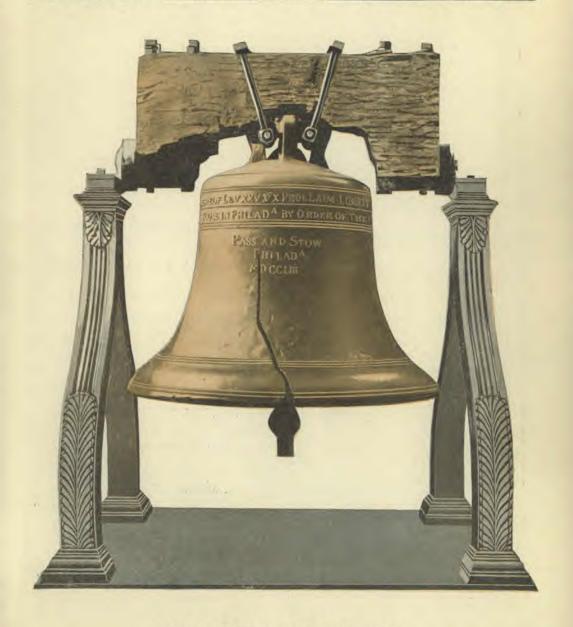
LIBERTY

A MAGAZINE OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM



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Religious Liberty Association

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

- r. 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.
- g. 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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LIBERTY

A MAGAZINE OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

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LIBERTY BELL AT THE PANAMA-PACIFIC EXPOSITION

LIBERTY

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

VOL. X

FOURTH QUARTER, 1915

No. 4

The Pope, the Powers, and Peace

P. T. MAGAN, M. D.

From the beginning of his pontificate, Pope Benedict XV has persistently tendered his good offices to the belligerent nations as a mediator through whose services peace may be brought about. In view of this, the question at once arises, Will peace so secured make in the ultimate for blessing, for civil and religious liberty, in Europe? Will the great powers be better off in the end with a peace given to them by the Papacy, or will they be in a worse plight than they are at the present time? These questions can be answered only by a correct knowledge of the views of Rome regarding the "root cause" of the present awful strife, and of the principles which she holds must be ingrafted into civil constitutions and national statutes in order to secure a lasting peace.

The Encyclical "Ad Beatissimi"

On the feast of All Saints, Nov. 1, 1914, Benedict XV, by "divine providence Pope," issued his first encyclical letter. In accordance with custom, this is named from the first and second words of the Latin text—"Ad beatissimi." From this history-confirming and maybe history-making document, it is evident that Rome has "refurbished and paraded anew every rusty tool she was fondly thought to have disused," and has

proved herself true to her ancient motto — Semper eadem.

After commenting upon the sad condition of human society the Supreme Pontiff proceeds to make some crucial declarations, some of the most striking of which I will cite here:—

But it is not the present sanguinary strife alone that distresses the nations and fills us with anxiety and care. There is another evil raging in the very inmost heart of human society, a source of dread to all who really think, inasmuch as it has already brought, and will bring, many misfortunes upon nations, and may rightly be considered to be the root cause of the present awful war. For ever since the precepts and practices of Christian wisdom ceased to be observed in the ruling of states, it followed that, as they contained the peace and stability of institutions, the very foundations of states necessarily began to be shaken. Such, moreover, has been the change in the ideas and morals of men that unless God comes soon to our help, the end of civilization would seem to be at hand. . . .

Let the princes and rulers of peoples remember this truth, and let them consider whether it is a prudent and safe idea for governments or for states to separate themselves from the holy religion of Jesus Christ, from which their authority receives such strength and support. Let them consider again and again whether it is a measure of political wisdom to seek to divorce the teaching of the gospel and of the church from the ruling of a country and from the public education of the young. Sad experience proves

that human authority fails where religion is set aside.

Roman Ideas and Dogmas

What are the precepts and practices of Christian wisdom, according to the Romish ideas, which have ceased to be observed? First of all, and undoubtedly in the mind of Rome the most important one, is that the Sovereign Pontiff is supreme above all civil government. In proof of this, the following words, taken from the coronation service of the pontiffs, is good evidence:—

Take thou the tiara adorned with the triple crown, and know that thou art the father of princes and of kings, and art the governor of the world.

And again the following will be of interest: ---

I claim to be the supreme judge and director of the consciences of men—of the peasant that tills the field, and the prince that sits on the throne; of the household that sits in the shade of privacy, and the legislature that makes laws for kingdoms. I am the sole last supreme judge of what is right and wrong.—Vide Quirinus (Appendix 1, page 832), quoted from a sermon by Cardinal Manning, preached at Kensington, 1869, "in the Pope's name."

Besides this, Rome teaches in many different places that all sovereigns are of right subject to the Vicar of Jesus Christ on earth; that absolute monarchy is the only really right form of civil government; that the Pope has a right to dethrone kings and princes, and to absolve their subjects from their oaths of allegiance; that governments must not permit men to embrace any faith but the "revealed truth in the Catholic religion;" and Pope Pius X declared that the fundamental principle of the separation of church and state is "an absolutely false thesis, a very pernicious error." Moreover, in the now famous Syllabus of Errors the following doctrines are pronounced errors: -

Every man is free to embrace and profess the religion he shall believe true, guided by the light of reason.—Apostolic letter Multiplices inter, 10th June, 1851; Allocution, Maxima quidem, 9th June, 1862. Men may in any religion find the way of eternal salvation and obtain eternal salvation.

— Encyclical letter Qui pluribus, 9th Nov., 1846; Allocation Ubi primum, 17th Dec., 1847.

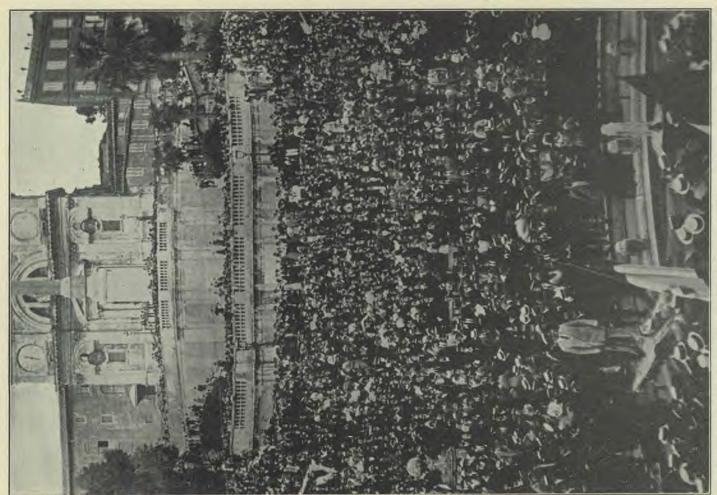
We may entertain at least a well-founded hope for the eternal salvation of all those who are in no manner in the true church of Christ.—Allocution Singulari quidem, 9th Dec., 1854; Encyclical letters Quanto conficiamur, 17th Aug., 1863.

The church has not the power of using force, nor has any temporal power, direct or indirect.— Twenty-fourth in the Syllabus of Errors.

The church ought to be separated from the state, and the state from the church.—Fifty-fifth in the Syllabus of Errors.

The theories concerning civil government as held by Rome are at the present time being strenuously promulgated by the Jesuits. In the year 1850 there began to be published in the city of Rome by the Jesuits a magazine bearing the title Civiltá Cattolica (Catholic Civilization). This magazine is published to teach "Catholic civilization" as opposed to "modern civilization." In other words, it is designed to promulgate in the world the Roman Catholic ideas of civil government as opposed to the liberal and republican ideas of the present day; and the Catholic civilization is, of course, represented by the ideas of government which are the opposite of those doctrines condemned by the Syllabus of Errors. It consistently teaches that the prince as a prince, the legislature as a legislature, and the nation as a society, are "not only to believe in the Pope, but to be subject to him."

From all this, it is clear that the modern ideas of ruling states are not at all in accord with those of the Church of Rome. According to her, the present order of society is utterly and fundamentally wrong. And it must be remembered that the Syllabus of Errors is an ex-cathedra document and is infallible and irreformable. Moreover, it will be seen from the sections already quoted from the Syllabus that that document strikes at the very fundamentals of civil and religious liberty. And again it must be remembered that the opposite of the



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"errors" condemned in the Syllabus are held by the Church of Rome to be "the precepts and practices of Christian wisdom," which Pope Benedict XV says have "ceased to be observed in the ruling of states," and that because of their non-observance this terrible war has come. And he further elucidates this point by stating that it is because the teaching of the gospel and of the church has been divorced from the ruling of countries and from the public education of the young that this welter of woe and strife is ruining the earth.

The Root Cause of the War

Now in view of the fact that Pope Benedict XV has such pronounced views on the cause of the present war, and, further, in view of the fact that the things which "His Holiness" alleges are the " root cause " of the war are fundamental constitutional principles of the chief states involved, it would naturally follow that the Sovereign Pontiff, in making peace would be obliged to do all in his power to revolutionize the form of government of these states. He must of necessity endeavor to rewrite into the constitutions of these countries the doctrine of the union of church and state. He must endeavor to make these nations once more commit themselves to the teaching of religion in the public schools, and to the giving to the Church of Rome the right to avail herself of the use of force and the temporal power. A rearrangement of constitutions and statutes covering these points is inevitable according to the papal theory, if the permanent peace of the world is to be secured.

The Papal Price for Papal Peace

Therefore the question naturally arises, Will it be the part of wisdom for the nations of Europe to pay such a price for a papal-made peace? Will it be for the happiness and comfort of mankind to have the hands of the great clock of time set back to the days of the Middle Ages, when religious persecution, the rack, the gibbet, the fagot, and the In-

quisition were the order of the day; when popes had the right to dethrone kings and princes, to annul the acts of legislatures, to force the Roman Catholic creed down the throats of men and women at the point of the civil sword? As already noted, it must be remembered that one of the principal mottoes of the Church of Rome is Semper eadem (Always the same); and viewed from one standpoint. if there is one thing under the shining sun to which the Church of Rome has been true, it is to the semper-eadem doctrine. To the writer it would seem that a papal-made peace would in the ultimate be a greater calamity to the nations of Europe than the present cataclysm which is soaking the soil of that continent with blood.

When during the closing years of the eighteenth century and during the greater part of the nineteenth century the nations of Europe were slipping away from the papal doctrines of government and adopting in their stead the principles upon which republics and constitutional governments are based, Rome began to prophesy that there would ultimately be a terrible war which would come as a result of the abolition of her doctrines of civil government. Over and over again did she prophesy that the present war would come, and gave as her reason for such a belief the departure from her principles of civil and religious intolerance. Here are a few of these papal prophecies: -

Papal Predictions

The excited antagonism of the nations of Europe is founded on a fact full of consolation. Instead of being alarmed, or scared, or discouraged by the great sharpening of animosity and the great massing together of antagonists, I look upon it as the most beautiful sign.

Now, when the nations of Europe have revolted, and when they have dethroned, as far as men can dethrone, the Vicar of Jesus Christ, and when they have made the usurpation of the Holy City a part of international law,—when all this has been done, there is only one solution of the difficulty, a solution I fear impending; and that is a terrible scourge of Continental war,—a war which will exceed the horrors of the wars of the first empire. I



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POPE BENEDICT XV IN HIS OFFICIAL ROBES

"If God does not soon intervene, it appears that the dissolution of civil society is at hand."— Benedict XV.

do not see how this can be averted. It is my firm conviction that, in spite of all obstacles, the Vicar of Jesus Christ will be put again in his own rightful place.— Archbishop (later,

cardinal) Manning, at the meeting of the League of St. Sebastian, London, Jan. 20, 1874.

It will be noted that this prince of the

Church of Rome welcomed as a most beautiful sign the rising anger of the nations, which, even in that early day, he saw preparing the way for a fearful struggle. To him it was a thing to be welcomed, as he believed it was certain to bring the restoration of the Vicar of Jesus Christ to "his own rightful place."

Again: it was prophesied by a noted archbishop that the time for renewing the attempt to put the papal principles of government into operation would—

arrive when this rapid and ceaseless movement, political and social, going on under our eyes and making us daily spectators of great and often unlooked-for events, shall have reached its ultimate period, to which will certainly succeed (unless the last days succeed) an entirely new era in the history of the human species. When that day comes, I know not what portion of the old institutions will remain standing, but sure I am that one of them will have survived, though peradventure externally bruised and lacerated. She alone will be mistress of the field that day, and the princes (if indeed the sound of that name will still be heard), but certainly the nations, having then, after a long and cruel experience, made up their minds that out of her there is no wellbeing, either in this life or beyond the tomb, will demand from her the laws of tranquil repose, together with the earnest of eternal happiness .- The Archbishop of Florence, cited by

Arthur, in "The Pope, the Kings, and the People," page 349.

Does Europe Want Papal Domination?

There is no mistaking the meaning of this prophecy. Rome has been prophesying and looking for a mighty war these many years; and she has consistently taught that when that war came. all the old institutions of the world, save herself, would be dissolved in the great crucible of world-shaking events, and then she would once more "sit a queen" and be "no widow." Then again the infallible Pope would be the spiritual David,- the one shepherd of the one fold, shepherd with sling as well as pipe, shepherd with sword as well as with crook,- and would reign over the kings of the earth.

Therefore, in closing, I ask again, Do the nations of Europe want the old order of events restored? If they do, the way will be opened by the making of peace by the Pope; for as surely as the Pope of Rome is the mediator between the nations, he and the curia will inaugurate again the precepts and practices of the Middle Ages.

Nashville, Tenn.

115 115 115

Freedom of the Press-Will Congress Abridge It?

CLAUDE E. HOLMES

WILL our national lawmakers nullify that part of the First Amendment to the Constitution which declares that "Congress shall make no law...abridging the freedom...of the press"? Will they suppress papers and magazines merely because they are objected to by a portion of our population? Will they set up an autocratic censorship of the press, to meddle with the rights of publishers? Will they ignore the teachings of history which prove that "however firmly liberty may be established in any country, it cannot long subsist if the channels of information be stopped"?

These questions will have to be answered by our national Congress at its next session, if the threats of certain members of that body are carried out. As will be remembered, bills were introduced in the House of Representatives last session that would give to the Postmaster-General power to exclude from the mails publications that criticize the religious denomination of the Congressmen who proposed them. These measures died in committee, but it was declared that they would be pushed to the front again at the next Congress.

If the letter and spirit of the Constitu-

tion are respected, as they should be, bills of this character will readily be disposed of. Little time will be consumed in considering them, for they will be rejected as rapidly as proposed.

An Early Issue

About ten years after the First Amendment became a part of the Constitution, the Sedition Law was passed. erty of conscience? Gentlemen may tomorrow establish a national religion agreeably to the opinion of a majority of this House, on the ground of a uniformity of worship being more consistent with public happiness than diversity of worship. The doing of this is not less forbidden than the act which the House are about to do."—"Annals of Congress," July 10, 1798.



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GROUP OF PEACE DELEGATES AT PHILADELPHIA, JUNE 17

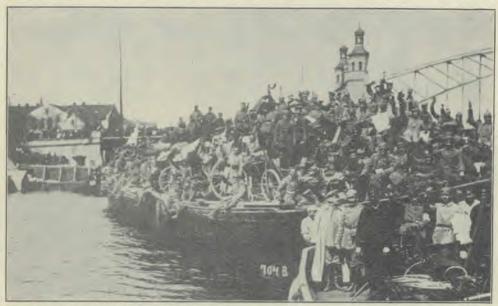
Under the provision of this statute it was unlawful to publish any false, scandalous, or malicious writings against the government, with intent to defame the same, or to bring it into contempt or disrepute. This was a direct challenge to the liberty of the press and the right of free speech, as guaranteed by that amendment. From the time it was proposed it was bitterly assailed. Many of our Congressmen exposed its dangerous tendency when it was before Congress. Mr. Livingston placed this issue on the same ground with freedom of conscience. "This privilege is connected with another dear and valuable privilege - the liberty of conscience," he stated. "What is lib-

Mr. Nicholas saw the unconstitutionality of the measure. He declared that "in direct opposition to the clause of the Constitution which says, 'Congress shall pass no law to abridge the freedom of the press,' Congress is about to pass such a law. For it is vain to talk about the licentiousness of the press, the prohibition is express, 'shall pass no law to abridge.' etc. And as to what gentlemen called licentiousness of the press, it was so indefinite a thing that what was deemed licentiousness today by one set of men might, by another set, tomorrow, be enlarged. and thus the propriety of the information to be given to the public would be arbitrarily controlled."- Ib.

Democratic Party Champions a Free Press

"It became one of the most prominent points of attack upon the existing administration" (Whig), says Judge Story, in his "History of the Constitution," "and has continued, down to this very day [1833], to be a theme of reproach with many of those who have since succeeded to power."—Book 4, chap. 44. Though the law was passed, it was met with op-

writing on the wall, and note the parallel between the present effort to abridge the freedom of the press and that of the days of the Sedition Law? The citizens of this great country are not willing that such a bill as that introduced into Congress by Mr. Fitzgerald or that by Mr. Gallivan shall ever become a law. They have not entirely repudiated their liberties as yet. The views which have been



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SCENES OF THE GREAT GERMAN ADVANCE ON LIBAU, RUSSIA

The German troops as they appeared in their river barges when they crossed the river Memel on the way to Libau.

position from every quarter. Common and supreme courts gave decision on both sides of the controversy. State legislatures passed resolution for and against the measure. But the people refused to acquiesce in this manifest disregard of fundamental law. Scores of petitions signed by thousands of citizens poured in upon Congress from all over the country. The opposition finally became so strong that it "was the leading cause of the great political revolution which, in 1801, brought the Republican party [now the Democratic] with Mr. Jefferson at its head, into power."—Senate Report, 1836.

Will our legislators interpret the hand-

expressed by hundreds of newspapers and magazines and thousands of American citizens, lead us to believe that any party that lends its influence to the passage of such laws will suffer the displeasure of true American citizens.

A Time to Halt

In 1835 the freedom of the press was again attacked. Even the President of the United States recommended the passage of a law that would keep certain literature out of the mails. In the discussion of the bill it was suggested by some that the President's party should stand by him and his views. The reply

to this by Senator Morris of Ohio should be the sentiment of every law-maker now: "I follow party where the Constitution and principle lead; and when men attempt to take their place, I halt."—Congressional Globe, April 14, 1836. After all, liberty of the press is a boon that should be appreciated and protected by every political party;

otherwise there would continually be the danger of the majority's overruling the right of the minority. Bigotry, tyranny, and graft, whether in political, religious, or other circles, will attempt to destroy anything that exposes their corruption. The only way to keep the channel of information open is to have unrestricted freedom of the press. Any real abuse of this liberty may be prosecuted under existing State laws,

which are sufficient to protect any man or institution, as recent cases have demonstrated.

The question of a free press was thoroughly thrashed out at that time. The position taken in 1798 and 1799 by Congressmen who stood by the letter and spirit of the Constitution, was praised and indorsed, even though a much closer political line was drawn then than now. It was declared that Congress could not pass any law abridging the freedom of the press; for "No law," says the Constitution, shall be made. In speaking to the report of the House Committee, in 1799, Mr. Gallatin warns against departing from the letter of the law:—

Although some nice distinctions may now be made in order to discriminate one class from the other, yet it must be remembered that the only security of citizens against unconstitutional measures consists in a strict adherence to the Constitution; that their liberties are only protected by a parchment,—by words,—and that they may be destroyed whenever it shall be admitted that the strict and common sense of words may be construed away under the plea of some necessity.



Copyright Underwood & Underwood, New York King Ferdinand of Roumania, whose country seems about to join the Allies.

Senate Committee on Free Press

In deference to the President's wish for a law interfering with certain publications, the Senate appointed a select committee, with John Calhoun as chairman, to bring in a report. This committee submitted its report Feb. 4, 1836. It covered the ground so thoroughly that it put a quietus upon schemes of this character for many vears, and it was not until early this year that our Con-

gressmen were required again seriously to consider such a question.

After referring to the Sedition Law, which forbade the publishing of certain literature, and the proposed law of 1836, which sought to deny the use of the mails to specified publications, the committee said, in part:—

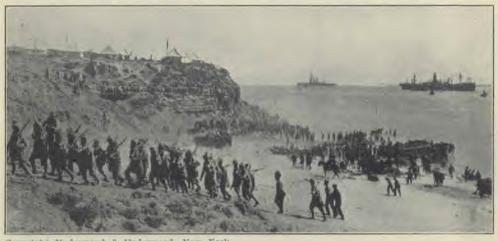
It must be apparent that to prohibit publications on one side, and circulation through the mail on the other, of any paper, on account of its religious, moral, or political character, rests on the same principle, and that each is equally an abridgment of the freedom of the press, and a violation of the Constitution. It would indeed have been a poor triumph for the cause of liberty, in the great contest of 1799, had the Sedition Law been put down on principles that would have left Congress free

to suppress the circulation, through the mail, of the very publications which that odious act was intended to prohibit. The authors of that memorable achievement would have had but slender claims on the gratitude of posterity if their victory over the encroachment of power had been so imperfect. . . . The principle on which the Sedition Act

was condemned as unconstitutional, was a general one, and not limited in its application to that act. It withdraws from Congress all right of interference with the press in any form or shape whatever; and the Sedition

Suppressing Theological Discussions Not a Government Prerogative

The campaign that is now being carried on to persuade Congress to confer authority on an appointed officer of the government to exclude certain periodicals from the mails will not stop at mere suppression of papers from public distribution. The reason given for carrying on this propaganda is that the pub-



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ALLIES LAND AT DARDANELLES UNDER COVER OF GUNS OF BATTLE FLEET

It was a costly operation that of landing troops at the Dardanelles, but it was carried out effectively under the protection of the big guns from the battle fleet while a covering force preceded the main body of men. The photo shows the Indians of His Majesty's forces marching away from the beach to take up their camp inland.

Law was put down as unconstitutional, not because it prohibited publications against the government, but because it interfered at all with the press. The prohibition of any publication on the ground of its being immoral, irreligious, or intended to excite rebellion or insurrection would have been equally unconstitutional; and from parity of reason, the suppression of their circulation through the mail would be no less so .- "Senate Docu-ments," First Session, Twenty-fourth Congress, Vol. II.

The men who wrote these words knew from personal knowledge the purpose of those who proposed and ratified the First Amendment to the Constitution, and that it was intended to guarantee absolute freedom of the press. So the committee stated that this amendment interposed "an insuperable objection" to such measures.

lications mentioned arouse "theological hatred," etc. But the suppression of religious periodicals or antireligious magazines will not eliminate theological strife. Another step will be necessary.the suppression of free speech; for men will speak what they are not permitted to print and circulate. And thus the liberties that the bill of rights was intended to preserve will be destroyed.

There is no question that the First Amendment was placed in our great Magna Charta for the very purpose of heading off just such legislation. But we are dependent upon our national legislators to uphold this law. Should they fail at this time, it remains for the people to take up its defense in a more determined way.

As our statesmen are all pledged to sustain the Constitution, we hope that they will reject any measure that may be introduced which in any way tends to undermine this document, however specious may be the plea.

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Origin of the State

Civil Government a Divine Institution

CARLYLE B. HAYNES

THE state, equally with the church, is an institution of God. "The powers that be are ordained of God." See Rom. 13:1, 2. Civil government is divinely ordained to rule in those things which belong to it.

This fact alone, that both church and state are ordained of God, is sufficient to prove that they operate in different spheres; for God does not create two institutions to perform the same work.

God not only instituted the state, but he works through it to accomplish his own purposes. He exalts to rule in civil government whomsoever he will. "The Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will." Dan. 4:32. God is the author of civil government.

While God is the author of civil government, yet he delegates his authority to rule in it to men, who thus become ministers of God, and to them tribute, custom, fear, and honor are due. Rom. 13:5-7.

The best and first affections of man are demanded by God. The safeguards of his law are thrown around all his creatures. He says to each moral being, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."

This one command alone would have been sufficient, if man had never sinned, to provide for the human race all the blessings now secured through civil government, for no man would ever have violated any of the rights of any other man; and every man would thus have been secure in all his rights if the simple attribute of love had prevailed among all men.

But man rebelled against the law of his Maker. And as a result, God's command to love one another no longer afforded the protection made necessary by the coming of sin into the world.

Hence "God ordained that men should organize for their own protection and the securing of their own natural rights. This we call civil government."

Civil government, however, does not supersede divine government. It does not in the slightest degree release the individual from obedience to the divine law. It merely provides a way by which men can compel their fellows to yield to them those rights which belong to them.

"Notwithstanding the ordinance of civil government, God is still the great moral Governor. To him every soul is responsible." — Religious Liberty Library, Vol. II, page 181.

Let the state come between the individual and God, and individual responsibility toward God would be destroyed.

The state is not to enforce the law of God; for then the individual would seek to know, not the will of God, but the will of the state. Thus the state would be put in the place of God.

If civil government had not been established by God, one of two things, or both, would have resulted, each of which would have been destructive to human society.

Human vengeance for transgression against human rights would have been so swift and certain that the very object of God in leaving men free to choose or refuse his service would have been defeated, or —

Punishment would have been delayed so long that no protection at all would have been afforded to those who needed it.

Thus it is plain that for a race of free moral agents who are in a state of separation from their Creator, civil government is an absolute necessity. Without it we should be plunged into anarchy, and sin would sweep away the inhabitants of the earth.

The state has nothing to do with religion, or the relations of a soul to its Creator. Civil government is not a sentimental, but a practical matter.

The state cannot lead a man to love God with all his soul, mind, and strength, even should it desire to do so.



THE SENATE CHAMBER, LIMA, PERU — FORMERLY THE CHAMBER OF THE INQUISITION

The Inquisition was established in Lima in the sixteenth century, and its victims included all ranks and classes of society, except Indians, who were exempt from its jurisdiction. It was abolished in 1811 by order of the Cortes of Spain.

It has no agencies by which this could be accomplished.

The state does not and cannot deal with the spiritual nature of man. To decide questions of religion does not lie within its sphere. It is not instituted to purify and elevate personal character.

The appeals of the state are not made to the consciences and affections of men. Its methods are deterrent and compulsory, not persuasive.

It does not inquire into motives, but punishes acts. Its penalties are not vis-

ited upon sin, but upon crime.

The state promises no rewards beyond the grave, but deals with this life only. It does not remit its penalties upon repentance of the lawbreaker.

Thus the state differs, in nature, in

purpose, in methods, in rewards, in punishments, in its source of power, in authority, and in its sanctions, from the church. Their purposes and aims and enterprises and operations lie far apart.

Inasmuch, therefore, as .God has ordained both the church and the state, it is clear and plain that there never can be any conflict between legitimate civil authority and the claims of the divine government.

There is a legitimate civil authority, and there is a legitimate church authority.

As long as they keep in their respective spheres, they cannot come into conflict.

And the only right relation of the two is absolute and complete separation.

Atlanta, Ga.

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Compulsory Prayers

In the Converted Catholic for May is a lengthy article by Josiah C. Pumpelly, A. M., LL. B., on the question of the Bible in the public schools. The writer gives a résumé of the present status of the movement for compulsory public school Bible reading, both in this country and in Canada, and records approvingly the following:—

In Saskatchewan, Canada, a joint committee has for its work the selection not only of Scripture passages, but also of hymns, and to prepare prayers, all for use in public schools.

It would seem that it must appeal even to the most insistent National Reformers that the compulsory repetition of stereotyped prayers by children, many of whom have no religious conviction, no religious desire, and no faith, is a flagrant violation of the principles of the gospel, and shows an utter misconception of the true spirit of prayer. Very many prayers that are voluntary are ineffectual because of their formality and lack of earnestness. What shall be said, then, of prayers, which, in addition to for-

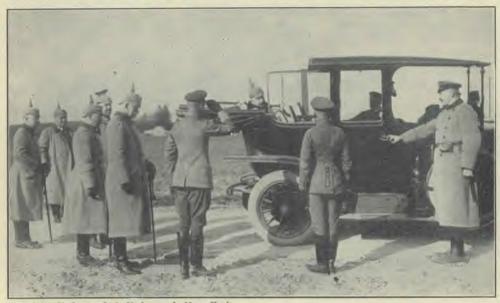
mality and lack of earnestness, are said only because those saying them are doing so under compulsion? Not only are such prayers ineffectual and a waste of time, but they are an abomination and an insult to the Most High. The inspired writer tells us that "he that turneth away his ear from hearing the law. even his prayer shall be abomination." Prov. 28:9. They who are not converted, who have not yielded their hearts to God, or who profess the name of Christ and refuse to keep his commandments, are the ones referred to in the above scripture. If God regards the prayers of such as an abomination, how must he regard the efforts of those who are seeking to compel such persons to offer prayer to Jehovah? We commend this thought to the National Reformers and all their allies whose plans involve compulsion in religious things, and would ask them in the language of Scripture, "Who hath required this at your hand?" The prophet of the Lord was protesting against formalism in religion while the heart was unconverted and the

life out of harmony with God's law. This is God's protest against all such practices and requirements:—

"To what purpose is the multitude of your sacrifices unto me? saith the Lord: I am full of the burnt offerings of rams, and the fat of fed beasts; and I delight not in the blood of bullocks, or of lambs, or of he goats. When ye come to appear before me, who hath required this at your hand, to tread my courts? Bring no more vain oblations; incense is an abomination unto me; the new moons and sabbaths, the calling of assemblies, I cannot away with; it is iniquity, even the

tice are promoting abomination and displeasing God. The heathen ties a printed prayer to a wheel turned by the wind. To his mind, his prayer is repeated every time the wheel turns over. We pity him for his superstitious credulity; but we should have the same pity for those in Christian lands who promote the idea of formal or compulsory prayer. The latter are less excusable, for they have had more light.

The inconsistent idea of set prayers



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THE KAISER DIRECTING THE FINAL MOVEMENTS AGAINST WARSAW

solemn meeting. Your new moons and your appointed feasts my soul hateth: they are a trouble unto me; I am weary to bear them. And when ye spread forth your hands, I will hide mine eyes from you; yea, when ye make many prayers, I will not hear." Isa. 1:11-15.

All the ordinances and practices specified in this scripture the Lord himself had appointed. Why does he condemn them? — Because they were now being performed by those whose hearts were unconverted, whose lives were out of harmony with God's law. Hypocrisy is hateful to God. The mouthing of prayers by those who are not praying with heart and soul, God calls abomination; and they who promote such a prac-

and compulsory praying is, however, the logical result of the National Reform propaganda for the union of religion and the state. If the state is to have a religion, some one must practice it; and the only way to make that sure is to make it compulsory; and whenever and wherever religion or religious practices are made compulsory, they become abomination in the sight of Jehovah. That such a thing could be even suggested under the blazing light of the gospel, is the greatest wonder of our generation. But it shows the subtlety of the satanic suggestion that we can honor God by compelling men to worship him. The only prayer that is acceptable to

God is the sincere expression of the soul's desire and the heart's adoration. God himself has no desire to compel that, and we doubt the possibility of his doing so. What presumptuous folly for man to seek to do it for him! And more than folly it is when he has warned us against it.

C. M. S.

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The Deification of the State and the Secularization of the Church

THE EDITOR

THE deification of the state and the secularization of the church have been the cause of all the persecution which has afflicted this world. "My country first and always, right or wrong," has been the slogan of the past. The state was exalted to the place of God. To resist the requirements of the state was held to be opposition to the ordinances of God. "The state can do no wrong," said they. Whatever it does for the maintenance of law and order is of necessity right. When once a law was put upon the statute books of the state, it was tantamount to treason for an ordinary citizen to question its propriety. In the case of a religious law enforced by the state, the individual who opposed it was condemned under two charges, one of insubordination against the state and the other of heresy against the established religion. The Roman government in the days of the early Christians deified the state, Cæsar representing the state and all the gods of Rome. No new religion was allowed to gain a foothold in the Roman Empire without Cæsar's permission. All religions were subject to Cæsar, who was the very embodiment of all authority. He demanded worship among the recognized gods of Rome, and any citizen who did not acknowledge him as one of the gods and worthy of worship was guilty of the greatest crime that could be committed against the state and the recognized religion of Rome.

Cæsar practically said to the Christians that they might worship Christ as God, provided they also worshiped Cæsar as a god. This proposal was contrary to

the tenets of the Christian religion, and consequently believers were brought into open conflict with Cæsar. Cæsar answered the Christians who refused to recognize him as a god worthy of worship, that the dignity of the Roman law must be upheld, and that the Christians must choose one of two things, either submission or death.

Thus the Romans under the specious argument of duty to uphold the dignity of the law of the state, put to death more than five millions of the best Christians this world ever saw.

Too frequently the cry is raised, "The law must be enforced, right or wrong! The law must be enforced!" It is by such sophistry as this, without considering the nature of the law and the proper limitations that must ever exist in the exercise of legitimate power, that the most cruel and despotic acts of persecution have always been justified. Under such a theory as this the Pharaoh of Egypt bound unbearable burdens upon the backs of the Israelites, the Babylonians threw the three Hebrew worthies into the fiery furnace, and the Medes and Persians cast Daniel into the den of lions. Deceived by such sophistry, the Iews decided that they were fully justified in crucifying Christ. "We have a law, and by our law he ought to die," they said. Under this evil principle the bloody edicts of Nero and Caligula, of Domitian and Diocletian, were executed. Under it the professed Christian church of the days of medievalism enacted her tenets of faith and dogma into civil law. and then enforced the law upon all dissenters and nonconformists, until the rivers of Europe flowed crimson with the blood of martyrs. They did not call it persecution then. They said they were simply enforcing the law and upholding the dignity of the church and the Christian state. Under the sophism that religion must be protected, how many crusades have been instituted, how many massacres have been perpetrated, and how many martyrs have been burned at the stake, tortured on the rack, and executed upon the scaffold of oppression!

Our forefathers, when they founded the American Republic, repudiated this dangerous error of placing the sovereign "right of law" above the sovereign right of man, and they exalted the inalienable rights of the individual above the statutes of men. They made the law a servant to the rights of men, and the government a protector and preserver of these rights, instead of a destroyer of them. As the result of the triumph of these principles, our nation has become the most prosperous, peaceful, and magnanimous in all the world, in the shortest period of time. Whenever our republic repudiates these beneficent principles, its greatness is doomed. "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty," and vigilance is needed now.

C. S. L.

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An Indictment of the Liquor Traffic'

Supreme Importance of Human Welfare and Conservation

In the consideration of every public question and problem of statecraft, the query of supreme importance is, How does it affect human weal? what influence will it have upon personal life and character?

There are many reasons that can be urged for absolute prohibition of the liquor traffic by legal enactment; we may urge its prohibition on the ground that prohibition will prevent crime, insanity, and poverty; that it will save strength, health, and wealth; that it will increase human efficiency, assure human safety, and reduce taxation; but the supreme reason for the complete prohibition of the liquor traffic is found in the all-inclusive expression *The conservation of humanity*. The present universal war on alcohol is a titanic struggle to save the human race.

Social sins, weaknesses, and imperfections; social waste, neglect, and inequalities, are commanding public attention as never before. The people are studying the subjects of poverty and

¹ Part of an address delivered by Dr. A. C. Bane, financial secretary of the Anti-Saloon League of America, before its national convention at Atlantic City, N. J., July 8.

wealth; the laboring man and woman and their safety, housing, recreations, and wages; the child and its welfare; motherhood; the social evil and all vice and crime; the home; personal health; efficiency; and good government. You cannot study these questions without facing the liquor traffic; you can see alcoholic liquor at every angle of these social problems; in fact, the liquor traffic and habit will be found at the base of every social ill that curses humanity; John Barleycorn's face is reflected by every turn of the social mirror. The social ills of America and the world cannot be cured without abolishing the traffic in strong drink. We are almost ready to proclaim that prohibition of the manufacture and sale of alcoholic liquors is the great "cure-all" for America's social woes.

Alcohol Ever Humanity's Foe

If you would develop and preserve a race that is virile in mind and body, you must destroy the liquor traffic, for alcoholic liquor is degrading the race.

If you would assure a normal birth to childhood, you must destroy the liquor traffic, for the drinking parents are producing defective children. If you would prevent child labor, you must destroy the liquor traffic, the chief cause of child labor.

If you would make it easier for the youth to do right, and more difficult for them to do wrong, you must destroy the liquor traffic, their greatest tempter from the path of rectitude.

If you would reduce the death rate and lengthen human life, you must destroy the liquor traffic, which increases our death rates by thirty per cent.

If you would make the housing of the poor sanitary and attractive, and thus

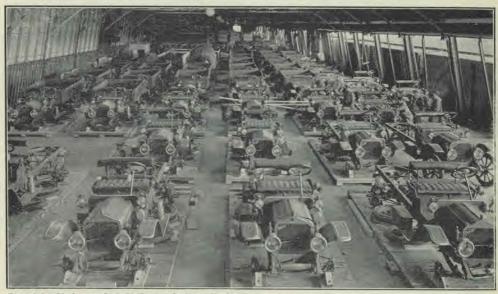
destroy the liquor traffic, which reduces both mental and physical efficiency.

If you would reduce poverty to the minimum, you must destroy the liquor traffic, which produces most of the paupers.

If you would reduce crime to the minimum, you must destroy the liquor traffic, the chief cause of crime.

If you would reduce gambling to the minimum, you must destroy the liquor traffic, which chiefly encourages this vice.

If you would reduce the number of insane and imbeciles, you must destroy



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SHIPPING \$13,000,000 WORTH OF AUTOMOBILES TO RUSSIA FOR ARMY PURPOSES

preserve their health and lives, you must destroy the liquor traffic, which is the chief contributory cause of bad housing.

If you would solve the problem of the unemployed, you must destroy the liquor traffic, which throws and keeps more men out of employment than does any other cause.

If you would reduce industrial accidents to the minimum, and enforce the modern slogan "Safety first," you must destroy the liquor traffic, which is the chief cause of industrial accidents.

If you would meet the present-day demand for efficiency of service, you must the liquor traffic, their chief producer.

If you would reduce the number of divorces and maintain happy homes, you must destroy the liquor traffic, the greatest wrecker of homes.

If you would stamp out the social evil and white slavery, you must destroy the liquor traffic, which is their chief contributing cause.

If you would add to personal comforts and wealth, you must destroy the liquor traffic, which is the greatest waster of incomes.

If you want commercial prosperity, you must destroy the liquor traffic, which

is always a wealth consumer and never

a wealth producer.

If you would reduce the expense of government, you must destroy the liquor traffic, which produces the delinquents, defectives, and dependents that require public support and control at great annual cost to the taxpayers.

If you would have clean politics and good government, you must destroy the liquor traffic, which is the greatest corrupter of politicians and government.

If you would equip and maintain a strong army and navy of defense, you must destroy the liquor traffic, which, according to the statement of the surgeons of our army, makes seventy-six per cent of the applicants for enlistment physically or mentally unfit to serve.

There is but one thing in America worse than the liquor traffic, and that is the public sentiment that tolerates it. The destruction of the liquor traffic is therefore the paramount duty of this generation if we would conserve humanity.

Government Owes People Protection

What should be the government's attitude toward its subjects? You answer that it should protect them from all that is harmful, dangerous, or destructive to body, brain, or character, and develop them to the highest physical, mental, and moral standard. Alcoholic liquor is recognized by all nations as the greatest curse in civilization. No good word can be said for it; it is degenerating, debasing, debauching, and destroying the race. The liquor traffic creates drunkards, criminals, paupers, profligates, the insane, imbeciles, and makes children orphans; it destroys character, happiness, efficiency, health, and life; it debauches individuals, business, legislatures, executives, and courts.

Prohibition is not fanaticism, but a solemn public duty that this government owes to its citizens.

Reaching for a Higher Civilization

In response to a general demand, the fight is on throughout America for the national, Constitutional prohibition of the liquor traffic.

It is not primarily a crusade to close saloons and prevent men from drinking; it has a deeper purpose than that. It is the outreach of humanity for a higher civilization.

It is an effort to conserve America's greatest wealth, her manhood, and her womanhood.

It is a crusade to prevent racial degeneration, and to preserve a people virile in body and brain.

It is because we have come to realize that sobriety is a nation's greatest asset in times of peace, and her strongest defense in times of war.

It is a determination on the part of the real patriots of the country to dissolve the unholy partnership that has existed between our government and the liquor traffic, which partnership has disgraced us at home and humiliated us abroad.

The only great wrong authorized by this government is the liquor traffic. Yes, our government has formed a commercial partnership with it; we tolerate this curse because it pays a liberal tribute for the privilege of debauching the people. It has bribed us with its gold; we are sacrificing our sons and daughters upon the altar of greed.

No government can hope for permanent prosperity that derives its revenue from the vices of its people. Greater than the traffic's crime is the crime of our government in licensing such a criminal.

Fixing Responsibility for Evil

It is a worse offense to vote to license a saloon than it is to keep a saloon after it has been authorized by the people. The voter is the creator of the saloon, and the creator is more responsible than his creature. I should rather take my chances at the judgment bar of God with the saloonkeeper than with the man who voted to make his saloon possible. We curse the saloonkeeper for the evils that come from the saloon; the real culprit is the voter who gave him a license to

run a saloon, and the government which shares the loot and divides the blood money with the maker and vender of the liquor.

Let us put the man above the dollar; let us put boys-before business; let us put our daughters above our income. When we are ready to do that, we are ready to vote for local, State, and national prohibition of the liquor traffic. The people are everywhere demanding the prohibition of this curse; the psychological time has come in American history to break the shackles that have for generations bound us slaves to the traffic in strong drink.

Government Must Be Consistent

Our government, which justly demands protection for American citizens when traveling on the high seas, must protect these same American citizens, when at home, from death and destruction inflicted by a more dangerous domestic foe, the criminal traffic in alcoholic poison; for John Barleycorn blots out every day, in the red waters of rum, more than three hundred precious American lives. While we promptly send our ultimatum to Wilhelm II, let this convention demand that our government send also its ultimatum to John Barleycorn I.

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The Duty of the Federal Government Toward Its Citizens¹

THE duty of the government is to furnish the citizen a good environment, to cleanse the air he must breathe, to purify the water he must drink, to make wholesome the food he must eat, to give him a clear field, to remove obstructions to the free and full exercise of his powers, to dig no pitfalls in his path, to place no snares to entrap his feet, to make it as easy as possible for the citizen to enlarge his own life and serve his country most.

This is the day when health, right living, physical and moral cleanliness, are receiving our attention. We are discovering that prevention has a finer quality than cure; that it is safer and wiser and less expensive to shut down the factory that turns out inebriates, paupers, and criminals than to care for the output.

The principle of prohibition is now written in the law; for the judicial departments of government, both State and national, have declared it constitutional; that there is no inherent right to make or sell liquor; that it is only a permission

by the sovereignty, and the withdrawal of that permission constitutes no infringement of either property or personal rights, but is a wise exercise of power.

'While these decisions dispose of these claims of the liquor traffic, we do not want to leave the question open to permission or the caprice of legislation; we wish and mean to fix the inhibition in the Constitution itself, so that no Congress or State legislature shall have the power to sacrifice the rights of the citizen or barter the public good.

Stripped of all technicality, the question is a broadly national one, and the government alone can solve it; and the doctrine of States' rights as a defense to human wrong was buried forever under the apple tree at Appomattox. There let it rest in peace, sacred from the profane touch of the liquor traffic.

We now make no demand upon any political party, for this is humanity's cause, and we do not yield it to the political exigencies of platforms.

We do not insist upon arbitrary legislation. We employ no coercion; we do not believe in lynch law even for the liquor traffic; we plant our cause on the

¹ Part of an address delivered by former-Gov. Malcolm R. Patterson of Tennessee, before the delegates of the national convention of the Anti-Saloon League, at Atlantic City, N. J., July 8.



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FRENCH GRENADE THROWERS PROTECTED AGAINST SHRAPNEL BY STEEL HELMETS AND AGAINST POISONOUS GASES BY SPECIAL MASKS

right of States to alter the federal Constitution; on the duty of an American Congress to provide for the exercise of that right in the manner and form expressed by the Constitution itself; and, finally, upon the right of the people, as the source of all power, to direct the policies of the government which they have created.

We are told that large revenues will

be lost to the government; but the cost of collection in wasted citizenship, in increased taxation, in loss of efficiency and productive effort is immeasurably greater.

No Property Destroyed

The liquor dealers say that their property will be destroyed, and that a large number of men will be thrown out of employment; but there will be no property destroyed,—only its use prevented for an immoral business.

There are only 62,000 persons engaged in the liquor business in the United States, and more than this number were killed outright in just three battles of the Civil War.

Three million slaves were liberated in the South, of the average value of \$1,000 each, and other property of all description was destroyed. The government never counted the loss of life and treasure, and the South soon rallied her physical and moral forces, accepted the results, and is marching on to a higher and richer destiny.

In this moral and economic battle we are waging, the States have done their part in creating public sentiment in disorganizing and crippling the forces of the liquor traffic; but we must strike

at the central power.

It is related in fable that a hideous, many-headed monster inhabited the Lernæan bogs. It emitted pestilential vapors from its nostrils, darts of fire from its eves; it terrorized and devoured the people, and ravaged all the shores of Argos. One of the tasks set for Hercules was the extermination of this terrible creature; and it was thought that he, as all others, would fall and meet his own destruction. But full of confidence, armed with his mighty club and animated by the hope of relief he might bring the people, Hercules went forth to give battle. He at last came upon the monster, and in the contest which ensued he found to his amazement that as fast as he struck off one head, another grew in its place. He then discovered that one central head was the source of intelligence and direction, giving to the others the power of reproduction, and the efforts of Hercules were concentrated and redoubled to knock this central head from its neck. As the fight became more furious, a crab was sent up from the sea to pinch Hercules's heel and divert his attention. But Hercules found time to kill the crab, and with the mighty blows of his club he

succeeded at last in knocking off the central head, which he buried deep in the earth, and over its grave rolled an enormous stone so that it could never rise again. Having lost the power of reproduction, the other heads were soon dispatched; and when the people heard of the death of the monster, there was loud rejoicing for their deliverance, and Hercules was proclaimed their savior.

This fable, coming from the mists of antiquity, is a fact of the twentieth-century civilization; and Truth, like Hercules, has been set a mighty task. She has gone forth armed with the sword of justice, to redeem a land from the monster of the liquor traffic, as many-headed and hideous, as pestilential and terrifying, as that which lived in the Lernæan bogs. Like Hercules, she, too, discovered that the heads of the monster have the power of reproduction, that whenever one head is severed it sprouts again; and she has found the central head which gives life and power to all the rest.

The subsidiary heads which are thus endowed rear themselves in the forty-eight States of the Union; and the central head, sleepless, watchful, and malignant, rears itself above the Capitol at Washington, and derives its life and fatal power of reproduction from the protection and privileges of government.

Truth is waging a glorious fight for the people; but as the fight grows fiercest, the critical crabs of personal liberty and States' rights have been sent up from the sea to nip her heel and divert her attention; but Truth will find time to dispose of these, and, like Hercules, she will complete her task only when she cuts the central head of the liquor traffic from its root in the national government, buries it, and rolls the heavy stone of outraged humanity over its dishonored grave.

Then the other heads of this modern monster, having lost the power of reproduction, will die; and the people, like those of Argos, will proclaim Truth their savior and honor her name forever.

The Greatest Enemy to the Constitution and the Flag

When our forefathers founded the American Republic, when they signed the Declaration of Independence and formulated the federal Constitution, their purpose was to safeguard and protect the inalienable rights of the individual and to set all men free from the bondage to men. The great issue which is before this nation now is whether these principles are to endure, or whether they are to expire under the reign of King Alcohol.

day is the liquor demon. It destroys the peace of the home, breaks down the bul-warks of the family, debauches American citizenship, threatens the very existence of the republic, and ruthlessly assails the most sacred inheritance of every man, woman, and child—the right to life, liberty, and happiness.

The Liquor Traffic Has No Constitutional Rights

When we consider the unspeakable sorrow, disgrace, debauchery, immorality,



SIXTEENTH CONVENTION ANTI-SALOON LE

A Wrecker of Home and Nation

One of two things is inevitable, either the guaranties of the Constitution must be maintained and the liquor traffic restroyed, or the liquor traffic will destroy the nation. Any business enterprise, irrespective of its kind, which destroys the individual, wrecks the home, and puts a blight upon posterity, is an enemy not only to the Constitution and the flag, but to humanity, and deserves to be utterly banished and destroyed.

The greatest enemy of our land to-

¹ Part of an address delivered by the editor of Liberty Magazine before the national convention of the Anti-Saloon League, at Atlantic City, N. J., July 8.

crime, poverty, wretchedness, and ruin which the liquor traffic brings annually to hundreds of thousands of innocent wives and children in the homes of the devotees who worship at the altar of Bacchus, and to society at large, we see at once that the civil government has a Constitutional right, yea, more, it has a Constitutional obligation, to adopt measures and to enact laws which will guarantee to each individual the unmolested enjoyment of his God-given, inalienable rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, all of which rights are trampled underfoot with impunity by those who are engaged in the manufacture and sale of intoxicating beverages.

The liquor traffic in this country alone leaves in its slimy trail more than 100,000 ruined homes annually, from whose portals are heard the stifled moans of blasted childhood and wretched widowhood.

Aggregate Results Are Great National Calamity

Imagine the unutterable grief and consternation that would come to this nation if we should receive the awful tidings tomorrow morning that the entire American Army had been massacred during the night. The whole nation would mourn, and would float the Stars and Stripes at half-mast. Such an awful of all crimes, more than 85 per cent of all poverty, and more than 33 per cent of all insanity in this country are traceable either directly or indirectly to the effects of the liquor traffic; and as long as the general government protects this hellish traffic by accepting blood money as revenue, the nation is responsible for all this crime and sorrow, and the American flag is powerless to defend and protect American citizens.

A Civil and Not a Religious Question

The prohibition of the sale of intoxicating beverages is not interference with the rights of individual conscience, nor



AMERICA, AT ATLANTIC CITY, JULY 6-9

tragedy would go down in history as a never-to-be-forgotten event. And yet every year an army of men, women, and children, four times the number of our entire regular army, goes down to premature death and hopeless graves through the American saloon.

The Greatest Crime-Producing Agency

Over 3,000 wives are murdered every year in this country by drunken husbands; more than 2,500 innocent children are murdered every twelve months by drunken fathers; more than 30,000 helpless children are forsaken and thrown upon public charity during the same time by drunken parents; more than 90 per cent of all murders, more than 75 per cent

an invasion of the sacred precincts of religion. If it were, I would be among the first to raise my voice in protest against such a measure; for I am unalterably opposed to any movement designed to shackle the individual conscience, or to enforce the requirements of religion by human law in any form whatever. Prohibition is not a religious question, and should never be put on that basis. It is purely a civil, social, economic, and scientific question, relating to man's proper duty and conduct toward men. I believe in the divine right of free choice and in personal-liberty rights of the individual. But true liberty does not seek license to do an injury to others. The prohibition

of the promiscuous sale of poisons and of dangerous weapons is not an invasion of the natural rights of the individual, but is organized society's most effective method of protecting individuals in their right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. The prohibition of the liquor traffic rests upon identically the same Every man must recognize the great universal law of humanity that every man's personal right ends where another's personal injury begins. This is the great law that must control all human conduct and freedom of action.

A Revenue Consumer Instead of Producer

The liquor traffic claims to be a great national tax raiser and revenue producer, whereas it is only a tax collector and revenue consumer: The man who hands the money over the bar is the revenue producer, and the man behind the bar is only a revenue collector. It takes five times more revenue to take care of the criminals, paupers, insane, and orphans for which the saloon is responsible, than the amount of revenue paid to the government by the saloon, breweries, and distilleries.

The Black Flag or the Star-Spangled Banner - Which?

The black flag of the legalized saloon, which stands for poverty, misery, and crime, for destruction, death, and damnation, must give place to the Stars and Stripes, which can brook no rival. The red, white, and blue, which stands for protection, peace, and prosperity, for honor, justice, and loyalty, must wave triumphantly over every American home, and be true to the colors and principles it represents.

"When Freedom from her mountain height Unfurled her standard to the air. She tore the azure robe of night And set the stars of glory there. She mingled with its gorgeous dyes The milky baldric of the skies, And striped its pure celestial white With streakings of the morning light. Then from her mansion near the sun She called her eagle bearer down, And gave into his mighty hand The symbol of her chosen land."

If we cannot win, let us remember that God can. Though the grand consummation of his plan may tarry, he will ultimately triumph over every foe. poet caught the true idea when he wrote: -

"Careless seems the great Avenger; History's pages but record One death grapple in the darkness 'Twixt old systems and the Word. Truth forever on the scaffold, Wrong forever on the throne, Yet that scaffold sways the future; And behind the dim unknown Standeth God within the shadow. Keeping watch above his own."

Judge Cooley on Religious Liberty

G. B. THOMPSON

JUDGE THOMAS M. COOLEY in his "Constitutional Limitations," fifth edition, 1883, in a chapter on religious lib-

erty, says: -

"There is not complete religious liberty where any one sect is favored by the state and given an advantage by law over other sects. Whatever establishes a distinction against one class or sect, is, to the extent to which the distinction operates unfavorably, a persecution; and if based on religious grounds, a religious persecution. The extent of the discrimination is not material to the principle. It is enough that it creates an inequality

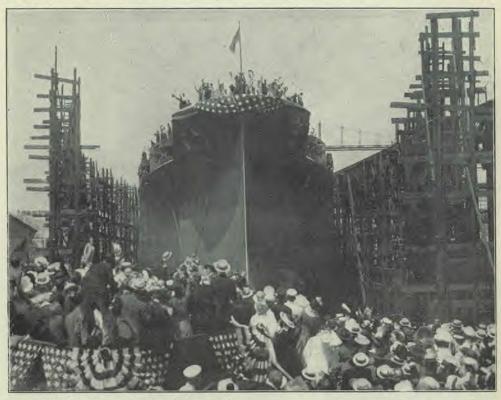
of right or privilege."

The foregoing statement by this eminent jurist is correct. Whenever, therefore, there is any union of the church with the state, some sect or religion is favored and given an advantage over some other sect or religion. For this reason we are unalterably opposed to all meddling by the civil power with religious questions. The state is ordained of God to deal with civil matters, and can never properly intrude itself into the realm of religion. Whenever any attempt is made by the state to do so, religious persecution is the inevitable result.

It is immaterial so far as the principle is concerned as to the special belief, sect, or religion legislated upon. The prinligious controversy. This is a question which the individual conscience must settle, and not Congress.

It would be just as wrong for the government of the United States to enforce by civil law the Protestant religion upon her citizens as it was for Spain to attempt to force the Catholic religion upon the Netherlands in the sixteenth century.

In the same chapter the learned judge



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LAUNCHING OF THE U. S. S. "ARIZONA," UNCLE SAM'S GREATEST DREADNAUGHT

ciple is violated whether the state legislates upon the true faith or upon the wrong faith. This principle was recognized in the United States Senate Report in 1829, which says: "It is not the legitimate province of the legislature to determine what religion is true, or what is false. . . . 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 evil lies in the state's deciding a re-

points out how Sunday laws are a violation of the principle of religious liberty:—

"The laws against the desecration of the Christian sabbath by labor or sports are not readily defensible by arguments, the force of which will be felt and admitted by all. It is no hardship to any one to compel him to abstain from public blasphemy or other profanity, and none can complain that his rights of conscience are invaded by this forced respect as a prevailing religious sentiment. But the Jew who is forced to respect the first day of the week, when his conscience requires of him the observance of the seventh day, may plausibly urge that the law discriminates against his religion, and by forcing him to keep a second sabbath

rectly tax those who differ from the majority in matters of religion because of their faith. It would seem that none could fail to see this point; and the injustice is so fully manifested that no further argument ought to be necessary to cause those seeking for the enactment of



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TRANSFERRING WOUNDED SOLDIERS FROM A STEAM LAUNCH TO A HOSPITAL SHIP AT THE DARDANELLES

each week, unjustly, though by indirection, punishes him for his belief."

It is quite correct, as the judge points out, that Sunday laws do punish a certain class of citizens for their belief, by requiring from them the observance of one day each week after they have observed the seventh day in harmony with their understanding of the teaching of the Bible on this question. They indi-

Sunday laws to see their despotic character and repudiate the evil principle underlying all Sunday legislation, by abandoning further efforts to secure laws made in the interest of religion.

Our reason for opposing Sunday laws is not because we believe Sunday to be the wrong day to choose as a sabbath. It is the violation of the principle of religious freedom which we are opposing. It is not the province of the state to define which is the true religion, or to settle the controversy regarding which is the proper day to be observed as the Sabbath.

If in attempting to settle the question, the state should decide upon the true Sabbath, the principle would be as truly violated as though it decided upon the wrong day, for the reason that the state is dealing with a question entirely outside of its realm, and "whatever establishes a distinction against one class or

sect, is, to the extent to which the distinction operates unfavorably, a persecution." And "the extent of the discrimination is not material to the principle."

We believe, with Schaff, that "secular power has proved a satanic gift to the church, and ecclesiastical power has proved an engine of tyranny in the hands of the state," and for this reason we are opposed to all interference by the state in religious matters.

Washington, D. C.

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Why Sunday Laws Are Wrong

ARTHUR G. DANIELLS

Sunday legislation is wrong. It can work only injustice to the citizens of the state. It is therefore to be condemned. And all organizations and movements seeking such legislation are to be condemned likewise. The following are some of the evils of Sunday legislation:—

1. It is religious legislation.

2. It favors a class of citizens in matters of religion.

3. It invades the sacred precincts of the conscience.

4. It deprives men of their individual rights.

5. It leads to religious persecution.

This, we know, is a severe indictment against Sunday legislation, but we believe that each count can be sustained by plain, undeniable facts.

1. Sunday legislation is religious legislation. This is true from the fact that the Sunday institution is a religious institution. And it is on this ground that Sunday laws are made and enforced on the citizens of the state. Said Joseph Cook, in one of his Boston Monday lectures in 1887:—

The experience of centuries shows that you will in vain endeavor to preserve Sunday as a day of rest, unless you preserve it as a day of worship.

Dr. Everts says of Sunday: -

This day is set apart for divine worship

and preparation for another life. It is the test of all religion.

Of the basis on which Sunday legislation rests, the American Sabbath Union says:—

A weekly day of rest has never been permanently secured in any land except on the basis of religious obligations. Take the religion out, and you take the rest out.

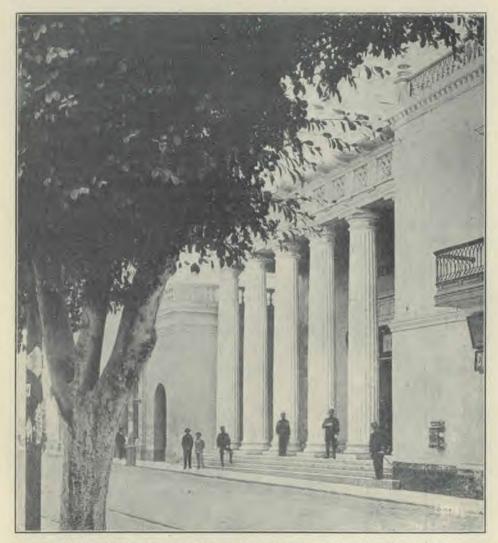
Section 1 of the present Sunday law of England and the colonies,—

That all and every person and persons whatsoever shall, on every Lord's Day, apply themselves thereon in the duties of piety and true religion, publicly and privately.

From these quotations it is plain that Sunday is a religious institution, that Sunday laws are religious laws, and that Sunday legislation is an attempt to enforce religion by the power of civil government.

2. Sunday legislation favors a class of citizens in matters of religion. All religious legislation discriminates in favor of a class. In no state are the citizens all agreed in matters of religion. Some are religious, and some are not religious. And those who are religious do not by any means all hold the same views of religion.

With reference to a day of rest there are at least three classes: Sabbatarians, Sunday observers, and those who do not believe in nor observe any day as sacred.



SENATE BUILDING, ON THE PLAZA OF THE INQUISITION, LIMA, PERU

Roman Catholicism is the established religion of Peru, and other forms of worship are accorded only a measure of toleration.

Sabbatarians observe the seventh day. Sunday observers regard the first day as sacred. Worldlings or nonprofessors do not regard either day. It is, then, as plain as facts can demonstrate that Sunday legislation discriminates in favor of a class, namely, Sunday observers.

But all such discrimination is unjust. It is contrary to the principles of good government. Religion is a man's personal relation of faith and obedience to God. With this relation civil government can of right have nothing to do.

3. Sunday legislation invades the consciences of citizens. This is true of all religious legislation. Religion pertains to the conscience. It is a matter of faith. "Whatsoever is not of faith is sin." All true religious service must be voluntary. It must spring from the heart, and be performed in love.

But men cannot love what they do not believe in, nor what they believe to be wrong. To outwardly observe any religious institution in which a man has no faith, or which he believes to be wrong, is hollow mockery. To attempt to compel men against their consciences to render such outward observance is to outrage the conscience. It is to rob men of their dearest right.

There is no more reason nor justice in attempting to enforce Sunday or Sabbath observance than in attempting to enforce any other religious dogma. The Sabbatic institution, like baptism, is purely religious. The only authority for either is the Word of God. The moment it is conceded that it is the duty of the state to enforce the Sabbatic institution, that moment it must be conceded that it is its duty to enforce the ordinance of baptism. Both institutions were established by Christ, both are enjoined in the Scripture, both are religious, and both are a matter of faith with men. Neither can be truly and acceptably observed without faith.

Take the ordinance of baptism. Some believe in it; others reject it altogether. Those who believe in it differ as to what it is. Some hold that it is immersion; others hold that sprinkling answers every purpose. Every one can see that it would be monstrous for the legislative branch of civil government to pass a law commanding every one of its citizens to be sprinkled. What a pitiful spectacle it would be to see the police dragging unbelievers to the police courts to be prosecuted and fined for refusing to be sprinkled! What a travesty on religion! What an outrage on the conscience!

But what is the difference in principle between Sabbath laws and baptismal laws? Both are purely religious, and there is the same difference of opinion among men respecting each. Civil government by right has no more to do with one than the other. It is no more unjust to compel men to be sprinkled than to compel them to observe Sunday.

The great object of civil government is to protect men in the enjoyment of their rights. Freedom of conscience is one of these rights, and it is one of the dearest of individual rights. To enforce any feature of religion by civil law upon

the conscience, is not the protection but the invasion of rights.

4. Sunday legislation deprives men of their individual rights. We have already shown that it invades the conscience, and thus robs men of their most sacred right. But it goes farther, and interferes with other rights. For instance, the fourth commandment of the decalogue says:—

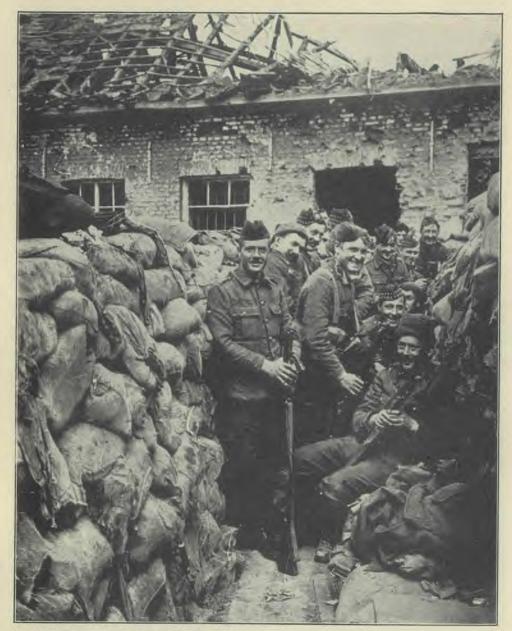
"Remember the Sabbath day, to keep it holy. Six days shalt thou labor, and do all thy work: but the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God; in it thou shalt not do any work." Ex. 20:8-10.

There are those who conscientiously observe the seventh day of the week according to the reading of this command. Having refrained from labor on the seventh day, they have the right, according to this divine law, to pursue their vocations on the other six days. This is a right given them by the Author of the Sabbatic institution. It is not the design of the Creator that men should spend their time in idleness; hence he commands them to work six days. Now, when the state steps in and prohibits them from doing so, it takes away a right granted by the Lord of all.

Nor is that all. It interferes with their liberty to obtain the necessaries of life. Six days of labor are necessary to most men in order properly to provide for those who are dependent upon them. God has recognized this, and granted men the right to work six days. But Sunday legislation ignores this right, and seeks to prevent a certain class from doing so. This is clearly unjust.

5. Sunday legislation leads to religious persecution. It is an expression by one class of citizens that another class should and must be religious, and that they must be religious according to the ideas of those who secure the legislation. Of the results of this theory, John Stuart Mills makes the following truthful remark:—

The notion that it is one man's duty that another should be religious was the foundation of all the religious persecutions ever perpetrated, and if admitted, would fully justify them.—" Essay on Liberty."



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IN THE TRENCHES AT ST. ELOI, WHERE THE FIERCEST HAND-TO-HAND ENCOUNTER OF THE GREAT WAR TOOK PLACE

Law means force. The object of Sunday laws is to compel men to keep Sunday. Those who, from conscientious scruples, cannot do so, are treated by their fellows as criminals. They are taken to the courts, prosecuted, and fined. Thus they are deprived of their prop-

erty or their liberty simply because they cannot agree with some of their neighbors on matters of religion. This is cruel. It is religious persecution.

Thus we find that on every count, Sunday legislation stands condemned. Sunday laws cannot make men love Sunday.

"A Door Opened for Equal Christian Liberty"

CLARENCE SANTEE

THE above is the title of a tract of sixteen pages published May 10, 1783, by Isaac Backus, a Baptist, at the time this nation was an infant endeavoring to stand upon its feet. From the extracts selected it will be seen that the principles here enunciated are the same that have ever been held by those who have appreciated the true liberty of the child of God.

The taxation of individuals for the support of the church, and the right of civil government to legislate on things pertaining to the church, were live issues when this government was making choice of its path and destiny as a nation. At that critical time the Baptists stood for complete religious liberty, and many of them have left a record of suffering as a monument of their devotion to these precious principles. I quote a few of the arguments used:—

"'Brethren, ye have been called unto liberty; only use not liberty for an occasion to the flesh, but by love serve one another.' Gal. 5:13. As contentions about religious liberty have caused much difficulty among ourselves, whereby our enemies hoped to have got advantage against us, it may be of public benefit to lay open the prospect we now have of their being happily terminated.

"The east parish in Attleboro [Mass.], supposing that our laws about worship were the same as formerly, taxed and made distress upon several persons, for the support of their worship, who did not attend thereon.

"One of them thought proper to try how our laws now are in that respect; and for that end sued their assessors before a justice of the peace in Norton, Feb. 22, 1782; when and where he fully proved that he had usually attended public worship with the First Baptist Church in Attleboro, ever since May, 1780, and had communicated to its support to their satisfaction. Yet judgment was given against him, from which he appealed to

the county court at Taunton, and, it being a matter of great importance to have points of law well defined and settled under our new constitution of government, both parties agreed to have the case tried by the honorable justices of the court; namely, Walter Spooner, Thomas Durfee, Benjamin Williams, and William Baylies, Esqs.

"The counsel for the appellant were the Hon. William Bradford and James Mitchell Varnum, Esquires; for the appellees was the Hon. Robert Treat Paine, Esq., attorney-general for the commonwealth.

"The latter, when pleading for said parish, owned that religion must at all times be a matter between God and individuals, and declared that he disclaimed all subordination of any one sect to another; but pleaded that the certificates formerly required by law were not tokens of subordination of one sect for another, but of subordination to the government; and accused the Baptists of refusing to be subordinate to the government [by refusing to pay a tax for the support of the church, which before their independence was imposed upon the colonies]. He also pleaded that the appellant was born in the second parish in Attleboro, was baptized there, and therefore was to all intents a member of that society; for that if he had cause to leave them, the law, reason, and even common civility, required that he should give them notice of it, which he had not done."

This disclaimer, which is often heard in these days,—that the desired laws are not in the interests of religion, but simply civil requirements, police regulations for the public good,—is no new theory; it is an old excuse to evade an evident intent. In answer to this appeal in behalf of civil regulations in religious differences, the appellant claimed "that religion was prior to all states and kingdoms in the

world, and therefore could not in its nature be subject to human laws; that the certificates heretofore required were given to parish officers, officers of one particular sect, and not to officers of the government; and as our Constitution says, 'No subordination of any one sect or denomination to another shall ever be established by law,' those laws are repealed thereby. And as the Constitution was established by the people, it is stronger than any law the assembly can make, it being the foundation whereon they stand. Also the society to which the appellant joined is as regular a society as the other that taxed him.

"These points were learnedly discussed on March 16, 1782; after which the justices retired a little by themselves, and then returned, and declared that they were unanimously agreed in giving the appellant 'damages and costs.' Which judgment not only settled the controversy in Attleboro, but has been extensively beneficial elsewhere.

"If natural birth and the doings of others could make a person a member of a religious society without his own consent, we should have no objection against the way of withdrawing from such a society that our opponents plead for. But since religion is ever a matter between God and individuals, how can any man become a member of a religious society without his own consent? And how can a man who believes it to be impossible, practically say that it is possible, without contracting guilt of conscience? This is the exact state of our controversy about religious liberty. We have been very far from perfection in our behavior therein, but we have not been accused of disobedience to government and of disturbing the public peace. because of our ever invading the rights of others, but only because we will not give up our own. It is because we have chosen suffering rather than to sin against God. We believe that attendance upon public worship, and keeping the first day of the week holy to God. are duties to be inculcated and enforced

by his laws, instead of the laws of men."

The writer sagely adds: "Yet many are still attached to the errors of our fathers, while they are resolutely set against their virtues. The fathers of this town and government mistook the work of civil rulers so much as to imagine that they were to inflict corporal punishments upon men as sinners against God, and not only for crimes against the community." In a footnote he adds: "In Israel God was their only lawgiver; and our fathers run into their error by attempting to form a Christian commonwealth in imitation of the theocracy of the Tews."

He then reasons from the viewpoint of the relation of rulers to the people: -

"Not only America, but all the kingdoms and states of Europe, which have acknowledged the authority of our Congress, have set their seal to this truth, that the highest civil rulers derive their power from the consent of the people, and cannot stand without their support. And common people know that there is nothing more contrary to the rules of honesty than for some to attempt to convey to others things which they have no right to themselves; and no one has any right to judge for others in religious affairs."

The evident argument in this is that as the people have no right to judge for others in religious affairs, they cannot convey that right to rulers whom they may appoint. This is a sound argument.

"The name Protestant is no longer to be a test of our legislators; and to persuade the people to yield thereto, the compilers of the Constitution said to them, 'Your delegates did not conceive themselves to be vested with power to set up one denomination of Christians above another; for religion must at all times be a matter between God and individuals.' This is a great truth, and it proves that no man can become a member of a truly religious society without his own consent; and also that no corporation that is not a religious society can have a right to govern in religious

matters. . . . Christianity is a voluntary obedience to God's revealed will; and everything of a contrary nature is antichristianism. . . . Reason and revelation agree in determining that the end of civil government is the good of the governed by defending them against all such as would work ill to their neighbors, and in limiting the power of rulers there. Those who invade the religious rights of others are self-condemned, which of all things is the most opposite to happiness, the

great end of government. Rom. 13:

"[Signed] ISAAC BACKUS, Boston, May 10, 1783."

While expressed by different individuals in different ways, the same principles of love for, or enmity against, true liberty in Christ have been clearly defined, and the controversy can only be closed by the coming of him "whose right it is."

Loma Linda, Cal.

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Religious Liberty in China

CHINA, the oldest nation and the youngest republic, is again giving surprises to the world. A great struggle is going on between Buddhism and Confucianism. A movement on a large scale has been in progress ever since the organization of the new republic to make Confucianism the religion of the state, and to restore its general observance. This movement originated with the educated classes - the aristocracy of the nation. In the new parliament it happened inevitably that a great majority of the members were of this class. Soon after parliament organized, a Confucian society was formed, and it quickly spread throughout the republic. Leading men in the nation gave support to the movement. Some of the literature which was scattered broadcast read as follows: -

"God used Confucius as a sounding board to deliver his message." "The books of Confucius have lasted to the present day and cannot be wiped out." "Confucian doctrines should be believed by all because he is the greatest teacher in the world." "At the present time Christianity is making great progress. It has come from the West and has the strength of a lion. But this strength is due to the fact that powerful nations are behind it. This sort of thing, however, cannot last for centuries." "The Mohammedans came to China many centuries ago, but now they amount to nothing. Christianity has only lately come to China, but in a short time it will also go."

Native Christian leaders started a counter movement on moderate lines,

but the situation seemed serious. At this juncture Yuan Shi-kai, who seems to have perceived the danger, took a bold step. He dismissed the national parliament, and it stands practically dissolved, leaving the supreme power in the hands of the president and the council. Efforts had been made to persuade the parliament to amend the constitution by a temporary clause, which provided that "Confucianism shall be the state religion, while religious liberty shall still be accorded to the people of China." President Yuan, foreseeing such attempts, had resolved to oppose them with all his power. A year ago, speaking in the national council, he had expressed his views in these memorable words: -

In view of the religious liberty of the people, all religions will be regarded as being on the same footing, and there will be no discrimination against any particular one. There should be mutual respect and avoidance of mutual distrust among the people, irrespective of whether they practice any particular religion or not, or whatever faith they embrace, so that they may all share in the enjoyment of public peace and happiness.

What a tremendous lesson other rulers might learn from this example! The . . . subtle efforts now being made in our own republic to give the church a voice in the affairs of the state, may well give cause for concern to those who are observant of the signs of the times.—
The Christian Herald, Jan. 7, 1915.

Benjamin Franklin on Religious Liberty

Do always what you yourself think right, and let others enjoy the same privilege. The latter is a duty you owe to your neighbor; the former, as well as the latter, are duties you owe to your Maker.—Lord Kame's "Art of Thinking."

The following illustration of the above maxim appeared in the *Independent Ledger* of June 5, 1780, of Boston (taken

from a London publication): -

"Some time ago, being in company with a friend from North America,-Dr. Franklin, as well known throughout Europe for his ingenious discoveries in natural philosophy as to his countrymen for his sagacity, his usefulness and activity, in every public-spirited measure, and to his acquaintance for all the social virtues,- the conversation happened to turn on the subject of persecution. friend, whose understanding is as large as his heart is benevolent, did not fail to urge many unanswerable arguments against a practice so obviously repugnant to every dictate of humanity. At length, in support of what he had advanced, he called for a Bible, and turning to the book of Genesis, chapter 51, read as follows: -

"'1. And it came to pass after these things, that Abraham sat in the door of his tent, about the going down of the sun.

"'2. And, behold, a man bowed with age, coming from the way of the wilder-

ness, leaning on a staff.

"'3. And Abraham arose, and met him, and said unto him, Turn in, I pray thee, and wash thy feet, and tarry all night; and thou shalt arise early in the morning, and go on thy way.

"'4. But the man said, Nay, for I

will abide under this tree.

"5. And Abraham pressed him greatly; so he turned, and they went into the tent; and Abraham baked unleavened bread, and they did eat.

"'6. And when Abraham saw that the man blessed not God, he said unto him,

Wherefore dost thou not worship the most high God, the creator of heaven and earth?

"'7. And the man answered and sai', I do not worship thy God, neither do I call upon his name; for I have made to myself a god, which abideth alway in mine house, and provideth me with all things.

"78. And Abraham's zeal was kindled against the man, and he arose, and fell upon him, and drove him forth with

blows into the wilderness.

"'9. And at midnight God called unto Abraham, saying, Abraham, where is the stranger?

"' To. And Abraham answered and said, Lord, he would not worship thee, neither would he call upon thy name; therefore have I driven him out from before my face into the wilderness.

"'11. And God said, Have I borne with him these hundred ninety and eight years, and nourished him, notwithstanding his rebellion against me; and couldst not thou, that art thyself a sinner, bear with him one night?

"'12. And Abraham said, Let not the anger of my Lord wax hot against his servant; lo, I have sinned; forgive me

I pray thee.

"'13. And he arose, and went forth into the wilderness, and sought diligently

for the man, and found him;

"'14. And returned with him to his tent; and when he had entreated him kindly, he sent him away in the morning with gifts.

"'15. And God spake again unto Abraham, saying, For this thy sin shall thy seed be afflicted four hundred years

in a strange land,

"'16. But for thy repentance will I deliver them; and they shall come forth with power, and with gladness of heart, and with much substance."

"I own I was struck with the aptness of the passage to the subject, and did not fail to express my surprise that in all the discourses I had read against a practice so diametrically opposite to the genuine spirit of our holy religion, I did not remember to have seen this chapter quoted; nor did I recollect having read it, though no stranger to my Bible.

"Next morning, turning to the book of Genesis, I found there was no such chapter, and that the whole was a wellmeant invention of my friend, whose sallies of humor, in which he is a great master, have always a useful and benevolent tendency.

"With some difficulty I procured a copy of what he pretended to read, which I now send you for the entertainment of your readers."

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The Testimony of an Eminent Attorney

W. F. MARTIN

In the year 1885 the exemption clause of the Sunday law for Arkansas was repealed. Before this, those who were observers of the seventh day could freely go about their labors on Sunday. The repeal of this exemption clause was a signal for a series of religious persecutions, marked by extreme rigor. Good men who were devoted Christians, and who had the courage of their convictions, were arrested, and many of them sent to prison. This for quietly working in their fields on Sunday, after having worshiped on the Sabbath.

I well remember as a lad, standing in the court room in the old town of Fayetteville and witnessing the trial and conviction of some of these God-fearing citizens, as well as visiting some of them while they were serving prison sentences.

Not long since it was my lot to be back in Arkansas, having been called there by the death of my aged father, who was one of those tried for their faith at the time already mentioned. On my return West, I rode for several miles with the lawyer who defended the accused at that time. This gentleman is eminent in his profession, being accounted one of the best lawyers in the

Southwest. The conversation drifted back to the trials, and he spoke of the impression they made on his mind. Some time later a most interesting letter was received from him, in which, after referring to our conversation, he said:—

I am an intense believer in religious liberty, as well as the fullest liberty of thought and action consistent with good citizenship. I trust the day will come, not only in this country, but everywhere, when the lines of tolerance in every walk of life may be broadened and extended, to the end that men may be permitted to follow the dictates of an honest judgment, without criticism or condemnation from any source.

All lovers of liberty and justice will certainly join in the wish for the day to come speedily when freedom will be granted all, and when all may be free to follow the dictates of their consciences in religious worship. There is a mighty trend otherwise, however; and unless the friends of true liberty are constantly on their guard, the great principles of American justice and liberty will be overthrown.

Sunday laws and other religious measures are a turning back from liberty to the spirit of the seventeenth century, where a dominant religion ruled over the bodies and minds of men.

Santa Ana, Cal.

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THE modern "reformers" who are so anxious to have God and Christianity legally recognized in the federal Constitution are laboring hard to convince men that God rules through representatives. The sequence of their logic is that they are the true representatives of God and Christianity, and that their interpretations of what constitutes the true religion should be legally recognized and enforced by human laws. Whenever such an unholy union of church and state is perfected in America, we shall see what former generations saw under a similar combination, the church again cursing the dissenter as a heretic worthy only of the stake, and the state condemning him as a seditious traitor utterly unfit to live.

Some Principles Stated

Who has not heard the despairing moans of saloon victims, so sad and hopeless as to well-nigh move a stone to pity?

THE boundary line of personal liberty ends where personal injury to another begins. This is the great law that must control all human conduct and freedom of action.

Many of the greatest evils which have afflicted this world had innocent beginnings. It is the seed of tyranny instead of its vintage that ought to demand our most thoughtful consideration. The first intrusion upon our natural rights, however mild, should be viewed with grave alarm, The early American patriots saw all the evil consequences involved in the principle of a legal recognition of the Christian religion, and they avoided the consequences by denying the introduction of the principle. An establishment of religion by the state is the signal for persecution. It destroys the equality of citizens before the law. We must deny the first step in order to avoid the realization of the horrors of the last.

THE attempt to make the fourth commandment of the decalogue authority for Sunday keeping is sometimes embarrassing, as is illustrated in the case of a small boy who was induced to go fishing on Sunday, instead of to Sunday school. On his return home he was whipped by his mother, and made to read the fourth comman/ment fifty times. A few days later his teacher at school asked him to name the days of the week in their order. He began the list with Monday, and when corrected, persisted in his error. When reproved, he justified himself by saying, "If you had read the commandment as many times as I have, you would know that the Sabbath is the seventh day; and if Sunday is the Sabbath, it must be the seventh day, and Monday the first day." The teacher was speechless.

"Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings thou hast perfected praise."

Education and the Saloon

ONE of the most potent weapons against the saloon evil is temperance instruction in the public schools. The effects of such instruction introduced into a number of States several years ago is now seen in the insistent demand from the North, South, East, and West for national prohibition of the traffic in intoxicating liquors. The train has been lighted, and it cannot be stamped out. The liquor interests must meet the issue squarely. There is no escape; nor is there much doubt as to results. The saloon is doomed. The people are deter-

mined to destroy the organized liquor traffic. It is no longer a question of fact, but only of time.

Lit by the teacher's ready torch,
The fuse of agitation burns;
And pent-up indignation's force,
By craven fear no more restrained,
Shall scatter death among its foes—
The selfish forces once supreme,
But now in consternation dire
From fear of righteous recompense.

C. P. B.

EDITORIAL

An Oklahoma Court Nullifies Constitutional and Statutory Guaranties

THE constitution of the State of Oklahoma guarantees the equality of all its citizens before the law, as well as the free exercise of religious convictions so long as such freedom of the individual conscience does not tend to acts of crime or licentiousness. Moreover, the statutes of the State also exempt those who observe Saturday as the Sabbath from being compelled to observe Sunday also.

But on August 3 and 4, four Seventhday Adventists, who are as honorable and law-abiding citizens as the State of Oklahoma has in her borders, were tried before the court at Watonga and condemned as criminals because they dared to worship God in harmony with the requirements of the fourth commandment of the decalogue, working six days and resting upon the seventh day as the Sabbath commandment specifies. After these men had conscientiously observed this commandment according to their faith, one of the lower courts requires them to observe Sunday also; and all this in the face of the State constitution, which grants religious freedom to its citizens, and in the face of a State statute which in spirit aims to exempt these very men from the compulsory requirements of Oklahoma's Sunday laws, which in themselves are subversive of religious guaranties of the State consti-

We have shown in these pages, from time to time, the dangers that are threatening freedom of religion in America, and the influences that are at work undermining the most sacred rights of the individual as guaranteed by both federal and State constitutions. Now our fears are beginning to be realized. What we have predicted is being fulfilled. The guaranties of both federal and State con-

stitutions are mocked at and regarded as empty platitudes in practice.

Unless juries, lawyers, and judges recognize the purport and spirit of the constitutional guaranties and immunities granted to the individual citizen, we can look for nothing less in America than a repetition of the bloody persecutions of medieval Rome, in the not-far-distant future. The Oklahoma decision is a direct violation of the spirit and intent of the guaranties of religious freedom as presented in the State constitution and the exemption statute for those who observe another day than Sunday. There is no equality for its citizens before the law when the court requires these men to observe Sunday after they have already rested on Saturday, thus compelling them to observe two days each week. The right to worship or not to worship God, or to work or rest on any day or no day, is not for the governments of earth to grant. These rights are divine and natural, and each individual has a right to choose according to his own conscience in these matters, and the governments have no delegated right or authority to interfere or regulate these matters for individuals.

These men in Oklahoma who have been condemned as criminals are far from being criminals. We shall let the Oakland (Cal.) *Tribune* of March 19, 1914, give its opinion as to the character of these people known as Seventh-day Adventists. It published the following frank statement concerning them:—

The Seventh-day Adventists are a body of men, the superiors of whom in industry, orderliness, loyalty, honesty, good repute, and all that makes for the best citizenship, we think it would be difficult to find.

The members of this church observe Saturday as the Sabbath, and no matter whether this is sound theology or not, it is their belief and their undoubted Constitutional right as citizens and free men and free women, so to keep the seventh day as holy.

Observing the seventh day as the Sabbath, it is at once a violence offered to their faith

and an unreasonable business hardship to compel them by law to observe also the first day of the week as a day in which they shall not labor or carry on their usual business and professional avocations. And upon these grounds these good people are strenuously opposed to all so-called Sunday laws.

We think they are absolutely right in their contentions for their civil privileges under the guaranties of the Constitution. They have an indefeasible right to their faith. They are entitled to religious liberty. And it is impossible to say that a citizen who is compelled to keep a day which is not holy to him as the Sabbath, and which he believes it sinful to keep as the Sabbath, enjoys religious freedom within the true intent and the full meaning of the Constitutional guaranties.

In the theological dispute we are not greatly interested. But in the maintenance of civil and religious liberty we are earnestly and always interested. Without those noble and precious liberties, life is not worth the living. And we must assuredly believe that the Seventh-day Adventists are right in contending for those liberties, and heartily do we wish them courage in their good fight.

And so says LIBERTY! It is high time to raise a voice of protest against such unwarranted encroachments upon the Constitutional liberties of upright, conscientious American citizens, irrespective of creed, color, race, or nationality. Such a travesty of justice ought to awaken the press of the country and to stir the public conscience to the last degree. When such things are passed by as matters of little consequence, every citizen is in great danger of losing his own liberties; for no one's liberty is sure unless we make secure the liberty of each individual. C. S. L.

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Still Punished for Religious Reasons

MEN are still punished in America, in this liberty-loving age, for daring to worship and serve God in harmony with the fourth commandment of the decalogue. That commandment permits men to work six days, but requires them to rest on the seventh day of the week. But some jurists require Sabbatarians to observe Sunday also, and for religious

reasons. After all, we are not much ahead of the ancient Greeks and Romans. They most jealously guarded the forms of liberty while they violated its every principle; for at the time when they were most determined to be free themselves, the rulers employed their powers to enslave the rest of mankind.

In America the federal Constitution guarantees religious liberty to the several States as such, and to citizens of the United States as such, so far as the acts of Congress are concerned; but the general government leaves the several States free to override every right of conscience in the individual as a citizen of the State. Thus the seemingly ample safeguards afforded by the national Constitution become nugatory under the operation of State laws as administered by State and municipal courts.

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"The Fourteenth International Lord's Day Congress"

This congress was scheduled to be held in Oakland, Cal., July 27 to August 1, "in connection with the Panama-Pacific Exposition." Writing to the editor of this magazine, one who was present at this congress throughout, says:—

The meeting was advertised to be held in the Oakland Auditorium, which seats 8,500 in its main part, and 2,500 in the theater at one end of the building. The congress was held in a room on the third floor, which some who counted the chairs said would seat 450. To me it looked even smaller than that. Well, they had it half full at night, which would give them an attendance of about two hundred and fifty. At the day sessions they had present by actual count between fifty and sixty. At the Greek amphitheater in Berkeley, on Sunday afternoon, August 1, they had present, I should judge, between eight hundred and a thousand persons.

Such prominent men as President Wilson, ex-Secretary Bryan, Governor Johnson, the mayor of Oakland (Mr. Davie), Mr. C. C. Moore of the exposition, Archbishop Hanna, and others advertised to speak, were not in attendance at the congress. The governor, the mayor, Mr. Moore, and the archbishop sent representatives. Besides the archbishop's representative another Catholic priest spoke, and the Greek Catholic Church was repre-

sented. Also the labor unions had a man there, who gave an address, and the actors' union sent a lady to represent them.

It is said that "a bumblebee is largest when it is first hatched;" or more properly speaking, when it emerges from its larva state and is ready for its first flight. But the Oakland Lord's Day Congress was largest even before it had any being, or in other words, when it existed only upon paper and in the minds of its promoters.

But however disappointing the attendance at this congress must have been, the lack of enthusiasm and the character of some of the speeches must have been even more so. The Sunday law advocates have invoked the aid of organized labor; they are securing it, but not to the extent hoped for. The promoters of the Lord's Day Congress want, as the very name shows, a legally enforced holy day; organized labor wants and is willing to accept only a holiday. We shall have more to say upon this subject in subsequent numbers of Liberty.

C. P. B.

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"The Lord's Day Congress"

THE readers of LIBERTY will not fail to notice the significance of the facts stated in the following, which appeared in the Los Angeles *Times* of June 27, under the above heading:—

Famous statesmen, educators, religious leaders, and scientists of America and of twenty-one foreign countries, together with ex-Secretary of State Bryan, Judge Alton B. Parker of New York, Secretary of Labor William B. Wilson, Vice-Pres. Thomas R. Marshall, and the governors of a half-dozen States, will attend the International Lord's Day Congress, which will be held in Oakland from July 27 to August 1.

President Wilson is honorary president of the great organization, whose chief aim is directed toward the reduction of Sunday labor in all continuous industries. Secretary of the Navy Josephus Daniels is also deeply interested in the forthcoming congress, and he has written a paper on the "Sunday Schedule for the United States Navy," to be read at one of the sessions. Judge Elbert H. Gary, chairman of the board of directors of the United States

Steel Corporation, will have a paper dealing with the minimum work on Sunday in the iron and steel industry.

Sunday labor in the trades, professions, and all so-called continuous industries, will be discussed by hundreds of noted men, with a view to inaugurating a world-wide campaign for the abolition of all unnecessary toil on the Sabbath day along these special lines,

The delegates are expected to number into the thousands, many coming from Canada, France, Italy, Switzerland, China, Siam, Korea, Japan, Syria, India, Persia, Central and South America, Australia, Hawaii, the Philippines, Borneo and Sumatra, British settlements in Africa, and from Egypt. Five sectional conferences will be held for the consideration of the problems in this world's survey.

Sunday excursions and theatrical performances, commercialized Sunday amusements, saloons, business, and "general apathy" are classed as the "foes of Sunday rest laws," and they are some of the subjects which are expected to develop vigorous arguments.

"The Jewish Problem of the Sabbath in a Christian Land," will be the topic of Rabbi B. Drachman, president of the Jewish Sabbath Association of New York.

Sessions will be held each day during the week with the exception of Saturday, July 31, when the congress will adjourn for the day, to permit the many dozens of clerical members of the organization to prepare to fill the pulpits of Pacific Coast churches on Sunday, August 1. On that day a great mass meeting will be held in either Berkeley or Oakland, at which time ex-Secretary Bryan will be the principal speaker. A similar meeting will also be held in San Francisco.

Of course not nearly all the prominent men named in the foregoing actually participated in the "congress." The fact, however, that they allowed their names to be used in this connection is very significant.

What the advocates of this movement lack in Biblical support for Sunday, they make up in zeal for their man-made sabbath. So far as their fellow men are concerned, they have a perfect right to regard Sunday just as highly as they can, and to do all they can by argument and persuasion to bring others to their way of thinking and worshiping; but how they will square the account with the Lord of the Bible Sabbath and with Him whose presence makes holy the true Lord's Day, is quite another question. The Scriptures declare that "the

seventh day is the Sabbath." The promoters of this congress say, "Nay, the first day is the Sabbath." Whose testimony shall we receive - the word of men or the word of God?

If they had more Bible support, they would not so sorely need the support of great names and civil enactments. man-made institution must make up in political influence what it lacks in divine sanction. In Oakland there was but little appeal to the Scriptures; and what little there was was on the basis of assumption pure and simple, for the Bible says nothing of the so-called "Christian sabbath." That Book enjoins the keeping holy of "the seventh day," "the Sabbath of the Lord."

张 张 张 Martyrdom of John Huss

On July 6, five hundred years ago, John Huss was burned at the stake for his opinions. The sacrifice which Huss made in behalf of the cause of freedom is one of the landmarks of history. He ranks with Wyclif and Luther among the protagonists of freedom from the bondage of ecclesiastical domination, both temporal and spiritual.

The modern world owes an inestimable debt of gratitude to the indomitable courage and faith of this humble Bohemian. Great heroes arose who championed his principles, and the torch of freedom that was kindled by the sacrifice of Huss at the stake, lighted the path for whole nations, so that they were enabled to find their way out of the darkness of medievalism to the fuller light and greater freedom of post-Reformation times.

The reaction following the martyrdom of Huss made possible the Reformation of a century later. The bad faith of Sigismund in permitting the violation of the safe-conduct given Huss, did much to shatter "that divinity that doth hedge about a king," The refusal of Charles V, a hundred years later, to follow Sigismund's example, was an acknowledgment that citizens have rights which even kings are bound to respect. "Divine right" was not directly challenged by either Huss or Luther; but by the protest of the princes the authority of the Word of God was exalted above that of the visible church. The claim by the civil magistrate of right to dominate in spiritual things was repudiated; and in the presence of the crown of Charles V. the crown of Jesus Christ was exalted as supreme. And this was the legitimate fruitage of the life, the teaching, and above all the death of John Huss. All honor to the man who at that early day dared to give his body to be burned alive rather than surrender soul liberty. To him and to others like him we owe today the freedom which is our boast, but which we do not always prize as we ought, nor guard as jealously as we should. C. S. L.

God Seeks Our Love

THE cell, the fagot, and the rack Cannot soul life impart; God seeks our loyalty, our love -An undivided heart.

And in return himself he gives -His nature he imparts; Then fear not though earth's minions hurl A thousand vengeful darts.

C. P. B.

"Drink With Great Care"

UNDER this heading the Washington Herald of August 4 printed the following dispatch: -

New York, August 3 .- "If you do not desire to hasten your graveyard journey, confine your drinking to less than two whiskies or three beers a day. More will boom the death rate."

So declared, to the Association of Life Insurance Presidents, Arthur Hunter, chairman of the Central Bureau of the Medico-Actu-

arial Mortality Investigation.

The comparison was taken from records of 2,000,000 lives, covering a period of twentyfive years, made by forty-three insurance companies for use in their business.

Doubtless the advice, "Drink with care," is good as far as it goes; but the question naturally arises. Why drink at all? Not one man in a thousand who drinks at all confines himself to "less than two whiskies or three beers a day." The desired effect can be secured only by constantly increased doses of the stimulant. Like other stimulants, alcohol in any form demands more alcohol. The only safe plan is to let it alone.

Some insurance companies are now treating total abstainers as preferred risks, giving them a lower rate than moderate drinkers. This is done because statistics show that the total abstainer has much better chances of life than the man who drinks. The force of such facts cannot be broken by occasional stories of very old men who have been moderate drinkers all their lives. Such exceptions only serve to prove the rule that even moderate drinking tends to shorten life.

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Convention of the American Federation of Patriotic Societies

It is now definitely stated that the national convention of the American Federation of Patriotic Societies will be held in Dayton, Ohio, September 16-18.

It is said that upon special invitation of the management of the Panama Exposition in San Francisco, it was originally arranged to hold this convention in the main exposition auditorium, and it was so advertised. But later great opposition developed on the part of the Catholics, and the contract was canceled. It seems that the privilege withdrawn from the American Federation of Patriotic Societies has now been granted to the Catholics for a great show, the proceeds of which are to be devoted to a home in San Francisco for the Jesuit fathers. In announcing the change the secretary of the federation remarks that "nothing could have happened to better illustrate Rome's political activities, coercive methods, and intolerant attitude toward free assembly and free speech, nor better calculated to prove the necessity of this very convention."

Personal Liberty

One of the great breweries of the country is trying to stem the rising tide of prohibitory sentiment by illustrated advertisements in which the thought is emphasized that all advocates and defenders of religious liberty in colonial days were by the same token champions of that particular brand of "personal liberty" that puts the saloon keeper on a par with the grocer, and affords equal facilities to the devotee of the "flowing bowl" to buy beer and whisky for himself as to any other man to procure the necessaries of life for his wife and children.

But let it never be forgotten that personal liberty can never mean personal license. Liberty is freedom to do the thing that is naturally right and proper. License is indulgence in doing that which is questionable, or at least, not engaged in by natural right.

It always has been true that the liquor business imposes upon the community burdens that ought to be borne by individuals. The husband and father drinks; therefore his wife and children are to a greater or less extent a charge upon the community. The saloon itself is a corrupting influence in politics; it is therefore the enemy of "government of the people, by the people, and for the people."

On her way to the guillotine, Madame Roland exclaimed, "Liberty! Liberty! how many crimes are committed in thy name!" And so might the thousands of women and children who every year are made to suffer poverty and shame and death by the drink demon,—all of them innocent victims,—exclaim, "O Personal Liberty! how many crimes are committed in thy name!" The worst enemy of liberty is the man who would make it a cloak for robbery and oppression.

Let us guarantee to our women and children the natural right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness by freeing them from the tyranny of the saloon and its defenders.

C. P. B.

Let Liberty, Truth, and Justice Prevail

WITHOUT civil and religious liberty, human and divine progress would be impossible. Liberty is the key that has unlocked the door to the treasures of wisdom and knowledge, of science and religion, of achievement and civilization, and above all, of true happiness and lasting peace. The individual who does not favor liberty as a right for others to enjoy, is an enemy to the best interests of God and man. Liberty, truth, and justice are inseparably connected, and he who tramples on one comes in conflict with this trinity of eternal principles which emanate from God for the lasting welfare of humanity.

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Substituting Law for Love and Right

THINGS that are legal are not necessarily right. Slavery was legal once, but it was never right. No law on earth could make it right. Civil law cannot make morally right that which is morally wrong, nor can it make morally wrong that which is morally right. Neither is there any power in the law to convert or change the human heart. That which saves and transforms men is not the absolutism of law, but the matchless love and power of Jesus Christ as manifested in the gospel. Let the church not seek to substitute law for love, and force for faith, in the divine economy. Law condemns, but it cannot redeem; it may guard, but it cannot save. Let the church not employ the weapons and tactics of the state to further her ends, for in so doing she departs from her divine mission and frustrates divine grace.

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Mixing Religion and Politics

No question is ever settled until it is settled right. A subterfuge or a compromise may endure for a while, but it will only be for a little while. Truth and justice will ultimately prevail. The individual who is armored with the truth need fear no foe. Error will fall before him. Darkness will flee before the light. The individual who trusts in God will never make the arm of flesh his stay. In his hour of need, he sends his petition to the throne of God instead of to the legislative halls, for the things that belong to God and come from God. Let churchmen not confound civil and religious questions and apply the same rules and methods to each. A failure to recognize a distinction between religious and civil laws has been the cause of all the bloody persecutions of the past. Some great reform movements today are mixing religion and politics, and are in great danger of repeating the fearful history of medieval times. Unless a radical change takes place in this respect, a worse calamity will befall progress and civilization in this republic than ever befell Europe in the Middle Ages.

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Tyrannical Religious Customs Enforced

Most laws are based on "precedents" and not on justice or right. A judge will ransack the maze of law for a precedent based on "custom," so that no man's conduct may be permitted to differ from an established order. For an individual to embrace and practice a new creed is regarded as well-nigh sacrilegious. This is why men are prosecuted and cast into prison in certain localities in free America, for working on Sunday after they have conscientiously observed Saturday as the Sabbath. We often wonder if the time will ever come in America when its citizens will enjoy religious freedom, or will the conscientious minority always be enslaved by the tyrannical religious customs of the majority? Theoretically the Constitution guarantees freedom to all, but practically we find that American jurists still enslave us with decisions based on English law and custom enacted under a church-and-state régime. What we long for is American judicature and American jurisprudence based on the rights and immunities guaranteed by the federal Constitution to all American citizens.

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Christianity and Churchianity Differ

INFIDELS are such principally because they fail to discriminate between Christianity and churchianity. Churchianity at times has been the very opposite of Christianity. Christianity rests upon the unchangeable, immutable, and eternal principles of truth, liberty, and justice as enunciated by Jesus Christ in the gospel; but churchianity most of the time has been the relentless foe of poor, struggling, suffering humanity, and has led its captives into bondage instead of liberty, into error instead of truth, into darkness instead of light, into despair instead of hope, and into superstition and ignorance instead of faith and wisdom. Christianity endeavors to win and draw men by the power of love and moral suasion, while churchianity frequently attempts to drive and force men by the coercive power of the state and the "infallible" decrees of a hierarchy. The motto of Christianity is spiritual regeneration, and its effect is character transformation; whereas the motto of churchianity has often been civic reformation, and its effects self-exaltation. We do the Author of Christianity a great injustice to identify his principles with those of his pretended followers who revere their own ways more than the ways of God. C. S. L.

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The State Versus the Man

One can hardly now take up a newspaper without reading of some legislative measure, either State or federal, which narrows the area of personal freedom and increases that of official control. A historian once observed that all the reforms in Europe were made not by making new laws, but by repealing a large

number of the old. Such must be the task of those in America who attempt to reform the work of the present reformers. For many years past we have had no conservative party in the United States, no party to be a brake upon the accelerating speed with which we are taking people from the producing class to make of them parasitic officials. So obsessed are we with the idea of the efficacy of law-made remedies that a California legislature was gravely congratulated upon the number of laws that it had passed, the "collective wisdom" having turned off the appalling total of 4,000 in one short session - a record in the construction of wire The three entanglements. parties vie with one another in advocating State agency or State control. Unmindful of Burke's observation that " all innovation is not progress," we have departed from our old conservative traditions .- Truxtun Beale, in The Forum for August, 1915.

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Freedom of Worship a Divine, Not a Human Gift

EVERY person should be free to worship at any shrine he chooses, in the manner and at the time he chooses, as long as the exercise of his choice does not infringe upon the equal rights of his neighbor; and every person should be equally free not to worship at any shrine in any manner and at any time, if he so elects; for nothing short of this is religious liberty. A compulsory religious law robs the individual of his divine right of choice and freewill service, which alone is acceptable in the sight of Heaven.

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Persecution and intolerance are the fruit of excessive religious zeal and bigotry. Every martyr of truth has been put to death because some ecclesiastical tyrants felt it their solemn duty to protect the established religion against innovations.

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WASHINGTON, D. C.

"LIBERTY"

For the Fourth Quarter, 1915

Issued September 1

Increased demand for the third quarter LIBERTY has exhausted that number, and LIBERTY for the fourth quarter has been issued in advance of the usual time.

This number of LIBERTY gives the cream of the addresses delivered at the recent convention of the National Anti-Saloon League held at Atlantic City. It contains an article on the Sunday law cases in Oklahoma. Dr. P. T. Magan, a well-known writer on religion and the present war, furnishes a characteristic article. The following is a partial list of the articles that —

You and Your Friends Should Read

Sunday Law Cases in Oklahoma.

The Pope, the Powers, and Peace.

The Fourteenth International Lord's Day Congress.

Compulsory Prayers.

Congress Shall Make No Law Abridging the Freedom of the Press.

Drink With Great Care.

Personal Liberty.

The Origin of the State.

Testimony of an Eminent Attorney.

The Greatest Enemy of the Constitution and the Flag.

The Martyrdom of Huss.

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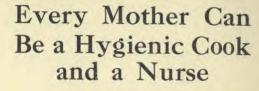
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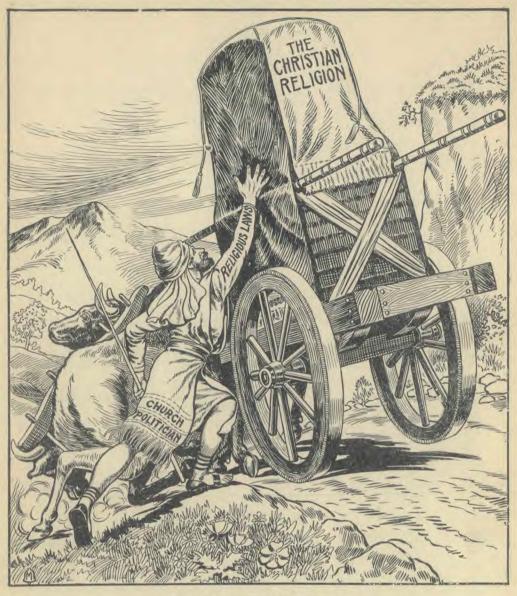
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"And when they came to Nachon's threshing floor, Uzzah put forth his hand to the ark of God, and took hold of it; for the oxen shook it ["stumbled," margin]. And the anger of the Lord was kindled against Uzzah; and God smote him there for his error; and there he died by the ark of God." 2 Sam. 6:6, 7.

The ark of God needed no such human support then, nor does God's cause need any such support now. All such miscredited zeal is dishonoring to him who seeks and accepts only the service of love, saying, "My son, forget not my law; but let thine heart keep my commandments." Prov. 3:1. Again, "My son, give me thine heart, and let thine eyes observe my ways." Prov. 23:26. And finally, "The Spirit and the bride say, Come. And let him that heareth say, Come. And let him that is athirst come. And whosoever will, let him take the water of life freely." Rev. 22:17.