

LIBERTY

A MAGAZINE OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM



HUMAN STATUE OF
LIBERTY
18,000 Officers and Men

AT CAMP DODGE
Des Moines, Iowa

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Religious Liberty Association

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

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LIBERTY

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LIBERTY

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

VOL. XIV

FIRST QUARTER, 1919

NO. 1

The Termination and Achievements of the Great War

By the Editor

THE cessation of hostilities and the coming of peace have occasioned great rejoicing among the allied and associated powers that brought the war to a successful conclusion. The great conflict ended almost as suddenly and dramatically as it began. The complete collapse of the most powerful and perfectly organized military machine that this world has ever seen should teach the governments of earth a lasting lesson concerning militarism. It should teach all men that the spirit of truth and liberty resident in the hearts of a free people is greater than organized despotism and might. The old adage of militarists, that "might makes right," has, we trust, been forever discredited.

The sudden ending of the war and the complete overthrow of autocracy in Europe, are in large measure due to the personal efforts, foresight, and genius of Woodrow Wilson, in his capacity as the great diplomatic leader of the American Republic, voicing the ideals and lofty principles of American democracy. He was the man of the hour of destiny, and fulfilled his mission well. He represented the conscience of the American Republic, and the people rallied as a unit under his marvelous leadership.

President Wilson spoke not only for this country, but for all the democracies and limited monarchies of the world, fighting for very existence against the autocracies of Europe. It

was on the memorable day, November 11, when the great war ended, that President Wilson issued this significant proclamation:

"MY FELLOW COUNTRYMEN: The armistice was signed this morning. Everything for which America fought has been accomplished. It will now be our fortunate duty to assist by example, by sober, friendly counsel, and by material aid, in the establishment of just democracy throughout the world."

The feelings of President Wilson, of mingled joy and satisfaction, must have been indescribable when he penned these words, proclaiming the triumph of democracy over autocracy. It was not a selfish feeling of

personal gratification, but generous joy in the triumph of a common cause, that the inherent rights of the people had triumphed over the assumed rights of kings.

The great war through which we have just passed has resulted in a glorious victory for civil and religious freedom for all the people of the earth. The old barriers which hitherto



Palace of Versailles, Front View



Palace of Versailles, General View

had stood in the way and obstructed the progress of political liberty and religious freedom, have been broken down. The old order of things has been supplanted by a new order. The American ideal of a real people's democracy in the separate realms of church and state has reached its grand fruition. The man who has had the public ear, and voiced the real sentiment and conscience of mankind in this world crisis, was not Pope Benedict, an ecclesiastical hierarch, but a democratic layman—President Wilson.

This emancipation of the nations everywhere from the dictatorship and tyranny of political and religious autocrats, who thrust their authority upon the people without the consent of the governed, has ever been the goal of democracy.

Mankind was at war over political ideals. It developed into a struggle for political freedom from autocrats who allowed nothing to restrain them from imposing their opinions, their rule and self-appointed authority, upon the world. The old régime has been set aside, and political freedom secured. Shall this precious boon remain with the people? This is the paramount question of the hour. Different schemes are suggested that a durable peace and political freedom may be secured and maintained.

One thing is certain, we cannot long maintain political freedom without religious liberty. The absence of either one will vitiate the benefits of the other. They stand or fall together. In the reorganization of European governments, this ideal of true democracy should be kept in the foreground, so that provision may be made that individuals of different ideals and convictions can live together in religious relations as peacefully as men of different political convictions.

This can be possible only when the church and the state are completely separated. The liberty of mankind can grow in the right direction only when both the body and the soul are free.

Every one is compelled to admit that this great war has resulted in a triumph of the principles of democracy. But in order to make democracy a success and a blessing, it is absolutely necessary that its principles be inherent in the hearts and lives of the people; otherwise the results will be bolshevism and anarchy. Free government is possible only when self-control and mutual benefit are the guiding spirit of its citizens. People who have always been ruled by an iron hand, cannot be expected to set up a republic overnight and have everything run smoothly. The public mind must be educated to new ideals, and learn to respect its own limitations of organized authority. The several units of society must be truly self-governing before society as a whole can hope to long maintain a genuine "government of the people, by the people, and for the people."

It should not be forgotten, however, that there is a God over all, whose hand has so shaped the affairs of nations during this gigantic struggle that the outcome of the war should contribute to the speedy triumph of his own cause in the earth. The great barriers which before the war impeded the progress of the gospel message of truth and liberty among the belligerent nations, are now apparently eliminated. God removeth kings and overthroweth kingdoms, we are told in Sacred Writ, when they stand in the way of the fulfilment of his eternal purposes. It behooves us to be in harmony with the divine purpose, and to espouse the cause of right, which will ultimately triumph over all its foes.

The League of Nations

By C. S. Longacre

ONE of the plans suggested to obviate the danger of future wars is a "league of nations." There are many perplexing questions involved in this proposition, which diplomats have not yet solved. It means the giving of enormous and extensive powers to an international judicial body. There are great giants, tremendous obstacles, standing in the path, challenging the success of the undertaking. So true is this that even great commercial interests are already taking alarm at the possible loss their business is likely to sustain should the league of nations become a fact, and war be no more.

No one can justly question the motives of the great diplomats who favor such a league. Their aim is to form a union of nations on a similar political basis, and for a similar purpose, as the thirteen original States formed a national union and a central government in the United States; namely, for the protection of their common interests, and to insure a lasting peace and to promote tranquillity among the family of States.

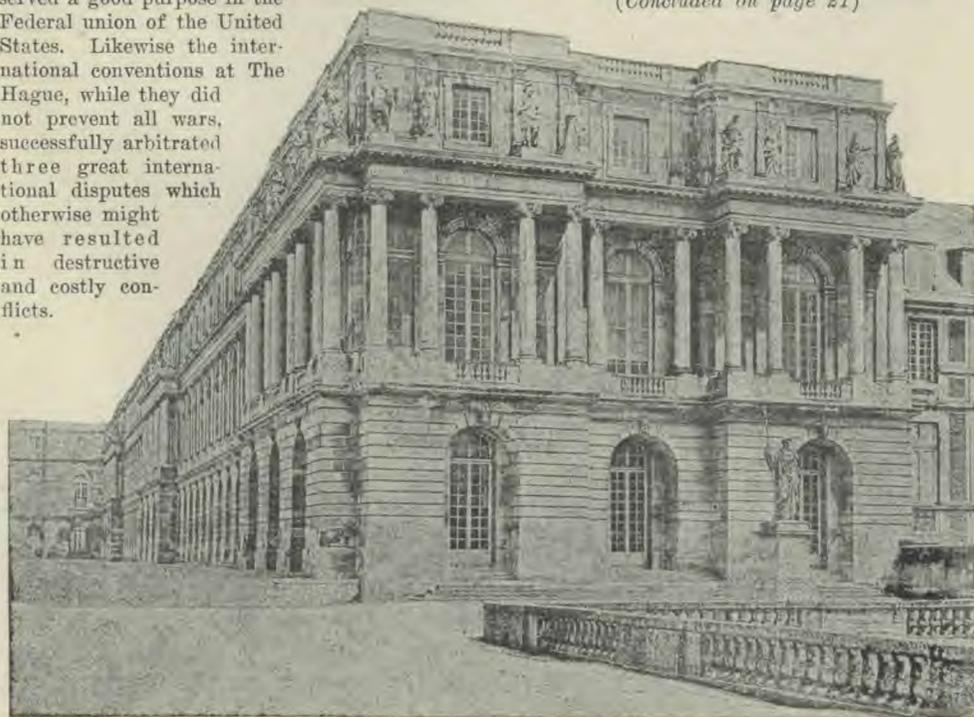
It is very evident that such a political union serves a good purpose when its centralized power and authority are not abused. It has served a good purpose in the Federal union of the United States. Likewise the international conventions at The Hague, while they did not prevent all wars, successfully arbitrated three great international disputes which otherwise might have resulted in destructive and costly conflicts.

The best thinkers and the greatest diplomats who are the most ardent advocates of a league of nations, do not claim that such a federated union, bound by agreements and covenants, will usher in eternal peace and forever bar all wars, but that such an arrangement will simplify the settlement of international controversies and greatly minimize the dangers of war.

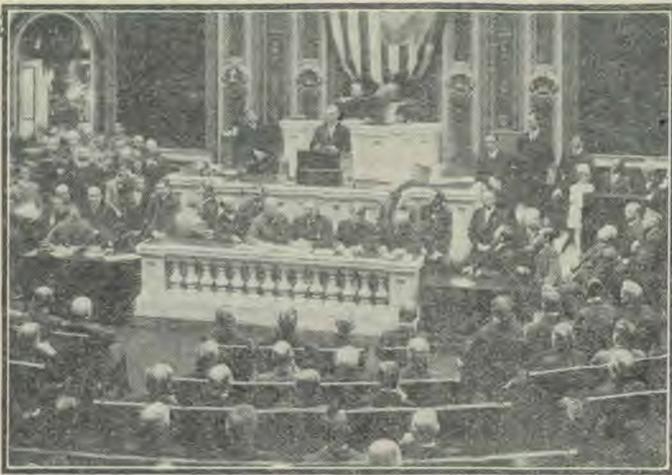
There are some who believe that such a political federation is going to usher in the everlasting reign of peace and righteousness and the promised kingdom of God. But such fail to differentiate between the peace of man and the peace of God, between carnal peace and spiritual peace. One is unstable and easily broken, while the other is abiding and eternal.

The kingdom of God and of his Christ will never be ushered into the world through the gateway of politics. The nations and rulers of earth will never crown Christ as King of kings and Lord of lords. The spiritual peace and everlasting righteousness promised by God is on condition of spiritual regeneration, and not legal political reformation merely. We must not confuse political peace and civic righteousness with spiritual peace and divine righteousness; nor

(Concluded on page 21)



Palace of Versailles, West Wing



WHEN in 1787 our fathers wrote the Constitution, they sought to give to the infant republic an organic law that would measurably guard it against the danger of such criminal and bloody blunders as had been perpetrated in other countries under a union of state and church. The product of their work is a masterpiece of political science.

In the performance of their task, the authors of our Federal Constitution give evidence of the profoundest thought. Our fundamental law is said to be "the most widely copied contribution to political science." From it, France has borrowed her choicest expressions. Other countries, too, learned that their national security would be best provided for by the practical adoption of some of our Constitutional provisions.

The public mind had grown weary and sick from learning and experiencing how the refinement of torture was time and again invoked in an effort to coerce conscience and circumscribe personal rights. The scourge, the rack, the red-hot bed, the wild beasts, and the fury of the populace were frightful instruments in the diabolical work which in pagan Rome had for its end the extermination of the Christian religion and the destruction of the humble followers of the lowly Nazarene; and which under papal Rome sought to compel unity of faith and of worship. Cries from the chamber of horrors and the Inquisition resounded through the darkest of the Dark Ages, when wrong and

Shall We Merge Pulpit and Legislation?

By Cyrus Simmons
Attorney at Law

oppression triumphed over right in the horrible edicts of despots, and the merciless judgments of ecclesiastical courts.

America the Home of
Conscience

The Declaration of Independence in Philadelphia and the destruction of the Bastille of Paris brought to birth a new and a larger liberty, dethroned kings and potentates, and

placed the power of government with the people, where it rightfully belonged. To stanch the gushing wounds, and to stop the terrible slaughter of persecuted victims and martyrs, America became an asylum for the devotees of all religions, and for liberty of conscience.

The divine right of kings is challenged in the Constitution, and royalty is reduced to the level of citizenship; for all classes, an interest is manifested that is parental, and a sympathy is shown that is Scriptural. The Constitution imitates divine principles by essaying to be no respecter of persons, and by establishing a democracy where there is equality of rights and freedom of choice. Under this benevolent instrument, righteous ambition is not crushed; the incentive to be brave and industrious is not restricted; and the development of an initiative, peculiarly American, is so generously fostered and encouraged, that its development in the present world war, in fighting the battles of democracy against the tyranny of autocracy, has won the unbounded admiration and generous applause of the world.

Legislate Recalcitrants into Heaven

How admirably religious freedom is safeguarded: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." From a national standpoint, the religious freedom the American people have enjoyed shows that this provision has been more than a parchment guaranty, or "a scrap of paper," notwithstanding frequent attempts to weaken or to destroy it. For a number of years, innumerable have been the petitions addressed to both branches of Congress, seeking to have enacted a Sunday law. In spite of denominational differences, religionists have agreed and are agreeing for the accomplishment of this object.

Though these ecclesiastical organizations are immensely wealthy, though they enjoy the sympathy and the support of some of our brainiest statesmen, and though their overwhelming constituencies speak volumes, in our votable form of government, they have so far been unable to induce that great legislative body, the American Congress, to pass a national Sunday law. Buttressed first by a Constitutional amendment, the lovers of religious liberty have been successful, both as legislators and as citizens, in opposing proposed acts crystallizing into civil law so manifest a church doctrine. In national affairs, who knows how long this religious liberty clause will be able to keep the church and the state separate? Although the Bible is silent as to the time when the Lord has ever called upon the state for assistance, religious zealots seem to have the studied purpose to conjure up some law that will presumably bring recalcitrants into the kingdom of heaven, thinking that thereby they are doing "God service." John 16: 2.

By deluded educators, public opinion is often misdirected. Opinion is a mighty factor in civil legislation, and may be educated either for public weal or woe. Thomas Jefferson, when speaking of the wrongs the Jews suffered on account of unwise Sunday laws, remarked, "Public opinion erects itself into an inquisition and exercises its office with all the fanaticism that fans the fires of an *auto-da-fé*." Is it not the duty of good citizens to sound an alarm against the enactment of laws that will tend to abridge the rights of conscience, or make unwarranted encroachments on the liberty of the citizen? What would become of this guaranty of religious freedom contained in the First Amendment, if the desires of the church were complied with by the passage of a national Sunday law? Would not such a law make an issue between different sects in the nation, and also between the United States and God? Was not the Sabbath made by God and given to the church? Does he not call it "My holy day" (Isa. 58: 13), and by his law enjoin its observance? Is it not common knowledge that

different religionists keep different days of the week for the Sabbath? How, then, can we hope for an accommodation, on this Sabbatical question, between the Jew, the seventh-day observer, the Catholic, and the Sundayist, when each has a different religious reason for keeping the day of his faith?

Shall We Legislate in God's Sphere?

"Religion" in the Constitution means the same as "religion" in the dictionary, and both refer to "religion" in the heart of the citizen and to the forms and observances by which it manifests itself. The Standard Dictionary (first edition) defines religion as "a belief binding the spiritual nature of man to a supernatural being on whom he is conscious that he is dependent." To the Christian, the "supernatural being" is God. The "belief" that binds the Christian to God finds its expression in obedience to his commandments. If Congress, by law, should say that Sunday, the first day of the week, is the Sabbath, and that it should be kept as holy time, and if the citizen should believe, by God's law, that Saturday, the seventh day of the week, is the Sabbath, would not Congress thereby be passing a law "respecting an establishment of religion" and prohibiting its free exercise?

But the definition also says that "religion" binds "the spiritual nature of man" to God. We are told that the law of God is "spiritual." Rom. 7: 14. In order to please God and obey his law, should not the Sabbath be spiritually kept by "the spiritual nature of man"? A human law reveals its absurdity in trying to meet this divine requirement, and shows with greater emphasis that Sabbath keeping is a part of a citizen's religion, just as much as the manner of his baptism or his celebration of the Lord's Supper is, for it is a duty he believes he owes to God.

If a citizen should be penalized for violating a national Sunday law, when he conscientiously believes in keeping the seventh day of the week for the Sabbath and in working on the "six working days" (Eze. 46: 1), including Sunday, would he not thereby be "prohibited from the free exercise" of his religion?

A Sunday law cannot be constitutionally passed by Congress, for it is a governmental construction of the law of God in opposition to the religious convictions of those who believe otherwise. It is a legislative sentence by which the citizen is deprived of his personal liberties and property rights. Col. Richard M. Johnson, in his "Senate Report on Sunday Mails," 1829, said,

"Among all the religious persecutions with which almost every page of modern history is stained, no victim ever suffered but for the violation of what government denominated the law of God."—*American State Papers*, class 7, p. 225.

The Legal Aspect of Sunday



By C. P. Bollman

SPECIAL regulations for the conduct of citizens on the first day of the week are usually among the first enactments of an American commonwealth," says James T. Ringgold, of the Baltimore bar, in his "Legal Aspects of the First Day of the Week."

"The manner in which such legislation has been treated by the courts," continues Mr. Ringgold, "forms a most curious and interesting chapter in our constitutional history." And he might have added, on the whole, an alarming one also.

In the first place, Mr. Ringgold points out the patent fact laid down by the Louisiana Supreme Court in the *Botts* case (31 La. Ann. 663, 1879), that while "the Constitution of the United States forbids the Congress from making any law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof," "this is an inhibition to Congress only, leaving to the State government the whole power over the subject of religion."

As a matter of constitutional law this does not make as great a difference as might appear at first sight, for in general the several States have in more or less explicit terms adopted constitutional provisions declaring for perfect equality before the law of all shades of religious belief and practice.

But notwithstanding the seemingly ample guaranties, not only in the national Constitution, but also in the fundamental laws of the several States, it has been held in practically all the States that Sunday laws are Constitutional. In some States such legislation has been sustained upon religious grounds, as, for instance, New York, Pennsylvania, Kentucky, Georgia, and Maryland.

In New York, in 1811, Judge Kent said that "the statute has, for over a century, recognized the sanctity of the obligation [of Sunday], and punished its violators." (See *Ruggles' Case* 8 John 290.)

In 1834 another judge spoke of "the public order and solemnity of the day" (*Boynton v. Page*, 12 Wend, N. Y., 57); while as late as

1859, in *Campbell v. International Soc.* (4 Bos., N. Y., 298), we are told that the New York statute "explicitly recognizes the first day of the week as holy time," and "thus it has brought us back to the full, enlarged, and absolute rule of intradiction which we find prevailed in the earliest laws of Christian states, and which the construction of the statute of Charles II has tended somewhat to narrow and impair."

Again, in an anonymous case (12 Abb. N. C., N. Y., 455), the court put it thus: "Is it not obvious that, by reason of keeping a store open for business, a temptation is presented to those who have no regard for Sunday as holy time, to violate the law?" So also in *Jeandelle's* case (3 Phil. 509), a Pennsylvania judge speaks of the day as being "clothed with peculiar sanctity."

Similar statements, or phrases, might be quoted from Sunday law decisions rendered in a few other States, but these may suffice to establish the fact that in a number of our American States Sunday is candidly admitted to be a religious institution, and is openly enforced as such, notwithstanding Constitutional guaranties of perfect equality as between different religions.

To those who have fondly supposed that we have in this country entire separation of church and state, or in other words, not toleration but entire religious liberty, such decisions as those from which we have quoted will doubtless seem startling, but the end is not yet. In the case of the *People v. Ruggles*, previously referred to, Judge Kent went farther, and declared that "the statute considers the violation of the first day of the week as immoral;" and in the same State, in deciding the case of *Mitter v. Roessler* (4 E. D. 234, 1855), the court refers to the making of a contract upon Sunday as violative of "the moral law."

In the *Nesbit* case (34 Pa. 398, 1859), the court declared one object of the Sunday law to be "the prevention of vice and immorality;" and further, that such laws "have heretofore

been regarded as efficient protectors of public morals and of social happiness."

"In Georgia," says Mr. Ringgold, "the court sustained the [Sunday] law, holding that the power to make it was collected from the general powers delegated to maintain good order, etc.; which evidently confines the reasoning to a question of police. But it [the court] proceeded to add: 'The power is a very high prerogative, and is supported by the principle involved in the preservation of the morals and duties of the citizens upon the Lord's day.'"

In New York, Sunday contracts are enforceable, although the making of them is "immoral;" but in Alabama, in the case of *Rainey v. Cuffs* (22 Ala. 288), a Sunday contract was declared "void for immorality," and the object of the law was declared to be "to prevent vice and immorality." In Ohio, *Swisher v. Williams* (Wright 754, 1834), where a deed was executed on Sunday, the court declared that "both parties partook of the sin of violating the Sabbath." There being, therefore, no "innocent party," the transaction had to stand, so that neither party to the "sin" might unduly profit thereby. In this case, therefore, justice was done, even though the path by which it was reached was devious.

In commenting upon these and other cases, Mr. Ringgold says: "To appreciate the true significance of these citations, it must be borne in mind that the 'immorality,' 'vice,' and 'sin' consist not in the acts done, but in the doing of them on Sunday." In other words, things not only harmless, but even useful and therefore praiseworthy if done on any other day, become immoral if done on Sunday! Is it any wonder that writing at a time when this view of such matters was practically universal, Blackstone gives "profanation of the Lord's day" as "the ninth offense against God and religion"?

Other cases might be cited, but the conclusion is already unavoidable that, as Mr. Ringgold tersely puts it, "Sunday idleness is enforced as a religious duty in the individual." Mr. Ringgold's reasoning by which this conclusion is reached is briefly as follows:

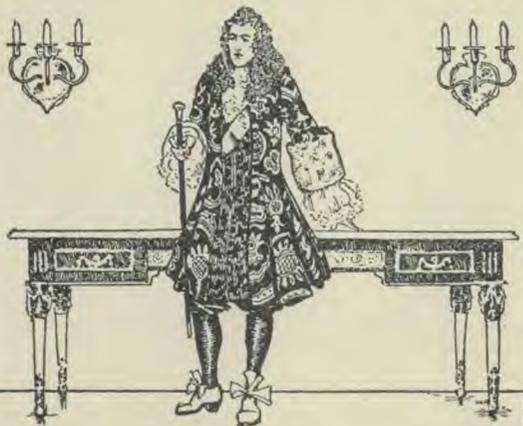
"As work on Sunday is a 'desecration,' and only that which is sacred can be desecrated, and as the ascription of this quality of sacredness whether to a time or a

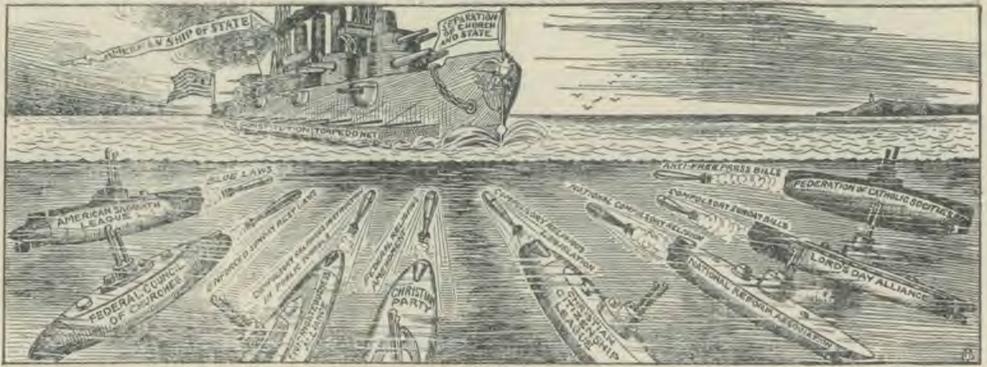
place, is altogether a matter of religious belief, it follows that, if the sacredness of Sunday is, as we are told by some judges, created [or declared] by the legislature, then, as already observed, the legislature has exercised ecclesiastical functions in the passage of Sunday laws; but it is no less true that, if these laws are simply a recognition of a sanctity already bestowed on the day by some other authority, the legislature has, in their passage, applied the civil authority to the enforcement of a religious dogma, and to that extent identified the state with the church."

That the writer we quote is right in his conclusion, is clearly shown by the fact that the English authorities are clear and decided upon this point. Referring to Sunday laws, Lord Chief Justice Coke of England is quoted thus: "It has been truly said, '*Regis, qui serviunt Christo*' [Those who serve Christ (are) of the king; that is by implication, those who serve not Christ are not loyal to the king.]" (2 Inst. 264.) And again: "'*Sabbath dies non dies juridicus*,' [The Sabbath day is not a legal day.] for that ought to be consecrated to divine service."

But notwithstanding the facts of the nature and origin of the Sunday institution,—that it is as an institution religious and only religious, that it belongs to the church and not to the state, and that, according to the eminent authorities quoted, it is enforced as a "sacred" and not as a civil day,—we find Sunday laws sustained in many States upon so-called "civil" grounds, as "police regulations," as creating "a holiday" rather than "a holy day," etc. This is a phase of Sunday legislation that is becoming more and more common wherever it is necessary for any reason to meet the objection that Sunday laws are not in harmony with the American principle of the total separation of church and state. This, then, is today the most prominent feature in the legal aspect of the first day of the week in this country.

The statute of 29 Charles II has served as a model for practically all our American Sunday legislation.





ONE of the greatest evils of our times is the growing demand for religious legislation. This demand on the part of religious organizations is becoming more and more insistent, and in some instances the civil authorities are yielding to it. The foundation pillars of civil and religious liberty are being thus assailed by their most relentless foes.

Serious Dangers Before the American Ship of State

By C. S. Longacre

Religious organizations that are clamoring for governmental recognition of their peculiar dogmas, are setting their sails to catch every wind that blows. But they are working in the dark, under cover, camouflaging their real motives. They are adopting the U-boat method in attacking the Ship of State. The accompanying cartoon is therefore not overdrawn.

We hear much of such organizations as the National Reform Association, the Christian Citizenship League, the Christian Elector's Association, the International Reform Bureau, the American Sabbath Union, the Lord's Day Alliance, the Sunday Rest League, the Federated Churches, the Christian Party, the Federal Council of Churches, the Civic Righteousness Alliance, the American Sabbath League, the Federation of Catholic Societies, and the like, all of them formidable organizations, and all having one object—that of establishing and enforcing religion by law.

The most lamentable feature, as well as the most surprising one, is the fact that most of these organizations are professedly Protestant.

It is a sad commentary on our estimate of the value of freedom that Protestant organizations in the main are drifting away from their original moorings and from the foundation pillars of faith, and are joining hands with that system which, during the Dark Ages, claimed the right, and still claims the right, to use the civil power for religious ends, and whose history is stained with the blood of many martyrs.

Civil liberty and religious liberty stand or fall together. No nation can long maintain

one without the other. They are the two complements which make the proposition complete. While

we are striving to make the world safe for political de-

mocracy, we must not forget to save the world from religious autoocracy. A religious tyranny of the majority, confederated for the purpose of controlling political institutions and oppressing the minority, is not a whit better than a religious autoocracy of a few which menaces the rights of the majority.

Alliances of religion and politics are wrong in principle, and always dangerous to the cause of civil and religious liberty. The results of such a combination can only be religious and civil despotism. A union of religion with the civil government is incompatible with the teachings of the New Testament. The medieval custom of uniting the church and the state in so-called Christian nations, is not an outgrowth of true Christian principles, but is a practice borrowed from pagan nations, whose prevailing religions were always fostered by, or perhaps we would better say, identified with the civil governments.

The present tendency toward attempting to make people righteous and religious through the establishment of religious dogmas by civil authority is a danger signal at which we should take alarm. Sunday laws and universal compulsory Sunday observance, are an entering wedge, opening the gates for a flood of religious legislation to follow in its wake. It is high time that a strong voice of protest be raised against ecclesiastical encroachments upon our free institutions, and the conscience of the individual. A complete divorcement of the church from the state is in harmony with Christ's teachings, and is the only sure basis of domestic peace and religious freedom. Let us keep the church and state eternally separate, that truth, justice, and liberty may prevail, and that tranquillity and happiness may be promoted and more firmly established.

The Los Angeles Sunday Law Defeated Two to One

By W. F. Martin

SOME months ago the city of Los Angeles passed a typical Sunday law. This was enacted at the instigation of the bakers' union and other unions or parts of unions. The subject was not very much agitated previous to this, but when the people of the city woke up to the fact that their council had passed what they termed a "blue law," there was a great deal of indignation manifested. Many protests were sent to the city council. Delegations opposing the law came before the council a number of times and presented their arguments against the unjust measure.

On the other hand, the proponents of the law were active in their efforts. The leading ministers of the city appealed to the council not to listen to the petition, but to enforce the law. Those who agitated, threatened the council with the recall. It was argued by some that it was the wording of the bill which had stirred up the enmity, and that the people of Los Angeles were not opposed to Sunday legislation.

The original law was consequently repealed and a new one enacted. This found no better favor than the original. As the November election drew on, it was decided by the council to leave the matter to the voters of the city. A sample Sunday law was enacted by the council to be voted on. The great dailies of the city of Los Angeles were nearly all opposed to the proposed measure.

About this time the epidemic of influenza came to the city, and prevented a heavy vote on election day. The final returns showed that 26,390 people voted for the Sunday law and 50,586 against it. The measure was thus lost by a majority of 24,196. Thus Los Angeles retains its place in the ranks of liberty lovers.

This is no new experience for the city, nor, in fact, is it such for the whole State of California. In 1914 the people of California rejected a similar Sunday measure by a majority of 167,211. At that time the city of Los Angeles gave a majority of 28,405 against the State measure. It is a pleasure to know that in nearly every instance where such measures have been voted upon by the people, Sunday legislation has lost.

The American people are not ready to give over into the hands of others their privilege of working. Those who desire to do so can close their places on Sunday, and should be protected in that right. If the barbers and grocers of Los Angeles are really desirous of closing their shops, they certainly have the privilege of doing so. No one would force them to keep open. They have now a good opportunity to show their real loyalty to the cause which was so decisively defeated. It remains to be seen whether they have the courage of the conviction.

Sunday legislation is always inconsistent. It is not in the interest of the workmen. Even this latest of proposed Sunday laws is no exception to the above statement. While it closed grocery stores and bakeshops, it left restaurants, lunch stands, fruit stands, places for the sale of ice cream, theaters, and many other places open. It was altogether arbitrary in its requirements, and opposed to the basic principles of true Americanism.

May the good people of California always jealously guard their own rights and those of their fellow men.

We are Christians and believe not only in Christian morals, but in active, aggressive Christianity. We do not believe, however, in enforcing Christianity by civil law. The institutions of Christianity are for Christians only. Christian baptism, Christian Communion,

Christian belief, the weekly Christian rest, etc., are all good and helpful, but they are good only for Christians. What value could there possibly be in enforced baptism, or in a statute-imposed celebration of the Lord's Supper? or in a state-compelled



Post Office and Federal Building, Los Angeles, Cal.

profession of Christianity?—None whatever. Nor is there any more benefit derived from a state-imposed, statute-enforced weekly rest day.

The Lord invites willing service. He accepts no other. The state is not warranted in using its powers to compel any form or any measure of devotion to the divine Being. Church and state must be kept separate if our liberties are to be preserved.

Palace of Versailles, Nine Miles from Paris, Where



Versailles is a city of France, capital of the department of Seine-et-Oise. It is located on a plain south-west of Paris. The chief attraction of the place is the palace of Louis XIV, altered somewhat in its interior by Louis XV. Here was signed the preliminary treaty of peace between England and the United States in

IT is a principle of law that that which cannot be legitimately done directly cannot be rightfully done indirectly. But this just principle is flagrantly violated in Sunday laws, as we shall show.

It is very generally admitted, even by the defenders of Sunday legislation, that our American States have no right to require Sunday rest on religious grounds, but they insist that the state can rightfully require the same thing on civil grounds. This is to say, that if the state compels an individual to stop work on Sunday because of the religious character of the day, that would be doing him a wrong; but if it requires him to desist from Sunday work because rest one day in seven is a physical necessity, or something of that kind, there is no wrong done him.

Now, precisely the same thing is required of the individual in either case; precisely the same effect is felt by the individual. Yet we are asked to believe that in the one case he would be suffering a wrong, while in the other case there would be no wrong whatever done him. Whether he suffered an injustice or not would not be a question of the nature of the act or its result upon him, but only of the

A CONFESSION RELIGIOUS

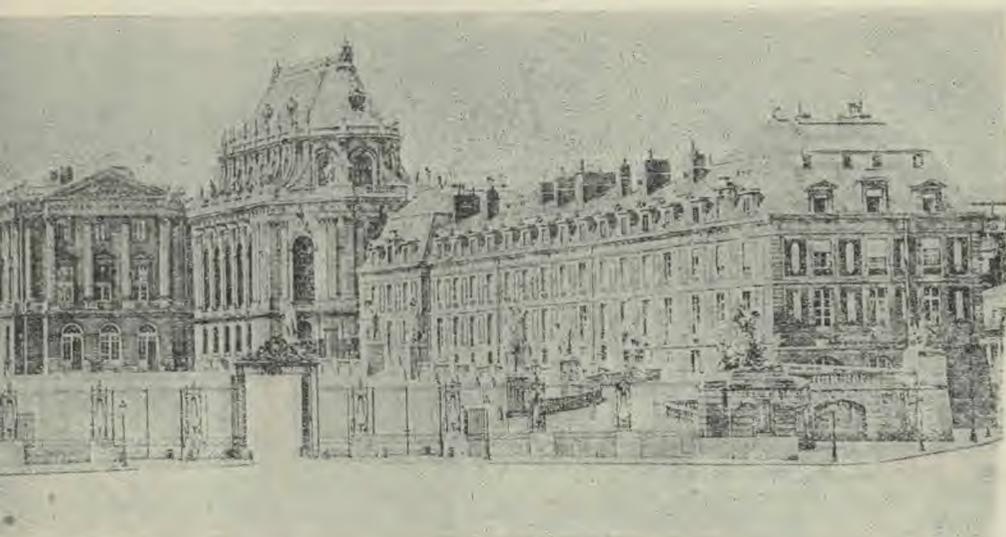
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motive by which the act was prompted! Such distinctions are, we confess, altogether too fine for our comprehension.

If the thing prohibited were wrong in its very nature, as murder or theft, the case would be different. The state does not deal with murder from a religious standpoint, that is, as a sin, but as a crime, and as such, prohibits it under the severest penalties. But honest labor upon any day cannot be justly classed with murder, theft, or any other act wrong in itself. Honest labor is not a thing to be prohibited as an enemy of social peace and order. It would be far more reasonable to prohibit idleness, since idleness is known to breed innumerable evils.

Peace Probably Will be Signed in the Near Future



1783. September 20, 1870, King William of Prussia, and the crown prince Frederick, entered the town, where William was proclaimed emperor of Germany, Jan. 18, 1871. On January 28, the capitulation of Paris was signed in Versailles. After peace, and until 1879, it was the seat of the National Assembly.

F INJUSTICE BY JUGGLERS

llman



In the case of murder, theft, or other crime, the act is wrong in itself, and is prohibited for that reason. By its prohibition no injustice can be done to any one. In the other case—where labor on Sunday is prohibited—it is admitted that injustice is done the person who is thus restrained, if the reason for the prohibition be a religious one; and this is an acknowledgment that labor is all right in its character and may be for the benefit of the person performing it, which could not be true of anything wrong in itself. This is to say in effect that the individual suffers a hardship in being compelled to lose one seventh of his time if the compulsion be imposed on religious

grounds, yet the very same hardship is no injustice at all if the reason for it is alleged upon civil grounds! Injustice becomes justice simply by alleging a civil reason for it in the place of a religious one! If this be true, then verily, there is something in a name, after all. But it is not true. The end does not justify the means. The means itself must be right.

We submit, however, that if it is wrong to interfere with personal freedom on Sunday on religious grounds,—if such interference would in any case be an invasion of one's rights,—it must be an invasion of rights and an injustice no matter how many changes may be rung on the name under which the action is sought to be justified. The act of compelling a man to stop his work and remain idle on Sunday could not be an invasion of his rights under one name, if it were not an invasion under every name; since the prohibition itself, and its effects upon him, remain precisely the same in every case.

The admission that it would be unjust to prohibit work on Sunday, save for the alleged civil necessity for such restraint, is fatal to the attempt to justify Sunday laws. It is a confession of their injustice.

Puritanical Tendencies of Local Authorities, Lay and Ecclesiastical, in the Later Tudor and Early Stuart Period

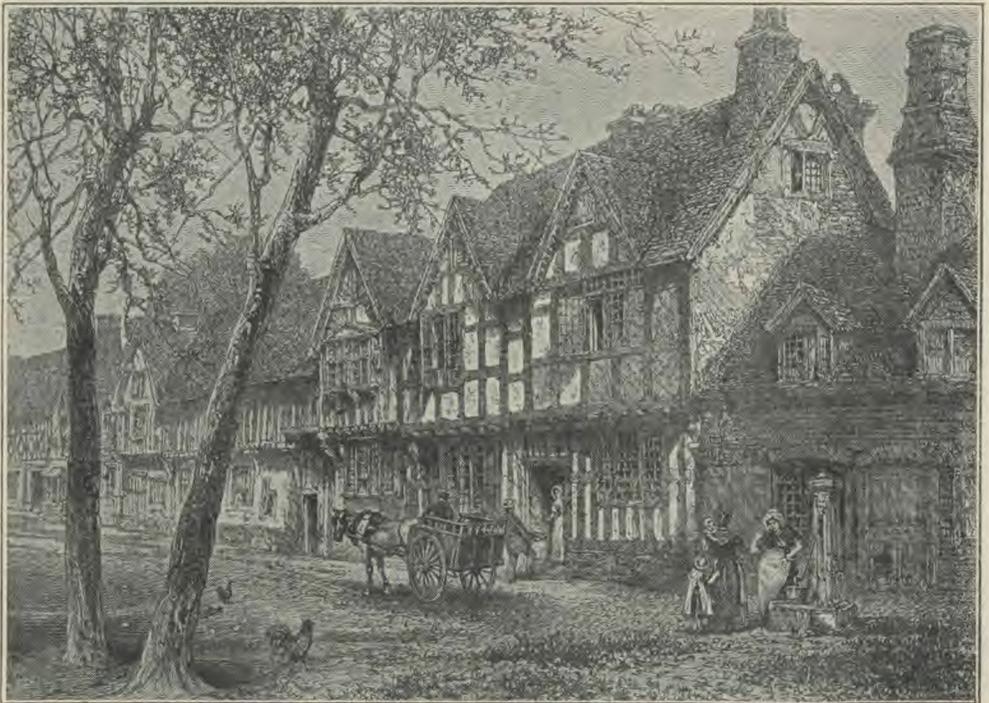
MR. A. H. A. HAMILTON, in his *Quarter Sessions from Queen Elizabeth to Queen Anne* (London, 1878) cites (pp. 28, 29) from the Devon records an interesting early instance of Puritanism on the part of the local authorities, acting, it would appear, at the instigation of the church. It is an order made July, 1595, at a session held in the chapter house of Exeter,—“the bishop apparently being in the chair,”—declaring:

“Church of parish ales, revels, May games, plays, and such other unlawful assemblies of the people of sundry parishes unto one parish on the *Sabbath day* and other times, is a special cause that many disorders, contempts of law, and other enormities, are there perpetrated and committed, to the great profanation of the Lord's ‘Saboth,’ the dishonour of Almighty God, increase of bastardy and of dissolute life, and of very many other mischiefs and inconveniences, to the great hurt of the commonwealth. [It was] therefore ordered that these assemblies shall be abolished on the Sabbath, that

there shall be no drink ‘used, kept, or uttered’ upon the Sabbath at any time of the day, nor upon any holiday or festival in the time of divine service or the preaching of the Word, nor at any time in the night season; nor yet that there shall be ‘any Mynstralsy of any sort, Dauncyng, or suche wanton Dallyances, used at the said May games.’”

In January, 1599, the justices went so far as to order “that parish ales, church ales and revels should be utterly suppressed,” and a market which had been held on the “Saboth” at East Budleigh was also abolished.

The query naturally arises, How widespread was this attitude—this enforcement of a strict observance of the Sabbath, and this attempt, on the part of the magistrates and the Church of England clergy, before the Puritan régime had really become dominant, to put down certain pot-valiant and ludicrous customs which had flourished in Merrie England time out of mind? An examination of such extracts from local records and from private



Street Scene near Warwick Castle, Early in the Seventeenth Century

letters as may be found in the reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, seems to show that the tendency was well marked in widely separated parts of the country from a period beginning comparatively early in Elizabeth's reign. For example, Robert, bishop of Winchester, writes Oct. 7, 1570, to William More, Esq., at Losely:

"Grace and peace. Where John Slifelde of Bifflete have heretofore binn admitted to kepe an Ale Howse, and for the well using thereof, as I thinke, is bounde be recognisaunce to our souveraigne Lady the Quene's majestie, so it is that he has this my last visitacion binn orderly detected to have mayntained dauncyng at his howse the Saboth day, and that in tyme of diuine service. . . . Wherefore you shall do well for example sake to take some streight order with him in this behalf."—*Hist. MSS. Comm., Seventh Report, p. 623.*

Again, some fifteen years later, a successor, Thomas, bishop of Winchester, was prompted to issue a circular letter, May 13, 1585,

"to the ministers, constables, churchwardens, and others of the several parishes of his diocese, against the impious and profligate maintenance of church ales, May games, Morrish daunces, other vaine pastimes on the Saboth dayes."—*Id., p. 640.*

Among the town records of Ipswich there is preserved an order of Dec. 6, 1571,

"for the better obseruance of the Sabbath day, that no inhabitant of Ipswich shall on that day open shop window or shop door for the purpose of selling wares on that day, the ordinance not to apply to butchers selling meat at hours other than the time of common prayer."—*Hist. MSS. Comm., Ninth Report, p. 254.*

On Dec. 6, 1599, it was further ordered that no waggoner or common carrier of Ipswich shall work on the Sabbath day; the order being made—

"forasmuch as the waggoners and comen carriers of this towne have and doe usuallie begynne to travell towards London everie week on the Tuesdaie with there wagons and carriages and doe come out of London on the Frydaye at afternoon and [apparently some word omitted, e. g., travel] by most part of the Sabothe daie to the great offense of Almighty God and contrarie to the lawes of the realme, and to the infamie and slander of this towne."—*Id., p. 256.*

To cite one more instance, the town authorities of Yarmouth ordered, Nov. 20, 1605,

"That noe carter nor bruer nor any other shall travel with their cartes and horses, nor do any other business upon the Sabboth daye upon paine for every such default so offending, of xii *d.* to be levied by the churchwardens."—*Id., p. 318.*

The interesting thing is that all these orders emanate from or are enforced by the authorities,—bishops, justices of the peace, town councillors, and churchwardens,—and are not the mere aspirations of the Puritan opposition. An extended study of the local records might furnish further evidence on the point, and modify the current views as to the attitude of the established order in church and state, a field in which Prof. R. G. Usher has done such valuable pioneer work in his "Reconstruction of the English Church."—*Arthur Lyon Cross, in the American Historical Review, January, 1916, pp. 312-314. The Macmillan Company, New York.*

Health and Sunday Observance—How Related

By A Preacher

AMONG the various excuses put forth for regulating the business of other people on Sunday is that it is detrimental to health to work seven days in the week. There are a number of things that are detrimental to health, and if Congress starts in to legislate on health matters, it has a wide field to explore. It is essential to good health to get the proper amount of sleep (which is rest in the truest sense). It is essential, also, to eat the right kind of food, and at the proper time, and in the proper amount, and have it hygienically prepared and combined. It is proper that one should diet for dyspepsia, or have a limb amputated because of a diseased bone. Certain

kinds of clothing are proper at different seasons of the year in order to have the adequate protection against cold in winter, and not suffer from heat in summer.

Bathing is also necessary and very healthful, provided the temperature of the water is suited to the physical condition of the person. Many eminent physicians also tell us that it is detrimental to health to smoke. Shall Congress legislate on all these questions, and countless others that might be mentioned? If not, why do so on the Sabbath question from the standpoint of health? The state, it is true, may properly compel a citizen to be vaccinated, not because he will die if he contracts the

smallpox, but because if he does contract it, he will be a source of contamination, and endanger the lives of others. But Sunday labor is not infectious. It endangers the civil rights of no one. It is no more uncivil to work on Sunday than on Wednesday.

But who knows for sure that Sunday labor is detrimental to health? It is comparatively easy to make a chart, indicating the deterioration of those who work on Sunday instead of loafing, but what are the facts? Take clergymen for instance. Many of these work during the week at the most taxing brain labor, and then on Sunday preach twice; and if they rise to the occasion, when they retire Sunday night they are weary. But what wearied them? Why, Sunday work, of course. But they are not

noted as a class as being the most short-lived mortals because they work on Sunday. Take doctors also. They are at the call of everybody seven days in the week; night or day they must go, and in all kinds of weather, yet they live about as long as other men. But notwithstanding, we are told that Sunday work is exceedingly detrimental to longevity. Farmers, perhaps, observe the day of rest as well as any class, but they are not noted as living longer than men in other occupations.

Legislation regarding the observance of a day of rest is a matter that does not belong to the state. It is a question between the individual and God, and men's conscientious convictions should not be interfered with by the legislative tinkers.

Guard Against Religious Legislation

By G. B. Thompson

AT this time when much special legislation is necessary, it would not be surprising to see some religious combination come forward, as in the past, asking Congress to make some regulations in reference to the observance of Sunday. But Sunday is a religious institution, and its observance is religious, not civil. It is well to constantly keep in mind the memorable words of the able statesman who reported adversely to the Senate of the United States on a Sunday bill in 1829:

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

To be sure, we should follow it to its ultimatum. There is no good reason why we should legislate about one religious institution and not about others. There is no more reason why we should enforce by law the observance of the Lord's day than the Lord's Prayer. If we are going to fine and imprison those who do not keep Sunday according to our notion, then we should see to it that everybody says the Lord's Prayer. Of course it seems shocking to the ordinary mortal to think of praying with a policeman's baton over him, ordering him to pray; but it is no more ridiculous than keeping a Sabbath under similar circumstances.

Then there is the Lord's baptism. Why not enforce that? Why allow so many to go around paying no attention to this holy rite? Why not get a bill through Congress compelling recognition of this ordinance — yes, as the Sunday

Mail Report said, "pursue it to its ultimatum"?

How do you think it would look, in this land of the free and the home of the brave, where there is a new order of things, and church and state is supposed to be eternally divorced, to see Congress settling *by vote* the mode of baptism? How would it look for a man who is not a Christian, perhaps is an Israelite, to speak to the question, and *by vote* fix the right mode for the whole country?

"O," you say, "this would be most shocking indeed!" Exactly! But it is no more shocking or out of place than for Congress to settle which day is the Sabbath and the proper manner of its observance. There is no more agreement as to which day is the Sabbath than as to which is the proper mode of baptism. Both are religious questions, with which the state has nothing whatever to do. They are questions which must be settled between the individual and his God.

Let us keep the church and the state separate. The union of the two has been the scourge of some of the fairest portions of the Old World. The union of church and state in this land will kindle the fires of persecution, and extinguish the torch of liberty. Let it not be done.

RELIGION is the only force in the world that I have ever heard of that does actually transform the life; and the proof of transformation is to be found all over the world, and is multiplied and repeated as Christianity gains fresh territory in the heathen world.—Woodrow Wilson.

Is Sabbath Rest Physical, or Spiritual?

By C. S. Longacre

IT is claimed by some people that God appointed the Sabbath day chiefly for man's physical rest. They argue that man's physical mechanism would utterly collapse under the strain of steady and continuous toil seven days each week, and that therefore the state is justified in compelling all people to rest physically at least twenty-four consecutive hours each week. Such statutes are ostensibly justified on the ground that the state has a right to legislate under the pretext of police regulations for the health of the people and the welfare of society.

But such was not God's purpose and design when he set forth his reasons in Holy Writ for appointing the seventh day of the week as "the Sabbath of the Lord." The Divine Record states that God "rested on the seventh day from all his work which he had made. And God blessed the seventh day, and sanctified it: because that in it he had rested from all his work which God created and made." Gen. 2: 2, 3.

But why did God rest on the seventh day? Was it because he was physically weary, and needed to recuperate his energies? That was not the reason why God rested on the seventh day. The prophet Isaiah declares: "Hast thou not known? hast thou not heard, that the everlasting God, the Lord, the Creator of the ends of the earth, fainteth not, neither is weary?" Isa. 40: 28.

Neither was the Sabbath made for man's physical needs. God made the night for man to recuperate his physical strength. During the day he was to work, and during the night he was to sleep. "They that sleep sleep in the night." Christ said: "I must work . . . while it is day; the night cometh, when no man can work." Christ did not cease his physical activities on the Sabbath day. Judging Christ's life from the New Testament record, he was more active in works of mercy and necessity on the Sabbath day than on other days of the week. His idea of Sabbath observance was that of doing good and ministering to the needs of others. The Pharisees' idea of Sabbath observance was that of doing as little as possible in a physical way. The man who was physically idle all day Sabbath measured up to the ideal standard of the Pharisee.

The rabbis had added to the original Sabbath law more than four hundred fifty additional prohibitions forbidding specific physical acts on the Sabbath day—things wholly innocent on any day. Christ was continually running counter to these man-made prohibitions, as he endeavored to show the people the true purpose of the Sabbath. When they

charged him with doing things on the Sabbath day that they considered unlawful, he would invariably answer his accusers: "It is lawful to do well on the Sabbath days."

While the people were to cease from their own works, they were not to cease doing the works of God. Sabbath keeping was not to be a cessation of activity, but a shifting of the object upon which and for which the labor was bestowed. God always condemned idleness in the strongest terms. Enforced idleness is compared to the "iniquity of Sodom." It can only be productive of all manner of evil.

God incorporated the Sabbath command into the very bosom of his immutable law. Paul declares: "We know that the law is spiritual." If the law is spiritual, then the rest of the fourth commandment, which is a part of this spiritual law, must likewise be chiefly "spiritual" instead of physical. If it was a physical rest merely, then a carnal man could keep the law; but we are expressly told that "they that are in the flesh cannot please God," and consequently the carnal man cannot keep the law of God. He cannot truly keep the Sabbath. If Sabbath keeping means merely physical rest, then an infidel and a mocker of God can enter "into the rest of God" and keep the Sabbath the same as the true children of God. But Paul tells us that only "we which have believed do enter into that rest; even as he hath said [concerning the unbelievers], As I swear in my wrath, They shall not enter into my rest: although the works were finished from the foundation of the world." Heb. 4: 3, 4, A. R. V. The Sabbath was given for a far different purpose than that of enforced physical rest.

Thus saith the Lord: "I gave them my Sabbaths, to be a sign between me and them, that they might know that I am the Lord that sanctify them." The Sabbath is God's sign of loyalty. It is his flag of honor. It is his memorial of creation and redemption. God made the Sabbath, and gave it to man to keep in his innocency, and after his restoration from sin he is still to observe it. "As the new heavens and the new earth, which I will make, shall remain before me, saith the Lord, so . . . from one Sabbath to another, shall all flesh come to worship before me." Isa. 66: 22, 23.

The Sabbath was set apart for worship and for man's spiritual needs. The idea of building up man's physical energies during the sacred hours of the Sabbath was altogether foreign to the thought and purpose of God. God ordained entirely different means whereby to replenish man's physical force, and when men

argue for the necessity of Sunday laws to compel all people to rest on that particular day of twenty-four consecutive hours, and put it on the basis of man's physical welfare and health, and that God ordained Sunday observance for this purpose, it is evident that they are neither Scriptural, logical, nor scientific in their assumption.

They are not Scriptural, because God never appointed Sunday observance. He did appoint the Sabbath, but for a different purpose.

They are not logical or consistent when they ask the state to compel all people to rest on Sunday for physical reasons, to conserve energy and health, or they would first ask the State to regulate the number of hours for a man to sleep each night; when and how much he should eat and drink; how much or how little clothing he should wear; how many baths he should take each week; and a thousand and one other things vital to a man's physical well-being.

They are not scientific, because there is nothing in nature that teaches a man the necessity of resting on Sunday. Nature forces its own obligations of man's necessities upon all men and creatures alike, which reason and instinct lead them to obey daily, without the aid of civil statutes.

We cannot help but conclude that those who are clamoring for compulsory Sunday observance in our legislative halls, on the ground of man's physical welfare and health, are really seeking to enforce their ideas of religious obligation. They have sinister motives. Let us not thus mix the holy with the profane, the spiritual with the carnal, and the religious things with civil matters. A failure to recognize this vital distinction can lead only to confusion and a union of church and state. Liberty, justice, and democracy demand that a clear line of demarcation be maintained between the religious and the civil, for the peace and safety of all.

Not for My Opinions, but for the Right to Have My Opinions

By Heber H. Votaw

HE was standing on the street corner in the capital city of one of the great States of the Union, talking of some of the simple principles that must be followed if men would preserve the precious heritage of health. With the exuberance of a healthy enthusiast, he made a sweeping statement which was immediately challenged by a man from among the company which had gathered about his platform. His reply was quick and forceful. Question, answer, hot retort, cool rejoinder followed, the itinerant apostle of the gospel of health showing complete mastery of himself and an acquaintance with both the weaknesses of hecklers and the changing humor of the street crowd, until, with all semblance of cool reasoning gone, the man from the audience poured forth a torrent of abuse as he hastened away.

It had been an interesting diversion, and the crowd laughed. The speaker laughed, too, but only for a moment. Suddenly his face sobered, and half turning, he pointed to the little service flag, with its two bright stars, which hung from a pole at the rear of his platform, and said:

"I love this land—my native land—because it guarantees to every man the right to his own opinion. The man who has just left has as much right to hold his views as I have to cherish mine. This precious privilege of freedom of thought and speech and press was first fully granted under the flag that we love,

and I stand ready to give my all to my country because it gives me this. I am ready to give all I have; I am ready to fight to the limit—not for my opinions, but for the right to have my opinions. The ink was scarcely dry upon the paper declaring war, when my two boys volunteered for service, because they had been reared to cherish this right above all others, and they knew that the triumph of Kaiserism meant the forfeiture of this great boon."

As I have thought of the distinction which the speaker drew, I have become fully convinced that it touches the core of real freedom. A man's opinion may change; his views may vary from time to time; changing conditions may completely alter his conclusions, and the man who fights for his opinions may be only opinionated. But he who fights for the right to have his opinions and refuses to be coerced into relinquishing that right, is a champion of the essence of true civil and religious liberty.

The Issue

FROM the standpoint of this magazine the greatest question before the American people is, Shall free government be preserved? or shall it perish not only from America but from the earth?

It was Col. Richard M. Johnson who wrote more than ninety years ago saying in substance

that religious combinations to effect a political object are always dangerous, and that when the political institutions of a country begin to bend under pressure from such a combination the end cannot long be delayed, and that we can read in the catastrophe of other nations what that end must be.

The intelligent reader needs only to be reminded that there are not merely one but a number of such organizations operating in this country, altogether trying to effect a religious object by political means. That they will be successful in the end there is little room to doubt; but that such success can be delayed is also true. To effect this delay is a part at least of the mission of LIBERTY magazine.

Sabbath Legislation and Liberty

THE following from pages 399 and 400 of the *Christian Statesman* for September, 1918, is enlightening:

"Legislation is essential for religious liberty. Sabbath legislation is essential for Sabbath liberty. No legislation should dictate to a man what he is to believe; nor can it compel him to go to church. But legislation should protect man in his right to Sabbath rest and worship. It should say: No smoke from those tall chimneys on the first day of the week. Stop those wheels on the Lord's day. Run no street cars that are not necessary for church purposes or other works of necessity and mercy. No noise from picnics on that day. No baseball to disturb the rest and worship of the day. No Sunday papers to be sold on the street any more than potatoes or strawberries. No ice cream and soda water and cigars may be sold on the Sabbath in drug stores or elsewhere. If a law does not protect the Sabbath, there is grave danger that its observance will be sadly weakened, if not destroyed.

"Right Sabbath legislation protects liberty. It protects the rights of society to a Sabbath. It protects the morality of the nation. It protects the individual. It protects the laboring man."

We deny the opening asseveration of the foregoing; namely, that "legislation is essential for religious liberty." It is no more true than that legislation is essential for freedom in writing or speaking. The law is supposed only to forbid the doing (1) of things that are wrong *per se*, that is, in and of themselves; and (2) of things that are wrong because of conditions, or surrounding circumstances.

For examples of the first class we might cite offenses against person, property, or reputation. To the second class belong laws against the pollution of streams, the creating and maintaining of nuisances, wasteful killing of game or taking of fish, the setting of fires in forest or on the prairie, shooting within corporate

limits, etc. Thomas Jefferson states the principle thus:

"No man has a natural right to commit aggression on the equal rights of another; and this is all from which the laws ought to restrain him; every man is under the natural duty of contributing to the necessities of the society; and this is all the laws should enforce on him; and, no man having a natural right to be the judge between himself and another, it is his natural duty to submit to the umpirage of an impartial third. When the laws have declared and enforced all this, they have fulfilled their functions, and the idea is quite unfounded, that on entering into society we give up any natural right."

The keeping of the Sabbath cannot be shown to come within this category. To the Christian man such observance is a religious service. To all others a day free from labor or business is simply a holiday to be used as the individual sees fit, having, of course, due regard to the equal rights of others.

We have said, and we here repeat it, that we find no fault with laws that seek only to secure to all men the right to a weekly rest day. Let the courts close on Sunday, as they have long done; let public offices be closed, as is now and has long been the case; let no man in time of peace be required to perform any service for the public on a day set apart by his religion as a day of rest. But at the same time require no man to regard any day merely because others regard it as sacred, provided his activities are not of a nature necessarily to interfere with the right of others to rest upon that day.

We have holidays—days when offices are closed, when banks suspend business, when courts do not sit, when schools are dismissed, and when the wheels of industry and of business are very generally silent. But we compel nobody to observe such days. These are permissive breathing spells; but the Sunday institution is different—here there is compulsion; the community *must* rest, the individual *must not* work. Why the difference? Merely because holidays are purely civil, while the Sunday institution is religious. There is no other reason; there can be none, and in enacting Sunday laws, legislators assume to compel the observance, in some degree, of a religious institution.

C. P. B.

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

"Gasless Sunday"

By K. C. Russell

THE Government requested, some weeks since, that automobiles should not be run on Sunday except in cases of extreme necessity. As the result of this request, the boulevards and favorite drives, previously frequented on Sunday by motorists, were at once deserted. One could easily imagine himself put back fifty years, for he heard no purring of gasoline motors, no sounding of Klaxons, and the streets of the cities were deserted. The Sunday pedestrian might cross the thoroughfares that were the most congested on week days without the slightest fear of suffering a violent death beneath the wheels of a speeding automobile.

Some have asked the question: "Was it not because of the assumed sacred character of the day that the Government made this request?" On the contrary, it is very evident that the question of Sunday sacredness had not the slightest bearing upon the Government in the issuing of the "gasless Sunday" request. It was made solely as a conservation measure, and the reason for choosing Sunday was the fact that most

of the riding in motor vehicles on this day is done for pleasure, and not in the pursuit of necessary business.

Some have undoubtedly been led to believe that the assumed sacredness of Sunday had much to do with the Government's request, and the advocates of Sunday legislation are in hopes that this request of the Government will give to the first day of the week the permanent prestige of civil authority. This, however, is denied by the most wary advocates of Sunday legislation. They well understand that this Government is based upon the principle of a total separation of the church and the state, and of course has no right to require by civil enactment or otherwise, the observance of any religious institution whatever; they therefore attempt to disguise the religious character of the day, and call it a "civil Sabbath."

Some of the most prominent advocates of religio-political legislation have, however, unguardedly admitted that it is the religious feature of the Sabbath that they desire to have protected by civil enactment, as the following shows:

Rev. W. F. Crafts, of Washington, D. C., says:

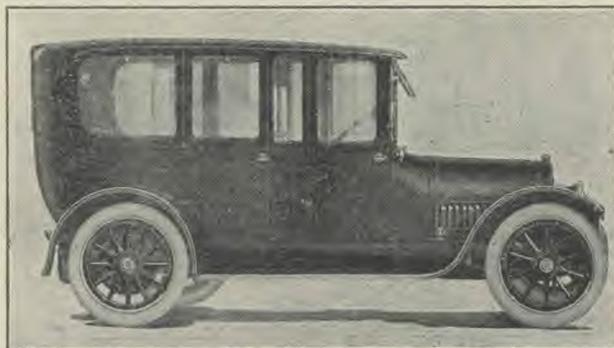
"A weekly day of rest has never been permanently secured in any land except on the basis of religious obligation. Take the religion out and you take the rest out."—*Hearing on Sunday Rest Bill,* Dec. 13, 1883, p. 21.

Dr. Joseph Cook once said:

"The experience of centuries shows that you will in vain endeavor to preserve Sunday as a day of rest, unless you preserve it as a day of worship."—*Boston Monday Lectures* in 1887.

The late Chief Justice Brewer of the United States Supreme Court clearly recognized the religious character of Sunday legislation, as is shown by the following paragraph from his book entitled, "The United States a Christian Nation," pages 29 and 30:

"Indeed, the vast volume of official action, legislative and judicial, recognizes Sunday as a day separate and apart from the others, a day devoted not to the ordinary pursuits of life. It is true, in many of the decisions this separation of



the day is said to be authorized by the police power of the state and exercised for purposes of health. At the same time, through a large majority of them there runs the thought of its being a religious day, consecrated by the commandment, 'Six days shalt thou labor, and do all thy work: but the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God: in it thou shalt not do any work, thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, thy manservant, nor thy maidservant, nor thy cattle, nor thy stranger that is within thy gates.'

In view of these statements it will require no argument to convince those who understand the principles upon which this Government was founded, as voiced in the First Amendment to the Constitution, "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion," that Sunday legislation is not only un-Christian but that it is un-American.

The request for a gasless Sunday did not violate this principle, nor was it designed to do so. It was issued as an easy and practical way of conserving gasoline, so essential for the successful prosecution of the Great War, now happily ended.

The League of Nations

(Concluded from page 5)

worldly kingdoms based on politics with the heavenly kingdom founded on grace. Confusion here can only raise false hopes ending in failure and disappointment.

But while those are extremists who expect too much from a league of nations, those who oppose such a league as of little value in political affairs, and worthless as a war preventive, are extremists of another type. They ignore the known facts of history. A league of nations as a distinctly political union founded for the purpose of making covenants of peace among the nations more secure and less likely to be broken, is certainly praiseworthy, even if it does not banish war forever from the earth. We can only hope and pray that its success in its legitimate field will exceed our fondest anticipations.

Centralized power, of course, can readily be misapplied and abused. If a political federation should join hands with an ecclesiastical federation for the purpose of enforcing both civil and religious obligations and coercing the individual conscience, we should have grave apprehensions, and should oppose such a combination with the utmost vigor. But until such a religio-political union is proposed, we have no more ground to object to a league of nations

than we have to criticize the work of our forefathers who federated the several States in a political union and a centralized government, the wisdom of which procedure time has fully demonstrated. While there is danger in such a union, yet its benefits thus far have greatly outnumbered its abuses. Let us be logical, consistent, and practical, and take alarm at dangers when they actually make their appearance.

TURN now to the temperance revolution. In it we shall find a stronger bondage broken, a viler slavery manumitted, a greater tyrant deposed. In it more of want supplied, more disease healed, more sorrow assuaged. By it no orphans starving, no widows weeping. By it none wounded in feeling, none injured in interest. Even the dram worker and the dram seller will have glided into other occupations so gradually as never to have felt the shock of change, and will stand ready to join all others in the universal song of gladness.—*Abraham Lincoln.*

THE persecuting spirit has its origin morally in the disposition of man to domineer over his fellow creatures, intellectually, in the assumption that one's own opinions are infallibly correct.—*John Fiske.*

National Reformers Demand Sunday Legislation

IN the Preliminary Assembly of the Third World Christian Citizenship Conference, held in Pittsburgh, June 23-27, last year,—really a conference of the National Reform Association,—Dr. Samuel Zane Batten, of Philadelphia, said:

“The churches of the world, negatively, are largely responsible for this war. We have represented disunion and division, rather than union and fellowship. We must organize the international life of the world on a Christian basis. That is the supreme question before the church and the world at this hour. What does it mean? We do not know. There is practically no light from the past. The first thing is to create an international commission and make that commission effective, and make that a parliament of men,—a federation of the world. The only thing is world federation. We must preach it. There must be a council representing all the nations. We must have a United States of the World, with a congress representing all the states, with a world supreme court to which cases may be referred. We must have a world police force, strong enough to meet any emergency that is liable to arise.”

This international parliament and federation of men and nations, we are told, is to be organized “on a Christian basis.” The churches as well as the nations are to federate into world organizations, and the National Reform idea is that these two world organizations are to unite in order to formulate “world law” “in the terms of world redemption,” and in this way usher “the kingdom of God into the world.”

All this sounds well, but if the proposed federation is to be influenced in any considerable degree by Dr. Batten and his coreligionists of the National Reform school of thought, there are vast possibilities for evil in it.

Dr. W. M. Rochester, of Toronto, secretary of the Lord's Day Alliance of Canada, in presenting his “Report of the World Commission on the Lord's Day,” told what their real motive was. He said:

“We need a holy day. The weekly rest day is not sufficient. . . . The world's sore need cannot be met by the weekly rest day, the holiday, but only by the holy day, the Christian Sabbath. The first great task subsequent to the war is to restore the Lord's day to its proper place in the life of the people.”

We do not want to be misunderstood. We believe with the Lord's Day Alliance that the Sabbath of Jehovah ought to be observed with true holiness, faith, and piety in the life of every Christian. We believe that all men ought to observe it, but we do not believe with the Lord's Day Alliance that any man should be forced to observe the Lord's day by the power and authority of the state, any more than he ought to be forced to receive the Lord's baptism, partake of the Lord's Supper, or pray the Lord's Prayer. All these are religious institutions, and should be observed religiously and voluntarily, or not at all. These are obligations we owe to God, and not to the state. A failure to recognize a distinction between religious and civil institutions has been the primary cause of all the bloody religious controversies and persecutions of the past.

Dr. Harry L. Bowlby, secretary of the Lord's Day Alliance in this country, made some striking statements in this meeting as to the aims of the Lord's Day Alliance in the United States. He said:

"The battleground of the churches during the next ten years will be on the field of the Christian Sabbath. The battle front of the Sabbath extends from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the Lakes to the Gulf. The church has been too long on the defensive, and must now turn upon the enemies of the Lord's day and hurl them out of this trespassed territory. The day is threatened with disaster. The time has come when every minister of the gospel must stand up and be counted, and when every church must have a clear vision of the dangers which threaten it through Sabbath desecration and the breaking down of the legal safeguards of our civil Sabbath. At no place in the church's battle lines are the drives of the enemy more terrific than at the point of our American Christian Sabbath. If the Sabbath goes, everything goes. The Sabbath is so absolutely foundational to all the work of the church, that if we lose it, Christianity herself will go. Christianity cannot stand and live if we lose our Christian Sabbath."

Dr. Bowlby does not mean that he is going to give up his Sabbath or the practice of Sunday observance. Nor does he believe that any real Christian is going to give up his day of worship. What he means is that we must have "civil laws"—Sunday laws—to "protect the churches and the day" if Christianity is "to survive." And truly, if Christianity had no better foundation than a civil Sunday law, it certainly would go down; for Christ said: "In vain they do worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men." Matt. 15:9. A church that trusts in man and makes flesh its arm, has the curse of God resting upon it. Such a church depends on civil laws to protect it and its institutions, and when these civil laws are taken away, and it has no divine laws to sustain it, it must go down. But true Chris-

tianity does not rely upon civil laws. Its foundations are divine laws. It is able to survive not only the absence of all human laws, but the fiercest opposition and assaults of its enemies. All that the true church needs to sustain her is a "Thus saith the Lord."

Let us beware of being seduced into unlawful connection with the state in spiritual things.

C. B. L.

Order Without Sunday Laws

IN December, 1889, Rev. W. F. Crafts, the field secretary of the American Sabbath Union, now chief director of the International Bureau of Reforms, said:

"Washington is now the most orderly and quiet city on Sunday of any city in the country."

But Washington was then, as it still is, without a Sunday law, which showed then, as it still does, that a Sunday law is not essential to a quiet, orderly Sunday, even in a great city.

The same might be truthfully said of Washington today. Without a Sunday law it is still a quiet and orderly city on Sunday.

Nor is Washington alone in this respect. This same Rev. Mr. Crafts tells in his book, "The Sabbath for Man," of sending out to a large number of representative men in different States and cities the question, "Where have you seen the best Sabbath observance?" A San Francisco pastor answered:

"Among the Christian people of California."

California was at that time the only State having no Sunday law. Yet on page 94 of the edition of his book published in 1885, two years after her Sunday law was repealed, Mr. Crafts says:

"Both laymen and ministers say that even in California the Sabbath is, on the whole, better observed, and Christian services better attended, than five years ago."

The same question submitted to a Christian business man of Chicago elicited the reply:

"Among the Christian people of Chicago."

Yet at that time Chicago was practically without a Sunday law, no effort being made to enforce the law upon the statute books. All of which goes to disprove the necessity of a civil law to enable people to keep Sunday, and to preserve the Christian Sabbath to Christian people.

C. P. B.

No man has a natural right to commit aggression on the equal rights of another; and this is all from which the laws ought to restrain him: every man is under the natural duty of contributing to the necessities of the society; and this is all the laws should enforce upon him.—*Thomas Jefferson*.

A Great Event

THE people of all the nations engaged in the Great War, ruled over by autocratic and despotic authority, have forced their rulers to abdicate and the new régime to declare in favor of democracy and religious liberty. This is one of the greatest events since the signing of the Declaration of Independence on July 4, 1776, and has caused the inhabitants of the earth to rejoice at the prospects of universal liberty and justice.

Seeking to Recover Fines

MANY of the merchants of Los Angeles, Cal., have sued the city, demanding that the council refund the fines paid in police court for violation of the recently repealed Sunday-closing ordinance, which was wrongly enacted by the council and repudiated by the people. If such a remedy could be enforced, it might save our country from much unnecessary and harmful legislation.

National Prohibition a Fact

PRESIDENT WILSON signed the bill on November 21, 1918, which will make our nation "dry" July 1, 1919. This is practically as great a victory as was the defeat of the Central Powers. The liquor autocrats have debauched and ruined more homes, and sent more people to untimely graves during the period of the war, than the total number that were wrecked, ruined, and killed in that great conflict.

Sunday Laws Unpopular

THE people of Los Angeles, Cal., on Nov. 5, 1918, were given an opportunity under the referendum law of the State, of voting on the proposition whether their city should have Sunday laws or not. They voted on the question of compulsory Sunday observance as follows: Against, 50,586; for, 26,390. This is the third time the citizens of Los Angeles have voted against the enactment of Sunday laws. Evidently the people in California believe in keeping religious and civil obligation separate.

A Public Rebuke

CHAIRMAN W. F. WOODWARD and Secretary John K. Kollock, of the State Council of Defense of Oregon, received a public rebuke from the people of Oregon for taking advantage of their office by endeavoring to force their peculiar religious views of Sunday observance upon the public contrary to the decision of the people. These men issued a general order that all business places were to be closed on Sundays. All over the State of Oregon the people held mass meetings and drafted protests and

signed petitions of remonstrance, many going even so far as expressing their intention of combating the Sunday-closing order of the State Council of Defense. A little more than a year ago the people of Oregon, by means of the initiative, repealed all their Sunday laws by a large majority vote. This general order of the State Council of Defense finally collapsed completely, because the civil authorities refused to enforce it, and the merchants everywhere ignored the order, claiming it had nothing to do with war-time necessities, but was purely a local ruling, out of harmony with public sentiment, and contrary to State law.

Compulsory Church Attendance

THE Santa Ana (California) City Council recently received a petition from the churches of Santa Ana, asking for the closing of poolrooms and moving-picture houses on Sundays. The petition stated the reason for such action as follows: "That the moving-picture houses are the strongest competitors that the churches have for Sunday evening crowds." What a commentary upon the relative drawing qualities of the poolroom, the movie, and the church; and what a wonderful remedy these gospel ministers have suggested to overcome this difficulty and drive their recalcitrant members into the church pews! The city council evidently concluded that America had outlived the time when they used to fine people ten shillings apiece for nonattendance at church services on Sundays, as they unhesitatingly rejected the petition, and advised the clergymen to present their appeal to the people under the initiative. But if there is one thing which the clergymen of California fear, it is a vote of the people upon such a question.

Some Things are Fixed

Two and two make four, not five. That is a settled fact in mathematics. Two parts of hydrogen and one of oxygen when united produce water. That is a fixed and permanent law of relationship discovered by science. The union of these two gases in this fixed proportion will always produce water.

The law of relationship between a tyrant and those oppressed by him produces conflict. There never can be peace between the oppressor and the oppressed, until the oppressed are set free and oppression ceases. That is a settled fact in political history.

If these fixed relationships and fundamental principles were practically recognized at all times in the political realm, what a happy and peaceful world this would be! The basis of lasting peace must be the stability of unchangeable relationships and invariable results.

Editorial Brevities

EQUAL and impartial liberty rests upon solid and indestructible principles. Until such a right is constitutionally guaranteed to each individual, democracy will have no safe footing in the world.

THE state should be in harmony with religion, but never be united with religion. The church should co-operate with the state, in rendering to it its just dues, but should never ask aid from the state.

THOUGH man may fail in his effort to make this world "safe for democracy," we should not forget that God has promised ultimately to make democracy safe for the universe, for to all eternity his subjects will be such because of their own free choice.

THE man who fancies that he "rules by divine right" does not have to stretch his imagination much to make himself believe that he, like Christ, is a mediator, sitting on "the throne of the Lord" for the purpose of propitiating the vengeance of an offended Divinity.

WHAT this poor sinning world longs for is mercy, not judgment; love, not hate; spirituality, not intellectualism; heart religion, not ceremonialism. The church that meets this need will most nearly fulfil her divine mission. The common people are sick and tired of cold, dead formalism and stern law. Let them have a little of the gospel of divine compassion.

THE American continent, with its rock-ribbed mountain ranges skirting its eastern and western slopes, hemming in the great Mississippi Valley, seems designed by nature as the world's fortress of liberty, as well as its cradle of freedom. May America ever stand as the guardian

of human rights, the dispenser of equal justice, the protector of the weak against the strong; and may she never forget to welcome to her shores the oppressed exiles and victims of tyranny and caste. May the divine purpose of the great American Republic—that of self-government and individual sovereignty in civic and religious concerns—never be betrayed by friend or destroyed by foe in times of peace or in stress of war.

OUR COVER DESIGN

WE present a new Liberty Statue on our front cover page, whose composition is not of bronze, brick, and mortar, but of 18,000 officers and men of the American Army, who dedicated their lives to the defense of the true principles of liberty, represented by the famous statue on Bedloe's Island.

The story of this living human monument is thus told by Mole and Thomas, photographers and designers of symbolic pictures in true perspective, 915 Medinah Building, Chicago:

"Eighteen thousand officers and men are represented in this living Statue of Liberty. The design for the living picture was laid out on the drill ground at Camp Dodge, in the beautiful valley of the Des Moines River. Thousands of yards of white tape were fastened to the ground, and 18,000 officers and men marched to their respective positions.

"The dimensions of the picture seem astonishing. The camera was placed on a high tower. From the position nearest the camera, occupied by Colonel Newman and his staff, to the last man at the top of the torch, was 1,235 feet, or approximately a quarter of a mile. From the base to the shoulder measures 150 feet; the right arm, 340 feet; the right thumb, 35 feet; length of left hand, 30 feet; the flame of the torch, 600 feet; the torch and flame combined, 980 feet; number of men in the flame, 12,000; number of men in the torch, 2,280."

This is a remarkable picture, significant with meaning. Autocracy attempted to extinguish the torch of freedom, but the defenders of democracy joined issue with autocratic militarism, and decreed its doom. The self-determined autocrats of absolute authority have been compelled to leave their thrones, and give place to the self-determined principle of government "of the people, by the people, and for the people."

This great war, which has cost billions in treasure and millions of lives on the altar of sacrifice, has given the Statue of Liberty a rebaptism, democracy a new birth, the world a magnanimous ideal, and a free people a tremendous task to promulgate and perpetuate the benign benefits of republican institutions, that liberty, equality, truth, and justice may prevail in all nations and among all people.

THE true church of Christ is a democracy of covenanted believers. It is a spiritual organization, that uses only spiritual weapons for spiritual ends. Its members are bound together, not by ecclesiastical bonds, not by civil coercion, not by dogmas or rites, but by a mutual and voluntary covenant with the Lord. Such a church must necessarily be separated from the state. The civil magistrate, as such, has no authority in it or over it. Christ and the unbelieving world are not united, nor can they be.

WHILE we are making "the world safe for democracy," we must not forget to make "democracy safe for the world." It is possible, in the exercise of supreme power over autocracy and over patriotic men who offer helpful criticism founded upon honest convictions, that we may lose the real spirit of democracy and the essence of constitutional guaranties, while we are seeking to uphold democracy. The Romans held to the constitutional forms of the republic long after they had lost

its spirit. They slew their tyrants, but tyranny still survived. This is a danger against which we must guard. Eternal vigilance is still the price of liberty.

A STATE religion puts the king and the bishop on the throne, and the dissenter on the rack. Fear and abject obedience are the demands of such a dual monarchy.

A Serious Reflection upon the Ambition and Vanity of the World's Great Men

ALITTLE while ago I stood by the grave of the old Napoleon—a magnificent tomb of gilt and gold, fit almost for a deity dead—and gazed upon the sarcophagus of rare and nameless marble, where rest at least the ashes of that restless man. I leaned over the balustrade and thought about the career of the greatest soldier of the modern world.

I saw him walking upon the banks of the Seine, contemplating suicide. I saw him at Toulon—I saw him putting down the mob in the streets of Paris—I saw him at the head of the army of Italy—I saw him crossing the bridge of Lodi with the tricolor in his hand—I saw him in Egypt in the shadows of the pyramids—I saw him conquer the Alps and mingle the eagles of France with the eagles of the crags. I saw him at Marengo—at Ulm and Austerlitz—I saw him in Russia, where the infantry of the snow and the cavalry of the wild blast scattered his legions like winter's withered leaves. I saw him at Leipzig in defeat and disaster—driven by a million bayonets back upon Paris—clutched like a wild beast—banished to Elba. I saw him escape and retake an empire by the force of his genius. I saw him upon the frightful field of Waterloo, where Chance and Fate combined to wreck the fortunes of their former king. And I saw him at St. Helena, with his hands crossed behind him, gazing out upon the sad and solemn sea.

I thought of the orphans and widows he had made—of the tears that had been shed for his glory, and of the only woman who ever loved him, pushed from his heart by the cold hand of ambition. And I said, I would rather have been a French peasant and worn wooden shoes; I would rather have lived in a hut with a vine growing over the door, and the grapes growing purple in the amorous kisses of the autumn sun. I would rather have been that poor peasant, with my loving wife by my side, knitting as the day died out of the sky—with my children upon my knees and their arms about me—I would rather have been that man, and gone down to the tongueless silence of the dreamless dust, than to have been that imperial impersonation of force and murder, known as Napoleon the Great.

I would rather go to the forest, far away, and build me a little cabin—build it myself—and daub it with clay, and live there with my wife and children; and have a winding path leading down to the spring where the water bubbles out, day and night, whispering a poem to the white pebbles, from the heart of the earth; a little hut with some hollyhocks at the corner, with their bannered bosoms open to the

sun, and a thrush in the air like a winged joy,—I would rather live there and have some lattice work across the window so that the sunlight would fall checkered on the babe in the cradle,—I would rather live there, with my soul erect and free, than in a palace of gold and wear a crown of imperial power.—*Robert Ingersoll.*

An Ode to Prohibition

(Tune: "America")

BY ELIZA H. MORTON

O PROHIBITION strong,
We've worked for thee, yea, long,
In halls of state.
Thou art our rear guard now,
Our courage we avow,
Thou wilt our cause endow,
For thee we wait.

In Congress soon the word,
And from it will be heard,
Stamp out the foe.
A nation will proclaim
For temperance, and the name
Will be a living flame
Where'er we go.

Let men of might arise,
And every one despise
That which is wrong.
Let temperance be sung
By old and by the young,
Let it be on the tongue
And linger long.

O God, our God, give strength,
And may this cause at length
Show forth its worth.
Our rally call shall be,
ON, ON TO VICTORY,
On land and on the sea,
In all the earth.

HOLD fast to the Bible. It is the sheet-anchor of your liberties; write its precepts on your hearts, and practice them in your lives. To the influence of this Book we are indebted for the progress made in civilization, and to this we must look as our guide in the future.—*U. S. Grant.*

UPON entering into society 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 instituted and organized as it should be.—*Alexander H. Stevens.*



*The GREATEST MOTHER in the WORLD
holds a sacred place of honor within our homes and in our hearts*

THE message that the American people stand as one behind our brave boys and gallant Allies, is the most cheerful "Merry Christmas" we can send them.

Let us make this a Red Cross Christmas—let us see to it that every member of every family joins the Red Cross. She is warming thousands, feeding thousands, healing thousands from her store—the Greatest Mother in the World.

All you need is a Heart and a Dollar



RED CROSS CHRISTMAS ROLL CALL



December 16-23

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