

LIBERTY

A MAGAZINE OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM



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Religious Liberty Association

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

1. We believe in God, in the Bible as the word of God, and in the separation of church and state as taught by Jesus Christ.

2. We believe that the ten commandments are the law of God, and that they comprehend man's whole duty to God and man.

3. We believe that the religion of Jesus Christ is founded in the law of love of God, and needs no human power to support or enforce it. Love cannot be forced.

4. We believe in civil government as divinely ordained to protect men in the enjoyment of their natural rights and to rule in civil things, and that in this realm it is entitled to the respectful obedience of all.

5. We believe it is the right, and should be the privilege, of every individual to worship or not to worship, according to the dictates of his own conscience, provided that in the exercise of this right he respects the equal rights of others.

6. We believe that all religious legislation tends to unite church and state, is subversive of human rights, persecuting in character, and opposed to the best interests of both church and state.

7. We believe, therefore, that it is not within the province of civil government to legislate on religious questions.

8. We believe it to be our duty to use every lawful and honorable means to prevent religious legislation, and oppose all movements tending to unite church and state, that all may enjoy the inestimable blessings of civil and religious liberty.

9. We believe in the inalienable and constitutional right of free speech, free press, peaceable assembly, and petition.

10. We also believe in temperance, and regard the liquor traffic as a curse to society.

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SECOND QUARTER, 1919

NO. 2

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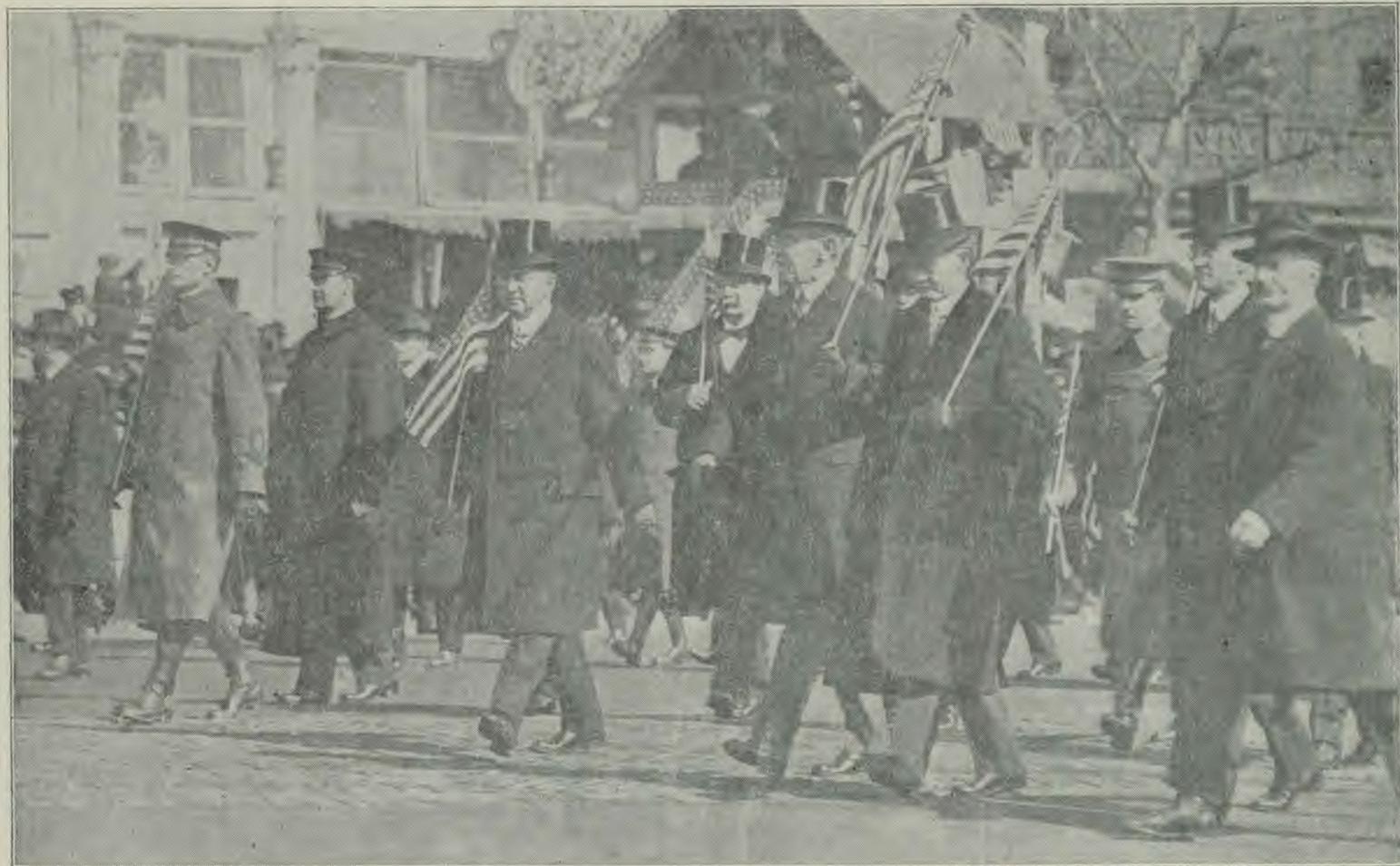
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PRESIDENT WILSON IN THE " WELCOME HOME " PARADE, WASHINGTON, D. C., FEB. 27, 1919

LIBERTY

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

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The Causes of BOLSHEVISM and the Remedy

By the Editor



THE reign of Bolshevism in Russia is only natural. No other results could have obtained under such conditions. Centuries of tyrannical and autocratic rule in Russia could have produced no other fruitage.

The autocratic power of the state claimed absolute control over the bodies, while the equally autocratic authority of the established church held tyrannical dominance over the souls, of all people in Russia. The individual had no rights which he could call his own. He was a mere tool, or serf, of the Russian state, and was not permitted to follow his conscience except as the Holy Synod of the Russian church directed. The church and the state were absolute in authority in all things, and the individual was nothing, except as he could be utilized to serve some end in behalf of the Russian church or state.

The Russian people had felt the iron heel of oppression on their necks for many years. This kept growing heavier with each passing year, and their love and respect for the church and the state kept growing less and less in proportion as they were being deprived of their civil and religious rights by the political and ecclesiastical autocrats. The whole political and ecclesiastical government of Russia had resolved itself into one of the worst tyrannical and despotic military machines the world ever saw. When once in the grip of this inhuman machine, no man could say his body or his soul was his own. From the highest officers in the state and in the established church, to the lowest lieutenant and priest in the ranks, there was no court of appeal in defense of the com-

mon rights of the common people to which any man could resort. The great masses of the people were being ground to powder by the political, military, and religious autocrats, and the common people had no advocate to plead their cause.

They saw, finally, that their only hope of deliverance from their dilemma was to institute a revolution against the old régime of the Russian autocratic form of government at a time when the possibilities of a successful revolution were most promising. In this the Russian people as a mass were a unit. Bolshevism was the natural outgrowth of the despotic and tyrannical rule of civil, military, and religious autocracy in Russia.

The present revolutionary movement in Russia and in other countries where civil and religious autocracy has fallen before the onward march of Bolshevism, should teach an impressive and lasting lesson to the remaining governments of men that have not yet fallen under this disintegrating influence. No government can afford to be tyrannical in dealing with any portion of its citizens, by ignoring civil and religious rights which are God-given and inalienable. Any government that treats its citizens or any portion of them as mere subjects and serfs, having no rights which they can call their own, in either civil or religious concerns, is bound, sooner or later, to reap the harvest of its own seed sowing. If a government sows to the wind of tyranny, it must reap the whirlwind of Bolshevism. It must expect to reap more than it sows. This is an unvarying law of nature.

When an oppressed people are suddenly released from centuries of thralldom, and from the grossest kind of darkness, and are quickly brought into the glorious liberty of the sons of freedom and into the full light of the modern world, their eyes are dazzled and their minds bewildered for the moment, and they are prone to lose the true path leading to the citadel of universal freedom and equality of rights. Their follies and mistakes are due more to errors of judgment and lack of experience than to badness of heart. A people who are liberated in such environment deserve our pity more than our censure.

The Russian people endured oppression until the bonds of tyranny could no longer restrain the desire to be free at any cost or sacrifice. Social welfare and human liberty began to be esteemed of greater value in the hearts of the soldiers, working classes, and peasants than national interests which meant only the strengthening of the hands of their oppressors.

One of the immediate causes which precipitated the Russian revolution and caused the soldiers and workingmen to rise up against their military masters, was the veto given to their appeal requesting the privilege of choosing their own military leaders. Their military masters, appointed by the autocratic power of Russia, did not have one iota of sympathy for the soldiers and workingmen, or interest in their social and material welfare. These men and their dependents were treated by their masters as vassals, with no promise of improved conditions in the future.

The military autocrat trampled with impunity upon every inalienable right of man, and utterly ignored the convictions of the individual conscience. The

czar said he would continue the war until the last *muzhik* (Russian peasant) was sacrificed. No one could question his arbitrary authority without paying the price of his life. No one had a right to interpose his duty to obey his conscience as a paramount obligation upon his soul, when it conflicted with the command of a military martinet. The abuses of military authority violated every principle of justice and humanity. In order that these abuses might cease, the soldiers and workingmen desired the privilege of choosing military leaders, who represented the masses more directly. When relief was denied them by the military autoerats, the spirit of unrest and discontent broke all restraint. Will the militarists of the autoeratic type in other nations learn a lesson from Russia's experience?

We believe that the leading responsible men holding high offices in the American Army and Navy and in the general Administration, have earnestly endeavored to uphold and maintain the high American ideals of essential justice and true democracy during the great war just concluded. Notwithstanding this, however, certain abuses occurred under subordinate officers which have caused dissatisfaction. Perhaps it was due to our defective military system, which we patterned after an autocratic instead of a democratic scheme.

According to reliable statements, the American Government needs to revise the regulations and laws of the military establishment as at present constituted and administered by some of the martinets in the American Army. We are informed by American jurists that our



Scenes in Russia



military régime in its arbitrary exactions is an exact reproduction of the autocratic military establishments of medieval Europe, and has been responsible for gross abuses and much dissatisfaction.

(Continued on page



JUSTINIAN'S COUNCIL

FEW people know the origin of Sunday laws. If the majority knew, they would no longer advocate such statutes, but would demand their repeal. A brief examination of the origin and development of Sunday laws will reveal clearly, not only their original nature, but their present object.

There is no record anywhere in history that any Sunday laws existed during the first three centuries of the Christian era. Christianity spread rapidly over the Roman Empire. By the beginning of the fourth century the persecutions of Christians had largely ceased. Christianity became popular, and, according to reliable church historians, greatly corrupted. Compromises of all sorts were made with heathen rites and a pagan state. Especially was this true of Mithraism, the new and aggressive Eastern form of paganism, which, being transmitted to the Roman world during the first century B. C., had now largely supplanted the older and more gross heathenism of the West.

Sunday was a day not only held in great reverence by the new paganism, being dedicated to its chief deity, the sun, but by this time it had come to be highly regarded by many Christians also, especially such as were converts from the new heathenism, because of the resurrection of Christ upon that day. Constantine, who was then emperor, seeing an opportunity to please both these parties, issued in the year 321 A. D. the following decree:

Origin, Development, Nature and Object of SUNDAY LAWS

By C. S. Longacre

“Let all the judges and townspeople, and the occupation of all trades, rest on the venerable day of the sun; but let those who are situated in the country, freely, and at full liberty, attend to the business of agriculture; because it often happens that no other day is so fit for sowing corn and planting vines; lest the critical moment being let slip, men should lose the commodities granted of heaven.”—*History of the Christian Church*, Philip Schaff, Vol. II, chap. 3, p. 105.

This, according to Chambers's Cyclopedia (article, “Sabbath”) is “the first law, ecclesiastical or civil, by which the sabbatical observance of that day is known to have been enjoined.” It will be noted that the Roman emperor did not in his decree enjoin the observance of the day for the reason that modern Christians frequently assign to its observance. He did not command it to be observed in honor of the resurrection of Christ, but of the sun deity, and for the heathen worshippers of the sun. Later, this law, with certain modifications, was incorporated into the church ritual by the great councils of the church.

The Church Council of Nicaea, in 325 A. D., legislated for the first time in favor of Sunday observance, by requiring all Christians to observe Easter annually on Sunday, instead of, as previously, on the same day as the Jewish Passover, which, being regulated by the moon, fell upon different days of the week in different



CHARLEMAGNE ENFORCING BAPTISM UPON THE SAXONS

years. The Council of Laodicea, held in 364 A. D., in its twenty-ninth canon, sought further to honor Sunday by an attempt to abolish the observance of Saturday, the seventh day, among Christian believers, forbidding them to "be idle" except on Sundays.

Whatever effect this may have had in suppressing the observance of Saturday, the seventh day, it is evident that the decrees of the church councils did not at once prevent the majority of the Christian believers from resting on the ancient Sabbath and working on

Sunday. Chief Justice Clark, of the Supreme Court of North Carolina, in his judicial review of Sunday legislation, says:

"As late as the year 409 A. D. two rescripts of the emperors Honorius and Theodosius indicate that Christians then still generally observed the Sabbath (Saturday, not Sunday). The curious may find these set out in full, 'Codex Justin,' lib. 1, tit. 9, CX. 13. Not till near the end of the ninth century was Sunday substituted by law for Saturday as the day of rest by a decree of the Emperor Leo (Leo Cons., 54)."—*North Carolina Reports, Vol. CXXXIV, pp. 508-515.*

Thus we see that Sunday laws and Sunday observance progressed together. Civil transactions and amusements were not strictly forbidden until the court and the circus became a rival of the church for public patronage on Sundays. At a church convention held at Carthage in 401, the bishops passed a resolution to send up a petition to the emperor, praying—"that the public shows might be transferred from the Christian Sunday and from feast days to some other days of the week."

The reason given in support of the petition was:

"The people congregate more to the circus than to the church, and it is not fitting that Christians gather at the spectacles, since the exercises there are contrary to the precepts of God; and if they were not open, the Christians would attend more to things divine."—*Neander's "History of the Christian Church" (edition 1852), Vol. II, p. 300.*

The bishops wanted a "civil" law to favor church attendance. The desired law was finally secured, upon which Neander thus remarks:

"In the year 425, the exhibition of spectacles on Sunday, and upon the principal feast days of the Christians, was forbidden, in order that the devotion of the faithful might be free from all disturbance. In this way, the church received help from the state for the furtherance of her ends, which could not be obtained in the preceding period. But had it not been for that confusion of spiritual and secular interests, had it not been for the vast number of mere outward conversions thus brought about, she would have needed no such help."—*Id., p. 301.*

Compulsory Sunday legislation established a precedent for other religious measures at the hands of the civil magistrate. While the law-makers did not compel people at first to attend church, but to close on Sunday every place except the churches, yet having taken the first step in the wrong direction, they soon carried compulsory religion to its logical conclusion, by compelling all people "to be in attendance at divine services on Sunday" under the most exacting penalties. A little later, Justinian issued a "civil" proclamation, giving all men in the Roman Empire three months to embrace Christianity, or lose all office, property, or

right of inheritance. (See Bower's "History of the Popes," Vol. II, p. 334.)

Charlemagne, in the year 800, made a "civil" Sunday law, compelling all people, whether religious or nonreligious, to attend church on Sunday. His law read as follows:

"We do ordain, as it is required in the law of God, that no man shall do any servile work on the Lord's day: . . . but that they all come to church [literally, come to mass] to magnify the Lord their God."—*Quoted in "The Sabbath for Man," Wilbur F. Crafts, p. 556.*

The Puritans of New England and the Established Church in Virginia used to fine any one who did not "attend divine service on Sunday" ten shillings for each violation of the compulsory church attendance law.

This is a brief sketch of Sunday laws and their natural development and logical outcome. The primary object of all Sunday legislation is to compel people to act religiously, to attend church, and to support places of religious worship. This is the real design of religious laws, no matter what pretext may be urged at first by those who clamor for this kind of legislation.

Every one acquainted with the history of the past knows that the Christian church and the state were first united under Constantine. The first step in that direction was the enactment of a Sunday law, not directly, it is true, but in effect. It established a precedent for religious legislation. All religious legislation that followed fell back upon Constantine's Sunday law precedent for legal authority. Similarly the early ecclesiastical legislation in favor of Sunday is now appealed to in support of the power of the church. If any one questioned the authority of the church to ordain new feast days and holy days, and to compel all sects to observe such feasts under penalty, the ready answer was:

"Had the church not such power, she could not have substituted the observance of Sunday, the first day of the week, for the observance of Saturday, the seventh day, a change for which there is no Scriptural authority. The church has power to command feasts and holy days by the very act of changing the Sabbath into Sunday, which Protestants allow of, and therefore they fondly contradict themselves by keeping Sunday strictly, and breaking most other feasts commanded by the same church."—*"Abridgment of Christian Doctrine."*

Through Sunday laws the church entered the legal door which introduced her into state functions, and finally gave her the opportunity to assume absolute supremacy over the state and over all religious sects. Conscience was chained, and truth imprisoned. Through the bestowal of this absolute authority, the church became the greatest persecuting power the world has yet seen. In Sunday legislation was contained the germ of that whole system of

spiritual despotism and intolerance which led to the establishment of the tribunals of the Inquisition.

Like causes always produce like effects. The enactment of a Sunday law in the fourth century paved the way for an entire union of church and state, which resulted in all the horrors and persecutions of the Dark Ages. Unless similar tendencies in the United States

are checked, we will repeat the history of the past. The same seed will produce the same fruitage. Every lover of civil and religious liberty should raise his voice and pen in protestation against all religious measures in our legislative halls. The first step in the wrong direction is dangerous, as it may precipitate the last — over the precipice at the end of the trail.

What is Involved

JAMES S. MARTIN, general superintendent of the National Re-

form Association, had an article in the January number of the *Christian Statesman* restating the aims of the association and telling something of its work.

Among other things, Mr. Martin declares that the association of which he is superintendent —

“stands unswervingly for . . . the proper observance of the Lord’s day; the use of the Bible and training in Christian morality in our public schools; all our Christian usages, customs, laws, and institutions, including Christian acknowledgments in State constitutions, decisions of the courts of our country to the effect that Christianity is part of the common law of the land and the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in 1892, ‘This is a Christian nation.’

“Aims thoroughly to Christianize the nation and have it, as a nation, accept Christ as its King, and so change its fundamental law as to at once fittingly express its Christian character and legally safeguard our national Christianity.”

Let us examine this a little and see just what is involved in this National Reform program.

We are not in doubt as to what Mr. Martin means by “the proper observance of the Lord’s day,” his name for Sunday. He does not contemplate a better private observance of the day, but more drastic laws compelling its public observance and a more rigid enforcement of the statutes already in existence; so his “proper observance of the Lord’s Day” is to be secured by a more vigorous use of the policeman’s club.

“The decision of the Supreme Court of the United States” to which Mr. Martin refers, was not technically decision at all, but *dictum*.

By C. P. Bollman

It is true that in deciding the point at issue, namely, the scope and meaning of

the United States contract labor law, Justice Brewer used the expression, “This is a Christian nation,” but there is nothing to indicate that the learned justice meant more than this, namely, that in a general sense, as contrasted with Jewish, Mohammedan, or pagan peoples, this is a Christian nation, or in other words, a nation of Christians, and that, therefore, the court must assume that Congress had no purpose to enact any legislation hostile to Christianity.

The intent of “the lawmaker is the law.” Therefore, in construing a statute it is frequently the case that a court inquires into not only its wording, but the circumstances under

which it was enacted, the agitation that led up to its adoption, and the history of those by and for whom it was made. In the Trinity Church case, referred to by Mr. Martin, it was seriously insisted that the bringing of a minister from London to New York under contract to serve as pastor of Trinity Church, was a violation of the contract labor law. The court of last resort decided that it was not a violation of the law, and in handing down the decision Justice Brewer not unreasonably urged that the history and traditions of the American people were against the view

that the Congress had any intention to enact any law in any degree hostile to Christianity, or that would in any way interfere with the free action of a church in securing a pastor where and how they would. It is true that Justice Brewer might have arrived at the same conclusion by way of the words of the First Amendment — “Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or pro-



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JUSTICE BREWER

hibiting the free exercise thereof." But he chose the longer, and more involved, course; and from that day to this, National Reformers have not failed to make the most of his words, dubbing the expression, "This is a Christian nation," a "decision," and exploiting it in every way possible, to the detriment of that perfect freedom of religious faith and profession guaranteed by our National Constitution to every person within the territory of the United States, so far at least as Congressional action is concerned.

This evil work of National Reform has been carried on for more than half a century, and the end is not yet; for it must be admitted that the movement is gaining ground, largely, it is true, through the carelessness and over-confidence of the great mass of the people, but gaining nevertheless. It is time that Americans should realize more fully than many of the present generation seem to do, that "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty."

National "Reform" means and can mean nothing less than the establishment of Christianity as the legal religion of the United States; and that means in turn that our courts shall decide all manner of religious questions, and that according to the National Reform interpretation of the Sacred Scriptures. The whole program is evil and only evil continually.

The Causes of Bolshevism and the Remedy

(Continued from page 28)

The spirit of democracy in a democracy must enter into the military management of our Government as well as into the legislative, judicial, and executive branches. The democratic principle must be substituted in place of the autocratic. Rank and position in a military democracy must not destroy the principle of essential justice and the civil right of equality of the citizen before the law.

Likewise, the American capitalist must heed the voice of conscience, and not oppress the laborer who makes possible the amassing of his fortune. Unless tyranny and injustice are eliminated from our dealings with our fellow men in our military, financial, and social relations, we can expect no other fruitage in America than the rapid spread of the baneful doctrines of radical Socialism of the Bolshevist type.

We must not bring our splendid form of government into ill repute by mismanagement and misapplication of its democratic principles. Let liberty, justice, and equality of right control every function of the state in times of war as well as in times of peace, and we shall have found an effective remedy for the dreaded diseases — racial Socialism and Bolshevism — in

short of all "isms" of all sorts that strike down the rights of the individual in the supposed interests of society or of the nation.

While Bolshevism attempts to correct one form of national injustice, it swings the pendulum of sovereignty to the other extreme, which is more destructive of the principles of essential justice than the system it endeavors to overthrow. No form of government can long endure that attempts to lift itself up by pulling down the pillars of the temple of justice. Let us correct the abuses in the best form of government, that a worse form may not be thrust upon us.

True Liberty Well Defined

THERE is and can be no conflict between legitimate civil government and legitimate civil liberty.

This is not to say, however, that any man has an absolute right to do as he pleases, without reference to the equal rights of others.

The game in the forests, the fish in the streams, the grass in the parks, etc., are common property, and the rights of the individual are not invaded when he is forbidden to kill the game out of season, to catch the fish in a wasteful manner, or to walk upon the grass in the park. In all these things he is simply required to have proper regard for the equal rights of his fellows.

We might go much farther than this, and say that coal and mineral deposits, water power, public water supplies, public utilities, etc., belong, not to private individuals, nor yet to corporations, but to the whole people, and that they ought to be administered for the benefit of the people.

Call this Socialism if you will. There are some good things in Socialism. There is, however, Socialism and Socialism. The Socialism that seeks to make every man merely a cog in a great wheel, that would substitute communities for families and hand out education, religion, and about everything else ready-made, would be the worst kind of despotism. True liberty demands that the individual be left as free as possible, his liberty of thought, expression, and action being limited only by the equal rights of his fellow man.—*Washington Post*, May 10, 1918.

DISTINCTIONS and special privileges based on birth and blood are the corner-stones of autocracy, but they have no place in the laws of a democracy which derives its "just powers from the consent of the governed." A true democracy liberates the hands from the chains and the soul from the fetters which have been put upon them for conscience' sake.

Congress Again Asked to Close Theaters and Moving Picture Shows on Sunday

By C. S. Longacre

THE Pastors' Federation of Washington, D. C., took a census on a recent Sunday and discovered that only 7,000 people were in attendance at the Sunday services in fifty Protestant churches, while 50,000 were in attendance at thirty-eight theaters and moving picture shows on the same Sunday. The churches were slimly attended, while the places of amusement were filled to overflowing. This revelation created a feeling akin to jealousy, and the Pastors' Federation and the Lord's Day Alliance promptly called a mass meeting for the purpose of urging the passage of a general Sunday observance law by Congress for the District of Columbia. At this mass meeting a number of leading clergymen and the national secretary of the Lord's Day Alliance made fiery speeches, and raised more than one thousand dollars to launch a campaign to prohibit all Sunday labor and business, especially the operation of all places of amusement—in fact, to outlaw all "Sunday amusement for amusement's sake."

A drastic Sunday bill has been prepared the enactment of which would virtually create a situation in Washington such as would compel all people to go to church on Sunday if they went anywhere. The secretary of the Lord's Day Alliance urged that each denomination, not only in Washington but throughout the whole country, get behind members in Congress, and have them pass a Sunday observance law, and thereby practically close all public places on Sunday, except churches and other places of worship.



A Washington Theater

The District of Columbia has never had a Sunday law. Not less than one hundred fifty Sunday observance bills have been introduced into Congress during the past three decades, but thus far Congress has refused to meddle with religious questions. Our Federal Government has adhered to the strict letter as well as the spirit of the First Amendment, which reads: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." Congress cannot pass a Sunday law without overriding this Amendment.

The following editorial in the *Washington Herald* of February 11, dealing with this Sunday-law movement on the part of the Pastors' Federation, is right to the point:

"It is unfortunate that some of the churches of the city again have raised a cry against

Sunday amusements, and threaten to carry on a fight before Congress to secure a Sunday closing law for the District. This resolution is the result of a mass meeting held on Sunday.

"It is unfortunate because it is going to make the church unpopular. Yet its object is to gain popularity for the churches.

"This paper always has and always will support the churches of Washington and their work. We devote all possible space to their activities. During the Billy Sunday campaign we printed twice as much news about the campaign as any other newspaper in Washington.

"But when the churches of Washington try to fill their pews through force, we are against it. We believe that Washington needs Sunday amusements, and we believe that if they are restricted it will be the restriction of Constitutional rights. Surely the church and its people should realize the value of liberty. The history of the church through the ages certainly shows what radical measures have been taken to secure religious liberty.

"The crux of the whole situation is probably summed up by one of the preachers who quoted figures to show that on a certain Sunday 7,000 people attended fifty churches, while more than 50,000 people attended thirty-eight motion picture shows. This statement in itself gives to the layman the impression of jealousy in the church.

"Surely the pastors do not think that the 7,000 should be allowed to tell the 50,000 just how they should spend their Sunday. And do they think that if they were successful in depriving the 50,000 of their choice of entertainment, that the 50,000 would turn to the church the very agency that deprived them? Common sense argues otherwise.

"We are looking at the subject with the good of the city in view, and we believe that the good of the city requires Sunday amusements. Washington is in a very unique position right now. There is an opportunity at hand to make the city one of the foremost in the country with the attendant danger of its deteriorating in size and importance to a somnolent village. Provincial blue laws will tend to bring about the latter alternative.

"We must bear in mind that Sunday is the only day on which a number of our people can indulge in any form of amusement, and that there are religions whose Sabbath day does not mean Sunday. We do not argue the wisdom of their belief, but under our Constitution, they are entitled to it.

"So far as our amusements are concerned, there is nothing to show that they have in any way corrupted the morals of the community.

In fact they are under police supervision and we believe that our city is far better off with its citizens sitting in a theater on Sunday evening than if these same people should flood the streets seeking other amusement which, because of its scarcity, might take baser form.

"The churches should remember, too, that the day is already partly restricted to them, as theaters are not allowed to open until three in the afternoon. This gives to the church full sway on Sunday morning. If they cannot induce sufficient to attend these services, something is wrong with the church.

"We would like to see Washington purged of everything tending toward viciousness, and we have on numerous occasions conducted campaigns against vice that was very apparent, but when the churches seek to eliminate Sunday amusements they are ill advised, and their activities instead of filling their pews will have an opposite tendency."

Puritanism, in the colonial days, compelled all people under its civil and religious jurisdiction "to attend divine services on Sunday." A nonconformist was fined ten shillings for nonattendance at church on Sunday. Dr. Bownde, a Puritan, published a treatise on the Sabbath, wherein he maintained that it was an act of immorality not to attend divine service on Sunday, and "all the Puritans fell in with this doctrine."

There can be no sound reason given why the theaters and movies should be closed by civil authorities, at the instigation of some churches,

upon one day of the week while admitting their lawful operation on every other day of the week, except it be that the church ritual regards the day as sacred. But this latter reason makes such legislation religious and consequently unconstitutional.

If the theaters and movies are breeders of crime, then the state ought to prohibit them every day in the week. But the civil law has no more right to prohibit legitimate business on Sunday because the church demands it than it would have to prohibit church prayer meetings on Wednesday night because the movies demand it in the interests of their business.

The individual who believes that it is morally wrong to disregard Sunday as a sacred day ought to be encouraged to be true to his conscience until it can become properly enlightened, but he should not be allowed to make his conscience the guide and monitor for his neigh-

(Continued on page 42)



This quiet scene is suggestive not of compulsion, but of piety and freedom. Only willing service is pleasing to God.



Photo, R. & H. Pub. Assn.

FLOAT REPRESENTING THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF THE PEACE

IF America were at this juncture to fail the world, what would come of it? I do not mean any disrespect to any other great people when I say that America is the hope of the world, and if she does not justify that hope the results are unthinkable. Men will be thrown back upon the bitterness of disappointment not only, but the bitterness of despair. All nations will be set up as hostile camps again; the men at the Peace Conference will go home with their heads upon their breasts, knowing that they have failed—for they were bidden not to come home from there until they did something more than sign a treaty of peace.”—*From President Wilson's speech at Boston, Feb. 24, 1919.*

President Wilson is correct in saying that politically “America is the hope of the world.” America is the synonym of liberty and all its attendant blessings. It was the first nation to give a political meaning to the divine proclamation for universal freedom: “Proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof.” America stands for world freedom. Nor can this nation consistently slacken its efforts to realize this ideal until “all the inhabitants of all the earth” are set free in civil and religious matters. As a people Americans regard “liberty as the greatest of all earthly blessings.”

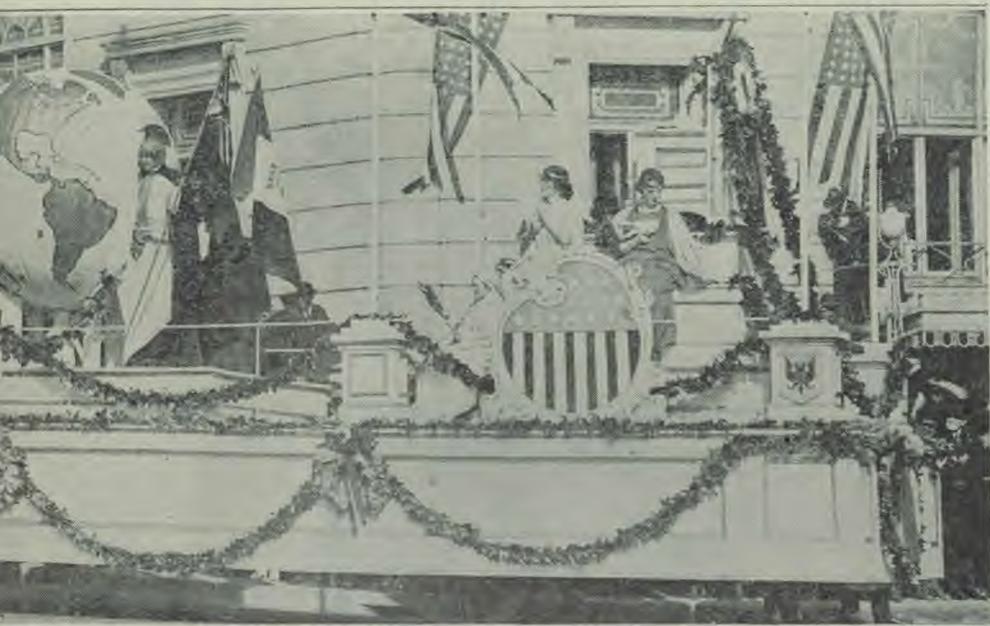
America the Hope of the World

By C. S. Lewis

“Give me liberty, or give me death!” was the battle cry of our forefathers. By voice and pen and by the sacrifice of their lives upon the altar of freedom they redeemed America from the chains and shackles of Old World oppression and tyranny that had already fastened itself upon the New World. It was God's purpose that America should be free.

Wendell Phillips voiced American sentiment when he said: “The Carpathian Mountains may shelter tyrants. . . . For aught I know, the wave of Russian rule may sweep so far westward as to fill once more with miniature despots the robber castles of the Rhine. But of this I am sure: God piled the Rocky Mountains as the ramparts of freedom. He scooped the Valley of the Mississippi as the cradle of free States. He poured Niagara as the anthem of free men.”

America was the first nation to recognize the inalienable rights of the individual—the greatest of which is the unmolested enjoyment of “life,



PEACE, IN WASHINGTON'S "WELCOME HOME" PARADE, FEB. 27, 1919

of the World

acre

liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

The enjoyment of liberty is the most precious boon in this life. The gift of life without the gift of liberty would be but subject slavery. No person can be truly happy as long as he and others are in bondage. Consequently the greatest of all earthly blessings and inalienable political rights is liberty.

Our great and glorious nation is the only nation that ever guaranteed in its fundamental law liberty in its fullest and truest sense. Here democracy has come into full bloom and has yielded its most benign fruitage. It is a government of the people, by the people, and for the people. The people know no masters and no rulers but such as they themselves choose. Immediate and final sovereignty rests with the people. Americans realize that civil and religious liberty stand or fall together. The conscience of the minority must be held as sacred as the conscience of the majority.

If America ever repudiates her fundamental principles of the equality of civil and religious

rights in the individual, denies the right of the free exercise of the individual conscience in religious matters, abandons the true principle of separation of church and state, and abdicates the sovereignty of democracy for the tyrannical rule of autocracy, — if America turns the wheels of progress and civilization backward instead of forward,—the last hope of reforming the world politically is gone. Whenever America and Americanism go down, the hope of lasting political world reconstruction is lost, for when the hope of America perishes the world is doomed.

But we must not close with this dark picture even if America should fail and this present world be doomed, for our trust is in One who is greater than America. If all men and all earthly systems should fail us, we still believe in the eternal truth of which Lowell wrote so forcefully:

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

An Eloquent Tribute to Democracy and American Ideals

REPRESENTATIVE MOON, chairman of the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, set forth his ideas of the principles of democracy and the hopes and ideals of the American people, in an eloquent speech delivered before Congress Dec. 16, 1918, of which the following paragraphs are excerpts:

"Let us rejoice to see the principles of democracy spreading over the earth; I do not mean a partisan democracy, but that great democratic thought that makes the world restless today; that great innate force for good that has actuated men in all the ages—the love of freedom, the love of justice; that love that finds for its habitat no particular section, but lives the world over; that great spirit of democracy that whispered words of hope into the ears of men before Aaron was a priest, Moses a prophet, or David a king—ever seeking justice, ever standing for the right—that spirit that survived the chariot wheels of the pagan warrior, the battle-ax of the Romans, the Inquisition of the Spaniards, and the cannons of Great Britain; that spirit that has lived to kindle the fires on every altar erected to human liberty, that has opened the doors of every temple where men worship their Creator in obedience to their own consciences; that has loosened the shackles of slaves and placed the crown on the brows of the martyrs to truth; that catches the humble boy by the hand and leads him into the path of rectitude and bids him follow it as the only open way to the pinnacles of immortal fame.

"That spirit, standing under the shadow of the cross, that has echoed the divine proclamation for 2,000 years of 'Peace on earth and good will to men;' that directed the hand that wrote the Declaration of Independence and hovered over the cradle of the Republic, may it live until every kingdom shall fall and every empire shall be dissolved, that government in obedience to the will of the governed may arise upon their ruins. Then the nations shall know

that it was not the hand of man, but the fingers of God that fixed the stars on the flag of the Republic to light the path of liberty through all the ages to come."

"But what of the United States? What return shall we have for the generous gift of \$20,000,000,000 of money to the cause of liberty? What shall we have in return for the blood of 'the bravest of the brave'—that has been shed under our flag upon foreign lands in the defense of our rights and liberties and in support of the governments of Europe con-

tending against the most imperial dynasties of all the ages? Nothing, nothing! We seek no reward. We ask no indemnity. We shall quietly withdraw the flag of the Republic from the banners with which it has been associated. Let us pray that it shall be returned over the soldiers of the Union without a star dimmed or a stripe tarnished, still the flag uncompromised in foreign lands or at home, that shall ever be the emblem of a great and free people exercising a supreme sovereignty under the Constitution, a sovereignty that must not and will not be impaired by treaty or otherwise, either for peace or for any other purpose. We love peace. We fight and die for peace. But the peace that comes to republics by the will of imperial arbitrators upon any great national issue where we desire



Photo by Buck

HON. JOHN A. MOON

to protect the constitutional rights and liberties of our people, will not be the peace of freedom. It will be the peace of slavery. When our boys return, we shall meet them with a greeting that is worthy of them and their valor; and as they bear our standard back to our shores, a hundred million American citizens will salute it. The unconquered banner of an unconquerable people. 'The flag to liberty given, whose every hue was born in heaven.'

POLITICAL or civil liberty is perfect freedom of opinion, expression, and action, limited only by the equal rights of others.



"EQUAL AND EXACT JUSTICE
TO ALL MEN, OF WHATEVER
STATE OR PERSUASION, RE-
LIGIOUS OR POLITICAL."

—THOS JEFFERSON.

Various Principles Applied to Sunday Laws

By Milton C. Wilcox

Good Helping Evil

AN evil principle put into effect by a good man is more potent in its harm than its exercise by a bad man; for the moral influence of the good man will weigh in favor of all he advocates. A reliable business man could pass a counterfeit note without suspicion, whereas a strange, depraved-looking person would be suspected under the most favorable circumstances. Principles and measures should be weighed and accepted because of their intrinsic worth, not because advocated by men however high in position or in the estimation of their fellows.

The Golden Rule

True and intelligent Christians will never seek to control the religious or nonreligious opinions of even a single man, save by the law of love and the method of persuasion and reason. They know in their own experience that Christ did not compel their allegiance by force; he won it by love. As did Christ toward them, so will they do toward others. And this is the golden rule. The law of Christianity is persuasion, not force. Says the great apostle to the Gentiles: "Not that we have lordship over your faith, but are helpers of your joy: for by faith ye stand." 2 Cor. 1: 24, A. R. V. "Knowing therefore the fear of the Lord, we persuade men." 2 Cor. 5: 11. "Persuade," "beseech," "entreat," "whosoever will," is the language of the gospel.

What is Rest?

Is it rest to you, reader, to lay aside all manual labor, attend church, read, idle about, eat a good dinner, and go to sleep? You meet the letter of Sunday law. But your neighbor

Smith, lean, sallow, nervous, has wrought within doors all the week at his desk. He needs, and feels he must have, a change on Sunday; so he works in his garden in the morning, and goes to a park or attends a baseball game in the afternoon. This is rest, real refreshing rest to Smith. Yet a Sunday law, professedly to give rest to the toiler, would make Smith's resting a crime and Smith a criminal. Reader, candidly, do you want such a law? Do you wish to make Smith a criminal and enemy, or hold him as neighbor and friend?

Usurping Divine Prerogatives

To assume the control of conscience—and all religious legislation enters that domain—is to usurp the authority of God, is to put the human in place of the divine. Now A may be in the right and B in the wrong in a religious controversy; but what authority has either to decide for the other? or what right or authority has the civil tribunal to determine the issue? Each and both are responsible to God alone for conscience and religious conviction. God, the spiritual One, is the Judge. Whoso therefore assumes the judgeship in a religious controversy under penalty of law—and that is what a Sunday law is in whatever guise—usurps the place of God. Even the Christ came not to judge, but to save; and he then declared, "If any man hear my words, and believe not, I judge him not." The word of God's truth will judge "in the last day." See John 12: 47, 48.

Who is to be Protected?

Human government is a device not to protect the many against the few, but to protect and secure the few against the many; not to pro-



"Saul of Tarsus found that it was 'hard to kick against the goads,' and changed his course in harmony with God's way,"



"Daniel, beloved of God, under a bad law of Medo-Persia was guilty of the crime of offering worship to God, but he did not sin."

tect the strong against the weak, but the weak against the strong. Religious tyranny always reverses this method.

Respect for Government

Respect for government is secured by even-handed justice to all classes rather than by hasty and severe repression of some particular class. When government functions are used to support and promote wealth, when predatory interests—organized freebooters—prey at will upon the mass of the people, government is bound to lose the respect of the classes oppressed. And this is true of any class, social, religious, or political. A Sunday law divides the people into two classes, a favored class who support the law, and just as truly an honest and patriotic class who oppose it because it should have no place in legislation. When the flag of our country is made to stand for class favoritism and oppression, it loses its glorious symbolism, and is bound to become a matter of jest and jeer, of contumely and contempt. The object of government in the words of Jefferson is, "Equal and exact justice to all men, of

whatever state or persuasion, religious or political."

The man who works for a Sunday law is jeopardizing his own liberty. He may be successful and put upon the statute books a law as stringent as the Georgia statute, which, according to the courts of that State, makes it unlawful even for a woman to sew on that day in the privacy of her own home. After having accomplished this, he may wish to become a seventh-day observer, and under such circumstances, could not afford to observe two days; he would find it necessary to employ Sunday in proper, legitimate labor. But in this he would find himself hampered, limited, made a criminal, by his own law. He would find that he had by his human unwisdom in a decided way limited his own freedom. But men will not change. They do not know. Saul of Tarsus found that it was "hard to kick against the goads," and changed his course in harmony with God's way. From his exceeding madness against heretics, he came to that state of mind in which he thus expresses the ruling principle of his life: "For the love of Christ constrain-



"Three of his [Daniel's] companions committed crime in that they did not bow down to the image, . . . but they did not thereby sin."



"Jesus the Christ was a criminal, and died adjudged by a human tribunal, a malefactor, but he was not a sinner."

eth us." "Knowing therefore the fear of the Lord, we persuade men." Do not place upon the statute books nor invoke any law that will limit not only your own but every one's freedom of choice.

Any Kind of Religion

It is not so much the kind of religion which, connected with politics, causes trouble. It is not so much the particular church which, united with the state, develops intolerance, persecution, and tyranny. The evil is in the intermixture of diverse elements. It is prostituting the divine idea to the low, gross, human element. It is making religion the sport, the play, the shuttlecock of politics. In its attempt to enthrone man as the vicar of God, it degrades God to the human level. And it places a cordon of ecclesiastical policemen between the soul and the throne that should be always accessible to every soul. There are chemicals, which by themselves are innocuous or useful, but when united, become powerful poisons or explosives. So it is with religion — Mohammedan, Roman Catholic, Protestant

— and the state — empire, kingdom, or republic. But no true republic can live under such union; and from the Christian religion under such alliance, Christ departs.

Man's Power Not Needed

The Sabbath does not need man's power or man's aid or man's laws. It is man that needs the Sabbath. "The Sabbath was made for man." But what the Sabbath shall be to a man, rests upon his own sense of his own need, not upon what some other man may think. Prayer or baptism does not need man, but man needs these; and yet their value depends not on what others may do, but upon man's own faith in God's ordinances. Jesus Christ died to save men, not institutions.

Sin and Crime

The distinction is vital; it cannot be too strongly emphasized. Sin is the transgression of God's law; crime of civil, human law. Daniel, beloved of God, under a bad law of Medo-Persia was guilty of the crime of offering worship to God, but he did not sin in so doing. Daniel 6. Three of his companions committed crime

in that they did not bow down to the image that Nebuchadnezzar set up (Daniel 3), but they did not thereby sin. While man sought to punish them, God vindicated the criminality of both Daniel and his fellows as righteousness. Jesus the Christ was a criminal, and died adjudged by a human tribunal, a malefactor, but he was not a sinner. The apostles were criminals, and many of them died because they were, but they were not therefore sinners. Their answers involve a mighty principle: "We ought to obey God rather than men;" "whether it be right in the sight of God to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye." Let not the people permit theological partisanship to turn conscientious conviction into crime.

Congress Again Asked to Close Theaters and Moving Picture Shows on Sunday

(Continued from page 35)

bor, whose conscience may have advanced light. The church has a right to discipline her own members, but she has no right to discipline nonchurch members, and those of divergent faiths, and under duress make them conform to a popular church ritual, nor to any part of it.

It seems that the Pastors' Federation has resolved this question into a competitive and economic proposition. The preacher wants the people to come to his church on Sunday, because the larger the congregation the larger the collection. The moving picture man wants the people to come to his moving picture show on Sunday, so that his receipts will be larger. But a resort to carnal methods is not the true remedy for the church to apply.

If the preachers would plead with the great God of the universe and send their petitions to his throne for a new endowment of power, they would not need to ask that the picture shows be closed in order to fill their church pews. Let the ministers of Christ preach the old-fashioned gospel with the old-time consecration and power, and they will not need to call upon Cesar for help. The church that has God on her side need fear no foe. An open field without favors should be the guiding principle of every church. Compulsory Sunday or Saturday rest and worship is fundamentally wrong, and when the church insists upon it, she creates a gulf between herself and the people, to the lasting injury of her cause, wider than that which separated Dives and Lazarus in the parable related in the sixteenth chapter of Luke.

An appeal to any earthly power to further the work of the gospel is an evident confession of weakness.

In the Good Old Days

THINGS have progressed a long way since the passage of the blue laws in Connecticut in 1750 which allowed the correction of youthful offenders by cutting off their ears," says Prof. Wm. B. Bailey, of Yale University, in his Report for the Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor. But in the opinion of the report, "enough changes from the old system have not yet been made."

In New Haven, the largest city in Connecticut, 692 children were brought before the courts in 1914 and 1915. Of this number 672 were boys. The children's offenses varied from playing ball in the street, and bathing in public places, to trespass and theft. In most cases before the city courts of Connecticut, a child is arrested one day and tried the next. The report continues:

"Prior to 1917 Connecticut had no special laws governing the trial of children. They were subjected to the same legal processes as adult offenders. In a large proportion of the so-called delinquents there is an accompaniment of low mentality. Many children are brought into court again and again before it is finally determined as a result of an adequate mental examination that they are feeble-minded."

The report also states that as late as 1914 the courts of Connecticut committed boys six years of age to prison for theft, and the police officers arrested children and confined them in prison awaiting trial, who were so young that they were unable to dress themselves without assistance in order to appear in court. They were not allowed to remain in their homes with their parents overnight while awaiting trial. This is rather severe treatment for a boy who has committed no greater offense than that of playing ball in the street. We admit it is in advance of the old blue law system of 1750, which allowed the magistrate to cut off the ears of the boys for minor offenses. But those were the days when they fined people ten shillings for nonattendance at church on Sunday, and hung them up on poles for eating duck on Friday.

It is high time that we awake to the fact that we are living in the twentieth century, and that the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution are now potent factors. It is not punishment that is needed for delinquent and feeble-minded children, but adequate institutional care and training. We should also require a special qualification and adaptation of our civil officers, so that they may use good judgment and common sense in dealing with delinquents, and not treat them as hardened criminals while in their innocency. Give the boys a fair chance and a right start. The way they begin life is usually the way they will end it.

O. S. L.

Washington Clergy Receive Deserved Censure

THE *National Hotel and Travel Gazette*, published in Washington, had, in its issue of Feb. 17, 1919, an editorial on the Sunday law agitation movement which some of the clergymen of Washington are now carrying on. This editorial administers a stinging rebuke to those ministers who have assumed the rôle of "political agitators and entertainers," and have lost out in the unequal game of competition. This editorial does not apply to the clergyman who preaches the unadulterated gospel and makes converts by gospel means. It applies only to those ministers who have steered far from their heavenly mission and gospel moorings, and have entered the realm of civil force in religious concerns. These clergymen are doing their cause a tremendous injury by attempting to drive people into their churches by questionable means, instead of winning them one by one as Christ did. Let them ponder well the truthfulness of the *Gazette* editorial, which follows, and retire from the political field:

"Competition is the life of trade. There is no business or profession free from competition. It affects the clergy just as it does the theater, and we have seen competition between them here in the national capital. The clergy has always claimed a monopoly on the first day of the week, and sought by precept and by law to prevent competition for the patronage of the people on that day set apart by divine command for rest from labor. The clergy of old England and of New England invoked the law to compel the people to attend church and listen to long and tiresome sermons on the day of rest. The clergy of Washington have reached the same position. They want a law to close every other form of entertainment, and give them a monopoly on the day of rest. They have tried competition and complain that they are beaten, that 50,000 people attend the theaters and movies and only 7,000 attend the church services. Some of the clergy have advertised as liberally and as sensationally as have the most sensational movies, and had their ads. on the same page with those of the movies. They have suggested sensational headlines, like, 'Thousands of Girls Smoke,' 'John Barleycorn Takes the Count,' 'The Bolsheviki Mutts,' and kindred appeals for audiences, just as do the press agents of the movies. They have entered into competition with the movies, adopted the methods of the movies instead of holding their calling in respect as representing something sacred to the mind of all men whatever their convictions, and having lost in this competition for the sensational, they appeal to Congress to pass a law that will give them a monopoly on the day.

"The pity of this appeal is that it does not represent the ministers who are content to

preach Christ and his love, and work in season and out of season for the betterment of mankind by inspiring hope and faith. It comes from those of the clergy who make their calling simply a profession and have no other idea of it than that they are political agitators and entertainers. They adopt the methods of the soap-box preachers, and complain when they are not equal in the competition. They preach about everything that can be suggested save God and his mercy, and they want law to compel the people to patronize them or give them a monopoly on one day in the week by closing up every other place of entertainment.

"The clergy of Washington are not as consistent as were those of Puritan days, when there was no pretense of entertainment in a sermon with the wrath of God toward a sinful world held up to the congregation called to confession of their sins and repentance. The Puritan preachers did not allow entertainment of any kind on Sunday; but the clergy of today make their sermons as secular and as sensational as a political speech or a play, and it is simply a question of what kind of entertainment shall be permitted by law. Shall the country people be permitted to spoon in the jitters on the way to the camp-meeting or the Chautauqua, and the city youth be denied the privilege of walking quietly to the theater to see a play like 'The Old Homestead,' which preaches a sermon of purity and simplicity in every line? Really, the Washington clergymen who have imitated the movies and tried to compete with them, are making the whole clergy somewhat ridiculous in their appeal to Congress to pass a law to give them a monopoly on Sunday entertainments. They ought to get back to religious teachings before they ask for a law to stop the desecration of the Sabbath with secular amusements."

Wanted — Men!

ARISTIDES spoke for other times than his own when he said that "neither walls nor theaters nor senseless equipage can make a state, but men who are able to rely upon themselves;" those "who know their duties, know their rights, and knowing, dare maintain." Surely we are needing now a generation that can think of duties owed as well as privileges to be enjoyed. After all, it is the plain, everyday fellow, having the saving gift of common sense, who counts for most.—*American Freemason.*

THE people never give up their liberties but under some delusion.—*Burke.*

Result of State Control of Religious Forms

By J. O. Corliss

TRUTH is eternal, because it emanates from God, the eternal Creator of the universe. The last analysis of actual right is really godlike in character. Right is therefore right, not because of an arbitrary command, but because such command is the transcript of divine mind, which is itself right. God's law is therefore infinitely higher than any and every humanly devised statute, and so should always be recognized as the supreme rule of conduct. Had man from the first scrupulously obeyed divine precepts, no place would have been found for civil enactments, for the reason that unquestioning obedience to divine law would have preserved in man the divine image, and so placed him above and beyond the need for any other law.

But man having fallen from the standard of divine requirement, no civil power can possibly restore to him, in any degree, what he lost in his fall. The best that human law can do is to punish for criminal action between man and man; yet even in this, civil law has well-defined limitations. While it may punish for crime committed, the sin involved in the criminal action, if any such there be, as is usually the case, must be dealt with by a higher, even a heavenly tribunal, because civil law has no power to deal with sin,—violation of divine law,—man not being able to judge the motives of the heart.

It was this consideration that drew from Christ the famous expression: "Render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's." It was upon this settled rule of action also that the early disciples of Christ resisted the demands of civil government to follow its dictates in religious affairs. Their fitting reply was, "We ought to obey God rather than men." As followers of Christ they had no option in the matter. All Christians have duties to their Maker which transcend all state requirements. For this reason, no state law should assume to sit in God's seat by enforcing the homage due the divine Being.

There can be no question as to the greater of the two lawgivers—God and the state, the divine and the civil. Christianity must recognize the divine as above the civil, calling for man's first and highest devotion. Yet the real Christian, one not tintured with fanaticism, will be just as truly obedient to the state as to God, in those things which do not conflict with his higher service to the Creator. He cannot, however, consent that the state shall settle religious questions for him, nor can he assume to decide such questions for other men.

The baneful result of a state's overreaching its legitimate functions, and assuming to direct in religious duties, is well illustrated in the attitude of Louis XIV of France toward the Huguenots of his day. He believed in the "divine right of kings," not only to stifle free religious thought, but, in fact, free thought of every kind.

To force men by civil enactment to renounce their individuality in that which is most vital to their eternal well-being, and thus yield the exercise of personal judgment in religious affairs, is but to make them in effect less than moral beings. Under such conditions they become part of a stereotyped system, and profess adherence to religious views in which they have no interest, and little or no faith. They have simply permitted themselves to be made hypocrites by outward submission to a religious enactment of the state, which down in their very hearts they actually detest.

But many of the French subjects of Louis XIV (1638-1715), notwithstanding the memory of St. Bartholomew's Day, Aug. 24, 1572, when under Charles IX seventy thousand Huguenots were massacred, could not be induced to sacrifice their individuality, nor their convictions. In spite of royal wrath, they chose to think for themselves in matters of both religion and science. They therefore became vigorous, independent, and self-reliant. But history reveals that because of exercising this God-given right, a half million of the best people of France were driven as exiles from their native land to other shores.

This persecution was due to religious bigotry. Although Roman Catholicism was the established religion of France at the time, this dumb cruelty was not altogether because the king and his counselors were Catholics; but simply because they were human, and were carrying out, through a well-defined church-and-state law, the established principles of that dark era. At times, when opposers of Catholics gained the balance of power, they permitted their blind religious zeal to control their better impulses, and in turn persecuted their religious opponents. And the practice of that time was no special exception to a general rule. Let the state of today consent to pass church-dictated laws of any kind, bearing on the religious life of individuals, and results will surely follow similar to those of the days of Charles IX and Louis XIV of France.

It is useless to parry this prediction with the statement that the superior intelligence of the present age would forbid such conditions. The advocate of such sentiment must have

forgotten that those were the days of eminent men of learning, among whom were authors like Jean Armand Du Bourdieu, lawyers of the Grosstête class, university professors like Samuel de l'Angle, Orientalists after the order of Jean Gagnier, annalists headed by Abel Boyer, celebrated physicians like Sebastian le Fevre, and clergymen such as Pierre du Moulin, with many others. Surely civilization and enlightenment were not lacking in those days.

Education in those times was no antidote against religious bigotry, and it is much the same now; for many highly educated men are not wanting who openly affirm that government is a divine institution after the order of the "divine right of kings." At least they boldly declare that "Christianity is so far involved in the vital constitution of the country, has so much to do with its civilization, and is the basis of civil order to so large a degree that it is entitled to respect and to protection on

the part of the government as no other religion is."

But in the name of all that is fair on behalf of man's God-given rights in the free exercise of mental power, why should a civil state, something essentially secular, be asked to become the supporter of any religion, something essentially spiritual? Given all that the foregoing quoted words suggest, no more would be needed to make the civil power enforce the doctrines of Christianity by legislation, even upon unwilling subjects, who might be adherents of some other form of faith. That would be a long step toward the conditions which obtained in the sixteenth century in the French government. Before entering even the lighter shadow of such a course, it will be well for all, the common people together with those of the religious higher-ups, to study what the probable results of such a movement would be, and how it would affect their destiny.

A Universal Passion for Liberty

By W. H. Edwards

WHEN the noble framers of the Declaration of Independence evolved that wonderful document, they builded more profoundly than empire makers ever had done before, who never had dared to admit to their subjects the principle of equality.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident," declared they, "that all men are created equal," and are endowed by their Creator with liberty, as one of the inherited gifts among others; and that liberty means *liberty* — both civil and religious.

When God instructed man on the question of prerogative he said, "Have dominion" — over other men? No! — "over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, . . . and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth." *Things*, not man!

No nation before this one has ever ventured to declare to its people that all men are created equal. Kingly authority would have crumbled to dust in the presence of such universal knowledge.

To maintain this principle of divine genesis, what blood has not been shed and lives sacrificed by heroes in all ages and lands who believed God's Word, and chose to differ from the mandates of the state!

Unless born in serfdom, there is in the human heart a consuming passion for liberty. Even the animals resent the invasion of their rights. A neighbor had an old dog that roamed around the city to the annoyance of the people, so he fastened the beast in a nice arbor in the garden at the rear of the house, where a soft

bed was made for him. While he was tied he would howl and whine as he lay there; when released he would run around and frolic for a few minutes, then go back and lie down in the very same spot and sleep most comfortably. When the chain was again attached to his collar, sleep was forgotten, and his whining began anew. That dog loved liberty. The best place that could be provided was simply a prison to him when he was not free.

I have stood with uncovered head at the old house where Roger Williams once lived, at the corner of Essex and Bridge Streets, Salem, Mass., and recalled to mind the indignities heaped upon that noble and undaunted man by civil and religious dignitaries — despots — because he dared not only to believe, but to propagate and defend, the principle of personal liberty in things religious, something entirely foreign to the ethics of his time.

I am glad that the old house still stands there as a memorial to liberty and to Roger Williams, the fearless. The old "First Church" in which Mr. Williams preached is yet preserved at Plummer Hall, a few blocks farther east, on Essex Street.

When a boy I many times passed the old "Witch House" in Danvers, Mass., where Rev. Increase Mather and Rev. Mr. Parris had lived a century and more before; but the gallows that had formerly stood in the yard had disappeared before my day. It was on this gallows that the little Indian servant, declared to be a witch, is said to have been executed; and a few miles farther south, near Salem,

stands Gallows Hill, upon the summit of which a number of innocent people were hanged as witches, on a figment of unhealthy imagination. The poet Whittier, in "The Witch of Wenham," thus graphically describes the terror of that time:

"Until from off its breast the land
The haunting horror threw,
And hatred, born of ghastly dreams,
To shame and pity grew.

* * * * *

"The smith filed off the chains he forged,
The jail bolts backward fell;
And youth and hoary age came forth
Like souls escaped from hell."

Knowing all this ghastly record of the past, is it any wonder that the fathers of this Republic determined to forestall by fundamental law the possibility of a recurrence of such conditions? It will ever be wise to give heed to the admonition, "Keep the church and state forever separate;" and to the declaration, "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty."

An Interesting Bit of History

IN connection with the present Sunday law crusade in the District of Columbia, some of the older residents will remember that in the city of Washington, Feb. 18, 1890, Dr. Crafts produced before the Committee on the District of Columbia, a Mr. Schulteis who said that he represented Local Assembly No. 2672 of the Knights of Labor, and that that assembly had indorsed the Breckinridge Sunday bill. But unfortunately for this claim Mr. Millard F. Hobbs, master workman of the whole federation of the Knights of Labor in the District of Columbia, was present, and presented the matter in quite another light. He said:

"No one has been authorized by the Knights of Labor to speak in favor of this bill. Mr. Schulteis is not authorized to speak for the Knights of Labor. It is true Mr. Schulteis is a member of a committee having charge of certain matters, but that committee has nothing to do with this question. The Knights of Labor are virtually opposed to this bill. Some are in favor of some parts of it; some are in favor of all of it; and some are entirely opposed to all of it. For this reason the Knights of Labor of the District, as an organization, have refused to have anything to do with it. We are all in favor of a day of rest, some two days; but we are afraid of the religious side of this question. What benefits the Knights of Labor wish to obtain, we think, can be better secured by our own efforts through our own organizations than by the efforts of others through the church."

One who was present and heard Mr. Hobbs speak, says:

"This speech, coming as it did, was more or less of a surprise to all; but to Mr. Crafts and his party it was 'a stunner.' It instantly crushed to atoms the whole pet theory which they had so nicely framed and so pathetically presented in behalf of 'the poor workingmen who are so cruelly oppressed by being forced to labor on Sunday;' and of the church's gallant effort to liberate them from 'the Egyptian bondage of Sunday slavery.' Nothing could have happened that would more clearly expose the perfect hollowness of the plea that is made by the American Sabbath Union, that this Sunday movement is in the interests of the workingmen, than did this unpremeditated and wholly unsolicited speech."

The idea that workingmen are, as a class, so devoted to Sunday that they want everything closed against them on that day, excepting only churches, is no more true now than it was twenty-eight years ago, when the Breckinridge Sunday bill was before Congress. C. P. B.

A Proposed Sunday Law

THE State of California is at present in the throes of a Sunday law crusade. For a number of years California has been without a State Sunday law. Previous to 1883 there were attempts to enforce a more or less drastic law of this nature, that had been enacted in 1855. This ancient edict prohibited "all barbarous and noisy amusements on the Christian Sabbath."

In 1858 an act was passed entitled, "An act to provide for the better observance of the Sabbath." This law was tested out the same year and declared unconstitutional. The presiding judge, in passing on the law, expressed some opinions of great importance, which we do well to notice. He said:

"If the legislature have the authority to appoint a time of compulsory rest, we would have no right to interfere with it, even if they required a cessation from toil for six days in the week, instead of one."

This, of course, put a virtual end to the enforcement of the Sunday law. Advocates of such a measure were not silent nor inactive; and a new law was soon enacted which was sustained by the State supreme court. There was, however, strong opposition to the law, and in 1883 the two great parties made Sunday legislation a campaign issue. The people of the State spoke very decisively. The Democrats, who were on a no-Sunday-law platform, elected every State officer, from the governor down. Only one Republican was elected to the legislature. The statute was repealed.

Some years later another Sunday law was passed, but when taken to the supreme court, was declared unconstitutional. Said the court: "It is a curious law for the protection of

labor which punishes the laborer for working." Further he said, "Such protection of the laborer carried a little farther would send him from the jail to the poorhouse."

These true American statements should certainly appeal to those who believe in the rights of their fellow men. It does seem strange that a government, be it of a municipality, commonwealth, or nation, should pass a law prohibiting honest toil at any time. Crime should be punished, but who dares to say that labor is a crime? No one should be forced to work on a day he considers sacred, nor compelled to rest on a day he regards as common.

The latest effort for a Sunday law in California is a bill recently introduced into the legislature at Sacramento. This would close barber shops, stores, and other places on Sunday, but permit candy and cigars to be sold. Meals can be secured at hotels, to be taken from the grounds, but lunches cannot be sold. Theaters are left open. Farm work is prohibited, except when it can be shown to be necessary to plant and gather crops. Cigars and candy are classed as necessities, but bread is not.

Certain unions are classed as favoring the bill, others as not favoring it.

One notable exemption provided for in the bill is that of those who observe some other day than Sunday as a day of "worship." Thus the religious element in the bill is well defined. The proponents of the bill, as is frequently the case, insist that Sunday legislation is civil and not religious. The inconsistency of such an argument is apparent. Surely work of itself is not criminal. Since the work is not of itself criminal, if it ever becomes so it must be the day that makes it so. Therefore it is impossible to eliminate the religious element from any compulsory Sunday law, for the law forbidding work on a given day assumes that that day is different from other days, that it is sacred, and that work upon it is a desecration. Thus the Sunday legislation, or the desire for such legislation, must arise from a belief in the sacredness of the day.

To secure exemption on this ground, one must be a worshiper, as another day must be observed as a day of "worship." Thus the bill proposes to enforce worship, if not on Sunday, then upon some other day.

No law can be enacted in the United States that either compels or prohibits worship without violating the principles of the American government. American political philosophy teaches that the government should not control the religious beliefs and practices of its citizens. Madison said, "There is not a shadow of right in the general government to intermeddle with religion." That is as true today as when first uttered, and the principle applies with equal force to the governments of the several States.

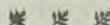
W. F. MARTIN.

California Newspaper Honor Roll

THE following newspapers of California are putting up a vigorous fight against the Sunday bills which are now before the California legislature:

Byron *Times*, Anaheim *Gazette*, Newport *News*, Yucaipa *News*, Arlington *Times*, Hanford *Sentinel*, Dinuba *Sentinel*, Oakland *Post*, Los Banos *Enterprise*, San Andreas *Prospect*, San Francisco *Call*, San Juan *Mission News*, Ft. Jones *Standard*, Modesto *Herald*, Modesto (home of Senator Dennett, who introduced the Sunday bill) *News*, Fresno *Republican*, Fresno *Herald*, Berkeley *Courier*, Needles *Nugget*, Hollister *Advance*, Santa Cruz *News*, Sacramento *Bee*, Bakersfield *Californian*, Pomona *Progress*, Los Angeles *Times*, Oakland *Tribune*, Healdsburg *Sotoyome Scimitar*, Glendale *News*, San Francisco *Grocer*, Santa Barbara *Press*, Downey *Champion*, Corona *Independent*, Coalinga *Record*, Hanford *Journal*, Porterville *Recorder*, Tulare *Register*, Santa Cruz *Surf*, Chico *Enterprise*, San Diego *News*, Los Angeles *Oil World*, Redlands *Facts*, Fresno *Sunday Mirror*, Sanger *Herald*, Redding *Searchlight*, Reedley *Exponent*, Fairfield *Enterprise*, San Fernando *Democrat*, San Fernando Valley *Press*, San Francisco *Bulletin*, Walnut Creek *Courier*.

These are only a few of the many that are lining up against Sunday laws. This shows very conclusively that public sentiment in California does not favor religious legislation.



THAT the Sunday people are not in favor of majority rule is shown by the fact that they are not willing to abide by a decisive vote of the people against Sunday laws. Only two years ago the people of California voted against a Sunday law; nevertheless, the advocates of such legislation only recently besieged the legislature for a Sunday law. They justify themselves in this course by declaring that it is a moral question, and that no moral question is settled until it is settled right. But in so saying they abandon their plea that it is a civil matter. A Sunday law can become a moral issue only on the ground that Sunday keeping is a moral obligation because enjoined by the divine law.



A LEAGUE of nations may reduce the dangers of recurring wars, but it will never banish wars from the earth nor establish lasting peace among men and nations. None but the Prince of Peace dwelling in human lives can bring in lasting peace and good will among men. There can be no real peace with sin in the world.

National Prohibition and How It Came About

YEARS ago we espoused the cause of national prohibition as being the most effective remedy against the liquor traffic in all its forms and all its evils, not the least of which is contempt for law. The liquor traffic was not amenable to the equitable restraints of law; it destroyed the peace of the home; it broke down the bulwarks of the family; it debauched American citizenship and ruthlessly assailed the inheritance of every man, woman, and child,—the right to life, liberty, and happiness. It blighted and marred the prospects of millions of youths so that they could not compete with their more fortunate fellows in the stern battle of life.

Every young man and woman is entitled to a right start in life. The curse of drink has put a handicap upon helpless victims, who have called upon us to do something that would save others from a similar fate.

We are glad that we had a part in the great victory for national prohibition. We feel that we have helped to rout a great enemy to human liberty, to human happiness, and to human life. The liquor traffic did not have the welfare of the human race at heart. It greatly increased the economic burdens, the tendencies to crime, insanity, and pauperism. It created no economic values that could possibly accrue to the individual or to the nation.

The people as a mass became convinced that John Barleycorn was the most corrupt "boss" in our national, State, and city affairs, and that clean, honest politics and John Barleycorn would have to settle their differences at the polls. The people's referendum drove him out of politics in the majority of States, cities, and counties. John Barleycorn had the money but not the people, and the people won. We shall stand by the verdict of the people.

When the Eighteenth Amendment was first launched for ratification, the great majority of the people had already outlawed the liquor traffic locally. The liquor forces expected it would be a long-drawn-out battle. They were planning to defeat it by buying off the senate or house in enough of the forty-eight State legislatures on the eve of the time limit set for ratification. But they were taken by surprise. They were caught napping. Before they were able to rally their forces for the first attack, they suddenly awoke from their drunken stupor and found themselves prisoners within the gates of their victorious captors. Their defeat was complete and overwhelming. In less than thirteen months after the national prohibition amendment was submitted by Congress to the State legislatures for ratification, the thirty-sixth State legislature had ratified it. The race for ratification became so keen among

the States that in some legislatures the senate and house both ratified the Amendment upon the first day of the opening session. As the race proceeded and they approached the goal, as many as seven legislatures ratified the amendment on the same day. The table on the following inside cover page shows the dates of ratification in each of the forty-seven States which had ratified previous to the time of making up this number of LIBERTY.

As a Washington Editor Sees It

IS the war over, or isn't it?

For certain purposes, it would appear it is; as, for instance, when the Interstate Commerce Commission wants to resume control of rates. Then we hear Wilson's words to the Senate: "With the signing of the armistice, the war thus comes to an end."

But, on the same day the Interstate Commerce Commission so acts, a Federal judge in New York, Edwin L. Garvin, sentences a Brooklyn dentist to fifteen years in Federal prison for making a Socialist speech.

Is it not time for the country to resume some of its sanity? The published report of this dentist's conviction says he spoke at a Mooney meeting and "predicted success for the Socialist movement in the United States." The report tells, also, of "evidence furnished by the Military Intelligence Bureau." The prosecution was conducted by one of Attorney-General Gregory's subordinates.

In the name of liberty, what are we doing with a Military Intelligence Bureau? Now? And when did our peace laws prescribe a penalty of fifteen years for making a speech? Even a Socialist speech?

President Wilson has said the war is over. As a matter of fact, it is. But, also as a matter of fact, certain interests, persons, and officials are still running on war momentum. They are taking advantage of a period of hysteria and intolerance to persecute—not prosecute—people and ideas they don't like.

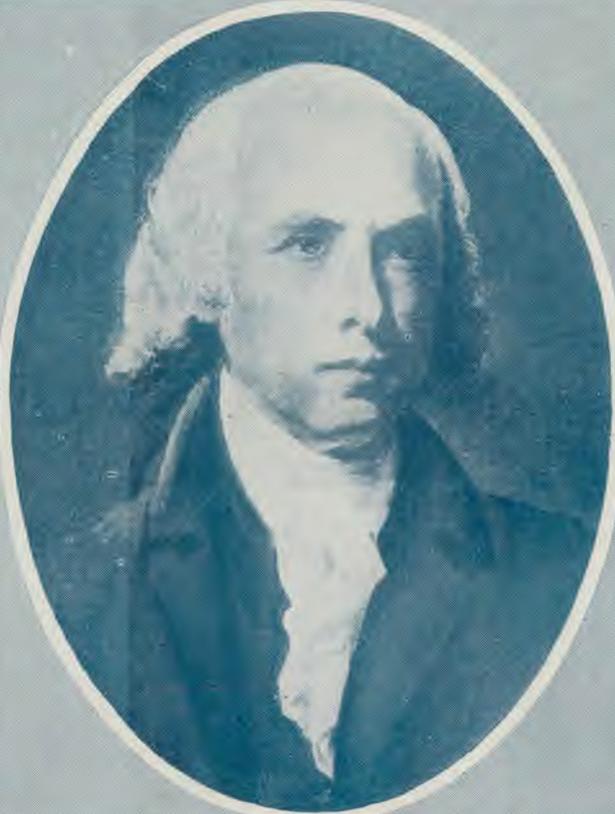
Either the war is over, or it isn't. If it is, it is time to call off some of these long-haired district attorneys. It is time to put a wet towel on the fevered brows of some of our Federal judges. And it is high time to call these bureau-of-military-intelligence people into the back office and give them the choice of becoming crossing policemen or going to work. — *Editorial in Washington Herald, Feb. 6, 1919.*

THE Great War has demonstrated that the human heart is just as selfish and wicked as it ever was, despite our boasted enlightenment and modern civilization.

Dates on Which the Amendment was Ratified

STATES	RATIFIED BY SENATE		RATIFIED BY HOUSE	
Mississippi	Jan. 8, 1918,	28 to 5	Jan. 8, 1918,	93 to 3
Virginia	Jan. 10, "	30 " 8	Jan. 11, "	84 " 13
Kentucky	Jan. 14, "	28 " 6	Jan. 14, "	66 " 10
South Carolina	Jan. 18, "	28 " 6	Jan. 28, "	66 " 29
North Dakota	Jan. 25, "	43 " 2	Jan. 25, "	96 " 10
Maryland	Feb. 13, "	18 " 7	Feb. 8, "	58 " 36
Montana	Feb. 19, "	35 " 2	Feb. 18, "	77 " 8
Texas	Feb. 28, "	15 " 7	Mar. 4, "	72 " 30
Delaware	Mar. 18, "	13 " 3	Mar. 14, "	27 " 6
South Dakota	Mar. 19, "	43 " 0	Mar. 20, "	86 " 0
Massachusetts	Apr. 2, "	27 " 12	Mar. 26, "	145 " 91
Arizona	May 23, "	17 " 0	May 24, "	29 " 3
Georgia	June 26, "	34 " 2	June 26, "	129 " 24
Louisiana	Aug. 6, "	21 " 20	Aug. 8, "	69 " 41
Florida	Nov. 27, "	25 " 2	Nov. 27, "	61 " 3
Michigan *	Jan. 2, 1919,	30 " 0	Jan. 2, 1919,	88 " 3
Ohio	Jan. 7, "	20 " 12	Jan. 7, "	85 " 30
Oklahoma	Jan. 7, "	43 " 0	Jan. 7, "	90 " 8
Maine	Jan. 8, "	30 " 0	Jan. 8, "	120 " 20
Idaho	Jan. 7, "	38 " 0	Jan. 8, "	62 " 0
West Virginia	Jan. 9, "	26 " 0	Jan. 9, "	78 " 3
Washington	Jan. 13, "	42 " 0	Jan. 13, "	90 " 0
Tennessee	Jan. 9, "	28 " 2	Jan. 13, "	81 " 2
California	Jan. 10, "	24 " 15	Jan. 13, "	48 " 28
Illinois	Jan. 8, "	30 " 15	Jan. 14, "	84 " 66
Indiana	Jan. 13, "	41 " 6	Jan. 14, "	87 " 11
Arkansas	Jan. 14, "	34 " 0	Jan. 13, "	93 " 2
North Carolina	Jan. 10, "	49 " 0	Jan. 14, "	93 " 10
Alabama	Jan. 14, "	23 " 11	Jan. 14, "	64 " 34
Kansas	Jan. 14, "	39 " 0	Jan. 14, "	121 " 0
Oregon	Jan. 15, "	30 " 0	Jan. 14, "	53 " 3
Iowa	Jan. 15, "	42 " 7	Jan. 15, "	86 " 13
Utah	Jan. 15, "	16 " 0	Jan. 14, "	43 " 0
Colorado	Jan. 15, "	34 " 1	Jan. 15, "	63 " 2
New Hampshire	Jan. 15, "	19 " 4	Jan. 15, "	221 " 131
Nebraska	Jan. 13, "	31 " 1	Jan. 16, "	98 " 0
Missouri	Jan. 16, "	22 " 10	Jan. 16, "	104 " 36
Wyoming	Jan. 16, "	26 " 0	Jan. 16, "	52 " 0
Wisconsin	Jan. 16, "	19 " 11	Jan. 17, "	58 " 35
Minnesota	Jan. 16, "	48 " 13	Jan. 17, "	48 " 13
New Mexico	Jan. 20, "	12 " 4	Jan. 16, "	45 " 1
Nevada	Jan. 21, "	14 " 1	Jan. 20, "	33 " 3
Vermont	Jan. 16, "	26 " 3	Jan. 29, "	155 " 58
New York	Jan. 29, "	27 " 24	Jan. 23, "	81 " 66
Pennsylvania	Feb. 25, "	29 " 16	Feb. 4, "	110 " 93

* Repassed in house January 23 to correct error.



It is proper to take alarm at the first experiment on our liberties. We hold this prudent jealousy to be the first duty of citizens, and one of the noblest characteristics of the late Revolution. The freemen of America did not wait till usurped power strengthened itself by exercise, and entangled the question in precedents. They saw all the consequences in the principle, and they avoided the consequences by denying the principle. We revere this lesson too much soon to forget it. Who does not see that the same authority which can establish Christianity, in exclusion of all other religions, may establish, with the same ease, any particular sect of Christians, in exclusion of all other sects? . . . While we assert for ourselves a freedom to embrace, to profess, and to observe the religion which we believe to be of divine origin, we cannot deny an equal freedom to them whose minds have not yet yielded to the evidence which has convinced us. If this freedom be abused, it is an offense against God, not against man. To God, therefore, not to man, must an account of it be rendered.—“Writings of James Madison,” Vol. I, page 162.