, the persecutor cannot be right." It was his comparison of the conditions within the state church of Russia with the conditions in those churches not established that prompted Tolstoi to declare: "The acceptance of power by Christianity is needful for those who understand the letter but not the spirit of Christianity. In reality, the acceptance of Christianity without the

⁹ "Church and State," Tolstoi, 1891, pages 10, 11.

repudiation of [human] power, is a mockery and perversion of Christianity. . . . They [pretended Christians] deviated from the path at the first minute that they consecrated the first emperor, and assured him that he could help the faith with his violence,— the faith of humility, self-denial, and the endurance of injury.”¹⁰

That men of this generation should consider for a moment the proposition to exchange soul freedom for the tyrannical heritage of an age of persecution and soul thralldom, must cause even the prince of darkness to wonder. “When the evil one tempted him [Christ] with the possession of all the kingdoms of this world, he said unto him, ‘Get thee hence, Satan.’ Secular power has proved a satanic gift to the church, and ecclesiastical power has proved an engine of tyranny in the hands of the state. The apostles used only the spiritual weapons of truth and love in spreading the gospel of salvation. . . . If men had always acted on this principle and example, history would have been spared the horrors of persecution and religious wars.”¹¹

It is impossible to form a government on the principles advocated by the National Reform Association without establishing religious tests for the citizens of the country,— a procedure repudiated by the Constitution as it stands today. The guaranty of “no religious test” was not placed in our national Constitution without opposition. Some there were who felt that unless a religious test was provided, “Romanists and pagans might be introduced into office.” To obviate that contingency, they were willing to set up a papal institution of their own, nationalize the Christian religion, and outlaw whatever did not conform to it. That proposition

¹⁰“Church and State,” Tolstoi, pages 24, 25.

¹¹“Church and State in the United States,” page 11.

was well answered by the Rev. Mr. Backus, of Massachusetts, in the State convention in 1788, discussing the adoption of the federal Constitution. He said:—

“Nothing is more evident, both in reason and in the Holy Scriptures, than that religion is ever a matter between God and individuals; and, therefore, no man or men can impose any religious test without invading the essential prerogatives of our Lord Jesus Christ.”¹²

The Rev. Mr. Payson took the same position, insisting that “human tribunals for the consciences of men are impious encroachments upon the prerogatives of God.”¹³

All religious tests, no matter how veiled, are attempts to enter the domain of the soul and force the consciences of men. It is well that the inevitable results of such undertakings should be kept continually before the people, in view of the growing strength of those forces whose purpose it is to establish such tests and bring the nation under the sway of a merciless hierarchy. Said Lord Mansfield, in the celebrated case of *Evans versus Chamberlain*: “Conscience is not controllable by human laws nor amenable to human tribunals; persecution, or attempts to force conscience, will never produce conviction, and are only calculated to make hypocrites or martyrs. . . . There is certainly nothing more unreasonable, nor inconsistent with the rights of human nature, nor contrary to the precepts and spirit of the Christian religion, more iniquitous and unjust, more impolitic, than persecution against natural religion, revealed religion, and sound policy.”¹⁴

¹² “*Elliot’s Debates*,” Vol. II, page 148.

¹³ *Id.*, page 120.

¹⁴ Appendix to “*Blackstone’s Commentaries and Burns’ Ecclesiastical Law*,” page 95.

"The United States," says Dr. Philip Schaff, "furnishes the first example in history of a government deliberately depriving itself of all legislative control over religion. . . . But it was an act of wisdom and justice rather than self-denial." ¹⁵

The severance of religion from the functions of government cannot with any degree of justice whatever be considered as evidence of an irreligious people or of an indifference on the part of individuals to the deep things of God. In a document prepared by the solicitor for the Department of State, Washington, D. C., and communicated to the World Missionary Conference at Edinburgh, in 1910, we find this statement of the case:—

"The [First] Amendment of the Constitution and the like provisions in State constitutions were not dictated by indifference or hostility to the principles of the Christian religion, but aimed to prevent not merely the establishment of any one form of religion, however widely spread, but to establish upon a firm footing the right before the law of every religious sect." ¹⁶

The soul liberty that has come with that policy has been America's crown of glory. The success of the opposite principle would put America where Europe was before the Reformation.

¹⁵ "Church and State in the United States." page 23.

¹⁶ "World Missionary Conference," 1910, Vol. VII, page 124.

CHAPTER XVI

Shaping the Backward Course

IT will not be amiss in considering the trend of the retrogression in this country toward the principles of colonial days and of papal domination, to set forth some of the principles enunciated by those chiefly responsible for that movement, the reader bearing in mind that the organization to whose utterance we are here giving most prominence is not the only organization committed to that program in this country. The principles of the National Reform Association in this particular are being indorsed or acted upon by organizations much stronger in point of numbers than the National Reform Association. While these utterances indicate the character of that organization, they also form a kind of working basis for stronger and more influential organizations. The purpose declared in that portion of the National Reform constitution quoted in Chapter XV is the sufficient inspiration for all the un-American and antichristian principles expressed in the extracts given in this chapter from members of that organization.

Prof. C. A. Blanchard, an earnest advocate of those principles of retrogression, mistakenly named by their exponents "national reform principles," puts the aspirations of that organization into the following terse language: —

"Constitutional laws punish for false money, false weights and measures. So Congress must establish a standard of religion, or admit anything called religion."

According to the basic principles of this government, Congress has nothing to do with religion. That is left to

the churches and to the individuals; and that is where it should be left, as our divine Master teaches in his wonderful answer to those who sought to embroil him with the authorities of the church or the state: "Render therefore unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's."¹

Against the very thing which Professor Blanchard proposes, the First Amendment to the Constitution of the United States guards the people. To set up a standard of religion for the nation is to establish a national religion. The Constitution says, "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." It would have to do both in order to do what Professor Blanchard and the National Reformers propose. But against their declared program stand the declaration of our Lord and the First Amendment to the national Constitution. To accomplish such a design in the face of such prohibitions as these is not only a stupendous undertaking, but a manifestation of disloyalty toward both the Lord and the government.

In a convention held in New York City, in 1873, in the interests of the National Reform propaganda, Jonathan Edwards said:—

"We want state and religion, and we are going to have it. It shall be that so far as the affairs of the state require religion, it shall be religion, the religion of Jesus Christ. The Christian oath and Christian morality shall have in this land 'an undeniable legal basis.' We use the word religion in its proper sense, as meaning a man's personal relation of faith and obedience to God. Now we are warned that to engraft this doctrine upon the Constitution will be oppressive; that it will infringe the rights of conscience; and we are told that there are athe-

¹ Matt. 22: 21.

ists, deists, Jews, and Seventh-day Baptists who would be sufferers under it. These all are, for the occasion and so far as our amendment is concerned, one class. They use the same arguments and the same tactics against us. They must be counted together, which we very much regret, but which we cannot help. The first-named is the leader in the discontent and in the outcry — the atheist. . . . It is his class. Its labors are almost wholly in his interest; its success would be almost wholly his triumph. The rest are adjuncts to him in this contest. They must be named from him; they must be treated as, for this question, one party. What are the rights of the atheist [by which he means, What are the rights of the several classes which he has mentioned]? I would tolerate him as I would tolerate a poor lunatic; for in my view his mind is scarcely sound. So long as he does not rave, so long as he is not dangerous, I would tolerate him. I would tolerate him as I would a conspirator.

“Atheism and Christianity are contradictory terms. They are incompatible systems. They cannot dwell together on the same continent.”

In reading the preceding, let it be borne in mind that this representative opposer of religious freedom in this country was speaking not of atheism alone, but by his own declaration, he was speaking of all the classes who oppose the propaganda of retrogression which he represents. It matters not how sincere a Christian a man may be, if he opposes a union of religion and the state, if he opposes religious legislation, the forcing of men's consciences, the intrusion of the state into men's religious concerns, according to this teaching, he is to be tolerated only as a lunatic or a conspirator is tolerated, or denied the right to exist on the same continent with these

reformers when they have gained the power they seek. It does not need a second reading to discover that the doctrine promulgated by Mr. Edwards at that time (which was published as a campaign document by the National Reform Association) is completely subversive of the fundamental principles of the American government,—“equal and exact justice to all,”—that it refuses to recognize any rights whatever as belonging to any man outside their religious organization. He admits that the plan will be oppressive to all who are out of harmony with it; but this does not deter him or the organization he represents from carrying it out; for the “lunatic” and the “conspirator” can be imprisoned, and the rest can be exiled. That remedy is actually proposed by another zealous advocate of those principles, Rev. E. B. Graham, one of the vice-presidents of the National Reform Association, in a speech delivered at York, Nebr., and published in the *Christian Statesman* of May 21, 1885. In that speech he said:—

“We might add in all justice, If the opponents of the Bible do not like our government and its Christian features, let them go to some wild, desolate land, and in the name of the devil, and for the sake of the devil, subdue it, and set up a government of their own on infidel and atheistic ideas; and then, if they can stand it, stay there till they die.”

This remarkable utterance had as its general theme such a reformation of this government as would change it into a practical theocracy, making the law of God the alleged basis of its legislation, and regulating the religious affairs of men by civil statute. Those who oppose this program are denominated “opponents of the Bible,” and recommended to exile.

That the program of that association and its sup-

porters and friends does contemplate the establishment of a national religion, is further shown in the utterance of Rev. M. A. Gault, a district secretary of the organization. He said:—

“Our remedy for all these malefic influences is to have the government simply set up the moral law, and recognize God’s authority behind it, and lay its hand on any religion that does not conform to it.”²

While it is one of the fundamental principles of this nation that all men have the right to worship God according to the dictates of their own consciences, Rev. David Gregg, a vice-president of the National Reform Association, in an article in the *Christian Statesman*, the official organ of the association, declared that the civil power “has the right to command the consciences of men.”³ If it has that right, then all the persecutions of the dark ages were right; all that Rome ever did in commanding the consciences of men and “correcting heretics,” by flame, dungeon, rack, and thumbscrews, was right; all the persecutions of early colonial days were right; and all that has been done in this country to free the soul from the oppression of spiritual tyranny *is wrong*. Are we to believe that our whole national program is a pernicious, wicked blunder, which can be rectified only by a readoption of the papal principles of soul slavery to an ecclesiastical tyranny? that the best results for man’s spiritual welfare can be attained by the interference of the magistrate between man and his Maker? that the crushing of human consciences in the mill of a state-enforced religion will enhance the happiness of the race, or make of civil government the divinely appointed instrument of Heaven for the regulation of religious affairs?—Verily,

² Quoted in “Civil Government and Religion,” page 52.

³ *Christian Statesman*, June 5, 1884.



THE BURNING OF BISHOP HOOPER

In 1555 this godly man paid the extreme price for refusing to permit others to command his conscience.

no. Such a program is out of harmony with justice, true religion, and divine purpose.

That program did not cease when the utterances just quoted were made. The earnest advocacy of those principles goes steadily on, increasing in extent, and bearing actual fruit. Practically the whole force and energy of the movement are now directed toward the securing of Sunday laws in the national government, and the enforcement of them by State and nation. The Rev. S. V. Leech said, in an address at Denver, Colo.:—

“Give us good Sunday laws, well enforced by men in local authority, and our churches will be full of worshipers, and our young men and women will be attracted to the divine service. A mighty combination of the churches of the United States could win from Congress, the State legislatures, and municipal councils all legislation essential to this splendid result.”⁴

That is the power upon which they propose to rely to bring men and women into the church, into the religious life. But our Lord repudiates such a program in these words: “And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will *draw* all men unto me.” Thus the failure rightly to represent and present Christ is made an excuse for Sunday laws to bring men to him by a method which he neither instituted nor approved. And those laws are made the entering wedge for the whole system of soul slavery, licensed hypocrisy, and religion by legal enactments, which are the logical and must be the inevitable results of the success of the program arranged by the National Reform Association, and now being adopted by other organizations of wider influence and greater strength.

Forgetting the lessons of past history and the records written in the blood of the martyrs, the National Reform

⁴ *Homiletic Review* for November, 1892.

Association has openly declared for uniformity in religion,— that thing which John Knox protested against in Scotland with a price upon his head; that thing against which Roger Williams protested in spite of the threat of exile; and that thing which became an outlaw in the United States with the adoption of the national Constitution. Said Dr. S. F. Scovel, president of the National Reform Association, in an address at Winona Lake, Ind., on Aug. 19, 1910:—

“Uniformity is essential to both peace and progress. The opinion of the majority must be decisive. Even in the matter of men’s consciences a degree of uniformity is necessary. We would allow the greatest amount of individual rights of conscience consistent with the necessary uniformity. It is your duty to take care not to disturb the convenience of your neighbor. In England, when people meet, they turn to the left; but in France, they turn to the right. If in England you should turn to the right, or in France you should turn to the left, you might get killed or kill somebody. So the only possible way for you to do is to go to the right when the law ordains it, or to the left when the law ordains that you go to the left. The state must have its opinion and its law, and the church and the family must have their opinion and their law, and somehow or other we must come to an agreement.”

Note the unavoidable conclusion of this teaching: Uniformity is necessary, even in matters of conscience. Whichever way the law ordains for you to go, that way you must go. Then the “agreement” which the doctor says must be between the law of the state and the opinion of the individual is such an agreement as exists between the lion and the lamb when they have lain down together, the one inside the other. There is no longer

any discord between the two; uniformity has been achieved, but the lamb is no more, and the "beast" is stronger than ever. It was this sort of uniformity which the queen of Scotland sought to bring about between herself and John Knox. The religion which she held was good enough for her realm. Uniformity in religion was more to her liking than individual independence in matters of faith and conscience; so she proscribed Knox and his religion, and made them outcasts from her domain.

The argument of Dr. Scovel, though polished and plausible, is a veritable apology for every persecution of Christians by heathen in every part of the world, and of every persecution of Christians by so-called Christians since miscalled Christianity went into an earthly throne in Rome. It is an apology for all the brutalities of the Inquisition, the fires of Smithfield, and the disgraceful cruelties of colonial America, practised in the name and to the shame of religion.

"The opinion of the majority must be decisive," said the president of the National Reform Association. So said the heathen of the New Hebrides when they ate the missionaries who came to them with the gospel of peace and salvation. The colonial governments said the same when they whipped and banished and hanged and sold into slavery those who thought it more necessary to follow the leadings of God's Word as they understood it than to profess to believe what they did not believe — for the sake of uniformity. And the National Reform Association can give no consistent denunciation of those cruel acts, because they were done in the cause of uniformity.

The accusation of the Jews against Christ was upon the same basis as these principles of the National Re-

formers. The Jews believed in uniformity. The teachings of Jesus were out of joint with theirs. There was not the necessary degree of uniformity; and so they slew him. What denunciation has National Reform for the crucifixion of our Redeemer? — It has none, for it is wedded to the doctrine of the necessity of uniformity in the matter of religious faith and practise. Standing upon that platform, it stands side by side with every persecutor that has ever oppressed a child of God. Standing there, it stands side by side with Rome, both pagan and papal, in her warfare upon the Word of God and upon the liberties of the individual in matters of faith.

Uniformity of expression is not essential in religion, but conformity with the divine Word and will, unhindered by any human intermediary or interloper, is essential. There is nothing so essential in the religious life as absolute freedom to follow the leadings of the divine mind. Whosoever thrusts himself between another individual and God, in order to make that other individual's religious faith and expression conform to his own, has put himself in the place of God to that individual, and has shut out the light of heaven and the leading of heaven. But that is what the whole National Reform propaganda stands for, and that is what the whole federated force of religion in America will stand for when they have adopted the National Reform principle of coercion in matters of religion. The National Reform Association denominates the rights of the individual in matters of religion "so-called rights," or "miscalled rights," and puts the necessity for uniformity in religion above all such rights.

The similarity between the position taken by that association and the position so long held by Roman Catholicism is strikingly apparent. In Spain, Portugal,

France, and Austria the Roman Church is now and has been demanding uniformity. If the National Reform position is right, Roman Catholicism is right in making that demand. She has refused to allow freedom of religious faith in those countries. To do so would be to admit that uniformity in religion is not essential. Therefore Protestant places of worship have been discriminated against, and Protestant worship has been placed under the ban. For her to sanction them, would be to bring in a lack of "the necessary degree of uniformity." So wherever she has had the power, and as long as she has had it anywhere, she has forbidden Protestant worship; and because she would not yield, the rusty chains on the prison doors where she has held the intellect of the people incarcerated for centuries are beginning to break under the heaving strain of prisoners who have a right to be free. The despotism of uniformity was demonstrated all through the dark ages in the Old World, and in the New World when America had her dark ages.

It is more than a coincidence that this organization, whose work is to be so influential in causing the people of this world to worship that great antichristian power known in Holy Writ as "the beast," should be enunciating principles so similar to the principles which that power stood upon through the dark ages, and still stands upon. In the creed of the National Reform Association, the nation is made a veritable god, and the chief god, in its temple,—a god of the Juggernaut type, riding in placid unconcern over the living consciences of the people, and crushing them under its ponderous wheels.

In that organization which is arranging now to spread out its influence over all the world through what is known as the World's Christian Citizenship Conference, the characteristics and the purposes of the papal power are

blooming forth again. This is truly an image of that. The Word of God denominated that power "the beast." That same Word tells of the making of an "image" to it, and we do not need to look farther than the National Reform Association in order to find an organization fulfilling the characteristics of that image, and ready to lead the world in doing the work which that image was to lead the world to do.

The National Reform Association stands for the rulership of the world by one executive. So has always stood, and still stands, the Church of Rome; and she has the executive who is ready to occupy the position.

The National Reform Association stands for a national religion, dictated by the church and adopted by the state. Upon that platform the Catholic Church has stood for centuries, and still stands.

The National Reform Association stands for the idea that the church-state (into which it would turn the government) has a right to rule in the civil, moral, and religious realms. Holding such a position, it is absolutely impossible for it to grant to individuals the rights of conscience; for, to admit one's right to follow the leadings of his conscience in a state which claims jurisdiction over the religion of the individual, would be equivalent to admitting one's right to follow his own wishes in relation to civil matters under an ordinary state government which has laws regulating civil affairs. If it is right for the state to rule in religious things, the individual, of course, has no recourse any more than he has in the ordinary civil state when he does that which is out of harmony with the civil law. The National Reform Association stands on that platform, and speaks of the rights of individuals as "so-called rights" and "mis-called rights."

In taking this position, that organization is in perfect harmony with — a perfect image of — the papal power. That power declares that freedom of conscience is insanity, and anathematizes the idea that "liberty of conscience and of worship is the right of every man."⁵ St. Augustine calls freedom of conscience the "liberty of perdition."⁶ Pope Pius IX stigmatizes as among the errors of his time the idea that "every man is free to embrace and profess the religion he shall believe true, guided by the light of reason."⁷

The two organizations stand upon the same platform here. Said the Rev. J. S. Martin, in an address at Winona Lake, Ind., on Aug. 17, 1910, speaking on "The Liberty of the Teacher:"—

"Among all the foes of our country we have none to fear even half so much as those who, in the name of religious liberty and of individual rights of conscience, are infringing upon the rights of the Christian people and of the state itself."

Liberty of conscience has always been considered dangerous by the advocates of state-enforced religion. So surely as men think, they will think outside the dusty, beaten path of stereotyped intellectual expression; and so surely as they worship God in spirit and in truth, they will express that worship in forms that are outside the rigid ritualistic ruts of state-enforced creeds. The Pope trembled on his throne when he found that he could not stop the mouth or the pen of Luther, who was teaching a free salvation and the liberty of the individual to accept it. The liberty of the individual in matters of faith and conscience, as proclaimed by the Anabaptists of Europe,

⁵ Encyclical of Gregory XVI, Aug. 13, 1862.

⁶ St. Augustine, "Epistle," 105 al 166.

⁷ Apostolic Letters, "Multiplies inter," June 10, 1851.

was looked upon by the church-states of Europe as a fearfully dangerous thing, and for holding that doctrine the Anabaptists were denounced as the chief enemies of those governments. So they were slaughtered by the thousands by those states still dominated by the idea that the rights of the individual are only "so-called rights" or "miscalled rights," and that the state is a "moral individual" with rights which it must maintain *even in immoral ways*. Said Dr. Martin again: —

"No appeal of right of conscience of infidel or atheist *or any other* may free her [the state] from this which is her right and her duty [that is, maintaining *her* rights as against the so-called rights of any and all of her citizens]."

That necessitates, of course, in the ultimate, an absolute monarchy, which can do what it pleases without regard to the wishes of "any and all of her citizens." The National Reform Association, therefore, by its own teachings condemns itself as an outspoken enemy of the republic. A republic, supposedly and theoretically at least, is operated in harmony with the will of the majority of the people in temporal concerns. But here is an organization that openly advocates a rule which may be diametrically opposed not only to the will but even to the "so-called" "rights of any and all" of the people. We have asserted that National Reformism is out of harmony with the principles of the republic. By such teachings they now openly affirm it themselves. Their program and their teachings are both incompatible with the American idea of government; that is, a civil government supreme in civil things, which leaves the individual conscience supreme in the matter of its relation to God.

The National Reformer, when confronted with the idea that the individual must follow the leadings of con-

science if his attitude in spiritual things is to be acceptable in the sight of Heaven, professes to be able to see only two possible results of such liberty — polyandry and polygamy. And to save the world from polyandry and polygamy, which are horrible enough, the National Reformers would institute something equally horrible, and if possible more debasing, because of its proposed universality,— the slavery of conscience to the dictum of a state-church, and the confiscation of the liberties of all the people. To prevent polyandry and polygamy, they think it necessary to prevent the Sabbatarian from following the law of Jehovah, to make the Constitution a religious creed, and turn the laws of all the States into “articles of faith.”

No better machine for the manufacture of hypocrites was ever devised. If the church of the third and fourth centuries was endangered and made an apostate by the conditions that caused unconverted pagans to flock into her fold, certainly the program which this organization is working upon is doubly certain to produce a like result. With a creed in place of a constitution, and the church made a national institution, there is no kind of politician or wire-puller or grafter or hypocrite or scoundrel who will not fall upon his knees and cry for membership. The fact that this National Reform program has met with such favor among the federated churches seems to make its success assured; and its success means the perversion of our government and the reign of persecution for those who will not yield conscientious conviction under threat of penalties.

CHAPTER XVII

Mobilizing for the Great Assault

IT has been shown in this treatise that the principles of religious liberty were enunciated by Jesus Christ, promulgated by the true exponents of his gospel, maintained in Europe, even during the Reformation period in opposition to the Reformers themselves, gained a footing in America only after the most strenuous opposition of the established order, and finally found a place in the Constitution of the federal government in spite of the fact that every State of the original thirteen, except one, adopted a constitution that was opposed to it in principle.

The doctrine of soul freedom has grown nowhere in the world without a terrible handicap of oppression, persecution, and martyrdom. It is a principle so opposed to the kingdom of darkness that, as long as that kingdom exists, the warfare must continue. Therefore, in view of the fact that nearly all the individual States of this nation are at the present time committed to the opposite principle through their own constitutions or legislative enactments, it should not surprise us if history should repeat itself in this country, and religious oppression be witnessed here again.

We have seen the growth in this country of an organized power committed to the principles of repression and oppression in "religious concerns,"—a power definitely and avowedly committed to a vigorous warfare against the fundamental principles of the national government, as far as the separation of church and state are concerned. Men have declared that there is no danger;

that such an organization could not thrive in "the land of liberty;" but it is thriving today, advancing in numbers, in strength, in influence, until the principles it holds are made a lash to whip recalcitrant legislators into line with its purpose.

The growth of its influence has not been kept within its own organization. It has sought earnestly and persistently for support from other organizations, and that support has been given. It has stoutly attacked the federal Constitution because that instrument did not contain the name of God, and did guarantee religious liberty; and that attack, first resented by the great body of the American people, has come to be tolerated by the mass, and to be indorsed directly or indirectly by an ever-increasing number.

The first organized ally of the National Reform Association was the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, which was induced by the National Reform Association to second its efforts to secure legislation in behalf of "Sabbath reform," and also to secure the recognition of Jesus Christ as the governor of the nation, and of his law as the basis of legislation. Accordingly, in 1887 the Woman's Christian Temperance Union added to its organization the department of Sabbath observance, which was put in charge of Mrs. J. C. Bateham, of Ohio. To show that this organization was fully in harmony with the aims of the National Reform Association, it will be sufficient to cite two authoritative utterances. The Woman's Christian Temperance Union monthly reading for September, 1886, said: —

"A true theocracy is yet to come, and the enthronement of Christ in law and lawmakers; hence I pray devoutly, as a Christian patriot, for the ballot in the hands of women, and rejoice that the National Woman's Chris-

tian Temperance Union has so long championed this cause."

The Woman's Christian Temperance Union in national convention in 1887 made this declaration:—

"The Woman's Christian Temperance Union, local, State, national, and world-wide, has one vital, organic thought, one all-absorbing purpose, one undying enthusiasm, and that is that Christ shall be this world's king, yea, verily, this world's king in its realm of cause and effect,— king of its courts, its camps, its commerce; king of its colleges and cloisters; king of its customs and constitutions. . . . The kingdom of Christ must enter the realm of law through the gateway of politics."

The same year in which that organization took that action, there was formed (Nov. 13, 1887) an organization known as the American Sabbath Union. From the constitution adopted by that organization we learn that the object of its existence was "to preserve the Christian sabbath as a day of rest and worship." Its influence also was thrown with the National Reform Association to seek by means of religious legislation the enforcement of the Sunday institution upon the people.

The following year the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, in convention, passed a resolution to the effect that "Christ and his gospel, as universal king and code, should be sovereign in our government and political affairs."

In 1888 the Third Party Prohibition Party in State convention in San Francisco, hissed down the principle of the separation of church and state, and adopted a platform recognizing the Lord as supreme ruler, "to whose laws all human laws should conform." The same year the secretary of the National Prohibition Convention, Sam Small, in a sermon at Kansas City, Mo., in the month of January, said:—

“I want to see the day come when the church shall be the arbiter of all legislation, State, national, and municipal; when the great churches of the country can come together harmoniously, and issue their edict, and the legislative powers will respect it, and enact it into laws.”

This is the program against which both houses of Congress, in the Sunday Mail Reports of 1829 and 1830, so faithfully and eloquently warned the American people. But the purpose avowed in the remarks quoted from Reverend Small is the avowed purpose of the National Reform Association; and the latter won an influential ally when that political party declared itself in favor of religious legislation.

In 1863 there was one obscure organization advocating those un-American principles; in 1888 there were four, and each of the three additions was capable of wielding a greater influence among the people at large than the parent organization. The effectiveness of the power working against the Constitution and against the fundamental principles of American liberty had been more than quadrupled.

In 1884 the National Reform Association made a bid for Catholic support of its program in these words:—

“Whenever they [the Roman Catholics] are willing to cooperate in resisting the progress of political atheism, we will gladly join hands with them.”¹ This combined declaration and bid for support has never been withdrawn. What they meant by political atheism was nothing more nor less than the separation of church and state and the nation’s guaranty to the individual respecting the right to worship God according to the dictates of conscience. That ground being common to both the National Reform Association and the Roman Catholic

¹ *Christian Statesman*, Dec. 11, 1884.

Church, the latter took the proposition of cooperation into favorable consideration, and in the year 1889, at the Catholic Lay Congress held in Baltimore on November 12, issued the following pronunciamiento:—

“There are many Christian issues upon which Catholics could come together with non-Catholics and shape legislation for the public weal. In spite of rebuff and injustice, and overlooking zealotry, we should seek an alliance with non-Catholics for proper Sunday observance. Without going over to the Judaic sabbath, we can bring the masses over to the moderation of the Christian Sunday.”²

This was done, as it was announced by the National Reformers, “after correspondence and conference with the American Sabbath Union.” It was advocated by the editor of the *Catholic Universe* in these words:—

“What we should seek is an *en rapport* with the Protestant Christians who desire to keep Sunday holy.”³

The National Reform Association sought for Catholic union with them against “political atheism.” The Catholic editor advocated an agreement with such non-Catholics “who desire to keep Sunday holy,” in order that, by such union, the Sunday institution—the child of the Papacy—might be exalted. The pronunciamiento issued as a result of that advice and that “correspondence and conference with the American Sabbath Union” declared in favor of such a union between Catholics and non-Catholics as would enable this combination to “shape civil legislation for the public weal;” and that “public weal” for which they were to unite in shaping

² Quoted in Religious Liberty Library, No. 6, page 62.

³ Paper read at the Catholic Lay Congress, at Baltimore, Nov. 12, 1889.

legislation is principally comprehended in what they denominate "proper Sunday observance."

That union may therefore, in effect, be regarded as consummated, and to the combination previously effected the National Reform Association can now add the power and influence of the whole Roman hierarchy in the United States. And to prove that this is not an incongruous or inharmonious combination, I quote the instruction given to Catholics by Pope Leo XIII:—

"All Catholics should do all in their power to cause the constitutions of states, and legislation, to be modeled on the principles of the true church."⁴

The word "states" in the above is used in the sense of nations. The principle of the "true church" in reference to the proper relation between church and state is that the two institutions should be joined, controlled by one head, and that head the head of the church, and that all "heresy" should be punished by pains and penalties. The principles of National Reformism, carried to their ultimate, involve just such an arrangement, though they refuse as yet to acknowledge the headship of the Pope. The Roman Catholic Church believes in a union of church and state; the National Reform Association professes not to believe in a union of church and state, but does believe in a union of religion and the state, which amounts to the same in every essential particular. Both believe in legislation by the state upon religious matters. Both believe in the enforcement of the Sunday institution by civil law, backed by pains and penalties. Both believe in setting up a standard of religion for the nation, and laying the hand of the law upon religions which do not conform to that standard. Why should they not join hands?

⁴ Encyclical of Pope Leo XIII, issued in 1885.

For years the advocates of National Reform principles sought to bring the labor-unions into harmony with their purposes. For a considerable time these overtures were rejected; but, notwithstanding these rebuffs and rejections, the advocates of National Reformism claimed to represent the laboring men of the nation. Their claims were indignantly rejected by an authorized representative of the labor-unions (Mr. Thomas J. Morgan) before a House committee during the hearing on the bill for closing the Columbian Exposition on Sunday.⁵ But the importunate persistence of the Sunday-law advocates has finally been rewarded; and the president of the American Federation of Labor has indorsed the purposes of the National Reform Association and its allies, so far at least as Sunday legislation is concerned. That indorsement was brought about in this way: The officials of the International Federation of Sunday Rest Associations of America arranged for a convention to be held on the grounds of the Jamestown Exposition, Sept. 25, 26, 1907, and Mr. Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, was invited to address the convention. Mr. Gompers' letter in reply to the invitation reads:—

“AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR,

“WASHINGTON, D. C., Sept. 14, 1907.

“Dr. T. T. Mutchler,

“Pres. International Federation Sunday Rest Assns., America,

“1008 Walnut St., Philadelphia, Pa.

“DEAR SIR: Your favor received today and contents noted. I regret very much that circumstances are such as to make it impossible for me to accept your invitation to deliver an address before your association at its meet-

⁵ Religious Liberty Library, No. 6, pages 27-33.

ing in Norfolk, September 25, 26, but as I previously stated to you, it is absolutely beyond my power to be present.

“May I take the opportunity, however, of conveying to you my hearty commendation of the principles and purposes of the association which you represent? Not only am I personally in hearty accord with any movement which has for its object the preservation of one day’s rest in seven, but the American Federation of Labor, representing, as it does, over two million working men and women, has emphatically declared itself in favor of the Sunday-rest day, and it has done as much, if not more, than any other organized body of men and women to enforce the observance of the Sunday-rest day.

“Again expressing my regret that circumstances prevent my attending the meeting of your association, with every wish for your success, I have the honor to remain,

“Very respectfully yours,

“(Signed) SAMUEL GOMPERS,

“*Pres. A. F. of L.*”

Thus did another ally join the ranks of those who are working to transform this government into an ecclesiastical machine that will override the civil and religious rights of the people; for, granting the right of every man to observe what day he will, to have for himself one day’s rest in seven, the right can never be conceded to any man or group of men to “enforce the observance of” any day whatever. The right to worship God according to the dictates of our own conscience does not include the right to compel some other individual to worship him according to the dictates of *our* conscience. The fact that we have the right to rest on a certain day of the week, does not give to us the right to compel some other individual to

rest on that same day or on any day. If we have that right, then he also has the same right, and can, with equal justice, compel us to rest when he rests. That would create an intolerable condition. But admit the right of one man to compel another to rest when he rests, and we have admitted the right of every person in the land to compel everybody else to rest when he rests; for this is a government based upon the equality of men, and what is just for one must be just for another.

There are two other organizations that must be placed in the same category, the one designed to energize and direct these efforts on the part of the Protestant denominations, and the other designed to do the same work for and among the various Catholic organizations of the country. The first is the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, and the second is the American Federation of Catholic Societies. This banding together of institutions and organizations for a common purpose — warfare upon the fundamental principles of our government and the rights of individuals under it — is one of the most significant events of this century. There is a meaning in it, and there are results to flow from it, which should commend the earnest consideration of each and every citizen.

CHAPTER XVIII

The "Christian Nation" Dictum

IT is but natural that the increased power and influence of the organizations that are working for the remodeling of this nation upon a hierarchical basis should have an effect upon the legislation of the country, and, because of the political methods employed, upon the legislators themselves in their attitude toward church-and-state problems. We see that effect at the present time, and not only in legislation and legislators, but in the interpretations of law, both State and national.

If the acquisition of numbers and increase of influence have been instrumental in accomplishing much, the decision of the United States Supreme Court in the case of *The Rector, Church Wardens, and Vestrymen of the Church of the Holy Trinity versus the United States*, has opened the door for the accomplishment of much more. The decision was rendered Feb. 29, 1892, and was prepared and read by Mr. Justice Brewer. In the argument giving the reason for the decision which was to follow, Justice Brewer declared that "this is a Christian nation," basing that dictum largely upon the declared purposes of those who sent out the exploring and colonizing expeditions, and upon certain expressions in the constitutions of the several States of the United States. It will not be out of harmony with the plan of this treatise to consider briefly Justice Brewer's reasons for such a pronouncement concerning this country.

In showing that it was not the intent of the lawmakers to prohibit an American church from contracting for a foreign pastor, the justice says: —

"This is a religious people. This is historically true. From the discovery of this continent to the present hour, there is a single voice making this affirmation."¹

For this to be true even *in name only*, it would be



JUSTICE DAVID J. BREWER

necessary that every inhabitant of the country be at least a *professed* Christian; but not only is this not the case, but not even a majority of the people make such profession. That is not gold which is half copper or three fourths silver; neither is that nation Christian or religious which is half outside the

pale of the organized church of Jesus Christ, or three fourths infidel at heart. And even if Justice Brewer's statement, as quoted above, were strictly true, as long as the nation remains true to the principles upon

¹ Case of Holy Trinity vs. the United States, 143 U. S., 471.

which it was founded, this still would not be a Christian nation; for the separation of church and state makes it impossible that the nation should be designated by the name of any religion. And this does not preclude the idea, either, of Christianity's being the dominant faith in the country at the same time, even to the extent that every heart had been converted to God, and every soul had accepted Jesus Christ as the Redeemer of the race. It would be a nation of Christians, and yet not a Christian nation. The Christian nation must have Christ as its king in temporal or civil affairs, as well as in "spiritual concerns;" and our Lord has plainly declared, "My kingdom is not of this world." The Christian nation is Christ's nation, and that will not come until after he has broken all others "with a rod of iron," scattered their fragments to the four winds, burned the residue in the purifying fires of the last great day, and established "new heavens and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness."²

Because there was a religious idea in the minds of those who sent out exploring parties and companies of immigrants, we are not forced to the conclusion that the new nation must establish the Christian religion, any more than we are compelled to conclude that because those who financed the first expedition were monarchs, and thus imbued with the monarchical idea, the nation to be brought forth upon this continent must be a monarchy. If this nation must be a Christian nation because of the religious idea in the minds of those who sent out the exploring and colonizing expeditions, we have a right to ask, "Of what brand of Christianity shall it be?" Ferdinand and Isabella, who commissioned Columbus, and who "hoped that by God's assistance some of the

² 2 Peter 3: 13.

continents and islands in the ocean will be discovered," were ardent Catholics. Episcopal Elizabeth, "by the grace of God, of England, Fraunce, and Ireland, queen, defender of the faith," particularly specified in her grant



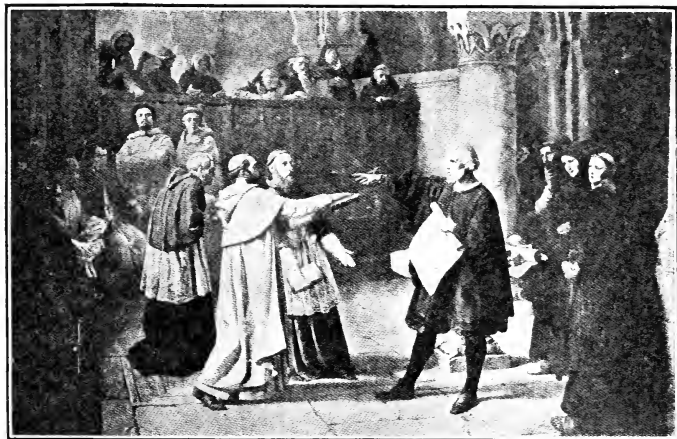
FERDINAND AND ISABELLA

Facsimile of a rare contemporary print.

to Sir Walter Raleigh that in making laws for the colony, "they be not against the true Christian faith nowe professed in the Church of England."

As it is impossible that both purposes should be

carried out in the making of this nation,—that is, that it should be both Roman Catholic and Episcopal at the same time,—the argument of Mr. Justice Brewer falls of its own weight. If the purpose of European monarchs is to be woven into great governing facts for the present time, then this is not a republic, but a mon-



COLUMBUS BEFORE THE COUNCIL OF SALAMANCA

The leaders of the state-fostered religion denounced the ideas of Columbus as preposterous and impious, and counseled the king to have nothing to do with the undertaking.

archy, and is still ruled by despots across the sea; for that was all in the purpose.

In reference to the same grant made to Sir Walter Raleigh, Justice Brewer says:—

“In language more or less emphatic, is the establishment of the Christian religion declared to be one of the purposes of the grant.”³

But what has this nation to do with “the establishment of the Christian religion,” especially since the

³ Case of Holy Trinity vs. the United States, 143 U. S., 471.

adoption of the First Amendment to the Constitution? That amendment reads: —

“Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.”

If the religious purpose of European monarchs concerning America makes this a Christian nation, then their purpose to establish the Christian religion here does establish that religion as the religion of this nation. But neither is true. The religious purpose of a dead European sovereign is far from sufficient to make this a Christian nation, and the national Constitution specifically prohibits the enactment of any federal statute establishing any religion. It is the Constitution of the country, and not the obsolete purpose of a foreign ruler, that determines the character of the nation. While a large portion of the people are religiously inclined, and while the majority have some sort of respect for religion in the abstract, it is not true that the people as a people are religious, or that the nation as a nation is Christian. The prohibition against the establishment of any religion by law in this country precludes the possibility of correctly designating this nation as a Christian nation.

In further effort to prove this a Christian nation, Justice Brewer refers to the religious-test oath of Delaware, found in the constitution of 1776, Article XXII: —

“I, A. B., do profess faith in God the Father, and in Jesus Christ his only Son, and in the Holy Ghost, one God, blessed forevermore; and I do acknowledge the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments to be given by divine inspiration.”

Under that constitution no citizen, however well qualified, could hold “any office or place of trust” unless he would take the above oath; and Justice Brewer uses that as one of the proofs that this is a Christian na-

tion. It would have been just to the State of Delaware for Justice Brewer to have stated that in her constitution

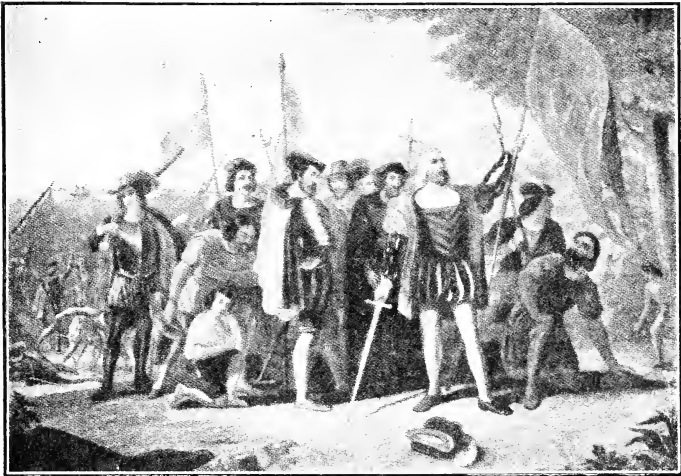


COLUMBUS ON THE DECK OF THE SANTA MARIA

of 1792 Delaware repudiated that provision, in these words: "No religious test shall be required as a qualification to any office, or public trust, under this State."⁴

⁴ Constitution of 1792, Art. II, Sec. 2.

Delaware repeats the repudiation of that principle in her constitution of 1831, Article I, Section 2. If her organic utterance of 1776 helped to make this a Christian nation, what shall be said of her organic utterances of 1792 and 1831? Whatever the former proved, the latter disproved. It is therefore a fact which must be patent to all, that neither the organic utterances of individual



LANDING OF COLUMBUS

Columbus succeeded in spite of the denunciation of his undertaking by the clergy of the established church.

States nor the declared purpose of foreign sovereigns has anything to do in determining the character of the nation as it exists today. The nation must be judged by *its own* organic utterances. It has plainly declared in such an utterance that "no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States." Another "organic utterance," found in the treaty with Tripoli and adopted during

the administration of President Washington, just as plainly declares that "the government of the United States of America is not, in any sense, founded on the Christian religion." If Delaware's utterance in her constitution of 1776 (afterward repudiated) makes the nation a Christian nation, what effect does the nation's own utterance of the opposite principle have in designating the nation's character? Delaware's repudiated utterance cannot speak for the nation, and especially so when the nation itself repudiates the principle and declares the opposite. Nevertheless, Mr. Justice Brewer declared: —

"These and many other matters which might be noticed, add a volume of unofficial declarations to the mass of organic utterances that this is a Christian nation." ⁵

In view of the facts in the case, in view of the nation's own declaration of its character, this declaration by Mr. Justice Brewer is unwarranted. The effect of the declaration — concurred in by other members of the Supreme Court by virtue of their concurrence in the decision to which it led up — was immediately apparent. Within two months from the date of that Supreme Court decision, the president of the American Sabbath Union appeared before committees of the Senate and the House, and demanded the closing of the Columbian Exposition on Sunday "because this is a Christian nation," quoting the argument of Mr. Justice Brewer to prove his contention, and citing his dictum upon that point to show the necessity of closing the exposition gates on Sunday. Thus the first use to which that dictum was put was to commit the nation to a course subversive of the fundamental principles of the government.

⁵ Case of Holy Trinity Church vs. the United States, 143 U. S., 471.

CHAPTER XIX

The Constitution and the Gospel Misinterpreted

THE argument of Mr. Justice Brewer referred to in the preceding chapter opened the way for the nation to enter upon a course of religious legislation; and not only that, but the justice sought, in that argument, so to interpret the United States Constitution as to make it uphold, in spite of itself, the Christian nation idea.

The Constitution plainly declares the purpose of the federal government to be non-interference in the religious affairs of the people. Nevertheless, in the effort to prove this a Christian nation, the justice cites the church-and-state compact of the Puritans, which made the maintenance of the gospel and the discipline of the churches a part of the state's duties; the religious-test oath of Pennsylvania, which made belief in God and future rewards and punishments a prerequisite to citizenship; public taxation for the support of religion; a declaration of belief in the Trinity and the inspiration of the Scriptures as a necessary qualification to the holding of public office; the Pennsylvania Supreme Court's decision that Christianity is a part of the common law; and the laws respecting the "observance of the Sabbath" in the various States,— he cites all these church-and-state arrangements to prove this a Christian nation, then brings the national Constitution into the group, and declares:—

"There is no dissonance in these declarations. There is a universal language pervading them all, having one

meaning. They affirm and reaffirm that this is a religious nation."

By the words "religious nation" used in this expression, we must understand the justice to mean just what he did in the expression previously quoted — "Christian nation." Thus is the Constitution, which was designed to guarantee a separation of church and state, made to speak the same language and stand for the same thing as did those utterances and documents which had to do solely with governments that tyrannized over the souls of men. In other words, the national Constitution, the guardian of our liberties, is made to speak a language completely at variance with itself, and in harmony with institutions against which it was designed by its framers to be an everlasting protest. So by this misinterpretation the Constitution is made to stand not for "a new order of things," as the great seal reads, but for the same old order of things that obtained in colonial days, and in the days of Elizabeth and Ferdinand and Isabella. Against such an interpretation the author must protest, while he would set the liberties of this generation over against the soul thralldom of those generations as a proof that the protest is just and warranted.

But this misinterpretation of the spirit and purpose of our national Constitution, and this declaration that this is a Christian nation, have been received with enthusiastic plaudits by that element in the country which is seeking to "put God in the Constitution," put certain Christian "laws, rules, and usages" in "the fundamental law of the land," and inaugurate a campaign of religious legislation for the "moral reformation of the nation." Morality by enactment, religion by civil law, salvation through legislatures, general taxation to support the teachers of religion, Sunday laws to fill the churches with

worshippers, legal censorship over the religious faith and practises of men, the kingdom of God through the gateway of politics,— these purposes of the National Reform and “civic righteousness” forces have, by that dictum of the Supreme Court and that misinterpretation of the national Constitution, received a stimulus that has increased the effectiveness of their efforts a hundredfold. That some such pronouncement was what they had been hoping for will be seen by the following quotations. The first is from the official organ of the American Sabbath Union, and appeared less than four months after the famous dictum had been uttered. It declares that this “decision” “establishes clearly the fact that our government is Christian. The decision is vital to the Sunday question in all its aspects, and places the question among the most important issues now before the American people. And this important decision rests upon the fundamental principle that religion is embedded in the organic structure of the American government,— a religion that recognizes, and is bound to maintain, Sunday as a day of rest and worship.”

It is easy to see from the above quotation how the Christian-nation dictum of the Supreme Court has helped the church-and-state element of the country to read into the “organic structure of the American government” something which the founders of this government never designed should be there,— a commingling of civil and religious things, and the maintenance of a religious observance by civil law.

On May 21 of the same year the *Christian Statesman*, official organ of the National Reform Association, seconded the declaration of the *Pearl of Days* in these words:—

“‘Christianity is the law of the land.’ ‘This is a

Christian nation.'— *U. S. Supreme Court, Feb. 29, 1892.* The Christian church, therefore, has rights in this country. Among these is the right to one day in seven protected from the assaults of greed, the god of this world, that it may be devoted to worship of the God of heaven and earth."

It would, of course, be inferred from this expression that since the beginning of this nation, and up to the date of that Christian-nation declaration, the Christian church in this country had been deprived of its rights, and church-members were forbidden to assemble one day in seven for the worship of God. Such an implication is an utter perversion of the noble principles of justice and equality upon which the nation was founded.

That we have not misinterpreted the attitude of the National Reform Association toward the Supreme Court dictum of Feb. 29, 1892, nor its attitude toward the fundamental principles of the nation itself, is shown by the following quotation from the *Christian Statesman* of Nov. 19, 1892. This utterance is from one of the district secretaries of that association, Mr. William Weir, of Washington, Pa., and reads:—

"'This is a Christian nation.' That means Christian government, Christian laws, Christian institutions, Christian citizenship. And this is not an outburst of popular passion or prejudice. Christ did not lay his guiding hand there, but upon the calm, dispassionate supreme judicial tribunal of our government. It is the weightiest, the noblest, the most tremendously far-reaching in its consequences of all the utterances of that sovereign tribunal. And that utterance is for Christianity, for Christ. 'A Christian nation!' Then this nation is Christ's nation ['My kingdom is not of this world.'—*Jesus.*], for nothing can be Christian that does not belong

to him. Then his Word is its sovereign law. Then the nation is Christ's servant. Then it ought to, and must, confess, love, and obey Christ. All that the National Reform Association seeks, all that this department of Christian politics works for, is to be found in the development of that royal truth, 'This is a Christian nation.' It is the hand of the second of our three great departments of national government throwing open a door of our national house, one that leads straight to the throne of Christ." ¹

And that 'association began at once to make of that declaration of the Supreme Court all it could for the furtherance of its aims. It had battled against the national Constitution for years. Here was now a decision of the Supreme Court in which occurred a dictum that sought to make the Constitution stand for what that organization wanted it to stand for, that attempted to make it say what that organization wanted it to say. But the spirit of the above quotation, which is the spirit of the National Reform Association and its allies, is entirely at variance with the genius of American government, and with the spirit of the great document which they assail. Civil government is an instrument of force, of compulsion. The religion of Jesus Christ is a matter of choice, of heart service. We cannot *compel* men to love Christ; we cannot *compel* them to yield acceptable heart service to him. To attempt either is to misinterpret utterly the spirit of the gospel, and to misconstrue the purpose of Christ in giving it. Neither has the work of leading men "straight to the throne of Christ" ever been given to the nation to do. That is the work of the church; and when the church seeks to put it upon the nation, to bring it about by legislation, she cumpers the

¹ William Weir, in *Christian Statesman* of Nov. 19, 1892.

nation with a task it cannot hope to do, and she herself shirks the task which her divine Master has laid upon her. Strange to say, that theory of the church's need of a political assistant in promulgating the gospel, and of the state's appointment to that position, is winning adherents with marked rapidity. The church is "laying hands" on the state, and dedicating it to that solemn work, and statesmen who fear "political beheadal" are offering their unsanctified services to that end.

The true principles of religious liberty as taught by Jesus Christ and as set forth in the fundamental law of the American nation separate the functions of human government from the teaching and the practise of religion, so establishing equality, peace, justice, order, and liberty. The purpose of the confederation of religio-political forces is to unite religion and government, so establishing again in America the old order of things, inequality, discord, injustice, confusion, and oppression. The issue cannot be evaded, and the people must make their choice now whether they will keep America free or permit her to become an instrument of oppression in the hands of a power-coveting and power-blinded ecclesiastici m.

CHAPTER XX

The Church Losing in Religion While Gaining in Politics

IN the same year in which the Supreme Court of the United States made the declaration that "this is a Christian nation," those in charge of the preparations for the World's Columbian Exposition at Chicago were putting forth earnest efforts for a large government appropriation. A large portion of the religious element of the country was determined that no aid should be given unless the gates of the exposition should be closed on Sunday. There was much debate in Congress over the matter, and the discussion took such a religious turn that the chaplain of the Senate made this statement:—

"During the debate you might have imagined yourself in a general council or assembly or synod or conference, so pronounced was one senator after another."¹

Petitions asking for the closing of the exposition on Sunday, and petitions urging Congress to have nothing to do with the matter, poured into the Capitol. It was recognized, even by the congressmen who were debating the matter, that they were dealing with a religious question. Yet the discussion went on, and the appropriation was finally voted with the proviso that the gates be closed on Sunday. The stimulus to such a course was apparent throughout. For instance, the petitions sent in to Congress by the Presbyterian Churches of New York contained the following threat:—

"Resolved, That we do hereby pledge ourselves and

¹ The *Independent*, New York, July 28, 1892.

each other that we will from this time henceforth refuse to vote for or support for any office or position of trust any member of Congress, either senator or representative, who shall vote for any further aid of any kind to the World's Fair except on conditions named in these resolutions." ²

The condition referred to in the above extract was that the gates be closed on Sunday. There is no question but that the Christian nation dictum of the Supreme Court made these petitioners bold to attempt to carry through by threat and by an appeal to unworthy and selfish motives on the part of congressmen what they feared they could not accomplish by argument or appeal to principle; and the world was made to witness the sad spectacle of the professed church of Christ threatening to boycott and blacklist the national legislators if they voted according to their own convictions, as they had *sworn* to do, rather than according to the wishes of a portion of their constituency, as they were *ordered* to do. In other words, these senators and representatives were asked to perjure themselves in the interests of this militant church party, and threatened with the extinction of their political career if they refused to yield.

That some of these legislators understood what it meant, and had so poor a sense of the responsible position to which they had been called by the people as to yield to that threat, is shown by the following extract from a speech by Senator Hiscock, of New York:—

"If I had charge of this amendment in the interest of the Columbian Exposition, I would write the provision for the closure in any form that the religious sentiment of the country demands, and not stand here hesitating or quibbling about it. . . . I say to the junior

² Congressional Record, May 25, 1892, page 5144.

senator from Illinois [Mr. Palmer], he had better yield to this sentiment, and not let it go out to the country that there is the slightest doubt that if this money shall be appropriated, the exposition shall be closed on Sunday. . . . I should make this closure provision satisfactory to those petitioners who have memorialized us against the desecration of the Lord's day." ³

On the same day Senator Hawley, of Connecticut, in urging the Senate to yield to this threat-demand petition, said:—

"No wise statesman or monarch of modern times, no satrap of Rome, would have thought it wise to fly in the face of a profound conviction of the people he governed, no matter if he thought it a profound error. It is not wise statesmanship to do it. . . . Now, if gentlemen repudiate this, if they desire to reject it, if they deny that this is in the true sense of the word a religious nation, I should like to see the disclaimer put in black and white, and proposed by the Congress of the United States. Write it. How would you write it? How would you deny that from the foundation of the country, through every fiber of their being, this people has been a religious people? Word it, if you dare; advocate it, if you dare. How many who voted for it would ever come back here again?—None, I hope." ⁴

The strongest argument used by Senator Hawley in this impassioned plea was the argument of expediency, and his peroration was a sinister threat of a senatorial blacklist,—a far remove from the noble motives that actuated the founders of this republic when they pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor for the principles they had espoused. He should have been

³ Congressional Record, July 13, 1892, page 6755.

⁴ Id., page 6759.

answered to the effect that the nation had already replied to his heated questions in an expression found in the treaty with Tripoli, consummated in 1796, which reads:—

“The government of the United States of America is not, in any sense, founded on the Christian religion.”⁵

And, according to Article VI of the Constitution of the United States, that treaty was a part of the supreme law of the land, and that declaration is a part of the national purpose. The Constitution also answers the senator's questions, in its First Amendment, by prohibiting Congress from passing any law respecting the establishment of religion. “How would you write it?” asks the senator. It is already written. “How many who voted for it would ever come back here again?” That was the least of the government's considerations when that treaty was signed, and its makers are probably as near the hearts of the American people as any who voted to pay the Chicago exposition a bonus for keeping Sunday. It was during Washington's administration that this treaty was negotiated. It was during his administration also that the First Amendment to the Constitution was adopted.

The demoralizing effect of the campaign for national Sunday legislation was shown also in the House of Representatives in reference to the same question. A member of that body, in an interview with a *Chicago Daily Post* representative, said:—

“The reason we shall vote for it is, I will confess to you, a fear that, unless we do, the church folks will get together and knife us at the polls; and—well, you know we all want to come back, and we can't afford to take any risks.”

⁵ Treaty with Tripoli, Art. II.

"Do you think it will pass the House?"

"Yes, and the Senate, too. We are all in the same boat. I am sorry for those in charge of the fair; but self-preservation is the first law of nature, and that is all there is about it." ⁶

What a spectacle! The best interests of the state, the fundamental principles of the nation, sacrificed to sordid self-interest! The greed for political position overshadows the most vital interests of the nation, which are tossed aside to make way for an unworthy personal ambition.

But the sad result of this religio-political campaign does not cease with those against whom the threats of political boycott were made. This yielding of legislators under pressure seems to have had an equally demoralizing effect upon the campaigners themselves, as will be seen by the following. The final passage of the bill making the government contribution to the Chicago World's Fair contingent upon the closing of the gates of the exposition on Sunday, was hailed by the president of the American Sabbath Union in these words:—

"The form of the law is happy. It gives a premium of \$2,500,000 on doing right. It proves in a concrete way that 'godliness hath great gain.'" ⁷

The appropriation did set a premium on something, and that something was the outward performance of a religious act; but that godliness was in any way increased thereby is not possible of demonstration. The quintessence of the whole procedure was simply this: The World's Columbian Exposition, and all others that have received government appropriations on similar conditions, accepted a bonus—was it not a bribe?—for

⁶ Chicago *Daily Post*, April 9, 1892.

⁷ Quoted in "Captivity of the Republic," page 67.

the observance of Sunday, went through the motions of a religious act for pay; and the advocates of Sunday legislation are rejoicing in the bribe giving and the bribe taking, and calling it a victory for righteousness. This is one of those victories that are worse than defeat; for the immorality of the procedure has been clothed with a robe of "civic righteousness," and the people and the clergy themselves have been blinded to the iniquity of it. Such seed sown in such soil can never bring forth fruit for the kingdom of God; and the religious kingdom which they expect to build upon such a basis will go down to perdition through the rottenness of its own foundation.

The second sad result of the success of that threat-petition is the strengthening and invigorating of the political propensities of the campaigners. Great encouragement was given them when they succeeded in having the Sunday-closing proviso attached to the appropriation for the World's Fair. They began to feel their power as a political factor in the nation, and, intoxicated with that "wine of Babylon," confusion of the sacred and profane, planned for greater things. Said Rev. J. D. Sands, pastor of the Seventh United Presbyterian Church of Pittsburgh, Pa., in a sermon on July 17, 1892, soon after the passage of the Sunday-provisoed appropriation bill:—

"That the church has weight with great political or governing bodies has been demonstrated most effectually in the late World's Fair matter, when the United States Senate, the highest body in the country, listened to the voice of religion, and passed the World's Fair appropriation bill with the *church-instituted proviso* that the gates of the exposition should not be opened upon Sunday. That grand, good fact suggests to the Christian's mind that if this may be done, so may other equally

needful measures be secured. The church is gaining power continually, and its voice will be heard in the future much oftener than in the past."

Rev. H. H. George, of Paterson, N. J., said, in a sermon preached on Aug. 7, 1892, concerning the same matter:—

"I have learned that we hold the United States Senate in our hands."

At the National Reform convention at Winona Lake, Ind., on Aug. 15, 1906, Dr. William Parsons, of Philadelphia, Pa., in describing the methods of his brethren in securing Sunday laws, said:—

"In order to get the legislation we want, we must first make a public demand for it. There is a scientific way of doing that. Legislators are not, to any large extent, natural-born reformers. Many of them are out for graft, and you have got to be rough-and-tumble with them. They like to be on the sunny side of the political hedge. They are there for what there is in it. First you have to fight such men, then you have to forgive them, and then you have to use them. . . . Then you have to get after the politician. You have to promise and threaten and wheedle him, and make him thoroughly understand that if he votes against your measure, he won't be on the sunny side of the hedge any longer. Then you have got to get some one to introduce your measure, and then you must put on the screws, put on the pressure. That work of putting on the pressure must be done. The other fellow does it, and you must."

It is strange, if such work "must be done," that our Saviour should have omitted it when he gave his final instructions to his followers. The fact that he gave no such commands, instituted no such work, eschewed all such operations, and repudiated utterly the doctrine of

force in the upbuilding of his kingdom, stamps this work of the ecclesiastical politician as outside the pale of his recognition, and antagonistic to his purpose. The compulsion of the state by religious combinations is not only dangerous to the religious liberties of the people, but is destructive of true religious impulses in the hearts of those who bring it about. It is a scheme of human devising that makes mockery of religious forms, encourages hypocrisy for a reward, and teaches dishonorable legislators the political advantage of a perjured oath.

The church never sank so low in the matter of spiritual attainments, in real Christian growth, in the knowledge of the Bible, and in the practise of its precepts, as during that time known as the dark ages; but during that same time she had control of practically all the secular power of the civilized world. This is not a coincidence. The one condition is the outgrowth of the other. The power-coveting and power-wielding church has never been a spiritual church. If it be true that the combined churches of this country hold the national Congress in their hands, the American church is facing a calamity of the first magnitude.

CHAPTER XXI

Religious Persecution Revived in America

IT has always been true that as the church has gained in political influence and power, she has lost in true spiritual growth and in a true appreciation of the sacred rights of conscience. The early church was a power for good when earthly rulers were against her and the wild beasts of the arena were slaying her adherents to "make a Roman holiday." Under such circumstances she battered down the strongest walls of heathenism, and made conquests in the very households of pagan emperors. But when she yielded to the temptation of political influence and power, she lost her sense of the sacredness of her mission and the sanctity of the right of individual choice in religious things, and turned the great machinery of her organization against as true-hearted Christians as ever lived, to scourge and to rack, to brand and to burn, to wear out by every conceivable means every man and woman within the grasp of her long arms, who would not permit that power-loving church to take the place of God in the sanctuary of the soul. And that work went on until that period of the church's history became synonymous with everything that is cruel and oppressive. Must the lesson be repeated before the church and the world will learn its significance?

The church of the Reformation illustrated the same tendency when it had obtained commanding influence; and men and women within the territory she controlled went to their death for no other crime than exercising the rights of conscience in the realm of religion.

The church of colonial days was no whit behind the church of Luther, Calvin, and Henry VIII in forcing the consciences of men into the mold of an established creed; and she kept it up as long as she was permitted to hold and to wield the sword of temporal power.

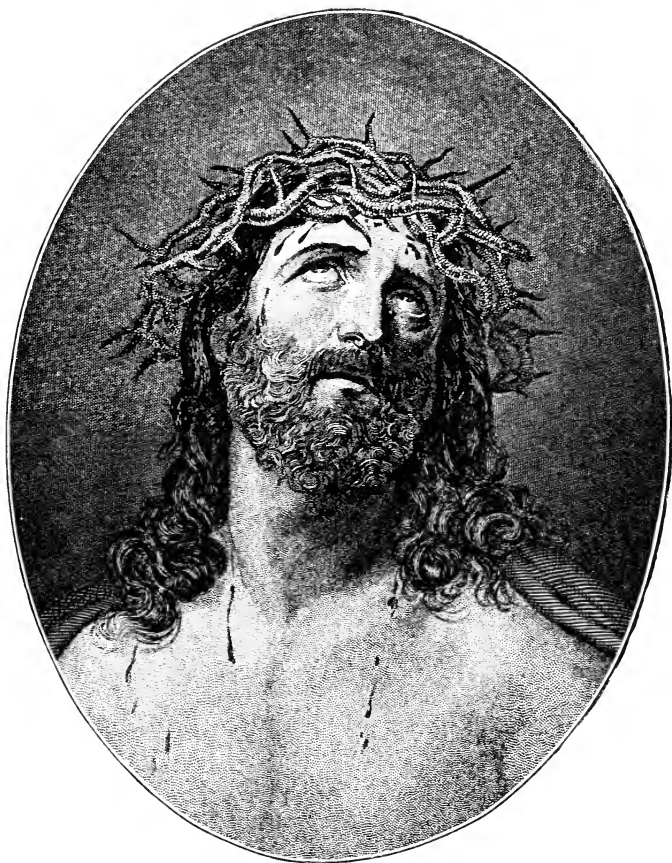
The church of our day has shown itself a close follower of its predecessors in this particular wherever the civil power has pandered to its demands and put the power of civil law behind an ordinance of the church. In every epoch of the church's history since her love of power led her into that first great apostasy, there has been a company of people who have stood stoutly against that prostitution of the church's high function. That company in each epoch has been in the minority, and for taking the stand it did has suffered fines, imprisonment, and death. Savonarola was but a prototype of the millions who went to the gibbet or the stake in the dark ages for independence in matters of belief. Michael Servetus will stand as a type of those whose lives were snuffed out in Reformation times for following their own consciences in matters of faith, when the church of that day had eaten the forbidden fruit of political influence and temporal power. The church of colonial days is not without its martyrs, of whom Mary Dyer and William Leddra are types of those who paid the death penalty for conscience' sake, even as Anne Coleman and Roger Williams are types of those who suffered persecution and exile for the same cause.

As every fruit comes true to the seed planted, we need not expect that the history of our own day contains no records of religious intolerance and the fruits thereof. In all ages of the world God has had his witnesses; and no matter how intolerant the times, they have borne faithful witness, stood stoutly for the truth, and paid what-

ever penalty the oppressive power demanded. The forerunner of our Lord was not exempt from the penalty that so often follows the giving of a straight testimony for the truth. The blood that flowed from the thorn wounds in our Saviour's head, from the nail wounds and the spear thrust, bears its testimony also to the iniquity of religious intolerance. That divine sacrifice on Calvary ought to have taught the whole world — and certainly the whole Christian world — the lesson of religious liberty. How slowly we learn! While the Christian world today is celebrating the birth of our Saviour, laws are being made and executed to bind and oppress the consciences of those for whom that same sacrifice was made. While celebrating his resurrection from the dead, they strike hands with those who slew him, by bringing oppression upon those who follow him.

There is today, in this country, no law against those beliefs and practises for which Lutherans, Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists, and Quakers have suffered in the past. All that they stood for is now permitted in all parts of Protestant Christendom without let or hindrance; and even the union of church and state, which made their oppressions possible, has been theoretically dissolved in this country. Along what line, then, can a power-blinded church practise her intolerance today? — There is one road still open to the goal of religious persecution, and upon that she has entered. All through the history of the true followers of Christ, we find them suffering for some practise plainly taught in the Word of God, and not yet incorporated into the creed of the dominant church organizations.

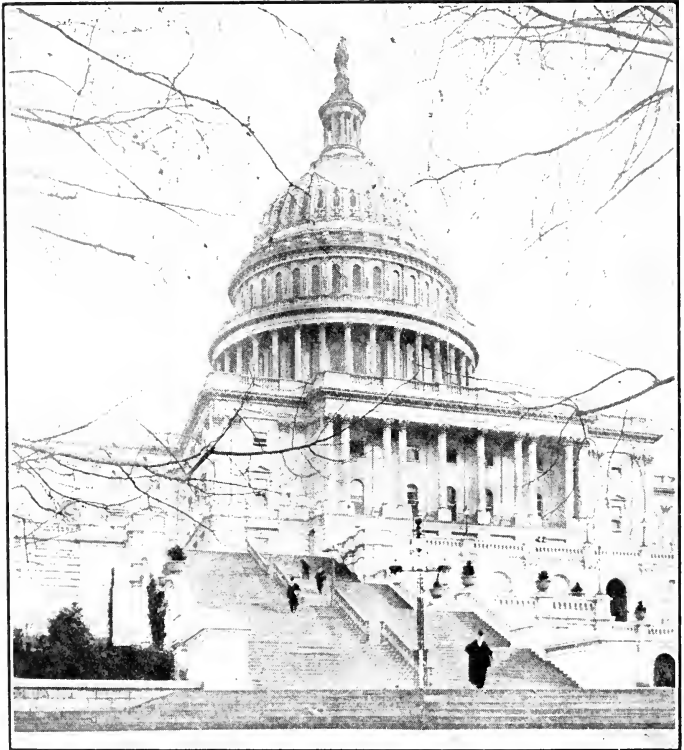
So it is today. The greater church organizations of the present time are unitedly importuning the state to put its force behind an ordinance of the church, un-



OUR REDEEMER

A victim of religious oppression. The only crown which Jesus Christ ever permitted human hands to place upon h's head was a crown of thorns.

recognized in the Bible, that that ordinance, or practise, may be enforced upon all the people, and that, too, in spite of the fact that many conscientious Christians can-



THE CAPITOL OF THE UNITED STATES

Will a law ever go forth from this splendid national edifice that will make men criminals on account of conscience?

not yield to it without violating conscience. That ordinance which the larger church organizations desire to have enforced upon all by legislative enactment and

courts of law is the Sunday sabbath. Instituted by no divine authority, energized by no divine command, the ecclesiastical combination finds that institution a difficult one to enforce, even upon the congregations which the combination represents. A sabbath denuded of divine sanction and of divine command for its sacred observance, turns to the state for that sanction and support which Heaven has denied it. Its adherents feel that they must do this or see the institution perish.

To clothe that institution with a semblance of sacredness, the fourth command of the decalogue is misinterpreted to teach that merely one day in seven is sacred time. Then Sunday is arbitrarily declared to be the Lord's day, and that one-day-in-seven indefinite sacredness is made to apply only to the definite day, Sunday. Behind such a *cheval de frise* do the promoters of Sunday enforcement entrench themselves when called to account for overriding the consciences of fellow Christians who prefer to observe the Sabbath of Jehovah, in accordance with the divine command and the divine example. Behind that entrenchment the mightiest combination of religious forces the world has ever witnessed is now being marshaled. The one point of agreement is the necessity of enforcing the Sunday institution upon the people. For that object the National Reform Association and its allies, the Lord's Day Alliance of the United States and Canada, the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, numerous State organizations, the great American Federation of Catholic Societies, and the American Federation of Labor are now directing their great energies.

Will there be no persecution when this great combination has achieved its object? We must answer in the language of the famous Sunday Mail Reports: "Ex-

tensive religious combinations to effect a political object are, in the opinion of the committee, always dangerous." "All religious despotism commences by combination and influence; and when that influence begins to operate upon the political institutions of a country, the civil power soon bends under it; and the catastrophe of other nations furnishes an awful warning of the consequence."

Is America too liberal today, and too enlightened, and too Christian, to fine and imprison and otherwise persecute men and women for conscience' sake? Let us see what has been done in this line already, even before these great organizations had bent their energies to a common focus. Between the years 1885 and 1896 more than one hundred Christian observers of the seventh day of the week in this country were arrested, and either fined or imprisoned, for the performance of the most common and unobtrusive labor of the farm and home. These God-fearing Christian men, most of them poor men, were mulcted of \$2,269.69 for fines, and were compelled to serve 1,438 days in prison. Of this time 445 days were spent in the chain-gang. Since that time, there have been other arrests, but definite information as to the exact number is not at hand. The States in which these arrests occurred are Alabama, California, Georgia, Maryland, Michigan, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, Arkansas, Florida, Illinois, Indiana, Massachusetts, Mississippi, Ohio, Tennessee, and Texas.

That the prosecution of these Christian men was not in the nature of the ordinary enforcement of law was abundantly shown at the trials. In many cases the men who brought the indictment had labored on the same day upon which they accused the defendant of having labored, in fact, were themselves working at the same time that they saw him at work. That the arrested men were

Christian men, law-abiding and exemplary in all their relations with their fellow men, even their accusers could not deny. For instance, an observer of the seventh day, a minister of the gospel, J. W. Scoles, was arrested in the town of Springdale, Ark., in 1885, tried, and convicted, for painting on a meeting-house,—quiet work which could in no possible way have disturbed any one in the observance of Sunday. His case was appealed to the supreme court of the State and went against him. His indictment, as well as the indictment of five others, was obtained in this manner: J. A. Armstrong, of Springdale, was called before the grand jury and asked if he knew of any violations of the Sunday law. He testified that he did.

“Grand Jury: Who are they?”

“Armstrong: The Frisco Railroad is running trains every Sunday.

“G. J.: Do you know of any others?”

“A.: Yes; the hotels of this place are open, and do a full run of business on Sunday as on other days.

“G. J.: Do you know of any others?”

“A.: Yes, sir; the drug stores and barber shops all keep open, and do business every Sunday.

“G. J.: Do you know of any others?”

“A.: Yes; the livery-stables do more business on Sunday than on any other day of the week.”¹

So the record goes on, the grand jury asking for others, and Mr. Armstrong giving information similar to the above; but the grand jury was not satisfied. It knew all this before, and did not consider the “peace and dignity of the State” threatened thereby; but there was one class of people whose violation of the State Sunday law it could not brook, a class of the most inoffensive and con-

¹ “Civil Government and Religion,” pages 114, 115.

scientious citizens of the State, a religious people, whose offense consisted not so much in working on Sunday, along with their neighbors, as in refraining from work and attending divine worship on the seventh day of the week. This was shown by the following question by the grand jury, and by the indictments following the answer, the indictments being issued against seventh-day observers only:—

“Grand Jury: Do you know of any Seventh-day Adventists who ever work on Sunday?

“Armstrong: Yes, sir.”²

Mr. Armstrong was then compelled to give the names of five of his brethren whom he knew to have worked on Sunday, and all five, with himself, were at once indicted, and none of the other violators of the Sunday law were molested by the grand jury. Some of these Christian men paid their fines and trial costs, others went to prison. Some who were not able to pay had their meager possessions levied on and sold at sheriff's sale. The same experience has been met by these people in other States, notably in Tennessee, Maryland, and Georgia; and the vast combination above referred to is seeking by every possible means to duplicate those conditions in every State of the Union, and put under general indictment that class of Christians whose only offense is the religious basis on which their conduct rests. Again and again has it been demonstrated that men who were accustomed to work on Sunday without let or hindrance while professing no religion, or while belonging to some Sunday-keeping church, were quickly arrested when it became known that they had adopted a faith in which rest and worship on the seventh day of the week, Saturday, was a matter of religious conviction.

² “Civil Government and Religion,” page 115.

In Takoma Park, Md., in the autumn of 1912, there occurred an incident which illustrates the condition. A Sabbath-keeping Christian who owned a small plot of ground near his residence had given permission to his young son to do some quiet work on Sunday on the inside of a small building on the plot mentioned, and had cautioned him not to do anything that might cause annoyance to his neighbors. The boy finished the work he was given permission to do, and then came on the outside of the building and did some work in the open which he had not been authorized to do. A Sunday-keeping neighbor came to the boy's father and reminded him that there was a very strict Sunday law in Maryland, and called his attention to what the boy was doing. The father replied that the boy had not been given permission to do that work, and was not expected to do it. "But," said he, "your neighbor just across the street from where my boy is working works openly every Sunday, hammering and sawing and doing other work much more noisy than any that we have ever done." "O, well," replied the neighbor, "he is one of us!"

From this incident, and the trials above mentioned, it is manifest that there are persons — and they are numerous, too — who consider that the Sunday laws are made particularly for, and are to be used almost exclusively against, those who religiously observe another day of the week than Sunday. It matters not how good neighbors they may be, how faithful in all Christian duties, how exemplary in their lives, how careful to observe all the laws of town, state, and nation, if they keep the seventh day of the week from conscientious conviction, the wrath of the law must settle upon them and exact its toll of fines and imprisonments; and a course of conduct is required of them which is not required of those

who keep the first day of the week, Sunday. It is a peculiar situation, the injustice of which, the un-Christ-likeness of which, never seems to appeal to the professed Christians who are so quick to wield the heavy baton of the law against their brethren of the household of faith. It is one of the peculiarities and characteristics of all laws passed by the state in the interests of the church. By such procedure and by such an attitude the great principle of religious liberty, lauded to the skies by Americans, is being trodden in the dust; and this is done in order that a man-made sabbath may be exalted above the Sabbath of Jehovah in the hearts of the people. A kindly interest in the welfare and happiness of others, a willingness to practise the principles of the golden rule toward those who differ from us in matters of faith, would make such conditions and such conduct impossible. Said Jesus: "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." He who persecutes or oppresses another because of his faith denies the Lord whom he professes to serve.

CHAPTER XXII

A Masterful Ally in the Campaign Against the Government

THE bid for Catholic support made by those forces that are seeking to unite religion and the state in this country has already been pointed out. We remember also the encouragement given them in that direction by the Catholic body. We have seen that in every instance where religion and the state have been united, persecution and the utter disregard of human rights have immediately followed, whether that union consisted of the Catholic religion and the state or of a professedly Protestant religion and the state. We have seen that in this country, where church and state are said to be separated, men have suffered for conscience' sake because a single ordinance of the church — the Sunday sabbath — has been put upon the statute-books of the States.

Since such a condition has invariably produced such results, and since the National Reform Association and all its allies hitherto named are earnestly seeking to bring about such a condition, it is worth while to inquire into the purpose and plans of its new ally, the Roman Catholic hierarchy. We find, first, that the aims of the two great combinations are similar in one respect. Both are in open hostility to the principles of the Constitution of the United States as it stands today. The National Reformers and their allies would so alter it as to make it a declaration of the nation's religious belief, thus making it a basis for the government's interference in the religion of the individual. They propose also, by means of

this reconstruction of the Constitution, and other resultant changes, to bring into being the veritable kingdom of righteousness in this world — in short, to usher in the coming of Christ himself; and as whatever opposes righteousness must be iniquity, and whoever opposes the coming of Christ must be an Antichrist, they must brand as sinners and Antichrists whoever will dare to oppose their plans for bringing about such a consummation.

Since the one religious practise now upon the statute-books has been so rigorously enforced by pains and penalties, and since those pains and penalties have been inflicted chiefly upon persons who are opposed to the institution upon religious grounds, we are not left to conjecture as to what the result would be if that organization, by its own power and influence, should succeed in accomplishing the result aimed at. But when we come to consider the power and influence of its new ally, the history of that ally in all parts of the world where its purpose has been dominant,— the pains that have been suffered, the imprisonments that have been endured, the blood that has been shed,— we may know of a surety that when these two great organizations, through their united influence and power, have brought about their mutually desired change in this country's Constitution and in its attitude toward the individual conscience, the rights of the individual will be ignored, freedom of conscience will no longer exist, religious practises will be enforced by law, church attendance will be again compulsory, and finally there will occur what even National Reformers are not ready for now, and will not be anxious for then,— the greater organization will absorb the lesser, and the will of the Pope will be the supreme law of the land.

All this is as sure to follow the reconstruction of the

Constitution upon a religious basis, and the amalgamation of the two great organizations for a union of religion and state, as night is sure to follow day. The preservation of the Constitution as it is, the preservation of the American principles of government as they are, are all that stand between the government as it was founded and the government as Rome would have it to be. That the purpose of the Roman hierarchy has not been misinterpreted in this, will appear as we proceed.

The government of the United States is republican in form,— a government “of the people, by the people, and for the people,” “deriving its just powers from the consent of the governed.” Rome is at enmity with this principle. The people’s right to rule themselves she never will concede. Says Dr. O. A. Brownson, a recognized Catholic authority:—

“The people need governing, and must be governed. . . . They must have a master. . . . The first lesson to the child is, Obey; the first and last lesson to the people, individually and collectively, is, Obey; and there is no obedience where there is no authority to enjoin it. . . . The Roman Catholic religion, then, is necessary to sustain popular liberty, because popular liberty can be sustained only by a religion free from popular control, above the people, speaking from above, and able to command them; and such a religion is the Roman Catholic. . . . In this sense we wish this country to come under the Pope of Rome. As the visible head of the church, the spiritual authority which Almighty God has instituted to teach and govern the nations, we assert his supremacy, and tell our countrymen that we would have them submit to him. They may flare up at this as much as they please. . . . They will not move us, or relieve themselves from the obligation Almighty God has placed them

under of obeying the authority of the Catholic Church, Pope and all." ¹

The people of the United States have considered themselves their own masters, able to govern themselves, and having the right to govern themselves; but the Papacy would put them under "a master," and take from them all right to any part in their own government. In this attitude, it is diametrically opposed to the fundamental principles of the nation. Its demand that this country "come under the Pope of Rome" is a demand for the complete undoing of all that has made this nation truly great; for the complete revocation of the nation's most vital principles. The purpose of the Papacy to be the "master" which the people of this country need is further set forth by the same writer:—

"She [the Catholic Church] is, under God, the supreme judge of both laws [civil and religious], which for her are but one law; and hence she takes cognizance, in her tribunals, of the breaches of the natural law as well as of the revealed, and has the right to take cognizance by nations as well as of its breaches by individuals, by the prince as well as by the subject; for it is the supreme law for both. The state is, therefore, only an inferior court, bound to receive the law from the supreme court [the church], and liable to have its decrees reversed on appeal." ²

"The constitutions of princes are not superior to ecclesiastical constitutions, but subordinate to them." ³

"The tribunals of kings are subjected to the power of priests." ⁴

¹ "Essays and Reviews," Brownson, pages 380-383.

² *Id.*, page 284.

³ *Corpus Juris Canonici, Decreti, pars. i, distinct. x.*

⁴ *Id.*, c. vi.

"The emperor ought to obey, not command, the Pope."⁵

"It must be confessed, notwithstanding, that the Pope as vicar of Christ on earth, and universal pastor of his sheep, has indirectly . . . a certain supreme power for the good estate of the church, if it be necessary, of judging and disposing of all the temporal goods of all Christians."⁶

"It is not lawful for a layman to sit in judgment upon a clergyman."⁷

The bold effrontery of such declarations is almost astounding; but it is in perfect keeping with the principles of self-exaltation so peculiarly characteristic of the Papacy. It is her purpose that the Pope shall be the king over all kings on earth, lord over all lords, sitting in judgment on kings and princes, and calling nations to account, even as nations call their individual subjects to account. She even purposes to release the subjects of these individual nations from allegiance to their rightful rulers when those rulers are not sufficiently subservient to the Holy See. This is plainly indicated in a work entitled "His Holiness Pope Pius IX," in the statement that it is "the general duty of all Catholics, whatever their country may be," and "of all men, if they did but know it, to protect the rights of the Holy See."⁸ What are these rights for which "the faithful" are to contend in every country, which they are to "protect" even against the laws of their own land? — The right of the Pope to make every nation subservient to his will, to override the laws of every country on earth, to alter

⁵ *Corpus Juris Canonici, Decreti, pars. i, distinct. xcvi, c. xi.*

⁶ Quoted from M'Caul's "What Is Canon Law?"

⁷ *Decret. Gregorii, lib. ii, tit. ii, cap. ii.*

⁸ "His Holiness Pope Pius IX," M. J. Rhodes, pages 47, 48.

every national and state constitution that is not in harmony with his will, to make the financial support of Catholic worship and Catholic institutions a part of every national budget, to eradicate freedom of thought, of speech, of the press, and of worship, and to make himself — the Pope — the ruler of all rulers, the king of the world. All this is involved in the following declaration of Pope Pius IX: —

“Thinking and meditating on all these matters, we are bound anew to enforce and to profess, what we have oftentimes declared, with your unanimous consent, that the civil sovereignty of the Holy See has been given to the Roman pontiff by a singular counsel of divine providence; and that it is of necessity, in order that the Roman pontiff may exercise his supreme power and authority, divinely given to him by the Lord Christ himself, of feeding and ruling the entire flock of the Lord with fullest liberty, and may consult for the greater good of the church and its interests and needs, that he shall never be subject to any prince or civil power.”⁹



POPE PIUS IX

Pope Sextus V had the same idea, and carried it to its logical conclusion, the release of subjects from allegiance to their civil rulers. We read: —

“The authority given to St. Peter and his successors by the immense power of the Eternal King, excels all the power of earthly princes; it passes uncontrollable sentence upon them all; and if it find any of them resisting the ordinance of God, it takes a more severe vengeance upon

⁹ Appleton's Encyclopedia, 1871, pages 689, 690.

them, casting them down from their throne, however powerful they may be, and tumbling them to the lowest parts of the earth, as the ministers of aspiring Lucifer. We deprive them and their posterity of their dominions forever. By the authority of these presents, we absolve and free all persons from their oath [of allegiance], and from all duty whatever relating to dominion, fealty, and obedience; and we charge and forbid all from presuming to obey them, or any of their admonitions, laws, or commands." ¹⁰

The canon law authorizes the same, if we can trust the authenticity of the following: —

"It is expressly declared in the canon law that subjects owe no allegiance to an excommunicated lord, if, after admonition, he is not reconciled to the church." ¹¹

"There can be no doubt of it but that the civil principality is subject to the sacerdotal, and that God hath made the political government subject to the dominion of the spiritual church." ¹²

This is further shown in the following words: —

"Suppose it be said, 'I acknowledge the spiritual authority of the Holy Father; but why am I, an Englishman [or an American], to come forward in a political way, and use all my exertions to protect the temporal rights of a foreign prince?' My answer at once is plain. The Pope is not a foreign prince to any Christian, to any human being." ¹³

The Pope considers himself a domestic prince in every nation, in every state; and Catholics claim for him first duty from every subject of every nation of earth. In

¹⁰ Bull of Pope Sextus V against King Henry of Navarre.

¹¹ Hallam's "History of the Middle Ages," Vol. II, pages 2-4.

¹² Baronius, anno 57, sec. 23-53.

¹³ "His Holiness Pope Pius IX," page 48.

the *Western Watchman* (Catholic), published at St. Louis, Mo., there appeared this striking declaration as an editorial utterance:—

“The Catholics of this country are Romans. They swear by the Pope. They stand up for papal authority. We place no limitations on the jurisdiction of the Vatican. Any man who is not with the Pope is excommunicate with us. . . . France prides herself on the title of ‘oldest daughter of the church;’ the United States can claim the appellation of the ‘youngest, fairest, and best.’”¹⁴

Then the Pope has but to speak in order to cause the entire Catholic membership in America to spring into action against the government or any principle of the government, as it may seem expedient to the Vatican or suit the papal purpose. He has spoken in reference to the matter, and this is what he says:—

“We exhort all Catholics who would devote careful attention to public matters, to take an active part in all municipal affairs and elections, and to further the principles of the church in all public services and gatherings. All Catholics must make themselves felt as active elements in daily political life in the countries where they live. They must penetrate wherever possible in the administration of civil affairs, must constantly exert their utmost vigilance and energy to prevent the usages of liberty from going beyond the limits fixed by God’s law. All Catholics should do all in their power to cause the constitutions of states, and legislation, to be modeled in the principles of the true church. All Catholic writers and journalists should never lose for an instant from view the above prescriptions. All Catholics should redouble their submission to authority, and unite their

¹⁴ *Western Watchman*, Oct. 29, 1908.

whole heart, soul, body, and mind in the defense of the church." ¹⁵

The Catholic Church is not being abused or persecuted in any part of the world. Wherein does she need defense? — Only in the prosecution of her purpose to be the sole mistress of the world can she need any defense from her subjects. Are her subjects, who are thus commanded to make themselves felt in public affairs, to do so as individuals of independent thought and action? — Not by any means. The scope of their activity is limited and their force directed by papal authority, as plainly expressed in the above encyclical. The purpose of their activity is to prevent "liberty" from getting beyond the scope of Catholic purpose; to metamorphose national constitutions into documents favorable to the papal design; and in order that this may be the more effectually done, they are commanded to "redouble their submission to authority." That authority is the authority of the Pope, and that redoubled submission of Catholics in this country to the authority of the Pope makes him the greatest political factor in the country. Where is there a politician who has so mighty a lever as has the Pope with which to achieve his political purpose? The pains of purgatory and the bliss of heaven are both made to serve his purpose in bringing the whole world to its knees before his throne. The threat of excommunication makes every Catholic tremble; and "any man who is not with the Pope is excommunicate with us," says the editor of the *Western Watchman*. In this connection the two following quotations are strikingly relevant:—

"While the state has some rights, she has them only in virtue and by permission of the *superior authority*, and that authority can only be expressed through the church,

¹⁵ Encyclical of Pope Leo XIII, 1885.

that is, through the organic law infallibly announced and unchangeably asserted, regardless of temporal consequences." ¹⁶

From such a hypothesis Rome argues her right to create and to depose kings and emperors, and to absolve their subjects from obedience to them. "History presents us with a list of not less than sixty-four emperors and kings deposed by the popes." ¹⁷ The following is the decree of Pope Gregory VII against the king of England:—

"For the dignity and defense of God's holy church," says Gregory VII (Hildebrand), "in the name of the omnipotent God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, I depose from imperial and royal administration, Henry the king, the son of Henry, formerly emperor, who, too boldly and rashly, has laid hands on tny church; and I absolve all Christians subject to the empire from that oath by which they were wont to plight their faith unto true kings; for it is right that he should be deprived of dignity who doth endeavor to diminish the majesty of the church.

"Go to, therefore, most holy princes of the apostles, and what I said, by interposing your authority, confirm; that all men may now at length understand, if ye can bind and loose in heaven, that ye also can upon earth take away and give empires, kingdoms, and whatsoever mortals can have; for if ye can judge things belonging unto God, what is to be deemed concerning these inferior and profane things? And if it is your part to judge angels who govern proud princes, what becometh

¹⁶ *Catholic World*, Vol. XI, page 439.

¹⁷ "The Papacy," J. A. Wylie, page 102. A list of these sovereigns will be found in "Free Thoughts on the Toleration of Popery," pages 50, 51, Edin., 1780.

you to do toward their servants? Let kings now, and all secular princes, learn by this man's example what ye can do in heaven, and in what esteem ye are with God; and let them henceforth fear to slight the commands of holy church, but put forth suddenly this judgment, that all men may understand that not casually, but by your means, this son of iniquity doth fall from his kingdom." ¹⁸

In harmony with the foregoing is the following from Pope Pius V against Queen Elizabeth:—

"We deprive the queen of her pretended right to the kingdom, and of all dominion, dignity, and privilege whatsoever; and absolve all the nobles, subjects, and people of the kingdom, and whoever else have sworn to her, from their oath, and all duty whatsoever in regard of dominion, fidelity, and obedience." ¹⁹

"No civil government, be it a monarchy, an aristocracy, a democracy, or any possible combination of any two or all of them, can be a wise, just, efficient, or durable government, governing for the good of the community, without the Catholic Church; and without the Papacy there is and can be no Catholic Church. . . . Now, as all laws, as all rights, are spiritual or divine, and as all their vigor, as laws, is derived from the spiritual order, only a spiritual court, or representative of the divine order, is competent to judge of them, define, declare, and apply them to the practical questions as they come up in individual or social life. This representative of the divine order on earth is the church, instituted by God himself to maintain his law in the government of men and nations. Hence the necessity of the union of church and state, and the condemnation in the syllabus of those

¹⁸ Concil. Rom. vii, apud Bin., tom. vii, p. 491 (Barrow).

¹⁹ Pope Pius V, in his bull against Queen Elizabeth, quoted from Barrow.

who demand their separation and the independence of the state.”²⁰

Let none deceive themselves with the idea that these are merely the notions of Dr. Brownson. His essays are published by authority of the hierarchy. In the preface to his published essays,²¹ Dr. Brownson says:—

“The articles [of which his book is composed] before being printed in the *Quarterly Review*, were submitted to the revision of a competent theologian, and I have no reason to suppose that they contain anything not in accordance with Catholic faith and morals; but they are, as a matter of course, republished with submission to the proper authority. . . . It is not my province to teach; all that I am free to do is to reproduce with scrupulous fidelity what I am taught.”²²

Here is what he has been taught and is reproducing with scrupulous fidelity:—

“The virtue and intelligence of the American people are not sufficient to secure the free, orderly, and wholesome action of the government. . . . The government commits, every now and then, a sad blunder, and the general policy it adopts must prove, in the long run, suicidal. It has adopted a most iniquitous policy, and its most unjust measures are its most popular measures.”²³

“The PEOPLE MUST HAVE A MASTER. . . . The religion which is to answer our purpose must be *above* the people, and able to COMMAND them. We know the

²⁰ Brownson, in *Quarterly Review*, last series, January, 1873, Vol. I, pages 10-12.

²¹ Published by P. J. Kennedy & Sons, publishers to the Holy Apostolic See, New York City.

²² “Essays and Reviews,” preface, page vi.

²³ Id., page 370.

force of the word, and we mean it." ²⁴ (Small capitals and italics his.)

"On the Catholic population, under God, depend the future destinies of these United States." ²⁵

How the papal hierarchy proposes to work out the future destinies of these United States is laid bare by the same writer. He declares that the state "is bound to protect" the rights of the church "with physical force, if necessary," and "to govern in accordance with the divine law as she [the Catholic Church] interprets, declares, and applies it;" moreover, that the church has "the right to call upon" a Catholic state "to suppress an insurgent heresy or schism, and to *compel* those who have personally received the faith to return to the unity from which they have broken away." ²⁶

Herein is shown a bitter, uncompromising hostility toward the very genius of the American government. The adoption of such a régime means the uprooting and destruction of its most vital principles. Instead of a "government of the people, by the people, and for the people," we would then have a government of the Pope, by the priests, for the church. Instead of the rule of liberty and equality, we would have the rule of a magisterial and martial ecclesiastical power, "above the people, and able to command them." No such enemy to the genius and the purpose of the American government has ever before stood upon American soil. Beneath every foundation pillar of the national edifice the sappers and miners of a hostile force are industriously at work. No constitution out of harmony with the papal purpose

²⁴ "Essays and Reviews," page 380.

²⁵ Id., page 367.

²⁶ Brownson, in *Quarterly Review*, last series, January, 1873, Vol. I, page 17.

can stand in any country, once the Catholics of that country become powerful enough to change or abolish it. This country's Constitution is out of harmony with those purposes. How it is viewed by a prominent Catholic journal, the *Catholic World*, will be seen by the following: —

“As it [the United States Constitution] is interpreted by the liberal and sectarian journals, . . . or is interpreted by the Protestant principle, so widely diffused among us, . . . we do not accept it, or hold it to be any government at all, or as capable of performing any of the proper functions of government; and if it continues to be interpreted by the revolutionary principles of Protestantism, it is sure to fail — to lose itself either in the supremacy of the mob or in military despotism. . . . Protestantism, like the heathen barbarisms which Catholicity subdued, lacks the element of order, because it rejects authority [the Pope's authority], and is necessarily incompetent to maintain real liberty or civilized society. Hence it is we so often say if the American republic is to be sustained and preserved at all, it must be by the rejection of the principles of the Reformation and the acceptance of the Catholic principle by the American people.”²⁷

Plain words are these, and they set forth boldly the unchanging purpose of the Papacy toward this country. It is a favorite aphorism of the adherents of Romanism that “when Rome speaks, that ends the matter.” She has spoken concerning this country, its Constitution, and its liberal institutions, and has declared herself at enmity with them all as they exist today. She has declared that governments, to be legitimate, must be based upon the law of God. The American government is not so based,

²⁷ *Catholic World*, Vol. XIII, page 736.

therefore is not legitimate. She has declared that nations born of revolution are not legitimate. This nation was so born, therefore illegitimate, in her estimation. She has declared that governments ruled by the people instead of by kings, or by kings not submissive to her, are merely governments *de facto*, and have no legitimate claim upon the allegiance of their people. In her summary of the nations, the United States of America is a government *de facto*; and by that definition are her spiritual subjects in this country released from their duty to support the Constitution as it reads. Says Balmes, in his work "Protestantism and Catholicity Compared:" —

"It is allowable to resist illegitimate power by force. The Catholic religion does not enjoin obedience to governments existing merely *de facto*." ²⁸

This opens the way for any kind of resistance to the government and institutions of the United States which the Vatican may choose to instigate. It invites, on the part of American Catholics, attacks upon the fundamental laws of this government. It releases American Catholics from moral responsibility for any attitude of opposition they may assume toward the United States government; in short, absolution in advance for any act committed against the nation in its present form. Such is the ally which the Sunday-law advocates have taken into their camp to assist in the overthrow of the Constitution of the United States, and to march with our liberties back into the darkness of the dark ages.

²⁸ "Protestantism and Catholicity Compared," Balmes, chap 56, page 336.

CHAPTER XXIII

Looking Toward Rome

IN view of the attitude of the Roman hierarchy toward the government of the United States, as pointed out in the previous chapter, it is well to inquire what that organization proposes to do, and in what way it proposes to "cooperate" with those not of "the household of faith" in accomplishing the reformation of the nation on principles dictated or approved by the Vatican. That the Roman Catholic Church does not propose, in this undertaking, to be led by any Protestant organization or Protestant leader, or to cooperate with them on a plane of equality, will appear from the following:—

"The Protestant, whether he believes it or not, is an infidel in germ; and the infidel is a Protestant in full bloom. Infidelity exists in Protestantism as the oak exists in the acorn, as the consequence is in the premise."¹

"The Protestant is bound to be liberal toward Catholics, but Catholics cannot be liberal toward any party that rejects the church, and must hold them to be enemies of God; not on his own private judgment, but on the infallible authority of the church of Christ."²

It cannot be supposed for a moment that Catholics will unite on a plane of equality in a religious work with "infidels" and "enemies of God," much less that they should accept "infidels" and "enemies of God" as their leaders in the movement for the renovation of this country upon religious lines. If it be objected that the Catholic Church of today is not the same illiberal organization

¹ "Plain Talk About the Protestantism of Today," part 3, prop. 18.

² New York *Tablet*, Sept. 7, 1872.

that she was in 1872, we have but to quote from the words of Cardinal Gibbons to show that she is the same today as in past centuries. Her illiberal methods are not always so openly manifest in Protestant countries as they were during the dark ages or as they are today in Catholic countries. But the lack of power is the only reason for the difference, Catholic writers bearing



JAMES CARDINAL GIBBONS

From a photograph taken at the Pan-American Thanksgiving Mass, at Washington, D. C.

witness. Cardinal Gibbons says, in appealing to Protestants to come back to the mother church:—

“In coming to the church, you are not entering a strange place, but you are returning to your Father’s home. The house and furniture may look odd to you. But it is just the same as your forefathers left it three hundred years ago.”³

³ “Faith of Our Fathers,” Gibbons, forty-third edition; page 17.

“Amid the continual changes in human institutions, she [the Roman Catholic Church] is the one institution that never changes. . . . She has seen monarchies changed into republics, and republics consolidated into empires — all this she has witnessed, while her own divine constitution has remained unaltered.”⁴

This should be enough to settle the question as to whether the Roman Church is a more liberal institution today than she was when she was burning, racking, and hanging those whom she chose to term heretics. But if further evidence is desired, the doubter has but to go to some country dominated by the Papacy, such as Spain, Portugal, Peru, Bolivia, or Ecuador, and begin Protestant evangelistic services. The last remaining shred of doubt upon that point would be ruthlessly torn away by the first experiment. Upon this point an item of actual experience will be of interest. A Protestant missionary, Rev. J. L. Jarrett, writing of his experience in Peru, says: —

“At first our very presence aroused a storm of indignation among the priests, but they thought they had only to draw the attention of the authorities to the fact, and to quote Article IV in order to have us immediately expelled. This actually happened in Cuzco in 1895. The bishop quoted the law to the prefect, said our presence was a menace to the Catholic Church, and called upon him to protect it by expelling us. The prefect complied, although having no precedent in the history of Peru to act upon. Later, the supreme court of Lima decided that, as no public propaganda had been proved, the expulsion was illegal. An indemnity was paid, and we returned to Cuzco. Then came the question of Bible selling, and the announcement of our meeting by

⁴ “Faith of Our Fathers,” forty-third edition, page 83.

hand-bills, posters, and in newspapers. This surely was public propaganda, and in some cases it was prohibited by the local authorities. However, the press took up the matter, and the highest legal authorities declared that, having permitted the Bible to come into the country, its circulation could not be hindered in any way. As regards the advertising of the meetings, they were not necessarily for worship, and only public worship was prohibited by the law.”⁵

Religious liberty and the prohibition of public worship are incompatible. The Roman hierarchy has been the dominating force in all South American countries, and is responsible for the conditions of intolerance prevailing there.

The writer last quoted, in relating further experiences, gives this little insight into the conditions which prevail where such restrictions obtain:—

“The darkest hour of our life has not been when attacked by priestly slander, nor when hiding in a monastery garden in the night when searched for by a mob of priests; nor when, with troops guarding the street approaching our house, the cry of the mob has rung out, ‘Death to the heretics!’ and the infuriated, drunken crowd, instigated by the priests, has almost broken through the line of soldiers in their rush to get at us. . . . It is impossible to enumerate here the persecutions to which the local authorities have subjected Bible sellers, native preachers, school-teachers, etc.”⁶

Rome is the personification of intolerance wherever it is possible for her to carry out her *modus operandi*. Peru is not an exception, but an illustration. Says

⁵ *Missionary Review of the World*, Nov. 11, 1908, page 855.

⁶ *Ib.*

Cardinal Gibbons, "She is indeed intolerant of error." ⁷ In introducing this declaration, the cardinal says:—

"In all my readings, I have yet to find one decree of hers [the Catholic Church's] advocating torture or death for conscience' sake." ⁸

The cardinal, then, has never read the bull of Innocent III, issued to his legate, Dominic, commanding him to put all the inhabitants of the city of Béziers, France, to the sword; ⁹ in obedience to which sixty thousand Vaudois were buried beneath the ashes of the city, while the young boys and girls who were spared were turned over to the brutality of the soldiers. The cardinal has, then, never read the following utterance of Gregory VII:—

"People and kings should kiss his [the Pope's] feet; Christians are irrevocably submitted to his orders; they should murder their princes, fathers, and children, if he commands it." ¹⁰

In immediate connection with this quotation place the following from a work by Dr. Giacinto Achilli (Prior and Visitor of the Dominican Order, and Vicar of the Master of the Sacred Apostolic Palace, Rome):—

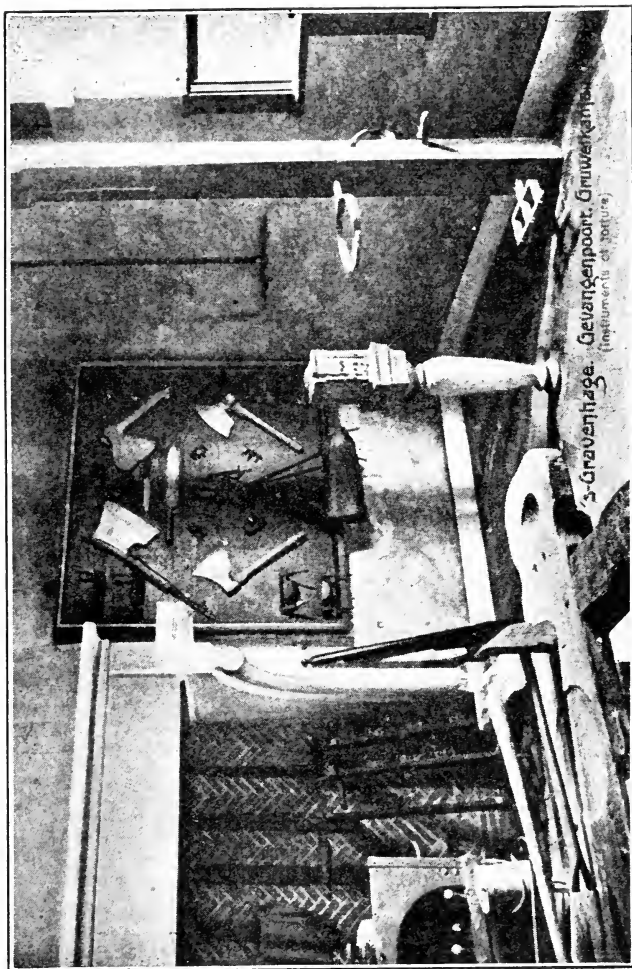
"The Inquisition declares that in matters of offenses against religion, it is the positive and bounden duty of every one to become an accuser. Children may and ought to accuse their parents, wives their husbands, and servants their masters. The law is, according to the decrees of several popes, that whoever becomes acquainted with any offense committed against any religion, whether from his own knowledge or from hearsay, is

⁷ "Faith of Our Fathers," page 285.

⁸ *Ib.*

⁹ "Du Pin," Vol. II, page 151.

¹⁰ Cormenin, Vol. I, page 377.



CLAMBER OF HORRORS, INQUISITION BUILDING, AT THE HAGUE

bound, within fifteen days, to bring forward his accusation before an Inquisitor, or the vicar of the Holy Office; or, where these are not present, before a bishop. The crime, whatever it may be, not only attaches to the principal, but also to every one who knows of it and does not reveal it. . . . The punishment for non-observance of this duty is excommunication. . . . Besides excommunication, he is liable to be imprisoned in the Inquisition, and to suffer such other punishment as may be deemed necessary." ¹¹

Through this process and the condemnations which followed so frequently upon accusations, the members of one's own family were often the cause of one's death at the hands of the "Holy Office." It became literally true that a man's foes were they of his own household.

It is difficult to understand how a cardinal of the church, versed in the history of the church as he must be to hold so high an office, should never have read of the fate of Arnold of Brescia. Arnold was a republican, opposed to the whole hierarchical system, including the temporal power of the Pope. He was condemned to silence by a council of the church at Rome, and was banished. But this did not satisfy, and he was seized, carried to Rome, condemned "by the judgment of the clergy," and "executed by the officer of the Pope." ¹²

It is possible that the cardinal has never read the following question and answer:—

"Are heretics rightly punished with death? St. Thomas answers *Yes*, because forgers of money, or other disturbers of the state, are justly punished with death; therefore, also, heretics, who are forgers of the faith, and

¹¹ "Dealings With the Inquisition," Dr. Giacinto Achilli, Harper & Brothers, New York, 1851, pages 84, 85.

¹² "Latin Christianity," Milman, Vol. IV, pages 270, 271.

experience being the witness, grievously disturb the state." ¹³

Protestants being declared infidels, it is worth while to inquire how the Roman Catholic Church proposes to deal with infidels. We find the answer in Dens, Vol. II, No. 53, page 83. It is there declared that infidels "are not to be tolerated; because they are so bad that no truth or advantage for the good of the church can be thence derived;" and they are to be dealt with without trial or proof, on the ground of being incorrigible and rebellious from the beginning. Infidelity "is not to be tried or proved, but extirpated," subject only to the condition that the extirpation may be suspended where "there may be reason which may render it advisable that it should be tolerated;" for instance, where the church does not have the power to extirpate it. She does not require its extirpation in this country now, for she does not, as yet, feel able; but when she has the power, the duty to do so will follow, or the above means nothing. What her policy was when that instruction was given, it is today, if Cardinal Gibbons knows the policy of his church; and there can be no question as to that. The attitude of Roman Catholicism toward Protestantism may be not unjustly summed up in the words of Rev. D. S. Phelan, editor of the *Western Watchman* (Catholic), of St. Louis, Mo. We quote: —

"Protestantism, why we would draw and quarter it, and hang it up for crows' meat; we would tear it with pincers, and fire it with hot irons. We would fill it with molten lead, and sink it in hell fire one hundred fathoms deep."

These, out of a mass of evidence that could be given, prove the cruel intolerance of the papal system; and the

¹³ Dens, page 89.

utterances of Cardinal Gibbons should be sufficient proof of the unchangeableness of the institution; while Rome's declaration of her attitude toward Protestantism is sufficient proof that she will play no second part in any work she undertakes in this country toward the alteration of its institutions and its fundamental laws.

Said the *Christian Statesman*: "Whenever they [the Roman Catholics] are willing to cooperate in resisting the progress of political atheism, we will gladly join hands with them."¹⁴ But the whole scheme of the government of the United States is "political atheism" in the sight of the Papacy, and the hierarchy is doing, and proposes to continue to do, all in its power to stamp out such atheism by changing the very foundation upon which the government rests. In the view of the Papacy, Protestantism itself, as well as the government, is infidel; and Rome's contest is not merely against the government as it is, but against the whole Protestant fabric. She will use professed Protestantism against the government, while that serves her purpose; and then, when her purpose has been attained, she will use the government against Protestantism.

The declaration of Pope Leo XIII that "all Catholics should do all in their power to cause the constitutions of states, and legislation, to be modeled in the principles of the true church," is an authoritative declaration of purpose, and shows that, contrary to the claims of Catholics everywhere, Rome can still meddle in the temporal affairs of nations when it suits her purpose so to do. Her subjects in America, who owe first allegiance to the church, are commanded in this encyclical so to alter the Constitution as to bring it into harmony with "the principles of the true church." When that change has been

¹⁴ Issue of Dec. 11, 1884.

effected, all that America stands for will have been swept away, and all that America has accomplished for the enlightenment, liberty, and uplift of the world will have been undone. America as she *did* stand was a mighty protest against everything papal. America remodeled by the Papacy to harmonize with her purpose, will be the antithesis of what she was established to be, the antithesis of everything that her founders hoped for. And it is to bring about such a change that the National Reform Association and allied organizations are inviting Catholic cooperation. What say the invited parties in reference to the proposed undertaking? Four years after the appearance of the encyclical of Leo XIII commanding all Catholics to take up the work of bringing the Constitution and legislation of this country into harmony with "the principles of the true church," the Catholic Lay Congress at Baltimore (Nov. 12, 1889) adopted the following pronouncement:—

"There are many Christian issues to which Catholics could come together with non-Catholics and *shape civil legislation* for the public weal. In spite of rebuff and injustice, and overlooking zealotry, we should seek an alliance with non-Catholics for proper Sunday observance."

Three years later came the "Christian nation" dictum of the United States Supreme Court, and Rome was not slow to grasp the advantage which that gave her. The decision was less than five months old when an article inspired by Vatican authorities was telegraphed from Rome to the New York *Sun*. The article was entitled "The Papacy and Nationality; Pope Leo and the United States." After alluding to the aims of certain ecclesiastics in reference to this country, the writer says:—

“But Leo XIII has a still higher aim. . . . In his view the United States has reached the period when it becomes necessary to bring about a fusion of all the heterogeneous elements in our homogeneous and indissoluble nation. . . . The church has always been the able collaborator of all people in the work of national unity. . . . What the church has done in the past for others, she will do for the United States.”¹⁵

It is proper to inquire how the Roman Church has gone about it to secure the homogeneity of the peoples of different lands. All history testifies that it has not been by invitation, but through the compelling power of a state made subservient to her purposes. By threat of temporal torture and of eternal torment she has brought divers nations to her feet, made them obedient to her, and, through her, obedient to the state she ruled. It is evident to him who values freedom in legitimate action, in thought, and in religious profession, that homogeneity purchased at Rome's price is far too expensive.

In view of Rome's declared purpose to “do for the United States” what she “has done in the past for others,” it cannot be amiss to inquire what she has done in the past for other nations, and how. In the darkest, most superstitious, most illiterate, and least moral portions of the earth we find her régime in fullest flower and fruitage. It would be beyond the scope of this work to show the conditions in all the nations of earth where the Roman system has worked out its purpose unhindered. But two brief glimpses will be given here at two far-separated portions of the earth, and those who wish to pursue the unpleasant subject further may do so in other works. The following is from a report to the king of Spain relative to conditions in South America:—

¹⁵ Issue of July 11, 1892.

“The persons who compose the two orders of the clergy are guilty of such licentiousness that, making due allowance for the frailties to which human nature is liable and the weaknesses to which men of every class are subject, it would appear that those ecclesiastics regard it as their peculiar privilege to go before all others in the career of vice; for while they are under the most sacred obligations not only to practise virtue, but to correct the errors incident to frail nature, it is they who, by their pernicious example, sanction the practise of iniquity, and in a measure divest it of its heinous nature.

“The parish priests are extremely vicious in their habits; but whether it happen that an error or crime in them attracts less notice, or whether they are more careful to conceal it, or for both reasons, which is the more probable, disgraceful as the consequences are known to be, they never reach such a degree of scandal as do those of the monks; for the latter, from the first step they take, and even without leaving the monasteries, pursue a course of conduct so notorious and shameful that it becomes offensive in the extreme, and fills the mind with horror.

“Concubinage is so general that the practise of it is esteemed a point of honor. . . .

“In large cities the greater part of the monks live in private houses, for the convents furnish an asylum to those only who cannot keep house. . . . The doors of the monasteries are kept open, and the monks live in their cells, accompanied by their women, and lead in every respect the life of married persons.

“The fandangos, or balls, are usually devised by the members of the religious orders, . . . who attend in company with their concubines, and who get up the fray in their own houses. Simultaneously with the dance, the immoderate use of ardent spirits begins, and the

entertainment is gradually converted into acts of impropriety so unseemly and lewd that it would be presumption even to speak of them, and a want of delicacy to stain the narrative with such a record of obscenities; and, letting them lie hid in the region of silence, we shall only remark that whatever the spirit of malice could invent in respect to this subject, great as it might be, it could never fathom that abyss into which those corrupt minds are plunged, nor give any adequate idea of the degree of excess to which debauchery and crime are carried." ¹⁶

These were the conditions found by Ulloa (himself a Catholic) in the middle of the eighteenth century. We would expect the conditions to have improved greatly under the growing enlightenment of the last one hundred and fifty years. The Roman Catholic bishop of Cochabamba should be an unimpeachable witness in answering the question as to whether they have done so or not. A priest had committed a misdemeanor and had been unfrocked. A distinguished man had interceded with the bishop in the disgraced priest's behalf, requesting that the offense be overlooked and the priest be reinstated. The bishop acceded to the request, but expressed his mind in the following letter concerning the priests under his jurisdiction:—

"I have done all in my power to pull them out of the cesspool of ignorance and vice. . . . They are always the same—brutal, drunken, seducers of innocence, without religion, and without conscience. Better would be the people without them. . . . The priests of these villages have no idea of God, nor of the religion of

¹⁶ "Noticias Secretas de America," pages 490-492, 497, quoted in "South America on the Eve of Emancipation," Bernard Moses, Ph. D., LL. D., 1908, pages 116-118.

which they are the professed ministers. They never study. Their daily round of life is first to fill their stomachs, then the disorders of the bed, from these to the temple looking for more prey for their horrible sacrilege, then back to laziness, drunkenness, and the awful disorders of the bed again. You cannot imagine the pain these things give me. I am sick and tired of it. There are exceptions, but so very few that they are not enough to mitigate the pain.

“(Signed) ALFONSO, *Bishop.*”¹⁷

Neither of the above-named authorities, Ulloa or Bishop Alfonso, can be accused of an attempt to misrepresent the Roman Catholic Church, or of ignorance of the subject concerning which they write. Their indictment must stand as the unimpeachable testimony of impartial witnesses. Few true Americans would bid the Roman Church Godspeed in doing for the United States what she has done for the countries of South America; and her record in South America is not essentially different from her record in the Central American states, Mexico, and the West Indies.

The Philippine Islands have given that church rich pasturage and unimpeded sway. Those islands ought to furnish an excellent illustration of what Rome can do for a people with no meddlesome or unfriendly government to interfere. When the islands were taken over by the United States, the question of the native people's right to the land taken from them by the church's representatives there — the friars — became a vital issue. The people had become very hostile to the friars, and the latter, while claiming large estates, dared not return to

¹⁷ *Missionary Review of the World*, November, 1907, article entitled “South America as a Mission Field,” by Rev. Francis E. Clark, D. D., LL. D., president of the Christian Endeavor Society.

occupy them. A commission was appointed by the United States government to investigate the matter and report. Judge (later President) William H. Taft was a member of that commission. The report of that com-



WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT

mission's findings was transmitted to the Senate of the United States by Pres. William McKinley, on Feb. 25, 1901, and was printed, becoming document No. 190 of the second session of the Fifty-sixth Congress. Its con-

tents revealed a most shocking condition of immorality on the part of both Spanish and native priests in the Philippines.

A frequent question put to the witnesses was this: "What do you know of the morality of the friars?" The general answer was, "There was no morality." Pedro Surano Laktaw testified thus: "The details of the immorality of the friars are so base and so indecent that instead of smirching the friars, I would smirch myself by relating them. . . . The morality of the Filipino people becomes looser and looser as it nears the neighborhood of a convent."

Señor Nozarío Constantino testified:—

"If they [the friars] should desire the wife or daughter of a man, and the husband and father opposed such advances, they would endeavor to have the man deported by bringing up false charges of being a filibuster or a Mason, and after succeeding in getting rid of the husband, they would . . . accomplish their purpose."

Señor Ceferino Jovan, alcalde of Bacolar, gave this testimony:—

"I have known a large number of friars living in concubinage with women, and a number of children, the fruit of such illicit relations."

Brig.-Gen. R. P. Hughes of the United States Army told the commission that "it was a very general complaint that they [the priests] corrupted the daughters of families."

Much of the testimony elicited by this commission respecting these conditions goes too explicitly into the details of these iniquitous practises to make acceptable reading, and we shall drop the curtain here. There is nothing in these conditions that should make us desire

to see them duplicated in America. Only a free pulpit, a free press, and freedom of religious belief have made such conditions impossible in this country; but against all three of these the popes of Rome have thundered their anathemas. With Protestantism assuming an obsequious attitude toward Rome, and with a mighty religious-political combination threatening religious liberty and leaning toward cooperation with Rome, the prospect is far from encouraging.

The founders of the American government did not feel the need of help from Rome. Rome had nothing which they felt they required in establishing a government of liberty and equality. What they feared was that they might be entrapped into adopting a policy which "would lead us back to the Pope of Rome." They knew what Rome had done and was still doing for other countries, and were in no way enamored of her course. We look to the Philippines, to Central and South America, where no adverse administrations have interfered with her projects, and turn away in pity over the sorrowful demonstration. Would she make another Philippines of the United States, and repeat here the record of robbery, rapine, and lust which the Taft Commission exposed there? Would she despoil the American people as she did the people of Mexico? of Peru? She has declared her intention of doing for us what she has done for other nations; she has organized a mighty federation of nearly all her numerous secret societies in this country for the avowed purpose of accomplishing her aims here; and many deluded Protestants are striking hands with her in her first steps to that end.

Concerning the Roman Church's purpose toward this country we read in Thompson's great work on the Papacy as follows:—

“It is no trifling and idle thing for nations and peoples to find themselves thus plotted against. Nor is it a trifling and idle thing for the people of the United States to find such an enemy, with drilled and disciplined troops, in the very midst of their peaceful institutions. Heretofore they have not failed to meet the necessities of every crisis to which this country has been subjected, and it seems impossible that they can remain listless and indifferent with so formidable and dangerous an adversary at their very doors.”¹⁸

Nevertheless, the country, to a very large extent, is remaining listless and indifferent. More than that, the greater religious bodies of the country are courting the smiles of the Roman Church (with few exceptions) in spite of her designs against the country, against its purposes, and against its institutions. Rome's legitimate jurisdiction, as viewed by her, “is limited only by the boundaries of the world.” The Pope is reckoned a “domestic prince” in every nation of the world. It is the purpose of the hierarchy that the Pope shall be king over all kings; that all people and all religions shall ultimately be brought into subjection to him, and that by the use of bodily punishment if necessary.

The Papacy's unchanging determination in the matter of universal temporal and spiritual domination over all the world was unequivocally declared at the eucharistic congress held in Montreal, Canada, in September, 1910, in the telegram which the Pope sent to his cardinal vicar, Vincenzo Vannutelli. The telegram reads:—

“By this public manifestation the eucharistic bread, unhampered by space and division, will bind together the lands which the seas divide, stimulate distant nations to proclaim and vindicate the glory of God the Saviour, and

¹⁸ “The Papacy and the Civil Power,” Thompson, page 614.

to honor with due loyalty and submission the center of Christian unity, to wit, Christ's vicar on earth."

Through the influence of that sacrament, the Pope sees, in the future, the whole world honoring him, "the center of Christian unity," "with due loyalty and submission,"— a world bowing at the feet of one man, who is to them "God on earth;" but who is, as the Bible declares, sitting *in the place* of God, and setting himself forth as God.¹⁹ It is not only in spiritual things that the Pope demands "due loyalty and submission," but in temporal things as well. The ambition of the head of that system will never be satisfied until he is ruling all the people of all nations in all that concerns man both temporally and spiritually. A hint as to how the final victory for the church in America would be won was thrown out by "Father" Terrence J. Shealey, S. J., of New York, at this eucharistic congress, in an address entitled "Retreats for Laymen." He said:—

"America is to be the battle-ground of the future, and Catholic laymen must do the fighting. The church cannot arm them too early, so that they will be inspired to victory for the kingdom of Christ."

This declaration was in close harmony with the statement of Sir Lormer Gouin, the premier of Quebec:—

"When the church teaches, we believe; when she commands, we obey; when she is attacked, we defend her."

That is in perfect keeping with an earlier utterance of the church:—

"The one sword must be under the other; and the temporal authority must be subject to the spiritual power; hence, if the earthly power go astray, the spiritual shall judge it. . . . We declare, say, define, and pro-

¹⁹ 2 Thess. 2: 4.

nounce it to be necessary to salvation, that every human creature be subject to the Roman pontiff." ²⁰

Archbishop Quigley, of Chicago, in an address before the German Catholic Central Verein, at its fifty-sixth annual convention, speaking upon the prospects before the Catholic Church in America, said:—

"I am glad to see that the Central Verein is so thoroughly organized, for organization is the hope of the Catholic Church. The various organizations which are springing up in the church are the surest pledge that the principles of Christianity and Christian society shall be maintained.

"The question confronting this organization is what to do about the dangers that are now threatening Christianity in this country. In France and Portugal the Catholic Church was defeated and persecuted because the Catholics were not organized. Although there were thousands of devout and loyal Catholics who would have given their lives if need be for conscience' sake, they were merely a mob without leadership, and were defeated. I want to say that when the time comes in this country, as it surely will come, and the same forces attack the church here, they will not find us unprepared or unorganized, and they shall not prevail." ²¹

That such declarations refer to the actual use of material weapons of warfare is made plainer by the following:—

"He [the Lord] did not deny to Peter the temporal sword; he only commanded him to return it into its scabbard. Both, therefore, belong to the jurisdiction of the church,—the spiritual sword and the secular. The one is to be wielded for the church, the other by the

²⁰ *Corpus Juris Canonici Extravag. Commun., lib. i., tit. viii, cap. 1.*

²¹ *Catholic Citizen*, Milwaukee, Sept. 16, 1911.

church; the one is the sword of the priest, the other is in the hand of the monarch, but at the command and sufferance of the priest. It behooves the one sword to be under the other, the temporal authority to be subject to the spiritual power." ²²

These statements give added significance to the declaration of Bishop Bruneault, of Nicolet, when speaking, at this congress, to an afternoon audience of women concerning the great company of workmen that was to meet in the church of Notre Dame in the evening. He said:—

"This evening the roof of this vast church will resound with the acclamations of an army of valiant soldiers, your brothers, your sons, your husbands, ready to shed their blood for the defense of their religion and their country."

When the shedding of blood is mentioned in connection with the propagation of a religion, it brings to mind the declaration of Cardinal Manning, of England, to the effect that he would plunge all Europe in blood if by so doing he could restore the temporal power of the Pope. It was declared at this congress that God had given America to the Catholic Church, and declarations were made to the effect that the time was not far distant when the church would "come into her own," and when the religious systems that had departed from the fold of the Roman Church would "become things of the past." The Papacy has entered with unwonted vigor and zeal upon a great movement to bring to itself the homage and the submission of the whole world, and she sees in the conquest of America the key to the situation. These purposes and plans explain the formation of such military organizations as the League of the Cross Cadets, the Militia of Christ, the Knights of Columbus, the Ancient

²² Corpus Juris Canonici Extravag. Commun., lib. i, tit. viii, cap. 1.

Order of Hibernians, and other similar military bodies of Roman Catholic men.

Protestants have long considered themselves outside the papal jurisdiction. Rome does not so regard them, as the following statement of the case from a Catholic source will show:—

“Baptized infidels, such as heretics and apostates usually are, also baptized schismatics, may be compelled, even by corporal punishment, to return to the Catholic faith and the unity of the church. The reason is, because these by baptism have become subject to the church; and therefore the church has jurisdiction over them, and the power of compelling them through appointed means to obedience, and to fulfil the obligations contracted in baptism.”²³

It may be news to many Protestants that they are considered subjects of the man-made spiritual king of the world, the Pope; but the above is too plain to be misunderstood, and is corroborated by the following teaching of St. Augustine:—

“In all points in which they [heretics] think with us [Catholics] they are also in communion with us, are severed from us only in those points in which they dissent from us. What they have retained of the teaching of the church, they do not lose by severance from her; hence the power of conferring baptism may be found outside the church. Moreover, it is Christ himself who baptizes. The grace of the sacrament is wholly independent of the qualification of him who administers it.”²⁴

Through such reasoning does the Catholic Church claim the fealty of all who have acknowledged their Lord's claims by taking part in the sacred ordinance of

²³ Dens, Vol. II, No. 51, page 80.

²⁴ “Universal Church History,” Alzog, page 424.

baptism. She does not even wait for the performance of that rite by individual preference or by Protestant clergymen, if the following be true:—

“I baptized more children than any clergyman in Philadelphia; among these were hundreds of Presbyterians, Episcopalians, Methodists, and Baptists, brought to me for that purpose by their Roman Catholic nurses, without the knowledge of their Protestant mothers.”²⁵

How many other Catholic priests are doing the same thing may never be known; but to some such unwarranted mode of procedure as this must be attributed the wide discrepancy between the seventeen million adherents which they claim in this country and the twelve million seven hundred and eighty-one thousand which the government census credits them with. The moral obliquity and spiritual astigmatism revealed in such a transaction as that boasted of in the foregoing quotation is sufficiently apparent without further comment.

Claiming jurisdiction over all the world, claiming the unfaltering fealty of all who have been baptized in any church, a necessary step to the recognition and enforcement of her claims is the rehabilitation of the Inquisition. Many Protestants delude themselves with the idea that the Roman Church would never use that right-hand supporter of her sovereignty in the present enlightened age, even if she felt herself sufficiently powerful to protect herself in its use. Such persons are not conversant with the facts, and have become Rome's apologists for an institution for which she herself does not apologize.

In a work entitled “Plain Facts About the Protestantism of Today,” by Monsignor Ségur, published originally in France, translated into English, and published in both

²⁵ “Auricular Confession,” Hogan, page 130, quoted in Cathcart's “Papal System,” page 163.

England and the United States, we find these words in reference to the Spanish Inquisition:—

“That institution you may value as you choose; you are at liberty to condemn the abuses and the cruelties of which it has been guilty through the violence of political passions and the character of the Spaniard; yet one



BEING TORTURED ON THE WHEEL

“The most legitimate and most natural exercise of ecclesiastical authority.”

cannot but acknowledge, in the terrible part taken by the clergy in its trials, the most legitimate and most natural exercise of ecclesiastical authority.”²⁶

Monsignor Ségur does not hesitate to declare that the Inquisition was established by Roman Catholic governments as an “ecclesiastical institution,” thus plainly

²⁶ “Plain Facts About the Protestantism of Today,” part 3, prop. 7, page 186.

indicating that it had the sanction and approbation of the Catholic Church; and this work is circulated in the United States with the approval of the bishop of Boston, whose "imprimatur" appears on its title-page. It will be noted that he does not give Catholics permission to condemn the Inquisition as an institution, nor even the Spanish Inquisition as such. It is only the cruelties and abuses which he charges to "political passion" that they



A MAN AND WOMAN CONDEMNED BY THE INQUISITION,
IN THEIR DEATH DRESSES

are at liberty to condemn. For the institution itself there is no word of disapproval. And not all Catholics condemn even the terrible atrocities of the Spanish Inquisition, as the following editorial utterance from a very influential Catholic journal testifies:—

"The church has persecuted. Only a tyro in church history will deny that. . . . We have always defended the persecution of the Huguenots, and the Spanish Inquisition. . . . When she thinks it good to use physical force, she will use it. . . . But will the

Catholic Church give bond that she will not persecute at all? Will she guarantee absolute freedom and equality of all churches and all faiths? The Catholic Church gives no bonds for her good behavior." ²⁷

This is not the language of one who would defend the liberties which Americans have learned to prize so highly, but rather the language of one who would put in place of the liberties we love to call American the fearful practises and the terrible instruments of the Inquisition.

It will be interesting to note in this connection a well-known American historian's estimation of the character of the Inquisition: —

"Cromwell had demanded of Spain freedom of trade in the West Indies and the exemption of English subjects from the horrid tyranny of the Inquisition." ²⁸

In a work written by the historian Comte Le Maistre, a Catholic, we find the following glowing tribute to the Inquisition as an institution: —

"The Inquisition is, in its very nature, good, mild, and preservative. It is the universal, indelible character of every ecclesiastical institution; you see it in Rome, and you see it wherever the true church has power." ²⁹

This writer, whose work is approvingly referred to by Cardinal Gibbons,³⁰ frankly admits that the Inquisition existed in Spain "by virtue of the bull of the sovereign pontiff." Nevertheless, the cardinal, writing of the same institution, says: —

"It was conceived, systematized, regulated in all its procedures and judgments, equipped with officers and powers, and its executions, fines, and confiscations were

²⁷ *Western Watchman*, St. Louis, Mo., Dec. 24, 1908.

²⁸ "History of the American People," page 208.

²⁹ "Letters on the Spanish Inquisition," page 22.

³⁰ "Faith of Our Fathers," page 291.

carried out by the royal authority alone, and not by the church." ³¹

Le Maistre was much nearer, both geographically and in point of time, to the institution of which he wrote than was the cardinal, Le Maistre's work appearing in 1815. In view of the fact that Le Maistre's book is recommended by the cardinal as "an impartial account of the Inquisition," we must give credence to his statement of the case. The cardinal declares the Catholic Church should not be held accountable for the atrocities of the Spanish Inquisition, because it was conducted by the state and not by the church. If this be true (which we cannot admit), it is also true that that state was a Catholic state, and the Inquisition in it could have been abolished by one word from the Pope. But no Pope ever uttered that word; no one was ever excommunicated for taking part in its cruel practises; and the bishops of that church are required to take oath to "observe the laws of the Inquisition." ³²

Cardinal Gibbons, in his monograph, "The Faith of Our Fathers," declares that he abhors and denounces "every species of violence, and injustice, and persecution of which the Spanish Inquisition may have been guilty." ³³ He then sets forth the position of Catholicism in these words:—

"When I denounce the cruelties of the Inquisition, I am not standing aloof from the church, but I am treading in her footprints. Bloodshed and persecution form no part of the creed of the Catholic Church. . . . In all my readings I have yet to find one decree of hers advocating torture or death for conscience' sake. She is

³¹ "Faith of Our Fathers," page 291.

³² "Dealings With the Inquisition," page 74, foot-note.

³³ "Faith of Our Fathers," page 284.

indeed intolerant of error; but her only weapons against error are those pointed out by St. Paul to Timothy: 'Preach the word; be instant in season; reprove, entreat; rebuke with all patience and doctrine.'"

These declarations sound good; and how good it would be if the facts would substantiate them! But let us place by their side the teachings of Thomas Aquinas, the most renowned theologian of the Catholic Church:—

"It is much more grievous to corrupt faith, which is



INQUISITION BUILDING IN LISBON, PORTUGAL

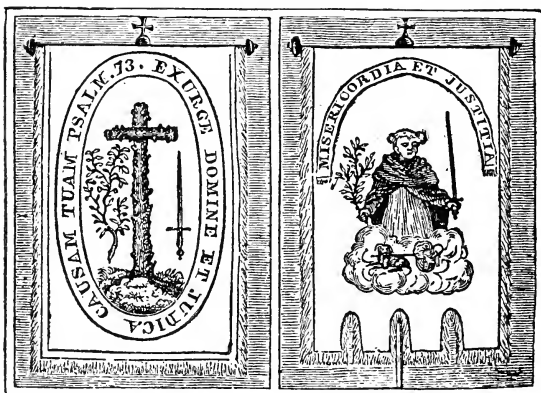
the source and life of the soul, than to corrupt money, which but tends to the relief of the body. Hence, if coiners and other malefactors are justly put to death by the secular authority, much more may heretics not only be excommunicated, but even justly put to death."³⁴

This is going considerably farther than St. Paul admonished Timothy to go; but it is not an isolated example. The following from "Libro Necro," quoted by Dr. Achilli, is corroborative testimony:—

"With respect to the examination, and the duty of

³⁴ St. Thomas 2d, 9: 11, art. 3.

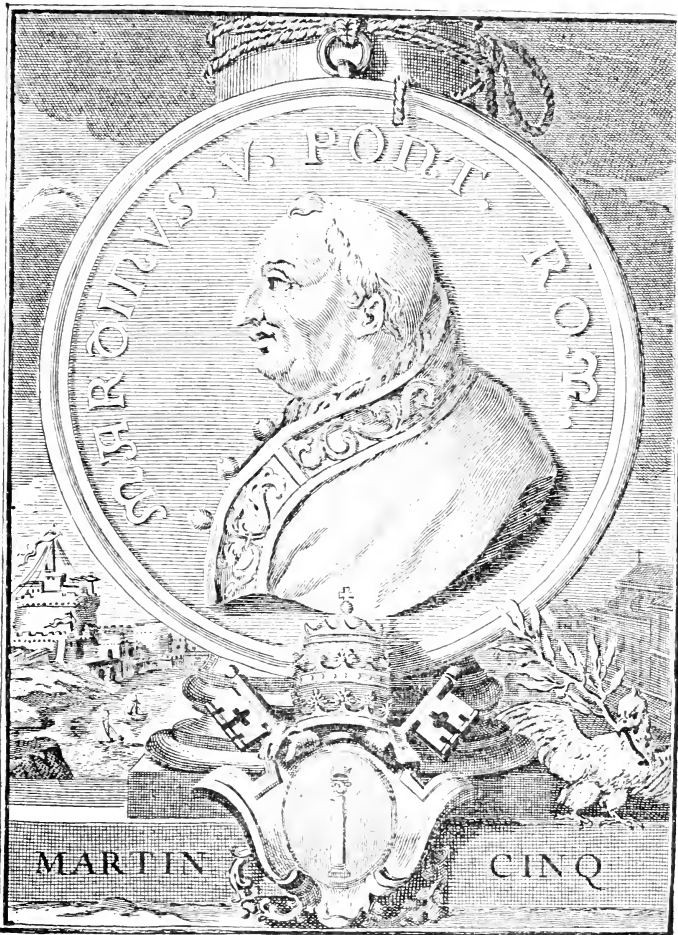
the examiners [the Inquisitors], either the prisoner [this word "prisoner" sounds ominous, and it sounds out of tune with Cardinal Gibbons' declaration that he, a true Catholic, is opposed to "every species of violence" and raises his "voice against coercion for conscience' sake"] confesses, and he is proved guilty from his own confession, or he does not confess, and is equally guilty on the evidence of witnesses. . . . And as the respect due to the glory of God requires that no one partic-



STANDARD OF THE INQUI-
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ular should be omitted, not even a mere attempt, so the judge is bound to put in force not only the ordinary means which the Inquisition affords, but whatever may enter into his thoughts as fitting to lead to a confession. Bodily torture has ever been found the most salutary and efficient means of leading to spiritual repentance. Therefore the choice of the most befitting mode of torture is left to the judge of the Inquisition, who determines according to the age, the sex, and the constitution of the party. He will be prudent in its use, always being mind-



POPE MARTIN V

ful at the same time to procure what is required from it — the confession of the delinquent. If, notwithstanding all the means employed, the unfortunate wretch still de-

nies his guilt, he is to be considered as a victim of the devil, and, as such, deserves no compassion from the servants of God, nor the pity or indulgence of holy mother church; he is a son of perdition. Let him perish, then, among the damned, and let his place be no longer found among the living.”³⁵

That is a sentence of death upon persons brought before the “Holy Office” and refusing to acknowledge error and guilt, or words are meaningless. With the cardinal’s statement still in mind to the effect that in all his reading he had found no decree of the church “advocating torture or death for conscience’ sake,” let us read from the letter of Pope Martin V to the king of Poland:—

“Know that the interests of the Holy See, and those of your crown, make it *a duty to exterminate the Hussites*. . . . While there is still time, then, turn your forces against Bohemia; *burn, massacre*, make deserts everywhere, for nothing could be more agreeable to God, or more useful to the cause of kings, than *the extermination of the Hussites*.”³⁶

It is barely possible that the cardinal will not consider these citations as touching the question which he raised; but it would seem that such a document prepared by an infallible Pope ought to settle the question of the church’s attitude toward heretics. If the Church of Rome is opposed to the coercion of conscience; if she is opposed to the torture of the body for the salvation of the soul; if she is opposed to the execution of the death sentence upon those who will not yield to her authority in spiritual matters, then she ought to repudiate such teachings. Instead of doing so, however, she stands by them, as the following declaration shows:—

³⁵ “Dealings With the Inquisition,” page 82.

³⁶ Cormenin, Vol. II, pages 116, 117.

"Her [the Catholic Church's] creed is now identical with what it was in past ages."³⁷

Cardinal Gibbons then declares³⁸ that St. Augustine preached in Hippo and in England the same doctrine as that to which the church holds now. It will, therefore, be interesting to learn just what St. Augustine taught then on this matter of compulsory conversion, in order that we may know what the Catholic Church teaches now upon the same point.

"It is indeed better," says St. Augustine, "that men should be taught to serve God by instruction than by fear of punishment, or by pain. But because the former means are better, the latter must not therefore be neglected. . . . Many must often be brought back to their Lord, like wicked servants, by the rod of temporal suffering, before they attain to the highest grade of religious development."³⁹

"It is permitted neither to think nor to teach otherwise than the court of Rome directs."⁴⁰

"The secular power shall swear to exterminate all heretics condemned by the church, and if they do not, they shall be anathema."⁴¹

"A heretic merits the pains of fire. By the gospel, the canons, civil law, and custom, heretics must be burned."⁴²

"All persons may attack any rebels to the church, and despoil them of their wealth, and slay them, and burn their houses and cities."⁴³

³⁷ "Faith of Our Fathers," page 29.

³⁸ *Id.*, page 30.

³⁹ "Church History," Schaff, Vol. II, sec. 27.

⁴⁰ "Directory for the Inquisitors," part 2, chap. 2.

⁴¹ "Church History," Schaff, Vol. II, sec. 27.

⁴² Pope Marcellus' Decrees, *Corpus Juris Canonici*, part 2, chap. 18.

⁴³ "Decretals of Gregory IX," book 5, title 7.

During a discussion in the German parliament, in the year 1902, a Protestant senator made the charge that the Catholic Church advocates the death penalty upon heretics. The charge was denied by a Catholic senator; but the Protestant senator's charge was substantiated by the following from a work by the Jesuit priest De Luca:—

“The secular power, upon the church's order and authority, must inflict the death penalty upon heretics, from which penalty they may not be exempted after having been handed over to the secular arm. This penalty is incurred not only by those who abandon the faith when adults, but even by those who are baptized, yet grow in heresy with their mother's milk and persist in it. This penalty, when received, is to be extended to all the lapsed, or, if they wish to return to the faith, then to all who are pertinacious after an admonition.”

The *Kölnische Volkzeitung*, which gives this excerpt from De Luca, declares that this Catholic authority “advocates the death penalty for heretics, even in our day, as he emphatically states in another place (page 142).”

Yet Cardinal Gibbons declares, “Bloodshed and persecution form no part of the creed of the Catholic Church.” He says further:—

“In raising my voice against coercion for conscience' sake, I am expressing not only my own sentiments, but those of every Catholic priest and layman in the land.”⁴⁴

It is difficult to understand a statement of this kind when we have such a declaration before us as the foregoing; but of similar import is the following from the *Shepherd of the Valley*, published at St. Louis, Mo., in 1876, under the supervision of Archbishop Kendrick:—

“We confess that the Roman Catholic Church is intolerant; that is to say, that it uses all the means in its

⁴⁴ “Faith of Our Fathers,” page 284.

power for the extirpation of error and sin; but this intolerance is the logical and necessary consequence of her infallibility. She alone has the right to be intolerant, because she alone has the truth. The church tolerates heretics where she is obliged to do so, but she hates them mortally, and employs all her force to secure their annihilation. When the Catholics shall here be in possession of a considerable majority,— which will certainly be the case by and by, although the time may be long deferred,— then religious liberty will have come to an end in the republic of the United States. Our enemies say this, and we believe with them. Our enemies know that we do not pretend to be better than our church, and in what concerns this her history is open to all. They know, then, how the Roman Church dealt with heretics in the middle ages, and how she deals with them today where she has the power. We no more think of denying these historic facts than we do of blaming the saints of God and the princes of the church for what they have done or approved in these matters.”

This plain statement of principle and purpose is much more in accord with the facts of history than are the statements of Cardinal Gibbons. We could earnestly wish that the cardinal had correctly represented the matter; but he is contradicted through every epoch of his church's history by the history itself.

This, then, is the institution that has set for itself the task of transforming the government of the United States of America into harmony with its purposes, bringing the nation into obedience to its mandates; the institution that has commanded its agents to do all in their power to shape the Constitution and legislation of the nation into “harmony with the principles of the true church,” in short, “to make America Catholic.” And it is this

institution with which the great Protestant bodies of the land propose to unite in taking the first step into the quagmire of religious legislation. Said Lafayette in 1824, when visiting this country: "If the liberties of the American people are ever destroyed, they will fall by the hands of the Catholic clergy." We pride ourselves upon our priceless heritage of freedom of speech, freedom of



LAFAYETTE

the press, and freedom of religious faith and worship. Says that system which proposes to transform our nation into its own image:—

"Freedom of thinking is simply nonsense. We are no more free to think without rule than we are to act without one." "Freedom of thought is the soul of Protestantism; it is likewise the soul of modern rationalistic philosophy. It is one of those impossibilities

which only the levity of a superficial reason can regard as admissible. But a sound mind that does not feed on empty words, looks upon this freedom of thought only as simply absurd, and, what is worse, as sinful."⁴⁵

It is not difficult to see what is involved in these propositions. Abolish freedom of thought, and our political as well as our religious rights are gone. Our government, founded upon the freedom of the intellect, will then be regarded as an intolerable form of heresy, to be remedied by the faithful at the dictation of the hierarchy. That they will not be slow to take up the

⁴⁵ Mgr. Ségur, part 2, prop. 7, pages 98, 100.

task is shown by the following extract from the speech of Bishop McFaul at Trenton, N. J., Nov. 17, 1904. Bishop McFaul and Archbishop Messmer were the originators of the idea of uniting all the Catholic societies of the United States into one organization for the purpose of advancing Catholic interests in this country. In speaking of the advantages to the church of such an organization, Bishop McFaul said: "This federation is an organization whose aim is to unite all the Catholic nationalities of the United States into one body for their civil, social, and religious advancement. It will not be long before the federation will have fifteen million Catholics under its banners, and when that time comes, there is no nation on the face of the earth that dare refuse to give us audience when Catholics raise their voices on any question of state in which they are interested."

In the year 1889 Archbishop John Ireland, of St. Paul, Minn., in an address delivered at the centenary of the establishment of the Roman Catholic hierarchy in the United States, declared it to be the ambition of the Roman Catholic Church "to make America Catholic." It is certain that whatever questions of state American Catholics are interested in will be those questions which have to do with making this nation a vassal of the "Holy See." There was never



BISHOP MC FAUL

One of the originators of the federation idea among American Catholic societies.

a more settled purpose on the part of any power or organization than this purpose on the part of Rome to make America hers; and then, through American influence, to lift herself into that position which she claims for herself, *the spiritual and temporal headship of the world*. That is told as plainly as it need be in the following from an address by Archbishop Satolli, delivered at Baltimore, Md., Nov. 10, 1889:—

“He [the Pope] never doubts the generosity and filial devotion of American Catholics. For he believes that the spirit of liberty which they enjoy in their own country makes them desirous that the sovereign pontiff should regain that independence and liberty which appertain to him as the head of the universal church. . . . Under more favorable circumstances, Leo XIII, or his successor, whoever he may be, will some day find pleasure in visiting in person this great American nation.”

“That independence and liberty” of which Archbishop Satolli speaks is the temporal sovereignty of the Pope and his unrestricted and universal sway over the lives and consciences of men, such as it was before the dawn of the Reformation, when he was seating and unseating kings at his pleasure and running the grist of human conscience through the cruel mills of the Inquisition. To such times and such conditions Rome looks with ever-increasing desire. The destruction of the Pope’s temporal power is declared by Catholics to be “a crime which merits the sentence of excommunication.”⁴⁶

To wipe out that criminal transaction, then, must be the duty of all loyal Catholics. The situation is well summed up by Hon. R. W. Thompson in these words:—

“What does Pius IX mean when he says that no

⁴⁶ “His Holiness Pope Pius IX,” page 132.

'Roman pontiffs have ever exceeded the limits of their power, and interfered in the civil administrations of states'? This, and nothing less: That when they have dictated to governments, denounced, excommunicated, and dethroned kings, resisted constitutions and laws, and released peoples from their oaths of allegiance, they have simply exercised their *divine* authority; because, in every instance, they were condemning heresy. For this purpose, his power extends over the whole world, and is not *foreign* to any government on earth. Whatsoever, therefore, he may find it necessary to do, in order to advance the interests of the church, extend its borders, and provide for his own dominion as the 'vicar of Christ,' he has the rightful power to do; and, in doing it, becomes a *domestic* governor in all the states. As such domestic governor, he has also the right to require of the faithful that they shall resist and put out of the way everything, every constitution and law, in conflict with his ideas of the divine purpose. And in case of refusal, the refractory dissenter is to be visited with the curses of the church, with excommunication and anathema. All this, says the Pope, is necessary to the 'proper liberty and security of the Catholic Church;' and therefore, those who do not yield to him these extraordinary prerogatives 'fail in the faith,' and become heretics and unbelievers. Hence we have the distinct announcement, made *ex cathedra* by the 'vicar of Christ' himself, that it is a part of the religious faith of the church that these prerogatives shall be conceded to him; in other words, that he is a domestic governor throughout all the United States, and all the faithful are bound to obey him in whatsoever shall concern the church, and that if there be anything in our constitutions or laws adverse to the church, in his opinion, he has the divine right to require them to

resist it by their votes or otherwise, they being bound to implicit and uninquiring obedience." 47

The separation of church and state in this country is provided for in our fundamental laws. What is Rome's position regarding that? The answer is found in the syllabus of Pope Pius IX. In *the list of condemned doctrines* is this: "The church ought to be separated from the state and the state from the church." 48 Rome having condemned the doctrine of the separation of the church from the state, it at once becomes the duty of every Catholic to do all in his power to bring about a union of church and state in the United States. But such eminent Catholics as Cardinal Gibbons have declared that Catholics do not believe in a union of church and state in this country. Is the cardinal contradicting the Pope?—Assuredly not; for the union of church and state of which the Pope approves is the union of the Catholic Church and the state; and the separation of church and state of which the cardinal approves is the separation of the Protestant church from the state. Protestants must keep this distinction in mind in order to make the *language* of the Papacy harmonize with its *purpose*.

The Constitution of the United States provides for freedom of speech and freedom of the press; but freedom of speech and of the press are both dependent upon freedom of thinking, and that has been condemned *in toto* by Mgr. Ségur, speaking for the church. See page 372.

Freedom in matters of religion is guaranteed by the national Constitution; but among the doctrines condemned by Pope Pius IX is this: "Every man is free to embrace and profess the religion he shall believe true." 49

47 "The Papacy and the Civil Power," pages 135, 136.

48 Allocution "Acerbissimum," Sept. 27, 1852.

49 Apostolic Letters "Multiplices inter," June 10, 1851.

Concerning the doctrines condemned in this encyclical, Pope Pius IX says: —

“We do, by our apostolic authority, reprobate, denounce, and condemn generally and particularly all the evil opinions and doctrines specially mentioned in this letter, and we wish that they may be held as reprobated, denounced, and condemned by all the children of the Catholic Church.”

Whatever we have come to enjoy in this country through the liberties guaranteed the people in civil and religious things the Roman Catholic Church has set itself against to reprobate, denounce, condemn, and destroy. She has commanded her adherents to do all in their power to cause the Constitution, the great bulwark of American liberties, to be remodeled upon “the principles of the true church;” she has denounced the separation of church and state, in which Americans have gloried; she has denounced freedom of thought as nonsense, an absurdity, a sin; she has condemned freedom of choice in matters of religion; and she has proclaimed the Pope a domestic prince in every country (which must include America), with the right to demand the obedience of her subjects, even in opposition to the most vital purposes of the nation. For freedom she offers thralldom the most bitter and exacting; for confidence in the home, she puts the spirit of suspicion, setting husbands against wives and wives against husbands, children against parents and parents against children, neighbors against neighbors, and all are made secret agents of the “Holy Office,” to accuse, condemn, and defame one another, that the accused ones may achieve salvation through their confession wrung out upon the rack. This she does in its fulness, of course, only where she has the power to carry out her purpose. That she does not do it every-

where all the time does not indicate that it is any less her purpose.

Are Americans ready for such a transformation, such an ignoble surrender of the glorious heritage passed down to them by the founders of the nation? It could never be brought about were Protestants as vigilant today as they were a hundred years ago. Dwelling so long beside Rome quiescent, they seem to have forgotten that she was ever regnant, and that she is determined to be regnant again — and that in this country. Protestants have almost wholly ceased to protest against the enormities of the Catholic Church and the pretensions of the hierarchy. They stand in many cases as apologists for Rome. In this lies the danger, and it is very far from being an imaginary one. The *New York Independent*, speaking editorially, says: —

“There are two great religious forces in this country, — the one the Protestant churches, and the other the Catholic Church. Of these the former is the larger, and we may say the more aggressive the world over. But the two are mutually less hostile than they were. Protestants forget to protest; Catholics know that they are not the total Christian church. The two agree more than they differ. They will come closer together. Already they tolerate each other; by and by they will recognize and affiliate in good work, as now Presbyterians and Methodists do.”⁵⁰

Such sentiments as these are making it much easier for Rome to accomplish her purpose in America than it would otherwise be. It is true that “Protestants forget to protest;” but it is not true that “Catholics know that they are not the total Christian church.” Among the doctrines condemned by Pope Pius IX is this: “Prot-

⁵⁰ Issue of Oct. 22, 1908.

estantism is nothing more than another form of the same true Christian religion." ⁵¹ There is, therefore, a direct contradiction between this declaration of the *Independent* and the authoritative teachings of the Roman Catholic Church. Nevertheless, there is throughout most of the large Protestant bodies a growing feeling that the Roman Catholic Church is better than our fathers believed her to be; that her purposes are no longer a menace to our free institutions; that Protestants should now give her the right hand of fellowship and bid her Godspeed in her purposes. And all this in spite of her record written in red in every country where she has had the power thus to inscribe it; in spite of her history that cannot be hidden even by Meyerizing ⁵² school text-books; in spite of her plainest declarations concerning her unchanging purpose and mode of operation. Between an indifferent and listless Protestantism on the one hand, and an aroused and militant Catholicism on the other hand, the guaranty of human liberties in America is weakening with fearful rapidity. These facts, in proper array, look but one way; they speak but one language: they look toward Rome; they speak of oppression.

⁵¹ Syllabus of Errors, prop. 18, *Noscitis*, Dec. 8, 1849.

⁵² Extensive alterations were made in Meyer's histories at the demand of Rome to make them conform to what she desires the people to believe concerning the events therein recorded.

CHAPTER XXIV

Two Great Forces Unite

THE first move toward a union of effort between the Protestant church, which has forgotten to protest, and the Catholic Church, which has forgotten nothing of either purpose or methods, was made in the attempt to secure a national Sunday law. As early as the year 1851 the position was taken in a prominent religious publication, the *Christian Advocate and Journal*, in an article by Dr. Durbin, that "when Christianity becomes the moral and spiritual life of the state, the state is bound, through her magistrates, to prevent the open violation of the holy Sabbath, as a matter of self-preservation."

It is worthy of note that the position there taken is the position adopted by all Sunday-law advocates of the present day, and contemplates in its ultimate a perfect union of the Christian religion and the state, or, which is the same thing, a union of church and state.

At the time when this statement was made in the *Christian Advocate and Journal*, another religious writer, a student of the prophecies of God's Word, J. N. Andrews, made the declaration in the *Advent Review* (May, 1851) that "the enforcement of Sunday as the Sabbath would be the point on which a union of church and state would finally be formed in this nation."

The movement for religious legislation in America, which was begun early in the nineteenth century, has grown to tremendous proportions, and the protests and warnings against it have also grown in power and earnestness. The organization of the National Reform Association in 1863 gave concrete form to the agitation for a

union of the sacred and the secular in this country. The organization of numerous religious liberty associations throughout the country gave definite aim to the opposition. An energetic, vigorous campaign has been carried on by each of these opposing forces during the intervening years. Proponents and opponents of various proposed laws of a religious character have met many times before legislative committees, both State and national, to discuss the merits of such legislation.

In the year 1888 the National Reform Association and its allies came before the Congress of the United States in force to advocate legislation in behalf of Sunday, championing the Sunday bill introduced by United States Senator Henry W. Blair, of New Hampshire. The advocates of that measure took the same position as that taken by Dr. Durbin in 1851. The opponents of the measure took the position that was taken by the Anabaptists of Europe, by Roger Williams of Rhode Island, and by the Baptists and Presbyterians of Virginia in their memorials to the Virginia Assembly against the interference of the secular power in the religious affairs of mankind. The hearing was a long one, and the whole subject of religious legislation and its effect upon the religious rights of the people was faithfully set forth. The bill did not become a law.

The advocates of the measure were not satisfied, and began to lay plans at once for an education of the whole people to a belief in the necessity of action by the national government upon religious matters, but specifically and directly upon the question of a "Sabbath law" for the nation. In this move they had the approval of the Catholic Church, as they had in their advocacy of the Blair Sunday-rest Bill. Catholics had already been instructed in 1885 to do all in their power to bring the

constitutions of states and legislation into harmony with "the principles of the true church."¹ The National Reform Association had made its bid for Catholic cooperation in "resisting the progress of political atheism;"² and the year following the Blair Sunday-law agitation (1889) the Catholic Lay Congress at Baltimore signified its willingness to cooperate in "shaping legislation for the public weal;" that is, they proposed in that congress to "seek an alliance with non-Catholics for proper Sunday observance." In this invitation and its answer there was begun the work of welding these two forces into one.

In the matter of enforcing a sabbath by civil law there was struck the first note of harmony between two organizations that had been opposing each other for three hundred and sixty years. At a meeting of Protestant ministers (a Sunday-law convention), in Elgin, Ill., on Nov. 8, 1887, there had been passed the following resolution:—

Resolved, That we recognize the Sabbath as an institution of God, revealed in nature and the Bible, and of perpetual obligation on all men; and also as a civil and American institution, bound up in vital and historical connection with the origin and foundation of our government, the growth of our polity, and necessary to be maintained in order for the preservation and integrity of our national system, and, therefore, as having a sacred claim on all patriotic American citizens.

Resolved, That we give our votes and support to those candidates or political officers who will pledge themselves to vote for the enactment and enforcing of statutes in favor of the civil sabbath."

As no institution can continue half secular and half religious, this was in reality an attempt to take the Sab-

¹ See Chapter XXIII.

² *Ib.*

batic institution out of the decalogue and give it the authority of the state alone. God recognizes no "strange fire" in his sanctuary. A sabbath of this kind is outside the scope of the divine purpose. But there was a power which did recognize the effort. Long ago the papal church had commanded the observance of Sunday as a sabbath in place of the Sabbath of Jehovah.³ It is not astonishing, then, that in the *Northwestern Chronicle* of April 5, 1895 (the organ of Archbishop Ireland), there should appear the following summons to Protestants:—

"All W. C. T. U.'s and Y.'s, churches, pastors, young people's societies, Law and Order Leagues, and individuals are called upon to help maintain our [Catholic] sabbath as a day of the Lord for the people, without regard to race, sex, or condition, for a day of rest and worship. To this end, let us make Sabbath-observance week in Minnesota marked by sermons, public meetings, Sunday-school exercises, distribution of literature, and prayer for the better enforcement of law against all infringements of the right of Sabbath observance."

This summons is something unique in the history of Christendom,—a Catholic organ calling Protestant bodies and Protestant individuals to the support of an institution established by the papal church. The summons has been heeded, and all these organizations, not only in Minnesota, but in all the country, are having the claims of the "national sabbath" urged upon them, with the necessity of the enforcement of the institution through the imposition of pains and penalties. It was to be expected that when Rome took hold of the work of promulgating the Sunday institution, she would use the same kind of persuasion that she has employed through

³ Council of Laodicea, A. D. 464.

the centuries of the past; but, strange to say, in this matter she has not been so outspoken as have her Protestant coadjutors. For instance, when, at a National Reform convention at Lakeside, Ohio, in July, 1887, Dr. David McAllister was informed of the persecutions suffered by conscientious Christians in Arkansas, through the operation of the Sunday law, he replied:—

“It is better that a few should suffer than that the whole nation should lose its sabbath.”

How similar is this reply to the argument of Caiaphas concerning the punishment of Christ: “It is expedient for us, that one man should die for the people, and that the whole nation perish not.”⁴

The same bitter refusal to recognize the religious rights of others is seen in the following from an address by the same Dr. McAllister, at the same place and time:—

“Let a man be what he may—Jew, Seventh-day observer of some other denomination, or those who do not believe in the Christian sabbath—let the law apply to every one, that there shall be no public desecration of the first day of the week, the Christian sabbath, the day of rest for the nation.”

The purpose of this proposed stringent legislation is not disguised by all who advocate it. Some argue that it is a civil requirement only, a mere “police regulation.” This glossing of the issue, however, deceives few. The real purpose of the movement is unveiled in such expressions as these:—

“You relegate moral instruction to the church, and then let all go as they please on Sunday, so that we cannot get at them.”⁵

⁴ John 11: 50.

⁵ Rev. Dr. Briggs, at Oakland, Cal., 1887.

“The Sunday train is another great evil. They cannot afford to run a train unless they get a great many passengers, and so *break up a great many congregations.*”⁶

“We offer religious freedom to all, but we have a right to demand that the alien in religion shall conform outwardly to our customs. When one branch of the Christian church, so small it is insignificant, takes another day for Sunday, we have a right to make that sect conform to our practise.”⁷

He who could give utterance to such a sentiment has never learned the lessons of history in the matter of freedom of conscience, and has set his dictum over against the highest law in the land,—the Constitution of his country, the Magna Charta of American liberties.

Although most of the States have had some sort of Sunday law from the beginning, the propaganda of religious legislation, especially since the year 1888, has resulted in great activity in the matter of new or more stringent Sunday laws and a more rigid enforcement of such laws; but in nothing has more persistence been shown than in the effort to secure such a law for the District of Columbia, thus effecting two objects: The committing of the national government to the principles of religious legislation, and the energizing of State laws through the influence of the national law. The agitation is not confined to any section of the country. It is general from Maine to California, from Idaho to Texas.

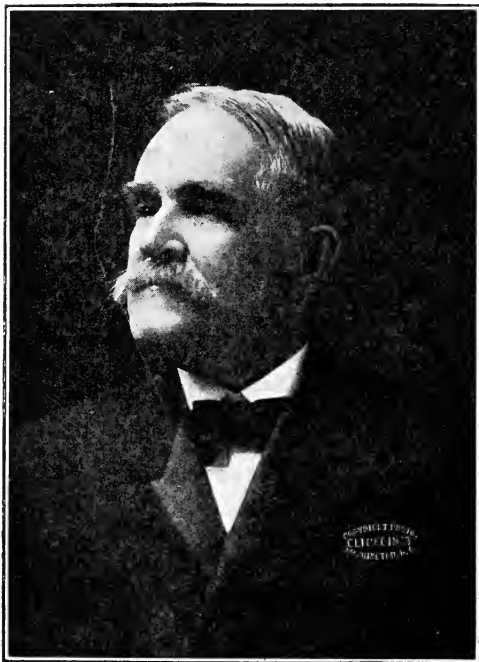
During the 1909 session of the New York Legislature, for instance, twenty-one bills for the stricter observance of Sunday were introduced. During the sixtieth session of Congress eleven bills were introduced in the two houses providing for a more rigid observance of Sunday in the

⁶ Rev. D. Evarts, at Elgin, Ill., 1887.

⁷ Dr. W. H. G. Temple, at Sacramento, Cal., Jan. 18, 1909.

District of Columbia, an illustration of the reflex action of the agitation for religious legislation.

Of the bills introduced in Congress during the sixtieth session the one which gave most promise of becoming



SENATOR JOHNSTON

a law was that presented by Senator Johnston of Alabama (S. 3940), which was passed by the Senate on May 15, 1908, but not without most earnest protests from the advocates of religious liberty. The bill, as it finally passed the Senate, reads:—

“AN ACT
for the Proper
Observance of

Sunday as a day of rest in the District of Columbia.

“Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That it shall be unlawful for any person or corporation in the District of Columbia, on the first day of the week, commonly called Sunday, to labor at any trade or calling, or to employ or cause to be employed

his apprentice or servant in any labor or business, except in household work or other work of necessity or charity, and except also newspaper publishers and their employees, and except also public service corporations and their employees, in the necessary supplying of service to the people of the District: *Provided*, That persons who are members of a religious society, who observe as a sabbath any other day of the week than Sunday, shall not be liable to the penalties prescribed in this act if they observe as a sabbath one day in seven as herein provided.

“Section 2. That it shall be unlawful for any person in said District on said day to engage in any circus, show, or theatrical performance: *Provided*, That the provisions of this act shall not be construed so as to prohibit sacred concerts, nor the regular business of hotels and restaurants on said day; nor to the delivery of articles of food, including meats, at any time before ten o'clock in the morning of said day from June 1 to October 1; nor to the sale of milk, fruit, confectionery, ice, soda, and mineral waters, newspapers, periodicals, cigars, drugs, medicines, and surgical appliances; nor to the business of livery stables, or other public, or the use of private, conveyances; nor to the handling and operation of the United States mail.

“Sec. 3. That any person or corporation who shall violate the provisions of this act shall, on conviction thereof, be punished by a fine of not more than ten dollars or by imprisonment in the jail of the District of Columbia for not more than ten days, or by both such fine and imprisonment in the discretion of the court.

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

The religious nature of the bill is shown in the fact that around no *civil* holiday is such protection thrown, and by the further fact that they are exempt from its penalties who, as "members of a religious society," "*observe as a sabbath* any other day of the week than Sunday." It fosters the observance of a religious ordinance — Sabbath-keeping — by making it a punishable offense for any one to fail in that observance unless he religiously observes another day of the week. This bill proposed, in effect, to do two things,— to penalize honest toil because of the day upon which it is done, and to make men *appear* to perform a religious act whether or not it is in harmony with their taste and convictions so to do. The attempt to force compliance with the ordinances of the church by civil law is an attempt to resuscitate the intolerable conditions of medieval and colonial days, which were repudiated in the Constitution of the United States.

But to civil government has never been delegated the power or the authority to make men religious by law, or to compel them to appear to be so whether they are or not. The stigmatizing and penalizing of honest toil is not a proper function of government. Neither is it the proper function of government to coerce men into the performance of religious acts.

Experience has demonstrated that Sunday-law exemption clauses in favor of those who uniformly keep another day of the week as the Sabbath come very far short of insuring them peace and protection from arrest and fine. The inefficiency of exemption clauses in protecting the exempted class was repeatedly shown in the early history of this country when the Baptists and Quakers were subjected to fines and imprisonment for failure to support the ministers of the established church,

even though the members of these denominations were declared by the ecclesiastical law itself to be exempt from liability to support the established ministry. In 1771, for instance, "a good riding beast" was levied upon and taken from Mr. Joseph Moody, of Gorham, Maine, and another from Pastor Emery, of Berwick; also "the family pewter" belonging to Mr. John Emery, of York, was taken by levy, because of refusal to pay the ministerial tax. All these men had provided themselves with the certificates required by the exemption clause of the law. Massachusetts furnishes her quota of the same experiences from as early as 1728 down to 1833. For instance, in 1750 "a Baptist minister was arrested, fined, and imprisoned in the town of Sturbridge for failure to help support the established ministry. This was but one of many similar occurrences."⁸

This failure of the intent of the lawmakers when enacting laws that seem to require exemption clauses indicates plainly the dangerous nature of such legislation. It shows that it is impossible for the civil power to insure justice to its people when it attempts to legislate upon religious questions.

A noteworthy feature of the exemption clause in the bill under consideration, which should not escape attention, is that a certain class is exempted from the penalties of the proposed law if they can show that they have kept a sabbath, "as herein provided." The purport of this is to make Sabbath-keeping compulsory under threat of penalties, inasmuch as he who uniformly observes another day than Sunday "as a sabbath" may do on Sunday what another may not do.

This feature of the Johnston Sunday Bill has a per-

⁸ "History of the Baptists in New England," Backus, Vol. II, page 95, note.

fect parallel in a law passed in 1728 by the general court of Massachusetts, exempting Baptists and Quakers from contributing to the support of the established church. They were to be exempt upon condition that they "usually attended the meeting of their respective societies assembling upon the Lord's day for the worship of God, and that they lived within five miles of the place of meeting." This made church attendance at one place or the other and a contribution of means to the support of some clergy compulsory, and would be looked upon today as out of harmony with the spirit of religious liberty. Yet the same principle was in the Johnston Sunday Bill, which was designed to be a law for the District of Columbia, in that the observance of a religious ordinance was to be made necessary to an exemption from the provisions of that proposed law. It need hardly be said that it is outside the legitimate functions of government to require the performance of religious rites, ceremonies, or ordinances.

Another point in which all such measures violate the principle of the equal rights of man is that a person, to be exempt from the prescribed penalties, must not only be an observer of some other day than Sunday as a sabbath, but he must belong to a religious society which observes that day. He must be able to show church-membership or suffer punishment for the performance of any labor on the first day of the week. A man's religious faith and practise would thus be made factors in the maintenance of his place as a free citizen in his own country. Such requirements savor not of liberty and equality, but of intolerance, tyranny, and persecution. This is not the spirit of advancement, but of retrogression, and no law fostering such conditions can be founded on equity.

While such bills as the one just considered were being introduced into Congress, a systematic agitation was inaugurated in the District of Columbia by the Ministerial Alliance of the District in favor of a stricter observance of Sunday. The organization of this campaign took place in St. Stephen's Church (Episcopal), in Washington, in November, 1907. On the twenty-fifth of that month a meeting in the interest of the Sunday-law campaign was held in the First Presbyterian Church, and Rev. Wallace H. Radcliffe, pastor of the church, was made chairman of the organization, whose chief purpose should be to create sentiment in favor of a Sunday law for the District, and work for the passage of any bill designed to enforce Sunday observance upon the people. At this meeting Catholics and Protestants (except Seventh-day Adventists) united their influence and power, binding themselves to work for a law that would compel the observance of Sunday. The various speakers at this meeting deprecated the fact that there was no civil law to which they could appeal for the enforcement of Sunday observance. It certainly did appear that with no law, either human or divine, the Sunday institution was in a bad way. But the lack of a divine command did not cause the convention so much concern as the lack of a human law.

May we not truthfully say that the religion which looks to an earthly government for its commands and examples in matters of religious faith and practise is hardly an affair of the conscience, of the heart, and of serious conviction? And the preaching that is of no avail when the government's example is against it, is not the kind of preaching that will do any harm to the kingdom of darkness or reap any very beneficial results for the kingdom of light.

At this meeting to which we refer, a committee was appointed to formulate a pastoral letter to be given out in the various churches after each pastor had preached a sermon on Sunday observance. A committee appointed to arrange for another mass-meeting was formed of laymen as well as clergymen, in order that it might not be embarrassed as was the committee of the previous year when asked by the District Commissioners whether the movement they represented was simply a ministers' movement.

Later the ministers of the District (except the Baptists and, of course, the Seventh-day Adventists) preached upon some phase of Sunday observance, urging the need of a national law in behalf of Sunday. Just previous to this Sunday symposium the Seventh-day Adventists of the District issued, and distributed systematically, a pamphlet protesting against religious legislation. The newspapers took it up, publishing the Sunday sermons of the Sunday-law advocates, and lengthy extracts from the pamphlet mentioned setting forth the reasons for opposition to such a law.

While this agitation was at its height, the following memorial was laid before the Senate, by Senator J. C. Burroughs of Michigan, and before the House of Representatives by Richard Bartholdt of Missouri:—

“To the Honorable Senate and House of Representatives in Congress Assembled.

“Your memorialists respectfully represent that the body of Christian believers with which they are connected, the Seventh-day Adventists, and whose views they represent, has a growing membership residing in every State and Territory in the Union; that nearly all these members are native-born American citizens; and that it is supporting missionaries and has a following

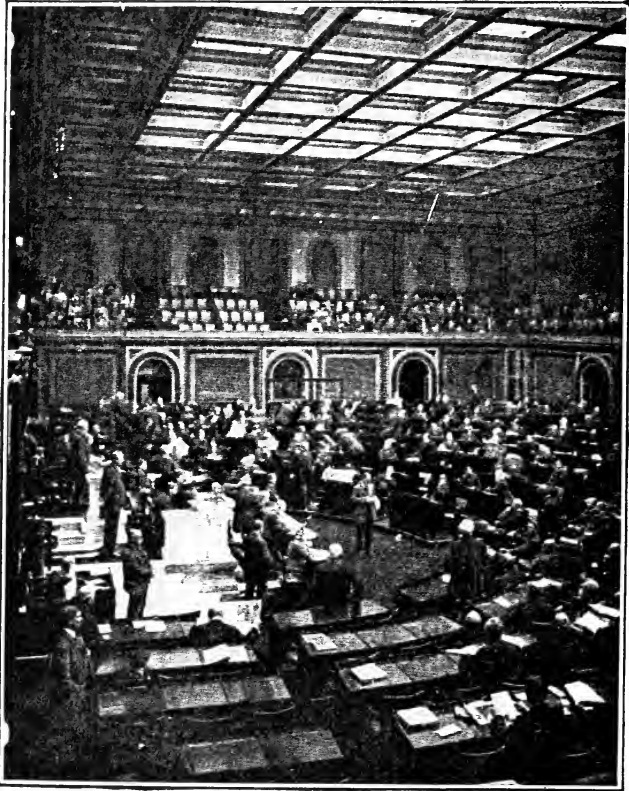
in every continent of the world. It is a Protestant body, which was established in this country about sixty years ago.

“We recognize the authority and dignity of the American Congress as being the highest lawmaking power in the land, to whose guidance and fostering care have been committed the manifold interests of this great country; and our justification for presenting this memorial to your honorable body is that we are not seeking to direct your attention to any private or class concerns, but to principles which are fundamental to the stability and prosperity of the whole nation. We therefore earnestly ask your consideration of the representation which we herewith submit:—

“We believe in civil government as having been divinely ordained for the preservation of the peace of society, and for the protection of all citizens in the enjoyment of those inalienable rights which are the highest gift to man from the Creator. We regard properly constituted civil authority as supreme in the sphere in which it is legitimately exercised, and we conceive its proper concern to be ‘the happiness and protection of men in the present state of existence; the security of the life, liberty, and property of the citizens; and to restrain the vicious and encourage the virtuous by wholesome laws equally extending to every individual.’ As law-abiding citizens, we seek to maintain that respect for authority which is the most effective bulwark of just government, and which is especially necessary for the maintenance of republican institutions upon an enduring basis.

“We heartily profess the Christian faith, and have no higher ambition than that we may consistently exemplify its principles in our relations to our fellow men and to the common Father of us all. We cheerfully devote

our time, our energies, and our means to the evangelization of the world, proclaiming those principles and doctrines of the gospel which were interpreted anew to man-



UNITED STATES SENATE

kind by the Saviour of the world, and which were the fundamental truths maintained by the church in apostolic times. We regard the Holy Scriptures as the suf-

ficient and infallible rule of faith and practise, and consequently discard as binding and essential all teachings and rituals which rest merely upon tradition and custom.

“While we feel constrained to yield to the claims of civil government and religion, as both being of divine origin, we believe their spheres to be quite distinct the one from the other, and that the stability of the republic and the highest welfare of all citizens demand the complete separation of church and state. The legitimate purposes of government ‘of the people, by the people, and for the people,’ are clearly defined in the preamble of the national Constitution to be to ‘establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty’ to all. All these aims are of a temporal nature, and grow out of the relations of man to man. The founders of the nation, recognizing that ‘the duty which we owe our Creator and the manner of discharging it can only be directed by reason and conviction, and is nowhere cognizable but at the tribunal of the universal Judge,’ wisely excluded religion from the concerns of civil government, not because of their indifference to its value, but because, being primarily a matter of the heart and conscience, it did not come within the jurisdiction of human laws or civil compacts. The recognition of the freedom of the mind of man and the policy of leaving the conscience untrammelled by legislative enactments have been abundantly justified by a record of national development and prosperity which is unparalleled in history. This is the testimony of our own experience to the wisdom embodied in the principle enunciated by the divine Teacher of Christianity: ‘Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar’s, and unto God the things that are God’s.’

“We, therefore, view with alarm the first indication of a departure from this sound principle. In the history of other nations of the world, where church and state have been united to a greater or less degree, or where the struggle to separate them is now in progress, we have a warning, oftentimes written in blood, against the violation of the doctrine which lies at the foundation of civil and religious liberty. We affirm that it is inconsistent with sound reasoning to profess firm adherence to this principle of the separation of church and state, and at the same time endeavor to secure an alliance between religion and the state, since the church is simply religion in its organized and concrete expression; and, furthermore, that the same authority which can distinguish between the different religions demanding recognition, and give preference to one to the exclusion of the others, can, with equal right and equal facility, distinguish between the different denominations or factions of the same religion, and dispense to one advantages which it denies to the others. These considerations ought to make it doubly clear that what God hath put asunder, man ought not to attempt to join together.

“A more specific reference to an important period of history may illustrate and enforce the affirmations herein set forth. Under a complete union of a heathen religion and a state, with extreme pains and penalties for dissenters, the first disciples, directed by the divine commission, proclaimed the doctrines of Christianity throughout the Roman Empire. For nearly three centuries the warfare of suppression and extinction was waged by this haughty power, glorying in the superiority of its own religion, against non-resistant but unyielding adherents to the right to worship according to the dictates of their own consciences. Then came a reversal of the un-

successful policy, and what former emperors had vainly sought to destroy, Constantine as a matter of governmental expediency embraced, and Christianity became the favored religion.

“Then began that period of ‘indescribable hypocrisy’ in religion, and of sycophancy and abuse of power in the state. ‘The apparent identification of the state and the church by the adoption of Christianity as the religion of the empire, altogether confounded the limits of ecclesiastical and temporal jurisdiction. The dominant party, when it could obtain the support of the civil power for the execution of its intolerant edicts, was blind to the dangerous and unchristian principle which it tended to establish. . . . Christianity, which had so nobly asserted its independence of thought and faith in the face of heathen emperors, threw down that independence at the foot of the throne, in order that it might forcibly extirpate the remains of paganism, and compel an absolute uniformity of Christian faith.’⁹

“‘To the reign of Constantine the Great must be referred the commencement of those dark and dismal times which oppressed Europe for a thousand years. . . . An ambitious man had attained to imperial power by personating the interests of a rapidly growing party. The unavoidable consequences were a union between church and state, a diverting of the dangerous classes from civil to ecclesiastical paths, and the decay and materialization of religion.’¹⁰ Succeeding decades bore testimony to the fact that ‘the state which seeks to advance Christianity by the worldly means at its command, may be the occasion of more injury to this holy cause than the earthly power which opposes it with whatever virulence.’¹¹

⁹ Milman.

¹⁰ Draper.

¹¹ Neander.

“It was but a series of logical steps from the union of church and state under Constantine to the dark ages and the Inquisition, some of these steps being the settlement of theological controversies by the civil power, the preference of one sect over another, and the prohibition of unauthorized forms of belief and practise, and the adoption of the unchristian principle that ‘it is right to compel men to believe what the majority of society had now accepted as the truth, and, if they refused, it was right to punish them.’

“All this terrible record, the horror of which is not lessened nor effaced by the lapse of time, is but the inevitable fruit of that acceptance of the unchristian and un-American doctrine, so inimical to the interests of both the church and the state, that an alliance between religion and civil government is advantageous to either. If the pages of history emphasize one lesson above another, it is the sentiment uttered on a memorable occasion by a former President of this republic: ‘Keep the state and the church forever separate.’¹²

“The American colonists who had lived in the mother country under a union of the state and religion which they did not profess, established on these shores colonial governments under which there was the closest union between the state and the religion which they did profess. The freedom of conscience which had been denied to them in the old country, they denied to others in the new country; and uniformity of faith, church attendance, and the support of the clergy were enforced by laws which arouse righteous indignation in the minds of liberty-loving men of this century. The pages of early American history are stained with the shameful record of the persecution which must always attend the attempt

¹² Pres. U. S. Grant.

to compel the conscience by enforcing religious observances. The Baptists were banished, the Quakers were whipped, good men were fined, or exposed to public contempt in the stocks, and cruel and barbarous punishments were inflicted upon those whose only crime was that they did not conform to the religion professed by the majority and enforced by the colonial laws. And all these outrages were committed in the name of justice, as penalties for the violation of civil laws. 'This was the justification they pleaded, and it was the best they could make. Miserable excuse! But just so it is: wherever there is such a union of church and state, heresy and heretical practises are apt to become violations of the civil code, and are punished no longer as errors in religion, but as infractions of the laws of the land.'¹³ Thus did the American colonies pattern after the governments of the Old World, and thus was religious persecution transplanted to the New World.

'We respectfully urge upon the attention of your honorable body the change which was made when the national government was established. The men of those times learned the meaning and value of liberty, not only of the body, but also of the mind; and '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 relations to God the principle first divinely ordained of God in Judea.'¹⁴ Warned by the disastrous results of religious establishments in both the Old and the New World, these wise builders of state excluded religion from the sphere of the national government in the express prohibition, 'Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.' Thus they founded a

¹³ Baird.¹⁴ Bancroft.

nation, the first in all history, upon the Christian idea of civil government,— the separation of church and state. And the century and more of liberty and prosperity which has crowned their efforts, and the wide-spread influence for good which the example of this nation has exerted upon the world at large in leading the way toward freedom from the bondage of religious despotisms and ecclesiastical tyrannies, have demonstrated the wisdom of their course. The 'new order of things,' to which testimony is borne on the reverse side of the great seal of the United States, introduced an era of both civil and religious liberty which has been marked by blessings many and great both to the nation and to religion.

"We are moved to present this memorial, however, because of the persistent and organized efforts which are being made to secure from Congress such legislation as will commit the national government to a violation of this great principle, and to the enforcement of a religious institution. Already there have been introduced during the present session of Congress five bills of this nature:—

"S. 1519, 'A Bill to prevent Sunday banking in post-offices in the handling of money-orders and registered letters.'

"H. R. 4897, 'A Bill to further protect the first day of the week as a day of rest in the District of Columbia.'

"H. R. 4929, 'A Bill prohibiting labor on buildings, and so forth, in the District of Columbia on the Sabbath day.'

"H. R. 13471, 'A Bill prohibiting work in the District of Columbia on the first day of the week, commonly called Sunday.'

"S. 3940, 'A Bill requiring certain places of business in the District of Columbia to be closed on Sunday.'

"While a merely cursory reading of the titles of these

bills may not indicate clearly their full significance, we affirm that an examination of their provisions will reveal the fact that they involve the vital principle of the relation of government to religion. Their passage would mark the first step on the part of the national government in the path of religious legislation,— a path which leads inevitably to religious persecution. If government may by law settle one religious controversy and enforce one religious institution, it may logically settle all religious controversies and enforce all religious institutions, which would be the complete union of church and state and the establishment of religion by law. We seek to avoid the consequences by denying the principle. We are assured that the only certain way to avoid taking the last step in this dangerous experiment upon our liberties is to refuse to take the first step.

“We hold it to be the duty of civil government to protect every citizen in his right to believe or not to believe, to worship or not to worship, so long as in the exercise of this right he does not interfere with the rights of others; but ‘to pretend to a dominion over the conscience is to usurp the prerogative of God.’ However desirable it may seem to us who profess the Christian faith to use the power of the government to compel at least an outward respect for Christian institutions and practises, yet it is contrary to the very genius of Christianity to enforce its doctrines or to forge shackles of any sort for the mind. The holy Author of our religion recognized this great principle in these words: ‘If any man hear my words, and believe not, I judge him not.’ The triumphs of the gospel are to be won by spiritual rather than by temporal power; and compulsion may be properly employed only to make men civil.

“Therefore, in the interest of the nation, whose pros-

perity we seek; in the interest of pure religion, for whose advancement we labor; in the interest of all classes of citizens, whose rights are involved; in the interest of a world-wide liberty of conscience, which will be affected by the example of this nation; in the interest even of those who are urging this legislation, who are thereby forging fetters for themselves as well as for others, we earnestly petition the honorable Senate and the House of Representatives in Congress assembled, not to enact any religious legislation of any kind whatsoever, and particularly not to pass the bills to which reference has been made in this memorial. And for these objects your memorialists, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

“THE GENERAL CONFERENCE OF SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTISTS.

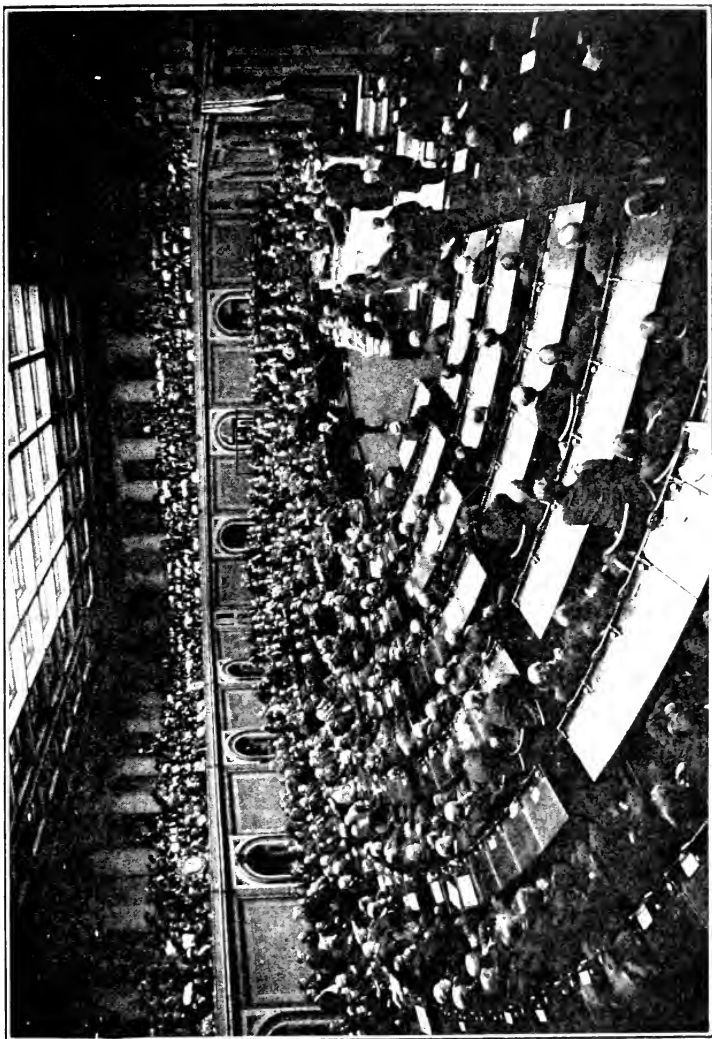
“A. G. DANIELLS, *President*.

“W. A. SPICER, *Secretary*.”

This memorial was presented on Jan. 29, 1908, and was printed in the Congressional Record of that date. The Seventh-day Baptists also memorialized Congress in opposition to the passage of any legislation of this character. The memorial presented by this body was laid before Congress on March 3, and was printed in the Congressional Record of that date. It reads as follows:—

“To the Honorable Senate and House of Representatives in Congress Assembled.

“The Seventh-day Baptists of the United States, for and in behalf of whom this memorial is laid before you, beg leave to call attention to their record as advocates and defenders of constitutional, civil, and religious liberty ever since their organization in Newport, R. I., in 1671 A. D. That record includes colonial governments, the Continental Congress, where they were represented



HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

by Hon. Samuel Ward, services of German Seventh-day Baptists of Ephrata, Pa., and other points of interest. Having such a history and inheritance, we respectfully and confidently ask and petition that you will not enact any of the following bills. [A list is given of the same bills that were specified in the memorial presented by the Seventh-day Adventists.]

“We base this memorial on the following grounds: —

“First. The Constitution of the United States declares that ‘Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.’ That Sunday legislation is forbidden under this act is shown by the records of Congress from 1808 to 1830. The question came to the front under an act of April 30, 1810, establishing the Postal Department and requiring the opening of post-offices and the transmission of mail on every day in the week. Remonstrances and petitions followed the enactment of this law. Postmaster-General Gideon Granger, Jan. 30, 1811, reported that he had sent the following instructions to post-masters: —

“‘At post-offices where the mail arrives on Sunday, the office is to be kept open for the delivery of letters, etc., for one hour after the arrival and sorting of the mail; but in case that would interfere with the hours of public worship, then the office is to be kept open for one hour after the usual time of dissolving the meetings, for that purpose.’

“He also reported that an officer had been prosecuted in Pennsylvania for refusing to deliver a letter on Sunday not called for within the time prescribed, and said he doubted whether mail could be legally refused to any citizen at any reasonable hour on any day of the week. (See ‘American State Papers.’ Vol. XV, page 45.)

“Reports, discussions, and petitions concerning Sunday mails crowded the annals of Congress from 1811 to 1830. Mr. Rhea, chairman of the committee on post-offices, reported adversely concerning efforts to secure a change in the law requiring Sunday opening, on Jan. 3, 1812, June 15, 1812, and Jan. 20, 1815, saying:—

“‘The usage of transporting the mails on the Sabbath is coeval with the Constitution of the United States.’

“Jan. 27, 1815, Mr. Daggett made an adverse report, that was considered by the House in committee of the whole, Feb. 10, 1815, and after various efforts at amendment, was passed as follows:—

“‘*Resolved*, That at this time it is inexpedient to interfere and pass any laws on the subject-matter of the several petitions praying the prohibition of the transportation and opening of the mail on Sunday.’

“March 3, 1825, an act was passed ‘to reduce into one the several acts establishing the Post-office Department,’ section 2 of which reads as follows:—

“‘*And be it further enacted*, That every postmaster shall keep an office in which one or more persons shall attend on every day on which a mail shall arrive, by land or water, as well as on other days, at such hours as the Postmaster-General shall direct, for the purpose of performing the duties thereof; and it shall be the duty of the postmaster, at all reasonable hours, on every day of the week, to deliver, on demand, any letter, paper, or packet, to the person entitled to, or authorized to receive, the same.’

“This renewed the discussion throughout the country, and Congress was flooded with petitions and counter-petitions, which were referred to the committee on post-offices and post-roads, of which Richard M. Johnson was chairman. He made an elaborate report to the Senate,

Jan. 19, 1829, and to the House March 4, 5, 1830. These reports were exhaustive and able documents. They centered around the question of Congressional legislation on religious subjects, all phases of which were considered with marked ability and candor.

“When he presented the report before the Senate, Mr. Johnson said:—

““Now, some denominations consider one day the most sacred, and some look to another, and these petitions for the repeal of the law of 1825 did, in fact, call upon Congress to settle what was the law of God. The committee had framed their report upon principles of policy and expediency. It was but the first step taken, that they were to legislate upon religious grounds, and it made no sort of difference which was the day asked to be set apart, which day was to be considered sacred, whether it was the first or the seventh, the principle was wrong. It was upon this ground that the committee went in making their report.’—‘*Register of Debates in Congress,*’ Vol. V, pages 42, 43.

“Representative passages from Senator Johnson’s report are as follows:—

““Extensive religious combinations, to effect a political object, are, in the opinion of the committee, always dangerous. This first effort of the kind calls for the establishment of a principle which, in the opinion of the committee, would lay the foundation for dangerous innovations upon the spirit of the Constitution and upon the religious rights of the citizens. . . .

““Congress has never legislated upon the subject. It rests, as it ever has done, in the legal discretion of the Postmaster-General, under the repeated refusals of Congress to discontinue the Sabbath mails. . . .

““While the mail is transported on Saturday, the

Jew and the Sabbatarian may abstain from any agency in carrying it, from conscientious scruples. While it is transported on the first day of the week, any other class may abstain, from the same religious scruples. The obligation of the government is the same to both these classes; and the committee can discern no principle on which the claims of one should be respected more than those of the other, unless it should be admitted that the consciences of the minority are less sacred than those of the majority.'— *S. Docs. 2d ses., Twentieth Congress, Doc. 46; also 'Register of Debates,' Vol. V, appen., page 24.*

“The adoption of Mr. Johnson’s report settled the question of Sunday legislation for Congress for many years. Its revival calls forth this memorial asking that Congress will not reverse its decision made in 1830.

“Second. In addition to the fact that after a discussion lasting twenty years, Congress determined to abide by its Constitutional restrictions touching Sunday laws, we offer another objection to the bills now before it. Leaving out the historical fact that Sunday laws have always been avowedly religious, we call attention to the religious elements and principles contained in the bills now before you. They create crime by assuming that secular labor and ordinary worldly affairs become criminal at twelve o’clock on Saturday night, and cease to be criminal twenty-four hours later; they assume that the specific twenty-four hours known as the ‘first day’ of the week must not be devoted to ordinary affairs, because of the sinfulness and immorality resulting from such use of those specific hours. The fact that religious leaders are the main promoters of Sunday legislation shows that religious convictions are at the basis of Sunday laws, and that religious ends are sought through their enforcement.

The terms used, although somewhat modified in modern times, denote that the proposed laws spring from religious conceptions. There can be no distinction between 'secular' and 'sacred,' 'worldly' and 'unworldly,' except on religious grounds. There is no reason, either in logic or in the nature of our civil institutions, why the first day of the week should be legislated into a day of idleness any more than the fourth day. Through all history cessation from 'worldly pursuits,' on either the first or the seventh day of the week, has been considered a form of religious duty.

"Actions and transactions intrinsically right which promote prosperity, good order, and righteousness, cannot be changed into crimes at a given moment,— by the clock,— and purged from criminality 'by act of parliament' twenty-four hours later.

"If there be need of protecting employed persons from abuse or overwork, that need will be met in full by some law like the following:—

"*Be it enacted,* That every employed person shall be entitled to one day of rest each week. The claiming of this right shall not prejudice, injure, nor interfere with any engagement, position, employment, or remuneration as between employed persons and those by whom they are employed.'

"In view of the foregoing, and of many similar reasons, your memorialists respectfully urge Congress not to enact any of the Sunday-law bills now before your honorable body.

"In behalf of the Seventh-day Baptists of the United States, by the American Sabbath Tract Society, Plainfield, N. J.,

"STEPHEN BABCOCK, *President;*

"ABRAHAM HERBERT LEWIS,

"*Corresponding Secretary.*"

In spite of these earnest and logical remonstrances, and in spite of thousands of protesting petitions which poured in from all parts of the country, the Senate, on May 15, 1908, passed the measure. The bill then went to the House and was referred to the House Committee on the District of Columbia. On Feb. 15, 1909, a hearing on the House substitute for the Johnston Sunday Bill was held before the House Committee on the District of Columbia. The measure was faithfully canvassed in all its aspects. Possibly as a result of the earnest setting forth of the iniquitous character of the proposed legislation, and possibly because of the shortness of the time,—for one reason or the other,—the bill was not reported out of the committee, and died with the close of Congress.

This was the strongest effort yet made to turn the nation backward from its course of more than a hundred years in the matter of enacting laws dealing with religious affairs. The persistence of those who are agitating for such legislation, the extent and the continued growth of the organizations banded together for that object, are a certain indication that the effort will not be abandoned with this defeat, and that future efforts will be more powerful than this.

If further evidence in this matter were needed, it has been already furnished in the action taken by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America during the session of that body at Philadelphia, Pa., Dec. 2-8, 1908. It was stated by the president of that organization in his opening address that the delegates there assembled "represented thirty denominations and eighteen million communicants." It was further declared that this organization represented in its family connections more than half the population of the United States.

In view of the consolidation of power and influence represented by this organization, the position which it assumes upon any question is a matter of no little consequence. It did not hesitate to define its position upon



BISHOP E. R. HENDRIX

First president of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

the question of religious legislation, as the following resolution will testify:—

“Resolved,
That all encroachments upon the claims and sanctities of the Lord’s day should be stoutly resisted through the press, the Lord’s Day Associations and Alliances, and by *such legislation as may be secured* to protect

and preserve the bulwark of our American Christianity. [Italics ours.]

“That we rejoice in the prospect of unity of action among the various organizations striving in America for the preservation of the Lord’s day as a day for rest and worship.”

The first of these resolutions is a summons to Protestant organizations very similar to that issued by the *Northwestern Chronicle* (Catholic), as previously quoted in this chapter. It is a matter of considerable significance that a representative organ of the Catholic Church in America and an organization representing such a large proportion of the Protestant churches in America should both be summoning Protestant organizations to rally to the defense of a certain religious institution by securing legislation in its behalf. It is also a matter of no little moment that such a large and representative body as the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America should be definitely planning to bring about the establishment of a religious practise by force of civil law; that so large a body should throw the weight of its mighty influence in favor of a union of religion and the government in this country, which was established upon the opposite basis, and whose fundamental law forbids it.

The second resolution is broad in its scope. It does not specify Catholic organizations; neither does it specify Protestant organizations. It must be taken as including both, and as signifying the desire of that great organization to join with the Catholic element in this country in the effort to secure legislation enforcing upon the people the observance of a religious institution.

While the discussion of the committee's report was in progress, the temper of the organization was severely tested by the introduction of the following resolution:—

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

This resolution stirred the convention as nothing previously had done. A number of delegates were on their feet at the same time demanding to be heard. It was not much that was asked — merely that the conscientious convictions of their Seventh-day Baptist brethren be not interfered with. But in spite of an earnest and logical plea from one of that denomination, Dr. Arthur E. Main, and another by a Baptist who was not an observer of the seventh-day Sabbath, the resolution was overwhelmingly lost amid a vigorous demonstration of satisfaction. Thus did this great organization at one stroke put itself on record as advocating religious legislation, repudiating religious liberty even for the members of its own organization, and taking a position in harmony with the Church of Rome, so far as its attitude toward the fundamental principles of the nation is concerned. Thus are these great forces in America — Roman Catholicism and federated Protestantism — united upon one great issue, the enforcement of the Sunday sabbath upon all the people, without regard to conscientious convictions. What God has separated they have joined. What God has joined they have separated: they have thrust in between man and his Maker a wall of human ceremony, human requirements, and human prohibitions. Conscience must be supreme in religious matters, else men can be naught but hypocrites. But this religio-political unification of the whole country assumes to override conscience, lay an embargo upon its functions, and claim for itself the authority to designate men's religious obligations and requirements. A more perfect machine for the manufacture of insincere professors of religion was never devised; but it is the same machine that has filled the earth with the graves of martyrs; and Rome is leading the procession to that goal.

Inspiration has plainly designated a power which was to bear sway for a time over all the earth. That power the revelator calls "the beast," and concerning it he says: "And the whole earth wondered after the beast; and they worshiped the dragon, because he gave his authority unto the beast." Rev. 13: 3, 4. That power is also represented as one which man is powerless to oppose. The question is asked: "Who is like unto the beast? who is able to make war with him?" Above all human power, and unlike any other power,— these are two of the chief characteristics of the organization referred to.

There can be no question as to the identity of that power; for its characteristics are too prominent to admit of uncertainty. It was to make war with the saints and prevail against them, a statement that could not be made truthfully of paganism; for in spite of the persecutions under pagan emperors, Christianity continued to increase. Christians were sawn asunder, torn to pieces, thrown to the wild beasts of the arena to make a Roman holiday, burned alive as torches to light up the Roman theater, slain by the thousands by the soldiers of the realm; but paganism never prevailed over the Christians. In fact, Constantine, on coming to the throne, found them so numerous and so stanch, that he thought it wiser to enlist their support than to continue the war against them. But following paganism there did come a power that made war against the Christians and prevailed. Paganism persecuted; the apostasy that developed into the Papacy fondled and flattered — and persecuted, and that till the objects of her wrath were either dead or hidden away in the fastnesses of the mountains.

That power took all the titles of divinity and applied them to its chief official; set its head above the law of Jehovah, and even assaulted heaven itself in its blas-

phemous assumption of the right of opening and shutting heaven, forgiving sins, and releasing from punishment beyond the grave, for a monetary consideration, making merchandise of the "souls of men." ¹⁵

The time of the rule of that power is also prophetically foretold, and the prophecy already fulfilled — another incontrovertible means of identifying it. The prophecy further declares that this power will again bear sway as in days of old; but that consummation is brought about through the agency of another power, designated by the same prophetic writer as "another beast." That other beast is not itself an image of the first-mentioned power; but it says to "them that dwell on the earth that *they* should make an image to the beast who hath the stroke of the sword and lived." Rev. 13: 14. That other beast, however, has power to "give breath to it, even to the image of the beast." The second power, the other "beast," thus becomes the prime mover, the invigorator, the inspirer, of the image that is set up, which all men throughout the world are commanded to worship under pain of death.

What power is that other "beast," or power, which the prophet describes? Is there any movement in any nation which bids fair to give strong assistance to the fulfilment of the purposes of the papal power? The Papacy is looking to the United States as her child of promise, her youngest and fairest, from whom she expects much. She leaves no agency untried that will help in achieving her ends. One of her principal objects just now is to bring America under her control, to use America as her instrument in accomplishing her purpose to rule the world temporally and spiritually, without let or hindrance. She designs to bring the whole world

¹⁵ Rev. 18: 13.

under her dominance, and chiefly through the influence which America, under her control, will enable her to exert upon the rest of the nations. So reads the prophecy, and so is shaping Rome's purpose.

Has Rome hopes of bringing that about? On Aug. 8, 1908, "Father" A. P. Doyle, the rector of the Apostolic Mission House at the Catholic University in Washington, D. C., was graciously received by the Pope. It is reported that the rector succeeded in stirring up the usually calm waters of the Vatican with his enthusiastic prophecies concerning the triumphs of the Catholic Church in America. "Father" Doyle had in charge that department of the Catholic work in America whose object is the winning of Protestants to Catholicism. That work is represented as being wonderfully successful. The press report of the rector's visit to the Vatican says:—

"With the optimism of all prophets and proselytizers, he predicts that, through the work of the Mission House, in a few years the Roman Catholics in the United States will be four times as many as they are now, reaching the figures of sixty to seventy-five millions, so that America will be practically a Catholic country.

"Father Doyle submitted his plans of organization to the Pope, Cardinal Merry del Val, and to other members of the sacred college, and succeeded in impressing all with the enthusiasm he had for the success of the enterprise. According to his calculations, if he were to receive the support needed, in ten years from now two hundred million more English-speaking people will have joined the Roman Catholic Church.

"Mgr. Merry del Val, in speaking of Father Doyle, said that he has followed with keenest interest the growth of the work since its beginning ten years ago, and that

he seemed to have a comprehensive knowledge of the wonderful results secured by arousing among the priesthood an all-consuming zeal for convert-making by sending trained missionaries to address non-Catholics and by instituting centers of missionary energy.

“The Secretary of State thinks that the time is particularly ripe for an aggressive propaganda among the English-speaking peoples. The cardinal continued: ‘The way mission work has been carried on in the United States shows that it has been inspired with the ripest wisdom. There undoubtedly is, on the part of non-Catholics, a desire to know what the Catholic Church teaches. Non-Catholics are looking to the Catholic Church as one which speaks with authority.’”

The same kind of work which “Father” Doyle was directing in the United States at the time of his death, and which has proved so successful and satisfactory to the hierarchy, has begun to be organized in England. It is not without significance that such a work as this should have been instituted in America. It seems not to have been a plan that was originated in Rome, but was initiated here by American Catholics, and later received the indorsement of the Vatican officials. The fact that English Roman Catholics are to follow the lead of America is also significant; for was not that other “beast” to make “the earth and them that dwell therein to worship the first beast, whose death-stroke was healed”? Purpose and prophecy have met, and Rome’s purpose will fulfil the prophecy. She is not working for the special purpose of fulfilling this or any other prophecy; but she cannot accomplish her purpose without showing in her acts the complete fulfilment of those prophetic words; and the influence of America is to be most powerful in ushering in the fulfilment of that prophetic declaration.

The purpose of the Apostolic Mission House is also the purpose of the American Federation of Catholic Societies. The one is to make America Catholic through individual accessions to the Roman Catholic Church, the other to make America Catholic through political influence. They are working along different lines, but to the same end, and both by their success are securing the benedictions of the Vatican. At the same time American Protestants are being lulled to sleep by pastors who have forgotten for what Protestantism stands and are extolling the wonderful progress of the Church of Rome, and by other Protestants who are uniting their influence with hers to introduce in America that régime which made Rome the ecclesiastical Juggernaut of the world — a union of religion and the state.

The extent to which Rome claims jurisdiction over peoples and over the rulers of peoples is shown in the declaration of Pope Innocent III to Otho of Saxony: "By the authority which God has given us in the person of St. Peter, we declare you king, and we order the people to render you, in this capacity, homage and obedience. We, however, shall expect you to subscribe to all our desires as a return for the imperial crown."¹⁶ It is thus seen that the Pope considers it his special and exclusive prerogative to compel the people to yield allegiance to the ruler whom he shall choose. He is the self-appointed ruler of the world and the dispenser of the destinies of all the people. As "Rome never changes," that is the doctrine of the church now even as in the days of the Pope who uttered it; and the hierarchy today looks upon the rulers of the nations and the peoples of the nations as Innocent III looked upon Otho of Saxony and the subjects of that ruler.

¹⁶ Cormenin, Vol. I, page 459.

And thus does that hierarchy look upon America, its ruler, and its people.

Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty; but America has ceased to be vigilant. "America all Catholic" is the purpose of Rome; and she will achieve her purpose for aught that the great religious bodies of America are doing to prevent it. America, through the wonderful influence which she wields, will give life to that "image to the beast" whose work fills up the cup of this world's iniquity. The prophecy and the purpose are working out together, and the present trend of events indicates that America's glorious heritage of religious liberty will soon be among the things that were but are not.

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

CHAPTER XXV

Heaven's Answer to Earth's Great Problem

THE great problem now before the world is the attainment of righteousness. How can it be done? Jesus Christ gave himself to the human family to solve that problem, to put the reign of righteousness in the place of the reign of sin, and in doing it to teach the beauty of holiness and the ugliness of iniquity. The race has made slow progress in learning that lesson. Individuals have learned it, but the mass has gone on in sin.

Governments cannot compel righteousness. They would need first to compel men to love righteousness, and thereby learn to practise it; but love cannot be forced. Men will not do from choice what they do not love to do; and it is only the power that is in the gospel that can cause men to love to do right, and to hate to do wrong. The gospel, in doing that work, converts and transforms the lives and the souls of men, and lifts them out of the demon-rule of sin into the Christ-rule of justice, mercy, and love. That work is a religious work. It lays hold upon the inner reins of men. It deals with spiritual things rather than with the things of our temporal concern. That work cannot be accomplished by force. As well try to make a rose bloom by forcing its petals open with the trowel of the gardener. Only to his chosen and acknowledged followers has Christ given the commission to promulgate the gospel. No state has ever received the gospel commission, and no church was ever commissioned to control a state.

With the wonderful progress of the race in knowledge and invention, there has seemed to come a startling deterioration of moral fiber, so that under the stress of strong temptation the souls of trusted and respected men have collapsed like sod houses in a cyclone. Communities have wondered and churches have been shocked at the downfall of such men, who have sold their souls to increase their income, and have trafficked in vice to pile up a legacy of luxury, lust, and idleness for their posterity.

The contagion of moral leprosy has entered even the church, and wealthy pew-renters, through a monopoly of trade, have laid greedy and lawless hands upon the people, and have taken from them their means, more genteelly, perhaps, but with as much remorselessness as does the pistol-wielding footpad. In every avenue of life are seen startling evidences of moral obliquity — from the farmer who puts his small potatoes in the middle of his sack and his little strawberries in the bottom of his basket, to the trusted officials of great cities who link arms with gamblers, desperadoes, and venders of vice, and from that union in villainy line their pockets with gold, while they sew lead weights in the shrouds of their consciences. The world has been running in that rut for a long time, and the rut has become well-nigh hub-deep.

The diagnosis proves that the world is literally sick — sick unto death — with sin. What is the remedy? God has one, and it is the only one that will touch the ailment; it is the gospel. Some *men* think *they* have a remedy; and the one which they propose touches in vital fashion the question of which this work treats, the liberty of the soul.

To remedy these conditions the National Reform

Association proposes to establish the national government upon a religious basis; to make the Constitution of the nation a foundation on which to build a superstructure of religious laws, strengthened by the sword of the civil power; to establish a religious test by civil enactment, and lay the heavy hand of the state on any practiser of religion out of harmony with the creed adopted by the government. In that way, it is hoped to bring in a reign of "civic righteousness;" to enthrone Christ as King of the nation; to make of the ballot-box a sort of "ark of the covenant," and of the polling-place a remodeled sanctuary, so that men and women may "march up to the polls to worship God."

The plea is made that "the kingdom of Christ must enter the realm of law through the gateway of politics." In accord with that plan is this declaration from an adherent of that program:—

"I want to see the day come when the church will be the arbiter of all legislation, State, national, and municipal; when the great churches of the country can come together harmoniously and issue their edict, and the legislative powers will respect it and enact it into laws."

Said a prominent delegate at the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, held in New York in 1905: "I trust that one of the practical results of this conference will be the organization of a force that law-breakers and lawmakers will respect and heed. . . . It is our province in the name of our supreme King, to ask rulers to respect the code of our kingdom. Rulers may ignore sects, but they will respect the church. This federation will compel an audience, and it will speak with power if it will put aside its differences and make its agreement its argument."¹

¹ Rev. Charles A. Dickey, D. D., LL. D.,

This control of the civil power by federated religion, this transformation of the national government that it may speak the mind of the church, is all to be done in order to usher in the coming of the kingdom of Christ, and to establish righteousness in the earth. That is, to them, the second coming of Christ, the abolishment of sin, the realization of the Christian's hope, the establishment of that eternal kingdom of righteousness which the prophets foretold and for which the saints of the Most High have prayed with undying fervor.

But such a program carried out would create a second Papacy,—a government ruled by the church, enforcing the dictates of the church, making compulsory the religious faith and formulæ of the church, gripping the throat of conscience with a clutch of steel, and repressing every aspiration of the soul not authorized and legalized by the laws of the realm. Now, it takes more than ceremony to make a saint, and it takes more than the enforcement of religion by law to bring in the everlasting kingdom of God in this world. That program is the program of man. God's program for the eradication of sin and the establishment of his kingdom of everlasting righteousness is quite different. In fact, the two programs are the direct antipodes of each other. Man's program stands for compulsion in religious things; God's program stands for freedom of choice. "Choose you this day whom ye will serve," is God's permission as well as his command. Man's program does not solve the great problem of the establishment of the kingdom of righteousness in this part of God's universe. It does not bring the enthronement of Christ as King of this world.

What is Heaven's solution?

When Jesus Christ left this world, he left with this promise: "And if I go and prepare a place for you, I will

come again;" and as his disappointed disciples stood gazing up into heaven with eyes riveted upon their disappearing Lord, "behold two men stood by them in white apparel; who also said, Ye men of Galilee, why stand ye looking into heaven? this Jesus, who was received up from you into heaven, shall so come in like manner as ye beheld him going into heaven."² "Immediately after the tribulation of those days³ the sun shall be darkened, and the moon shall not give her light, and the stars shall fall from heaven, and the powers of the heavens shall be shaken; and then shall appear the sign of the Son of man in heaven: and then shall all the tribes of the earth mourn, and they shall see the Son of man coming in the clouds of heaven with power and great glory. And he shall send forth his angels with a great sound of a trumpet, and they shall gather together his elect from the four winds, from one end of heaven to the other."⁴

There is nothing figurative or symbolical in this language. Our Lord himself is making a straightforward declaration in the plainest of words, which it is impossible to misunderstand. He is coming. He declares it himself. The angels declared he would come "in like manner as ye beheld him going into heaven." "A cloud received him out of their sight."⁵ He himself says we shall "see the Son of man coming on the clouds of heaven." In the book of Revelation, as spokesman for Jesus, John says: "Behold, he cometh with the clouds; and every eye shall see him, and they that pierced him."⁶

This, too, is very plain, very literal, very hard to in-

² Acts 1: 10, 11.

³ The tribulation here referred to was the long period of papal persecution.

⁴ Matt. 24: 29-31.

⁵ Acts 1: 9.

⁶ Rev. 1: 7.

terpret in any other way than according to the common meaning of the words used by Inspiration. This is not a coming in the dark, or at death, or at conversion; for "every eye shall see him;" and the sight of him on the clouds of heaven surrounded by "all the holy angels," strikes terror into the hearts of the many, while it thrills the hearts of others with joy unspeakable. Concerning that event, we have already read, "Then shall all the tribes of the earth mourn." Again: "The heaven was removed as a scroll when it is rolled up; and every mountain and island were moved out of their places. And the kings of the earth, and the princes, and the chief captains, and the rich, and the strong, and every bondman and freeman, hid themselves in the caves and in the rocks of the mountains; and they say to the mountains and to the rocks, Fall on us, and hide us from the face of him that sitteth on the throne, and from the wrath of the Lamb: for the great day of their wrath is come; and who is able to stand?"⁷

They have seen what the Saviour declared they would see; and the sight has filled them with terror unutterable. They know their lives are out of harmony with God's law; that the records of their doings are not fit for any one to look upon. They have denied their Lord, refused his offers of mercy and of salvation, and know now that there is nothing before them but the reward of the wicked, of which they have all been warned. Many of them have been taught to believe in eternal torment; and the sight of the Creator whom they have rejected and blasphemed overwhelms them with frantic terror. They would welcome death as a boon if only it might take them out of the presence of their Maker, who stands now revealed in the clouds of heaven ready to speak the word that will put

⁷ Rev. 6: 14-17.

an end to sinners and to sin. It will be at the same time the most awful and the most blessed day this world has ever seen,—awful to those who have chosen their own ways in preference to the ways of God, and blessed to those who have accepted the life and the sacrifice of Jesus Christ in their behalf and are now to enter upon the reward of the righteous, which is immortality, the fruition of the work of Christ for man. Of that day Paul speaks thus:—

“To you that are afflicted rest with us, at the revelation of the Lord Jesus from heaven with the angels of his power in flaming fire, rendering vengeance to them that know not God, and to them that obey not the gospel of our Lord Jesus: who shall suffer punishment, even eternal destruction from the face of the Lord and from the glory of his might, when he shall come to be glorified in his saints, and to be marveled at in all them that believe . . . in that day.”⁸

The cessation of the reign of sin and the establishment of the reign of righteousness are brought to view by the revelator: “Seal not up the words of the prophecy of this book; for the time is at hand. He that is unrighteous, let him do unrighteousness still: and he that is filthy, let him be made filthy still: and he that is righteous, let him do righteousness still: and he that is holy, let him be made holy still. Behold, I come quickly; and my reward is with me, to render to each man according as his work is. I am the Alpha and the Omega, the first and the last, the beginning and the end. Blessed are they that wash their robes, that they may have the right to come to the tree of life, and may enter in by the gates into the city. Without are the dogs, and the sorcerers, and the fornicators, and the murderers, and the

⁸ 2 Thess. 1: 7-10.

idolaters, and every one that loveth and maketh a lie.”⁹

That is the Almighty's separation of the sheep from the goats, the righteous from the unrighteous. It marks the end of probation, which settles the case of every soul. When that decree has been issued in heaven, and that instantaneous work of separation is made in the earth, then, in the language just quoted, Jesus Christ will “come quickly,” and his reward will be with him, “to render to each man according as his work is.” The reward of the righteous will be everlasting peace and happiness and joy in the presence of him who gave his life for them. That scripture announces the fact of his coming; the following reveals the manner:—

“For the Lord himself shall descend from heaven, with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of God: and the dead in Christ shall rise first; then we that are alive, that are left, shall together with them be caught up in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air: and so shall we ever be with the Lord. Wherefore comfort one another with these words. . . . The day of the Lord so cometh as a thief in the night. When they are saying, Peace and safety, then sudden destruction cometh upon them, as travail upon a woman with child; and they shall in no wise escape.”¹⁰

These scriptures contain a sign of the end as well as a description of our Lord's return. “When they are saying, Peace and safety,” the time of deliverance is near. This generation is the generation of the peace movement, of the erection of the Peace Palace, of international arbitration. As surely as God's Word is true, that peace movement proclaims the nearness of the time when the great problem of the world will be solved, but solved in God's way, not man's. There is no question that it

⁹ Rev. 22: 10-15.

¹⁰ 1 Thess. 4: 16-18.

will be solved for all eternity; for we read in Nahum's prophecy this declaration of Heaven's intention: "What do ye devise against Jehovah? he will make a full end; affliction shall not rise up the second time. For entangled like thorns, and drunken as with their drink, they are consumed utterly as dry stubble."¹¹

The Lord, through the prophet Malachi, speaking of the same time and the same work of uprooting and eradicating sin, says:—

"For, behold, the day cometh, it burneth as a furnace; and all the proud, and all that work wickedness, shall be stubble; and the day that cometh shall burn them up, saith Jehovah of hosts, that it shall leave them neither root nor branch. But unto you that fear my name shall the sun of righteousness arise with healing in its wings; and ye shall go forth, and gambol as calves of the stall. And ye shall tread down the wicked; for they shall be ashes under the soles of your feet in the day that I make, saith Jehovah of hosts."¹²

This has not yet taken place; the words of the scripture indicate unmistakably that it is to take place before the establishment of the kingdom of Christ in this earth. It leaves no place for the transformation of the kingdoms of this world into the kingdom of Christ by a political process such as the National Reform Association and its allies contemplate.

When all who work wickedness are burned up as the stubble of the field, so that they have become nothing but ashes under the feet of the righteous, the iniquity of this world will have come to an end. Then only the righteous are in existence, and only righteousness is being done. The kingdom of Christ, then, will have been truly established, and that not by the people marching

¹¹ Nahum 1: 9, 10.

¹² Mal. 4: 1-3.

“up to the polls to worship God;” not by the amendment of national constitutions so that they will recognize God and Jesus Christ; not by the enforcement of religious practises by civil laws with pains and penalties attached; but by the utter annihilation of sin and sinners, “root and branch,” after they have rejected the last solemn warnings and invitations of the Most High. Nor do they perish unwarned. Said Jesus:—

“This gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in the whole world for a testimony unto all nations; and then shall the end come.”¹³

While that testimony is being borne to all nations, it is speaking to the hearts of individuals. It is individuals, and not nations, that have souls to be saved. This is plainly taught by this scripture:—

“Though these three men, Noah, Daniel, and Job, were in it [the earth], they should deliver but their own souls by their righteousness, saith the Lord Jehovah.”¹⁴

The following scripture also indicates the same, and teaches that Jesus Christ, at his coming, does not take the kingdoms of this world and build them into his everlasting kingdom, but destroys them utterly, that he may establish *in their places* his eternal kingdom:—

“I will tell of the decree: Jehovah said unto me, Thou art my Son; this day have I begotten thee. Ask of me, and I will give thee the nations for thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession. Thou shalt break them with a rod of iron; thou shalt dash them in pieces like a potter’s vessel.”¹⁵

That breaking to pieces of the nations, and that complete annihilation of sin and all that goes with it, is a part of that event of which Peter speaks:—

“The heavens that now are, and the earth, by the

¹³ Matt. 24: 14.

¹⁴ Eze. 14: 14.

¹⁵ Ps. 2: 7-9.

same word have been stored up for fire, being reserved against the day of judgment and destruction of ungodly men. . . . The day of the Lord will come as a thief; in the which the heavens shall pass away with a great noise, and the elements shall be dissolved with fervent heat, and the earth and the works that are therein shall be burned up. Seeing that these things are thus all to be dissolved, what manner of persons ought ye to be in all holy living and godliness, looking for and earnestly desiring the coming of the day of God, by reason of which the heavens being on fire shall be dissolved, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat? But, according to his promise, we look for new heavens and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness." ¹⁶

Language thus plain needs no labored explanation. These scriptures make it very clear that the setting up of the kingdom of Christ in this world is to be accompanied by events such as this world has never before witnessed. The idea that nations are to be gradually metamorphosed into the kingdom of Christ through political adjustments, amendments of constitutions, and religious enactments, finds no warrant in these inspired declarations of the Word of God. There is no place for such a program in the plans of the Most High.

Yet that human program, which is accompanied by the oppression of conscience, is to continue down even to the end of the world. Our Saviour gave warning that the time would come when "whosoever killeth you shall think that he offereth service unto God." ¹⁷ John the revelator tells of an oppressive religio-political power which would be active in enforcing religious practises upon the people under threat of death,—a power whose end would be synchronous with the end of the world.

¹⁶ 2 Peter 3: 7-13.

¹⁷ John 16: 2.

He describes the last work of that power in the world thus:—

“And I saw another beast coming up out of the earth; and he had two horns like unto a lamb, and he spake as a dragon. And he exerciseth all the authority of the first beast in his sight. And he maketh the earth and them that dwell therein to worship the first beast, whose death-stroke was healed; . . . saying to them that dwell on the earth, that they should make an image to the beast who hath the stroke of the sword and lived. And it was given unto him to give breath to it, even to the image of the beast, that the image of the beast should both speak, and cause that as many as should not worship the image of the beast should be killed.”¹⁸

That power (a “beast” in prophecy represents a power) which the revelator calls “another beast,” is a confederation of forces which thinks it “offereth service unto God” in the cruelties which it practises upon the people. It compels people to worship, or to go through the form of worship, and condemns to death those who will not worship as it directs. It is thus seen at once that this is a power in which religion and the state are united. It considers itself clothed with authority to pronounce sentence upon infractions of its laws, even to the death penalty. That proves it to be a civil power. It enforces worship, which proves its union with religion. It is the power against which the Lord Jesus Christ warned his followers; for it condemns men to death in the interest of religion, thinking thereby to do God service.

The foregoing chapters of this book should leave no question in the mind of any that a powerful organization has been formed in this country, the realization of whose

¹⁸ Rev. 13: 11-15.

purposes would mean the creation of a system of government here which would be able to do, and would be inclined to do, just what that power must do in order to fulfil that prophecy. That organization proposes to unite religion and the state, and that is what must be done by any power that fulfils the prophecy. That organization and its allies would have the combined churches of the nation dictate their will in religious matters to the nation, and then have the nation enforce their will in those matters upon all the people; and that is what that power must do which fulfils the inspired Word.

But when we have the state enforcing the will of the church upon the people, we have the Papacy over again. In other words, we see built up by that combination of religious forces and the state an image of the Papacy, or, as the Word of God calls it, "an image to the beast." Only a state controlled by the church would make the performance of religious practises compulsory; therefore that prophecy cannot be fulfilled without the establishment of a system of government which will unite religion and the state. We have shown in preceding chapters the organization of a movement whose purposes can be accomplished only by a union of religion and the state, — a power, in fact, which has openly declared its intention to bring about such a union. In the organization and growth of that power, therefore, we have seen the prophecy of God's Word in process of fulfilment. The advocates of that system have thought to bring in the reign of Jesus Christ by enforcing religious practises under penalty, failing utterly to recognize the important fact that he who worships under compulsion, worships, not God, but the power which compels. Obedience is the highest form of worship. "Behold, to obey is better than sacrifice," declared the ancient prophet of Jehovah.

So he who worships unwillingly at the command of the state, worships the state, disobeys the command of the eternal God, and rests under the condemnation of the Almighty as an idolater.

Against that practise, and against the work of that growing power, God is proclaiming to the world through his servants today this message of warning, than which there is none more important in all his Word:—

“And I saw another angel flying in mid-heaven, having eternal good tidings to proclaim unto them that dwell on the earth, and unto every nation and tribe and tongue and people; and he saith with a great voice, Fear God, and give him glory; for the hour of his judgment is come: and worship him that made the heaven and the earth and sea and fountains of waters. And another, a second angel, followed, saying, Fallen, fallen is Babylon the great, that hath made all the nations to drink of the wine of the wrath of her fornication. And another angel, a third, followed them, saying with a great voice, If any man worshipeth the beast and his image, and receiveth a mark on his forehead, or upon his hand, he also shall drink of the wine of the wrath of God, which is prepared unmixed in the cup of his anger; and he shall be tormented with fire and brimstone in the presence of the holy angels, and in the presence of the Lamb.”¹⁹

This wonderful warning, and this denunciation of the divine wrath against a certain class of individuals, are not to be passed over lightly. A failure to heed that warning will invite most terrible consequences. It is a fearful thing for one to have poured out upon him the wrath of God unmixed with mercy. Up to the time here spoken of, God's indignation against sin has been mingled with his mercy toward the sinner. Not so when that

¹⁹ Rev. 14: 6-10

time arrives to which this divine warning refers. Then the day of probation is closed; then the end of sin has come; and then they who cling to sin will perish with it.

The principal features of that warning are: Fear God only, give glory to him only, worship him only, and refuse to worship either the beast or his image. The penalty for disregarding this warning is *eternal death*. The warning in the fourteenth chapter of Revelation is pointed directly at the work of that religio-political force



LIBERTY ENLIGHTENING THE WORLD

Because of what God has given her, it is America's duty to shed forth the light of liberty to all the world. In uniting religion and the state, she would turn her back upon the terrible lessons of history and the faithful admonitions of Scripture, and prove recreant to her divine commission as a benefactress of mankind.

brought to view in the thirteenth chapter of that same book. That power compels men to "worship the beast," and then to make an image to that "beast"—that religion-and-state system—and worship that under

threat of death. God, on the other hand, proclaims death to those who do worship either the "beast" or his "image." It is man against his Maker; it is earth against heaven; it is the religion of force against the religion of love and choice; it is Satan's program against the program of the Almighty.

That conflict is the culminating conflict of earth's history. It is the climax of the struggle between compulsory religion and religion of choice, which began when Cain slew his brother Abel for cause of religion. Bitterness, hatred, wrath, murder,— these are the fruit of compulsory religion. That fruit has been borne abundantly and conspicuously in every age of the world. In the height of its intolerant dominance and in fullest fruitage, that system was seen in the middle ages. The glowing sparks of its *autos da fé* kindled the fires of a similar intolerance in nations far removed from the Seven-hilled City. That enlightened America, with the sorrowful lessons of history before her eyes, should be turning with longing looks toward that fearful system of cruelty and blood, is most remarkable and difficult to be understood. It is the most wonderful development of this wonderful generation. America's unequalled progress has been due to the liberty of her people in religious things. Why should she plan at this time to shackle religion in the manacles of human law? That plan of operation has ruined every nation where it has been adopted, and has left charred skeletons, ruined homes, crushed lives, and a horde of hypocrites wherever it has been established.

The day has come for the people to make their choice as to which system they will accept. God has warned the world against the acceptance of that system which stands for compulsion in religion, and he has declared

plainly what the result of that choosing will be. And every religion that joins itself to a state, that its rites and ceremonies may be enforced by human law upon the people, is a compulsory religion. Every demand of federated religion that its decrees be enacted into law, is a demand for a compulsory religion, and the frown of God rests heavily upon it. The idea that such a system will usher in the kingdom of Christ is a contradiction both of past experience and of the plain teaching of the Word of God.

Against a union of religion and the state our Saviour himself protested in these words: "Render therefore unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's; and unto God the things that are God's." ²⁰ Nor is this a protest only; it is a command as well as a protest. And against the idea that the nations of this world are to be metamorphosed into the kingdom of Christ through political adjustments, alterations of constitutions, and the enactment and enforcement of religious laws, our Saviour put himself on record in these words: "My kingdom is not of this world." ²¹

Those who seek to make Jesus Christ the king of this present world have lost sight of the true Christian objective, have misinterpreted the spirit and the purpose of the Master, have forgotten his promise to return in person and set up his own kingdom in his own way, and are misrepresenting him both as to character and as to method of operation. When he himself shall appear in the opening heavens with "all the holy angels," ²² to establish his kingdom of righteousness and put an end to the tragedy of sin, those who have been expecting him to accomplish that mighty act in that way will not be disappointed. The prophet, look-

²⁰ Matt. 22: 21.

²¹ John 18: 36.

²² Matt. 25: 31.

ing forward to that event, exclaims: "He hath swallowed up death forever; and the Lord Jehovah will wipe away tears from off all faces; . . . and it shall be said in that day, Lo, this is our God; we have waited for him, and he will save us: this is Jehovah; we have waited for him, we will be glad and rejoice in his salvation."²³

This is the end of controversy. The Redeemer has set the seal of his disapproval upon the whole system of legal interference in matters of faith. The head of John the Baptist in a charger was a pleasing gift to the corrupt woman who sat on the throne with Herod; but who dare think for a moment that the millions of murders that have been enacted where religion and the state have been joined are a pleasing offering to the loving Father who sits upon the throne of the universe and pours out blessings on his creatures everywhere? The religion of compulsion is not the religion of Christ, and "whoever is wrong, the persecutor cannot be right," nor can he claim the approbation of the merciful Master whose we are, and whom we have a right to serve in harmony with the dictates of conscience.

²³ Isa. 25: 8, 9.

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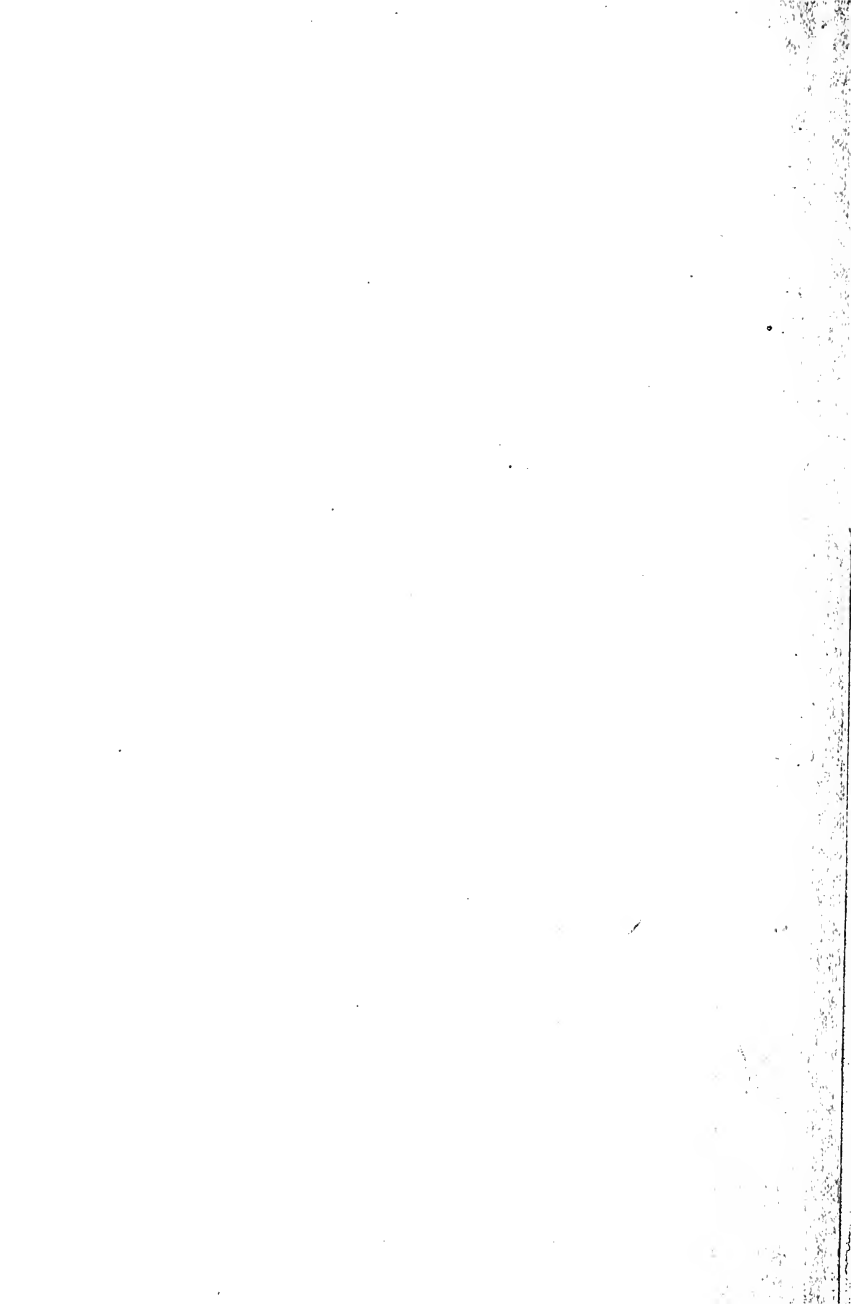
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