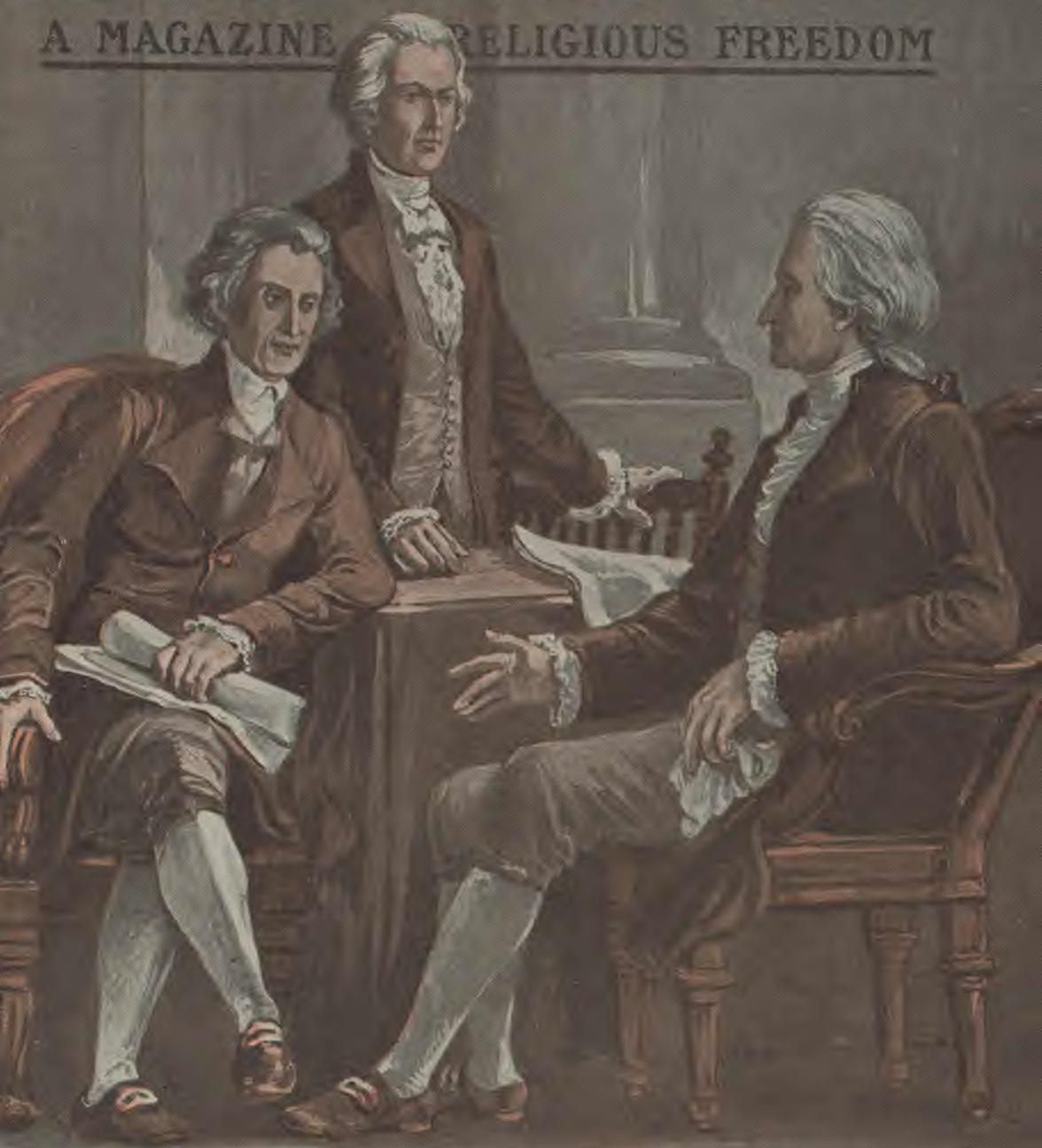


# LIBERTY

A MAGAZINE OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM



JEFFERSON

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# Religious Liberty Association

## DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

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

For further information regarding the principles of this association, address the Religious Liberty Association, Takoma Park, Washington, D. C. (secretary, C. S. Longacre), or any of the affiliated organizations given below:—

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# LIBERTY

## A MAGAZINE OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

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TAKOMA PARK, WASHINGTON, D. C.

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**CHRIST OR JUPITER — WHICH?**

One of these women has chosen to die for Christ and exhorts her companion to suffer martyrdom rather than to offer incense to Jupiter.

# LIBERTY

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

VOL. XI

FOURTH QUARTER, 1916

No. 6

## Lincoln Home Preserved by a Grateful Nation Notable Eulogies for the Preserver of Liberty

BY THE EDITOR

THE Lincoln cabin, in Hodgenville, Ky., now housed in a magnificent memorial structure, has been presented to the American people by the Lincoln Farm Association, together with the Lincoln homestead. President Wilson, in behalf of the United States, accepted this gift at the memorial dedicatory ceremonies held September 4. This little cabin, suffering the vicissitudes of decay and neglect for nearly a century, but now preserved as a national memorial, is another shrine to liberty which will be visited by millions, and held in grateful memory by freemen as long as the Republic shall endure.

Some notable addresses were made on this occasion. Former Gov. Joseph W. Folk of Missouri, president of the Lincoln Farm Association, the first speaker at the ceremonies, paid Mr. Lincoln's memory this glowing tribute:—



ABRAHAM LINCOLN

"This country has produced many men whose names have emblazoned the pages of history, but no name is dearer than that of the simple and sublime Lincoln, who literally sprang from this soil to become the mightiest of the mighty. His birthplace was as lowly as that of the Man of Galilee, whom he resembled so much in the sorrows he knew, the burdens he bore, and the love of humanity he manifested. This crude cabin, preserved in this magnificent marble mausoleum, is consecrated by the life of the man who here came into the world. No poet's fancy, no dream of fiction, can equal the emerging from this humble hut of extreme poverty of one whose steps were destined to shake the world, and whose mission was to rededicate a united nation to the cause of freedom."

The final address was delivered by Pres. Woodrow Wilson, and was a masterpiece in English literature, in logic, in patriotism, in statesmanship, and in encomium. We can here give only a few striking paragraphs from this notable address. Standing in front of the cabin

---

"With firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right,"—the man who said this, it is generally conceded, was a fairly good American.

"Liberty, the greatest of all earthly blessings—give us that precious jewel, and you may take everything else."—Patrick Henry.

in which Abraham Lincoln was born, and facing forty thousand people, President Wilson spoke in part as follows:—

#### The Cradle of a Great Man

"No more significant memorial could have been presented to the nation than this. It ex-



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THE CABIN IN WHICH ABRAHAM LINCOLN WAS BORN, NOW SHELTERED BY THE LINCOLN MEMORIAL SHOWN ON THE NEXT PAGE

"We are not worthy to stand here, unless we be in deed and in truth real democrats and servants of mankind, ready to give our very lives for the freedom and justice and spiritual exaltation of the great nation which shelters and nurtures us."

presses so much of what is singular and noteworthy in the history of the country; it suggests so many of the things that we prize most highly in our life and in our system of government. How eloquent this little house within this shrine is of the vigor of democracy!

"Christianity, like the oak, will thrive only in open air. . . . It never was meant for a hothouse plant. It withers and dies when placed under the forcing glass and exposed to the stimulus of an artificial heat."—Hon. Thomas C. McRae, Congressional Record, April 2, 1896.

"The manifest object of the men who framed the institutions of this country was . . . to take away every possible pretense which could be made by any human being to erect himself into a tribunal for the purpose of deciding matters supposed to be at issue between his fellow creatures and their God. They thought they had succeeded in guarding the rights of conscience so that no majority could ever invade them. They gave to bigotry no possible chance for thrusting herself into civil affairs without doing so in flat rebellion to the Constitution."—Hon. Thomas C. McRae, Congressional Record, April 2, 1896.

There is nowhere in the land any home so remote, so humble, that it may not contain the power of mind and heart and conscience to which nations yield and history submits its processes. Nature pays no tribute to aristocracy, subscribes to no creed of caste, renders fealty to no monarch or master of any name or kind. Genius is no snob. It does not run after titles or seek by preference the high

even, and its own life of adventure and of training.

"Here is proof of it. This little hut was the cradle of one of the great sons of men, a man of singular, delightful, vital genius, who presently emerged upon the great stage of the nation's history; gaunt, shy, ungainly, but dominant and majestic; a natural ruler of men, himself inevitably the central figure of a great



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**THE LINCOLN MEMORIAL, HODGENVILLE, KY., INCLOSING THE HUMBLE CABIN  
IN WHICH ABRAHAM LINCOLN WAS BORN**

circles of society. It affects humble company as well as great. It pays no special tribute to universities or learned societies or conventional standards of greatness, but serenely chooses its own comrades, its own haunts, its own cradle

plot. No man can explain this, but every man can see how it demonstrates the vigor of democracy, where every door is open, in every hamlet and countryside, in city and wilderness alike, for the ruler to emerge when he will and

"The doctrine which from the very first origin of religious dissensions, has been held out by all bigots of all sects, when condensed into a few words, and stripped of rhetorical disguise, is simply this: I am in the right, you are in the wrong. When you are the stronger, you ought to tolerate me; for it is your duty to tolerate truth. But when I am the stronger, I shall persecute you; for it is my duty to persecute error."  
—Essay on "Sir James Mackintosh, by Lord Macaulay.

"It must be conceded that there are such [private] rights in every free government beyond the control of the state. A government which recognized no such rights, . . . even the most democratic depository of power, is, after all, but a despotism. It is true it is a despotism of the many, of the majority, if you choose to call it so; but it is none the less a despotism."—Supreme Court of the United States, in Blakely's "American State Papers," p. 191.

claim his leadership in the free life. Such are the authentic proofs of the validity and vitality of democracy."

#### No Royal Road to Fame

"Here Lincoln had his beginnings. Here the end and consummation of that great life seem remote and a bit incredible. And yet there was no break anywhere between begin-

coln, like the rest of us, was put through the discipline of the world—a very rough and exacting discipline for him, an indispensable discipline for every man who would know what he is about in the midst of the world's affairs; but his spirit got only its schooling there. It did not derive its character or its vision from the experiences which brought it to its full revelation. The test of every American must

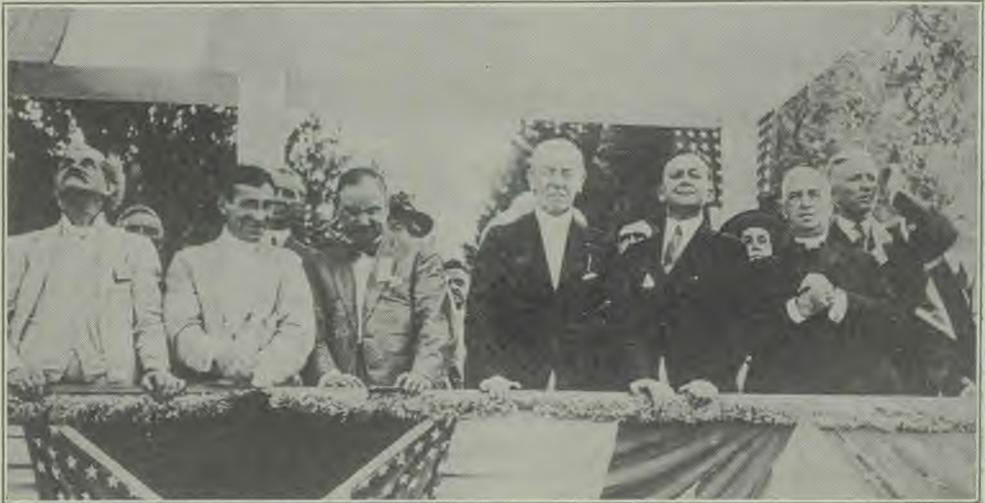


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**PRESIDENT WILSON ACCEPTS LINCOLN FARM FOR THE NATION AT HODGENVILLE, KY.  
THE SECOND MAN TO THE PRESIDENT'S LEFT IS THE CATHOLIC  
PRIEST WHO PRONOUNCED THE BENEDICTION**

ning and end, no lack of natural sequence anywhere. Nothing really incredible happened. Lincoln was unaffectedly as much at home in the White House as he was here. Do you share with me the feeling, I wonder, that he was permanently at home nowhere? It seems to me that in the case of a man—I would rather say of a spirit—like Lincoln the question where he was is of little significance, that it is always what he was that really arrests our thought and takes hold of our imagination. It is the spirit always that is sovereign. Lin-

always be, not where he is, but what he is. That, also, is of the essence of democracy and is the moral of which this place is most gravely expressive.

"We should like to think of men like Lincoln and Washington as typical Americans, but no man can be typical who is so unusual as these great men were. It was typical of American life that it should produce such men with supreme indifference as to the manner in which it produced them, and as readily here in this hut as amid the little circle of cultivated gentle-

"The idea is quite unfounded, that on entering into society we give up any natural right. . . . Our legislators are not sufficiently apprised of the rightful limits of their power; that their true office is to declare and enforce only our natural rights and duties, and to take none of them from us. No man has a natural right to commit aggression on the equal rights of another."—Thomas Jefferson, in "Work of Thomas Jefferson," Vol. VII, p. 3.

"Many writers maintain that individuals, upon entering into society, give up or surrender a portion of their natural rights. This seems to be a manifest error. . . . Upon entering into society, however, for the purpose of having their natural rights secured and protected, or properly redressed, the weak do not give up or surrender any portion of their priceless heritage in any government constituted and organized as it should be."—Alexander H. Stephens, quoted in Blakely's "American State Papers," p. 188.

men to whom Virginia owed so much in leadership and example. And Lincoln and Washington were typical Americans in the use they made of their genius."

### An Altar for Democracy

"I have come here today, not to utter a eulogy on Lincoln,—he stands in need of



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PRESIDENT WOODROW WILSON

none,—but to endeavor to interpret the meaning of this gift to the nation of the place of his birth and origin. Is not this an altar upon which we may forever keep alive the vestal fire of democracy as upon a shrine at which some of the deepest and most sacred hopes of mankind may from age to age be rekindled? For these hopes must constantly be rekindled, and only those who live can rekindle them.

The only stuff that can retain the life-giving heat is the stuff of living hearts. And the hopes of mankind cannot be kept alive by words merely, by constitutions and doctrines of right and codes of liberty. The object of democracy is to transmute these into the life and action of society, the self-denial and self-sacrifice of heroic men and women willing to make their lives an embodiment of right and service and enlightened purpose. The commands of democracy are as imperative as its privileges and opportunities are wide and generous. Its compulsion is upon us. It will be great and lift a great light for the guidance of the nations only if we are great and carry that light high for the guidance of our own feet."

\*\*\*

### Our Position Stated

LIBERTY magazine recognizes the rights of all men, and the duty of the state to protect them in the exercise of those rights. This magazine stands for the entire separation of church and state, and it therefore protests emphatically against any legislation which, under any guise whatsoever, encroaches upon the domain of conscience, and attempts to enforce, even in a remote degree, any religious observance.

It is not, however, within the province of this magazine to advocate legislation of a general character, even though it may be beneficent; and for this reason we are not urging the enactment of laws for the protection of labor against the greed of capital, although in sympathy with it when it does not interfere with the rights of conscience.

It ought to be clear to all that we do not favor requiring the laboring man to

"Let man alone about his religion; that is consecrated ground; that is a point on which the Constitution has refused to trust you with one particle of power; and wisely, too; for mortal men are not fit to be trusted with such power. They have never had it without abusing it grossly."—Hon. Thomas C. McRae, Congressional Record, April 2, 1896.

"Everywhere and at all times the spirit of persecution is the most insidious as well as the most deadly foe to public tranquillity, safety, and peace. It may steal imperceptibly over the popular heart at any moment; for its approaches are always noiseless and rapid."—Hon. Thomas C. McRae, Congressional Record, April 2, 1896.

work seven days in the week, since we urge upon all the voluntary, conscientious observance of the Sabbath, with complete cessation from secular work on that day; and we never oppose the enactment of a law securing to the laboring man one day of rest in seven, where no effort is made, either evident or implied, to compel him to rest on a particular day, thus exalting that day above other days.

All the older Sunday laws, and following their lead nearly all the more modern ones likewise, are manifestly designed primarily for the protection of Sunday as a sacred day. The chief design often appears to be not to give the people a day of rest, but to honor the day, to give the churches a monopoly of it, and to prevent "the sin of Sabbath breaking." Indeed, many Sunday laws call the first day of the week either the "sabbath" or "the Lord's day," and reveal in various other ways their religious character. And this is in perfect keeping apparently with the wish and intent of those most active in securing the enactment of such statutes.

Only a short time ago a lady well known to the writer was engaged in the circulation of temperance literature in this city. She approached a gentleman near a large church, and offered him a temperance paper. He glanced at the paper and said, "That is a seventh-day publication, is it not?" She answered that it was published by the seventh-day people, but that this number was wholly

devoted to temperance, and was strictly nonsectarian. The gentleman replied that he wanted nothing to do either with the paper or with the people who published it, for they were "the worst foes of the churches." Said he, in substance, "I am pastor of this large church. We have tried repeatedly to secure Sunday legislation for the District of Columbia, but your people have defeated every effort we have made for proper Sunday observance. The result is that we have moving picture shows, etc., *competing with our churches on Sunday.*"



EX-GOVERNOR FOLK

And that is the thought that is cropping out continually in various ways. The demand is not a holiday for *labor*, but a holy day for *religion*.

Let Sunday be put upon the same basis as a holiday, and we will enter no protest. On our holidays,—the Fourth of July, Thanksgiving Day, etc.,—business is very largely suspended. Courts and public offices are closed, stores are nearly all closed, banks do not open. The great mass of the working people have these days to themselves. But this is not enough for the Sunday-law advocates. They insist not only that "the *employee* shall be protected from the greed of the employer," but that "Sunday must be protected from desecration." Not only must public offices, courts, business houses, etc., close, but recreation must cease also. Baseball, and tennis, and golf, and boating, and fishing, private work, etc., must stop, because they are

"The man who would enforce religious truths by penalties of any kind is not only cruel and inhuman, but he is 'a fool as gross as ever ignorance made drunk.'" —Hon. Thomas C. McRae, Congressional Record, April 2, 1896.

"When the church had no sword but the sword of the Spirit, when her disciples knew nothing of persecution except what they suffered, her influence was irresistible. But on the evil day when she joined herself to political power, her 'invincible locks' were shorn away, and she was compassed round with danger and darkness."—Hon. Thomas C. McRae, Congressional Record, April 2, 1896.

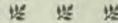
out of keeping with the character of the day, and because "it is the duty of the state to protect and to foster religion and religious institutions."

It is with this idea of giving special protection to religion and to its institutions, that we take issue. We say *special* protection, for it is the duty of the state to protect religion in the sense of guaranteeing that it shall be free from unreasonable restrictions. Its houses of worship must not be injured. Its meetings should not be interrupted; its disciples ought to be free to go and come; its ministers should enjoy free speech; its press be free to print and to circulate literature, subject only to the same rules

that govern all other cults, literary, political, or social. Its institutions, its schools, its churches, are entitled to exactly the same standing before the law as the institutions of all other societies, social, political, business, or literary. This it is the duty of the state to guarantee; but no more.

In short, what we object to is the effort that still persists to make "the state the handmaid of religion," to enforce its observances through and by means of the police power. All this is unwise, unjust, un-American, and unchristian, and against it we have protested and shall continue to protest in no uncertain tones.

C. P. B.



## Since Peru Went Free

BY N. Z. TOWN

A FEW months ago the writer spent a week at the Seventh-day Adventist mission station among the Aymara Indians near Lake Titicaca, in the interior of Peru, and had the privilege of observing the remarkable improvement that has been wrought in the nearly four hundred Indians who have left the superstition and idolatry of the Roman Church, and have accepted the gospel as taught in God's Word.

At the time of this visit Mr. and Mrs. F. A. Stahl, who have charge of the mission, and their associates were rejoicing over the recent action of the Peruvian Congress, which granted religious freedom to Peru. But in the remote portions of the republic the priests and local pro-

vincial officials, who have always had things their own way and who have waxed fat by exploiting and robbing the poor, ignorant Indians, have become very much alarmed as they see that their craft is endangered by the granting of religious liberty. How these men purpose to deal with any who may undertake to rescue the Indians from the fanaticism and superstition in which they have been held for centuries, is told by Mr. Stahl in the following letter:—

"While we were at work among the Indians in Queñuani, we heard rumors from the town near by that the priests were telling the people to kill us. Our people seemed to be quite nervous about it; but we told them that as we now had religious freedom in Peru, there was no danger of harm, much less of being

"This liberty to think and do what they please extends to all manner of wrong-headed people, so long as they do not interfere with the rights of others. The widest departure from the faith of the majority is permitted as fully as the most trifling difference of opinion."—Hon. Thomas C. McRae, Congressional Record, April 2, 1896.

"When man undertakes to become God's avenger, he becomes a demon. Driven by the frenzy of a religious zeal, he loses every gentle feeling, forgets the most sacred precepts of his creed, and becomes ferocious and unrelenting."—Report of House of Representatives on Sunday Mails, March 4, 1830.

killed. However, we did not realize the viciousness and ignorance of these priests, nor to what extremes they would go.

"One morning we noticed the arrival of two priests, accompanied by a large number of people. Many were on horseback, and some were armed with rifles and shotguns. But as there were among them lawyers, judges, and even men of authority from the near-by town, we could not believe that harm was meant us. Besides, there was a Catholic church near by, and we thought they had come to celebrate some service. We noticed Indians coming from all directions, until there were fully four hundred people gathered.

"The priests first took the people to the church, where they talked to them for two hours, and then led them to within one block of the house where we were staying. Here they talked again, and we afterward learned that they were inciting the people to kill us, telling them it would be an honor, and that nothing would be done to punish them. After about an hour they burned a *fugate* [a sort of skyrocket], which is a signal in these savage regions for attack at a bullfight or anything of that sort; and what was our surprise to see that howling mob being led by the lieutenant governor, the authority that should have protected us. He was mounted on a large horse, and was calling to the people to surround our house. We thought even then that they were only trying to scare us. But on they came, gathering large stones as they approached.

"The first thing they did was to cut loose our five horses and pelt them with stones, so that they ran, frightened, down a ten-foot bank and galloped wildly off over the plain. I tried to stop the horses, but was attacked by the people, who struck me with stones, one stone wounding me severely on the head. I

almost fell, but Mrs. Stahl pulled me into the hut and closed the door, and none too soon, for hundreds of frantic Indians had filled the yard, armed with stones and clubs. They started to beat in the door, but we piled our baggage in front, as there was no way to lock it. In a moment, however, the door was smashed through, and the Indians forced their way in. At that moment I drew a revolver which I always carry because of the wild mountain dogs, and fired three shots into the air.

"This frightened the Indians so much that



GROUP OF INDIANS NEAR LAKE TITICACA, SOUTH AMERICA.

Pastor F. A. Stahl, Seventh-day Adventist missionary, at the right.

they withdrew to where the priests were; but the priests advised them to attack us again, and on they came, carrying burning straw in their hands with which to set fire to our roof, yelling that we would be compelled to leave our refuge, and that they had rifles to shoot us. Above the yelling of the Indians we could hear the laughing of the priests and others.

"The Indians with the burning straw climbed upon some piles of stones to light the roof, but as they were about to accomplish their purpose, the Indian woman who owned the house snatched the burning straw from their hands, and in a moment others

"Christianity was never intended to be enforced by law, but only in foro conscientiae; and all attempts at compulsion are now, and always were, diametrically opposed to the teachings of the Author of Christianity. Religious legislation is the heritage that has been handed down to us from pagan times; and in all these laws can be seen the pagan superstitions."—Thomas Jefferson, quoted in Blakely's "American State Papers," p. 224.

"The church which tolerates, encourages, and practices persecution, under the pretense of concern for the purity of faith, and zeal for God's glory, is not the church of Christ; and . . . no man can be of such a church without endangering his salvation."—Adam Clarke, Comments on Luke 14:23.

of our friends who had gathered rushed upon the enemy and drove them back. They retreated, yelling that they would return at night to finish us.

"The priests withdrew, telling the Indians to be sure to finish us. But as soon as it became dark, an Indian sister who had been baptized a few days before, came bringing our horses. She had followed them for six miles, running in the strength that the Lord

assault as already related in Mr. Stahl's letter, the article says:—

"Such are the barbarous acts which, to the shame of the province of Chucuito and of the republic, have been committed by those who call themselves representatives of Jesus Christ, the apostle and martyr of the human race. There is doubtless no one, however strong a Roman Catholic he may be, who will not lament and condemn these brutal assaults which have been committed after the celebration of a mass in which the justice of the peace, the lieutenant governor, and other notables implored the Almighty to help them to rob, kill, and burn the 'devils' in human form; and this down here in the twentieth century and in broad daylight! Now we should like to know what sentiments, what ideals, what passions, what motives, or what commandments they have fulfilled in this assault. . . .

"The Indians cannot have even a presentiment that their religious sentiments— if such gross fanaticism in which the clergy has kept them during all these centuries can be called reli-

gion—may suffer harm or receive benefit by the work of a pair of inoffensive gringos, who, out of the kindness of their hearts, teach them to read, cure their ailments, provide them remedies gratis, prohibit the vicious fandangos in their feasts, as well as the use of alcohol, coca, etc. . . .

"Such acts do not reflect the passions of the people, because, as susceptible as they are of becoming exasperated when their pride is wounded, they are not capable of assuming intemperate and criminal attitudes in defense of or against questions whose importance the majority do not understand, and the others who do understand already have clear ideas in regard to the benefits that are reported from



J. W. WESTPHAL, PRESIDENT OF INCA UNION MISSION, LIMA, PERU, TOGETHER WITH MEMBERS OF HIS COMMITTEE AND SOME MEMBERS OF THEIR FAMILIES

gave her, as she herself said. We quickly saddled our horses, mounted, and under cover of a fierce storm escaped."

The following article, which we translate from *El Siglo*, a political paper published in Puño, Peru, by Roman Catholics, is a striking comment on this barbarous assault, and shows that some of the Roman Catholics appreciate the efforts that are being made by the Protestant missionaries to educate the downtrodden descendants of the once proud Incas. After giving a detailed account of the

"Our Constitution recognizes no other power than that of persuasion, for enforcing religious observances. Let the professors of Christianity recommend their religion by deeds of benevolence, by Christian meekness, by lives of temperance and holiness."—U. S. Senate Report on Sunday Mails, Jan. 19, 1829.

"It is idle folly to let loose the war dogs of religious bigotry, hiss them on their victims, and then expect them to be content with barking. It is their nature to tear the flesh and mangle the limbs and lap the lifeblood, and if you desire them not to do so, keep them chained up."—Hon. Thomas C. McRae, Congressional Record, April 2, 1896.

the evangelical mission and the humanitarian work that is being carried on by the Protestant missionaries. The motives that those had who attacked the missionaries are easily explained. They have thought to terrorize the missionaries by means of an infamous mob, ignoring the high ideals of their adversaries, their great moral worth, their keen discernment, and their inflexible perseverance in their undertakings.

"Do those who have made this scandalous assault take into account the consequences that might have come by exciting a crazy, uncontrollable, drunken mob to attack these defenseless people? or do they simply consider that they feared the power of these 'devils'? . . . It is a miracle that today we are not having to lament tragic consequences.

"For more than three hundred years the priests have kept the Indians in the most inhuman and deplorable condition, profiting by the Indians' hard toil, worse than parasites.

"And let not these gentlemen say that the government is responsible for such a situation. The reins of government have always been managed Jesuitically by these men, who have not taken the pains to establish even one school or to teach the flock as they should

have done. They are therefore responsible for the present situation. They have sold these lambs, and, like Judas, they should pay for their sins and their crimes. The waking up of the Indian race, which these men have always kept in subjection for their own profit, is disturbing them very much. . . .

"The majority of the priests, with their frequent scandals, interfering in ways punishable by law in the affairs of civil and political life, have already made themselves intolerable. Let us put a stop to their abuses, demanding penal action and the respect that the laws, good order, and culture demand. If the clericals transgress as petty thieves or as robbers or assassins, let them learn lessons of morality behind prison bars, seeing that they preach iniquity from their altars.

"If the evangelists show themselves irreverent or disrespectful, and if they corrupt the Indians, let us accuse them without mercy before the established authorities. The law shelters, demands obedience from, and protects everybody alike.

[Signed] "SOME CATHOLICS WHO HAVE ALWAYS REPUDIATED THE ATTITUDE OF THE PRIESTS.

"June 18, 1916."

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## Religious Liberty, Free Speech, a Free Press, and No Public Money for Sectarian Institutions in the Philippines

BY THE EDITOR

THE conference report of the United States Senate on Bill S. 381, known as the Philippine Government Measure, declares the purpose of the United States as to the future political status of the people of the Philippine Islands, and makes provision for a more autonomous form of government, in which the following guaranties of civil and religious freedom shall be maintained:—

"That no law shall be enacted in said islands which shall deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, or deny to any person therein the equal protection of the laws. Private property shall not be taken for public use without just compensation. . . .

"That no law shall be passed abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and petition the government for redress of grievances.

"What other nations call religious toleration, we call religious rights. They are not exercised in virtue of governmental indulgence, but as rights, of which government cannot deprive any portion of citizens, however small. Despotism power may invade those rights, but justice still confirms them."—U. S. Senate Report, Jan. 19, 1829.

"We may safely affirm (though contradicted by all the judges and writers on earth) that Christianity neither is nor ever was a part of the common law."—Appendix to "Reports of Cases Determined in the General Court of Virginia, from 1768 to 1772, by Thomas Jefferson."

"That no law shall be made respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, and that the free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship, without discrimination or preference, shall forever be allowed; and no religious test shall be required for the exercise of civil or political rights. No public money or property shall ever be appropriated, applied, donated, or used, directly or indirectly, for the use, benefit, or support of any sect, church, denomination, sectarian institution, or system of religion, or for the use, benefit, or support of any priest, preacher, minister, or other religious teacher or dignitary as such. Contracting of polygamous or plural marriages hereafter is prohibited. That no law shall be construed to permit polygamous or plural marriages."—*Congressional Record, Aug. 14, 1916.*

This report, which provides a better plan of government for the Philippine Islands, reminds us of another Congressional report, which gives the reasons why the Philippine people revolted against their former system of government. The report of "The Taft Philippine Commission," transmitted to Congress by a message from the President of the United States, Jan. 25, 1901, sets forth the reasons for the general uprising against Spain, and the Catholic hierarchy, which was then in authority in the Philippines and practically administered the government, as follows:—

"The truth is that the whole government of Spain in these islands rested on the friars. . . . The tenure of office of the friar curate was permanent. . . . The same was true of

the archbishop and the bishops. . . . The friars, priests, and bishops, therefore, constituted a solid, powerful, permanent, well-organized political force in the islands, which dominated policies. . . .

"The friars were exempt from trials for offenses, except the most heinous, in the ordinary civil courts of the islands under the Spanish rule, and were entitled to a hearing before an ecclesiastical court, and even in the excepted cases trials must first be had in the latter tribunal.

"It has been frequently charged that there



PAPAL CRUSADE AGAINST THE WALDENSES, 1400. A CHARACTERISTIC METHOD OF PROPAGATING THE "GOSPEL" IN THE MIDDLE AGES

was much immorality among the friars, and that to this is due the popular hostility against them. The friar witnesses denied the charges of general immorality, admitting only isolated cases, which they said were promptly disciplined. The evidence on this point to the contrary, however, is so strong that it seems clearly to establish that there were enough instances in each province to give considerable ground for the general report. It is not strange that it should have been so. . . .

"The common people are not generally licentious or unchaste, but the living together of a man and woman without the marriage ceremony is not infrequent and is not condemned. It did not shock the common people

"You begin by reviling your erring brethren; you will end by taking their lives; for you are on a path where there is no hiding place."—Roger Williams, pleading the cause of his persecuted brethren before the court of Boston.

or arouse their indignation to see their curate establish illicit relations with a woman and have children by her. The woman generally did not lose caste on that account, but often prided herself on the relation to the chief authority in the village, and on the paternity of her children, who were apt to be better-looking, brighter, and more successful than the pure Filipino children. Of course there may have been instances in which a friar used his autocratic power to establish a relation of



#### CRAWLING OVER THE COURSE

Flagellation in the Philippine Islands. This form of self-torture as satisfaction for sin is still practiced under the supervision and control of the Roman Catholic ecclesiastical authorities. (See the Catholic Encyclopedia, Vol. VI, p. 92.)

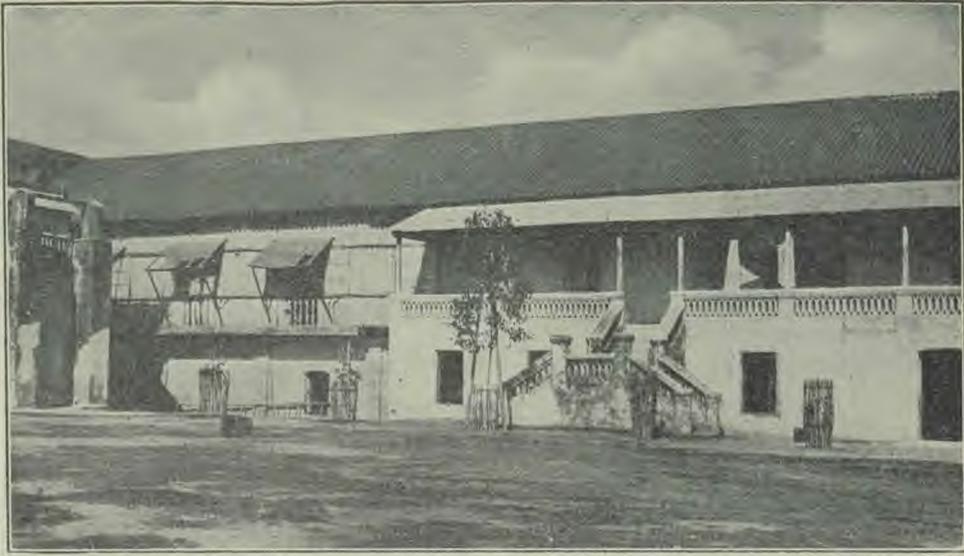
this kind against the will of the woman and her relatives. . . . But it is conceded by the most intelligent and observant of the witnesses against the friars that their immorality, as such, would not have made them hateful to the people. On the contrary, the Filipino priests who have taken their places are shown to be fully as immoral as the friars, but the people do not feel any ill will against them on this account.

"We must look elsewhere, therefore, for the chief ground of the deep feeling cherished against the friars by the Filipino people. It is to be found in the fact that to the Filipino the government in these islands under Spain was the government of the friars. Every abuse of the many which finally led to the two revolutions of 1896 and 1898 was charged by the people to the friars. Whether they were in fact to blame is perhaps aside from our purpose, but it cannot admit of contradiction that the autocratic power which each

friar curate exercised over the people and civil officials of his parish, gave them a most plausible ground for belief that nothing of injustice, of cruelty, of oppression, of narrowing restraint of liberty, was imposed on them for which the friar was not entirely responsible. His sacerdotal functions were not in their eyes the important ones, except as they enabled him to clinch and make more complete his civil and political control. The revolutions against Spain's sovereignty began as movements against the friars. . . . All the evidence derived from every source, but the friars themselves, shows clearly that the feeling of hatred for the friars is well-nigh universal and permeates all classes. . . .

"Those who are charged with the duty of pacifying these islands may, therefore, properly have the liveliest concern in a matter which, though on its surface only ecclesiastical, is, in the most important phase of it, political and fraught with the most critical consequences to the peace and good order of the country in which it is their duty to set up civil government. We are convinced that a return of the friars to their parishes will lead to lawless violence and murder, and that the people will charge the course taken to the American government, thus turning against it the resentment felt toward the friars. It is to be remembered that the Filipinos who are in sympathy with the American cause in these islands are as bitterly opposed to the friars as the most irreconcilable insurgents, and they look with the greatest anxiety to the course to be taken in the matter. It is suggested that the friars, if they returned, would uphold American sovereignty and be efficient instruments in securing peace and good order, whereas the native priests who now fill the parishes are many of them active insurgent agents, or in strong sympathy with the cause. It is probably true that a considerable number of the Filipino priests are hostile to American sovereignty largely because they fear that the Catholic Church will deem it necessary on the restoration of complete peace to bring back the friars or to elevate the moral tone of the priesthood by introducing priests from America or elsewhere. But it is certain that the enmity among the people against the American government caused by the return of the friars would far outweigh the advantage of efforts to secure and preserve the allegiance of the people to American sovereignty which might be made by priests who are still subjects of a monarchy with which the American government has been lately at war, and who have not the slightest sympathy with the political principles of civil liberty which the American government represents."—*Reports of the Taft Philippine Commission*, pp. 26-31.

This Congressional report, which sets



VIEW OF THE COURTYARD OF THE SEMINARY OF THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION, VIGAN, PHILIPPINE ISLANDS, WHERE IN JANUARY, 1914, SOMETHING LIKE TWENTY-FIVE HUNDRED AMERICAN BIBLE SOCIETY BIBLES, IN THE LANGUAGE OF THE COMMON PEOPLE, WERE PUBLICLY BURNED BY THE PRIESTS OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

forth the cause of the revolutions in the Philippines, places the blame upon the Catholic hierarchy because of their exploitation of the people through political intrigues. And yet the *Western Watchman* (Catholic) vilifies Protestantism in the following scathing language:—

"The unchurched and unsexed millions who disgrace every civilized land are the waifs of the Reformation. The disrupted homes, morgues of plighted love, are the handiwork of the Reformation. The debauchery in high and low life in every land where Protestantism holds sway attests the general loosening of bonds of morality caused by the Reformation. Protestantism has become the synonym of unbridled lust, domestic infidelity, and irreligion throughout the world. . . .

"Protestantism is par excellence the religion of dirt. When it disappears, there will be a monster Augean stable to clean out; and the nations will feel relieved of a plague that threatened to last forever. The world is vile and sinful; but filthy as it is, it is far too pure for Protestantism!"—*Western Watchman*, Sept. 26, 1912.

Such language sounds strange in view of a bill which was introduced into the present session of Congress by a Roman Catholic Congressman from Boston, asking Congress to empower the Postmaster-

General to exclude from the mails all publications which "attack a recognized religion held by citizens of the United States, or any religious order to which citizens of the United States belong."

Judging from the quotation from the *Western Watchman*, the Catholic Church does not regard Protestantism as having any status at all as a religion, for Catholics claim the right to attack Protestantism, but Protestants are to be deprived of the right to criticize Catholicism. We are wondering what Catholicism proposes to do with Protestants when its object "to make America dominantly Catholic" is realized. Will Catholics do for America what they did for the Philippines, as set forth in the Congressional report?

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GEORGIA has now an inspection law, which makes it the duty of the grand jury to inspect convents, orphan asylums, private schools, etc., and to give each inmate opportunity to state whether he or she is held under duress or not. The Roman Catholics are much opposed to inspection laws; but why?

# Sunday Blue Law and Repeal Bill of Oregon

BY H. W. COTTRELL

THE Oregon Sunday law was established in the year 1854, during Western territorial days, and enacted by State authority Oct. 19, 1864. It not only determined specific kinds of business that must remain closed on Sunday, but decreed that no person should "do any secular business or labor other than works of necessity or mercy." This clause was omitted from the amended law adopted Dec. 18, 1865, which is now upon the statute books unchanged, with the exception that the word "theaters" has been substituted for "barber shops" in the businesses permitted to remain open on Sunday. The following-named places of business and pleasure are prohibited from opening: "Any store, shop, grocery, bowling alley, billiard-room, or tippling house, for the purpose of labor or traffic, or any place of amusement." The law exempts from its provisions "theaters, the keepers of drug stores, doctor shops, undertakers, livery-stable keepers, butchers, and bakers."

The legislature exempts through sheer omission from the scope of the statute, flour mills, sawmills, logging camps, railroad construction camps, mines, fisheries, smelting mills, and other industries that together provide employment for the major part of the working population.

Since 1865 this unjust and discriminatory statute slumbered for the most part in the sepulcher of oblivion until, a few months ago, some unscrupulous persons associated themselves together, vowing to spy out and invade the personal, inherent liberties enjoyed on Sunday by independent grocers of Portland, and other cities in the State. As the result of this espionage, several grocers were arrested and dragged before the civil

courts because their course of conduct on that day did not meet the approval of their narrow-minded enemies.

The numerous exemptions in the law are unanswerable proof of its injustice. If, according to the present statute, it is lawful to sell a loaf of bread in a bakery on Sunday, such law is unjust and should be repealed if it makes the seller a criminal should he sell a similar loaf on that day from a grocery. But such is the inconsistency of religious laws.

Since it is lawful to sell groceries on Monday, if such sale is forbidden on Sunday it must be clear to all that the law is in the interest of the claimed religious-sabbatic character of the day. Such legislation is therefore un-American and unconstitutional, and should be relegated to the dim vista of the Dark Ages, where such legislation flourished most; for now we read:—

"Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion ["civic," Christian, or pagan], or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."—*First Amendment to the Federal Constitution.*

In justification of Sunday laws, it is asserted that "uninterrupted labor" brings ethical debasement. But there is no law of our physical being that requires a definite day of the week for rest. Rest should be taken rather when needed. The physically strong man of twenty-five does not require the same amount of rest as the delicate woman of sixty.

All the moral good derived from rest on Sunday, or Sabbath, or on any other definite day of the week, more than on other days, is because of the religious character of the day. To receive such benefit from rest on any day, that day must be observed from personal choice

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"The question of Sunday observance is something with which no government, no state, no city, no town, should meddle. . . . Its enforcement at the muzzle of a national, a state, or a municipal law, is as obnoxious and uncalled for as the enforcement of church attendance or family prayers, by the same means."—*The Colorado Graphic.*

"The act in question [the Sunday law of California] is in conflict with the first section of article first of the Constitution, because, without necessity, it infringes upon the liberty of the citizen, by restraining his right to acquire property, . . . and is, in effect, a discrimination in favor of one religious profession, and gives it a preference over all others. It follows that the prisoner was improperly convicted, and it is ordered that he be discharged from custody."—Supreme Court of California, ex parte Newman.

and from conscientious motives, concerning which motives the state knows nothing, and can exact nothing.

On the Western coast the chief promoter of enforced Sunday rest, Rev. G. L. Tufts, and the one apparently most interested in the prosecution of the arrested grocers, said in the preface to his proposed bill for one day of rest in seven, "The proposed law makes no religious requirements;" and yet it requires compulsory Sunday rest.

In speaking otherwise than through the secular papers, Mr. Tufts does not express himself so conservatively. Witness the following:—

"There is a growing sentiment in favor of a strong Sunday-closing law. . . . But there is little public conscience as to the sacred character of the day. A law of this kind should be based upon public conviction that Sunday is a divine institution. . . . In many localities I find that Sunday business and Sunday sports are gradually disintegrating the Sabbath. It will require more than a civil law to save the day. The church and the state must each do its part. It required many years of educational work to prepare the public mind for prohibition. And so it will be on the Sabbath question before we attain to State-wide prohibition of Sunday business and Sunday amusements."—*Rev. G. L. Tufts, in Pacific Christian Advocate, July 5, 1916.*

In this utterance Mr. Tufts unveils himself, and declares in the interest of the salvation of the "day" (Sunday) as a "divine institution," and not, as he has previously contended, as a civic rest for tired toilers. He also declares for State-wide prohibition of Sunday amusements as well as Sunday business.

Let him who would vote in favor of

retaining the Sunday blue law because it contains an exemption for his cult, or his sect of religionists, or his class of business men, or for those who take pleasure in Sunday amusements, such as golf, tennis, baseball, and theatergoing, be forewarned that the State that assumes the power to legislate on questions of conscience, and to grant an exemption to any class of its citizens, retains the assumed right to repeal such exemption at will; and will repeal it sooner or later. Then what?

Hear Mr. Tufts again, as quoted in the *Oregonian*, July 4, 1916:—

"We expect to snow his [Kellaher's repeal] measure under. . . . Then we will ask the next legislature to amend the existing law so as to make it an up-to-date, effective statute, free from any unjust discriminations." "And so will it be on the Sabbath question before we attain to State-wide prohibition of Sunday business and Sunday amusements."—*Pacific Christian Advocate, July 5, 1916.*

Their intent is that Sunday must be regarded, at least outwardly, by all people as a religious day; and not as they would have us believe, that the laboring men may have Sunday as a day of physical rest, relaxation, and pleasure.

It is said, "The minority must submit to majority rule." Yes, but on civic questions only. One's conscience and religion he owes to God, not to majorities. The Sabbath is religious, and must be rendered to God only. The majority of the people of every nation observe no day. If majorities must rule in religion, then a law should be made that the minority, do as they do—observe no day.

"The fact that the Christian voluntarily keeps holy the first day of the week, does not authorize the legislature to make that observance compulsory. The legislature cannot compel the citizen to do that which the Constitution leaves him free to do or omit, at his election."—Supreme Court of California, April term of 1858.

"I turn to that first-day Sabbatarian, and ask him how he dares to dictate to me to keep the day which he regards as holy, and to say, 'If you do not obey me, I will put my hands into your pocket, and take out as much as I please in the shape of a fine; or if I find nothing there, I will put you in prison; or if you resist enough to require it, I will shoot you dead.' How dare he do this? If he is not a ruffian, is he a Christian?"—William Lloyd Garrison, quoted in Blakely's "American State Papers," p. 336.

But no religionist, either reader or writer, would stand for that sort of oppressive law; nor should we any more favor a similar statute, such as we now have in the existing Sunday blue law.

Sunday closing has nothing whatsoever to do with civilization or ethics, but is strictly a religious matter, and every one should be made aware of it, lest he be ensnared by the sophistry. To illustrate: The man who mows his lawn, buys or

sells a Sunday newspaper, opens his grocery and sells a loaf of bread, hoes in his garden, or takes pleasure in a game of baseball on Sunday, is just as moral and civilized as he would be were he forced by State police power to go to church on Sunday and listen to a sermon. Is he not?

Sinners cannot be Christianized by the enforcement of a Sunday blue law. Vote to repeal it.

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## How a Sunday Law Displaces the Divine Law

BY W. F. MARTIN

"THE seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God: in it thou shalt not do any work, thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, thy manservant, nor thy maid-servant, nor thy cattle, nor thy stranger that is within thy gates: for in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is, and rested the seventh day: wherefore the Lord blessed the Sabbath day, and hallowed it."

These words constitute the one divine Sabbath commandment above all others to the human race. They not only authorize respect to a holy day, but command its observance. There can be no question that this commandment enjoins the observance of the seventh day of the week, that day which most nearly coincides with the day now commonly known as Saturday. It rests on no human basis,

but was given by the Creator, the God who made heaven and earth in six days.

This commandment, which enjoins the observance of the seventh day, permits labor on the other six. No human government has any right to preclude worship on this seventh day, neither has it a right to prohibit labor on the other six days. A law prohibiting labor on any of the six working days, would be as much an infringement on the duty and privileges of observing this fourth commandment as would be a law commanding labor on the seventh day; and would be a displacement of the Sabbath law as well as a usurpation of the prerogatives of God, who gave the law.

The seventh-day Sabbath is a sign of the true God. Ex. 31: 16, 17. "Wherefore the children of Israel shall keep the Sabbath, to observe the Sabbath through-

"Common law, as adopted in this State, does not prohibit the citizen from pursuing his ordinary labor on Sunday. . . . A contract which contemplates labor on Sunday, not intending to disturb the peace and good order of society, and not constituting a violation of the criminal code, is valid and enforceable."—Volume 102, Illinois App., Rep. 120.

"Several acts of the Virginia Assembly, of 1659, 1662, and 1693, had made it penal in parents to refuse to have their children baptized."—Thomas Jefferson, in "Notes on Virginia" (1788), p. 167. But why should not the state compel all people to observe the Lord's baptism if it is proper legislation to compel all to observe the Lord's day? Both are religious and not civil institutions.

out their generations, for a perpetual covenant. It is a sign between me and the children of Israel forever: for in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, and on the seventh day he rested, and was refreshed."

The true God is the Creator; in fact, this is the one thing above all others that distinguishes him from all false gods. According to the prophet Jeremiah, "the Lord is the true God, he is the living God. . . . The gods that have not made the heavens and the earth, even they shall perish. . . . He hath established the world by his wisdom, and hath stretched out the heavens by his discretion." Jer. 10: 10-12.

Nowhere in the Bible is there any divine command for the sacred observance of Sunday, the first day of the week. Any law regulating the observance of Sunday, therefore, must be of purely human origin. Not only this, but in effect it changes the divine law, which, as before stated, commands the observance of the seventh day. The fourth commandment permits labor on the other six days. Six days of labor are to precede the seventh day of rest. Human laws compelling the observance of a day other than the one enjoined in the commandment, make this impossible. The ordinary workingman needs six days in which to labor for the support of his family. A man-made Sunday law prohibits this, and so tempts him to break the fourth commandment.

Then again, a man-made law is necessarily of a lower standard than God's law, and therefore displaces the commandment of divine origin and puts one of earthly origin in its stead.

Where no civil law exists, those who feel that they ought to observe Sunday in obedience to the fourth commandment, keep that day as they suppose the com-

mandment requires; but when there is a State law or a city ordinance upon the subject, very many are fully satisfied when they have complied with the man-made law, and give little or no thought to the divine law of rest. Thus not only is the first day substituted for the seventh, but a much lower standard of Sabbath keeping is substituted for the divine standard.

Substitutes for a divine institution are always dangerous. They lower man's ideas. This may not appear on the surface, but it is true nevertheless. Nadab and Abihu could see no difference between strange and sacred fire, and this failure on their part cost them their lives. Viewed from a physical standpoint, man is free to obey or disobey the law of God, but not from a moral standpoint, and of course, he must meet the consequences of disobedience if he chooses that way. A law compelling people to observe even the true Sabbath would be wrong. God has not commissioned man to compel his fellow men to obey even a divine precept. Forced obedience to God's law will not change hearts, and therefore from a religious standpoint will not avail, nor stand the test of the judgment. "We shall all stand before the judgment seat of Christ." "Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind."

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THE Jew [and the same is true of all Sabbatarians] who is forced to respect the first day of the week, when his conscience requires of him the observance of the seventh also, may plausibly urge that the law discriminates against his religion, and by forcing him to keep a second sabbath in each week, unjustly, though by indirection, punishes him for his belief.—Cooley's "Constitutional Limitations," p. 476.

# Rome's Opportunity for Vindication

BY THE MANAGING EDITOR

IN the House of Representatives, July 13, 1916, Mr. Lindbergh introduced the following joint resolution, which was referred to the Committee on Rules and ordered to be printed:—

## "Joint Resolution

*"Authorizing a joint committee to investigate certain representations relative to Roman Catholic organizations*

"WHEREAS, There are many economic problems that require the action of Congress and the concerted action of all the patriotic people with Congress for their solution favorable to the public which, to the great loss of the people, have remained in a state of uncertainty because of disputes among the people upon other matters; and—

"WHEREAS, One of the most important of the collateral matters that diverts the people from sufficiently considering the economic needs is the claim of the Free Press Defense League, a Kansas organization, with affiliations in all parts of the country, involving a large following; and—

"WHEREAS, The Free Press Defense League and similar organizations and their following represent that—

"1. The Pope of Rome is a foreign sovereign, claiming allegiance in temporal as well as spiritual matters throughout the world.

"2. The papal system, of which the Pope is the head, is opposed to and seeks to destroy our free institutions, to wit:—

"a. Our public schools.

"b. The free press.

"c. The right of free speech and public assembly.

"d. The right of freedom of thought in matters of conscience.

"e. The principle of separation of church and state.

"3. The papal system of America, which consists of Roman Catholics, cardinals, bishops, priests, Jesuits, Knights of Columbus, Federation of Catholic Societies, and other Catholic societies, together with the Roman Catholic press, seeks to substitute for our democratic system of government the monarchical or papal system.

"4. The Roman Catholic laity in the United States of America are taught, influenced, and commanded, by some of those in authority, to yield implicit obedience to the teaching of the popes of Rome and to blindly obey their orders and decrees, even though said orders and decrees conflict with the Constitution of the United States of America.

"5. The Roman Catholic organization of America is perniciously active in politics, and although having but few voters, as compared with the whole body of electors, it manages by threats, intimidations, blackmail, and by coercion of the press, to secure an undue proportion of the elective, and especially the appointive, offices throughout the country; and these offices, when filled with Roman Catholics, are used to further the plan of making America dominantly Catholic.

"6. In carrying out the conspiracy to bring the United States of America under the complete domination of the Pope of Rome, the Roman Catholic hierarchy, aided by the Roman Catholic politicians and the Roman Catholic press, has inspired a portion of the Roman Catholic laity to resort to threats, to intimidation, to boycott, to assault, and to riot.

"7. The Roman Catholic hierarchy is now and has been for more than a year last past, actively engaged within the territory of the United States of America in fomenting and inciting revolution in the Republic of Mexico and attempting to bring about a state of war between the Republic of Mexico and the United States; and—

"WHEREAS, The said claims on the part of the said so-called Free Press Defense League and similar organizations have been and now are being broadcasted over the country, and both sides to the controversy are causing to be sent to members of Congress great numbers of allegations and assertions and counterallegations and denials upon the said various claims, which controversy injures the interests of both Catholics and Protestants; and—

"WHEREAS, The said controversy fomented troubles and interferes with the unprejudiced action of millions of electors in the United States, and thereby interferes with a natural, consistent, and impartial administration of government in the interests of all the people; and—

"WHEREAS, A true and impartial investigation and a report thereon by a properly constituted public committee would take these controversies out of politics and stop the attempts to improperly influence the acts of public officials; now, therefore be it—

*"Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That a joint committee of the Senate and House be appointed to make inquiry into the representations hereinbefore referred to.*

"SECTION 2. That the said committee shall have power to employ clerks and stenographers and to compel the attendance of persons, and the production of papers, books,

documents, and records, and to examine witnesses under oath; that said committee shall have power to sit anywhere that it may deem necessary to secure all the facts to complete its inquiry, and shall report the testimony to Congress."

Here is Rome's opportunity for vindication. Several years ago the Knights of Columbus, a secret organization composed wholly of Roman Catholics, appointed a "Committee on Religious Prejudice," and provided a fund of \$50,000 to enable it to carry on its work of ascertaining the causes of the increasing

be members. If they are true, the American people are entitled to know it, and to be furnished with an authoritative, official statement of the facts, and of the evidence by which the facts are supported. It would seem that a committee appointed by Congress would be in a much better position to learn the facts than a committee appointed by any partisan body, and that the report of such a committee would command much more widespread confidence than would be inspired by any possible report from any



CARDINALS FARLEY, GIBBONS, AND O'CONNELL, AMERICAN "INVISIBLE RULERS" AND "PRINCES OF THE BLOOD"

religious antagonism that exists in this country.

But it must be manifest to every one that such a question ought to be investigated by a committee as nearly neutral as possible as between Catholics and Protestants. It would seem that Mr. Lindbergh's resolution, if adopted, might result in an investigation of the whole matter by a committee which, if not wholly neutral, would be fairly representative of the several shades of opinion touching this question.

If the charges recited in Mr. Lindbergh's resolution are not true, Roman Catholics ought to be thankful for an opportunity to disprove them before a Congressional committee, of which some at least of their own men would certainly

religious or semireligious order or party, whether Catholic or Protestant. The American people are fair-minded, and would certainly welcome a truthful statement supported by evidence, even though it were to show them to have been in the wrong. To us it seems that all parties should welcome the proposed investigation.

The fact is somewhat ominous, however, that only five days after Mr. Lindbergh's resolution was introduced, it was impossible to secure a copy of it, even from the author of the measure, though there were eight hundred copies printed.

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THE golden rule forbids all religious legislation.

# Are Governments Ordained to Protect Religion or Man?

BY S. B. HORTON

It has been the theory of National Reformism that unless our civil government shall "protect" the Sunday sabbath from "desecration," the United States will lose its claim to being a "Christian nation," and the Christian religion in America will suffer to an immeasurable extent.

To obviate such possibility the National Reform Association, with the apparent approval of the Federal Council of the Churches, proposes that the Republic shall place "all the Christian laws, institutions, and usages of our government on an undeniable legal basis in the fundamental law of the land."

But is it the business of civil government to concern itself about religion? Is it the province of the political state to assist any denomination in its work of propagating its dogmas, even in the matter of Sabbath observance or Sunday observance? Without question, the basis of such observance is religion. Says one of the leaders of the religious state idea, "Take the religion out [of Sunday laws], and you take the rest out;" while a prominent minister of Washington, D. C., says, "Give us good Sunday laws, well enforced by men in local authority, and our churches will be full of worshippers."

The answer to the question propounded above may be found in the Holy Scriptures and in the American doctrine of civil government. Jesus Christ, when tempted by his enemies to express seditious sentiments concerning civil government, stated this principle, "Render to

Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's," thus recognizing the two spheres to which men would be expected to relate themselves in a becoming way. The principles underlying our country's institutions coincide very fully with that teaching. That divinity has thus defined the limitations of civil government, as well as asserted the authority of the divine Being, may be gathered also from Romans 13, as well as from the lessons to be learned from the history of ancient Baby-

lon, Medo-Persia, and Rome.

This Bible principle was early adopted as the American principle, the principle of separation of church and state. It is clearly set forth in Mr. Madison's celebrated memorial to the Virginia Legislature, in 1785. This memorial was presented two years before the formation of the national Constitution, at Philadelphia. In it Mr. Madison,

and many other citizens of Virginia who signed it with him, said:—

"We hold it for a fundamental and undeniable truth, 'That religion, or the duty which we owe to our Creator, and the manner of discharging it can be directed only by reason and conviction, not by force or violence.' . . . Whilst we assert for ourselves a freedom to embrace, to profess, and to observe the religion which we believe to be of divine origin, we cannot deny an equal freedom to them whose minds have not yet yielded to the evidence which has convinced us. . . . The proposed establishment is a departure from that generous policy which, offering an asylum to the persecuted and oppressed of every nation and religion, promised a luster



JAMES MADISON, THE FATHER OF THE CONSTITUTION

to our country, and an accession to the number of its citizens. . . . Instead of holding forth an asylum to the persecuted, it is itself a signal of persecution. It degrades from the equal rank of citizens all those whose opinions in religion do not bend to those of the legislative authority. Distant as it may be in its present form from the Inquisition, it differs from it only in degree."

Mr. Madison was not only a member of the convention that two years later framed our national Constitution, but such was his prominence and influence in that convention that he is known as the father of the Constitution. This fact throws a strong side light upon that instrument, making clear its meaning.

Woven subsequent to the unpleasant and tyrannical experiences of colonial religious state experiments, the fabric of our government holds it to be a fundamental truth that "before man made us citizens, great nature made us men." This self-evident truth was stated in the Magna Charta of American liberties, as follows: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed." The Constitution gives legal recognition to these principles, proclaiming to all peoples, whatever may be their religion, that America stands committed to the protection of man's rights, but not of any man's religion apart from those rights.

Benjamin Franklin, one of the founders of the nation, said, "When religion is good, it will take care of itself; when it is not able to take care of itself, and God does not see fit to take care of it, so that it has to appeal to the civil power for support, it is evidence to my mind that its cause is a bad one."

It is strangely mysterious that in the light of the Scriptures and in view of the history of the Dark Ages, leaders fail fully to comprehend the vast difference between the body politic and the body religious. In the literature of National Reformism may be found assertions to the effect that our forefathers were either atheistic or wantonly indifferent to Christianity because they felt it wise to found a government dedicated to the rights of man, leaving the matter of religion



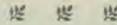
St. John's Church, Richmond, Va., where Patrick Henry made his famous speech in which occurred the words, "Give me liberty, or give me death."

entirely to the family and the church. A statement from Mr. Samuel T. Spear, in his "Religion and the State," page 153, refutes sufficiently such indictment against liberty's patriots:—

"George Washington, surely, was not an atheist. The men who framed the Constitution of the United States were not atheists. The people who placed their seal upon this instrument were not atheists. They believed in God, and large numbers of them were devout worshipers; and yet they adopted a Constitution of government from which they excluded—not by accident, but with deliberate purpose—all distinctively religious ends and ideas. No other example of atheism and hostility to God, according to the theory we have been considering, so openly enunciated and so long continued, can be found in all the annals of mankind. The logic of this theory turns this Constitution into organized atheism of the most frightful character. Think of it! Not a word about God, or about Christ, or about the plan of salvation, or about heaven or hell in any part of this instrument! Forty mil-

lions of people, millions of whom are Christians, living under such an atheistical Constitution! A civil government, and year after year conducted for now almost a century, and no religion in it! And Presbyterians, Baptists, Methodists, Congregationalists, Episcopalians, and various other religious sects parties to this enormity! The reader need feel no alarm. The enormity is the wisest, the best, the most reasonable plan for a civil government upon which the light of day ever dawned."

Let Americans see to it that their government is not turned out of its heaven-appointed course to protect any man's religion instead of protecting his inalienable right given by the Creator and guaranteed by the American idea of civil government as embodied in our fundamental law, the Constitution of the United States of America, the Magna Charta of our cherished liberties.



## A Religious Liberty Memorial to the Prohibition Party Convention

THE Prohibition party had a plank in its 1912 platform advocating a rest day in each week for the laboring man. One of its organs, in commenting upon this proposition, stated that religion could indeed ask for a day of rest. That plank was understood by some at least as an indorsement of Sunday laws.

Religion already has a day of rest. It does not need to appeal to the government for one. This bid of four years ago for support from the champions of religious legislation, and religious bodies in general, called forth a memorial from Rev. H. D. Clarke, a delegate to the Prohibition party convention recently held in St. Paul, Minn. A large part of this document follows:—

"Let me kindly call your attention to a plank that has occasionally been adopted by our conventions but which has proved detrimental to religious liberty, which we loudly proclaim as one of our tenets.

"In 1829-30 the United States Senate was asked to consider the question of Sunday legislation, especially in the matter of stopping the transportation of mails.

"The committee of the Senate replied as follows: 'The committee would hope that no portion of the citizens of our country would willingly introduce a system of religious coercion in our civic institutions; the examples of other nations should admonish us to watch carefully against its earliest indications. . . . Among all the religious persecutions with which almost every page of history is stained, no victim ever suffered but for the violation of what government denominated the law of

God. To prevent a similar train of evils in this country, the Constitution has wisely withheld from our government the power of defining divine law.'

"The committee then went on to show the great dangers arising from religious combinations to effect a political object; how all these efforts under different guises lay a foundation for dangerous innovations upon the spirit of the Constitution and upon the religious rights of citizens.

"In spite of this wise report, unwise men, in religious zeal, have succeeded at times in getting into State laws their religious tenets and men have been fined and imprisoned for working in gardens and following other similar peaceful occupations on Sunday, while trains have gone thundering by and commerce has been awlirl and mails carried all over the land. While men professing belief in the religious character of the Sunday have gone to no church, but have visited and made it a picnic day—a mere day for pleasure, the conscientious Seventh-day Baptist, Seventh-day Adventist, and Jew have been hunted and hounded, fined and imprisoned.

"The evils which this wise body of Senators warn us against is the very thing that from time to time is being urged in our political party, and it matters not what the name of the thing, it all comes from the same men trying to force upon all subjects their religious scruples and views and practices concerning a sabbath. Call it 'rest-day ordinance,' 'working man's need,' or what not, it is all the same thing in spirit and intent, to compel in our civil affairs a religious regard for Sunday.

"No workman is actually obliged to work on that day or any other day he may conscientiously regard, and at present with our eight- or ten-hour work day, it cannot be demonstrated that his physical well-being suf-

fers from even a seven-days' work. That idea has long ago been exploded. But it is conceded that all men need a day for mental and spiritual uplift and the Constitution gives that man his choice of days. If he chooses not to take it, who shall say to him, 'I will compel you'?

"The Prohibition Party needs every man and woman in the nation to make effectual its great reform, the annihilation of the rum traffic. It cannot afford to be sidetracked or made the cat's paw of religious legislative organizations or Sabbath-day associations. . . .

"If you want to say that every man is entitled to his own day of rest and his own choice of it, and shall be protected in his rights, he alone being judge as to what God may require of him, well and good. That is already demanded by the Constitution of the United States. It needs no party platform to establish that right. No party platform can help any man in his decisions as to worship or rest. For this convention to declare for the preservation and defense of the Sabbath as a civil institution, and even saying, 'Without oppressing any who religiously observe the same or any other day,' is both contrary to the principle of civil and religious liberty and an injustice even to the majority of our American citizens, as well as oppressive in its true workings when becoming a law. It is not *equal rights*. Tolerations and exemptions are *never* equal rights for any citizen. The rights of a dozen men are as sacred as of a million.

"The verdict of history is that divine authority alone can create a Sabbath rest or religious institution and that the whole question should be removed from the realm of civil legislation. All who have tried to uphold any **dogma, or rest day, or religious institution** by civil enactments have done their own cause great harm and utterly failed in their object, while oppressing good and loyal citizens who differed with them. . . .

"My friends, keep this out of our national platform. We cry out against class legislation. The very principle of this is class legislation.

"Lovingly, kindly, and conscientiously, I protest against any plank favoring rest days or sabbath days or civil holidays. In humanity's name, and in God's name, keep it out."

To all of which every true American and true patriot should give his undivided and hearty assent.

C. E. H.

## Should the State Foster Religion?

AUGUST 8, in accepting the nomination for the Presidency tendered him by the National Prohibition party, ex-Governor Hanly of Indiana was reported as saying, in part:—



HON. FRANK J. HANLY, EX-GOVERNOR OF INDIANA,  
PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE OF THE NATIONAL  
PROHIBITION PARTY

"With your declaration 'for the absolute separation of church and state with the guaranty of full religious and civil liberty' I am in complete accord. No religious organization—either the great church of which I am a member, or any other—should exercise domination over the political action of individuals or of groups of individuals.

"No disabilities should be imposed and no privileges conferred on account of his religion. The state should not only have toleration for return of the friars to their parishes will lead every religion, but should protect and foster all."

With the most of this, every right-

thinking American citizen ought to be in entire accord. But we do not see how Mr. Hanly or any one else can reconcile his closing statement with the expressed sentiment in favor of "absolute separation of church and state."

"To foster" means primarily "to feed; to nourish; to bring up; to support." Its second meaning, according to Webster, is "to cherish; to promote the growth of; to encourage; to sustain," etc.

We must confess that we do not see how government can do any of these things. It certainly cannot properly "feed," "nourish," or "support" religion; nor do we see how it can "cherish" or "promote" its growth, except to a very limited extent; namely, by affording it protection, not from criticism, but from forcible opposition.

The state protects its citizens, and in protecting them it protects their peaceable assemblies: it guarantees free speech, free press, and free assembly, alike to believer and unbeliever. But in this the

state cannot be said to be fostering either religion or irreligion; a Dr. Gordon, for instance, is free to promote faith, by both voice and pen, but an Ingersoll is equally free to enlarge upon "the mistakes of Moses," and to decry belief in divine revelation. Both cults are protected, or promoted, to this extent. And this is as it should be. Only in this way can there be absolute separation of church and state, with the "guaranty of full religious and civil liberty."

This is not intended as a criticism of Mr. Hanly; we are quite in accord with his temperance principles, and believe him to be sincere in his advocacy of prohibition; but we feel that he failed to weigh well his words upon which we have commented. In short, we believe that when the ex-governor said "foster" he really meant "protect," and that he is, as he professes to be, in "favor of absolute separation of church and state," and that without mental reservation.

C. P. B.



## The Immortal Declaration of Independence Extolled on July 4 by Hon. S. D. Fess, of Ohio

THE LIBERTY magazine has always stood in defense of the inalienable rights of the individual citizen as set forth in the Declaration of Independence. It does not indulge in Fourth of July patriotic encomiums or cheap platitudes to tickle the ears of the surging multitudes once a year, but it constantly champions the principles of human freedom when such championship is unpopular, and the multitude stand ready to hiss and jeer instead of to applaud and cheer.

We take great pleasure in giving space in our columns to a portion of an able and timely speech which was delivered on the Declaration of Independence, at Independence Hall, Philadelphia, July 4, 1916, by the Hon. S. D. Fess, of Ohio. It is taken from the *Congressional Record* of July 13, and is as follows:—

"Mr. Chairman and fellow citizens, I know

of no more impressive scene than to witness these thousands of our citizens doing honor to this day, in this place, the city of Philadelphia. Our city of brotherly love, for we all have a claim upon her, as a possession of the nation, has the unique honor of being the birthplace not only of the immortal Declaration of Independence, but also that other equally important document, the Constitution of the United States. The first was an announcement of fundamental governmental principles; the second was a performance in a practical application of those principles in the science and art of civil government. Either one would have been sufficient to immortalize any city. . . .

"I desire to commend the practice you have inaugurated. . . . The reading of the document to which we have just listened is splendid. Too many of our citizens of today would never know what is in it unless it was so read. I say it with some degree of humiliation. It is easily the greatest document of human liberty ever penned in ancient or modern history, and ought to be posted on the very doorposts of all seeking a democratic

form where the right to govern comes from the consent of the governed. . . .

"This instrument was wonderfully significant one hundred and forty years ago, when first announced. It is no less so today. It deals in fundamentals. All men are created equal. That does not mean the same height or the same weight. It does not mean equal mental ability or moral equipment or physical skill. It means equal rights under the law; equal in opportunity to make the most out of our talent of mind, of heart, and of hand. It means no discrimination as between man and man. . . .

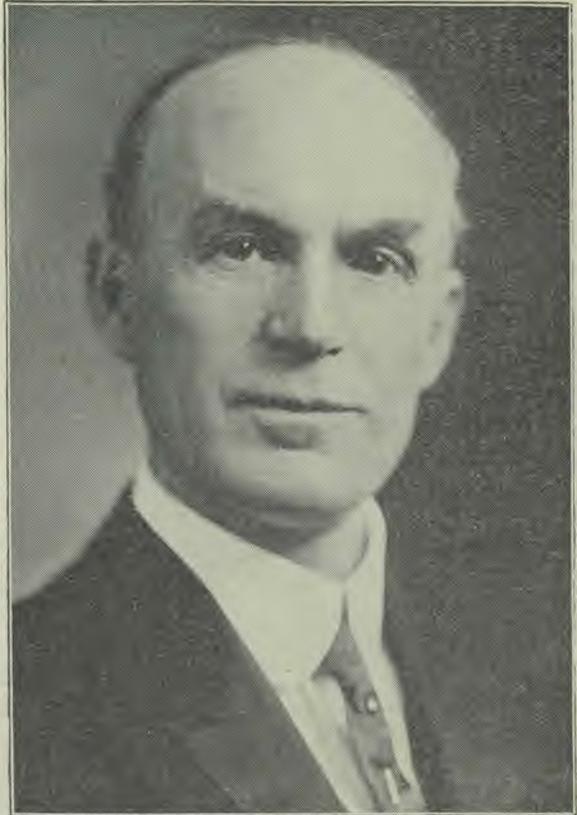
"The real spirit of this great principle is antagonistic to many demagogic tendencies in modern legislation, as all of you must have observed, where we are asked to enact laws which will declare an act, if done by one man or one corporation, is a crime, but if done by another man or another association, is exempt from such terminology.

"My friends, I am persuaded that the reading of this famous document should be required in our modern halls of legislation. Its lessons of wisdom should be conned by those of us who essay to write our laws. We must not forget that the men who insist upon laws discriminating in their favor may see the day when laws will be demanded discriminating against them. This is a blade that cuts both ways. If we ever open the gates to such dangerous dogmas that under our law we can legislate for one class as against another, the controlling dictum, which we have ever hoped to maintain, that all men are equal under the law, has passed, and no man can say what its end will be. This instrument declares the purpose of all government to secure to the people certain inalienable rights and it specifies three—*life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.* . . .

"This year of 1916 we must restate the principle. Government is a means to secure specified ends. It is instituted to secure rights, among which is life,—life in the city, life in the country, life throughout the nation, life in Mexico, life upon the high seas; in fact, life wherever that flag, the symbol of dignity, of honor, and of power, is unfurled.

"Government is instituted to secure liberty; not the liberty of the jungle that knows neither order nor society; not the liberty of the bandit whose blood-stained dagger defies all law; not the liberty of the armed submarine which refuses to discriminate between the armed war vessel and the defenseless merchant ship; nor the liberty of the haughty prize court that

recognizes no commercial rights of neutrals upon the high seas. The Declaration of Independence sharply distinguishes liberty from license. It is the liberty to pursue legitimate processes to make the largest use of one's talents. It is the liberty of opportunity in the rivalry of life's activities. It is the liberty that prevents class, that spells order, that insures the right to live the largest and fullest life.



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HON. S. D. FESS, M. C.

"Such liberty as here defined will never extend beyond the right of others. No man has the legal liberty to interfere with another's right. Such is not liberty, but quite the opposite.

"In these days of so much legislation we often hear the utterly vicious demagogic statement that the time of opportunity for the individual to pursue his legitimate happiness is gone. Individual initiative and responsibility are giving way to collective bargaining. In my mind the most serious tendency, noticeable in America, is this note of excusing the individual for failure, and fixing the blame upon the community or government, which is strikingly un-American as well as unpatriotic.

It frequently breaks out in the halls of legislation, and states the form of suggested law where attempts are made to restrict achievement of individuals, upon the basis that it is directly connected with the failure of others. If you succeed and I do not, although we have the same opportunity, it is not my fault, but yours. Such agitation creates the impression that ills of life are due to laws of legislation, or else the lack of them. Efforts are made by would-be leaders to make men succeed by law."

We are glad to note that there are influential men who agree with us that the state cannot make men either good or prosperous by legislation. If in the past this great principle had always been recognized by civil rulers and religious reformers, a union of church and state would never have been possible. If there had been no union of church and state,



INDEPENDENCE HALL

religious persecution would never have been known. A failure to discern the utter futility of reforming and regenerating men by law has been the primary cause of all the persecutions of the past. A failure to discover the true mission of the church and the proper functions of the state, as well as the distinction between divine laws and civil statutes, has been a secondary cause of the bloody persecutions carried on by the super-righteous reformers of all past ages.

In a frequent recurrence to the fundamental principles of the Declaration of Independence, and in the embodiment of those principles in the life of the nation, lies our only hope of deliverance from a repetition of the mistakes and calamities of the past.

C. S. L.



## The Anthem of Liberty Made the Symbol of Oppression

"THE Star-Spangled Banner"—the anthem of liberty—was recently made the symbol of oppression by a peculiar freak of legislation enacted by the city council of Baltimore.

The *Philadelphia Press* of July 24, 1916, published the following account under the heading, "Stand During National Anthem, or Pay Fine:"—

"Policemen in Baltimore today began distribution of copies of a municipal ordinance providing that 'musicians, performers, or other persons shall stand while playing, singing, or rendering the "Star-Spangled Banner."'

"Any person violating the provisions of the ordinance 'shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction

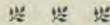
shall be fined not more than one hundred dollars.'"

Of course, it is an excellent custom for all Americans to stand whether they play or sing or hear the "Star-Spangled Banner," out of respect to the national anthem; but has the city council of Baltimore forgotten that the national anthem is the hymn of liberty instead of oppression, and that they are living in free America instead of in Russia or Turkey? By this act of compulsion in honor of the flag, they take away, most arbitrarily, the very freedom the flag represents. Why not let the American people do a few things from choice without being compelled to do them?



The American flag stands for honor, liberty, equality, and justice. All these American immunities are denied to the man who is compelled to stand when he plays or sings the national anthem. A man can have just as much adoration for the flag if he is permitted to sit at the piano while he plays the "Star-Spangled Banner" as he can if compelled to stand and play, with the threat of being fined one hundred dollars if he sits while playing. Such compulsion is not calculated

to inspire patriotism in American bosoms, or adoration for a flag that has been made the symbol of oppression. This is a land that believes in freedom of worship, freedom of adoration, freedom of thought, and freedom of speech. Let us have freedom to demonstrate that we love to do things from the heart. Education upon the principles involved and for which our national emblem stands, is the remedy to correct lack of respect for the flag, and not force. C. S. L.



## The Only State Without Religious Laws

BY WILLIAM MAYHEW HEALEY

CALIFORNIA is the only State in the Union that has no form of religious law. It remained six years without a Sunday law after it became a State. In 1855 it enacted a law prohibiting "all barbarous and noisy amusements on the Christian sabbath." In 1858 another law was enacted, entitled "An Act to provide for the better observance of the Sabbath." This law forbade keeping open any store, workshop, or business house, and the sale of all goods, on "the Christian sabbath," under penalty of fifty dollars fine, or imprisonment of one day for each two dollars of fine and costs.

In Sacramento, a clothing dealer named Newman was arrested under this act. The case was carried to the supreme court of the State, which declared the law unconstitutional, the same year it was enacted. The court held that "the enforced observance of a day held sacred by one of the sects, is a discrimination in favor of that sect, and a violation of the freedom of the others."

In 1861 another law was enacted similar to that of 1858. The personnel of the supreme court had changed, and a decision was obtained from it declaring the act constitutional. This law remained a "dead letter" for twenty years. Those who wished to do so attended church on Sunday, and observed the day according

to their individual ideas of its sacredness. Others felt free to transact business, or spend the time in amusement or common labor. There was no use for the law.

In 1880 a law was passed making it unlawful to bake bread from 6 P. M. Saturday till 6 P. M. Sunday. The supreme court held this was unconstitutional because it was "class legislation."

In 1882 a religious furor for enforcing the Sunday law swept over the State. So many arrests were made, each one demanding a jury trial, that the courts were blocked; and as the juries refused to convict, the law was inoperative except as an obnoxious disturber of the peace.

The sudden demand for enforcing a law that had been so long recognized as useless, was evidently aroused by the successful labors of the Sabbatarians, which had awakened much private and public discussion in the State, and revealed the fact that Sunday sacredness is not taught in the Holy Scriptures.

A class of religionists, unable to find Bible ground for Sunday observance, seized upon the State law as a prop to support the tottering institution. The Sunday law was made a political issue in 1882. The Republican party favored its retention, and the Democrats its repeal. The Republicans had previously

dominated the politics of the State, carrying the election of 1879 by a majority of 20,319. But the people were opposed to enforcing religion, and elected a Democratic governor by 21,050 majority. The second act of the legislature of 1883 was the repeal of the Sunday law. Since that time the legislature has repeatedly refused to enact a Sunday law, and the people rejected it in 1914 by a direct majority vote of over 161,000.

An effort was made in 1893 to obtain

threw off their disguise, disclosing the fact that they wanted the "one day" to be Sunday, and no other, and instead of granting laborers a chance to rest, they wanted every one to be compelled to rest, so far as possible.

During the twenty-three years that this law has been on the statute books of the State, many piteous wails have gone up from the Sunday-law advocates that barbers, butchers, and others are compelled, by their employers, to toil



CALIFORNIA STATE CAPITOL, SACRAMENTO

a Sunday law under the disguise of a "one day of rest in seven" for the laboring classes, declaring it to be wholly secular, with nothing religious about it. They were taken at their word, and a bill was prepared requiring all employers of labor to permit their employees to have one day of rest in seven. As this measure did not specify any particular day, nor compel any one to rest who did not choose to do so, but merely provided the opportunity for those who wished it, no opposition was made to its passage, except by the Sunday-law advocates, who

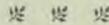
seven days in the week, and for their sakes the State should have a Sunday law. The State has for twenty-three years made provision for these classes to have a weekly rest day with no religious halo about it, so far as the State is concerned, but leaving the individual free to add it for himself if he so desires. In all these years these suffering people(?) have not applied for their right to a day of rest, granted them under this law. There is but one legitimate conclusion to draw from all this, and that is, that it is not the need of a rest

day that lies back of this agitation, but it is a desire of certain parties for some authority to compel the recognition of their theology.

For this reason Roman Catholics are making less demand for Sunday laws than the Protestants are making. The Roman theology teaches that the authority for Sunday observance rests wholly in the church. Whether or not one believes this foundation sufficient, a State Sunday law would give no added strength to this theology, as facts show it to be true. Mankind have contended for their preconceived ideas a thousand times more than for truth. This spirit has ruined homes, destroyed nations, and drenched the earth with blood. It has no place among the followers of Christ.

Those desiring to do so, observe Sun-

day in California as well as anywhere else in the world. Wilbur F. Crafts, a well-known advocate of Sunday laws, says in his book, "The Sabbath for Man," page 95, that a San Francisco pastor in answer to the question, "Where have you seen the best Sabbath observance?" replied, "Among the Christian people of California." There is Sunday labor going on in California, and so there is in States where Sunday laws exist. The blast furnaces, iron and steel works, telegraph and telephone lines, heat, light, and power plants, hotels, restaurants, newspapers, railroads, street railways, ferries, etc., are in operation in Sunday-law States as well as in California. These facts show that Sunday laws are useless, impracticable, and impossible of general application.



## Sunday Laws are Void

BY CARLYLE B. HAYNES

"Only within the confines of its own territory can a state or nation enforce its law. God has committed to men the making of laws regulating the nations of the earth, but he has never committed to men the making of laws for the kingdom of God. Such laws are void for want of jurisdiction."

BOTH the state and the church are ordained of God. The church has a divine commission to do its work of preaching the gospel, and that commission is recorded in Matt. 28: 18-20. The state is also divinely commissioned to do its work of securing and maintaining the rights of men, and punishing for the violation of those rights; and of the state in this legitimate sphere God says, "The powers that be are ordained of God." Rom. 13: 1.

The very fact that both church and state are ordained of God is sufficient evidence to prove that they should operate in different spheres, for God would not create two different institutions to perform the same work.

The church has a sphere of action all

its own, and in that sphere it has complete freedom to operate, and should not be interfered with by the state. The state also has a sphere of action all its own, and while operating in that sphere it should not be interfered with by the church. When either of these institutions goes beyond the limits of its sphere, they are bound to come into conflict with each other.

### Proper Sphere of the Church

The proper sphere of the church was defined by Christ himself at the time of the giving of the gospel commission: "Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and, lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world." The church, then, is in this world for the purpose of propagating and teaching the religion of its divine Author, and the chief end of

that religion is the salvation of the souls of men. And the church should confine itself to this work of preaching the gospel.

#### Proper Sphere of the State

The proper sphere of the state lies within the realm of justice, that realm which covers the relations of men with their fellow men. The true purpose of

and perhaps hopelessly in the minority.

The primary purpose of the state — of civil government — is made wonderfully clear in the Declaration of Independence, in the words, "That to secure these rights [life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness] governments are instituted among men."

A further purpose of the state is to protect all in the exercise of the rights



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#### AMERICAN AND MEXICAN JOINT COMMISSION

The first one on the left in the front row is John R. Mott, to whose appointment the Catholic press of the country takes exception because of his past activity in agitating for Protestant missions in Roman Catholic countries.

civil government may be seen by considering what conditions would prevail if civil government did not exist. The strong would oppress the weak. The weak would have as much right as the strong to life, liberty, property, and happiness, but, being weak, they would be unable to secure to themselves these rights. They would be deprived of their rights by the strong. Without the restraining hand of civil government anarchy would prevail.

The state, therefore, is organized to secure for all their rights. It should protect the majority in their rights; it should protect the minority in their rights; it should protect one lone man in his rights. In fact, its special purpose is to secure for the minority and the weak their rights, rights which they could not secure for themselves because of being weak

which the state has secured for them. The object of civil law is to protect life, liberty, limb, and property, and to restrain evil-doers from violating these rights. In short, civil law regulates all civil affairs for the purpose of conserving human rights, not to enforce religious duties.

And another purpose of the state is, therefore, to punish the violation of human rights, to punish incivility and crime. It is not the purpose of the state to make any one good. Its office is to restrain evil deeds, and if unable to restrain and prevent, to punish them.

The church operates in the realm of man's relation to his God; but the state in the realm of man's relation to his fellow men.

The moment a government attempts to regulate human conduct with reference

to things which do not concern the rights of others, it does just the opposite of what it was instituted to do; it invades, not protects, the rights of men.

#### Sabbath Keeping a Religious Duty

The keeping of the Sabbath is a religious duty, a duty which man owes to God, and not to his fellow men. It lies, then, in the sphere of religion, and not at all within the sphere of civil government. The keeping of the Sabbath is not a civil duty. The Sabbath is not a civil rest day. It is a divine institution coming to man directly from the hands of his Creator.

Jurisdictions are observed among the nations and states. Only within the confines of its own territory can a state or nation enforce its law. God has committed to men the making of laws regulating the nations of the earth, but he has never committed to men the making of laws for the kingdom of God. Such laws, if man should dare to make them, would be void for want of jurisdiction. In making such laws legislatures go beyond the power conferred upon them, and their laws are not binding. For men to legislate concerning the Sabbath, a religious institution, would be for the state to invade the realm of religion and conscience, in which it has no right and no authority; and such laws would be void, without jurisdiction, and binding upon no one.

The rest of the Sabbath is not a civil rest, but a spiritual rest. For a human government to legislate on the matter of a weekly rest day is to assume the power and authority which belongs solely to God.

And the state cannot rightfully compel its citizens to distinguish between

days of the week for religious worship without enacting religious legislation.

#### All Sunday Laws Void

All Sunday laws, then, are wrong, and are void for lack of jurisdiction. In enacting them the state stepped out of its rightful sphere into the sphere of religion and of one's duty to his God, in which it has no right and no authority. It assumed the power of God to regulate the relations of men to their Creator. But it has no such power, and the laws regarding religion, regarding Sunday ob-



ROGER WILLIAMS, FLEEING FROM PERSECUTION IN MASSACHUSETTS, IS RECEIVED AND SUCCORED BY THE NARRAGANSETTS

servance, which it made on this wrongful assumption, are bad laws.

And all such laws, including all Sunday laws, should be repealed, not enforced.

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THIS country owes an immense debt of gratitude to Roger Williams for the principles for which he contended and for which he suffered. His contention was that the civil magistrate had no jurisdiction over offenses against God; that civil rulers ought to concern themselves only with civil affairs, declaring and enforcing only civil rights. It was for this that Williams was banished from Massachusetts to endure the rigors of winter in the forest or in the wigwams of untutored savages.

# Preacher Against Preacher in re Sunday Observance

BY PATRICK G. BRITAIN

REV. DAVID M. STEELE is rector of the Protestant Episcopal Church of St. Luke, Philadelphia, Pa. Rev. T. T. Mutchler is general secretary of the Lord's Day Alliance of Pennsylvania. These reverend gentlemen just now are at loggerheads over the question as to what constitutes proper observance of "the Lord's day."

The Church of St. Luke is a cosmopolitan institution, about one half the members being blessed with so much of this world's goods that the struggle to make ends meet is unknown to them; the other part of the membership is conversant with the stress and strain of the battle of life.

Two summers ago St. Luke's Church opened a "farm" at Springfield, Pa., as a recreation center for the parish, and a place for holding outdoor services Sunday afternoons during the hot months. Because of repairs being made on the church, all the services this summer have been transferred to the farm, where, on Sunday, July 9, the season opened. The next day, when reading his morning paper, Dr. Mutchler obtained the alarming information that baseball and swimming were connected with the religious services at the farm. Believing the pen to be mightier than the sword, the now indignant secretary of the Lord's Day Alliance used it, and sent to Dr. Steele a letter intended to make the latter wince. The secretary included a superior court decision on the question of Sunday baseball in the State of William Penn, and made this veiled threat:—

"There may be persons visiting your encampment on next Sabbath [Sunday], and I am sure you will not allow yourself to be placed in the very embarrassing position before your young people as well as before the world, of having Section 4 of the law carried into effect."

Dr. Steele evidently is made of good metal, and instead of wincing and sur-

rendering to the Lord's Day Alliance, he fired a torpedo into the side of the old bark, Religious Intolerance. Here is his reply to Dr. Mutchler, printed in the *Philadelphia North American*, July 14, 1916:—

"MY DEAR SIR: I have your letter of July 12, receipt of which I beg to acknowledge herewith and to say that I have read it with interest and attention. I am sure you mean well; therefore I reply. I am sure that you believe you do God service—as St. Paul once said of his unchristian self—when you persecute your betters in the church of God. . . .

"Your motives are good; we would like to respect them. But your methods are abominable. Take this dawdling little letter of yours as an instance. Your information is on hearsay only; you could learn the facts, if you would take the trouble. Your assumption that I am encouraging a spirit of lawlessness or leading anybody toward anarchy is unwarranted. And your letter is illogical, to say the least. Your representation that the opinion cited, of July 21, 1915, has any bearing on the case, is a misrepresentation—and you know that it is. Your implied threat that, next Sunday, you will have carried into effect Section 4 of the law(?), a copy of which you are careful to inclose, marked, interlined, and underscored, is cowardly and detestable.

"Taking cognizance of this last, however,—of this threat, I mean,—I have today placed your letter, with its accompanying documents, in the hands of the proper officials, and shall await your action in the premises with interest. In the meantime, glancing at the printed 'law' and reading, under subhead of Section 4 ('Mode of Conviction'):—

"Then the said justices or magistrates shall commit the offender, without bail or mainprise, to the house of correction of the county wherein the offense was committed, during such time as is hereinbefore directed, there to be fed upon bread and water only, and to be kept at hard labor."

"I beg to say, in all frankness, that you, and any others of your long list of fifty vice presidents who may, by any conceivable possibility, sympathize with your indictment, are a pack of fools.

"I am not unmindful of St. Paul's injunction to 'suffer fools gladly,' but sometimes some of us are called upon to suffer more than we deserve. Do you really mean that you, the general secretary of a society whose

advertised 'resources' are 'the sympathy, prayers, and contributions of those who love the Lord's day and are willing to aid in seeing it preserved,' would carry out your threat? I assume, alas, you will. You are one of those who are too prone to mistake the law for the gospel. That is the characteristic of your cult. That is why the world disowns you. That is why the church distrusts you.

"I know well that most names on this printed letter form are but names only, as they are on all manner of similar pieces of

the 'desecration of the Lord's day;' I am trying to do the Lord's work and to both preach and practice the Christian religion. And, which is difficult in this age and in this hot city, I am trying to do this both summer and winter. I am facing problems, and you are shirking. I believe you would face them if perchance you even knew what they were. I am doing this, I thoroughly believe, both to the honor of the Lord's day and to the benefit of those whose souls have been committed to my charge. Go on. Do what you



PENNSYLVANIA STATEHOUSE, HARRISBURG

correspondence. I know well that most of the men who fear them are good, honest, earnest men. But I notice their addresses are, with few exceptions, names of towns and places far removed from city life and city problems.

#### "Out of Touch with Life

"In so far as they sympathize with this silly attempt of yours, they are out of touch with their whole generation. They are quite as far behind the times as is the law you invoke, 'commonly called the Sunday law.' And I know better still that while, like you, they possibly have no real information about this specific venture of mine in this densely crowded city, they would be at pains to learn some facts instead of writing fiction. They are not to blame for ignorance, but you, sir, are. . . .

"I never ran a place of amusement, either Sunday or week day, in all my life; I am rector of a church. I am not encouraging

threaten. I will go on, likewise, doing as I am.

Very truly yours,

"DAVID M. STEELE."

That Dr. Steele is determined to stand staunchly by his colors is unmistakably evidenced by this statement made by him in an interview with a reporter at the rectory of his church:—

"We're going to continue our policy of 'pray and play' at the farm at Springfield,—baseball included,—and it's up to Dr. Mutchler to stop us.

"I've had any amount of offers today from my kind friends, . . . saying they will go my bail should the Alliance brethren make good their veiled threats. But I don't think I'll need the assistance of those friends. You see, I studied law for a couple of years myself. . . .

"I could have had a vacation, too, just as

some of those fifty vice presidents of the Lord's Day Alliance are enjoying just now, . . . but I'd rather stay in town and help some of the poorer members of the parish enjoy real recreation on Sundays. . . .

"The policy of active enjoyment at the farm will not be changed on account of the letter written by Dr. Mutchler. We'll continue to use the tennis court, swimming pool, and baseball grounds until some one stops us.

"I have no especial desire to be incarcerated in jail or to undergo sentence at hard labor, but even that would be better, to my mind, than to go through life with a bigoted view of what constitutes real rest on Sunday."

While no doubt the rank and file of the people are on the side of Dr. Steele, the "clergy" evidently are not. Rev. McLeod M. Pearce, of the First Church of the Covenanters, at Fortieth and Sansom Streets, Philadelphia, thus decides against what is going on in the way of innocent recreation at Springfield farm:—

"I stand with Dr. Mutchler. Mr. Steele presumes that the Sabbath [Sunday] is a day of recreation. This is a wholly different conception from that of the fourth commandment, which says, 'Remember the Sabbath day, to keep it holy.' That's my position in the matter."

The learned doctor of divinity is evidently getting somewhat confused as to which day of the week is the Sabbath, when he quotes the fourth commandment to support the first day of the week as holy time.

Several of the vice presidents of the Lord's Day Alliance are on record as being in hearty accord with Mr. Mutchler in the controversy. Said the Rev. George B. Bell, one of the vice presidents of the Alliance: "I am absolutely opposed to what they are doing at Springfield. I think the language of Mr. Steele in his letter to our chairman was at once uncharitable, discourteous, and unbecoming. He'd better cool off."

Rev. W. B. Forney, another vice president, said, "I am absolutely with Dr. Mutchler in his stand."

May Dr. Steele stand by his guns, refusing to surrender to the spirit that would spy out his liberty in Christ. The manner of a man's observance of Sunday is to be decided by the man himself. God gives to him this freedom, and no man has the right to take it from him. The Lord's Day Alliance and kindred societies are busybodies in other men's matters. Let the members of these societies but absorb the fulness of the Christ spirit, and they will look back with shame-

facedness to the time when they sought to invade the rights of their fellows. Institutions that are divine need no such methods for their preservation as those employed by the Lord's Day Alliance. God is behind them, and the institution with God behind it can never be overthrown. If Sunday be of God, it is in no danger; if it be of men, the sooner it goes down, as did Dagon before the ark of God, the

better for the church and for the state and for society. If God be for the institution, who can be against it?

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JOHN PETER ZENGER is known as the "father of the freedom of the press," because in 1735 he was tried in a libel suit for publishing "false and malicious" statements against Governor Cosby of New York, who had removed from office Lewis Morris, the chief justice, for deciding against him in a suit about his salary. The acquittal of Zenger established the freedom of the press in North America, and wrought an important change in the law of libel.—*Inland Printer, August, 1916, p. 701.*



BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

"When religion is good, it will take care of itself."

## Laws That Protect the Day Rather Than the Man

WE have long held that the Sunday laws on the statute books of many States are relics of the colonial days of the union of church and state. It is encouraging to find leading papers taking the same view. Speaking editorially of the enforcement of the Sunday law on motorists with hired chauffeurs going into Virginia on pleasure, the *Washington Post* says:—

"Intimations that motorists with hired chauffeurs on pleasure bent in Virginia might be arrested by the authorities under the revised 'blue' laws apparently did not materialize. At Rosslyn, Va., across from the Aqueduct Bridge, the sheriff arrested a laborer cleaning a street car, and several laundrymen who attempted to deliver packages across the river were turned back, but, after all, the expected enforcement of the 'blue' laws was tempered with a little common sense.

"The legislative relics of the days of narrowness and prejudice should have been removed from the statute books long ago. Like many other States, however, Virginia has kept these laws intact, and there has been no pressure for their repeal, because the citizens were quite satisfied with nonenforcement.

"The time has long since passed when the taking of exercise on Sunday was considered sinful. . . .

"Interference with the delivery of the necessities of life by storekeepers is the surest way to bring about the repeal of the 'blue' laws. Where a majority of the citizens are opposed to a law, there is no reason for keeping it on the statute books. So long as the statutes remain, however, they should be enforced; but the revival of laws which have been completely forgotten is not apt to improve the temper even of religious folk."

One of the worst features of these laws is that even though they remain dead letters for years, they may be revived at any time by those who through religious antipathy desire to bring trouble upon honest, upright citizens who from religious convictions keep some other day than Sunday, and desire to do on that day honest work not interfering with other people.

But there is another feature of this matter that should not be overlooked.

The statement made by the *Post*, that "the time has long since passed when the taking of exercise on Sunday was considered sinful," implies that if the sinfulness of taking exercise on Sunday were once established, the state would have the right to prohibit it. When will intelligent men come to recognize the fact that it is not the prerogative of the state to prohibit and punish *sin*? There is absolutely nothing that any state has any right to prohibit or punish because of its sinfulness. It is no part of the duty of any civil government to define, prohibit, and punish offenses against God.

Civil governments are civil, not religious. Their duty is to declare and to guarantee human rights, not to define and enforce religious duties. If the press of the country would only recognize this principle and insist upon its universal recognition in American civil law, there would be no further trouble along the lines referred to by the *Post*.

And herein is the trouble with all Sunday laws; such statutes are designed, primarily, not to secure to men the right to proper periods of rest, but to protect and exalt a day because of its supposed sacred character.

This is shown not only by the terms employed in Sunday laws, but by the fact that where exemption is provided for observers of some day other than Sunday, it is specified that that day, whichever one it may be, shall be observed "religiously," or that the one claiming the exemption must be "a member of a religious society which observes some other day than Sunday as a day of worship, and who actually keeps his place of business or occupation closed and does not work for gain or wages upon said day of worship."

This is quoted word for word from Dr. Tufts's proposed Oregon one-day-in-seven rest law. Now, what is this but an effort to compel religious rest, if not

on Sunday, then upon some other day, and incidentally to require church membership on the part of all who for any reason wish to avail themselves of the privilege of working on the first day of the week?

The fact is, that whatever the profession of their promoters, the real purpose and intent of Sunday laws is to protect, not the *people*, but the *day*. It is the religious institution that is to be safeguarded, not the rights of the people. And this is generally understood, however much men may seek to obscure the fact.

We would be glad to see every man have a weekly day of rest. We wish that

every man might observe that day religiously, but we are not in favor of compulsory rest or of compulsory religion.

It is all well enough to provide that trainmen, operators, switchmen, etc., shall not work more than a certain number of hours without an adequate period of rest, for by so doing lives may be placed in jeopardy; but that is a very different thing from requiring men to rest upon a specific day that that definite day may be honored. This latter is exactly what we have in Sunday laws, not the protection of the *man*, but the exaltation of the *day*, and that quite too often at the expense of the liberties of the man.

C. P. B.



## National Reformers Seeking to Plow with the Chief Magistrate of the Nation

At one time in Samson's experience his enemies gained an advantage over him by unduly influencing his wife. When Samson learned that he had been betrayed, he said, "If ye had not plowed with my heifer, ye had not found out my riddle." Judges 14:18.

A modern parallel to this is suggested by the following from the last outside cover page of the *Christian Statesman* for June:—

### "Conference with President Wilson

"Dr. Henry Collin Minton, president of the National Reform Association; Dr. Findley M. Wilson and Dr. James M. S. Isenberg, chairman and secretary, respectively, of the association's Philadelphia committee; and Messrs. Joseph M. Steele and Samuel R. Boggs, vice presidents of the National Reform Association, went by appointment of the committee to interview Pres. Woodrow Wilson, May 29, 1916, and request his influence in promoting the work of the association in the interest of the Christian amendment.

"They were most cordially received by the President, who expressed himself as thoroughly cognizant of the aims and work of the National Reform Association. He feels that the Christian principles of civil government have taken a vital place in molding the best in our national life, and that they must

be given an ever larger place in the days to come.

"He believes that the fathers were heartily in favor of Christian usages and institutions in civil life, and made no recognition of God in the Constitution because, perhaps, they were not theologians enough to know how to put it in without what seemed to them the danger of union of church and state.

"Willing to help the association in its work, in any proper way, he said he would gladly take a place on our program in some future conference, and give utterance to his hearty indorsement of these principles, for whatever value such an utterance may have in promoting the cause."

If this is not an effort to make undue use of the influence of the official position of the President, then we do not know what could be such an effort. The President as an individual has a perfect right to have and practice whatever form of religion appeals to him, but we submit that he has no moral right to use his great influence as President to subvert a fundamental principle of our American Constitution.

Nor do we believe that President Wilson will do this. He is too wise a man not to know that in what the National Reformers demand is bound up a union

of church and state—that sooner or later it would mean that. And he is too just a man to use his official position for the accomplishment of a purpose utterly subversive of our free institutions.

With the Constitution so amended as to declare Jesus Christ the Ruler of this nation, and his will the fundamental law of the land, as the National Reformers demand, there would inevitably and necessarily follow an authoritative definition of the meaning of the term “Ruler of the nation,” and a very definite statement of his law, which would then be superior even to the Constitution itself; for by it the Constitution would necessarily be interpreted.

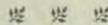
And inasmuch as secular judges and lawyers are not supposed to be especially skilled in interpreting and authoritatively declaring the divine law, it would follow necessarily that there would have to be created a special court or tribunal skilled in such matters to declare authoritatively the meaning of the law of God.

Unless the National Reformers desire to secure from the nation a mere profession of loyalty to the divine Being and

to the divine law, with no serious intention of making it effective, all we have indicated would certainly follow the adoption of their proposed amendment. It might be that no one sect or denomination would ever be made the state church, but that would make no real difference; the evil would be just as great with a score of denominations federated for the domination of the government as with a single sect thus legally entrenched, but watched and opposed by all the others; possibly it would be even worse.

Three quarters of a century ago the United States Senate adopted a report of its Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, in which the opinion was expressed that religious combinations to effect political objects are always dangerous; and the same is true today. Both President and people should beware of the siren song of the National Reformers, and they have no right to plow with the chief magistrate of the nation, nor would that official have the moral right, even if he had the desire so to do, to give his influence as President to the advancement of National Reformism.

C. P. B.



## “Our National Religion Defined”

UNDER this heading, in the *Christian Statesman* for August and September, 1916, Rev. R. C. Wylie said, in part:—

“What is our national religion? . . . It is not difficult to find out. Let us examine our authoritative documents, those that have a right to speak and which do speak on the subject. A beginning may well be made with the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the famous Trinity Church case rendered Feb. 29, 1892, the report of which is found in 143 United States Reports, pages 457-472. After presenting a magnificent array of legal testimony bearing on the religious character of our nation, the court reached this conclusion: ‘These and many other matters which might be quoted, add a volume of unofficial declarations to the mass of organic utterances that this is a Christian nation.’ Let it be carefully noted that this utterance is itself the pronouncement of the

highest court in the land. Let it be further noted that the court declared that there is a mass of organic utterances supported by a volume of unofficial declarations to this effect. The religion of this country therefore is undoubtedly the Christian religion.”

Mr. Wylie quotes also from another decision, namely, *Updegraph vs. the Commonwealth* (11 Penn. S. & R., 394, 400), in which it is declared that “Christianity, general Christianity, is, and always has been, a part of the common law of Pennsylvania.”

This latter, however, is a begging of the question, “What is our national religion?” So far as the national Constitution is concerned, every State in the Union is free to have a State religion; but even if every State had a State re-

ligion, and even if all the States severally chose the same religion, that religion would not necessarily become the national religion.

It was the evident intention of the framers of the national Constitution to prevent the setting up of a national religion. Especially is this shown by the First Amendment, which expressly provides that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

Observe that this does not say, Congress shall make no law respecting the establishment of a sect, but an "establishment of religion." What this meant may be best determined by the understanding of the men who were instrumental in its adoption. In the treaty with Tripoli, communicated to the United States Senate May 26, 1797, and promptly ratified, we find this:—

"As the government of the United States of America is not, in any sense, founded on the Christian religion, as it has in itself no character of enmity against the laws, religion, or tranquillity of Mussulmans; and as the said States never entered into any war or act of hostility against any Mohammedan nation, it is declared by the parties, that no pretext, arising from religious opinions, shall ever produce an interruption of the harmony existing between the two countries."—*American State Papers, Class 1, Foreign Relations, Vol. II, p. 18.*

Dr. Philip Schaff, in a note in his "Church and State in the United States" (page 41), tells us that he learned "from Dr. Francis Wharton that the treaty was framed by an ex-Congregational clergyman." This clergyman was certainly in a better position than any man now living to judge both the spirit of the times in which he lived and the meaning of the words he wrote. Moreover, in his "Memorial and Remonstrance," presented to the Virginia Assembly in 1785, Mr. Madison, sometimes called "the father of the Constitution," said:—

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

Again, for years the National Reformers, of whom Mr. Wylie is one, untingly denounced our national Constitution as "godless" and "unchristian." Even yet they are insisting that it should be amended in order that "the Christian laws, institutions, and usages of our government," may have "an undeniably legal basis in the fundamental law of our land." But if we have already general Christianity legally established as the national religion, why the proposed amendment?

The truth is, however, that Mr. Wylie knows, and his fellow National Reformers know, that Justice Brewer's now famous and much-appealed-to *obiter dictum*, to the effect that this is a Christian nation, did not change the facts of history, and was not so designed.

Justice Brewer's argument was to the effect that inasmuch as this country was settled by Christians, in the common acceptance of that term, it could not be presumed that Congress intended to pass a law making it a crime for a Christian church in this country to call a pastor from some other country. Justice Brewer was entirely right in this; but as we see it, he was somewhat unfortunate in some of his expressions.

But even had the Justice intended all that is now claimed for his words, that could not have changed our national Constitution, for that to which the National Reformers appeal was not decision, but *obiter dictum*. The *decision* was that the act under review was not intended to be broad enough to exclude from the country a Christian minister coming to our shores under contract to serve as pastor of a Christian church. The decision was right, but some of the deductions from Justice Brewer's remarks are wrong, and utterly subversive of the entire separation of church and state.

C. P. B.

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IT is most clearly and positively not the duty of civil rulers to enforce religious obligations.

# Religious Liberty Defined by Our State Department

BY CLAUDE E. HOLMES

IN 1895 considerable diplomatic correspondence passed between our representative to Russia and officials of the czar. American citizens were being discriminated against by the Russian government because of their religion. This of course brought on a discussion of the principles involved. It gave our statesmen an opportunity to affirm the rights of conscience, which are so greatly esteemed by the citizens of the American Republic.

## What is Religious Liberty?

At this time Baron Osten-Sacken, of Russia, requested our ambassador to that country, Clifton R. Breckinridge, to "give him the language of our organic law in regard to religious liberty." In response to this inquiry Mr. Breckinridge wrote:—

"LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,  
"St. Petersburg, June 25, 1895.

"YOUR EXCELLENCY: Referring to our recent conversation upon the subject of the exercise of consular or foreign jurisdiction within the limits of the United States upon matters respecting a religious establishment or belief, I now comply with your request for a statement of the language of our Constitution with reference to the power of the United States government itself to exercise such jurisdiction.

"I will just call your attention to the peculiar character of our Constitutional requirements.

"The States existed separately and independently before the general government existed. They created the general government. It is true that many new States have been admitted into the Union since the original States created the government, but this has been out of territory originally ceded to the general government by the States—land which at that time lay beyond the settled zone—or out of land since acquired by the general government by purchase or conquest, and in a way originally provided for.

"So when the States created the general government, they 'granted' and 'delegated' certain powers to it, as enumerated in the Constitution, and they retained all the other powers themselves. Our government has very great powers. It is supreme within the limits

of those powers, but the point is that it can lawfully do nothing unless the power to do so has been granted to it.

"It is a very serious matter to us, then, when our government is desired to conform to a policy, if the power to do so has not been delegated to it. It cannot assume the power or get it in any other way except by a change of the Constitution granting the government that power.

"The very great difficulty of effecting a change in the Constitution will be readily seen when it is stated that it takes two thirds of both branches of Congress or two thirds of the States to propose an amendment; and after it is proposed, it requires a majority vote in three fourths of the States to adopt it. Such is the difficulty that no changes have been made except at two periods of our history. The first was the period, just after the formation of our government, ending in 1804. Then there was no change until 1865, at the close of the Civil War, when certain changes were made as the result of that great war. . . .

"Although Congress has not been granted any power in regard to religious matters, so great was the fear of the States and the people that Congress might upon pretext attempt such legislation that the first of all the amendments, Article I, says, 'Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.'

"Thus you will see, my government is prohibited in the most positive manner by the very law of its existence from even attempting to put any form of limitation upon any of its citizens by reason of his religious belief."—*"Foreign Relations," 1895, p. 1063.*

About the same time Mr. Breckinridge addressed a similar communication to Prince Lobanow, of Russia. In it he stated that "it is not Constitutionally within the power of the United States government, or any of its authorities, to apply a religious test in qualification of equal rights of all citizens of the United States, and no law or principle is more warmly cherished by the American people. It is therefore impossible for my government to acquiesce in any manner in the application of such a test within its jurisdiction by the agents of a foreign power."—*Id., p. 1057.*

Prince Lobanow sought to evade the force of this argument by disclaiming any attempt to interfere with the religion of those discriminated against. "As to the American Constitution," he said, "I must confess that it seems to me to be here beside the question. The article of the Constitution which you were good enough to mention, and which prescribes that no religion is prohibited in the United States, is, by the very nature of things, placed outside all prejudice by the con-

thereof,' as much as if the sect had been mentioned in the title of the act, and the consequences had been named as pains and penalties for the conscientious belief and observances entertained and practiced."—*Id.*, p. 1066.

#### Indorsed by State Department

The correspondence in connection with this matter was transmitted to the Department of State, Washington, D. C. The Acting Secretary of State, Alvey A. Adee, in writing to Mr. Breckinridge, said: "Your presentation of this govern-



STATE, WAR, AND NAVY BUILDING, WASHINGTON, D. C.

sular authority. He has neither to prohibit nor authorize the exercise in America of any cult; and the fact of his *visé* being accorded or refused does not encroach upon the article in question. The refusal of the *visé* is not at all an attack upon any established religion; it is the consequence of a foreign law, which only has its effect outside of the territory of the Union."—*Id.*, p. 1064.

#### Religious Rights Further Defined

To this ingenious argument Mr. Breckinridge promptly answered:—

"Our Constitution does not say that Congress shall not make a law simply prohibiting or authorizing a religious exercise or belief, as Your Excellency seems to understand; it says that 'Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.' Certainly if the law deprives any people or person of a certain faith, because of that faith, of all or of any part of the rights, privileges, and immunities enjoyed by other citizens or class of citizens, it is made 'respecting' that religion, and it militates against 'the free exercise

ment's view of that question meets with the approval of this department."—*Id.*, p. 1067.

#### Sunday Laws Condemned by This Interpretation

The position taken by Prince Lobanow finds a parallel in the teaching of a class of so-called reformers in the United States. Appeals are being made to our State and national governments for the enactment and enforcement of Sunday laws. These statutes would cause all who religiously observe another day of the week to sacrifice a whole day. When the injustice of such enactments is pleaded, the reformers complacently state that they do not in any way interfere with religion, but are only civil laws!

The very principle which is emphasized by our State Department regarding our citizens abroad needs to be upheld here at home. If this is not done, the moral influence of this nation will be weakened.

An appeal to the words of the Constitution will be worthless. A Sunday law enforced upon one who observes another day, amounts to a government tax of over sixteen per cent of his possible earning time, and therefore imposes a tax of that amount in the interests of the religion of Sunday keepers.

"Certainly," says Mr. Breckinridge, "if the law deprives any people or person of a certain faith, because of that faith, of all or of any part of the rights, privileges, and immunities enjoyed by other citizens or class of citizens, it is made 'respecting' that religion, and it militates against 'the free exercise thereof,' as much as if the sect had been mentioned in the title of the act, and the consequences had been named as pains and penalties for the conscientious belief and observances entertained and practiced."

The carrying out of this principle, as promulgated by our State Department, would eliminate every Sunday law. For without question, these Sunday laws interfere with the rights of citizens, and are made for religion and 'respecting' religion.

#### Class Discrimination "Unthinkable"

On Dec. 6, 1911, a mass meeting was held in Carnegie Hall, New York City. It was called to protest against the same conditions that caused the foregoing correspondence. Among the distinguished speakers were Woodrow Wilson, Bishop David H. Greer, Champ Clark, Hon. William R. Hearst, and a number of college presidents and national Congressmen. Among the resolutions unanimously adopted at that meeting, we find the following:—

"Since the establishment of the government of the United States, all of its citizens, whether native born or naturalized, irrespective of race or creed, have been uniformly recognized as entitled, under the Constitution, to equal rights, privileges, and immunities, to freedom from all discrimination, and to absolute exemption from the imposition of any religious test.

"The deprivation of any part of our citizens of any of these guaranties, the withhold-

ing from the lowliest of them of any of the rights accorded to the most distinguished, or the division of our citizenship into classes, is so opposed to the spirit of our institutions as to be unthinkable."

The sentiments expressed in the foregoing resolutions, if adhered to by legislators and jurists, would also result in the repeal or nullification of Sunday laws. A law which sets apart Sunday as a day of rest, and which intends to stop all work and pleasure, regardless of the belief and practice of others, does interfere with the "equal rights, privileges, and immunities" of citizens. The consequences following the enforcement of such legislation should appeal to all, as it does to these distinguished men, "to be unthinkable."

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#### Sunday Law Enforcement in Virginia

For many years Virginia has had a Sunday law, but it had fallen in innocuous desuetude and was little thought of until June 18 of the present year, when it was suddenly revived by an "ouster law" passed a few months previously for the purpose of making prohibition effective. This ouster law provides for the removal of any officer found to have been remiss in the discharge of his duty to enforce "all the laws of the State."

Monday, June 19, a large number of people all over Virginia, especially in the towns, were summoned to answer the charge of having violated the Sunday law. For example, in Alexandria there were eighty such cases, as stated by the *Washington Herald* of June 20. "Out of this number there were seventy-eight acquittals, all being done in exactly thirty minutes. There were more than half a dozen lawyers in court." The account continues:—

"J. Reece Caton was fined five dollars for selling other than newspapers, and he appealed his case to corporation court; and Mrs. Martin Burba was fined five dollars for selling ice cream at her place of business. She paid her fine.

"Justice Thompson called the cases in batches, the twenty-six milk dealers being ac-

quitted jointly, the business being held a necessity.

"Sunday newspapers were also held to be a necessity by the court, and the three dealers cited were promptly acquitted, as were three newspaper correspondents charged with 'working' on the Sabbath.

"Members of the street cleaning department, who sweep King Street every Saturday night, beginning at midnight, were also cited, and their work was held to be a necessity.

"Eating houses, lunchrooms, automobile garages, baking, and a host of other lines of activity on Sunday also came under the head of 'necessary work.'"

In Richmond, bootblacks were fined for plying the brush on "the Sabbath." Just what view the higher courts will



PATRICK HENRY, WHO OPPOSED RELIGIOUS ESTABLISHMENTS IN VIRGINIA

take of these matters remains to be seen. But to the uninitiated it is somewhat difficult to see why the newsdealer should be permitted to sell papers on Sunday, while the ice cream dealer pays a fine for serving his frozen luxury.

We do not understand all the details of these cases, but it seems that in the matter of eatables the line was drawn at ice cream made on Sunday. The operation of "eating houses and lunchrooms" was properly held to be necessary, as was also the baking and selling of bread. But many small bakeries also sell ice cream either by the plate or in cartons. This was held to be legal, provided the cream was not manufactured on Sunday.

C. P. B.

## The Right of Free Speech

THE question of free speech is one of such fundamental importance to humanity that it is easy to understand the commotion which has been caused, in the State of Massachusetts, by the recent riots [April 4] in Haverhill. The contention that a mob, with or without cause, is at liberty to usurp the prerogatives of the courts, and to substitute lynch law for official justice, constitutes, indeed, a precedent destructive of all popular liberty. The history of liberty is very largely the effort of authority to restrain license. When the human passions are roused, license is always apt to come to the top. The decision of the mob is the most uncertain of all unknown quantities, and if it is bowed to for a moment, there is no limit to which its violence may not spread. . . .

In plain English the extraordinary doctrine is deliberately set forth, that any mob which conceives an act of a public body to be a violation of lawful authority, is justified in taking the law into its own hands, and enforcing its own opinions by violence. Such a defense of the Haverhill mob, such a theory of law and order, such a definition of popular rights, is surely the most untenable that has ever been put forth.

It is not necessary to consider the motive of the speaker. The speaker had obtained [had, in fact, hired] the use of a hall to give a certain address. He was entitled to give that address, and was entitled to the protection of the law in giving that address. The law itself provides for the punishment of offenders who transgress certain bounds in their public utterances or who permit the liberty of speech to degenerate into license. But the law does not permit the man in the street to decide what those limits are, and to fix them in accordance with his own prejudices or predilections. If it did, then the arbiter of public speech would be the strength of the mob. Any person who had anything to say, no matter what, would only be permitted to give expression to his views provided they

were in accordance with the prejudice of the mob.

Freedom of speech is the sheet anchor of political, social, and religious liberty. The history of the evolution of the state is largely a history of the battle for this freedom. Without freedom of speech, religious freedom is an impossibility; without freedom of speech, social liberty becomes a name; without freedom of speech, political liberty degenerates into

a farce. For this reason, throughout all the ages, those who have wished to keep the bodies and consciences of men under their personal domination, have struggled relentlessly against this freedom of expression of personal opinions. The intention to safeguard this freedom is, consequently, inherent in every statute with which the liberties of mankind have been hedged about.—*The Boston Christian Science Monitor.*



## For the Public Welfare and Safety

UNDER the so-called police power of the State, almost every imaginable kind of legislation in direct violation of the inalienable rights of man and the Constitutional guaranties of civil and religious liberty, is demanded from our modern Solons. To the police power of the State has been attributed prerogatives and functions which transcend the authorities of the highest tribunals in the land. There seems to be no domain too sacred for this particular phase of power to invade with impunity under the plea of "general welfare and public safety." It seems to have no limitations. It mounts over every barrier on the wings of public expediency. It assails and overrides every Constitutional guaranty designed originally to protect the individual in matters that pertain to his rights of conscience.

Under the old régime of a union of church and state, laws purely religious in character were boldly enforced as such. Now such statutes are denominated civil laws, justified under the "police power of the State," and sustained in the courts by a strained interpretation, being classified as enactments "for the public welfare and the safety of society." Under this pretext, religious statutes are being enforced today in the United States. Men are being punished for violating Sunday laws which have no more bearing upon the welfare and safety of society than the Eiffel Tower has upon the climate of France. Men are haled before the courts and condemned because they

do not observe Sunday according to the notion and custom of the Puritans, who in the early days of New England believed in a union of church and state and in enforcing religion by civil enactment.

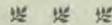
After people have rested on the seventh day of the week, why should they be compelled to rest also on the first day of the week, provided the things they do are honorable, and do not interfere with the equal privileges of their neighbors? Under the so-called police power of the state, for the sake of the "public welfare" and "safety of society," after men have already rested on the seventh day of the week, they are being arrested and condemned before courts for such acts as digging a mess of potatoes out of their gardens on the first day of the week for a Sunday dinner. They are being indicted for picking a few fresh, ripe tomatoes from their vines, and a few luscious peaches and apples from their trees, to set before their guests at a Sunday repast. A Seventh-day Adventist minister was arrested and locked up in prison for days because on Sunday he carried his pulpit from his church to a gospel tent—a distance of three blocks. All these things are done and defended under the "exercise of the police power of the State," for the public welfare and safety.

In the olden days, when people were extremely superstitious as well as religious, it was customary, before venturing out upon the broad ocean, for the voy-

agers to repair to the church and commend their souls and the enterprise to God for the general welfare and safety of all. The individual who neglected to repair to the church was regarded not only as a graceless wretch, but as responsible for every bad omen and misfortune which befell the voyagers on the journey, and was punished accordingly, on the ground that he had, through his neglect to conform to the will of the Almighty, endangered the "public welfare and safety" as well as his own. History informs us that this custom prevailed as late as a hundred years ago in almost all countries, and still prevails in

some Catholic nations. (See Cyclopaedia of Biography, p. 371.)

Fines and imprisonment for a failure to observe Sunday and conform to that rest which the inhabitants of the graveyard have found, on the ground that the public welfare and safety of society demands it, is just as foreign and baseless as was the position of the old-time sea voyagers who punished the man that, before starting on the voyage, would not go to church with them to hear the bishop say mass and pledge them his parting blessing for a safe and prosperous journey, under the protection of a scapular furnished by the priest. C. S. L.



## Forced to Wear the Veil Under Conventual Bonds

IN the olden days when religion and religious obligations were made compulsory by civil statutes, women of rare beauty were frequently forced into the conventual life and bonds.

A striking incident of this mode of procedure to enforce religious vows against the consent of the individual is recorded in English history, when Matilda, who afterward became the wife of Henry I of England, was forced to take the veil at the instigation of churchmen and of barons. She protested vigorously, and flung the veil from her again and again, but was at last compelled to yield to her oppressors, and was forced into submission by actual blows and other acts of violence to her body.

At last, Matilda made her escape, appeared before the court of Henry I, and told her sad story in words of passionate earnestness, pleading for her deliverance at the hands of the king. She told how her aunt coöperated with the churchmen to hold her in bondage, and frequently by blows forced her to obey. "As often as I stood in her presence," the girl pleaded, "I wore the veil, trembling, as I wore it, with indignation and grief. But as soon as I could get out of her sight, I used to snatch it from my head,

fling it on the ground, and trample it underfoot. That was the way, and none other, in which I was veiled."

The court at once declared her free from conventual bonds. As Henry I married Matilda and set the crown on her brow, the joyful shout of the English multitude drowned the disputations and murmurs of the churchmen and barons. (See "History of the English People," par. 117.)

We frown today upon the extreme lengths to which the churchmen went in enforcing religious obligations when they operated under a union of church and state in the early days. But does our modern civilization have much to boast above the ancient churchmen, when, under a separation of church and state, honest, upright citizens are compelled to observe Sunday, and are fined, imprisoned in dungeons, and incarcerated in jails, or worked in chain gangs with the worst of criminals, for no other crime than working six days during each week and resting the seventh day according to the fourth commandment of the decalogue? When modern churchmen and civil magistrates violate in this manner the immunities and guaranties of civil and religious freedom vouchsafed to the individual under the federal Constitution.

and foster such un-American and unpatriotic breaches of justice in this enlightened age and in free America, what would they not do if the old régime were again reinstated? Let us profit by the lessons which history teaches us, and not retrace our steps; but may we go on to a still more glorious freedom.

C. S. L.

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### "The Menace" Dynamited

AT four o'clock on the morning of August 5, an effort was made at Aurora, Mo., to destroy the presses of the Free Press Defense League upon which is printed *The Menace*, an anti-Catholic weekly paper now in the sixth year of its publication.

*The Menace* is devoted chiefly to fighting what it denominates "Political Romanism," and is not always exactly parliamentary in what it says, nor in its manner of saying it. It has in the past invited much criticism, and some months ago its editors were tried in a United States court on a charge of having violated the postal law by sending obscene matter through the mails. They were acquitted by the jury, but were, we believe, advised by their attorneys that it might be well to have a care in the future, since they had been running very close to the line. However this may be, the tone of the paper has certainly been much improved, though it has abated nothing of its opposition to things papal.

But whatever may be said or thought of *The Menace*, its language, and its methods, it is entitled to the protection of the law, and the attempt to silence it by the use of dynamite was dastardly. Such arguments are becoming altogether too common on the part of certain adherents of the Church of Rome. Anti-Catholic speakers are assaulted, some even being killed, and anti-Catholic presses are dynamited, apparently in the interests of the Roman Church and its institutions. Is it imagined by those who do such things that people will be convinced by such arguments that the charges made by the anti-Catholic press

are not true, and that, after all, Roman Catholicism is a beneficent thing, something to be cherished by the American people? There could be no greater mistake.

If the things charged by *The Menace* and similar publications are not true, let those who feel aggrieved by them demand an investigation wherein the falsehoods of the patriotic press shall be exposed, and let *The Menace* and its imitators be held up to the just scorn of honest men. But if these things are true, even in part, let Rome confess and reform, instead of endeavoring to terrorize her enemies by boycott, assault, assassination, and dynamite.

C. P. B.

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### Objectionable Bills Pending Before Congress

MORE than twenty-five thousand bills and resolutions were introduced, it is said, during the recent session of Congress. When one realizes that this is simply an average of the number of bills which are introduced at each session of Congress during the same period of time, he begins to wonder if there are any rights and liberties left for the individual to enjoy. There is hardly any phase of human experience in any realm that legislators do not attempt to regulate by law. The government of this republic is assuming more and more the attitude of paternalism toward its citizens, treating them as irresponsible wards of the state. The plainly expressed privileges and immunities guaranteed to the individual, which are so emphatically safeguarded by the federal Constitution, and the document guaranteeing them, seem to be of no consequence in the estimation of some of our Congressmen.

The First Amendment to the Constitution expressly states that "Congress shall make no law" abridging the freedom of either religion or the press, and yet some Congressmen repeatedly introduce bills which deliberately aim to take away these Constitutional guaranties of civil and religious liberty. During the present

session of Congress, six religious bills have been introduced, and four measures which seek to take away the freedom of the press. Four of these six religious bills aim to compel all the citizens of the District of Columbia to observe Sunday as a holy day. Two of these measures aim to establish the Christian religion, with all its laws and usages, as a part of the fundamental law of the land.

Several hundred thousand protests have been sent to Congress against all these objectionable bills, and thus far Congress has refused to yield to the demands for Sunday laws and the restriction of the freedom of the press, although more than one hundred and fifty such bills have been introduced in Congress during the last thirty years.

We are glad that we have had some part in preventing this kind of legislation. "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty" and our magazine will continue, as in the past, fearlessly to champion this cause.

The recently issued LIBERTY Extra, which contains petitions against the above-mentioned objectionable bills, ought to be freely circulated until the fourth of March, 1917.

C. S. L.

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### General Sunday Law Crusade in Operation

FROM more than a score of States we have received newspaper reports during the past month of Sunday law crusades which were instigated by religious organizations and the liquor interests. The motive back of the movement of the religious organizations is to enforce their peculiar religious views upon all others, and the object of the liquor interests is to discredit the prohibition movement and make it odious.

It is reported that the liquor interests of Pontiac, Ill., recently had a dealer in groceries arrested in that city for selling a loaf of bread on Sunday. The defendant appeared for himself before the court without an attorney. The prosecuting

attorney cited a similar case which had been decided by the Illinois Supreme Court, condemning the selling of bread on Sunday. With this instruction the jury took the bread case, and in a few minutes returned a verdict of guilty of a misdemeanor, and the defendant was fined.

Now that we may not lose the moral of this incident: That same supreme court has ruled that candy and tobacco stores and soda fountains are a necessity on Sunday, while the selling of a loaf of bread to the hungry is a crime. "O Conscience! thou art a jewel."

In many other places the ministerial associations and the Lord's Day Alliance are carrying on veritable crusades after the rigid Puritanical type. These self-styled modern "reformers" seem to be afflicted by periodical attacks of super-righteous spasms whenever they can control a municipal council or a city mayor. It is the same old story, that whenever the church leaders enter into politics, they become intoxicated with power, and start persecution of their fellow men who happen to differ from their religious notions.

Recently upright citizens have been arrested and fined in different parts of the State of Pennsylvania for selling bread to the hungry, milk for the thirsty infant, ice to cool the fevered brow; for gathering produce out of the garden for a Sunday repast; for selling gasoline to stranded automobilists; and for indulging in innocent recreation. We are glad to note that not all the clergy in the State of Pennsylvania are in sympathy with the Sunday law crusade as it is being conducted by the Lord's Day Alliance. At least one daring clergyman in Philadelphia who was threatened with arrest by the Lord's Day Alliance for indulging in a little recreation with the boys of his parish on Sunday afternoons, has challenged his fellow clergymen to do their worst with the antiquated blue law of 1794. The interesting report of this ministerial controversy appears elsewhere in this magazine.

C. S. L.

# Important Announcement

The Presbytery of Washington City seeks to secure the enactment of the Sabbath of Scotland as a "divine institution" in the District of Columbia. The following resolutions reveal the scheme for the propaganda:—

"Resolved, That Presbyterians, grateful for the deep regard for the Sabbath that has come to them by inheritance and training from Scotland, should everywhere consider themselves under special obligation to lead in defense of the imperiled Sabbath, especially as there are very few Sabbath-defense organizations other than the churches, united for the safeguarding of this divine and humane institution; and,—

"Resolved, That as the District of Columbia is the only Christian commonwealth in the world, except California, that has no Sunday-rest law; and as it has no Representative in Congress; and as it is the nation's capital, and in its population includes a nearly pro rata portion of the population of every State as resident members of the government, we appeal to all true Americans, and especially to Christians, individually or by deputations, to see their Senators and Representatives while they are at home, to ask their support in the next session of Congress, to the Jones Sunday-rest bill, which provides for the suspension on Sunday of such unnecessary work and business in the District of Columbia as is forbidden in all the States, save California. We submit, their delegations in Congress should give to their own citizens resident in Washington such Sunday rest as their State gives when they are at home; and,—

"Resolved, That the Stated Clerk shall send a copy of these resolutions to the local press and to all Presbyteries, asking them to take similar action, and to urge their Senators and Congressmen to support this and other pending moral measures.

"The above is a true copy of the action of the Presbytery of Washington City, in session in Washington, D. C., Sept. 11, 1916, and is hereby sent to each Presbytery of the Presbyterian Church U. S. A. through the Stated Clerks.

"Attest, \_\_\_\_\_, Stated Clerk.

"Takoma Park, D. C., Sept. 15, 1916."

It is a well-attested fact that Sunday is better observed in the District of Columbia and in California than in many States which have drastic Sunday laws. Nobody is compelled to work on Sunday, and everybody naturally rests when he is at liberty to do so. There is no necessity for a Sunday law to compel people to rest. Now is the time for every lover of liberty to work with his Senators and Congressmen, and give them a copy of the "Liberty Extra," which sets forth the wrong principles involved in the Jones Sunday-rest bill. There was never a greater necessity for the "Liberty" magazine than at present. See that your subscription does not lapse. Write your Senators a letter protesting against bill S. 5677.



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