

LIBERTY

A Magazine of Religious Freedom



PUBLISHED

QUARTERLY

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WASHINGTON, D.C.

Religious Liberty Association

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

1. We believe in God, in the Bible as the word of God, and in the separation of church and state as taught by Jesus Christ.
2. We believe that the ten commandments are the law of God, and that they comprehend man's whole duty to God and man.
3. We believe that the religion of Jesus Christ is founded in the law of love of God, and needs no human power to support or enforce it. Love cannot be forced.
4. We believe in civil government as divinely ordained to protect men in the enjoyment of their natural rights and to rule in civil things, and that in this realm it is entitled to the respectful obedience of all.
5. We believe it is the right, and should be the privilege, of every individual to worship or not to worship, according to the dictates of his own conscience, provided that in the exercise of this right he respects the equal rights of others.
6. We believe that all religious legislation tends to unite church and state, is subversive of human rights, persecuting in character, and opposed to the best interests of both church and state.
7. We believe, therefore, that it is not within the province of civil government to legislate on religious questions.
8. We believe it to be our duty to use every lawful and honorable means to prevent religious legislation, and oppose all movements tending to unite church and state, that all may enjoy the inestimable blessings of civil and religious liberty.
9. We believe in the inalienable and constitutional right of free speech, free press, peaceable assembly, and petition.
10. We also believe in temperance, and regard the liquor traffic as a curse to society.

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“Lincoln,” “Armageddon,” and “American Liberties” Number

Twenty Timely Articles, Twenty War and Other Pictures. Read “Is This Armageddon?” “Lincoln on Liberty,” “Nicholas Murray Butler on American Liberties,” “Will Carleton on Liberty,” “The Practical Working of State Religion,” etc.

SAID GEORGE BANCROFT: “Lincoln took to heart the eternal truths of liberty, obeyed them as the commands of Providence, and accepted the human race as the judge of his fidelity.” Nicholas Murray Butler, president of Columbia University, said in his recent commencement address: “When this college was young, the word that rose oftenest and instinctively to the lips was Liberty. . . . It meant freedom of conscience, of speech, and of the press. Liberty was then the watchword. . . . But during the years that have passed, we have moved away from this view of what is important in life. . . . Not liberty, but regulation and restriction are the watchwords of today, and they are made so in what is sincerely believed to be the greater public interest.” **TRULY AN ALARMING CONDITION OF THINGS!**

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“Nation Ought to Pass Vote of Thanks,” Says Congressman

“I think the liberty-loving people of this nation ought to pass a vote of thanks to you people for staving off religious legislation all these years. But some day, in spite of all our efforts to hinder it, it will come.”—A Prominent Member of Congress to the Editor of “Liberty.”

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LIBERTY

A MAGAZINE OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

EDITOR, CHARLES S. LONGACRE : : OFFICE EDITOR, CHARLES M. SNOW

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A. J. S. BOURDEAU, Circulation Manager



HANCOCK

HE WROTE HIS NAME WHERE
ALL NATIONS SHOULD BEHOLD
IT AND ALL TIME SHOULD

HARRIS & EWE
WASHINGTON

Harris and Ewing, Washington, D. C.

HE WROTE HIS NAME WHERE
ALL NATIONS SHOULD BEHOLD
IT AND ALL TIME SHOULD
NOT EFFACE IT,

LIBERTY

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

VOL. IX

FOURTH QUARTER, 1914

No. 4

Is This Armageddon?

What Is the Battle of Armageddon and Where Will It Be Fought?

C. M. SNOW

WAR is the greatest anomaly in the universe. It is murder magnified and then glorified. Mankind dreads it as the worst of scourges and glorifies its greatest exponents as little short of gods. It blights and sears and ruins everything that stands in its way, and yet men enthusiastically throw themselves into its service as sacrifices on the altar of some deity.

War plants no fields, waters no deserts, harvests no crops, builds no homes, endows no universities, stamps out no plagues, removes no enmities, adds nothing to science or art or industrial achievement; but, like a monster Juggernaut, it rolls through the world, taking fearful toll of everything that science, art, and industry have achieved, and drenching the wheels of its chariot in the blood of its own votaries. It takes the pick of the manhood of the nations and sets them to killing one another, and leaves the physically inefficient to be the fathers of succeeding generations.

There has been war in the world ever since Cain slew his brother Abel, and brother has been slaying brother ever since, singly and secretly or in platoons with banners waving. That warfare at the beginning of the world was conceived in hatred, and hatred has been its inspiration in every age. It is no wonder, then, that when the inspired Word

speaks of the end of the world, it says: "And the nations were angry, and thy wrath is come." Rev. 11:18. This would indicate that the war anger of the world culminates at the end of the world.

Many of the great magazines and dailies of the world have been asking whether the present fearful clash of nations in Europe might not be the battle of Armageddon. Some have declared that if this is not Armageddon, there never will be any Armageddon. The editor of the *North American Review* says, "Europe stands today at Armageddon." Such declarations reveal a lack of familiarity with the prophecies of God's Word and a lack of any definite idea as to what that battle is or where it takes place. A dim notion seems to prevail to the effect that Armageddon is a great war involving the troops of many nations; that it will prove to be the last war, because the horror of its results will shock the world into some arrangement, some union or confederacy of the nations, some parliament of the world, which will make war between the nations as improbable as it now is between the various States of the United States.

They who build on such a foundation build on sand. Inspiration clearly reveals that the battle of Armageddon closes the history of this present world and precedes immediately the second

coming of our Redeemer and the destruction of the wicked.

From the following scripture we learn what Armageddon is:—

"And the sixth [angel] poured out his bowl upon the great river, the river Euphrates; and the water thereof was dried up, that the way might be made



PETER I, KING OF SERBIA

Serbia's refusal of Austria's demands precipitated the present war.

ready for the kings that come from the sunrising. And I saw coming out of the mouth of the dragon, and out of the mouth of the beast, and out of the mouth of the false prophet, three unclean spirits, as it were frogs: for they are spirits of demons, working signs; which go forth unto the kings of the whole world, to gather them together unto the war of the great day of God, the Almighty. . . . And they gathered them together into the place which is called in Hebrew Har-Magedon." Rev. 16:12-16, American Revised Version.

Har-Magedon, or Armageddon, or Mt. Megiddo, or the city of Megiddo, is a real place; and there do the forces of the nations gather, under the inspiration of the "spirits of demons," to fight a literal battle for the possession of a literal city some fifty miles from that place. They gather at Armageddon; the battle will take place around Jerusalem. The location of the battle is made certain by another scripture, which reads:—

"Proclaim ye this among the nations; prepare war; stir up the mighty men; let all the men of war draw near, let them come up. Beat your plowshares into swords, and your pruning hooks into spears; let the weak say, I am strong. Haste ye, and come, all ye nations round about, and gather yourselves together: thither cause thy mighty ones to come down, O Jehovah. Let the nations bestir themselves, and come up to the valley of Jehoshaphat; for there will I sit to judge all the nations round about. Put ye in the sickle; for the harvest is ripe; come, tread ye; for the wine press is full, the vats overflow; for their wickedness is great. Multitudes, multitudes in the valley of decision! for the day of Jehovah is near in the valley of decision." Joel 3:9-14.

The meaning of Jehoshaphat is "Jehovah does justice." Therefore it is the "valley of decision," or the valley of Jehovah's judgment; and there does he "sit to judge all the nations." Furthermore, all the nations, or representatives of all the nations, will be there to receive sentence. But where is it?—It is "a narrow glen which runs from north to south, between the mounts Olivet and Moriah, and through which flows the Kidron."—*Robinson's "Bible Dictionary,"* article "Jehoshaphat."

It does not follow that the armies of all the nations are crowded into that glen. Jehovah says, "There will I sit to judge all the nations round about." Their rendezvous was at Armageddon, at the foot of Mt. Carmel, in the plain

of Esdraelon, or valley of Jezreel. Here were fought many battles in ancient times. Here Gideon's little band overcame the Midianites. Here Saul conquered the Philistines; and here Josiah was defeated by the Egyptians under Pharaoh Necho. This gathering place is easily accessible to forces coming down from the north and to forces marching in from the landing place on the seashore; and from that rendezvous these armed representatives of the nations march upon Jerusalem. The following scripture serves further to identify the place of this last mighty war and to indicate the outcome of the battle:—

“For, lo, I begin to work evil at the city which is called by my name; and should ye be utterly unpunished? Ye shall not be unpunished; for I will call for a sword upon all the inhabitants of the earth, saith Jehovah of hosts. . . . Jehovah will roar from on high, and utter his voice from his holy habitation; he will mightily roar against his fold; he will give a shout, as they that tread the grapes, against all the inhabitants of the earth. A noise shall come even to the end of the earth; for Jehovah hath a controversy with the nations; he will enter into judgment with all flesh: as for the wicked, he will give them to the sword, saith Jehovah. Thus saith Jehovah of hosts, Behold, evil shall go forth from nation to nation, and a great tempest shall be raised up from the uttermost parts of the earth. And the slain of Jehovah shall be at that day from one end of the earth even unto the other end of the earth: they shall not be lamented, neither gathered, nor buried.” Jer. 25: 29-33.

At the valley of Jehoshaphat, Jehovah will at that time “sit in judgment.” He says, “I begin to work evil at the city which is called by my name.” The nations will have come up to that place (Jerusalem) to engage in what will be the last battle of this world. Jehovah there pronounces his judgments upon all

who have refused the offers of his grace; and at that place the work of executing that judgment begins, extending thence to every portion of the earth.

At that time these words apply:—

“The kings of the earth, and the



FRANCIS JOSEPH, EMPEROR OF AUSTRIA

The ruler who hurled the firebrand into the European powder magazine.

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?” Rev. 6: 15-17.

. That time is the time of the coming of Jesus Christ. But following his coming there can be no wars of nation against nation, as this scripture which tells of his coming clearly indicates:—

“To you that are afflicted rest with us, at the revelation of the Lord Jesus from heaven with the angels of his power in

and will remain in their graves for a thousand years. See 1 Thess. 4: 16, 17; Rev. 20: 4-8.

Is This Armageddon?

The war now being fought in Europe is not Armageddon, but it is entirely possible that it may lead into that battle. If that power designated in the Bible as “the king of the north” throws its forces into this war, loses control of its capital, and reestablishes its government in Palestine (“between the sea and the glorious holy mountain,” Dan. 11: 45) where “he shall come to his end, and none shall help him,” then this is the first stage of the Armageddon battle. But that is yet to be determined. The outcome of this war we cannot forecast. Its relation to Armageddon depends upon the aligning and shifting of the nations themselves. Will those shiftings and alignments so dry up that power designated by the Bible as the Euphrates that the way will be prepared for the forces of heathenism and Mohammedanism to come up to the common battle ground of the world? Time will tell. But if this war does not do it, another must follow soon that will. Then, with the forces of heathendom, Christendom, and Mohammedanism battling in Palestine for the great center of the religious world, we shall have Armageddon, the judgments of God, and the coming of the world’s Redeemer.

Many incidents of this war prove the unusual anger of the nations involved. There are denunciations and counterdenunciations, charges and countercharges of inhumanity and barbarity, declarations to fight this war through till the enemy is crushed and begging on his knees for mercy. It is a fulfillment of God’s Word—“the nations were angry.” And we read, as another sign of the proximity of the end. “Upon the earth distress of nations, with perplexity; the sea and the waves roaring; men’s hearts fail-



NICHOLAS II OF RUSSIA AND THE CZARINA

The czar declares he will win this war if it takes his last man.

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.” 2 Thess. 1: 7-10.

There will be no one left then to carry on war, for all who are not “caught up in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air,” will be slain at the coming of Christ.

ing them for fear, and for looking after those things which are coming on the earth; for the powers of heaven shall be shaken. And then shall they see the Son of man coming in a cloud with power and great glory." Luke 21:25-27.

The conditions of our day fulfill these specifications. The stage is certainly being set for the closing tragedies of the world, and we shall not have long to wait for the tragic events which fulfill these scriptures. C. M. S.

Lincoln on Liberty

Some Utterances of the Great Emancipator Regarding Human Freedom

A. J. SAXBY BOURDEAU

THE United States is now erecting in the city of Washington a two-million-dollar memorial to the memory of Abraham Lincoln. His straightforward course as a man and a President endeared him not only to Americans, but to all the world.

George Bancroft, the American historian, speaks thus of the "great commoner:" "Lincoln's early teachers were the silent forest, the prairie, the river, and the stars. . . . Lincoln thought always of mankind, as well as his own country, and served human nature itself. . . .

Lincoln took to heart the eternal truths of liberty, obeyed them as the commands of Providence, and accepted the human race as the judge of his fidelity."

Speaking of Lincoln's integrity, Stephen A. Douglas, his political enemy and rival, said: "Lincoln is the honestest man I ever knew." His private secretary, John Hay, who afterward became America's famous Secretary of State, thus expressed his estimate of the depth of Lincoln's character: "As, in spite of some rudeness, republicanism is the sole hope of a sick world, so Lincoln, with all his foibles, is the greatest character since Christ."

His Motto the Golden Rule

The secret of Lincoln's love for human rights and equal liberty for all, is found in his desire to follow the golden rule. Witness the Christlike spirit in these wonderful words: "Die when I may, I

want it said of me by those who knew me best, that I always plucked a thistle and planted a flower where I thought a flower would grow." "The man who will not investigate both sides of a question is dishonest." "When the conduct of men is designed to be influenced, persuasion, kind, unas-

suming persuasion, should ever be adopted."

Admiration for the Declaration of Independence

Lincoln's textbook was the immortal Declaration of Independence, which declares that "all men are created equal." Said he: "The authors of the Declaration of Independence meant it to be a stumblingblock to those who in after times might seek to turn a free people back into the paths of despotism. . . . I have never had a feeling, politically, that did not spring from the sentiments embodied in the Declaration of Independence. The great principle of the

LINCOLN

Most was he like to Luther, gay
and great,
Solemn and mirthful, strong of
heart and limb,
Tender and simple too; he was so
near
To all things human that he cast
out fear,
And, ever simpler, like a little
child,
Lived in unconscious nearness unto
Him
Who always on earth's little ones
hath smiled.

—S. Weir Mitchell.

Declaration was that sentiment which gave liberty not alone to the people of this country, but, I hope, to all the world for all future time. It was that which gave promise that in due time the weights would be lifted from the shoulders of all

love of liberty which God has planted in us. Our defense is in the spirit which prized liberty as the heritage of all men, in all lands everywhere. Destroy the spirit and you have planted the seeds of despotism at your own doors. Familiarize yourselves with the chains of bondage and you prepare your own limbs to wear them. Accustomed to trample on the rights of others, you have lost the genius of your own independence and become the fit subjects of the first cunning tyrant who rises among you. And let me tell you that all these things are prepared for you by the teachings of history."

His Definition of Liberty

"Lincoln and liberty are associate ideas that have become indelibly stamped upon the minds as well as the money of Americans. The great emancipator thus defined the term liberty in an address delivered at the Sanitary Fair, Baltimore, Md., April 18, 1864: "The world has never had a good definition of the word liberty, and the American people, just now, are much in want of one. We all declare for liberty; but in using the same word we do not all mean the same thing. With some the word liberty may mean for each man to do as he pleases with himself and the product of his



WILLIAM II, EMPEROR OF GERMANY

The German emperor declares he will win this war if it takes the last breath of the last man and last horse.

men, and that all should have an equal chance."

The Bulwark of Liberty

In his speech at Edwardsville, Ill., Sept. 13, 1858, Lincoln thus paid tribute to the love of liberty: "What constitutes the bulwark of our own liberty and independence? It is not our frowning battlements, our bristling seacoasts, our army, and our navy. These are not our reliance against tyranny. All of these may be turned against us without making us weaker for the struggle. Our reliance is in the

labor, while with others the same word may mean for some men to do as they please with other men and the product of other men's labor. Here are two not only different but incompatible things, called by the same name, liberty. And it follows that each of the things is, by the respective parties, called by two different and incompatible names — liberty and tyranny.

"The shepherd drives the wolf from the sheep's throat, for which the sheep thanks the shepherd as his liberator, while the wolf denounces him for the

same act, as the destroyer of liberty, especially as the sheep was a black one. Plainly, the sheep and the wolf are not agreed upon a definition of the word liberty; and precisely the same difference prevails today among us human creatures, even in the North, and all profess-

him May 6, 1862: "I welcome here the representatives of the Evangelical Lutherans of the United States. I accept with gratitude their assurance of the sympathy and support of that enlightened, influential, and loyal class of my fellow citizens in an important crisis which involves, in my judgment, not only the civil and religious liberties of our own dear land, but in a larger degree the civil and religious liberties of mankind in many countries and through many ages."

Acknowledged Dependence Upon God

"In taking up the sword thus forced into our hands, this government appealed to the prayers of the pious and the good, and declared that it placed its whole dependence upon the favor of God. I now humbly and reverently, in your presence, reiterate the acknowledgment of that dependence, not doubting that, if it shall please the divine Being who determines the destinies of nations, this shall remain a united people, and that they will, humbly seeking the divine guidance, make their prolonged national existence a source of new benefits to themselves and their successors, and to all classes and conditions of mankind." And on another occasion he said: "I feel that I cannot succeed without the divine blessing, and on the Almighty Being I place my reliance for support."

Government Not to Run the Churches

Lincoln distrusted clergymen who claimed to "represent the divine will." Said he: "The United States government must not undertake to run the churches. When an individual, in a church or out of it, becomes dangerous to the public interest, he must be checked. I am approached with the most opposite opinions and advice, and by re-



GEORGE V, KING OF ENGLAND

The British king says it is futile to consider mediation until German militarism has been crushed.

ing to love liberty. Hence we behold the process by which thousands are daily passing from under the yoke of bondage hailed by some as the advance of liberty, and bewailed by others as the destruction of all liberty."

For Civil and Religious Liberties

Lincoln firmly believed that the government he represented was standing in defense of both civil and religious liberty. Note his response to a delegation of Evangelical Lutherans who visited

ligious men who are certain they represent the divine will. . . . I hope it will not be irreverent in me to say that if it be probable that God would reveal his will to others, on a point so connected with my duty, it might be supposed he would reveal it directly to me."

For Freedom of the Press

Speaking of a free press, Lincoln re-



THE KING AND QUEEN OF BELGIUM

The invasion of Belgian territory by the Germans resulted in England's declaration of war against Germany.

ferred to "our republican institutions" "as those which can be best sustained by the diffusion of knowledge and the due encouragement of a universal, national spirit of inquiry and discussion of public events through the medium of the public press." He also said: "I fear you do not fully comprehend the danger of abridging the liberties of the people. A government had better go to the very extreme of toleration than to do aught that could be construed into an interference with, or to jeopardize in any degree, the common rights of the citizens."

Denounces Arguments Favoring Kingcraft

Speaking of "the arguments that kings have made for enslaving the people in all ages of the world," Lincoln said in a speech delivered in Chicago, July 10, 1858: "All the arguments in favor of kingcraft were of this class; they always bestrode the necks of the people, not that they wanted to do it, but because the people were better off for being ridden. . . . This argument . . . is the same old serpent that says, You work, and I eat; You toil, and I will enjoy the fruits of it. Turn it in whatever way you will, whether it comes from the mouth of a king as an excuse for enslaving the people of his country, or from the mouth of men of one race as a reason for enslaving the men of another race, it is all the same old serpent."

How to Preserve Liberty

In his reply to Senator Douglas at Peoria, Ill., Oct. 16, 1854, Lincoln concluded his masterful address thus: "Finally, I insist that if there is anything which it is the duty of the whole people never to intrust to any hands but their own, that thing is *the preservation and perpetuity of their own liberties and institutions.*" And in defense of our civil and religious liberties, purchased with the blood of the brave of every age, let every citizen, in the words of the great emancipator and in the spirit of Christ, "stand with anybody that stands right, stand with him while he is right, and part with him when he goes wrong." And let this sentiment also apply to all institutions, civil or ecclesiastical, that have set themselves up as mouthpieces of the divine will and executors of God's commandments involving man's duty to his Maker. "Render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's." Mark 12:7.

Washington, D. C.

The American Constitution

G. B. THOMPSON

IN a letter declining an invitation to attend the centennial celebration of the Constitution, W. E. Gladstone, one of the most learned of English statesmen, declared our Constitution to be "the most remarkable work known to the modern times to have been produced by human intellect at a single stroke, so to speak, in its application to political affairs."

This Constitution, including the amendments, constitutes the "supreme law" of the land. Its chief glory, as we view it, is in the complete separation which is drawn between the church and the state. There are two provisions which express the sovereign will and authority of the people upon this question. Article

VI, Section 3, declares that "no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States."

Concerning this negative provision, Schaff says: "The framers of the federal Constitution, remembering the persecution of dissenters and non-conformists in the mother country and in several American colonies, cut the poisonous tree of persecution by the root, and substituted for specific religious tests a simple oath or solemn affirmation."—*Church and State,* page 22.

We believe, however, that this clause has a wider application than this. Judge Joseph Story, an able expounder of the Constitution, says: "This clause is not introduced merely for the purpose of satisfying the scruples of many respectable persons who feel an invincible repugnance to any religious test or affirmation. It had a higher object: to cut off forever any pretense of any alliance between

church and state in the national government. The framers of the Constitution were fully sensible of the dangers from this source, marked out in the history of other ages and countries, and not wholly unknown to our own. They knew that bigotry was unceasingly vigilant in its stratagems to secure to itself an exclusive ascendancy over the human mind, and that intolerance was ever ready to arm itself with all the terrors of the civil power to exterminate those who doubted its dogmas or resisted its infallibility."—

"Commentaries on the Constitution of the United States," Boston, 1833, page 690.

More important, however, than this clause is the First Amendment to the Constitution, which provides that

"Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

This amendment has been called the Magna Charta of religious freedom in the United States. It separates at a stroke the church and the state, and deprives the church of the use of secular power for the furtherance of her ends. George Bancroft well says:—

"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 in Judea. It left the management of temporal things to the temporal power; but the American Constitution, in harmony with the people of the several States, withheld from the federal government the power to invade the home of reason, the citadel of conscience, the sanctuary of the soul; and not from indifference, but that the infinite spirit of eternal truth might move

The authors of the Declaration of Independence meant it to be a stumblingblock to those who in after times might seek to turn a free people back into the paths of despotism.—*Lincoln.*

in its freedom and purity and power." — *"History of the Formation of the Constitution of the United States of America," New York, 1882, Vol. II, page 326.*

By this provision of the federal Constitution, the lawmaking power of our nation is prohibited from enacting any law touching religion. Deciding religious controversies and enforcing religious dogmas are not within the proper sphere of the national government. For this reason we are unalterably opposed to all legislation by our national legislature upon the Sabbath question. The observance of a day of rest is a religious act. It is a duty between the individual and God; and this duty can be directed only by "reason and conviction, not by force or violence."

As a free people, we should view with alarm the fact that Congress is continually besieged with petitions requesting the enactment of laws favoring the observance of Sunday. Sunday is not a civil but a religious institution, and is therefore beyond the purview of the civil power. Let Congress legislate but once upon the question, and the step will be followed by disastrous consequences. "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 the usurpation of the divine prerogative in this country which has been the desolating scourge of the fairest portions of the Old World." — *Senate Report, 1829.*

National Reformers have sought to disparage the Constitution by claiming it to be a godless document, in that it does not contain the name of God; and amendments have been urged to remedy this so-called defect. But this omission is a wise one. Concerning religion the supreme law is silent, as it should be, being neither hostile nor friendly to any religion. On this point Schaff well says: —

"The absence of the names of God and Christ, in a purely political and legal

document, no more proves denial or irreverence than the absence of those names in a mathematical treatise, or the statutes of a bank or railroad corporation. The title 'Holiness' does not make the Pope of Rome any holier than he is, and it makes the contradiction only more glaring in such characters as Alexander VI. The book of Esther and the Song of Solomon are undoubtedly productions of devout worshippers of Jehovah; and yet the name of God does not occur once in them.

"We may go farther and say that the Constitution not only contains nothing which is irreligious or unchristian, but is Christian in substance, though not in form. It is pervaded by the spirit of justice and humanity, which are Christian. The First Amendment could not have originated in any pagan or Mohammedan country, but presupposes Christian civilization and culture. Christianity alone has taught men to respect the sacredness of the human personality as made in the image of God and redeemed by Christ, and to protect its rights and privileges, including the freedom of worship, against the encroachments of the temporal power and the absolutism of the state." — *"Church and State," page 40.*

It might not be out of place in this connection to call attention to the fact that the constitution of the Confederate States, framed at Montgomery, Ala., during the Civil War, did contain the words "Almighty God." Yet this proved nothing concerning the righteousness or unrighteousness of the Confederate cause. Further, that constitution, though it contained the name of God, died with the Confederacy in 1865, while the "supreme law" of the nation, which does not contain the name of the Deity, survived the shock of rebellion, and still lives.

Hon. William Jackson Armstrong is quoted as saying: "You have, perhaps, been somewhere told, as if it were the last refinement of appreciative praise, that the Constitution of your country should

be valued as if each word were of coined substance of gold. Permit me to say that that eulogy is a sickly sentimental slander of its mighty guardianship of human rights. Gold indeed! The American Constitution is drained from human agony and tears. That Constitution represents the gathered warnings of liberty from all the ages. Its every clause is conceived from the measureless anguish of our self-tortured race. Its every word

to save us, and protect humanity in all the future."

The publishers of LIBERTY protest against Congress making any law respecting religion. They do this because they are Christians; because they love religion and the nation, and do not wish to see the ship of state wrecked upon the rocks of a union of church and state. Let our Constitutional liberties remain inviolate.

Washington, D. C.



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SERVIAN TROOPS READY FOR ACTION

is distilled from the blood of martyred millions. In her recital of the two brief prohibitions regarding religion may be heard the shriek of the myriad followers of Christ nailed to the crosses of the Cæsars, the groans of three centuries of victims to the Roman Inquisition, the sigh of millions of martyrs slain by wheel and flood and flaming fagot, the sob and moan of desolate women through a thousand years of war for opinion, the clash and clang of bloody steel, the thunder of slaughtering chariot and cannon driven by mortal hate and frenzy on battle fields heaped with religious murder through twenty centuries of human history. From the shadow of these horrors the Constitution of this republic was made

THE Sunday laws which are on the statute books of nearly every nation, have come down to us from a time when the doctrine of "the divine right of kings" was interpreted and enforced by those who had assumed to control the conscience and conduct of mankind in general. What shall be done with them? Let the tide of reform roll forward through proper education until men everywhere shall see what are the true relationships between man and man, and between man and God, and be prepared, both in legislative halls and in the jury box to pronounce unconstitutional every law that interferes with freedom of worship or with man's relation to God.—
G. D. Ballou.

President Nicholas Murray Butler on the Dangers Threatening American Liberties

W. W. PRESCOTT

THINGS seem to be getting askew in the moral world. The big fishes are eating up the little fishes. "Big business" makes it hard for little business. Those in the trusts are squeezing those outside the trusts. The well-to-do class exploits the less fortunate. Graft is being discovered in almost every financial operation. And not only in their relations to one another, but notably in their relation to God, men are disregarding the old standards. While paid attorneys are studying ways by which their wealthy clients can violate distasteful laws without getting behind the bars, the average man seems to have concluded that he can ignore the law of God regardless of any threatened penalty, and a general laxness of conduct is the inevitable result.

There are many who deeply deplore this situation and earnestly desire to see a change for the better. Some feel that the only way to accomplish any permanent results is to bring about a change of heart, and they, therefore, are earnestly proclaiming the gospel of Christ and his power to save from sin; but a large number of would-be reformers have turned to carnal weapons and are seeking to restrain and regulate wrong tendencies in men by some sort of legal enactment. It is easy to play this rôle. There is a certain fascination about it. It is gratifying to be in the headlines of the newspapers as pushing some great reform measure. To gain a victory over all opposition and to secure the passage of some stringent legislation designed to prevent crying evils; to form new organizations and to direct monster parades in the interest of reform; to pass strong resolutions and to make appeals to men in power,—all these methods are pleasing to human nature and keep their users in the limelight. But, after all, is this tendency to restrict and to regulate hu-

man conduct by law a hopeful sign? Is it likely to cultivate the spirit of liberty and to educate the people in the use of liberty without its abuse? These are serious questions. They demand thoughtful consideration.

At least one educator of prominence, Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, the president of Columbia University, has analyzed the present situation and has uttered serious words of warning. His commencement address delivered on June 3 before the graduating class of that institution, and printed in the *New York Times* of the following day, is both brief and pertinent, and we therefore deem it worth while to reproduce the greater portion of it. He said:—

"When this college was young, the word that rose oftenest and instinctively to the lips was liberty. Men were then everywhere seeking for ways and means to throw off trammels which had been placed upon them by institutions of long standing, but which were found to hamper them at every turn and to hem them in on every side. Liberty in those days meant not one thing, but many things. It meant freedom of conscience, of speech, and of the press; it meant participation in the acts of government and in the choice of governing agents; it meant freedom to move about over the world, to seek one's own fortune under strange skies and in foreign lands, there to live the life that one's own mind and conscience selected as most suitable. Liberty was then the watchword, not in the New World alone by any means, but in the Old World as well, and particularly in France, which has so often pointed the way of advance in the march of ideas. Standing in his place in the convention during the fateful spring of 1793, Robespierre pronounced this definition of liberty, which is almost the best of its kind: 'Liberty is the power which of right be-

longs to every man to use all his faculties as he may choose. Its rule is justice; its limits are the rights of others; its principles are drawn from nature itself; its protector is the law.' Whatever judgment may be passed upon Robespierre's conduct, certainly his thought on this fundamental question of liberty was clear and sound.

"But during the years that have

of today, and they are made so in what is sincerely believed to be the greater public interest. John Stuart Mill, in his classic 'Essay on Liberty,' saw and described these tendencies nearly fifty years ago; but even his clear vision did not foresee the length to which restrictions on liberty have now been carried.

"Just as the driving force of an engine is to be found in the steam chest



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RUSSIAN COSSACKS IN A HOLLOW SQUARE TO RESIST ATTACK

passed, we have moved far away from this view of what is important in life. There has grown up, not alone in America, but throughout the world, an astonishingly widespread belief in the value of regulation and restriction not only as a substitute for liberty, but directly in opposition to it. That against which the leaders of the race revolted a century and more ago is now pressed upon us in another form as a desirable end at which to aim. Not liberty, but regulation and restriction are the watchwords

and not in the brake, so the driving force in civilization will be found in liberty and not in restriction. The cycle will, in due time and after colossal waste of energy and of accomplishment, complete itself, and liberty will once more displace regulation and restriction as the dominant idea in the minds of men. It is worth your while to take note, therefore, that while liberty is not now in the foreground of human thought and action, it cannot long be kept out of the place which of right and of necessity belongs to it.

"The only logical and legitimate restriction upon liberty is that which is drawn from the like liberty of others. That men may live together in family, in society, and in the state, liberty must be so self-disciplined and so self-controlled that it avoids even the appearance of license or of tyranny.

"There are three possible ways of viewing and of stating the relationship between the individual and the group or mass of which he forms a part:—

"In the first place, each individual may be regarded as an end in himself whose purposes are to be accomplished at all hazards and quite regardless of what happens to his fellows. This is that extreme form of individualism which has always ended, and must always end, in physical conflict, in cruel bloodshed, in violent anarchy, and in the triumph of brute force. It does not provide a soil in which ideas can flourish.

"In the second place, each individual may be regarded as a mere nothing, a negligible quantity, while the group or mass, with its traditions, its beliefs, and its rituals, is exalted to the place of honor and almost of worship. The logical and necessary result of this view has always been, and must always be, from the standpoint of human accomplishment in institutions, stagnation, powerlessness, and failure. It is this view of life which has from time immemorial held so many of the great peoples of the Orient in its grip, and which has set them in sharp contrast with the active and advancing life of the West for nearly two thousand years past.

"The third view of the relationship of the individual man to the group or mass is the one that I would press upon you as offering the fullest measure of individual happiness and achievement and the greatest amount of public good. It stands between the philosophy of self-assertion, of disorder, of brute force, and of anarchy on the one hand, and the stagnation of an unprogressive civilization on the other. It is the view which emphasizes the individual to the utmost,

but which finds the conception of each individual's personality and accomplishment in his relations to his fellows and in his service to his kind. 'He that loseth his life . . . shall find it' is alike the last word of ethical philosophy and the supreme appeal of Christian morals. The enrichment and the development of the individual, in order, not that he may acquire, but that he may give; in order, not that he may antagonize, but that he may conciliate; in order, not that he may overcome and trample underfoot, but that he may help and serve,—this, as distinguished from the philosophy of disorder on the one hand and the philosophy of stagnation on the other, I call the constructive philosophy of the institutional life. It is built upon human individuality as a corner stone and a foundation. The higher and loftier the structure rises, the more plainly it points upward, the heavier is the burden that the foundation bears and the greater is its service to God and to man."

We have often maintained in these columns that every man has a right to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience, so long as in so doing he does not interfere with the equal right of others; and Dr. Butler extends this principle to cover all the activities of life when he says:—

"The only logical and legitimate restriction upon liberty is that which is drawn from the like liberty of others."

If this principle were adopted and applied, we should have freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of conscience, and freedom of worship, while at the same time the rights of all would be amply safeguarded.

Dr. Butler's address is worthy of the most serious attention. We hope its influence may extend to some who are now working with feverish anxiety to make men conform to their own standards of goodness through fear of pains and penalties, and may cause them to see the danger in the triumph of their purpose.

Washington, D. C.

Sunday Rest in California

J. F. BLUNT

CALIFORNIA again is confronted with a Sunday-rest bill, this time proposed on the initiative, to be voted upon in November. The proposition, originating with the church element and drafted in the ostensible interest of labor, though offered repeatedly to the legislature, failed to secure indorsement. In the course of years, this seeming solicitude on behalf of the working man attracted the notice of men identified with the trade-unions, and a few of them, albeit recognizing the ulterior designs of the clerical party, thought to profit from the association, and espoused the plan to enforce by civil law the observance of Sunday as a day of idleness.

Over and over again, it was found by the legislators that the proposed Sunday enactment was in violation of express guaranties contained in the State constitution, and largely for that reason it was refused passage. Then the initiative was invoked, and enough signatures having been secured to compel its submission to a vote of the people, it will go on the ticket at the next general election, together with sixteen other initiative measures, twenty-two constitutional amendments, four bonding acts, one concurrent resolution to revise the constitution of the State, and four referendum propositions. The ballot to be used at the primary election, in order to provide space for all these issues and to leave room for the names of those seeking election to the various offices in the gift of the State, it is said, will be from one to two feet wide and five feet long. Thus is disclosed with wonderful clearness the beauty of the voting system which now obtains in California.

Though having its inception through the unasked offices of the religious champions, the movement never enlisted more than a half-hearted support from the churches of California. The officers of the Federation of Churches, however, lent their indorsement to the project of

accomplishing with the initiative what could not be effected at the legislature, and ignored all legal and constitutional impediments. The boast is openly made that the supreme court will reverse itself, if the bill should carry, in order to satisfy the demands of the united labor and church elements now enlisted in the controversy. "This is a country of majorities," said one of the labor men, who poses as the organizer of the Sunday-rest movement in seventeen States, and the special advocate of the barbers' union. "Those supreme court justices keep an ear close to the ground, and they will sustain the demands of labor, if the bill shall carry in California."

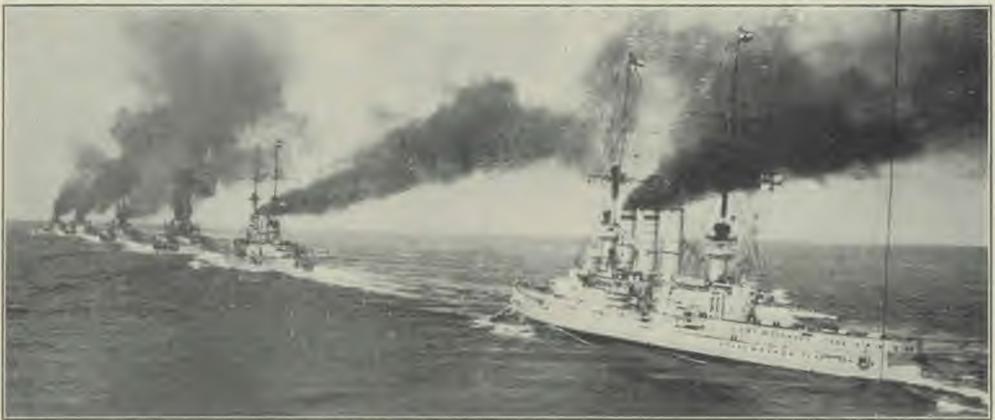
In support of this sanguine statement, this ardent official cited his recent experiences in Los Angeles, where he said the city councilmen had been pledged to vote for a Sunday-closing ordinance; and the mayor is alleged to have said, on that occasion, that he would sign it if they adopted it, "although it is unconstitutional." Thus it is seen with what confidence self-seeking interests are relying upon the ignoring of all underlying principles, and the repudiation of constitutional pledges, if only it should appear that a majority can be found favorably disposed to the penalizing of Sunday labor.

So confident have the labor union men been in their assurance that the Sunday bill will carry, that they have inserted in the bill itself a full-fledged eight-hour-day proposition, the success of which would be insured by the passage of the Sunday-closing measure, even if the regular eight-hour law, likewise proposed on the same ballot, should be defeated. Nor are there the same provisions for lightening the burden of the eight-hour law in the Sunday bill that were inserted in the other measure. The apparent idea was that the less it was particularized the better would be its prospect of passing, slipping in as a side issue.

Like most propositions, when first presented the proposed law for Sunday rest contains many exemptions. Special privileges are accorded to those engaged in the carrying on of sports, theaters, and amusements, to keep open doors seven days in the week, though general business and legitimate manufacturing and commercial houses are debarred from such advantages. The employees of public utility corporations, whose operations are recognized as continuous in their nature, likewise are exempted; and the

ties would be applied on each subsequent conviction.

While it is proposed to charge the commissioner of labor statistics with the enforcement of the act, should it become a law, it is also made the special duty of each magistrate, district attorney, and peace officer in the State to inform against and diligently to prosecute any and all persons guilty of the violation of any provision of the act; and, lest they should prove derelict, it is further declared that they must act either upon



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A GERMAN SQUADRON IN LINE OF BATTLE

newspapers, with their Sunday editions and multiplied activities that otherwise would be interrupted, are left free from all restraint. The exemptions are very numerous, and include members of religious societies that observe some other day than Sunday who actually keep their places of business or occupation closed and do not work for gain or wages on such day of worship. It would seem that an endeavor had been made to placate all probable opponents of the bill, by special relaxation of its provisions, in their own cases, if only they would refrain from opposing such restrictions when applied to their neighbors. But woe to those unfortunates who are not included in the favored list; for they would be subject to fines ranging from ten dollars to two hundred dollars for Sunday labor, and to varying terms of imprisonment, not to exceed thirty days, both of which penal-

credible information as to any such violation or upon reasonable cause to believe that there has been any such violation. Thus a system of espionage is proposed, with the opportunities for blackmail which always exists in such matters; and a large number of the signatures required to place this iniquitous proposition upon the ballot were publicly secured in the churches, on the appeals of ministers who have entered into this conspiracy against the natural rights and constitutional liberties of citizens. Naturally, fair-minded men are incensed at such a proposed inquisition.

Notwithstanding the extreme liberality with which the proposed exemptions from the operation of the law are sprinkled through the bill, the constitution of California declares that "no special privileges or immunities shall ever be granted which may not be altered, revoked, or

repealed by the legislature; nor shall any citizen, or class of citizens, be granted privileges or immunities which upon the same terms shall not be granted to all citizens." In the light of this provision, it may be seen how slight is the assurance on the part even of those favored by such exemptions that such favoritism would become operative. Nor do those toward whom it is proposed to extend special privileges approve this proposed robbery of their fellow citizens in the matter of the employment of their own time, unhampered by human enactments. For thirty years or more California has been free from the galling restraints of a Sunday-closing law, and there is an earnest intention to resist the enactment of the proposed measure, which is recognized as being in restraint of those natural rights for the maintenance of which the whole power of civil government is pledged by basic enactments.

Congress is expressly prohibited from making any law respecting an establish-

ment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, and "the free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship, without discrimination or preference, is forever guaranteed" in California. And the federal Constitution declares that "the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding;" and the Fourteenth Amendment declares that "no State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States." While such barriers exist, citizens are asking, "How can sectarian measures, or those framed in the behalf of secular interests, be so twisted as to warp existing enactments?" There is a unity in the sense of common justice which prevails in California that justifies us in the belief that the proposed penalizing of Sunday labor will fail again, and that constitutional guaranties will be respected.

Los Angeles, Cal.



California's Struggle for Liberty Against Religious Zealots

FRANK A. COFFIN

JUST as the daily bursts of volcanic ashes and steam from Mt. Lassen show the smoldering fires beneath, so do the frequent spurts of Sunday legislation show the pent-up forces of the religious world, ready to burst into furious agitation to enforce upon the public by state law and strong-armed policemen the dogmas of the church. At Dinuba, a central California town, a stringent Sunday-closing ordinance has just been defeated by a narrow margin of twenty-two votes.

The Bulgin revival meetings of last April started the movement, and an ordinance was passed closing the pool rooms on Sunday. But advocates of strict State-enforced Sunday observance were not satisfied with this ordinance, and demanded that it be so amended as

to include all places of business except such as hotels, restaurants, and drug stores. The referendum was therefore invoked; and both sides waged their forensic battle until election day.

This is only the simmering of the pot, for several State-wide Sunday blue law bills may yet go on the California ballot. Hundreds of signatures were obtained to what is known as the Barbers' Sunday Bill, at the recent State convention of California Christian Endeavorers, held in Piedmont Auditorium, Oakland. Besides these, about seven thousand names are now on file with the secretary of state in Sacramento.

National organizations are behind the movement, whose avowed purpose is not only to obtain State Sunday laws, but also

"to secure such an amendment to the Constitution of the United States as will declare the nation's allegiance to Jesus Christ and its acceptance of the moral laws of the Christian religion, and so indicate that this is a Christian nation, and place all the Christian laws, institutions, and usages of our government on an undeniably legal basis in the fundamental law of the land."

California already has a law providing for a day's rest in seven; but this is not sufficient to satisfy these well-meaning people, who hold to the erro-

stands upon tradition, the decrees of church councils, civil enactments of the Dark Ages, and such reenactments of those decrees as have been made in modern times. It is astounding that in enlightened America those who favor the enforcement of religious laws by the civil power should be able to secure Sunday laws in almost every State in the Union. These same organizations are now besieging Congress in an effort to bring about the enactment of a national Sunday law. When this is secured, it will be but a step to the passage of such



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FRENCH TROOPS MARCHING TO MEET THE GERMANS

neous view that because national and state governments — "the powers that be" — are ordained of God, they may properly enact and enforce religious laws.

These Christian people do not see clearly that while man's proper rights, and his relations with his fellows, must of necessity be protected by civil laws, his spiritual relationship to God cannot, of right, be a subject of civil legislation. One man has no right to command another to believe or not to believe, on pain of punishment by the courts. The founders of the American Republic saw this when they declared in the First Amendment to the United States Constitution that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

Sunday is a religious institution. Although the Bible gives it no support, it

national Constitutional amendments as will throw down the bars to all kinds of oppressive religious enactments.

If it is right to compel the public by fines and imprisonment to observe Sunday as a day of rest, it also is proper to force people to go to church on that day. If religion may properly be enforced by law, the state may rightfully compel all men, good or bad, to be baptized, partake of the sacrament, attend mass, and even worship the Virgin Mary. But if the man is not convinced that these are right, if his conscience does not consent, he is not made better by the state law. He is made worse; for he is a hypocrite. And who shall say whether the baptism shall be by sprinkling, pouring, or immersion? — The state, forsooth! Then if sprinkling is sufficient, how will the Baptists conform? If the

ceremony must be immersion, what will the Methodists say?

The erroneous idea of church and state unity leads not to a millennium of unalloyed happiness, but to a veritable labyrinth of dark hypocrisy, religious animosity, and persecution. In permitting religious zealots, by the entering wedge of the Sunday law, to reestablish that fearful system, America is following in the steps of Rome. Constantine, a nominal convert to Christianity, head of both ecclesiastical and civil powers, bound upon the people of his time the first Sunday law. Closer union between the two powers came with the lapse of time, with the ecclesiastical always supreme, until we find all the decrees of the church enforced by the sword, the stake, the rack, and the gibbet.

Witness the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, in which thousands of French Huguenots, the flower of the nation, were murdered in cold blood because they dissented from the established church. Call to mind the crusade against the Albigenses, and the slaughter of Béziers, when not less than fifteen thousand men, women, and children were cruelly butchered by the fanatical mob at the instigation of the reigning hierarchy for no greater crime than that they dared to think for themselves in religious matters. Do not forget the cruel burning of Huss because he clung to the Bible rather than the decrees of church councils. Think of the banishment of Roger Williams to the pitiless wilderness in the dead of winter by the Puritans of early New England.

Turn, if you will, the pages of history in all ages, and you will find that a union of religion and the state brings only persecution, and that, too, to the best people in the commonwealth. In France it led eventually to the Revolution, and the invention of the guillotine as a means of more speedy butchery. In America it will turn backward the progress of civilization, and bring again the horrors of the Inquisition; for although the twentieth century is an age of invention and enlightenment, underlying

principles are the same in all ages. Religious zealots cannot direct the arm of the police power in our day without inflicting savage persecution upon the good and just, any more than they could in the days of the French Revolution, or in the time of the Puritans. Sunday laws are unchristian, un-American, unjust, and vicious. They are but the entering wedge to medieval oppression.

Oakland, Cal.

The Practical Working of State Religion

A. G. DANIELLS

FOR centuries the natural rights of man were not recognized, but finally the time came when the rights of conscience were respected, and the church secured the inestimable boon of religious liberty. This victory gained by the church, proclaimed the greatness of its power; and when this power was fully recognized, unprincipled men courted the favor of the church to further their selfish schemes. Among the suitors were the emperors of Rome. When they found that the state could not control the church, they proposed that the church assist them to control the state. For this they made large bids. They became "Christians," made the church costly presents, gave bishops state honors, legislated to please the church, and gave official positions to none but professed Christians. Religion became popular, churches multiplied, bishops grew dizzy and grasped the reins of civil government. Constantine and the bishops joined hands in the management of spiritual and political affairs.

Thus a union was formed between church and state; but this union was on a different basis from that of the union of the Roman Empire and the Roman religion. In the former union, the state was the head; the state controlled religion, and used it as a servant for political ends. In the latter union, the church was the head; the church ruled

the state, and turned it into a powerful engine for the accomplishment of its unlawful schemes. And now mark the result. Instead of granting to all within its sway that liberty for which it had so long and nobly struggled,—the rights of conscience,—the church robbed them of every right, both civil and religious. The church became a relentless persecutor, and used the civil power to inflict hor-

men, and was one of the sacred elements of the religion taught by Jesus of Nazareth.

At last the power of the church was broken, and the rights of conscience were once more granted to men. In the great Reformation of the sixteenth century, the state practically threw off the galling yoke of the church, and civil government and religion were to a greater



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The whole nation extends its sympathy to the President

rible barbarities upon those whom it pleased to call heretics.

But men still lived who cherished liberty, and who protested against being deprived of it by either the church or the state. Then a terrible conflict began. It was not the church against the state, but both against individuals,—the strong against the weak. Century after century rolled drearily by. The world's midnight came, and the instruments of torture and death were kept busy in the effort to exterminate the principle of liberty. Millions of noble lives were extinguished, but the principle still lived; for it was divinely implanted in the hearts of

or less extent divorced from each other.

This was the dawning of a new era. The present generation is enjoying the liberty won in the last great struggle for the rights of conscience. But the liberty gained is not complete in all countries, nor is our liberty insured in any way. It is an acknowledged truth that history repeats itself. And there is at this present time a strong tendency in various countries to revive the union of church and state.

Neither the church in its present condition nor the state is able to meet the mighty tide of evil that is rising, and it is thought that by uniting they may be

more successful in their efforts. The state covets the influence of the churches; and the churches clamor for the assistance of the state — for the power of the civil arm. But the whole history of the past has shown that such a union, when permitted to operate, has been fatal to the welfare of both the church and the state, and has augmented the evil they have endeavored to destroy. It has resulted in

A Warning to National Reformers

S. B. HORTON

IN the light of what is going on in Europe at the present time, we believe it opportune to address ourselves to the National Reformers, who would so amend the Constitution of the United States as to make it declare this nation a Christian nation. Every nation en-



Clinedinst, Washington, D. C.
MRS. WILSON

OF EXECUTIVE

ares in his sorrow over the loss of his companion.

injustice, persecution, and religious wars.

The church and the state are ordained for different purposes. The realm of one is in no sense the realm of the other; hence there can be no union except at the peril of both. The well-being of each lies in entire yet friendly separation.

This important proposition is susceptible of the clearest demonstration. We have but to define these organizations and compare the functions of each, to see that, although not antagonistic, they are ordained for totally different purposes,—purposes so different that they cannot be blended.

Washington, D. C.

gaged in the present Titanic struggle in Europe professes to be a Christian nation, with the exception of France, and she has been called such for centuries. Austria is a Roman Catholic Christian nation, Russia is a Greek Catholic Christian nation, Germany is a Lutheran Christian nation, and the Episcopal Church is the established church of England.

What should have been expected of these Christian nations, which are now unfortunately engaged in a struggle for supremacy? Rev. G. Monroe Royce, of New Windsor-on-Hudson, is quoted in the *Literary Digest* of August 29, as say-

ing: "What a spectacle we Christians are to the non-Christian world, whom we in our self-glory call heathen! . . . One has a right to expect that, after nineteen hundred years of civilization calling itself Christian, the church and her ministers should have influence enough, power — downright moral and spiritual power — enough to prevent the savage, the brute instincts of mankind dominating not only kings and other rulers, but the whole body of people composing the nations of Europe."

In connection with the thought quoted, it will be of interest to the reader to note that Pope Pius X on his sick bed, and just before his death, said: "In ancient times the Pope by a word might have stayed the slaughter, but now he is impotent." The truth of this statement was well illustrated in the urgent request made by the Pope upon Emperor Francis Joseph of Austria, not to stain his life with blood; but the "Christian nation" of Austria took the step against Servia which was the immediate cause of the great war.

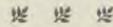
Germany and Russia have ordered their citizens to repair to the churches and pray God to give them success. Much could be said to indicate that these nations have a union of church and state and profess to be Christian nations. As a matter of law, they are technically Christian nations.

Our object in referring to the situation in Europe is to bring to the attention of the National Reform Association the fact that the union of church and state in Europe has not benefited the Europeans, at least to the extent of preventing war, and to ask the association to defer indefinitely its effort to make "the United States a Christian nation" by law. It must be admitted that this country has achieved wonderful success as a nation, and is apparently in good condition to keep out of war itself and to help the warring nations, despite the fact that the Constitution does not declare what the National Reformers insist it ought to declare; namely, "that this is a Christian nation."

It will not do for the association to say that it does not desire a union of church and state in this country; for if words have any meaning, its platform and its declarations show that the outcome of its purpose will be just such a union. We quote from the National Reformers' standard platform one of their aims: "To secure such an amendment to the Constitution of the United States as will declare the nation's allegiance to Jesus Christ and its acceptance of the moral laws of the Christian religion, and to indicate that this is a Christian nation, and place all the Christian laws, institutions, and usages of our government on an undeniably legal basis in the fundamental law of the land."

We sincerely believe that the National Reform Association and other organizations engaged in the movement to make the United States a Christian nation, legally, should look upon the European situation as a warning and a protest, and should forbear to make further efforts in the direction outlined by their platforms.

Washington, D. C.



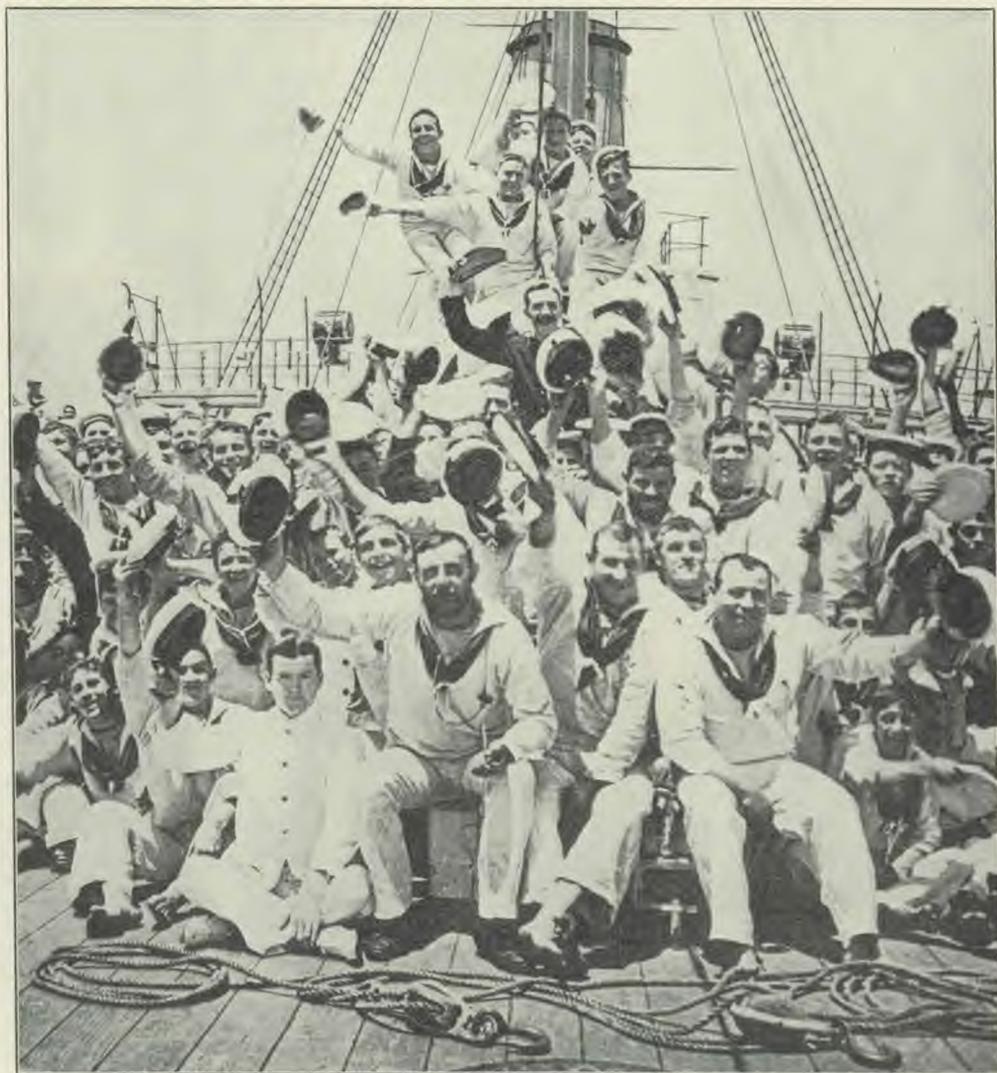
"Rulers Not a Terror to Good Works, but to the Evil"

K. C. RUSSELL

THE character of a ruler toward his subjects is clearly indicated in the words of the Bible which appear as the title of this article, "Rulers are not a terror to good works, but to the evil." The principle voiced in these words is just as true today as when spoken by the inspired apostle nearly two thousand years ago. The apostle knew something of the terror of Nero, the ruler; for Paul suffered imprisonment at his wicked hands. Time would fail in citing the numerous instances where this principle has been flagrantly disregarded by rulers. It will suffice in this article to mention a few of the most remarkable: Pharaoh's oppression of ancient Israel, Nebuchadnezzar's decree which resulted in casting the Hebrew men into the fiery furnace,

the casting of Daniel into a den of lions to satisfy the jealous princes of Medo-Persia, the crucifixion of Christ decreed by Pilate, and the martyrdom of teeming millions of the saints of God during the

officials has been held for ages and still seems to be inbred in the minds of modern officials of civil government. It is the idea that what the law says, regardless of its character, should be enforced upon



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BRITISH SAILORS CHEERING WHEN ORDERED INTO ACTION

Dark Ages. Had the rulers of the past recognized the principle expressed in the quotation used as the heading of this article, the terrible record of these persecutions would never have stained the history of the past.

A false conception on the part of

the people even at the sacrifice of life itself. It was this argument advanced by the Jews that resulted in the crucifixion of Christ. Here are their words: "We have a law, and by our law he ought to die."

Officials who think that they can es-

capé responsibility when commanded to enforce an evil law by hiding under the flimsy mantle that the Jews did when they were pleading for the death of Christ, "We have a law, and by our law he ought to die," will awaken to the terrible fact, when they are brought face to face with the King of kings, that, regardless of unjust laws, there was an obligation resting upon them as individuals that could not be shirked.

The question may arise in the mind of the reader, How can a person differentiate between what is considered good works and evil? This is where the whole question hinges; and when it is properly understood and regarded, no ruler need fear as to the results. The difficulty arises because men do not discriminate between a citizen's obligation to the state and his obligation to God. The Saviour made this question very clear in his reply to the Pharisees and Herodians, when they sought to entangle him in his talk concerning the relation that men should sustain to both the church and the state. He said to them, "Render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's." In other words, the state has to do only with those things that pertain to civil government, and not with one's duty to God. To illustrate: Earthly governments exist alone for the protection of the natural rights of men in this world, and have nothing whatever to do with the world to come. The father of our country said, "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." The object of civil government is forcibly outlined in Sharswood's "Blackstone," page 127, note 8, as follows: "Civil liberty, the great end of all human society and government, is that state in which each individual has the power to pursue his own happiness according to his own views of his interest and the dictates of his conscience, unrestrained, except by

equal, just, and impartial laws." The state was instituted to make men civil, not religious. The purpose of civil government has been beautifully outlined in the following immortal words from the Declaration of Independence: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

From these words those who are vested with civil authority may plainly see that any encroachments upon the natural rights — life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness — of any citizen is in opposition both to the spirit and letter of the teachings of Christ and to the American idea of civil government.

When a citizen menaces the peace of society by invading the natural rights of his fellow citizens, seeking to take their lives or property or to defame their characters, the state can rightfully deal with him; for these actions constitute the evil works against which a ruler should be a "terror," according to God's instruction to civil rulers.

When the principles of civil government are adhered to as set forth in the Bible and by the father of our country, there will be no more arrests, no more convictions, and no more penalties inflicted by either fine or imprisonment, by those clothed with civil authority, upon any citizen for the so-called desecration of the first day of the week, commonly called Sunday. For all laws requiring the observance of any religious institution are a "terror to good works," and are plainly forbidden by the Lord.

The disregard of the Lord's Day is not a crime against the state; and it would be as absurd to require its observance by civil laws as it would be to compel the observance of the Lord's baptism or the Lord's Supper, or the recitation of the Lord's Prayer.

A magistrate in Pennsylvania a few years ago chose to resign his position rather than to issue a warrant for the

arrest of a citizen who had exercised his God-given right to equality in religious things, and in so doing refused to comply with the Sunday law of that State, which law, like all others, is in flagrant contradiction to the principles of the gospel

and to the First Amendment to the United States Constitution, which says: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

Albany, N. Y.

Will Carleton on Liberty

A Rift in the Cloud

WHEN one stands forth in Reason's glorious light,
Stands in his own proud consciousness of right,
Laments his faults, his virtues does not boast,

Through the black cloud of low servility,—
A cloud that's decked the Orient all these years,
'Neath whose low-bending folds, mid groans and tears,



UNITED STATES CRUISER "TENNESSEE," BEARING GOLD FOR THE RELIEF OF AMERICANS STRANDED IN THE EUROPEAN WAR ZONES

Studies all creatures,—and himself the most,—
Knowing the way wherewith his faults to meet,
Or, vanquished by them, owning his defeat,
He pays the penalty as should a man,
And pitches battle with the foe again;
When, giving all their proper due and heed,
He yet has power, when such shall be the need,
To go his way, unshackled, if needs must be
He strikes a rift for his unfearing eye

Priestcraft has heaped its huge, ill-gotten gains,
And tyrants forged their bloody, clanking chains;
A cloud that, when the "Mayflower's" precious cup
The misty, treacherous deep held proudly up,
By waves that leaped and dashed each other o'er,
But onward still the ark of Freedom bore,
Some fair and peaceful Ararat to find,
Plumed its black wings, and swept not far behind.

Today it lowers o'er this great, free
land,—

O'er farms and workshops, offices and
spires,—

Its baleful shadow casts on every hand,
And darkens church and state and
household fires.

It is a thing to pity and to blame,
A useless, vile, humiliating shame,
A silent slander on the heaven-born soul,
Decked with the signet of its own control,
A flaw upon the image of our God,
When men, obedient to some mogul's
nod,—

When men, the sockets of whose addled
brains

Are blessed with some illuminate remains
Wherefrom the glim of reason still is
shed,—

Blow out the light, and send their wits to
bed;

And, taking as their sole dictator, then,
Some little thundering god of speech or
pen,

Aping submissively the smile or frown
Of some great brazen face that beats
them down,

Or, silenced by some lubricated tongue
Covered with borrowed words and neatly
hung,

They yield their judgments up to others'
wills,

And take grave creeds like sugar-coated
pills;

And, with their weakness tacitly con-
fessed,

Like the unfeathered fledglings of a nest
When the old bird comes home with
worms and flies —

With half a smile and half a knowing
frown,

They open wide their mouths, and shut
their eyes,

And seem to murmur softly, "Drop it
down."

He who will creep about some great
man's feet,

The honeyed fragrance of his breath to
meet,

Or follow him about, with crafty plan,
And cringe for smiles and favors, is no
man.

A fraction of a man, and all his own,
Although his numerator be but one,
With unity divided up so fine

That thousands range themselves beneath
the line,—

Aye, one so insignificantly small
That quick accountants count him not at
all,—

Is better far, and vastly nobler, too,
Than some great swelling cipher
among men,

Naught of itself, and nothing else to do
Except to help some little one count
ten!

Let us e'en strike, with courage true en-
dowed,

Straight at the center of this murky
cloud,

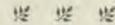
And sweep its worthless vapor from the
earth.

Take sense for coin; opinions at their
worth;

Conviction at its cost; dictation, when
Our minds and souls are bankrupt —
hardly then!

When Freedom's sons and daughters will
do this,

Our land will know a day of happiness.



The Church and Politics

IN one of the leading daily papers there recently appeared a lengthy and caustic editorial against the liquor traffic. The writer thoroughly agreed with it. But on another page in the advertising columns there appeared the advertisements of several large whisky houses. This struck the writer as rather inconsistent and incongruous — denunciation and approbation in the same breath.

If one rightly interprets the New Testament, the function of the church is spiritual. It is one of peace and light, education and reform, social betterment and moral elevation, as it fulfills its mission in propagating the gospel. Its one weapon is the sword of the Spirit. Its one aim is the glorification of God in evangelizing the world. But recently the writer saw a subscription blank, which was circulated by an avowedly anti-whisky party, on which was written, "The Church Against the Saloon." This organization is in politics. It proceeds on the assumption that the end justifies the means. It nominates candidates and

bies for legislation and pulls wires to secure the passage of bills. It boycotts those who refuse to espouse its policy. It uses money freely in the effort to realize its object.

Now, if this is the church, what an inconsistency and incongruity. The church, to be sure, is against the whisky traffic. It is against everything that is detrimental to society. It is against everything that is base. It is against every instrument of iniquity. But how? Is it as the Moslem with the Koran and the sword, or as the Roman Catholics in Algiers with the cross and sword, or as the state with law and sword? If this is the plan, then multitudes must dissent. If this plan is right, why all the current criticism of the Roman Catholics for meddling in politics? There must be consistency and congruity. The tailor should stick to his goose, and the shoemaker to his last, and the church to its divinely appointed mission.

It is no doubt attractive to some preachers and to some ecclesiastical bodies to intermeddle in politics, but it is a perilous policy. The writer recalls an incident which he once read in an old Ara-

bic book of travel while in college. It told of a traveler who had visited Egypt and found the peasants of an Egyptian town engaged in opening a vast rock-hewn sepulcher of their ancestors. Against the inside wall of the sepulcher stood a row of huge jars, sealed with stone covers. One of these covers was soon knocked off, and the men eagerly extended their arms and thrust in their hands to find out the contents, when they found it filled with honey. The glee of the peasants was great as they regaled themselves with honey, until eventually, as the honey decreased, one of them thrust his hand deeper and his fingers became entangled in the hair of an ancient Egyptian preserved in the honey.

Just so, it may be pleasant and attractive to some preachers and some ecclesiastical bodies to meddle in politics and influence legislative bodies to secure the passage of certain laws, but it is a dangerous venture for the church. There is no telling in whose hair one's fingers may become entangled. There may be honey in the jar, but the church had better let that honey alone.—*Rev. R. L. Benn, in the Presbyterian of the South.*



The Star-Spangled Banner Celebration

S. B. HORTON

SEPT. 6-13, 1914, was a memorable date in the history of Baltimore, Md. At that time was held the centennial celebration of the writing of "The Star-Spangled Banner" by Francis Scott Key, a lyric which has since been adopted by common consent as the national anthem of America.

It was at Ft. McHenry, on the Chesapeake Bay, in September, 1814, that the American flag received another baptism of fire from the British forces. Great Britain had in mind the resubjugation of the colonies which had secured their independence after an eight years' struggle from 1776. When the victories at Plattsburg and at Baltimore became known

by the Peace Commission at Ghent, the treaty which insured the complete independence of America was promptly signed. The years 1812-14 properly stand side by side with 1776-84 in the struggle by young America for complete independence.

One of the plans to commemorate the Ft. McHenry event was the erection at that fortress of a \$75,000 monument to Francis Scott Key and the defenders of Baltimore. And on Star-Spangled Banner Day of Centennial Week an exact facsimile of the mammoth post flag was run up a steel flagstaff which stands to-day upon the very spot where a wooden staff stood one hundred years ago. The

original post flag itself, of fifteen stars and fifteen stripes, is being restored at this writing, by Mrs. Amelia Fowler, the Boston expert, and is among the relics of the Smithsonian Institution. It is

President Washington. On September 7, this vessel sailed into Baltimore harbor, just one hundred and seventeen years to a day from the date of her launching.

A brief reference to the history of the

American flag might not be out of place at this point. June 14 of this year marked the one hundred and thirty-seventh anniversary of the adoption of the Stars and Stripes. On June 14, 1777, Congress decreed "that the flag of the thirteen United States be thirteen stripes alternating red and white; that the union be thirteen stars, white in a blue field, representing the new constellation." In 1794, however, the flag was made of fifteen stripes and fifteen stars. This was the type of flag that floated over Ft. McHenry and inspired Key to compose the national anthem; and it continued to be the official flag until 1818, when by an act of Congress, passed April 4 of that year, the original thirteen stripes were permanently restored. At present the blue field contains six rows of eight stars each.

But the value of the flag does not lie

in the material of which it is made, nor in its design. The flag brings to mind not only the valorous deeds of a patriotic ancestry, but also the principles in behalf of which the deeds were done. These should engage the attention of true lovers of that flag.

The American flag stands for the new



FRANCIS SCOTT KEY, AUTHOR OF "THE STAR-SPANGLED BANNER"

not surprising that the relic should need repairs when it is remembered that the old flag was pierced by nearly a dozen bombs and solid shot.

Another feature of the program was the presence at Baltimore of the old frigate "Constellation," which was built at Baltimore in 1798, by order of

Official American Documents on Religious Liberty

CLAUDE E. HOLMES

THERE is fast creeping into legal decisions and into religious teachings a most ingenious and dangerous interpretation of religious liberty, which is being especially used in the campaign for stricter Sunday observance enforced by civil law. Religious liberty thus defined means that on Sunday all work and pleasure must cease. Only by this means can the religious liberty of Sunday observers be secured. Thus they totally ignore the religious liberty of all other citizens of this nation.

It is a well-known fact that the vast majority of the Sunday laws found at the present time upon our State statute books were placed there by religious persons especially for the protection of their religious beliefs.

John A. Fitch, expert in the New York Bureau of Statistics, made an exhaustive study of superior court decisions bearing on Sunday legislation. His investigations were published in the New York State Department of Labor Bulletin, September, 1910. Of colonial times, he says:—

“The legislation of those times bore marked evidence of the extreme religious sentiments then prevailing, and Sunday laws were enacted not to protect man, but to protect a religious institution.

“Accordingly, these laws, religious in the beginning, have maintained their religious characteristics down to the present time. Forty-five States, besides Alaska, Hawaii, and Porto Rico, have Sunday laws on their statute books, and it needs but a brief examination to convince one that their spirit is still primarily religious. In many of them it is apparent in the reference to the day of rest as the ‘Sabbath,’ the ‘Lord’s Day,’ or the ‘Lord’s Day, commonly called the Sabbath.’”

Not until 1844 was the constitutionality of Sunday laws upheld on other than religious grounds. It was in that year that it was declared that such a statute came

under what is known as the “police power.”

From 1844 to 1867 there was more or less confusion. Some laws were upheld on religious grounds, and others as police regulations. But from 1869 to the present, Sunday laws have been quite generally regarded as police regulations. Such interpretation is contrary to the principles of true jurisprudence. It is placing upon these statutes a construction entirely at variance with the minds of those who originally enacted them. They should be repealed, for they are out of harmony with our free institutions.

There has been a tendency during the last twenty-five years to enforce these regulations, with all their objectionable religious inhibitions. The letter of these statutes is so much at war with the principles of liberty long enjoyed by the people of the United States that many have resented their enforcement. This feeling, combined with the increase of education and information regarding religious liberty principles, is forcing a new line of reasoning upon champions of Sunday legislation.

A baseball player in Pennsylvania was arrested and fined for engaging in this game on Sunday. The case was appealed, and the judge, William C. Ryan, in handing down the decision of the court, July 8, 1913, said, quoting from *Johnston Versus the Commonwealth*, 22 Pa., 102:—

“Our fathers, who planted in our fundamental law the assertion of those immortal truths, that all men have a natural and indefeasible right to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of their own consciences, that no man can be compelled to attend, erect, or support any place of public worship, and that no human authority can in any case whatever control or interfere with the

rights of conscience, enacted, also, the statutes of 1705, 1786, and 1794, for the suppression of worldly employments on Sunday. So far from conflicting with those invaluable rights of conscience, they regarded such statutes as indispensable to secure them. It would be a small boon to the people of Pennsylvania to declare their indefeasible right to worship God according to the dictates of their consciences, amid the din and confusion of secular employments, and with desecrations on every hand of what they conscientiously believe to be hallowed time. These statutes were not designed to compel men to go to church, or to worship God in any manner inconsistent with personal preferences, but to compel a cessation of those employments which are calculated to interfere with the rights of those who choose to assemble for public worship."

What a paradox! "All men have a natural and indefeasible right to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of their own consciences," says the judge. Yet the court's view of *all men* seems to be only those who observe Sunday. Their consciences alone are protected. All others must cease from all work and pleasure. They have no legal standing before the court in the matter of conscience. Is not this a peculiar brand of religious liberty? It is the kind the Puritans brought with them from the Old World.

The first-day observer labors six days and rests on the seventh, and the law protects him. The Jew, who rests on the Sabbath day of the Bible, Saturday, can work only five days; for after rest-



FRANCIS SCOTT KEY MONUMENT, BALTIMORE, MD.

ing on the seventh day, he is obliged, in addition, to refrain from his vocation on Sunday. Thus he is robbed by the civil law of one day in the week because of the religious convictions of his fellow citizen. And this is called right and just



PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT OF CUBA

See President Menocal's splendid letter to the editor of "Liberty" on the following page.

by this interpreter of Pennsylvania law.

If the court should compel the Sunday keeper to refrain from all "secular" and "desecrating" acts on Saturday, in order to give the Jew the same religious liberty as the Sunday keeper, then there would be a semblance of equality, so far as these two classes are concerned. In addition, however, there are thousands who are neither Jews nor Christians, whose civil rights must also be protected. "In respect to matters purely of a religious nature the laws ought to be as silent as if there were no such thing as religion in the world. The law can have no religion, since it cannot have all. If it select that of one sect, it offends against that of all other sects. If it take into favor the religion of the majority, it tyrannizes over the minority; if it establish the religion of the Christian, it offends the infidel, the Jew, and the heathen. . . . As regards the observance of a day of rest, the state has an undoubted authority to abstain from all action on such a day; but it cannot rightfully compel any man to keep Sunday as a religious institution; nor can it require him

to cease from labor or recreation on that day, since it cannot be shown that the ordinary exercise of the human faculties on that day is in any way an infringement upon the rights of mankind."—*"Essay on Human Rights,"* by E. P. Hurlbut.

All religious sects must be placed on the same basis. If any denomination were especially favored, to that extent it would become an established church. The civil rights of both believers and unbelievers would be placed in jeopardy. In a statement issued by the solicitor for the Department of State, Washington, D. C., this principle is recognized:—

"The [First] Amendment to 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 form of religion, however widely spread, but to establish upon a firm footing the right before the law of every religious sect."

Again the solicitor says:—

"In the United States, Christianity is

REPUBLICA DE CUBA
PRESIDENCIA

Havana, Cuba, September 3rd, 1914.

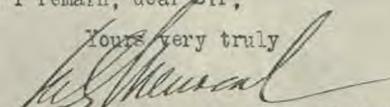
Dear Sir:-

I am in receipt of your esteemed favor of the 24th ultimo, and in compliance with your request to express my views on civil and religious freedom, I wish to state the following:

Religious liberty is the true basis of civil and political liberty and the best guarantee of peace and prosperity of the nations. Where conscience is not free; where mankind cannot freely worship the Supreme Creator in accordance with the credence they profess, it is impossible to enjoy personal freedom, nor freedom of the home nor of patrimony. The Liberty Magazine, devoted to the defense of these essential principles of civilization has my most heartfelt sympathies.

With the assurance of my most distinguished consideration, I remain, dear Sir,

Yours very truly


President of the Republic of Cuba.

Mr. C. S. Longacre,
Editor The Liberty Magazine,
Washington, D. C.

WHAT THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF CUBA THINKS OF "LIBERTY"

not prescribed by statute; and the government, as such, is not and cannot be interested in any form of religion."

The State Department in an official dispatch holds the same view: "It is a fundamental principle in the United

States that all persons, of every sect, faith, or race, are equal before the law. They make no distinction in favor of any ecclesiastical organization. Prelates, priests, and ministers can claim equal

(Concluded on page 190)

EDITORIAL

THE right of choice in religious matters is divine.

THOSE who employ force in religion make more hypocrites and infidels than converts.

THE equality of all religions before the law can only be made possible when the state refuses to recognize the tenets of any religious sect or sects.

THE only service and religion that is accepted by God is freewill service and heart religion. The state can enforce only head religion, which is hypocrisy.

A GOSPEL of love and mercy, which wins and draws men, is the message of the true church; while a gospel (?) of law and force, which compels and drives men, is the pronouncement of a false church.

IN a republic, the majority rules in civil matters only. In religious matters, the majority has no more right to coerce the minority than the minority has to coerce the majority. A failure to recognize this principle has been the cause of all the persecutions of the past.

THE man who says, "If our Sunday laws do not suit you, get out of the republic," ought to apply to an autocratic government for a position as inquisitor for heretics or as transportation agent for exiles. The American Republic has yet to establish such a bureau. Rome had her Patmos, Russia has her Siberia, and some American colonies and States have

had their pillories and chain gangs; but the American Republic has not yet established an exile country for persons who dare to differ from those who imagine they have a monopoly and exclusive government sanction for their puritanical Sunday blue law notions.

WHEN the church organizes its members into religious societies for the purpose of promulgating the interests of the church and religion, and these religious auxiliaries in turn form a coalition with the state, elect or defeat public officials, and secure the passage of Sunday laws and other sectarian measures by their direct and combined influence in politics, it is just as much a union of church and state as if the church did it openly. Mighty religious combinations whose purpose is to crush the religious minority through political intrigues are even more dangerous than the most formidable financial trusts.

THE inalienable rights of man, the free exercise of conscience, and religious liberty for the individual or the minority, are becoming empty platitudes with many who call themselves Americans. They enjoy elucidating the theory upon state occasions, and swaying the multitude by the power of their oratory; but in reality they do not believe that these God-given rights are for their neighbors unless they are of the same faith and persuasion as the ruling majority. Many argue that their religious liberty is interfered with unless everybody is compelled to rest on Sunday when they rest. Now, if they were truly unselfish and believed in the golden rule in this matter, they would ask

the state to make a law to compel all Sunday observers to rest on Saturday, in order to guarantee religious liberty to those who rest on the seventh day of the week. If they believe that all religious sects should stand on an equality before the law according to the American idea of civil and religious liberty, why should not the compulsory Sunday law advocates petition Congress and our State legislatures just as earnestly and ungrudgingly for a compulsory Saturday law to protect the religious liberty of the Sabbatarians and compel the Sunday observers to rest two days for the same reason that they want the Sabbatarians to keep two days? That would be one way of maintaining religious equality before the law as between these two classes; but a better way would be for the state not to take cognizance of the religious tenets and institutions of any sect. Let the church attend to religious matters and the state to civil matters only. Then the natural rights and religious liberty of all men would be secured, and universal peace and harmony would prevail.

A Modern Haman

THE Altoona (Pa.) *Times* of June 25, 1914, contains the following:—

The Biblical story of Haman and the scaffold he built for Mordecai, but upon which he was later hanged himself, tells the story completely of what happened to the Rev. —, pastor of the Fourth Lutheran Church, when he appeared in the court of Alderman Adam Leake to prosecute Mrs. L. S. Snyder, a widow, who conducts a restaurant in Logansport, and who was arrested on the oath of the minister, charged with selling ice cream on Sunday. After hearing the testimony in the case, the alderman discharged Mrs. Snyder, and informed the Rev. — that he would have to pay the costs in the case, failing to do which, execution on his property would be made.

The outcome of the hearing is a hard blow to the ministerial sleuths of Altoona

who had set about to close up Altoona on Sunday.

We omit the minister's name purposely, lest it might go down in history with a perpetual stigma attached to it similar to that of Haman. But this incident ought to be an object lesson to our lawmakers as to the class of men who are demanding Sunday legislation, and the length to which they will go in the drastic enforcement of such laws. We only wish that our republic had more rulers and civil officers of the Ahasuerus and the Altoona alderman type, who would interpret the law in harmony with justice and the Constitutional guaranties of civil and religious liberty.

A Ringing Resolution

AT a recent meeting in California, in the interests of religious liberty, three thousand people rose to their feet for the adoption of the following resolution:—

Whereas, The Sunday Rest Bill now pending in California on the initiative, is subversive of the natural rights of mankind, opposed to the civil guaranties of the State and nation, unreasonable in its restrictions and prohibitions, and absurdly discriminative in its multiplied exemptions,—

Resolved, That we protest most vigorously against this bold-faced attack upon the inalienable prerogatives of citizens, and pledge our word and sacred honor to oppose its enactment into a law, which would be alike oppressive and a constant incentive to espionage and blackmail. We deny the right of any faction, secular or religious, whether constituting a minority or a majority, to impose civil demands that would curtail the freedom of labor or restrict the legitimate operations of business, particularly in ways that involve differences of religious belief and practice. We therefore call upon all fair-minded voters to unite with us in the maintenance of constitutional pledges, that we and all our fellow citizens may continue to enjoy the inestimable blessings of civil and religious liberty in California.

Judicial Decisions Antagonistic to the Legal Status of Sunday Observance

JUDGE RODMAN, of the supreme court of North Carolina, gave Sunday sacredness a legal unveiling by his decision in a case where the defendant contended that the judgment pronounced against him by a lower court was "void because the verdict was rendered on Sunday."

To this Judge Rodman replied in his *obiter dictum* as follows:—

What religion or morality permit or forbid to be done on Sunday is not within our province to inquire. In different Christian countries, and in different ages in the same country, very different opinions have prevailed upon this question. In this State in general, every act may lawfully be done on Sunday which may lawfully be done on any other day.—*North Carolina Reports of the Supreme Court, Vol. LXXIV, pages 167, 168.*

Nor can any legislature or court legitimately prohibit on Sunday any act which is lawful on any other day.

Any act which is in itself legitimate and honorable on all other days can be forbidden on Sundays only upon a religious basis. When the state legislates in favor of the proper observance of Sunday, it enacts religious laws and forms a union of church and state to that extent. Every criminal act is prohibited and every civil requirement is covered by the general laws which apply to each of the seven days of the week. Upon what ground, then, is special legislation needed to prohibit uncivil acts on Sunday, when such acts are already prohibited on every day of the week? The only answer that can be given to this question is that a certain class of citizens want all people to act as if they were religious on Sunday, and therefore prohibit them from doing civil acts. When citizens are prohibited from doing civil acts on Sunday

which are lawful on other days, then the state is enforcing religion under penalties as verily as a theocratic government ever enforced religion in the past.

The farther back we trace Sunday observance and Sunday legislation, the more pagan is its character seen to be. The Sunday institution has been designated as "the wild solar holiday of all pagan times." Webster in tracing Sunday to its origin, says: "Sunday; so called because this day was anciently dedicated to the sun or to its worship." Sir William Domville, a noted English historian, says: "Centuries of the Christian era passed away before the Sunday was observed by the Christian church as a Sabbath. History does not furnish us with a single proof or indication that it was at any time so observed previous to the Sabbatical edict of Constantine in A. D. 321."—*Examination of the Six Texts,* page 291.

We have the most indubitable proof that Constantine's first Sunday law was purely a heathen enactment in honor of a heathen festival. The church afterward adopted this identical festival day in its canon law, and made its observance obligatory upon all Christians, and later upon all nonconformists. But it was not until more than five hundred years after Christ that any judicial cognizance was taken even by Christian judges of Sunday as a rest day.

In the "Cyclopedia of Law and Procedure" Vol. XXXVII, page 584, we read:—

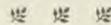
Anciently the courts of justice sat on Sundays. Two reasons for this are given in Sir Henry Spelman's "Original of the Terms," one being that the Christians laid aside all observance of days in op-

position to the heathen who were superstitious about the observance of days and times; and the other being that by keeping their own courts always open they would prevent Christian suitors from resorting to the heathen courts. But in 517 a canon was passed exempting Sunday from the judicial days, which, with other canons passed later, was received and adopted by the Saxon kings and embodied in the constitution of Edward the Confessor. These canons and constitutions were all confirmed by William the Conqueror and Henry the Second, and so became part of the common law of England.

It may be interesting to the American citizen who does not believe in a union of church and state to know that more than three fourths of our American States which have Sunday laws upon their statute books have adopted the original "common law of England Sunday acts," which declares "that Christianity is a part of the common law of the land,"

and hence Sunday legislation is made to appear justifiable.

But Judge Rodman, of the supreme court of North Carolina, fittingly rebuked an American lawyer who appeared before that august court, claiming that in the United States "Christianity was a part of the common law of the land," and that therefore Sunday laws were valid. The judge said, "It is incorrect to say that Christianity is a part of the common law of the land, however it may be in England, where there is a union of church and state, which is forbidden here." The judge then declared that Christianity in America could never legally be recognized as "a part of the organic law which expressly denies religion any place in the supervision or control of secular affairs."—*North Carolina Reports, Vol. CXXXIV, pages 508-515.* C. S. L.



The Church Promises to Keep Out of Politics

IN a special from the Associated Press to the *Washington Post* of July 13, 1914, the following significant account is given:—

Jesús Echevarria, the venerable archbishop of Saltillo, formerly of Mexico City, today was especially appointed by the house of bishops to go to General Carranza and plead for the lives of the priests. He will tell Carranza the church will keep out of politics.

In another special to the *Washington Post* of July 28, 1914, sent from Tampico via Laredo, we have the following account:—

A decree limiting the scope of the Roman Catholic Church in the state of Nuevo Leon, on the ground of "public health, morality, and justice," was issued today by Antonio I. Villareal, governor and military commander. He said: "During the life of the nation the church has been a pernicious factor in

disruption and discord, and has entirely forgotten its spiritual mission."

The decree, issued at Monterey, makes the following orders for government of Catholic schools and churches:—

"1. All foreign Catholic priests and Jesuits of whatever nationality will be expelled from the state of Nuevo Leon.

"2. Of the remaining Catholic priests, those who cannot prove their complete abstention from politics will be expelled."

Quite a number of restrictive laws are laid down by the civil officers of the Constitutional government of Mexico, by which the Catholic priests and church officials are to be governed in their future relations with the state. The last regulation states: "Any infraction of these laws will be punishable by a fine of \$100 to \$500, and arrest and imprisonment from two to four months, or both fine and imprisonment."

The Catholic press complains loudly that such treatment is an infringement upon the religious liberty of the Catholic Church. We have always felt it a privilege and deemed it a duty to plead in defense of the religious liberty of any church or individual, irrespective of religious faith, whenever their liberties were assailed. We should like to do it in this case if we could do so consistently. But when a church unites with the state, accepts aid from the state, employs force in religion, and meddles with politics, what can the church reasonably expect

from the state but just such drastic treatment when the state finally decides to become the dominating power or to throw off the yoke and sever all connections?

The questions of the wise man are applicable here: "Can a man take fire in his bosom, and his clothes not be burned? Can one go upon hot coals, and his feet not be burned?" Just so, the church which joins herself to an unlawful lord—"a wound and dishonor shall she get; and her reproach shall not be wiped away." See Prov. 6:27, 28, 33.

C. S. L.

The Sunday Law Referendum in California

FARMERS and fruit growers of California have discovered that they have two eight-hour laws to fight, for nicely sandwiched in the Sunday-closing measure, proposed on the initiative and to be voted on by the electors in November, are provisions that would limit labor to eight hours a day, even should the regular eight-hour law be defeated.

This Sunday-closing proposition has been pressed forward by the church element, and, not content with demanding the imposition of penalties of fine and imprisonment for Sunday labor, they slipped in a provision that would insure the enforcement of an eight-hour day throughout California if the Sunday Rest Act should carry.

Strong opposition on religious grounds already existed to the plan of making labor on Sunday punishable as a criminal offense; but the discovery of the additional objection of a full-fledged eight-hour day provision has brought to the aid of the objectors the united strength of those opposed to that proposition. The five-hundred-word argument to be printed on the sheet of instructions to voters, and to be distributed throughout California, in opposition to the Sunday

law, reveals this and other flagrant provisions of the proposed act. The text of this opposing argument, prepared by W. Mayhew Healey, of San Diego, is as follows:—

This proposed law discriminates in favor of those sects that observe Sunday as a day of rest and religious worship, by selecting and establishing it by law as the day of rest, and enforcing it upon the people under severe penalties of fines and imprisonment; while those who would observe another day are merely permitted to do so, under prescribed conditions, limitations, and restrictions.

This is a violation of the constitution of the State of California, which declares that "the free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship, without discrimination or preference, shall forever be guaranteed in this State."—*Constitution of California, Art. I, Sec. 4.* "The enforced observance of a day held sacred by one of the sects is a discrimination in favor of that sect, and a violation of the freedom of the others."—*California Reports, Vol. IX, page 502.*

This proposed law is an unwarranted interference with individual rights and personal liberty. "A man's constitutional liberty means more than his personal freedom. It means, with many other rights, his right freely to labor, and to own the fruits of his toil. . . . It is a

curious law for the protection of labor which punishes the laborer for working. Such protection to labor, carried a little farther, would send him from the jail to the poorhouse."—*Id.*, Vol. CXII, page 468.

The right of one person or class to choose their time of labor and rest establishes the right of *every* person and of *any* class to a like choice. This proposed law denies equal rights. It grants the right of choice to those who choose to labor or employ labor, eight hours in one day, forty-eight hours in one week; but *denies* this right of choice to those who wish to labor or employ labor forty-eight hours and a few minutes in one week. It not only denies the right of choice, but imposes grievous penalties of fines and imprisonment upon those who shall attempt to exercise this natural liberty. Such a law would be a vicious

menace to society. It would declare good citizens to be criminals because they sold something on the first day of the week, or because they had labored or employed labor for hire a few minutes over forty-eight hours in one week. Their reasons not being accepted by the zealous prosecutors of the law, they would be in the power of the blackmailer or the jailer most of the time.

This proposed law places all citizens on a level with the wards and convicts of the State, deprived of the liberty to choose their own time for work and rest. The State has no more right to say when free citizens shall work or rest than it has to fix, by law, a time for them to eat and sleep. For the State to deny its free citizens the personal right to determine the use of their own time is to treat them as slaves.

J. F. BLUNT.

Los Angeles, Cal.



Are Sunday Laws Religious or Civil?

THE claim that Sunday legislation is civil legislation has been made only in recent years, but careful historic and judicial investigation clearly reveals the fact that Sunday laws have always been regarded by judges, legislators, and the clergy of former times as being religious in character, enacted for the specific benefit and convenience of certain established churches. This opinion has prevailed for more than fifteen hundred years, or since the days of Constantine. In enforcing these laws, the civil magistrates did not pretend to be enforcing civil statutes, but admitted that they were seeking "to aid the attendance at divine worship on Sunday."

Few realize the origin of our present Sunday-law statutes. Some take it for granted that Sunday was always observed from creation to the present time by the command of God. The student of history and the Bible, however, knows that there is no authority, either divine or apostolic, for the religious observance of Sunday.

The Sunday law enacted by Constantine in A. D. 321 made Sunday observance a legal requirement throughout Christendom. Hitherto it had had the backing of heathen worshipers alone who had dedicated the first day of the week to the worship of the sun, their chief deity. An accurate record of nearly every Sunday law from that time to the present is available; and it is our purpose to give from time to time the different links in the chain of Sunday legislation.

More than three fourths of our States transferred to their statute books the Sunday legislation of the colonies, which in turn obtained them directly from England, where a union of church and state existed at the time. Nearly all our present Sunday laws in the United States are based on the Sunday statute of Charles II. The Parliamentary statute of 1690 construed Sunday observance as a legislative requirement of the Westminster Confession of Faith when it was adopted by the English Parliament as the national religion of the kingdom.

Our readers will be interested in tracing this history on Sunday legislation back to its original source. By so doing they will be convinced that Sunday laws are purely religious, and have always been so regarded by the courts, the state, and the church. In the American system of government the Lord's Day, or the Lord's Sabbath, has no more right upon our civil statute books than has the enforcement of the Lord's Supper, the Lord's Prayer, or the Lord's baptism. These belong to the Lord, not Cæsar.

The following famous Sunday trial in England will serve as a confirmation of the foregoing statements concerning Sunday laws:—

Phillips Versus Innes

"The magistrates of Dundee . . . find that however desirable it may be that the resorting to shaving shops on the mornings of Sunday should be discontinued, if that could be effected without greater evil, yet it does not appear to be either necessary or expedient, for a due observance of the Sabbath, to forbid the existing usage so long as the shops continue, as at present, open early in the morning, and closed before the time fixed for the commencement of divine service. . . . It appears very obvious that if workingmen, who are not themselves accustomed to shave, were forbidden the aid of the barbers in their shops on the Sunday mornings, many decently disposed men would be prevented from frequenting places of worship. . . . The attempt to reduce the minor evil might lead to something more serious; . . . and with this explanation, ordain the defender, the apprentice, to aid his master on the mornings of Sunday, when his master has occasion for his services in shaving his customers, the work not continuing after ten o'clock in the morning, . . . closing before the time fixed for the commencement of divine service."

This decision was afterward reversed by Lord Jeffrey, as Lord Ordinary, on March 14, 1835. Later, on May 19, 1835, the Lords of the second division of the Court of Sessions reversed Lord Jeffrey's decision, and confirmed the deci-

sion of the magistrates of Dundee. Later still the case was appealed to the Lord Chancellor on Feb. 20, 1836, and he again reversed the decision of the three judges of the second division of the Court of Sessions, and reaffirmed Lord Jeffrey's decision that an apprentice could not be compelled to work on any part of Sunday.

The Lord Chancellor, Dr. Lushington, held that the shops should be closed altogether on Sundays, and he based his decision upon the Westminster Confession of Faith, which had been adopted by an act of Parliament as the national religion. The Lord Chancellor's words are as follows:—

"If we look, above all, to the statute of 1690, c. 7, which sets forth the nature of those avocations which alone are proper for Sunday, can we conceive it for a moment to have been within the contemplation of those by whom it was framed and sanctioned (note, sec. 8, chap. 21, of the Westminster Confession of Faith, which was adopted and confirmed by that act) that shops should be opened during any part of that holy day for the exercise of any such trade? The duties of necessity and mercy which are mentioned in that act [Act of the Westminster Confession of Faith] are of a very different class and description from the acts sought here to be enforced."

The Lord Chancellor further said: "This is a case of great importance regarding the observance of the Sabbath. . . . It becomes the duty of this House now to decide which of those opinions is right, and for that purpose it is necessary to refer to the acts of Parliament passed in Scotland for securing the observance of the Sabbath. By the statute of 1579 A. D., c. 70, it was enacted, among other things, that 'no handy-laboring or working be used on the Sunday.' The same prohibition was enacted by the statute of 1690, chap. 21, par. 7, which added to the private and public exercise of worship 'the duties of necessity or mercy.' These words were said to qualify the generality of the act of 1579. The English act on this subject, 29 Charles II, c. 7, contained the like prohibition of work on Sunday, 'works of necessity and charity only excepted.'"—*7 English Reports, Reprint Clark and Finnely, 90.*
C. S. L.

The Scourge Fails to Convert

In ancient times before a criminal was executed on the gallows or crucified on the cross, the civil and religious officers of the law believed it to be their religious duty to lead the condemned criminal to repentance and sorrow for his sins. They believed that the proper way to extort confessions and lead him to humiliation of soul was to apply the scourge to his body, usually "forty stripes save one." This was their way of converting the evildoer and leading him to God before his life was blotted out. The generation of this class of religious workers is not yet extinct.

A striking exhibition of this method of procedure is recorded in Sacred Writ. When the two thieves were crucified with Christ, the scourge was also applied to them. We find them both reviling Christ in the morning when they were nailed to the cross. Later, in the afternoon, a remarkable change had taken place in the attitude of one of the thieves toward Christ. We find him confessing his sins, justifying Christ, and acknowledging him as his blessed Lord.

What had wrought this great transformation? It was the Saviour's wonderful prayer: "Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do." It was the Saviour's attitude toward his persecutors which broke the heart of that wicked thief, and led him to see his sin in the light of heaven. That prayer and Christ's forgiving spirit did what the scourge could not do. This thief had gone through his trial, he had been scourged, he had been nailed to the cross, the law had taken its full course, but his heart had not been softened nor subdued. All this did not lead him to repentance nor cause him to call upon God for mercy. But when he saw the love of Christ manifested, and heard the Saviour praying for his murderers, his heart was subdued and he was led to call upon the great Deliverer for mercy. A new life was awakened in him, and the fear of God flashed into his soul.

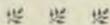
What this sinning world needs is more of the love and gentleness of the Man of

Galilee, whose wooing and winning ways never repelled the poor sinner. We employ too much harshness in our service for others. Instead of trying to reach evildoers through the operations of the law of love, we employ the law of force. We have forsaken the doctrine that we must conquer our enemies by kindness. Even religious sects often do not adopt this rule toward one another, and are most intolerant toward the unbelievers and nonconformists. If we desire to have people fall in love with our religion, we must make it lovely and attractive to them. Civil laws and carnal weapons were never employed by Christ to advance his cause. Religious legislation on the part of the state to aid the cause of Christianity has always caused it to retrograde. Law, prison, and scourge have never converted evildoers. If they are converted in prison, it is in spite of the prison. We are not opposed to the proper use of law and prison in the punishment of civil offenses, but we are opposed to the misapplication of these measures when they are used by the state to advance religious dogmas and institutions.

Nothing but the power and love of God can transform human hearts. It is the changed heart, and not the striped suit, which reforms the malefactor. It is in the secret closet of prayer, and not in the chain gang, where we conquer our enemies. It is spiritual regeneration, and not civic reformation, which transforms the evildoer. The Man of Galilee did not try to reform the government, but to convert the individual. The ambassadors of the spiritual kingdom are sent forth on the wings of love, and not in the chariots of hate. We are asked to worship God in spirit and truth at the altar of love and mercy, and not through civil government at the altar of force. The gospel of the Nazarene is an evangel of love that wins men, and not an edict of law that drives men. Let us, therefore, banish darkness with light, error with truth, malice with kindness, and our cause will be sure of triumph.

The Price of Liberty

THOSE who refuse or neglect to study the problems of life that are ever before us are simply contributing to the enemies of free institutions and a free and independent people. It is this class who, by their indifference to the public welfare, have contributed to the downfall of all the nations of the earth in the ages dead and gone. Let us profit by their example, and refuse to allow our country to pass into the hands of those who would enslave and debase the people. The remedy lies in the general enlightenment of all the people through the study of the problems of society and government. The man who uttered the words, "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty," uttered God's solemn truth, and every people throughout all the history of the world who have disregarded this truth, have sunk to serfdom and slavery, and have passed out of existence as organized governments.—*Remarks by Hon. D. V. Stephens, in Congressional Record, Oct. 2, 1913, page 5928.*



Official American Documents on Religious Liberty

(Concluded from page 181)

protection here, and enjoy equal rank in the eye of civil law."—*"Foreign Relations," 1871, pages 154, 155.*

It is contrary to the principles of true Christianity for it to demand civil pre-eminence; it is dangerous to the spirit of our civil institutions to grant it; and it is opposed to the religious liberty claims made by our government for its citizens in other countries.

Forty treaties with twenty-seven different countries have been entered into by our nation which contain provisions for freedom of conscience. No statesman nor diplomat would be so unwise as to require the natives of these countries to stop all their work and pleasure when American citizens in those places would wish to observe Sunday. They could not

if they should desire such a thing. And with propriety we might ask, What right would this country have to even request them to refrain from acts that would be a desecration of a Christian holy day?

In these treaties the United States both requests and offers "liberty of conscience." One illustration will suffice:—

"The citizens and inhabitants of the two countries shall enjoy in the territory of the other a full and entire liberty of conscience. They shall be protected in the free exercise of their worship; they shall have the right to erect religious edifices and to organize and maintain missions."—*Treaty of United States with Kongo, 1891, Article IV.*

That is precisely the attitude that our great nation should take toward its own citizens. It should protect all in their worship, but leave all free to worship or not to worship, letting them go about their business as they see fit. It should treat all alike as long as they engage in legitimate labor and pleasure.

Washington, D. C.

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