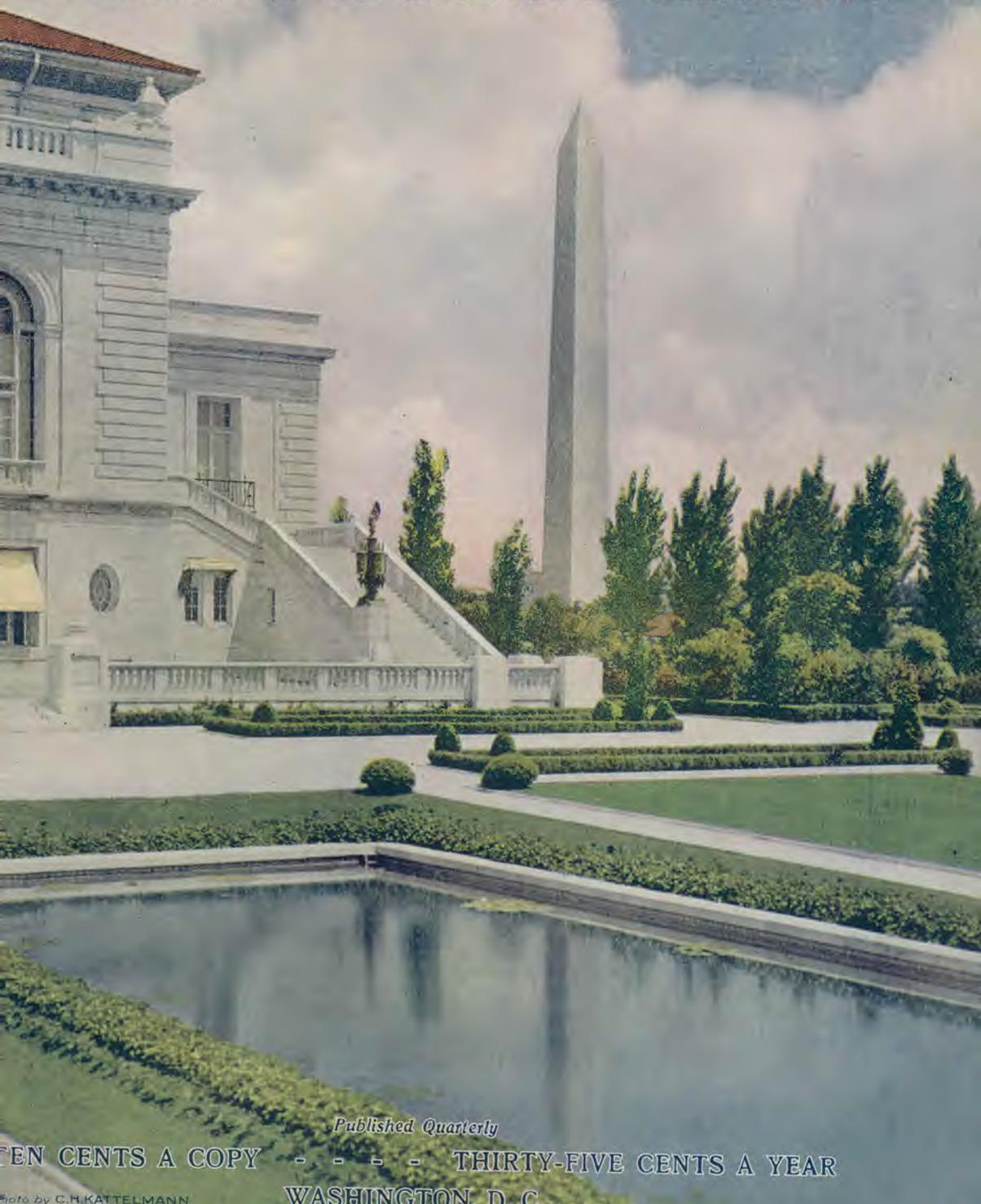


LIBERTY

A MAGAZINE OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM



Published Quarterly

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Photo by C.H. KATTELMANN

Religious Liberty Association

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

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

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

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LIBERTY

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FOURTH QUARTER, 1919

NO. 4

CHARLES S. LONGACRE, Editor

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RUSSIA IN THE GRIP OF THE BOLSHEVIKI

A Group of Bolshevik Officers at Irkirsk on Their Way Through the Country to Spread the Doctrines of Bolshevism.

LIBERTY

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

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The Meaning of **SUNDAY AMUSEMENTS**

By the Managing Editor

ONE of the alarming features of modern civilization is a growing disregard of spiritual things. We say spiritual things, rather than things religious, because the two are not strictly synonymous.

There is much religion that has in it but little spirituality, being a mere form and having but little influence to transform the life.

Over eighteen hundred years ago the apostle Paul, with mind enlightened by the divine Spirit, wrote thus of the very time in which we are now living:

"This know also, that in the last days perilous times shall come. For men shall be lovers of their own selves, covetous, boasters, proud, blasphemers, disobedient to parents, unthankful, unholy, without natural affection, truce-breakers, false accusers, incontinent, fierce, despisers of those that are good, traitors, heady, high-minded, lovers of pleasures more than lovers of God; having a form of godliness, but denying the power thereof: from such turn away." 2 Tim. 3:1-5.

It is scarcely necessary to do more than quote this scripture to enable any one to recognize at a glance that it is meeting a striking fulfillment in our day. Not only the world, but the church, is pleasure mad. A restless spirit is seen everywhere, and never in all history was there a time when so much attention was given to pleasure seeking, and so little comparatively to the study and cultivation of true spirituality. Even our religious worship must be made pleasing or attractive by striking features. Good

music, comfortable cushions, and short, sensational sermons are relied upon in most instances to fill the church pews.

Even in a popular revival service, novel and sensational features are introduced to attract the crowd. Entering upon the religious life is called "hitting the trail," and about the only thing required of converts is that they promise to quit their meanness, and to meet the preacher in heaven. But little real self-denial is insisted upon, and faith in Christ, which is nominally held to be essential to salvation, is made to comprehend much or little, according to the personal understanding of those who hear the words used, but without much conception of their real meaning.

This is all due to the conditions described in the scripture quoted above. The prevailing spirit being one of pleasure seeking and the church being full of those who are described as "lovers of pleasures more than lovers of God," we could expect nothing else.

One way in which this pleasure-seeking spirit is manifested is in growing carelessness in the manner of the observance of the weekly day of rest. Only a few months ago the Sunday law of New York was so amended as to permit baseball and moving picture shows after 2 o'clock on Sunday afternoon. A movement is now on in Massachusetts to secure a similar amendment to the law of that State. Sunday baseball has also been legalized in Tennessee through a rather technical decision by the supreme court, based evidently upon the demand of the public

rather than upon the intent of the lawmakers when the somewhat drastic Sunday law of that State was adopted many years ago.

The readers of LIBERTY know very well that we hold no brief for the defense of Sunday laws. We believe neither in Sunday laws nor in any other civil enactment designed to enforce religious observances. We believe all such laws rest upon a false basis. The observance of a weekly rest day is religious in its origin, and according to the testimony of prominent Sunday leaders, it is not only religious in its origin, but it can be maintained only by appealing to religious feeling and religious reasons.

When asked some years ago in a hearing before a committee of the United States Senate, if a one-day-of-rest-in-seven law would not meet the demand, Rev. W. F. Crafts replied that it would not, saying, "If you take the religion out, you take the rest out."

Nevertheless, the tendency today is a closed Sunday, so far as useful labor is concerned, and a wide-open Sunday for all kinds of pleasure seeking. The change is not a wholesome one, nor is it one that makes for a larger degree of religious liberty, but rather the contrary. In most of the States, under the system and spirit of a half century ago, while Christian sentiment demanded Sunday laws, Christian charity suggested and moved to the granting of exemption clauses for observers of another day; but now a change is coming, and with the elimination of the spiritual element and with the introduction of more and more of the secular-rest-day idea, the tendency is to eliminate exemptions, so that the observer of some other day is ground between a lower millstone of surviving religious prejudice, and the upper millstone of a "secular rest day."

Genuine religion is spiritual and cannot be helped or fostered in any way by civil enactments. In fact, anything of that kind can be introduced only at the expense of spirituality, because in direct proportion to one's trust in civil law, will he cease to trust in divine power.

We are profoundly convinced that it would

be a thousand times better for the cause of true Christianity if there were no compulsory Sunday laws whatever. By compulsory Sunday laws we mean laws compelling any one to observe that day. We do not oppose Sunday legislation designed wholly to guarantee a free Sunday to those who for any reason do not wish to work upon that day.

We believe in a six-day working week, and in an eight-hour day, but we do not believe that the individual who, either from convenience or conviction, prefers to work on Sunday and to rest on some other day, ought to be penalized for so doing, nor do we believe that it ought to be a crime or a misdemeanor for any one who wishes to do so to engage on Sunday in any honest labor or business that does not necessarily interfere with his neighbor's rest upon that day.

Within the past two years there have been cases in near-by towns, in which men have been fined for hoeing in their gardens, mowing their lawns, trimming their hedges, and doing other similar work on Sunday, work which could not possibly disturb any one, except in the sense of causing that subtle annoyance that the religious bigot feels when he sees any one doing anything or hears any one say anything that is contrary to his religious belief and practice.

We do not rejoice to see people who believe in Sunday sacredness "desecrating" that day, because we see in it only an evidence of a lower spiritual tone; but on the other hand we see nothing whatever to be gained by compelling, by civil law, people to be idle upon a certain day of the week because other people believe it to be a sacred day. The highest and best service that the state can render religion is to let it alone. Uzzah was smitten by God and died by the sacred ark for putting forth his hand to stay it when it was being shaken by the stumbling of the oxen. We believe that the modern Uzzahs who invoke the power of the state in the interests of religion are committing just as sacrilegious an act as that for which Uzzah was fatally stricken so many centuries ago.

Intolerance, Toleration, and Religious Freedom

BY religious intolerance is meant the arbitrary and tyrannical exercise of human authority over the conscience and the soul liberty to worship God according to the dictates of the individual understanding. Intolerance sets up a precise creed, whether right or wrong, and by the power of the civil law compels every one to conform thereto. The tools of intolerance are the prison, the rack, the block, and the stake. Intolerance can

By C. S. Longacre

brook no divergent opinions upon religious questions, and its only argument to silence the opposition is force. Its inspiration is the spirit of persecution. Its strength lies in a union of church and state, where the ecclesiastical ruler is an arrogant pope and the political ruler a tyrannical king. For centuries, the peoples of many countries had to submit their consciences to an arbitrary, intolerant régime of a civil and ecclesiastical combination, until finally one

country after another began to assert its right to self-determination, expressed in the sovereignty of the people to determine their own form of government and their own religious faith.

The first step away from intolerance toward freedom was religious toleration. The countries in Europe just emerging from the age of religious intolerance are now speaking of religious toleration in the treaty agreements and in the covenants of the League of Nations. Many of these nations which have just passed through the militant upheaval in Europe have for centuries known nothing whatever of the spirit of toleration in religion. Religion in its most intolerant form, enforced by law, was the controlling factor in both church and state.

Toleration is not freedom; it is only a step in the direction of liberty. By religious toleration is meant the benevolent fostering exercise of human authority over the consciences of all men. Religious toleration implies an established religion, fostered by the state, which tolerates the existence of other divergent religious organizations, but under more or less obligation to support and conform to the requirements of the state religion.

Many Protestant countries at first adopted an intolerant form of a church-and-state system of government. Even the colonial government of America in its early history, passed many laws of a tyrannical character against dissenters, or nonconformists of every name.

In Henings' "Statutes at Large" (Vols. I and II) may be found many of these drastic laws of religious intolerance enacted by the colony of Virginia. Semple (p. 28) says:

"By the first act of 1623, it is provided that in every plantation or settlement there shall be a house or room set apart for the worship of God. But it soon appears that this worship was only to be according to the canons of the

Church of England, to which a strict uniformity was enjoined. A person absenting himself from divine service on Sunday without a reasonable excuse forfeited a pound of tobacco, and he that absented himself a month forfeited fifty pounds. Whoever disparaged a minister, whereby the minds of his parishioners might be alienated, was compelled to pay 500 pounds of tobacco, and ask the minister's pardon publicly in the congregation. No man was permitted to dispose of any of his tobacco till the minister was satisfied, under the penalty of forfeiting double his part of the minister's salary. . . . To preserve the 'purity of doctrine and unity of the church,' it was enacted, in 1643, that all ministers should be conformable to the orders and constitution of the Church of England, and that no others be permitted to teach or preach, publicly or privately. It was further provided that the governor and council should take care that all nonconformists departed the colony with all convenience."



George Mason, Author of the Virginia Bill of Rights

Sir William Berkeley, governor of Virginia, strictly carried out this act of 1643, according to Winsor's "Narrative and Critical History of America" (Vol. III, p. 148). He says:

"During the year (1643) three Congregational ministers came from Boston to Virginia to disseminate their doctrines. Their stay, however, was but short; for, by an enactment of the Assembly, all ministers other than those of the Church of England were compelled to leave the colony."

Hassell, in his "Church History" (p. 523), says:

"In 1643, Sir William Berkeley, royal governor of Virginia, strove by whippings and brandings, to make the inhabitants of that colony conform to the established church, and thus drove out the Baptists and Quakers, who found a refuge in the Albemarle country of North Carolina, a colony which 'was settled,' says Bancroft, 'by the freest of the free — by men to whom the restraints of other colonies were too severe.'"

The utmost degree of persecution and intolerance was exercised by both the established church and the civil authorities toward all non-conformists. Not until the French and Indian wars broke out, did the Virginia Assembly realize the expediency of granting religious toleration to all sects, and it was almost a third of a century later that this was actually done.

Religious toleration implies a union of church and state. The state adopts the most popular and wealthy religion as its own, but through its generous and benevolent spirit tolerates the other religions. While this is a great deal better than intolerance, it is not compatible with religious liberty, nor is it in keeping with the spirit of true democracy, the healthy growth of free republican institutions, the ideal conditions of Christian service, or the fundamental principles of true Christianity. Lord Stanhope truly said:

"The time was when toleration was craved by dissenters as a boon: it is now demanded as a right, but the time will come when it will be spurned as an insult."

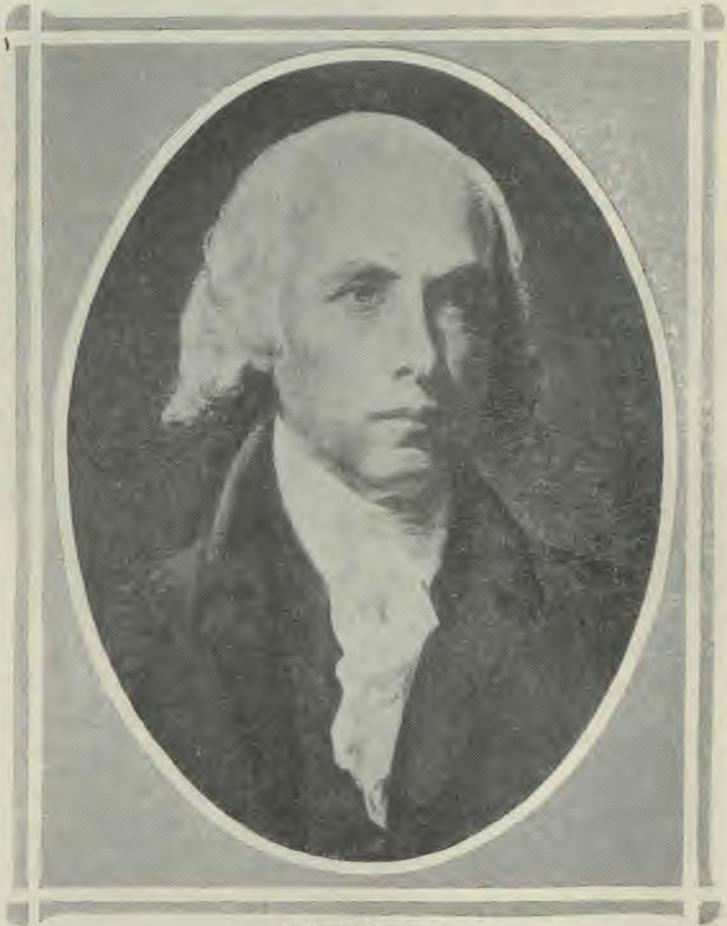
Religious Freedom

A perfect form of human government is a government where the sovereignty rests with the people, and not with the king or the Pope, or with both; and where the administration of its laws is equally balanced by the great ideal of civil and religious freedom. By religious freedom is meant the natural and inalienable right of every soul to worship according to the dictates of his own conscience, or not to worship, to choose his own religion, to obey its behests, and to be unmolested in the exercise of that right, so long as he does not infringe upon the legitimate and equal rights of others. In a government where all citizens and all sects stand upon an equality before the law, religion is, and ever must be, *free and voluntary*.

A religion that is acceptable to God can never rest on any other basis than faith—

individual faith, free, voluntary service. Consequently, no earthly power or human authority, whether civil or ecclesiastical, has any right, either natural or delegated, to compel conformity to any creed or to any form or species of worship, either civil or ecclesiastical, or to prevent the free exercise of the conscience so long as the equal rights of others are respected.

This doctrine of religious freedom instead of religious toleration merely, was first adopted and advocated by Roger Williams in Massa-



JAMES MADISON

Father of the Constitution. Ours is a government not of men, but of law, and not even the people have the right to change the fundamental law except by Constitutional methods; and even then they may not override the fundamental principles of human rights upon which the Constitution is based.

chusetts, and was later adopted by him in his Rhode Island colony. He advocated total separation of church and state, and religious freedom for all men. He denied to Cæsar the right to enforce by civil law, "the things that are God's." He made God the only lord of the conscience, the only regulator of our duty in religious matters, and the only judge of our re-

ligious conduct, accountable at his judgment bar at the last great day, instead of at Cæsar's judgment bar now.

This doctrine is now very generally accepted, not only in Virginia, but in nearly all the States in the Union. There are still a few of the States which claim, through some ancient statutes which they ought to have repudiated and repealed long ago, that they have the right to legislate upon and enforce the first four commandments of the decalogue, those which regulate a man's duty toward God. But nearly all the States in the Union have incorporated into their State Constitutions practically our National Declarations of religious freedom, as well as of civil liberty.

At the date of the American Revolution the American colonies knew nothing better than religious toleration. The struggle for civil liberty in America brought about the consummation and fruition of religious freedom. Both were born at the same time in our national history, because civil and religious freedom stand or fall together. Neither can exist and prosper without the other.

Faith of Our Forefathers

Our American forefathers of the Revolutionary era adopted the ideals of Roger Williams' model republic in Rhode Island, and completely separated the church and the state in the Federal Government and Constitution, guaranteeing full religious free-

dom to each individual citizen, so far as was possible under our scheme of government. Because of the triumph of these glorious principles of human liberty and the rights of the individual conscience, our government has become the greatest, most prosperous, and the most peaceful and contented nation in the world. Let truth, justice, liberty, and equality prevail, and may these grand principles of the distinctively civil and divine governments never be confounded, but may each continue to operate in its own distinct field in harmony with its own fundamental principles of civil and religious freedom, and then persecution will be impossible, and such terms as religious toleration and intolerance will speedily become obsolete.

A Threatened Danger

But just as certainly as America ignores these fundamental principles and tramples underfoot the rights of the individual conscience in re-

ligious matters, whether in time of peace or in time of war, America is doomed, and the hope of the world through civic regeneration is lost. When America loses her liberties and places the rights of the minority under the tyranny of the majority, or vice versa, the world is left without hope. When America goes down, the last chance of reforming the world through human efforts is gone. The whole world will then be rushing to its destiny of doom foretold by all the holy prophets since time began.

The Failure of Men Means the Triumph of God

But the failure of selfish, carnal, tyrannical rulers of men and nations will mean the speedy triumph of right. God and truth and justice



ROGER WILLIAMS

The Apostle of Religious Liberty in America, Welcomed by the Indians When Driven Out of Massachusetts

and liberty will triumph at the last great day over all their foes, and those who stand for God and for these eternal principles will join in the final and crowning shout of eternal victory.

The human outlook of things in this evil world is ominous, but the divine forecast is bright and promising. God moves in a mysterious way to perform his wonders and to perfect his plans. All things are moving in the direction of their destined goal. Not all the men on earth, nor all the devils in hell, can thwart the divine plan or defeat the purpose of God.

FORCED obedience to God's law will not change hearts. It will not make men one whit better morally, but by compelling them to appear to be what they are not, will make them hypocrites. W. F. M.



Is It "a Union of Church and State"?

By C. P. Bollman

SOME people think, and that not wholly without reason, that some of the acts and rulings of the War Department during the war with Germany and Austria-Hungary were such as to constitute "a union of church and state," and hence were "contrary to the Constitution."

Perhaps the Baptists feel the most deeply aggrieved over this matter, as they were the most directly inconvenienced by the rulings of the Department and by orders issued under such rulings. The reason for this is found in the fact that of all the larger Protestant denominations desiring to engage in denominational war work overseas, the Baptists alone held some distinctive doctrines that they could not in good conscience refrain from teaching.

We remember, too, that quite early in America's participation in the war a Baptist minister in Texas was somewhat curtly refused permission to hold religious services in one of the large camps in that State. There was some talk at the time of an appeal to the Secretary of War, and in case of necessity to the President himself. So far as we are advised, however, nothing was done. But in the July number of *Home and Foreign Fields* (Nashville, Tenn.), Rev. B. D. Gray, D. D., corresponding secretary of the Southern Baptist Convention, reverts to the whole subject, styling what was done by the Government as "a union of church and state." Dr. Gray says in part:

"We were exceedingly anxious to send a number of our strongest men overseas to do work on the battle front. We had selected a number of our very best men who were anxious to go overseas with the boys, but the War Department declined to let us go, except under the direction of the Y. M. C. A. We, therefore, were shut up to the work in the camps and cantonments at home. As things developed it proved that this was the great field any way, as far greater religious opportunities were presented in the camps at home than was possible at the fighting front in Europe.

"July 24, 1918, the War Department issued an order for the withdrawal of our camp pastors from the camps and cantonments. The only reason given for this order was the greatly increased number of chaplains who would, as the Third Assistant Secretary of War claimed, be able to provide ample religious services for the soldiers.

"Since the Y. M. C. A., and the Catholics, through the Knights of Columbus, and the Jewish Welfare Workers, were allowed to stay within the camps, erecting their buildings, we believed it unjust and wrong for our camp pastors to be shut out from the camps. . . .

"Scores and hundreds of the greatest preachers in the land were ready to give themselves

to this great work. The religious denominations through their various agencies were ready to seize the situation. The Y. M. C. A. on the inside of the camps was given the right to erect buildings and do religious as well as recreation work for the soldiers. The Knights of Columbus, representing the Roman Catholics, and the Jews, through their Jewish Welfare Board, were given similar privileges. Other denominations were left out or forced to do their work through or by permission of the Y. M. C. A.

"The Y. M. C. A. did a great work in furnishing recreation and diversion on various lines. They desired to do the religious work. It would have been far better for them to have confined their plans to other activities, and have given the churches of the various denominations the religious work. Their recreational activities and other lines of work overshadowed the religious work, and they largely 'queered' the religious work of the denominations because of their well-known undenominational attitude. . . .

"Baptists, therefore, of all others, think they must propagate their own denominational and differentiating principles through their own organizations.

"The Liberty Church is a unique thing in ecclesiology, inaugurated in ordnance reservations of the United States Government. It was begotten by the Joint Committee of the War-time Commission of the Federal Council of the Churches and the Home Missions Council in co-operation with the Young Men's Christian Association, the Young Women's Christian Association, and the Ordnance Department of the Government.

"It is a strange medley. It is called a church, and then is not a church. It is defined by the Joint Committee as follows:

"The Liberty Church is not, technically, a church, but a society, although for practical purposes it will be a church and will be considered such by the community."

"The pastors of the Liberty Church are selected and directed by the Joint Committee. The religious denominations as such have no control over them. And no denominations can do any work in these reservations except by permission and under the direction of the Joint Committee, except the Roman Catholics. The United States Government through the Ordnance Department is a party to this arrangement. The Government furnishes the houses and the expenses of lighting, heating, janitors' fee, without cost. They, moreover, furnish houses for the workers. Indeed, it is a union of church and state.

"It is contrary to the provisions of the Constitution. The Government is helping to set up a system of religious work and doctrine while it prohibits the free exercise of religion by the various denominations. It is said to be a tentative thing and used as a war

measure, but neither in war nor peace should there be such an unholy alliance and dictation on the part of the Government and the Federal Council of the Churches or any other religious body."

What we have quoted from Dr. Gray is said in no hard or faultfinding spirit. The Baptists, while not permitted to do all that they wished to do, did not sulk in their tents, but in spite of handicaps accomplished a good work. They cannot, however, help viewing with misgivings the growing tendency, not only of the Government as a whole, but of its several departments, to interfere more and more with matters of religion.

The Constitution does not say that the Government, either directly or through its several departments, shall not make any ruling or promulgate any order interfering with the free exercise of religion, but it does say that Congress shall not do any such thing by law. Inasmuch as ours is pre-eminently a government of law, it seems only reasonable to believe that the prohibitions of the Constitution were intended to be just as binding upon the executive as upon the legislative branch of the government, and that therefore no department has legal power to do what is forbidden to the Congress.

Of course nobody thinks for a moment that Secretary of War Baker had any intention of forming a union of church and state by executive order. But it cannot be denied that for the time being "the Liberty Church," though so unique as to be scarcely entitled to be called a church, was in fact, if not *the* church of the United States Army, at least a church of

that army, protected and regulated by the War Department, subject to its direction, and in part financed by said Department, or in other words, by the United States through its War Department.

In saying this there is no intention whatever to criticize any one unkindly. Doubtless Mr. Baker was moved to do what he did by patriotic motives, and no one denies that the Y. M. C. A. did much good.

But it is more than questionable if better work could not have been done along religious lines if, instead of inaugurating a "Liberty Church," all denominations had been permitted to send accredited workers into the camps, not only at home, but overseas.

We are not fully persuaded that it is ever necessary or even helpful for the Government, as such, to undertake to provide religious instruction or religious services for its citizens, even though for the time being they are employed in military lines.

The Government is a business concern, purely secular in its nature. It is not and can not be religious, for religion has to do with the personal relations of the individual toward God. Government is not antireligious, but simply nonreligious, for the good and sufficient reason that true religion is an affair of the heart and life, not of law, either constitutional or statutory. The state that undertakes to be religious must become a persecutor. Only the state that professes no religion while it opposes no religious faith, can guarantee to all its citizens freedom and equality in both the civil and the religious sphere. All history attests the truth of this statement.

THERE is perhaps no question which has caused more discussion, and even bloodshed, than the question of sovereignty, and where it ought, by right, to be vested.

It has been a long struggle, but great progress has been made in the right direction.

The sovereignty of the government of the people has been changed from one man as sovereign, to the collective body of the people; and he who was before a subject of the king, is now a citizen of the state. A citizen of a democracy is a freeman, and not a subject, and enjoys an inherent right to partake in the sovereign privileges of the administration of the government. In a republic each citizen enjoys equal privileges with every other citizen. No citizen of a democracy enjoys special privileges unless they are delegated to him by the whole

The Right of Sovereignty

Where Is It Vested?

By the Editor

body of citizens, or their dozen representatives.

The founders of the American Republic did not believe in the sovereignty of the state over its citizens to the extent of exer-

cising absolute authority and power, nor did they believe in the sovereignty of the majority of the people over the minority, or any part thereof, to the extent of exercising tyrannical and absolute power. They believed that each individual, as a responsible moral being, had certain "inalienable" and "natural rights," which neither the state nor the people could rightfully take from him. The Declaration of Independence and the Federal Constitution expressly reserved such rights to each individual citizen, and safeguarded them by very positive limitations. And they particularly guaranteed them by the first ten Amendments to the Con-

stitution, so that any responsible citizen, by virtue of his inherent and God-given nobility as a human being, has specific rights and privileges, such as religious freedom, liberty of opinion, of speech, and of the press, which ninety-nine and ninety-nine one-hundredths per cent of the people could not rightfully take from him.

The fathers did not believe in the infallibility of the people, any more than they did in the infallibility of the monarch, as to the sovereign right to rule in matters of their conscience. They erected insurmountable barriers in the fundamental law, limiting the absolute sovereignty of the state over the individual, saying to the state: "Hitherto shalt thou come, but no farther: and here shall thy proud waves be stayed."

The sacred rights guaranteed in the Federal Constitution gave a new meaning to the original purpose of human government, and a new dignity and value to the worth of the human soul. The American theory and form of government exalted the nobility of manhood and womanhood as no other political system had ever done. It was these divine principles of individual justice, liberty, and equality which brought from the lips of Gladstone his famous tribute, that the United States Constitution was "the most perfect work of statecraft ever struck off by the brain and purpose of man at a given time."



ABRAHAM LINCOLN

"The people of these United States are the rightful masters of both congresses and courts, not to overthrow the Constitution, but to overthrow the men who pervert the Constitution."

Just and equal laws are the very palladium of our liberties. There are forces in operation today, composed of large and influential groups of men and women in every station in life, who are seeking to call into question, and ultimately to overthrow, every essential right and immunity vouchsafed to the individual citizen by the Constitution.

The problem of the true statesman is to steer the ship of state between the Scylla of anarchy and the Charibdis of autocracy.

The problem of the people has changed from making "the world safe for democracy" to making "democracy safe for the world." Unless some supernatural power shall lay hold on the hearts of men and women, and change their selfish, carnal, covetous motives and desires from self-aggrandizement to self-abnegation for the benefit of humanity, may God deliver us from the hour of trial

that is just before us. The world has never faced a darker hour. While the kaiser has been driven into exile, yet autocracy and selfishness still reign in the human heart; not in a single country only, but throughout the world.

If the guaranties of human rights and individual liberties are to be trampled underfoot to satisfy the selfish greed for treasure and power among men, the world will be bound to spend its treasure and blood like water, and is destined to drift into a chaos from which the hand of God alone can deliver the race. C. S. L.

If You Believe in Liberty

A CHURCH or combination of churches that seeks a civil enactment for the enforcement of any religious dogma, institution, or usage, departs thereby from the Lord Christ, denies the power of the divine Spirit, leans upon the arm of flesh, and haltingly walks by the aid of the crutch of human law. This is in the Scriptures called spiritual adultery.

LUTHER, by the simple discovery that religion is an attitude of the heart which is spiritual, and hence cannot be aroused by any ma-

terial means and must in its operation not be bound to anything material or external, came to be not merely a reformer of religion but also a reformer of ethics, for both religion and ethics belong together. To be pious means at the same time to be religious and also to be good. Faith does not only comfort the conscience, it also fills the soul with a joyous readiness which is the mother of all virtue. As a living, active thing it causes in man the desire for moral activity, and remains as a never-ceasing stimulus constantly operative in all moral action.—"Luther in the Light of Recent Research," p. 231.

Sunday Laws and Religious Liberty

By Sanford B. Horton

THE principles of civil and religious liberty are affected by Sunday laws. Civil government as established by the founders of this nation, stands committed against Sunday legislation because it concerns the inherent and inalienable rights of man. The Puritan idea of civil government, with its "blue laws," which included Sunday laws, is not American by any means. It was as much against Puritanism as it was against the church and state practices of European papacy that our fathers proposed to guard themselves when they sat in council to form a government "of the people, by the people, and for the people," unfettered by social autocracy, religious intolerance, or political enslavement.

It was a recognized right for Puritans to preach and practice what they pleased in accordance with their religious convictions, but there was no right bequeathed to them by their Creator nor granted them by the common consent of their fellows, to impose their preaching and practices upon others who might dissent.

The evils of the religious laws in Puritan New England were very fresh in the minds of America's founders when they felt called upon by the Lord and by enslaved humanity of other climes to formulate a government which would guarantee equal and exact justice to all, be they religious or nonreligious. This position was not taken because our patriotic ancestry were irreligious, for they were not. Many of them were men of God in very truth, and it was because of that fact that they formed a government in which the people should be permitted self-determination in religious matters.

Advocates of enforced Sunday rest seem unmindful of the fact that in the early experiences of our nation the subject of Sunday laws received careful consideration and they were "turned down," to use the language of the

street, because they interfered with the right of individual self-determination in matters pertaining to the worship of God. Let those who doubt this, peruse the annals of early Congresses as well as the utterances of officials of the Government in the first half of the nineteenth century.

A report of the United State Senate of the Twentieth Congress, second session, Jan. 19, 1829, said:

"The committee to whom were referred the several petitions on the subject of mails on the Sabbath, or first day of the week, report: . . .

"It should . . . be kept in mind that the proper object of government is to protect all persons in the enjoyment of their religious as well as civil rights, and not to determine for any whether they shall esteem one day above another, or esteem all days alike holy. . . . It is not the legitimate province of the legislature to determine what religion is true or what false. Our government is a civil, and not a religious, institution. . . . 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. . . . What other nations call religious toleration, we call religious rights. They are not exercised in virtue of governmental indulgence, but as rights, of which government cannot deprive any portion of citizens, however small."

What has made America the glory of all nations, "Time's noblest offspring"? Has it been our inexhaustible resources, our business enterprise, our men and women? or has it been the great principles underlying our governmental structure—principles of civil and religious liberty, unfettered rights, as referred to in the Senate report just quoted? The counsel of President Wilson and others of the American representatives to the Versailles Peace Conference, was based upon the original American principles. There was nothing new in their



COL. RICHARD M. JOHNSON
Author of the Sunday Mail Reports

position so far as the principle of self-determination is concerned, for that position is American. Our President and his cocommissioners stuck to the American text, and it is to be hoped that in the reconstruction work proposed for America they will continue to apply these principles by refusing to forge shackles of intolerance suggested in proposed Sunday legislation.

Was compulsory Sunday observance among the things against which early Congresses warned? Let the House of Representatives of the Twenty-first Congress, first session, March 4, 5, 1830, answer:

"If Congress shall, by authority of law, sanction the measure recommended, it would constitute a legislative decision of a religious controversy, in which even Christians themselves are at issue. [The measure referred to was a proposed statute stopping the mails on Sunday.] . . . If the measure recommended should be adopted, it would be difficult for human sagacity to foresee how rapid would be the succession, or how numerous the train of measures which follow, involving the dearest rights of all—the rights of conscience.

"It is perhaps fortunate for our country that the proposition [stopping the mails on Sunday by civil law—looked upon as a dangerous and un-American precedent] should have been made at this early period, while the spirit of the Revolution yet exists in full vigor."

Should not our Sixty-sixth Congress stick to the text of the Constitution and the attitude of the early Congresses by keeping the legislative doors closed against proposed Sunday laws, the operation of which means, in the last analysis, fettering our citizenry with the shackles of intolerance against which our patriotic forefathers consistently battled? Is it not time for our civil authorities to advise in the language of the Senate report above quoted, those who advocate Sunday laws in nation or State:

"Our Constitution recognizes no other power than that of persuasion, for enforcing religious observances. Let the professors of Christianity recommend their religion by deeds of benevolence, by Christian meekness, by lives of temperance and holiness. Let them combine their efforts to instruct the ignorant, to relieve the widow and the orphan, to promulgate to the world the gospel of their Saviour, recommending its precepts by their habitual example; government will find its legitimate object in protecting them. It cannot oppose

them, and they will not need its aid. Their moral influence will then do infinitely more to advance the true interests of religion, than any measure which they may call on Congress to enact."

This is sound American doctrine. Keep the church and state forever separate.



KING CHARLES II

Whose Reign Gave to England and Her Colonies the Sunday Law from Which Our American Sunday Statutes Have Been Derived.

Church and State in the Fourth Century

An Echo from the First Nicene Council

IN the early years of the fourth century, when Constantine the Great and the leading bishops of the West were conspiring together to effect an organic union of all the churches of Christendom, both East and West, and also to bring about a complete union of church and state, with Constantine the Great as its head in place of Christ, that emperor called the ecumenical council of Nicea in a supreme effort to bring about harmony in both church and state under his leadership, and abolish forever the fundamental principles of primitive Christianity.

Among those whom Constantine had commanded to attend this council was Arius, an aged presbyter of Alexandria, who held tenaciously to many principles of the apostolic faith, and refused to take any part in the deliberations of the council, lest by so doing he should recognize the right of an emperor to call such a council of the leaders of the church, and, as head of the state, assume also dominating leadership in the church.

But during the discussion of certain vital questions in the proposed creed concerning which Arius had been accused of heresy, Con-

stantine demanded of him that he reply to accusations, (1) that he had censured the emperor, (2) that he had condemned the council, and (3) that he held heretical views on certain questions under consideration. In response to this command the learned presbyter is represented to have made the following remarkable statement in the presence of the emperor, in which he set forth clearly his attitude toward the council, and the great question involved therein; namely, the union of church and state. While this "speech" is historical fiction, the truth of God on this vital question is stated therein with great clearness, as follows:

"By the command of Augustus I answer that I have not censured the emperor, nor condemned the council. As to my being a heretic, I only reply that, if this thing be true, it is no concern of the emperor's, who hath never been ordained to be the keeper of my conscience. It is an affair entirely between the Master—Christ—and his servant Arius. For ye all do know that there is no Roman law prescribing what we must believe or disbelieve, since the persecutors lost power to enforce obedience to their laws prescribing faith in false gods, by the infliction of tortures and death, against those who for conscience' sake refused to obey. But ye know that neither Jesus nor his apostles ever denounced, nor authorized any human being to denounce, a temporal penalty for heresy; for the church only prescribes that ye should refuse to fellowship the obdurate heretic, or disobedient person; and I trust you far enough to believe that if any pagan emperor, or any human authority, should enact laws requiring you to believe, or to do, anything contrary to good conscience, ye would be faithful Christians enough to refuse obedience to such laws, as our fathers from the beginning have gloriously done. For this is a matter between each man and his God only; not between him and the government which exercises dominion over him.

"This the church hath held from the beginning; and when the heathen laws did prescribe that ye who are here assembled should do and believe things contrary to Christ and to conscience, ye did refuse, so that every bishop here, except those eleven who come from the remotest East, hath endured tortures rather than obey the human laws. If, therefore, I be a heretic, as brother Marcellus of Ancyra ignorantly supposeth, what have the empire or its laws to do with that? Why speak ye of orthodoxy, or of heterodoxy, in a great royal, political assembly like this; unless, perhaps, some of ye are willing to believe that the great and powerful emperor is also a god, having charge of your faith and conscience, as well as of your political condition; so that what the law of Constantine shall prescribe as right to be believed and done shall be your rule of faith and practice, and not what our Lord Christ hath prescribed?

"For me, a poor presbyter of the Christian church, to assume the right to deliberate upon and prescribe laws for the empire would be gross impudence and arrogance; for any human authority to usurp the right to make laws controlling the faith of Christ's church, would be as gross a sacrilege. Was Constantine crucified for you? Or were ye baptized into his name? And do ye hope for salvation by faith in and obedience to him? I was not.

"I have come, therefore, hither in obedience to the imperial mandate, and have spoken by the emperor's command. As to the empire, I have no authority and no desire to make laws for it; as to my Christian faith, no man nor angel hath right or power to meddle therewith, or to prescribe laws for it. It is a thing between my soul and its Saviour, whom I have served all my life long in spite of imperial laws, and whom I will continue to serve, no matter what laws may be enacted. Brethren, will ye do likewise? or will ye now deny the Christ?" —*Artus the Libyan*, pp. 327-329. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1893.

Polish Pogroms and Medievalism

✘ ✘ By H. B. Mayer ✘ ✘

THE recent thefts, abuses, and murders directed against the Jews of Poland bring again to mind the flaring fire of religious hatred and anti-Semitic demonstrations of Russia, and other parts of Europe during the Middle Ages, when mobs headed by bigoted priest and religious zealot, went forth with torch and sword, ravaging the ghettos.

In the early centuries the Jews were persecuted and killed because they were considered guilty of the death of Christ. It was thought an act of justice pleasing to God to torture

a Jew. Today the reason offered is that they are political offenders—revolutionists, Bolshevists, undesirable citizens. But the motive back of it is the same—religious hatred, anti-Semitism.

In the past the bitterest persecution had its source in the attempt of the church to run the affairs of state, and say what a citizen should believe and not believe, enforcing its demands by the supposedly divine right of the church to correct heretics. The days of medieval darkness are not yet past, for we behold in this enlightened age—and by a country that has herself just received political freedom—the severest kind of persecution against the Jewish people.

This is hardly conceivable, and yet when we remember that for generations this hatred of

everything Jewish has been instilled into the minds of these religiously superstitious European peoples, by a bigoted clergy which has controlled the state, it is not to be wondered at.

The Jews have always been a persecuted people in European countries where they were scattered during the days following the capture and destruction of their city by the Romans. They were unwelcome wherever they went, and this hatred was intensified by religious fanatics of a church which had lost the principles of love taught by its Founder, and which displayed a spirit of persecution toward all non-conformists.

But this doctrine of hatred is anti-Christian. It was never taught or sanctioned by Jesus

Christ. Love to friend and foe characterized all his life and works; and even while hanging on the tree, paying the penalty for man's transgressions, he remembered his own people, and implored the forgiveness of God for them.

While it is true that certain Jewish rulers were instrumental in bringing about Christ's conviction because they envied his prestige with the people, yet the guilt of this act can no more be laid to the Jews than to all mankind, for whose sins the Prince of Glory was put to death.

If Christ himself held nothing against the Jewish people, and never taught a word of hatred against even an enemy, how can these acts of modern Jewish persecution be justified by a Christian country?

A Fair Field and No Favors

□ □ By Heber H. Votaw □ □

HIS platform was on a busy street corner. It was Saturday night and the crowds were thick. The speaker was calm, collected, and apparently in the best of humor. The group gathered about his stand manifested keen interest. The subject was timely and the manner of its presentation was engaging.

While none showed any personal hostility, there were some who disagreed with the opinions advanced, and these interrupted with a bombardment of questions. The speaker answered good-naturedly. One from the crowd was persistent, and to the close listener it was apparent that his design was to lead away from the subject. But the "orator" of the evening was a seasoned campaigner, and was quick to see the purpose of the scheme, so he digressed just a moment.

With a smile that was sure to disarm prejudice and a slight wave of the hand, he said:

"Oh, my friend, years ago, when I was very young, very inexperienced, I tried to answer every question that any one asked. I found that it did not pay. I feel that I have a definite message. I must give it, and I can't allow myself to be turned aside from it. However, I'll give you some good advice. I secured from the mayor the privilege of speaking from this spot. Across the street is a vacant place; you go and get permission to occupy it, and if you have any definite, constructive, political ideas to explain, do so over there. And," he added, "if all my audience leaves me and goes to you, I shall not complain. If I can't hold

an audience by the worth of the things I have to say, I don't deserve a hearing. I do not ask that other speakers be kept off the streets or that places which attract men and women be closed. I only ask that I may not be interrupted while I talk."

I recite this incident because it comes to my mind every time I read that preachers are agitating for the enactment or enforcement of blue laws—Sunday-closing statutes so strict that men will go to church because they can go to no other place. Such ministers are, seemingly, unwilling to compete in an open, fair-play manner for the attention of men. They appear less generous than those whom they attack. The message they bear lacks force and fervor. No impelling power goes with it. Lacking that which draws men, they appeal for laws to drive them.

I utterly fail to understand what satisfaction could be found in addressing an audience, no matter how large, if individual interest on the part of those composing it is lacking.

Laws closing other public places on Sunday will not cause men to attend church services. Other laws compelling attendance would have to be passed. But no law could control their minds while in church, and no legislation could change their hearts. Further, every thinking man knows that laws pertaining to the conscience, if enforced, make either martyrs or hypocrites.

Luther, Wesley, Moody, and thousands of lesser lights never lacked eager listeners, and never invoked earthly laws to obtain them. Let preachers not belittle, by an appeal to the arm of flesh, the spiritual power they have a right to claim. Let them be so sure of the righteousness of their cause and the purity of their purpose that, even though the devil should start opposition just across the street, they need not fear the loss of their audiences.

Christian Reasons Against Sunday Laws

By the Associate Editor

I AM a Christian, and believe not only in Christian morals, but in active, aggressive Christianity. I do not believe, however, in enforcing Christianity by civil law. The institutions of Christianity are for Christians only, and those who of their own free choice desire to become Christians. Christian baptism, Christian communion, Christian belief, and the weekly Christian rest are all good and helpful, but they are not to be forced upon either Christians or non-Christians. What value could there possibly be in enforced baptism? or in a celebration of the Lord's Supper, enforced by state law? None whatever. Nor is any benefit to be derived from a state-imposed, statute-enforced weekly rest day.

Nowhere in the Bible is there any divine command for the sacred observance of Sunday, the first day of the week. The fourth commandment of the decalogue, as recorded in Exodus 20, enjoins the observance of the seventh day of the week, or Saturday. That commandment reads:

THERE are religious denominations in the United States which do not agree upon the question as to when the Sabbath day should be observed, whether on the seventh or the first day of the week. For the civil government to attempt to decide this question is for it to assume the right to settle a religious controversy. When a State does this, it establishes a state religion, and persecution of dissenters must inevitably follow.

"Remember the Sabbath day, to keep it holy. Six days shalt thou labor, and do all thy work: but the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God: in it thou shalt not do any work, thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, thy manservant, nor thy maidservant, nor thy cattle, nor thy stranger that is within thy gates: for in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is, and rested the seventh day: wherefore the Lord blessed the Sabbath day, and hallowed it."

Any law regulating the observance of Sunday is purely of human origin. In effect it changes this portion of the divine law. Substitutes for a divine institution

are always dangerous; they lower men's ideals. But a law compelling people to observe even the true seventh-day Sabbath would be wrong; for God has not commissioned man to compel his fellow men to obey even a divine precept. To attempt this is to insinuate that God is not able to enforce his own laws, that in fact the Creator of the universe and the Giver of the great moral code is a helpless, dependent being.

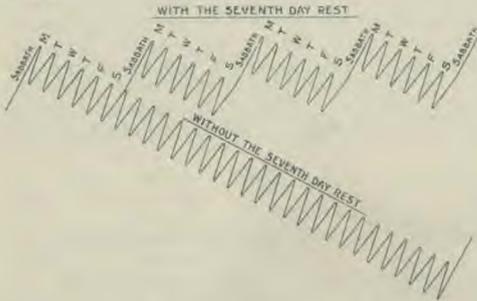
THIS world will never have peace until it is ushered in by the Prince of Peace. Eternal peace does not come through the gateway of politics nor through civic reformation. It comes only in God's appointed way through Jesus, who is our Peace. Both man and the world will have to undergo the divine process of a new creation before permanent and lasting peace can be established among men on earth.

L.



Dr. Hagler's Oxygen Chart

INASMUCH as Dr. W. F. Crafts is somewhat prominent in the Sunday-law crusade fully launched with practically the opening of the extra session of the Sixty-sixth Congress, Dr. Hagler's oxygen chart, which Mr. Crafts has used for many years and is still using, demands some attention. Here is a copy of the chart:



Dr. Hagler's theory is that each day's labor depletes the normal individual supply of oxygen one ounce. The night's rest restores only five sixths of an ounce, leaving the supply still one sixth of an ounce short. At the end of six days of labor, the supply of oxygen will be, therefore, an entire ounce short, and this can be restored only by an entire day's rest.

The chart is not based upon extensive experiments by many scientists, or upon a large number of laborers and covering quite a period

of time, but upon experiments by one person upon a very few men, and covering only a brief space of time. Scientific conclusions of value are not arrived at in any such way.

Dr. Hagler's theory puts all workingmen upon the same level. The doctor utterly ignores environment, number of hours employed, sleeping quarters, habits as to eating, drinking, etc., including the use of tobacco and other narcotics. According to Dr. Hagler, every man who works, regardless of the number of hours, loses just an ounce of oxygen. Every man gets back just five sixths of an ounce, at night, and this regardless of whether he goes to bed at nine and gets up at five, or goes to bed at eleven and gets up at six. Then the Sunday rest fully restores the oxygen shortage, regardless of hygienic environment! One man may spend half or a third of his Sunday out of doors, engaged in some moderate recreation, or sport, and thus, according to Mr. Crafts, further deplete his supply of oxygen, while another may spend from four to six hours of his Sunday in a crowded church with the result that his supply of oxygen is fully restored!

Mr. Crafts is on record as declaring, "If you take the religion out, you take the rest out." Therefore, only religious rest or change can restore the lost oxygen! If Mr. Crafts can profoundly impress Congress by such a theory, it will be indeed surprising. We are persuaded that both houses are largely made up of sensible, thinking men.

Virginia Courts Engaged in

THEOLOGICAL HAIRSPLITTING

By the Editor

THE supreme court of appeals of Virginia upheld, on August 4, the decision of the corporation court of Richmond, that "persons who obtain license to sell soft drinks, and who may observe another day than Sunday as their Sabbath, are not to be allowed to sell soft drinks the day that other licensed persons are required to close their business places," notwithstanding the fact that the State legislature of Virginia enacted a statute exempting Sabbatharians from the operations of the Sunday laws of Virginia, provided the Sabbatharians actually observed the seventh day of the week as the Sabbath, abstaining upon that day from all labor and business.

Judge Richardson, of the corporation court, decided that the laws of the State are made for all the people, that they must be enforced impartially, that no right can be granted to one

person to do anything which would, if exercised by another, be a violation of the statutes of the commonwealth. Yet in another test case tried the same day by Judge Richardson, he ruled that Sabbatharians who faithfully and conscientiously observed the seventh day of the week as the Sabbath were exempted from the operations of the Sunday law of Virginia, in all matters of merchandizing and laboring on Sundays. The only thing that he prohibits a Sabbatharian from doing on Sundays is the selling of soft drinks.

We may be dull of comprehension, but, honestly, we fail to see the force and consistency of his argument in the two cases in which he so clearly discriminates between what is lawful and unlawful under the exemption statute enacted in behalf of the Sabbatharian. An exemption statute is intended to exempt and not

to prohibit. If the court can exercise the right to prohibit one thing, it can prohibit two, three, four, five things, and so on indefinitely until all things are prohibited under the exemption statute, and the intent of the State legislature entirely nullified.

If the Sabbatarian is not allowed to do anything on Sunday, after he has observed the seventh day as the Sabbath, but must faithfully observe the same restrictions as are imposed upon the Sunday observer on the first day, then of what value is the exemption statute enacted in behalf of the Sabbatarian? How can the selling of soft drinks or anything else by a Sabbatarian on Sunday be in violation of the statutes of the commonwealth when the State legislature expressly enacted a statute

they deny the Sabbatarian the right and privileges of both divine and civil laws to work and transact business six days each week. Such a ruling gives the Sabbatarian a shadow instead of a substance.

The supreme court of Virginia refused to allow an appeal and review of the case of Abram Newman, an orthodox Jew, which was a test case, upon which hung the decision of a number of similar cases.

State Supreme Courts Differ

The decision of the supreme court of Virginia is just the opposite of the decision of the supreme court of Oklahoma, in a similar case. The supreme court of Oklahoma said in reference to the exemption statute enacted by the legislature in behalf of those who observed another day than Sunday as the Sabbath:

"The legislature intended to refrain from interfering with, or coercing the conscience of those who uniformly and conscientiously keep another day than the first day of the week as holy time. And we think this is in harmony with the spirit and genius of our Government. And when our legislators exempted persons who uniformly, conscientiously, and religiously keep another day, from the penalties of the statute, they intended to give them a substance and not a shadow."

The courts of Virginia are giving the Sabbatarian a shadow instead of a substance. They have set aside the legislative intent of the State legislature. They have utterly ignored

the Virginia Bill of Rights (Art. I, Sec. 18), which reads:

"That religion, or the duty we owe to our Creator, and the manner of discharging it, can be directed only by reason and conviction, and not by force or violence; and, therefore, all men are equally entitled to the free exercise of religion, according to the dictates of conscience; and that it is the mutual duty of all to practise Christian forbearance, love, and charity towards each other."

Instead of exercising the spirit of forbearance, love, and charity, and allowing the Sabbatarian to follow the dictates of his conscience, the courts of Virginia set themselves up as the arbiters of religious controversies, and decide religious questions to a hairsplitting degree.

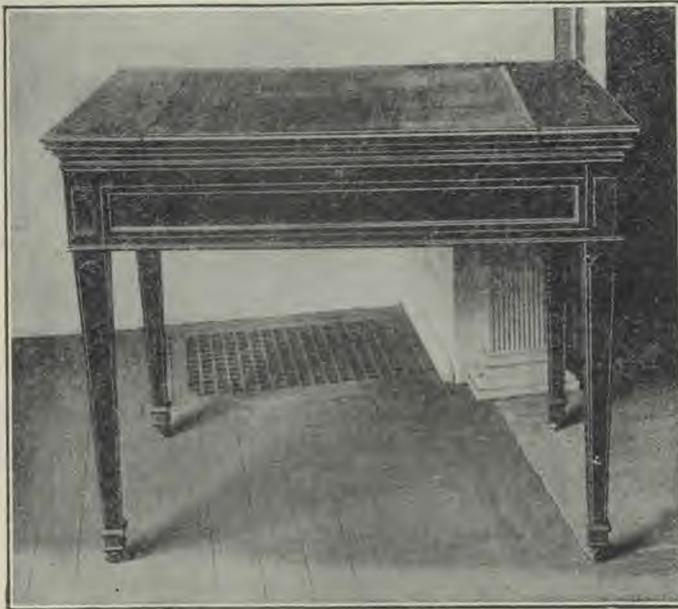


Table on Which George Mason Wrote the Virginia Bill of Rights,
Now in Independence Hall, Philadelphia

exempting the Sabbatarian from the operations of the Sunday law? Unless the Sabbatarian is permitted to do the same things on Sunday that the Sunday observer is permitted to do on Saturday, the Sabbatarian is not given the same rights before the law as is the Sunday observer. Thus the State would require the Sabbatarian to rest two days each week, and the Sunday observer only one day each week. The State does require the Sabbatarian to rest conscientiously on the seventh day of the week in order to enjoy the benefits of the exemption statute enacted in his behalf to do business and labor on the first day of the week. Then when the courts deny the full benefits of the exemption statute and compel the Sabbatarian to rest on Sunday the same as the Sunday observer,

The Sanhedrin at Jerusalem, composed largely of the most self-righteous of the Jews, was noted for its ability to determine to a scintilla the exact manner of proper Sabbath observance. They decided that it was a sin to heal a man on the Sabbath day. They condemned the man, who, after lying on his bed helpless all his life, carried his bed on the Sabbath, after Christ had healed him. They forbade walking through a field of ripened wheat on the Sabbath day, lest one's feet should thresh out a few grains and thus the law against threshing and seed sowing on the Sabbath be violated.

The Jews had heaped over five hundred hair-splitting restrictions upon the one Sabbath commandment God had written in the decalogue. Christ ignored the human restrictions which these self-righteous Pharisees had imposed upon the people, and because of this they were offended and sought to kill him. He told them plainly that they had bound "heavy burdens and grievous to be borne," and laid them on men's shoulders, and they themselves were not

willing to touch the burdens with one of their fingers, and that they strained out the gnat and swallowed the camel. He further told them, "Full well ye reject the commandment of God, that ye may keep your own tradition, . . . making the word of God of none effect through your tradition, which ye have delivered."

This is exactly what the courts of Virginia are doing in their zeal and anxiety to uphold the traditions of the fathers for proper Sunday observance. They think they are upholding the divine commandment of God, whereas God never commanded any man to observe Sunday for his Sabbath day. And then they condemn the man who observes the day which God commanded, and transacts business on the six days which God gave to him for that purpose. It is just as easy today for men to be mistaken and believe that they are doing God service, as in the days of Christ.

Christ said: "Yea, the time cometh, that whosoever killeth you will think that he doeth God service." "They have persecuted me, they will also persecute you."

Carnal Weapons

By W. F. Martin

THE weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds."

God employs the language of common usage to convey spiritual truths. The soldier of the cross is armed with weapons. He is given the sword of the Spirit with which to conduct his warfare. This is to be used in the realm of the conscience, and not as a physical force. Coercion, or force, is outside the commission given to the church. The Author of the commission persuaded but did not force men.

Frequently men in authority have forgotten this, and have used carnal weapons in an effort to forward the cause of God. Their motives may have been good, but their methods were wrong. Such efforts always lead to persecution. The persecuted may hold erroneous ideas, but even then the work of the persecutor is always wrong. The Holy Spirit, using the word of God spoken by human lips, is God's means of accomplishing his work.

Whenever a ruler or a nation attempts to enforce the worship of God, it, of course, imposes a penalty upon those who will not bow to its dictates. This comes from a misconception of the motive in acceptable worship.

King Nebuchadnezzar was led to acknowledge the supremacy of God. His desire had been overruled, and the Hebrew brethren delivered from the fiery furnace. This miracle so im-

pressed the mind of the king that intellectually he was converted to the worship of the true God. Instead, however, of submitting himself to God, Nebuchadnezzar felt that he must take God and his worship under the protection of Babylon.

Having this in view, the king made a decree that whosoever would not worship the God of the Hebrews should be destroyed. His was a parallel to the modern National Reform idea; — the idea that religion must be enforced by the state. Nebuchadnezzar's idea was to enforce the true worship upon his people. In doing this he placed himself above God and dictated his worship. The Lord has never delegated any man or any kingdom to tell men and women how or where to worship.

The Babylonian king went on in his chosen course until the God of heaven deposed him, and he was driven from his throne to dwell among the beasts of the field. This was to teach him that "the Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will." Dan. 4: 25. Nebuchadnezzar learned that "those that walk in pride" God "is able to abase."

Men who set themselves up as standards and enforce their ideas of religion upon their fellows, will find that the God of heaven is jealous of his prerogatives, and in his own good time will abase those who exalt themselves.

The Value of Democratic Ideals in Oriental Nations

By C. S. Longacre

ONE of the greatest curses which has afflicted the peoples of southern and eastern Asia, binding their nations in chains of darkness and oppression, and greatly retarding the progress of their civilization, is their strange and rigid caste system.

There is no influence so potential and actual in its effectiveness in breaking down the power of the caste system, outside of the Christian economy and principle of universal brotherhood, as the democratization of the civil government.

The inculcation of the ideals of human liberty and equality as set forth in a democratic form of government has done more for the liberalization and emancipation of China from the bondage of the caste system than appears upon the surface.

The Chinese Republic, imperfect as it is at present, instead of making an ostensible attack on the debasing evils of the terrible caste system, has just naturally undermined its progress and stability by training the people to think and act along the lines of democratic ideals and forms of government.

Slavery could not exist long after the Declaration of Independence burned the full meaning of the great truth into the hearts of the American people, that "all men are created equal." Outside of Christianity, the most effective

remedy that has been found for the evils of the caste system in India and China has been the peaceable introduction of representative government, with equal and just laws, guaranteeing civil and religious freedom and universal citizenship and brotherhood.

The spirit and purpose of humanitarian and democratic ideals propounded and set forth by the government for the benefit of all the people in every station in life, has broken the chains and shackles of caste tyranny in the Orient.

The republic of China, because of its very form of government, unconsciously has done more to overthrow the wretched caste system than have all the arguments of contempt and ridicule that have been heaped upon it.

We can help India and China to rise to their supreme station

of nobility among the nations and to dwell in tranquillity, by assisting them in perfecting their ideals of democracy, and in placing "the common man" on an equality with other men before the law in matters of essential justice and natural rights. We can lift the world to a higher plane in our dealings with one another only when we regard our neighbor's rights as sacredly as we do our own. Not hate and jealousy, but mutual love and sympathy, is the law of progress and peace.

C. S. L.



Group of Christian Women, Changsha, China

THE Christian church had no religio-political beginning. She had no Sunday laws, no compulsory ecclesiastical taxes, no state-controlled clergy, no state endowments, no state dignities and titles; on the contrary, the primitive church began with a treasurer who stole all the money and forsook her, and with the mightiest empire the world ever saw, angrily arrayed against her and determined to blot her out of existence.

Yet with no reliance upon civil power, but absolute faith in her Lord, the primitive church of Christianity went forth "conquering, and to conquer," armed only with her message of love and peace and good will to all men.

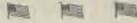
The hope of the church is in her Lord and his abiding presence in her midst. The triumph of the church lies in the recognition of the divine Presence and her reliance upon spiritual power.

Editorial Brevities

EFFECTIVE weapons with which to fight the devil are "paper and ink."



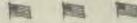
It is the sign of supreme selfishness in man, for him to assert his own rights and disregard the equal rights of others.



THE true church will never seek a union with the secular arm or the governments of earth, for the world and Christ never were and never can be on terms of friendship.



THE majority are not on the side of God in the last day, or Christ would not say, "Fear not, little flock; for it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom."



WHAT a contrast there is between the true church of Christ and a formal conventional church that leans upon the civil arm and uses force instead of spiritual persuasion.



TRUTH is a powerful, active, living factor that is capable of looking after itself, because it belongs to God and because it is one with God and Christ who are Almighty. Truth will prevail over all its foes.



THE charter of true liberty grants the right of the individual to seek, to find, to hold, and to cherish truth, and to enjoy the free exercise of his faith in new-found truth according to the dictates of his conscience.



To get the true meaning of Scriptural terms, we must resort to the original tongue. The Greek word *metanoōō* means "to think again," and not, as the Latin says, "to do penance." A look at the cross of Christ makes a sinner "think again" and rethink his life.



THE Christian martyr, like the passive resister and the conscientious objector of today, had the courage of his convictions and the independence of mind that chose to do his own thinking rather than to blindly, slavishly accept the opinions and conclusions dictated and commanded by the Roman government.

THERE are many conflicting opinions as to what constitutes religious freedom. In some minds religious freedom is totally self-centered. John Calvin believed in religious freedom, but only for Calvinists. The religious, social, and legal mind of today is still as full of crude and elementary conceptions of the nature of human freedom, the rights of the individual conscience, and the limitation of civil authority in spiritual concerns, as the air we breathe is filled with all sorts of disease germs, and some of these conceptions are as deadly.



THE hope of the world is centered in the cross of Christ, which the learned Greeks accounted foolishness. The cross is centered in the doctrine that God is love. The Christian religion stands or falls as it clings to or forsakes this platform.



THE greatest of all liberties — soul liberty — is a liberty which no tyrant can take away, no dungeon can inclose, no chain can fetter, and no furnace can consume; and yet men in their ignorance and blindness try to restrict this divine gift.



No man's rights are made secure and safe as long as one man's rights are set aside as a thing of naught. To secure the safety of all we must secure the safety of each, even of the humblest.



MOSLEM, Jew, and Christian have equal civil and religious rights, and should not be restricted in the free exercise of their religious beliefs, so long as each respects the equal rights of the others.



GOD's message of love has wrought a greater transformation for good in this world than man's message of force. When love fails to win in the spiritual realm, force cannot prevail.

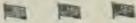


No man is a safe guardian of other people's treasures who cannot be trusted to obey his conscience nor to do his duty toward God.



THE conscience must not be coerced, for it is the light and voice of freedom to the soul.

THE greatest tormentor of the soul is a guilty conscience.



THE Spirit of God is heaven's X-ray for sin, and the Lamb of God taketh away sin.



No man ever yet favored a religious law for himself; he wants it to coerce his neighbor.



THE person who is ashamed of his religion, and is afraid to stand by it at all costs, has none.



JESUS took the part of "the underdog," the "gutter children," "the outcasts of Israel," and "the common people."



A DIVINE institution does not need a civil law to sustain it or add force to it. God is capable of maintaining his own needs. He needs no help from Cæsar.



So long as individual human nature is unchanged, the world at large will not be changed. No human devisings can change the world as long as the heart of man remains unchanged.



THE soul that does not seek after light and truth is not of God, for God is light and truth, and he implants in the heart of all men the spirit of inquiry that will lead into truth him who seeks it.



THE Christian martyrs did some clear and independent thinking when they refused to surrender their freedom of conscience and thought as they faced lions in the amphitheater, flames at the stake, and agony on the rack.



SOME look upon religion as a bitter pill to be swallowed in order to obtain "salvation;" some use their religion as a cloak in order to hide their meanness; some take religion as an antidote against the troubles of life; some accept religion through fear, as a substitute for hell; some embrace religion as an heirloom handed down from one generation to another; some join the church because it is fashionable; and a great many through sheer force of habit; but there are few who embrace religion because they love the truth and God and because they desire to know the height and length and breadth of the love, the knowledge, and the power of Christ.

GENUINE Christianity needs no help from Cæsar. Christian truth needs no civil defender. Whenever the state seeks to advance Christianity by its secular arms, it only hinders its progress in the world. The state cannot set up a national church and be fair and impartial to its citizens of divergent faiths. The first right of every citizen under any government but a despotism is equality of privilege under equitable laws. When the state adopts a certain sect and creed as its standard and embodiment of religion, it immediately puts a discount upon all other sects and denominates their followers as nonconformists and dissenters, and not infrequently brands them as heretics. And yet as a matter of fact the nonconformist and dissenter may often be a better and truer Christian in doctrine and conduct than is the member of the established church.

A legal religion and a state-endowed church do not make for Christian unity. Faith, love, and liberty are the triple links that unite all hearts in the bonds of true fellowship and unity in Christ. Brotherly love and equality of privilege in Christ is the only basis of Christian unity, and is antecedent to, and independent of, all questions of ecclesiastical organization and religio-political establishments. He who thinks of himself as favored above all other disciples of Christ, and looks upon his fellow disciple as a renegade because he holds a divergent faith, needs to acquaint himself with the first principles of the doctrine of Christ. Every man who seems to be genuine in his sincerity of worship and reverence toward my God and Saviour, I am bound to respect and love as a brother on an equal footing with myself. We may differ widely on points of doctrine; he may belong to a sect in which I could not conscientiously hold membership; yet if the sincere motive of his heart is to know the will of God, and to love and obey my Lord, I am compelled to regard him as my brother, and my equal, unless his life belies his profession. All the Lord's disciples, wherever found, and of whatever sect, or race or nationality, I must regard as brethren.

The basis of real Christian unity and fellowship is not found in external religio-political organizations but in individual union with Christ.

Christ did not found his church upon the state. He first chose individual disciples and commanded them as individuals to follow him. He did not subsequently say unto them: Tarry ye in Jerusalem until ye be endued with power from beneath (earthly power), but, Tarry "until ye be endued with power from on high." He did not say unto them: Ye shall receive power after that the state unites with you and incorporates all my teaching and doctrines into civil law, but, "Ye shall receive power, after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you." That power and that alone is all the church needs today.

C. S. L.

"The Religion of Old Glory"

THIS is the name of a recent book written by William Norman Guthrie, and published by the George H. Doran Company, New York. It has 416 pages and retails at \$2.50 net.

Dr Guthrie was born in Scotland fifty-one years ago, but received his education largely in this country, and writes as an American. His standing in the religious and educational worlds is such as to entitle him to a most respectful hearing upon any subject. His book, which is scholarly and most readable, is brimful of facts, but from our viewpoint is not altogether convincing.

Dr. Guthrie, though a clergyman as well as a university professor, is a moral and religious evolutionist, and this philosophy runs all through his book. Indeed, the book culminates in a chapter entitled "An Office and Ceremony for the Worship of Old Glory."

In a dozen lines under this heading our author arrives at this question, "Does human nature then leave nothing to desire?" And then follows this answer:

"Nothing, save that we understand it better with its whence; its deeper, its hidden what; and its sublime inevitable whither!"

Following this very remarkable utterance (remarkable for a clergyman), is a discussion of the question, "How shall we hasten the advent of the required human type?" And the answer, condensed from several pages, is, "Incaruate the spirit of Old Glory." And this Dr. Guthrie styles "Old Glory's Gospel."

We yield to none in feelings of admiration for the flag of our country. As is admitted, from an artistic viewpoint Old Glory is easily the most beautiful of all the national emblems. But far above and beyond this, the political principles for which it stands are the best and purest ever discovered and announced by man. All honor to the noble men who wrote and signed the Declaration of Independence, maintained it through eight long years of desolating

war, and later welded the thirteen colonies into a nation under a Constitution that has been at once the wonder and the envy of the world. Men are, however, but men, and it must be admitted that the administration of this government has been far from perfect in many respects; but the fault lies not with the flag, nor yet with the political system for which it stands, but with fallen human nature. Sinful humanity is selfish, and certainly neither the history of the world nor even that of our own country affords hope that it will ever be otherwise. Whatever promise men may find in a flag, even though it be in Old Glory, there is a higher authority, the Scriptures of Truth, that tell us plainly that the only hope of mankind is in the gospel; not in Old Glory, but in the Son of God, who only can save us from our sins.

Government is a good thing, so good that even the worst is better than none. And our own is probably the best the world has ever produced; but it is only human and has no power to make even its most loyal subjects morally better than they are by nature. Hence neither it nor its emblem is to be worshiped. It is written, "Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve."

This prohibition has not been repealed, nor will it be while God endures. It has always been man's effort to exalt himself and the things of his own devising, but the only human hope is in exalting the Creator. Civil government is the servant of men, not their Creator, not their God. The American Government has served well the people who called it into being, and us their children, but we should beware of deifying a creature or paying divine honors to any but God himself. The people made the government and may change it as they will, but God forbid that any effort should be made to give the best human government the place of honor that belongs to the Creator, and to the Creator only.

C. P. B.



A Cause for Shame

PROGROMS against the Jews, instigated, or at least winked at, by the authorities, still occur in Poland, Russia, Austria, and Hungary, but especially in Poland and Russia.

This fact must be most discouraging from the point of view of the moral and political evolutionist. Here we are well into the twentieth century of the Christian era, and still the world has not outgrown religious persecution pure and simple.

It has been demonstrated in the United States and Great Britain that Jews can be safely trusted with all the rights of civil citizenship. A Jew has been prime minister of the British Empire, and today one of the justices of our Supreme Court is a descendant of Abraham. Here the Jews are as loyal and as true to the principles of our government as are the people of any other nationality; the same is true in England, and would be true in the countries where they are still persecuted, if they had received decent treatment.

The Jews do not believe in Christ, but what has civil government to do with questions of belief or disbelief of any religious tenet or system? Properly, nothing whatever, and it is a most deplorable fact that there are governments that still meddle in such matters. The American idea was well expressed by George Washington in these words:

"Every man who conducts himself as a good citizen, is accountable alone to God for his religious faith, and should be protected in worshipping God according to the dictates of his own conscience."

The scenes that are enacted in some parts of Europe today, when men, women, and even little children, are driven from their homes and done to death merely because they are not Christians, ought to bring the blush of shame to every Christian face. Are we of the number who promulgate their religion with fire and sword, that we should even ostracize and boycott those who do not believe as we believe? God forbid. Loyalty to the golden rule alone, to say nothing of other precepts of Christ, would make religious intolerance impossible.

"God sent not his Son into the world to condemn the world; but that the world through him might be saved." John 3: 17.

If we are the children of God, we will cherish his spirit and do his works. Let no persecutor think himself a Christian.

C. P. B.

New York's Changed Sunday Law

THE New York *Times* remarks:

"New York and its six millions of inhabitants are to have Sunday baseball. But you mustn't play until after 2 P. M., and you mustn't charge more on Sunday than on week days. Good-by to the stern letter of ancient Puritanism!

"Forty thousand 'fans' will break the Sabbath calm of a city in which once it was against the law to exhibit flowers in a window from midnight Saturday until midnight Sunday. All flower boxes had to be made removable."

It may be well, in a way, that the Sunday law of New York has been relaxed somewhat from its old-time severity, but it is to be feared that the new provision permitting Sunday baseball indicates a growing laxity in morals rather than increased love of liberty. From any possible standpoint the new law is inconsistent and indefensible. If it is all right from the standpoint of civil government to play baseball after 2 P. M. on Sunday, how can it be civilly wrong to play the game before that hour? Only one reason can be given for prohibiting the game in the forenoon while permitting it in the afternoon, or we might better say, only an ecclesiastical reason; namely, that the churches may have a monopoly of the day up to two o'clock. The claim that the legis-

lature has a right to do this is a most dangerous assumption, exceedingly far reaching in its character.

Hitherto New York has justified her Sunday laws, not exactly upon religious grounds, but upon high moral grounds. The sanctity of Sunday, practically said the courts, must be preserved in the interests of "public morals." But now what can the courts say? What becomes of Sunday statute-preserved sanctity after 2 P. M., and what of the public morals dependent, according to the New York courts, upon that law-sustained sanctity?

Is it not time that Christian people learn to rest wholly upon the power of God, and not at all upon the power of the state in spiritual things? This new Sunday law enacted by the New York Legislature and signed by the governor, ought to open the eyes of the people to the real nature of Sunday legislation.



The Best Sunday Keeping Where There Is No Sunday Law

I AM now looking only on the bright side of Sabbath observance, gathering only the elements of hope, just here from the West, several of whose people remind me that even in their great cities there are thousands of families where the Sabbath is as well observed as in a New England village. A Chicago merchant writes: 'Christian homes in Chicago and in New England differ little—a careful observance by parents and children of the proprieties of the day, and a mingling together as a family in happy little teachings and enjoyments, which make the day both Christian and pleasant.' A San Francisco pastor gives a like answer to the question, 'Where have you seen the best Sabbath observance?' 'Among the Christian people of California. The characteristics of their Sabbath observance are: Sweetness and light; reverence tempered with love; joyousness and rare fidelity in Christian service; teaching in the Sunday schools and mission schools; visiting the sick, the poor, and the prisoner; holding service in almshouses and hospitals; giving Christlike ministrations to those in trouble, want, and sorrow.'—"The Sabbath for Man," Rev. Wilbur F. Crafts, A. M., chap. 1, p. 95. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company, 1885.

This only emphasizes what we have said elsewhere in this magazine; namely, that civil laws are not at all necessary to enable those who wish to do so to observe a day of rest and worship. At the time Mr. Crafts published his book, Chicago was what is known as a "wide open" town. There was a Sunday law, but it was not enforced. Also then as now California was without a Sunday law; yet upon the evidence gathered and submitted by Mr.

Crafts himself, a San Francisco pastor finds in his own State the best "Sabbath observance." Legislators who are asked to enact Sunday laws for the preservation of the Sabbath should bear in mind these facts.



OUR cover design gives a view of one of the most beautiful scenes in the capital city of the nation. Every one will at once identify the stately shaft near the center of the picture as the Washington Monument. Many will recognize the Pan-American Building, a part of which is seen at the left. The picture, while a photograph, is a real work of art. An equally beautiful background of clouds is not to be secured every day.



Shall the League of Nations Regulate Religious Practices ?

A DRAFT of the League of Nations which appeared recently in the newspapers gives the points desired by the labor forces of the world. According to this statement, the following was adopted, preceded by a statement which says:

"Among these methods and principles the following seem to the high contracting parties to be of special and urgent importance: 'Fifth, The adoption of a weekly rest of at least twenty-four hours, which should include Sunday whenever practicable.'"

As this was in marks of quotation, it is supposed to be a verbatim copy of this part of the peace pact.

Certain parties and organizations have been long seeking to secure in this country legal recognition of some kind of national Sunday closing. Time and again bills looking toward more drastic Sunday enforcement have been introduced into both State and national legislatures. Locally, some of these have been adopted, but so far, the national Congress has stood against positive Sunday legislation. In some of the States, as for instance, in Oregon, the proponents of Sunday closing endeavored to secure their aims through the medium of the food conservation commission of the Government. This did not meet with much success, being opposed by the popular will. In noted instances, where the question has been submitted to the people, they have not favored rigid Sunday closing.

The paragraph quoted in the outset reveals a new and far-reaching effort to secure a legal recognition of Sunday. This is not to be simply from a State or national but a world standpoint. Let this once be adopted, and the flood-gates will be opened, and the precedent will be established for religious measures now undreamed of. The labor element has power

within itself to secure one day's rest in seven without violating the principles of religious liberty. All Sunday legislation, whether local or world-wide, is religious legislation, and opposed to true principles of liberty. Great and worthy objects are sought by those who are promoting the League of Nations' pact, and it would be too bad to have it marred by something that would surely nullify its purity and defeat its greatest purpose.

W. F. M.



The Pope Against Magna Charta

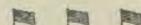
"WHEN the English barons wrested from the stubborn king the great Magna Charta in 1215, Pope Innocent III championed the cause of the king, his vassal, against the barons. He called a council, annulled the Magna Charta, issued a manifesto against the barons, and ordered the bishops to excommunicate them. He suspended Archbishop Langton from office for siding with the barons against the king and directly appointed the Archbishop of York."—*"The Rise of the Medieval Church," Alexander Clarence Flick, Ph. D., Litt. D., pp. 554, 555. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.*



"Religion and Politics in a Bad Mix-Up"

LAST quarter we printed in perfectly good faith, under the above heading, an article which we properly credited to "*The King's Business* (organ of the Bible Institute, Los Angeles), March, 1919." R. A. Torrey, D. D., dean of the Bible Institute of Los Angeles, and author of a number of books, is editor of *The King's Business*. He is a man of unquestionable integrity, and it never occurred to us to doubt the authenticity of the statements attributed by him to the *National Catholic Register*. It now appears that there is no such publication. Dr. Torrey is in China, and we cannot reach him in time for this issue of LIBERTY, nor can his assistant give us any definite information concerning the source of the quotation commented upon by him; but it appears that it came to the office of *The King's Business* in the shape of a clipping said to have been taken from the *National Catholic Register*, a publication that nobody seems to be able to locate. The clipping was doubtless a forgery, and we humbly apologize to our readers for having innocently passed it along. We are sorry that we, as well as Dr. Torrey, were deceived by what now appears to us a very palpable fraud.

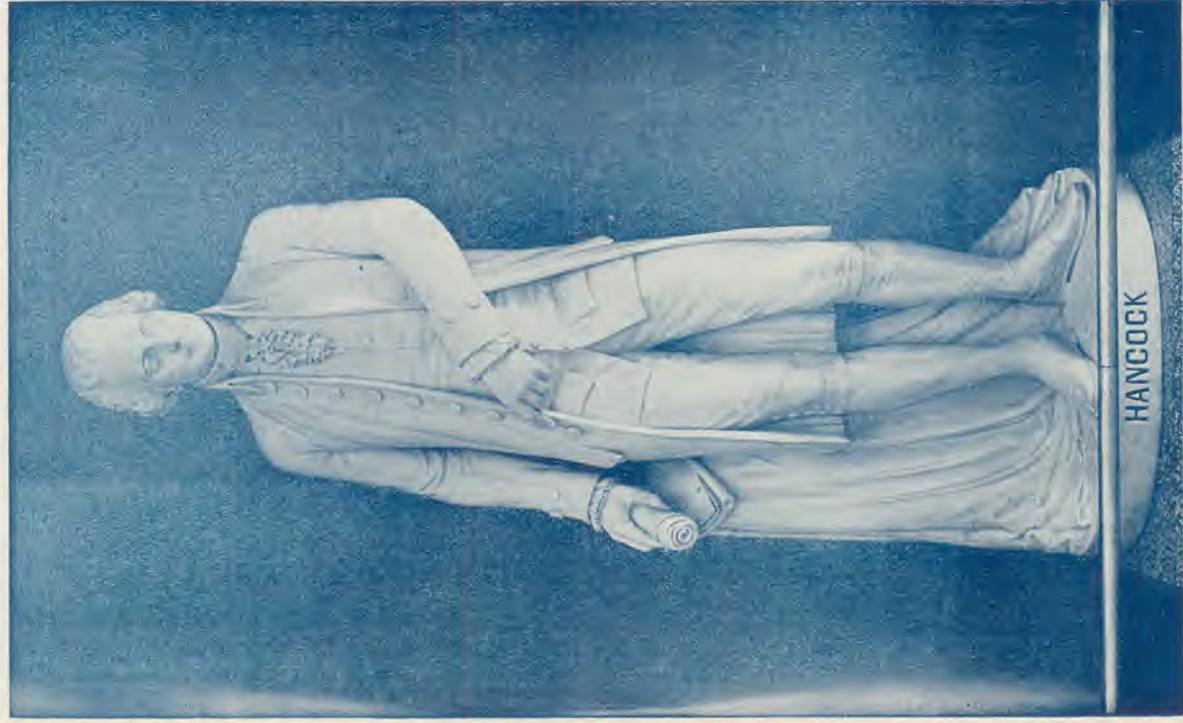
C. S. L.



WHAT love and persuasion cannot accomplish in the domain of religion, law and force are powerless to achieve.



“They set the ark of God upon a new cart, and brought it out of the house of Abinadab that was in Gibeah: and Uzzah and Ahio, the sons of Abinadab, drave the new cart. . . . And when they came to Nachon's threshing floor, Uzzah put forth his hand to the ark of God, and took hold of it; for the oxen shook it. And the anger of the Lord was kindled against Uzzah; and God smote him there for his error; and there he died by the ark of God.”
2 Sam. 6: 3-7.



John Hancock, President of the Continental Congress, the first man to sign the Declaration of Independence, "wrote his name where all nations would behold it, and all time honor it."