

LIBERTY

A MAGAZINE OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM



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WASHINGTON, D. C.

Religious Liberty Association

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

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

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LIBERTY

A MAGAZINE OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

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FOURTH QUARTER, 1920

NO. 4

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CONTENTS

Forefathers' Monument	<i>Frontispiece</i>
They Built Better Than They Knew	99
Virginia the First State to Disestablish Religion	101
Roger Williams, the First Great American	104
Webster's Bicentennial Oration on Landing of the Pilgrims	107
True Americans and American Principles	108
Religious Liberty Imperiled	110
Righteousness by Legislation	112
Is It Not Wholly Un-American?	113
Fanaticism Versus Christianity	114
Eternal Vigilance the Price of Liberty	115
A Mad World	115
Notable Statesmanlike Sentiments	116
What Spirit?	117
Salem Witchcraft	118
Some of the Blue Laws of Puritan New England	120
The Origin of the Idea of Personal Rights	123
Ordination Balls and Banquets	124
Note and Comment	125
Mayflower Year	127
Sentenced to State Prison	128

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FOREFATHERS' MONUMENT, PLYMOUTH, MASS.

On the front of this monument is this inscription:

“National Monument to the Forefathers, erected by a grateful people in remembrance of their labors, sacrifices, and sufferings for the cause of Civil and Religious Liberty.”

This is a case in which men builded better than they knew. They sought liberty only for themselves; others went beyond them, and asserted liberty for all men.

LIBERTY

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

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They Buildded Better Than They Knew

By the Managing Editor

ON a bronze tablet on the Memorial Monument at Provincetown, Cape Cod, Mass., is this inscription, written by Dr. Charles Eliot, president *emeritus* of Harvard University:

"On November 21, 1620, the 'Mayflower,' carrying 102 passengers, men, women, and children, cast anchor in this harbor, sixty-seven days from Plymouth, England.

"On the same day the forty-one adult males of the company had solemnly covenanted and combined themselves together 'into a civil body politick.'

"This body politic established and maintained on the bleak and barren edge of a vast wilderness a state without a bishop or a priest; a democratic commonwealth, the members of which were 'straightly tied to all care of each other's good and of the whole by every one.'

"With long-suffering devotions and sober resolutions, they illustrated for the first time in history the principles of the religious and civil liberty and the practice of a genuine democracy.

"Therefore the remembrance of them shall

be perpetuated in the vast Republic that has inherited their ideals."

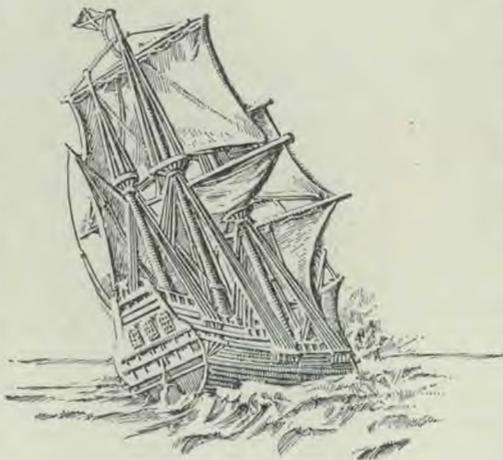
The Pilgrims are of the number who buildded better than they knew, and are to be honored, not so much for the narrow theocracy they designed, as for the broad democracy, the foundation of which they actually laid.

The Pilgrims were God-fearing men and women, who loved liberty and who sacrificed for it; but it is a mistake to suppose that their purpose was to establish "the principles of the religious and civil liberty and the practice of a genuine democracy."

The purpose of the Pilgrims was to establish a theocracy, and "the religious and civil liberty" they sought was liberty for themselves, and for others of like faith and practice only.

Roscoe Lewis Ashley remarks:

"We hear it said, that the Puritans came to America for religious liberty. . . . Nothing



The "Mayflower" Under Sail

is farther from the truth, for the Puritans came solely for the purpose of establishing their own church, and did not tolerate [even] other Protestants, whether Baptists, Quakers, or other sect. Not until Roger Williams, driven from Massachusetts Bay colony, chiefly because of his religious heresy, founded Providence in Rhode Island, and declared that the state and religion must be separated, that the government should have no control over religion, and that therefore any one might worship as he wished, did religious liberty find its first foothold in the modern world."—*Modern European Civilization*, pp. 22, 23. Published by the Macmillan Company, New York.

From a literary viewpoint, Dr. Eliot's inscription is faultless; from the viewpoint of exact historical statement, it is misleading.

Quakers and Baptists especially fared ill at the hands of the Pilgrims and others of like faith. Even the worship of the Church of England was permitted by the Puritans, only because, being British subjects, they dared not forbid that which the crown not only permitted but actively supported.

But in claiming liberty for themselves, the Pilgrims and other Puritans set a worthy example. They challenged the right of the British crown to dominate their religious faith and practice, and in due time others challenged their right of domination in matters of conscience. Adherents of the Church of England claimed the right to worship according to its forms. Quakers claimed the right to their simple faith and practice, as did also the Baptists. The authority of the king and of the royal governor guaranteed the rights of the churchmen. The Quakers, after sacrificing even to the laying down of life for their faith, won for themselves the liberty the Puritans long denied them. The same is true of the Baptists. From the heat of Puritan intolerance Roger Williams fled to the cold of a New England winter, to find, among untutored savages, in the pathless forests, that freedom of worship denied him in Puritan Massachusetts.

Williams founded Rhode Island, making freedom of conscience one of its chief corner-stones. The Lord Proprietary of Maryland, himself a Roman Catholic, in

order to make secure for himself and his coreligionists freedom of worship, made the rules of his colony so broad and liberal that both Quakers and Baptists found refuge there from the intolerance alike of Puritanism in Massachusetts and of Episcopacy in Virginia.

Yes, in the words of Emerson, the Pilgrim

"Built better than he knew;
The conscious stone to beauty grew."

And now men honor him for what he was and for the finished, polished structure, rather than for the original crude design.

The Massachusetts colonists generally get a good deal more credit than they deserve for establishing religious liberty on these shores and laying the foundations of the American Republic. The truth is, their ideal was a theocracy modeled after the theocracy of Israel as closely as man could make it. Not the people as a whole, but the clergy were to rule, and for a time did rule.

Cotton Mather, thundering in his pulpit or mounted on his horse, demanding the execution of "witches," had more influence than Judge Sewall, declaring the law from the judicial bench.

It was Roger Williams and other dissenters from the harshness of Puritan doctrine and the rigors of Puritan rule who by the hardships they endured, the banishment and imprisonments they suffered, the lives they laid down, established religious liberty in New England; and it was Quakers, Baptists, Presbyterians, and Roman Catholics who performed the same great service in the South. While the spirit of revolt at first rose higher in Massachusetts than in Virginia, it must not be forgotten that it was Thomas Jefferson, a Virginian, who wrote the Declaration of Independence, and James Madison, another Virginian, who is known as the father of the Constitution, with its ample safeguards of liberty of conscience for all men of all faiths, or of no religious faith at all, and of no religious profession.

Virginia the First State to Disestablish Religion

By the Editor

THE year 1920 has a double distinction, since it marks the three hundredth anniversary of the two great historic events which ultimately led to the founding of the American Republic. One was the signing of the "Mayflower Compact" and the landing of the Pilgrims; and the other was the convening of the first American legislative assembly in Virginia.

Captain John Smith, ignorant of the coming of the Pilgrims, met with his fellow colonists at James City (Jamestown), Va., for the purpose of laying the foundation of what a century and a half later became the democratic form of government in the United States. And the Pilgrims, ignorant of the doings of the Virginia settlement, likewise resolved to establish, as generally stated, a government upon "the principles of civil and religious liberty and the practice of a genuine democracy."

All this occurred in the year 1620. Thus the North and the South share equal honors this year in the Anglo-Saxon-American celebration of this tercentenary.

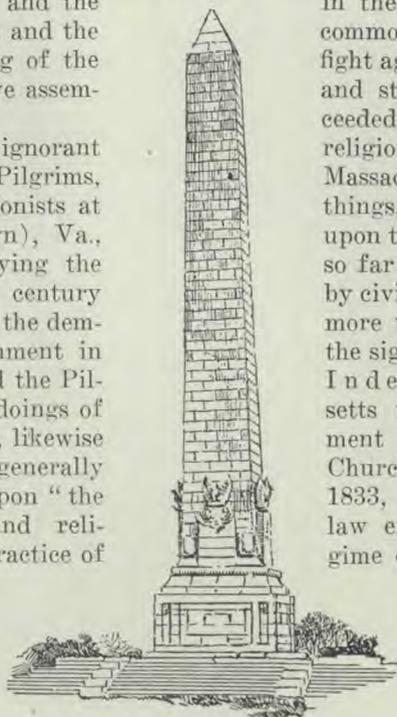
While Roger Williams succeeded in establishing in his Rhode Island colony the first model republic granting full civil and religious liberty to all citizens alike, Virginia was the first State in the Union that succeeded in disestablishing religion where it had been established,

and in completely divorcing the church and the state, thus throwing off for the first time the shackles of religious oppression. George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, Patrick Henry, and George Mason were the five stalwarts

in the Virginia legislature and commonwealth who opened the fight against any union of church and state, and who finally succeeded, in 1785, in establishing religious freedom in Virginia. Massachusetts can boast of many things, but the Puritan grip upon that State was not released, so far as religious establishment by civil law was concerned, until more than half a century after the signing of the Declaration of Independence. Massachusetts maintained the establishment of the Congregational Church as a State church until 1833, while her Sunday blue law enacted under the old régime of a union of church and state, she has retained to this day, notwithstanding the guaranties of religious liberty vouchsafed to each citizen in the Federal Constitution, and also in her own fundamental law.

Some Americans have believed that

from the moment we declared our independence from England we have enjoyed full civil and religious liberty in the United States. This is a very mistaken idea. We have full religious liberty guaranteed to us only in our Fed-



The white shaft of this monument is the first mark of historic interest to greet the eyes of the visitor as he approaches Jamestown Island. The monument was erected by the United States Government to commemorate the founding of the nation.

eral Constitution and in the territory over which the Federal Government has local jurisdiction. Some of the States maintained a state church and kept religious laws upon their statute books long after the Constitution forbade to the Federal Government such establishment or legal interference with the rights of the individual conscience and a man's duty toward God.

Thomas Jefferson drafted the statute for religious freedom in Virginia the same year that he wrote the Declaration of Independence for all the States. But his bill for religious freedom, which he submitted to the legislature of Virginia, did not become a law until 1785. The preamble to this famous "Act for Establishing Religious Freedom" reads as follows:

"Well aware that Almighty God hath created the mind free; that all attempts to influence it by temporal punishments or burdens, or by civil incapacitations, tend only to beget habits of hypocrisy and meanness, and are a departure from the plan of the holy Author of our religion, who being Lord both of body and mind, yet chose not to propagate it by coercions on either, as was in his almighty power to do; that the impious presumption of legislators and rulers, civil as well as ecclesiastical, who being themselves but fallible and uninspired men, have assumed dominion over the faith of others, setting up their own opinions and modes of thinking as the only true and infallible, and as such endeavoring to impose them on others, hath established and maintained false religions over the greatest part of the world, and through all time; that to compel a man to furnish contributions of money for the propagations of opinions which he disbelieves, is sinful and

tyrannical; that even the forcing him to support this or that teacher of his own religious persuasion, is depriving him of the comfortable liberty of giving his contributions to the particular pastor whose morals he would make his pattern, and whose powers he feels most persuasive to righteousness, and is withdrawing from the ministry those temporal rewards, which proceeding from an approbation of their personal conduct, are an additional incitement to

earnest and unremitting labors for the instruction of mankind; that our civil rights have no dependence on our religious opinions, more than our opinions in physics or geometry; that, therefore, the proscribing any citizen as unworthy the public confidence by laying upon him an incapacity of being called to the offices of trust and emolument, unless he profess or renounce this or that religious opinion, is depriving him injuriously of those privileges and advantages to which in common with his fellow citizens he has a natural right; that it tends also to corrupt the principles of that very religion it is meant to encourage, by bribing, with a monopoly of worldly honors and emoluments, those who will externally profess and conform to it; that though indeed these are



The picturesque ruins of the old Jamestown Church Tower before the restoration of the body of the church. In restoring the building, the Tower has been left undisturbed and appears just as shown in the picture.

criminal who do not withstand such temptation, yet neither are those innocent who lay the bait in their way; that to suffer the civil magistrate to intrude his powers into the field of opinion and to restrain the profession or propagation of principles, on the supposition of their ill tendency, is a dangerous fallacy, which at once destroys all religious liberty, because he being of course judge of that tendency, will make his opinions the rule of judgment, and approve or condemn the sentiments of others only as they shall square with or differ from his own; that it is time enough for the rightful purposes of civil government, for its officers to interfere when principles break out into overt actions against peace and good order; and, finally, that truth is great, and will prevail if left to herself, that she is the proper and sufficient antagonist to

error, and has nothing to fear from the conflict, unless by human interposition disarmed of her natural weapons, free argument and debate, errors ceasing to be dangerous when it is permitted freely to contradict them.

"Be it therefore enacted by the General Assembly, That no man shall be compelled to frequent or support any religious worship, place, or ministry whatsoever, nor shall be enforced, restrained, molested, or burthened in his body or goods, nor shall otherwise suffer on account of his religious opinions or belief; but that all men shall be free to profess, and by argument to maintain, their opinions in matters of religion, and that the same shall in no wise diminish, enlarge, or affect their civil capacities.

"And though we well know that this Assembly, elected by the people for the ordinary purposes of legislation only, have no power to restrain the acts of succeeding Assemblies, constituted with the powers equal to our own, and that therefore to declare this act irrevocable, would be of no effect in law, yet we are free to declare, and do declare, that the rights hereby asserted are of the natural rights of mankind, and that if any act shall be hereafter passed to repeal the present or to narrow its operation, such act will be an infringement of natural right."

James Madison fathered the Virginia Bill of Rights, and finally secured its passage through the Assembly. The next year Madison was requested by the Continental Congress to draft a Federal Constitution, and the one idea that was uppermost in the mind of this great American statesman and his compatriots of Virginia, was that individual freedom in matters of religion might become a part of the highest law of the land.

During the Constitutional Convention of 1787, George Washington, James Madison, Patrick Henry, and George Mason — the illustrious quartet from Virginia — insisted strongly upon having

no religious test for American citizens or American officials. But it was not until the first Congress met under the Constitution that the First Amendment was adopted expressly withholding from the national Legislature authority to make any "law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

But notwithstanding such was the attitude of the general government, many of the States have refused to repeal the Sunday blue laws handed down as relics of a dead past. California and Oregon are the only States that have fully complied with the demands of the Federal Constitution, and do not today have a single religious law upon their statute books. And morally the people of these two States rank among the highest. May the time come when all our State laws on this subject shall harmonize with our Federal guaranties of religious liberty.

Does not loyalty to the spirit of our free institutions demand that the several States of the Union shall guarantee to each citizen

every privilege and immunity vouchsafed to every national citizen by the Federal Constitution? Certainly. Indeed, the Fourteenth Amendment contemplates this very thing, for it provides that "No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States." The courts have construed this as protecting corporations; should it not also extend to individual citizens?



The impressive bronze statue of John Smith, which stands on the Jamestown Island shore, overlooking the broad expanse of the James River. The stories of the doughty captain's adventures and his thrilling rescue from the Indians by the Princess Pocahontas have endeared him to all students of early American history.

Roger Williams, the First Great American

C. S. Longacre

IF I were asked," said Oscar S. Straus, thrice American ambassador to Turkey, and Secretary of Labor and Commerce in President Roosevelt's Cabinet, "to select from all the great men who have left their impress upon this continent from the days that the Puritan Pilgrims set foot on Plymouth Rock, . . . if I were asked whom to hold before the American people and the world to typify the American spirit of fairness, of freedom, of liberty in church and state, I would without any hesitation select that great prophet who established the first political community on the basis of a free church in a free state, the great and immortal Roger Williams."

When Roger Williams landed in America in 1631, he found that his Puritan brethren who had preceded him by eleven years, had already established their religion by law, and were persecuting those who dissented from them in belief. Upon his arrival, he was offered the pastorate of the Boston church, which the people of Boston called "the most glorious on earth." But Roger Williams declined the offer because he felt that he could not conscientiously bind himself to a legally established church.

John Cotton said that Williams looked upon himself as one who "had received a clearer illumination and apprehension of the state of Christ's kingdom, and of

the purity of church communion, than all Christendom besides." Cotton Mather said that Williams was a "madman" and had "a windmill in his head." It would have been much better for America if more madmen of the Roger Williams type, having "windmills" in their heads, had come to America.

Williams was the first American who advocated the complete and absolute separation of church and state. At a time when there was no historical example to follow he founded the first colony that made religious liberty an actuality



Roger Williams with the American savages, among whom, as he is said to have told Governor Endicott, he felt safer than with savage Christians.

for all men, whether Christians, Jews, Gentiles, Turks, or agnostics.

Because he was the first to assert and to contend for these glorious principles of civil and religious liberty, which have since become the distinctive characteristics of our fundamental law and national greatness, he has properly been called "The First American."

Roger Williams purchased his land from the Indians,—a new thing under the sun,—which shows the kindly disposition of the man.

From the first, the Indians believed in Roger Williams; and after his Christian brethren in Boston and Salem banished him, in the middle of a severely cold winter, the Indians gave him food and shelter. Subsequently, when the Puritan settlers were threatened with extinction at the hands of the savage Indians, Williams, at the risk of his own life, made a long trip to visit the chiefs of the hostile tribes to dissuade them from their murderous plot, and succeeded in his hazardous undertaking.

And yet, in spite of all this kindness,

well known to the Puritans of Massachusetts, their religious prejudices against Roger Williams remained unabated. They wanted him to recant his doctrines of soul liberty. But he stoutly contended that the civil magistrate

had no right to enforce the first four commandments of the decalogue,—those four commandments, among “the eternal ten,” which regulate a man’s duty toward God. He was opposed to all their Sunday laws and other strictly religious legislation, and because of his opposition to these religio-civil laws, they tried him twice before the high court at Boston on the charge of being guilty of heresy against the established church and of treason against the state. They also condemned him for his acceptance of the doctrine of baptism by immersion.

After his banishment by the Massachusetts court, Williams started his new colony for the oppressed of all faiths and nations, founding the city of Providence, R. I., where he also established the first Baptist church in America. The old bell in the tower of this church weighs

two thousand five hundred pounds, and bore originally this inscription:

“For freedom of conscience the town was first planted;

Persuasion, not force, was used by the people;
This church is the eldest, and has not recanted,
Enjoying and granting bell, temple, and steeple.”

It has been cracked three times and recast, and now bears the name of “Roger Williams, the first pastor, and the first asserter of liberty of conscience.” It is still rung three times a day as in the days of old.

It is claimed that later in his life Roger Williams espoused the cause of the persecuted Waldenses, who after their migration to Rhode Island assumed a new

name, “Seventh Day Baptists.”

These people had been great champions of religious liberty in the cantons of Switzerland and Holland during the cruel reign of the Papacy, and so after they fled to America they found a new and

able friend in Roger Williams, as well as a convert to their old-time faith in the immutability of God’s law of ten commandments as written by the finger of God at Mt. Sinai.

While the Puritans fled from European oppression to America where they might worship God unmolested and establish freedom of conscience, they utterly missed their idea when they established their own religion and church by civil law, and thus formed a union of church and state. This resulted in establishing religious liberty only for Puritans. While the Congregational Church of Massachusetts was far in advance in church policy and government of the Established Church of England, yet both held in common the doctrine of church establishments, and this was the taproot and prime cause inspiring each with the



Grave of Miles Standish (died 1656)

spirit of intolerance and persecution.

Even so great a reformer as Martin Luther could see this great truth of the equality of soul liberty only when his own soul was oppressed. In the early years of his Reformation work, when he was opposed on every hand, he said:

"No one can command or ought to command the soul except God, who alone can show it the way to heaven. It is futile and impossible to command, or by force to compel any man's belief. Heresy is a spiritual thing, which no iron can hew down, no fire burn, no water drown. . . . Whenever the temporal power presumes to legislate for the soul, it encroaches."

But when Luther was successful, and he had his opponents at his mercy, he turned his back upon this gracious and noble utterance, and compromised with error and force. Thus he robbed his name and cause of the splendor and glory of a complete triumph in the Reformation. He espoused a state religion, and in after-years he wrote differently:

"Since it is not good that in one parish the people should be exposed to contradictory preaching, he (the magistrate) should order to be silent whatever does not consist with the Scriptures."

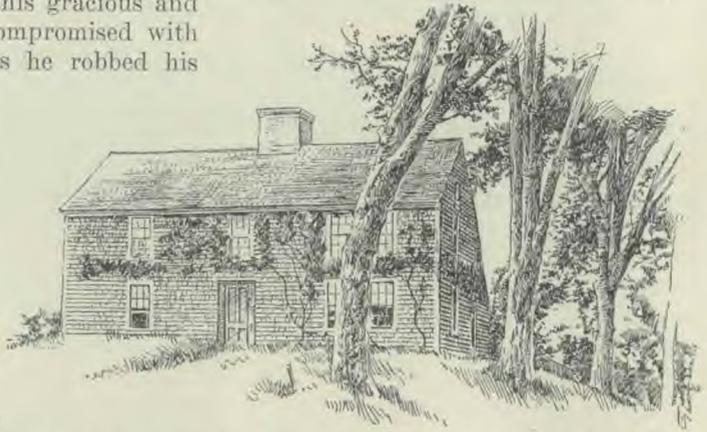
Thus Luther simply changed the civil magistrate from a Catholic to a Protestant tyrant, to suppress what he would condemn in place of what the Pope would condemn. Most of us, if we had the power, would make fairly good popes. The only thing that will hinder the best of us Christians from exercising such arbitrary power and authority over those who dissent from us, is a law that forbids the use of force in religion. Otherwise men will smite and kill one another, thinking that they are doing "God service."

Likewise John Calvin believed in religious liberty, but only for himself and the people of his own faith. He said:

"Godly princes may lawfully issue edicts for compelling obstinate and rebellious persons to

worship the true God, and to maintain the unity of the faith."

There was not a creed formulated by any Protestant Reformer prior to Roger Williams, which explicitly challenged the right of civil power in religious concerns. As soon as Roger Williams set foot upon American soil, he found himself in conflict with the highest civil and religious authorities. He could not endure to see his brethren oppressed for conscience' sake. He protested when the civil magistrate meddled with religious obligations. He wanted America to be the home of the free and an asylum for the oppressed of Europe. When he himself was driven



One of the landmarks in Kingston, Mass., just out of Plymouth, is the Bradford House, built by the famous Bradford family in 1675.

from Massachusetts, he founded such a republic in miniature, and it has now grown into a giant. "The divers new and dangerous opinions" for which Roger Williams was banished by the Puritan commonwealth have become the chief corner-stone of the great American Republic. Impartial historians accord him the honor and rank of "the first great American," "the first great Republican," and "the American apostle of soul liberty."

Sweetener of but and hall,

Bringer of life out of naught;

Freedom, O fairest of all

The daughters of time and of thought.

— Dr. Eliot.

Webster's Bicentennial Oration on Landing of the Pilgrims

WE have come to this rock to record here our homage for our Pilgrim Fathers, our sympathy in their sufferings, our gratitude for their labors, our admiration of their virtues, our veneration for their piety, and our attachment to those principles of civil and religious liberty which they encountered the dangers of the ocean, the storms of heaven, the violence of savages, disease, exile, and famine, to enjoy and to establish.

And we would leave here, also, for the generations which are rising up rapidly to fill our places, some proof that we have endeavored to transmit the great inheritance unimpaired; that in our estimate of public principles and private virtue, in our veneration of religion and piety, in our devotion to civil and religious liberty, in our regard to whatever advances human knowledge or improves human happiness, we are not altogether unworthy of our origin.

The love of religious liberty is a stronger sentiment when fully excited, than an attachment to civil or political freedom. That freedom which the conscience demands, and which men feel bound by their hopes of salvation to contend for, can hardly fail to be attained. Conscience in the cause of religion, and the worship of Deity, prepares the mind to act, and to suffer beyond almost all other causes. History instructs us that this love of religious liberty, a compound sentiment in the breast of man, made up of the clearest sense of

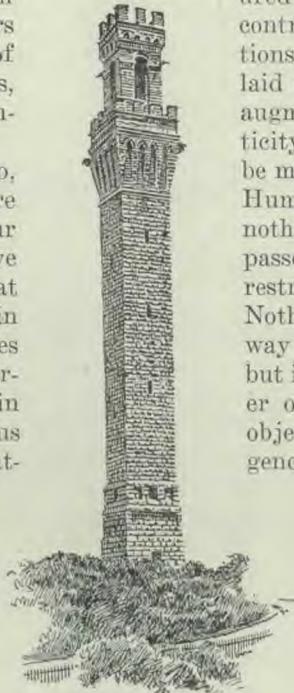
right and the highest conviction of duty, is able to look the sternest despotism in the face, and with means apparently most inadequate, to shake principalities and powers.

There is a boldness, a spirit of daring, in religious reformers, not to be measured by the general rules which control men's purposes and actions. If the hand of power be laid upon it, this only seems to augment its force and its elasticity, and to cause its action to be more formidable and terrible. Human invention has devised nothing, human power has compassed nothing, that can forcibly restrain it, when it breaks forth. Nothing can stop it, but to give way to it; nothing can check it, but indulgence. It loses its power only when it has gained its object. If it be allowed indulgence and expansion, like the elemental fires it only agitates and perhaps purifies the atmosphere, while its efforts to throw off restraint would burst the world asunder.

Thanks be to God, that this spot was honored as the asylum of religious liberty. May

its standard, reared here, remain forever! May it rise up high as heaven, till its banner shall fan the air of both continents, and wave as a glorious ensign of peace and security to the nations!

The true principle of a free and popular government would seem to be so to construct it as to give all, or at least to a very great majority, an interest in its preservation: to found it as other things



The Pilgrim Memorial Monument, Provincetown, Mass.

are founded, on men's interest. The stability of government requires that those who desire its continuance should be more powerful than those who desire its dissolution. This power, of course, is not always to be measured by mere numbers. Education, wealth, talents, are all parts and elements of the general aggregate of honor; but numbers, nevertheless, constitute ordinarily the most important consideration, unless indeed there be a military force, in the hands of the few, by which they can control the many.

We are bound to maintain public liberty, and by the example of our own systems, to convince the world that order and law, religion and morality, the rights of conscience, the rights of persons, and

the rights of property, may all be preserved and secured in the most perfect manner by a government entirely and purely elective. If we fail in this, our disaster will be signal, and will furnish an argument, stronger than has yet been found, in support of those opinions which maintain that government can rest safely on nothing but power and coercion.

As far as experience may show errors in our establishments, we are bound to correct them; and if any practices exist contrary to the principles of justice and humanity, within the reach of our laws or our influence, we are inexcusable if we do not exert ourselves to restrain and abolish them.

True Americans and American Principles

By W. M. Healey

GEOGRAPHICALLY there are two Americas in the Western Hemisphere,—North America and South America,—and these are divided into varied governments. Politically speaking, the United States of America is quite generally designated "America," and those who make up its cosmopolitan population are called Americans. From the anthropologist's viewpoint, the aborigines—the Indians—might be considered the Americans. In a political sense they are not counted; they are not consulted about treaties of peace nor asked for an opinion on the "League of Nations," though they might be as helpful in such matters as some of America's statesmen.

The form of the United States Government, together with its unequalled prosperity, has caused the eyes of the world to be focused upon this one spot of American soil.

Nearly nineteen centuries ago the world heard, for the first time, the great truth that all mankind are created equal, that God made men of one blood to dwell on all the face of the earth. The church was told not to exercise authority over others, for "all ye are brethren."

The church and the world combined against such teaching, and together crucified the Teacher who had dared to reprove their ambitious lust for power to rule over their fellow men. This alliance for power between the church and the world grew more and more compact until, not content with killing Christ, they put to death untold millions of the best citizens of earthly governments and the devoted subjects of the kingdom of heaven, because they taught and practised the teachings of the humble Galilean, that all men are created equal.

The United States of America was the first earthly government to be based on

the principle of "the equality of man." Its founders were the first builders of a civil government that dared to say to the world and the church, "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed;" and then, after the declaration, proceed to make this great principle, "the equality of man," the cornerstone of the new government. A true American is one who is not only a legal citizen of the United States by birth or naturalization, but one who, in theory and in practice, upholds this great principle of equality of rights.

No murderer is a true American, because he has deprived another of the inherent right to life. The thief is not a true American, because he has interfered with another's right to hold property. Even if the thief has put the stolen money or stolen goods to better use than the owner would have done, it does not excuse the theft, nor make the thief a good American citizen.

Freedom from slavery, the right of every free citizen to the use and control of his own time, is thus clearly defined in Article 13, Section 1, of the Constitutional Amendments:

"Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction."

Any person who shall compel another to spend his time contrary to his own

will, is compelling involuntary servitude. It is immaterial whether the person is required to perform some hard labor or to sit idle in the shade; the fact is that he is denied the liberty to use his own time in his own way; and the person depriving him of such right would not be a "true American," because he violates the Constitution of the Government.

A employs B and C to work for him, and A and B decide that they will labor only six days in the week and take one day for rest. When the plan is mentioned to C, he says, "Very well, I will labor elsewhere on the day you rest."

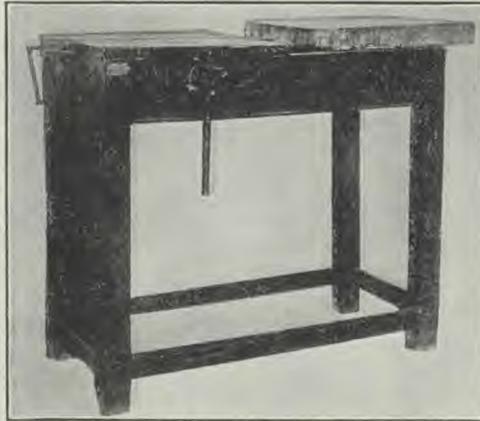
A and B reply, "Indeed, you will do no such thing!

You shall not earn more money on more days than we do; and if you attempt to do it, we will compel you to be idle." What is this but involuntary servitude? And it is just what some are clamoring for in their demand for a day of *enforced*

rest or idleness from labor. Such a demand is in violation of the principles of the American Government, as set forth in its Constitution. This being un-American, how can its advocates be true Americans?

To advocate any new law or Constitutional amendment that would bring about a more complete and a better application of the principles of the Government, is legitimate and commendable; but a law that deprives free citizens of the right to the use of their own time by enforcing either work or idleness, is in violation of the fundamental principles of the Government.

ETERNAL vigilance is the price of liberty, even in a republic.



Photo, U. & U., N. Y.

Make-up and Proof Stone Used by Benjamin Franklin

Religious Liberty Imperiled

The Issue in Michigan

SOMEBODY with more zeal than real knowledge of the principles of religious liberty, has proposed an amendment to the constitution of Michigan that would destroy all primary private, church, and parochial schools in that commonwealth.

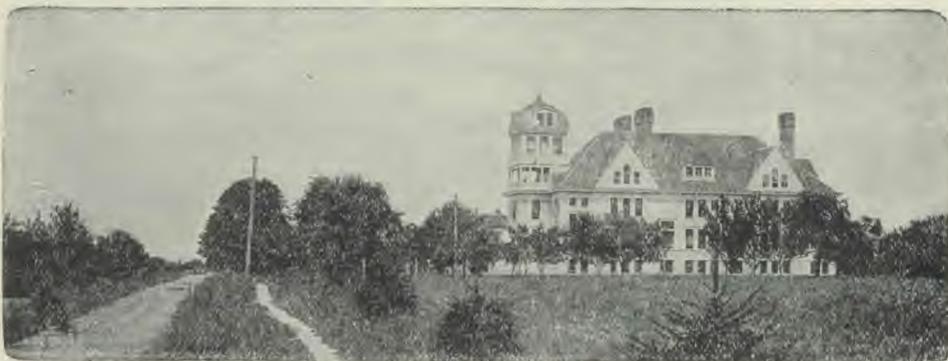
The proposed amendment is as follows:

"Section 16. All residents of the State of Michigan, between the ages of five years and sixteen years, shall attend the public school in their respective districts until they have graduated from the eighth grade: *Provided*, that in districts where the grades do not reach the eighth,

the right to give their own children not only an education in "the three R's," but in the fourth R also, which, with them, is religion.

We quote the following from a leaflet that has been circulated to some extent in that State, setting forth the principles that should govern in such matters:

"The evident purpose of the amendment is to forbid the conducting of any sectarian, church, or parochial school. In the literature advocating its adoption there is repeated expressions of patriotic devotion to Americanism, the flag,



A Denominational College in Michigan, Drawing Its Students from Primary Schools That Would Be Closed by the Proposed Amendment

then all persons herein described in such district shall complete the course taught therein.

"Section 17. The legislature shall enact all necessary legislation to render Section 16 effective."

This measure is being opposed, and very naturally so, by the several denominations in Michigan that have their own school systems. These denominations pay their proportion of taxes for the support of the public schools, and most of them do this willingly, feeling that a free and intelligent citizenry is essential in a republic; but they claim

etc., urging the claim that Americanism will be better subserved by prohibiting any and all sectarian school systems. In other words, the amendment proposes and, as interpreted by its promoters, assumes, indirectly at least, that the religious training of children between the ages of five years and sixteen is inimical to the best interest of Americanism.

"What Is Americanism?"

"If we desired to know what is meant by the term 'Christianity,' we should have to do some research work; we should have to go to the fountainhead, or original record, of Christianity; we should have to consult its meaning as por-

trayed by the Author of Christianity himself, Jesus Christ. Likewise, to know what Americanism means and stands for we should have to consult the record of a patriotic ancestry, the Christian founders of this country, who gave to the world the beacon light of all nations.

"Americanism is contemplated in the two greatest political documents ever devised by mortal man, the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States, the latter being pronounced by Gladstone to be 'the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man.' These two great documents stand for the absolute divorcement of religion and civil government. But they stand for more than the mere separation of church and state. Americanism forbids the civil government from interfering with the activities of the church when those activities do not interfere with the equal rights of others.

"In order to make freedom in religious activities and noninterference doubly secure, in order to guarantee the right to 'life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness' to their posterity, our forefathers incorporated into the fundamental law of the land a genuine American amendment, the first, which reads, 'Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press.'

"Intent and Purpose of the Constitution

"In his commentary on that Amendment, Joseph Story said, 'The same policy, which introduced into the Constitution the prohibition of any religious test (Article VI, Section 3), led to this more extended prohibition of the interference of Congress in *religious concerns*. We are not to attribute this prohibition of a national religious establishment to an indifference to religion in general, and especially to Christianity (which none could hold in more reverence than did the framers of the Constitution), but to a dread by the people of the influence of ecclesiastical power in matters of government; a dread which their ancestors brought with them from the parent country, and which, unhappily for human infirmity, their own conduct, after their emigration, had not in any just degree tended to diminish. It was also obvious, from the numerous and powerful sects existing in the United States, that there would be perpetual temptations to struggles for ascendancy in the national councils, if any one might thereby hope to found a permanent and exclusive national establishment of its own, and religious persecutions might thus be introduced to an extent utterly subversive of the true interests and good order of the Republic. The most effectual mode of suppressing the evil, in the view of the people, was to strike down the temptations to its introduction.'—*Story on the Constitution*, p. 259.

"Right and Place of Religious Schools

"At the present time sectarian or church or parochial schools are being conducted by Protestants and Catholics in Michigan and throughout the entire country; and we would raise the question, Is legislation of this character, contemplated by the proposed amendment to be voted upon in November, fundamentally right from the viewpoint of the American conception of civil government? We think not. But in raising this question and in opposing the proposed amendment, we make no attack upon the public school system. Not for a moment would we say aught against this most excellent arrangement for democratic and secular education. It is the best devised system possible for the purpose for which it was brought into being. Our public school system is a conservator against possible inroads of un-American policies, and has produced some of our greatest statesmen, financiers, and leaders of thought. It is an important factor (though not the only one, we submit) in the development of American citizenry, and must needs be continued and sustained by general taxation.

"We submit, however, that a church school system is not necessarily un-American or an enemy of the Republic. It is not necessarily a breeder of unpatriotic impulses, anarchism, and the like. In a speech delivered in June, 1919, Dr. Philander P. Claxton, United States Commissioner of Education, said:

"I believe in the public school system. It has been the salvation of our democracy, but the private schools and colleges have been the salvation of the public schools. These private institutions have their place in our educational system. They prevent it from becoming autocratic and arbitrary, and encourage its growth along new lines.'

"Religious and private schools for children have been in vogue in this country for many years, without serious opposition, but if the Wayne County Civic Association knows of any sectarian school system which is menacing the welfare of America, it should disclose the fact to the public and to the authorities at once. No school system should feel itself exempt from the scrutiny of the public authorities, nor feel free to educate its patrons away from Americanism! But without going into the question of the comparative merits of the church and public schools systems, is it not the inherent right of parents to begin the religious training of their children for the kingdom of God while they are young and impressionable? Is there not a hereafter to prepare for? Is this the only world possible? Or does death end it all?

"Religion and the Public School

"There are those who would convert our public school system into a semisectarian system, and teach religion to the children who attend. Would the promoters of the proposed

amendment wish for such an un-American condition? Would it be in harmony with Americanism to teach religion in our public schools? Let an up-to-date answer be given to these queries by Dr. Claxton. In an address before the National Reform Convention in Pittsburgh last November, Dr. Claxton said, among other most excellent things on the subject of religion and the public schools:

"The object of our public schools is to make good citizens for the state. . . . In this country we have, and I hope we shall continue to have, separation of church and state. It is not the prerogative of the public schools to impart religious teachings under our system of government. I take it for granted that no one here would want what some other countries of the past ages had. . . . We do not teach religion in our public schools, because it is at variance with the fundamental principles of our government—the separation of church and state. . . . If religion is not taught in communities, whose fault is it? . . . It is the business of the churches to teach religion. . . . If there is a lack of religious teaching in the communities, somebody ought to begin to hold religious institutes in the churches."

"Of course, we assume that all church schools are teaching the children geography, physiology, grammar, agriculture, domestic science, and history, as well as arithmetic, reading, spelling, and writing. But should the amendment pass and become part of the constitution, the church and parochial schools would be closed, and, to our notion, the State would be deprived of the wholesome assistance, if anything, theretofore rendered. Do the promoters of the amendment realize that the public school system in that event would be sectarianized in course of time? Do they not know that sooner or later the public taxes would be seized upon to make our public schools religious and sectarian? If they do not, then, in our judgment, they are without discernment in matters of obvious meaning.

"From the Economical Viewpoint

"The public is doubtless in possession of the fact that there are not enough school buildings at present, nor sufficient teachers to take proper care of the children of primary school age. Every day there is some mention in the press of the unprepared state of our educational department of the Government to meet the requirements. Dr. Claxton recently reported that some 18,000 schools were closed for lack of teachers. Now, if all the church and parochial schools are closed, tens of thousands of additional children will be thrown upon the public authorities to reckon with.

"At Variance with the Michigan Constitution

"Not only is the proposed amendment un-American from the larger political standpoint,

and absolutely unnecessary, but it is at variance with our own constitution, Article XI, Section I, of which reads as follows:

"Religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged."

"Shall the citizens of Michigan vote themselves an unending and unnecessary amount of trouble and problem? Shall we keep hands off the lawfully conducted sectarian schools? or shall we open the door to the sectarianizing of our secular public schools? Which alternative will the better conserve the true principles of Americanism? In our judgment, and we believe in the judgment of all patriotic voters of the State of Michigan, the proposed amendment to the constitution prohibiting church or religious schools should be rejected."



Righteousness by Legislation

W. F. MARTIN

A VERY apt note appeared in a recent issue of the *Christian Statesman*, the official organ of the National Reform Association. Here it is:

"Making peace by joint resolution of the two Houses of Congress is almost as funny as the reform work of a reform board of aldermen in a Western city. They adopted this resolution: 'Resolved, that the red-light district be abolished.' Then they went home, washed their hands, and said: 'We've done our part.'"

This is all true, very true indeed. We wonder why it is, however, that whoever wrote this cannot see that the same logic will apply to trying to bring in righteousness by law. A good deal was said in past years about a statement made by Justice Brewer to the effect that the United States Government is a Christian nation. Our friends who have been trying so hard to inaugurate civic righteousness, caught up this bit of dictum, and seemed to think the matter settled. "Why not?" said they. The Supreme Court, the highest tribunal of the land, has given its "decision." Because of this, no one, they argued, should dispute the fact. "This must be a Christian nation," they said.

This reminds us of a story that is told, and possibly it is true, that when men

began to doubt as to whether unbaptized infants were lost, a council of grave divines debated the question, and then took a vote. A majority decided, by a close vote, that the infants were not to be consigned to torment, and so, by this narrow margin, they were saved.

Somehow one is led to wonder just how much effect the decision of these men had on the question. It can be safely said, though, that it would have fully as much to do with it as a Supreme Court decision would have in really making a nation Christian.

A true Christian is a follower of the teachings and example of Christ. This comes from a nature that has been

changed by the grace of Christ, through the influence of the Holy Spirit. It is not possible for any legislative body to vote this condition into a single individual, much less into a community. It is eminently manifest that a court decision would be futile in making a nation or a community Christian.

In the past this has been tried, but not a soul has ever been saved by it; on the contrary, much persecution and distress have resulted. Persuasion is the power used by even the Almighty in changing the heart. It is the one effective weapon given to ministers of the gospel. All other means have failed, and must continue to fail.

Is It Not Wholly Un-American?

IT seems that a bill has been framed by representatives of the National Association of Patriotic Instructors, with headquarters in this city, requiring all teachers in public, private, and parochial schools to take an oath of allegiance to the United States and to the State wherein they reside or are employed.

This oath binds those taking it to support not only the national and State constitutions, but all laws enacted under them.

This measure is styled "wholly American," but is it not in fact wholly un-American? The National Reformers, most of them Presbyterians and very good people and good citizens, would doubtless object most seriously to taking such an oath, for the reason that, as they view it, our national Constitution is a "godless" document, to which they demand an amendment recognizing Jesus Christ as the ruler of nations and his law as of supreme authority in Governmental affairs.

Now we do not agree with them in this, but they have a perfect right to hold and

to teach as they do, and to agitate, as they are doing and have long done, for their amendment.

In 1850 there was enacted by the Congress of the United States the Fugitive-Slave Law, an act later upheld as Constitutional. This law made it a serious offense for any one even "to harbor or conceal" any person who was known to be a fugitive slave. But a great many good people did this very thing just the same, and did it believing that in so doing they were rendering God service. Some of the best people of the country helped to operate "the underground railroad," as it was called, or in other words, assisted fugitive slaves in making their way across the United States and into Canada.

Our forefathers violated law when they resisted the unjust exactions of George III, the very thing for which we now honor them. Had the American Revolution failed, probably all the signers of the Declaration of Independence would have been hanged as rebels; but

they succeeded, and we very properly honor them as patriots.

In his book, "Moral Science," published in 1892, President Fairchild, of Oberlin College, said:

"Conscientious men are not the enemies, but the friends, of any government but a tyranny. They are its strength, and not its weakness. Daniel, in Babylon, praying contrary to the law, was the true friend and supporter of the government; while those who, in their pretended zeal for the law and the constitution, would strike down the good man, were its real enemies.

It is only when government transcends its sphere, that it comes in conflict with the consciences of men."

The proposed law is un-American, first, because it invades the realm of conscience; and second, because the principle involved would have prevented the American Revolution, and would even now turn the world back toward the Dark Ages. We do not believe that the American people will indorse such a measure.

C. P. B.

Fanaticism Versus Christianity

By An Attorney

A GOOD Christian should follow the dictates of his conscience, and to this no one objects. If he chooses to go to church often and to pray fervently, that is his privilege; by so doing he can bring much good to himself and do no one else any harm, if he will only stop at that; but if he ceases to be a true Christian and becomes a fanatic, as such he is dangerous to himself and to the world at large. It is this class which today is endangering the liberties of the world, under the same methods and under the same tactics as those practised by the fanatics of old who hanged women for witchcraft, and murdered one another because they differed in religious opinions.

It required ages to bring woman to a political and domestic equality with man; yet we find woman today doing her best to deprive herself of that privilege, by allowing some man to do her thinking for her and to dictate to her how she shall use her vote—not the man who ages ago was termed "the head of the house,"—her husband,—but some strange man preaching from a pulpit or advocating a hobby, or some other man who believes that the church should monopolize Sunday and the Sunday-show

business to itself. And herein is where the danger lies.

Now that woman has been given the vote in all the several States, what is she going to do with it? Will she exercise her own calm, sound judgment in matters upon which it is her privilege to vote, or will she accept the judgment of her preacher? Will she continue to enjoy the liberties obtained for her by the political man of the past, or will she be deprived of them by the political woman of today?

These are important and serious questions; for not only does woman's liberty depend upon them, but also the liberty of man as well. In other words, are we to enjoy our religious rights as we have enjoyed them in the recent past, or are we, through woman's vote, to return to the fanatical past, when men were compelled under penalty to attend church, and when women were mere chattels in the hands of men, subject to public punishment as "scolds," or hanged by the neck for witchcraft? Will the right of franchise elevate woman to the plane of man mentally, or will it be used to reintroduce fanaticism into the world, with all its disastrous results?

Eternal Vigilance the Price of Liberty

By H. G. Thurston

ETERNAL vigilance is the price of liberty," and every effort put forth which invites possible persecution should be opposed most earnestly by every one. The shackles are already being forged for men in our Republic to wear. The bigotry which impels men to oppress their fellows is backed by an earnestness worthy of a better cause. When a yoke is placed upon a neighbor's neck, every true man will utter vigorous protests; for a yoke upon a neighbor's neck means one upon your own also, and your protest against your own slavery comes too late if you fail to protect your neighbor against oppression.

Why do apparently honest men persecute or make it possible for others to persecute? Jesus said they would do these things "because they have not known the Father, nor me." That is to say, those who really do know God, never oppress their neighbors because of their religious views. Blessed words from our divine Lord!

Paul told who it is that persecutes, and we quote his words:

"Now we, brethren, as Isaac was, are the children of promise. But as then he that was born after the flesh persecuted him that was born after the Spirit, even so it is now."

There is no exception to this rule. No church has any right to ask for any religious law at the hands of the state; much less to enforce one against those who differ in matters of conscience. When persecution comes, what does the apostle John say is the cause?

"Not as Cain, who was of that wicked one, and slew his brother. And wherefore slew he him? Because his own works were evil, and his brother's righteous." 1 John 3: 12.

There is no exception to this rule; and when men learn the meaning of the true

"golden rule," they will abhor every form of oppression, and especially that which is carried on in the name of religion.

The Sunday-law crusade is on in many places. Now and then we hear of its defeat, as in California and Oregon, but too often it is successful; and, as before noted, the only logical outcome is the oppression and persecution of those who differ.

The Spanish Inquisition, with its sickening record of torture; Puritan New England, with its "anti-kissing" and Sunday blue laws; the whipping of the Quakers; the whipping and banishing of the Baptists; the hanging of witches,—these crimes all belong to the family of modern Sunday-closing crusaders. The relationship may not appear very desirable to broad-minded, liberty-loving people, but by a close observation the family resemblance will be found to be most striking.

A Mad World

BEFORE the close of the Great War it was said that this was a "sobered world."

But there has been a change, and instead of a sobered world we see a mad world, a world plunging into every sort of excess.

The *Washington Post* said editorially in its issue of Nov. 6, 1919:

"The European governments are absolutely destitute of the spirit of altruism. . . . There is not in the record a single act of voluntary renunciation on the part of any European nation in favor of another since the war began. The record stands complete in every detail in its revelation of unyielding and in-

variable selfishness. The kindest explanation of this phenomenon is that the nations have been driven nearly to death, and are of necessity looking out for their own interests, not because they are heartless, but because the law of self-preservation is operating."

What is true of nations is true of individuals. From the horrors of war the world has been plunged into the horrors of commercial and industrial strife. People are naked and starving, not because clothing and food cannot be had, but because conditions have arisen that make them unavailable. As one man in Washington remarked, giving the reason for high prices, "Every man is getting what he can while getting is good." Greed is rampant. Selfishness runs riot. This is what we see today instead of "a sobered world" of only two years ago.

B.

Notable Statesmanlike Sentiments

BY S. B. HORTON

IT is rather fortunate for America that we have in public life stalwart men who stand for, and will stand by the true principles of Americanism. And at this time, when so much is being said in regard to Americanism, what it stands for and what it means, such statements as are hereinafter quoted, if constantly kept in mind by the American people, will enable the ship of state to follow the safe and straight course devised by our patriotic forefathers. It should be said in this connection that the great Thomas Jefferson gave helpful warning of the coming danger, in these words:

"The spirit of the times may alter, will alter. Our rulers will become corrupt, our people careless. A single zealot may commence persecution, and better men be his victims. It can never be too often repeated, that the time for fixing every essential right on a legal basis is while our rulers are honest, and ourselves united. From the conclusion of this war we shall be going downhill. It will not then be necessary to resort every moment to the people for support. They will be forgotten, therefore, and their rights disregarded. They will forget themselves, but in the sole faculty of making money, and will never think of uniting to effect a due respect for their rights."

Soon after his inauguration as Vice-President of the United States, Hon. Thomas R. Marshall, in a speech, presented an array of unanswerable suggestive thoughts, in which he said:

"The kingdom of God was to be in the earth and not of it. I hope soon all church organizations will make it their exclusive mission to preach the gospel of Jesus Christ, and to reach the conclusion that the world is to be regenerated by regenerated men and women, and not by regenerated laws and ordinances. . . . If there is a weakness in the church organization of today, that weakness springs from the fact that too many of the followers of the Nazarene are more interested in some particular phase of evil in civil life than they are in proclaiming the original sin of mankind and its only sure remedy—an undoubting, unqualified, and everlasting hold upon the gospel of the Galilean.

"From my viewpoint, Jesus Christ was not a reformer in the usual and ordinary acceptance of that term. He lived when the greatest despotism that the world has ever known ruled the habitable globe. Yet the only recorded statement of anything he said with reference to the Roman Empire was, 'Render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's; and unto God the things that are God's. Slavery had reached the very depths of degradation, and yet this great apostle to the Gentiles advised a runaway slave to return to his master. The Christ was not engaged in repealing bad laws nor in providing criminal punishments for the violators of good ones.

"Jesus Christ was more than a reformer. He was a regenerator. The church is to stand as the representative of the kingdom of God on earth, and except ye be 'born again,' ye cannot enter into the kingdom. He brooded over Jerusalem as a hen broods over her chickens, and yet he never strove to make bad Jerusalem appear to be good Jerusalem."

These are splendidly true sentiments, expressed in terse and comprehensive language, and are commended to those state-and-religion friends who imagine they are serving God by bringing in his kingdom through the gateway of politics.

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

What Spirit?

DONALD A. MACKENZIE
Pastor Presbyterian Church
DALLAS, OREGON

June 11, 1920

To the Manufacturers of
the blasphemous and lying
sheet assuming the false name
"Signs of the Times"

Your have the audacious cheek to pollute my mail box every week with two copies of your contemptible rag, the "Signs of the Times". One copy you address to my wife and the other to me. "Cut it out". Who gave you permission to mail me that rotten lying rag ?

Only last week when God's people were trying to make a law to preserve the Lord's Day in Dallas, a low down bunch of Devils, calling themselves Religious Liberty Association (they are nothing more than the damnable Seventh Day bunch) came to Dallas and helped the Devil, the two legged puppies and sluts of Dallas, and the moral degenerate manager of the Majestic theatre to defeat our measure. The fight has scarcely begun. That infamous bunch will suffer ignominious defeat if the whole outfit has to be lynched. That is what ought to be done to them right now. They are a depraved, blasphemous, moral degenerate, hypocritical, devil-inspired gang of disreputables. No discount on that whole statement.

I want you to understand most distinctly that the Seventh Day bunch are the most UN-Christian, Un-American, Un-Scriptural outfit in the whole state of Oregon today. I want no more of your trashy literature - "Signs of the Times".

Donald A. Mackenzie

THIS letter, which we reproduce in facsimile, was actually mailed to the *Signs of the Times*, a most respectable religious, paper, published at Mountain View, Calif.

That which makes this letter the more remarkable is the fact that upon what are generally regarded as the fundamentals of the Christian faith,— creation, the fall, the atonement, faith,

repentance, forgiveness of sins, the new birth, future rewards and punishments, etc.,—the Mountain View paper is at one with the church to which the writer of the letter belongs, as well as with other evangelical churches.

But the *Signs of the Times* is opposed to religious legislation, including Sunday laws, and it is presumably for this reason that the bitter

letter was written. The only question we wish to raise in this connection is, What spirit does this letter reveal? Certainly not that of the Master, who said, "If any man hear my words, and believe not, I judge him not: for I came not to judge the world, but to save the world." John 12: 47.

Can any one reading this letter fail to see that it would be unsafe to trust civil power for religious ends in the hands of men who are controlled by such a spirit? Is it not evident that the only reason men are not burned at the stake today for opinion's sake as they were in the days of Huss and Savetius, is that civil society will not permit it?

Is it not clear enough that bigotry is not less narrow, and human hearts not less cruel, than in the days when the state was the obedient servant of the church, pursuing with fire and sword all who were by the religious tribunals accounted heretics? B.

Something Further Concerning the Dallas Matter

Perhaps the following, written by one of the "bunch" that helped to defeat the proposed Dallas Sunday ordinance, will explain why Mr. MacKenzie was in such a temper when he wrote his letter to the publishers of the *Signs of the Times*:

"The matter of church-and-state union was before the citizens of Dallas, Oreg., who voted upon the question June 9. When the State Sunday law was abolished in Oregon, several years ago, Dallas voted against its abolition.

"Some months ago, a movement was inaugurated in that city to secure a local Sunday law. There seemed no particular objection to the 'movies' during the week, but they must be closed upon Sunday. Those favoring that step secured 553 signatures of persons whom they claimed favored Sunday closing. A short but vigorous campaign was conducted in the city. The climax was reached Monday night, June 7, in a public debate lasting two hours. The affirmative was presented by Dr. Wilson, of the District of Columbia, and Reverend Shirley, Presbyterian, of McMinnville, Oreg. Those who spoke in the negative were Pastor H. W. Cottrell and Prof. E. J. Hibbard, of Portland, and two Religious Liberty secretaries. Fully five hundred persons listened attentively to the arguments presented.

"The debate brought out the natural rights of man, and the workings of religious legislation. The finished product of a church-and-state union, like the finished product of the liquor traffic, is, and always has been, bad. Misery, suffering, bloodshed, and death have been the abundant harvest of both systems.

"Two days later, the people voted on the proposed ordinance, and but 260 votes were cast for the Sunday law.

"Although the wrath of some who favored the measure has been manifested in a very unwholesome way, the great mass of the people are well pleased with the outcome, which was a victory for the gospel principles of the separation of church and state, for which the United States Constitution stands.

"H. G. THURSTON."

Salem Witchcraft

THE terrible delusion of belief in witchcraft accompanied the New England settlers, and they adopted English laws against it. For a long time it was simply an undemonstrative belief, but at length it assumed an active feature in society in Massachusetts, as it was encouraged by some of the clergy, whose influence was almost omnipotent. Before 1688, four persons accused of witchcraft had suffered death in the vicinity of Boston. The first was Margaret Jones, of Charlestown, hanged in 1648. In 1656, Ann Hibbens, sister of Governor Bellingham, of Massachusetts, was accused of being a witch, tried by a jury, and found guilty. The magistrates refused to accept the verdict, and the case was carried to the General Court, where a majority of that body declared her guilty,

and she was hanged. In 1688, a young girl in Danvers (a part of Salem) accused a maid servant of theft. The servant's mother, a "wild Irishwoman" and a Roman Catholic, declared with vehemence that the charge was false, whereupon the accuser, out of revenge, accused the Irishwoman of having bewitched her. Some of the girl's family joined in the accusation and assisted her in her operations. They would alternately become deaf, dumb, and blind; bark like dogs, and purr like cats; but none of them lost their appetite or needed sleep.

Rev. Cotton Mather—a superstitious, credulous, and egotistical clergyman, a firm believer in witchcraft, and who believed America was originally peopled with "a crew of witches transported hither by the devil"—hastened to Danvers, with other clergymen as superstitious as

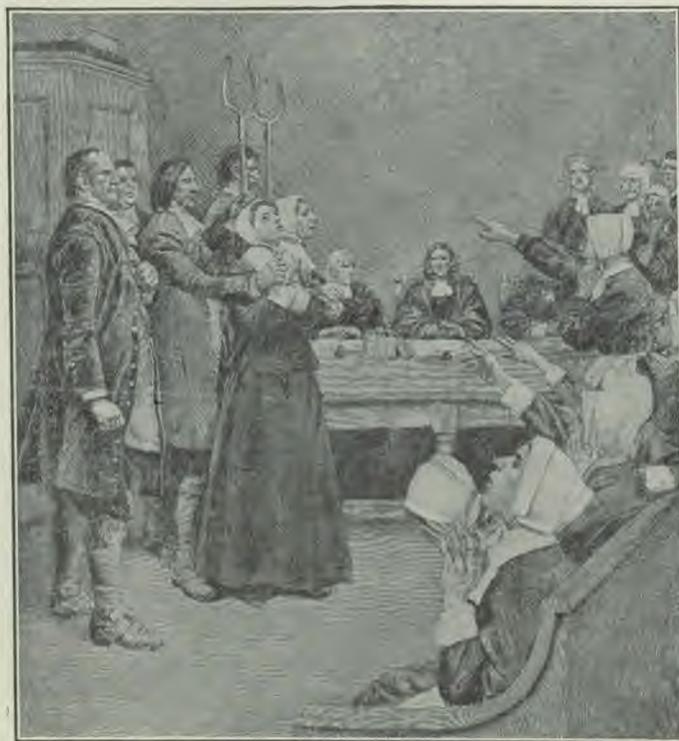
himself, spending a whole day there in fasting and prayer, and so controlled the devil, he said, who would allow the poor victims to "read Quaker books, the Book of Common Prayer, and popish books," but not the Bible. Mather and his associates were satisfied that the Irishwoman was a witch, and these holy men had the satisfaction of seeing the poor creature hanged. The excited Mather (who was ridiculed by unbelievers) preached a sermon against witchcraft, crying from the pulpit, with arms extended, "Witchcraft is the most nefarious high treason against the Majesty on high. A witch is not to

terror took possession of their minds, and held it for about six months. The "victims" pretended to see their tormentors with their "inner vision," and forthwith they would accuse some old or ill-favored woman of bewitching them. At length the "afflicted" and the accused became so numerous that no person was safe from suspicion and its consequences. During the prevalence of this terrible delusion, in the spring and summer of 1692, nineteen persons were hanged; one was killed by the horrible punishment of pressing to death; fifty-five were frightened or tortured into a confession of guilt;

150 were imprisoned, and fully 200 were named as worthy of arrest. Among those hanged was Rev. Mr. Burroughs, an exemplary clergyman, whose purity of character was conspicuous.

Malice, rapacity, and revenge often impelled persons to accuse others who were innocent; and when some statement of the accused would move the court and audience in favor of the prisoner, the accuser would solemnly declare that he saw the devil standing beside his victim, whispering his touching words in his or her ear. And the absurd statement would be believed by the judges on the bench. Some, terrified, and with the hope of saving their lives or avoiding the horrors of imprisonment, would falsely accuse their friends and kinsfolk; while others, moved by the same instinct and hopes, would falsely confess themselves witches. Neither age, sex, nor condition was spared. Finally Sir William Phipps (the governor of Massachusetts, who had instituted the court for the trial of witches), his lieutenant, some near relatives of Cotton Mather, and learned and distinguished men who had promoted the delusion by acquiescing in the proceedings against accused persons, became objects of suspicion. The governor's wife, Lady Phipps, one of the purest and best of women, was accused of being a witch. The sons of ex-Governor Bradstreet were compelled to flee to avoid the perils of false accusations; near relatives of Mather were imprisoned on similar charges.

When the magnates in church and state found themselves in danger, they suspected they had been acting unrighteously toward others, and cautiously expressed doubts of the policy of



TRIAL OF MARTHA CORY

Miles Cory and his wife Martha were both accused of witchcraft. She was tried, condemned, and executed by hanging. He refused to plead and was pressed to death. It seems that both this man and woman were inoffensive people.

be endured in heaven or on earth." His sermon was printed and scattered broadcast among the people, and soon bore terrible fruit.

In 1692 an epidemic disease broke out in Danvers, resembling epilepsy. The physicians could not control it, and with Mather's sermon before them, they readily ascribed it to witchcraft. A niece and a daughter of the parish clergyman were seized with convulsions and swelling of the throat, and all the symptoms produced by hysterics. Their strange actions frightened other young girls. A belief that evil spirits in the form of witches were permitted to afflict the people was soon widespread, and

further proceedings against accused persons, for they remembered that they had caused a constable who had arrested many, and refused to arrest any more, to be hanged. A citizen of Andover who was accused, wiser and bolder than the magistrates and clergy, caused the arrest of his accuser on a charge of defamation of character, and laid his damages at £1,000. The public mind was in sympathy with him. The spell was instantly broken, and at a convention of clergymen they declared it was not inconsistent with Scriptures to believe that the devil might "assume the shape of a good man, and that so he may have deceived the afflicted."

. . . Many of the accusers came forward and published solemn recantations or denials of the truth of their testimony, which had been given, they said, to save their lives.

The legislature of Massachusetts appointed a general fast, and supplication "that God would pardon all the errors of his servants and people in a late tragedy raised among them by Satan and his instruments," and Judge Sewall, who had presided at many trials in Salem, stood up

in his place in the church on that fast day and implored the prayers of the people that the errors which he had committed "might not be visited by the judgments of an avenging God on his country, his family, and himself." The parish minister at Danvers in whose family the "affliction" started, and who was zealous in promoting the prosecutions, was compelled to leave the country. The credulous Mather still believed in witches, and wrote in support of the belief. He was thoroughly ridiculed by unbelievers, one of whom he dismissed by calling him "a coal from hell," and suing him for slander.

This episode in the history of Massachusetts is known as "Salem Witchcraft." It astonished the civilized world, and made an unfavorable impression on the surrounding Indians. The Jesuit missionaries took advantage of it to contrast their own mild religious system with the cruel exhibitions of that of the Puritans, whose ministers had been so prominent in the fearful tragedy.—*Harper's "Encyclopedia of United States History."*

Some of the Blue Laws of Puritan New England

THE Puritans of New England had many admirable qualities, but with most of them it does not appear that a broad religious tolerance was one of their virtues. It seems that with but few exceptions, they believed not only in individual moral responsibility, but that the state itself must have a religion, which it was in duty bound to enforce upon all men so far as possible. But from this mistaken conception of the duties of civil government, Roger Williams, himself a Puritan clergyman, dissented. So that even in colonial Massachusetts religious intolerance did not pass without protest.

We frequently hear some of the old blue-stock Puritan posterity boasting of their lineage, and longing for the good old Puritan times. Dr. H. C. Bowlby, national secretary of the Lord's Day Alliance, said in a meeting held in Washing-

ton, D. C., Dec. 11-14, 1919, that we needed "more, not less, of the Puritan spirit in the American Sabbath." According to the compulsory measures he advocates concerning Sunday observance, it is very evident that he is a typical Puritan of the old, or legal, type.

Since the legally enforced Puritan type of Sunday observance is so strongly advocated by certain religious organizations before legislative bodies at the present time, it might be well for us to recall some of the Puritan blue laws of "ye olden tymes."

We will give a few samples from the "blue laws" of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when the Puritans administered religion to unwilling subjects by the carnal means of the whipping post, the ducking stool, stocks, the pillory, fines, prisons, and the gibbet.

According to Mrs. Morse Earle's history, entitled "The Sabbath in Puritan New England," one of the leading characters in the enforcement of the Puritan Sunday "was the 'tithingman,' . . . who entered private houses to assure himself that no one stayed at home on the 'Sabbath,' and hustled up any loiterers. . . . He was empowered to stop all Sunday work." In fact, the tithingman was always busy on Sunday doing sleuth work, spying out other people's liberties, and haling them before the civil magistrate for neglect of religious duties on Sunday.

Mrs. Earle shows the absurd length to which Sunday laws were carried. In 1670 "two lovers, John Lewis and Sarah Chapman, were accused and tried for 'sitting together on the Lord's day under an apple tree in Goodman Chapman's orchard.'" "A Dunstable soldier, for 'wetting a piece of old hat to put in his shoe' to protect his foot — for doing this

heavy work on the Lord's day, was fined, and paid forty shillings." "Captain Kemble, of Boston, was in 1656 set for two hours in the public stocks, for his 'lewd and unseemly behavior,' which consisted in kissing his wife 'publicly' on the Sabbath day, upon the doorstep of his house," on his return from a three years' voyage. An English sea captain was "soundly whipped" for a like offense. A man who had fallen into the water and absented himself from church to dry his only suit of clothes, was found guilty and "publicly whipped." Smoking on Sunday was forbidden. To stay

away from church meant cumulative mulct. A severe flogging was inflicted on a man who dared say he was not profited by a certain preacher's discourse. To criticize a sermon or the conduct of a minister meant church discipline and a heavy fine. And yet the most of these preachers were a very intemperate set. Even their ordination services were scenes of unseemly revelry.

Probably the most absurd Sunday law was found upon the Connecticut statute books. It prohibited a "mother" from "kissing her child on the 'Sabbath' day." Other equally foolish laws prohibited the people from walking, driving, or riding horseback on Sunday unless they went to church or to the cemetery.

The following excerpts, taken from the blue laws of the Plymouth Colony, Mass., and from the Connecticut statutes beginning 1636, enforced by the civil magistrate, will be of interest to the liberty-loving



Old Statehouse, Boston

American of the twentieth century:

"Whosoever shall profane the Lord's day by doing unnecessary servile work, by unnecessary traveling or by sports and recreations, he or they that so transgress shall forfeit for every such default 40 shillings or be publicly whipped; but if it clearly appear that sin be proudly, presumptuously, and with a high hand committed against the known command and authority of the Blessed God, such a person therein despising and reproaching the Lord, shall be put to death or grievously punished at the judgment of the court."

"If any man or woman be a witch, or consulteth with a familiar spirit, they shall be put to death."

"May 11, 1676: If any person henceforth either on Saturday night or on the Lord's day

night, though it be after the sun is set, shall be found sporting in the streets or fields of any town in this jurisdiction, or be drinking in houses of public entertainment, or elsewhere, unless for necessity; every such person so found, . . . shall pay 10 shillings for every such transaction or suffer corporal punishment for default of due payment.

"And it is further ordered that no servile work shall be done on the Sabbath; viz., such as are not works of piety or necessity; and no profane discourse or talk, rude or unreverend behavior, shall be used on the holy day."

"If any person turns Quaker, he shall be banished and not suffered to return, upon pain of death."

"No priest shall abide in this dominion; he shall be banished and suffer death on his return. Priests may be seized by any one, without a warrant." (In force before 1656.)

"Adultery shall be punished with death." (Re-enacted in 1665.)

"The judge shall determine controversies without a jury."

"No man shall hold any office who is not sound in the faith and faithful to his dominion; and whoever gives a vote to such person shall pay a fine of one pound; for a second offense he shall be disfranchised."

"Each freeman shall swear by the Blessed God to bear true allegiance to this dominion, and that Jesus Christ is the only King."

"No Quaker or dissenter from the established worship of this dominion shall be allowed to give a vote for the election of magistrates or any officer."

"No food or lodging shall be afforded to a Quaker, Adamite, or other heretic."

"No one shall run on the Sabbath day, or walk in his garden, or elsewhere, except reverently to and from meeting."

"No one shall travel, cook victuals, make beds, sweep the house, cut hair, or shave on the Sabbath day."

"No woman shall kiss her child on the Sabbath day."

"The Sabbath shall begin at sunset on Saturday."

"No one shall read any prayer, keep Christmas or saints' days, make mince pie, dance, play cards, or play on any instrument of music except drum, trumpet, and jew's-harp."

"No gospel minister shall join people in marriage. The magistrates only shall join in mar-

riage, as they may do it with less scandal to Christ's church."

"If any man shall kiss his wife or wife kiss her husband on the Lord's day, the party in fault shall be punished at the discretion of the court or magistrate."

"Gathering sticks on Sabbath [Sunday] when unnecessary, is punishable by death, but if gathered privily or in need, a lesser punishment may be administered by whipping the offender."

Blasphemy, which included the denial of the Saviour as the Son of God, denial of the "Holy Trinity, or any of the three Persons," was punishable by boring through the tongue for the first offense,



King's Chapel, Boston, where worship according to the ritual of the Church of England was permitted only because the General Court dared not prohibit it.

and if the blasphemer still persisted in his own views, he was branded on the forehead with the letter "B." For the third offense he suffered "death," so that "he might find out the truth of certain matters to his own satisfaction."

These are but a few of the many rigid laws the early Puritans enacted to make people religious by civil statute.

And yet, says Mrs. Earle, who compiled many of the statutes, there are those who are sighing for a return of the Puritan laws just because they enforced Sunday.

"Every American," says another prominent writer on blue laws, "should sing a daily litany of thanks that he [the singer], the Lord's Day Alliance, some of the present-day grand juries,

and the ancient 'blue laws' were not contemporaneous."

The Lord's Day Alliance is seeking to put Americans of today back under the old Puritan Sunday blue law régime of religious intolerance. How much better it would have been for religion and Christianity if the early churches, which gained the ascendancy in American politics, had manifested more of the meekness and gentleness of the lowly Nazarene, whose teachings and example they so grossly misrepresented in their attitude toward the unbeliever. Christ said:

"If any man hear my words, and believe not, I judge him not: for I come not to judge the world, but to save the world. He that rejecteth me, and receiveth not my words, hath one that judgeth him: the word that I have spoken, the same shall judge him in the last day." John 12: 47, 48.

If the professed followers of Jesus Christ had always followed his teachings and example, there could never have been such a thing possible as persecution by a Christian church. Christ never delegated any authority to any man or set of men, to judge and condemn men because they refuse to accept his word or to conform to religious obligations. This is a matter that is to be adjusted "in the last day," at the judgment bar of God.

"Therefore," wrote Paul, the great champion of religious liberty and the rights of conscience, "judge nothing before the time, until the Lord come, who both will bring to light the hidden things of darkness, and will make manifest the counsels of the hearts: and then shall every man have praise of God," who before was condemned by man because he could not read the motives of the heart which determined the character of his deeds.

Paul asks:

"But why dost thou judge thy brother? or why dost thou set at naught thy brother? for we shall all stand before the judgment seat of Christ." "Let us not therefore judge one another any more, . . . for whatsoever is not of faith is sin."

"Who art thou that judgest another man's servant? to his own master he standeth or falleth." "So then every one of us shall give account of himself to God;" of course, always understood of matters that are purely religious and relate to man's duty toward God. In these matters no man in a civil capacity has any authority from God to judge a single soul. God deals with sin, and civil authorities are ordained to deal only with crime and man's proper relationship with his fellow men.

C. S. L.

The Origin of the Idea of Personal Rights

ONE of the strangest and yet most logical results of the Christian teachings and practice (and one which has been, for sufficient reasons, ignored by the theologians), was to develop the radical and uncompromising spirit of democracy throughout the Christian communities or churches. The early Christians uniformly held that they, as Christians, belonged to a kingdom which was in, but not of, the world — a king-

dom for which no earthly potentate had right or power to legislate; and this living faith loosened the bond of allegiance and dissolved the sense of obligation as to all human authority, and was the negation of the lawfulness of temporal government over the subjects of the kingdom for which they recognized no king but Christ.

While, for the sake of peace, they were willing to render unto Caesar the things

which are Cæsar's, by paying taxes to that government under which they lived, and by yielding ready obedience to all laws and customs which did not come in conflict with the higher law of the kingdom, the rights of conscience, they universally regarded these laws as extraneous to their own organization, foreign statutes imposed upon them from without; and, being solicitous to render unto God the things which are God's, they steadily abstained from any participation in the affairs of government, and quietly assumed the right to judge for themselves whether any law, regulation, or custom prescribed by the sovereign power, or other human authority, was or was not such as they might conscientiously obey. . . .

They obeyed all laws alike, except such as conflicted with conscience, and these they refused to obey in the very face of persecutions, torture, and death. But this fearless assertion of the rights of conscience necessarily involved the right to sit in judgment upon all human laws and the powers that ordained them, and to determine for themselves whether the law was lawful. That helpless spirit of blind obedience to the decrees of despotic governments which characterized the pagan peoples was, therefore, impossible to the Christians. In the very teeth of universally established law and custom, they steadily refused to bear arms, to own slaves, to seek any legal redress in civil courts, to follow the law of their domicile in regard to the ownership of property or the succession to estates of the deceased, just as they refused to sacrifice to the gods, or to call any man master. . . .

The logical tendency of Christianity was, therefore, to originate the idea of personal liberty for all men, unknown to the world before; to repudiate the heathen doctrine of the divine character and right of kings; to sit in judgment upon their laws, and to intelligently obey, or refuse to obey them; in a word, to cultivate and exercise, as a matter of religious faith, that spirit of personal in-

dependence, both of action and of thought, which we in later times dominate democracy, the concrete form of which [in the apostolic church] was the election of deacons, presbyters, and bishops by the people unto whom they ministered.—“*Arius the Libyan*,” by Nathan Chapman Couns, A. M., pp. 96-98.

Ordination Balls and Banquets

A READER has written us concerning a short article which we printed some months ago under the heading, “Some Interesting History Recalled.” The article consisted chiefly of a quotation from a book written some years ago by Mrs. Morse Earle, the title of which is, “The Sabbath in Puritan New England.” In this quotation Mrs. Earle tells of “ordination balls” and “ordination banquets.”

Our correspondent, who describes herself as “a thoroughbred” of the “old Puritan stock,” says that the Puritans did not dance, and that the balls described by Mrs. Earle were held by the Church of England people, who were wont to have “all social phases of life carried on with church life.” We are not prepared to say that our correspondent is mistaken so far as the balls were concerned. But as for the banquets, when intoxicating liquors were sometimes consumed rather too freely, we think there was in them nothing out of keeping with Puritan faith and practice. The Puritans, while strict Sunday keepers, were not total abstainers.

It is not hard, to believe that in the 17th century intoxicating liquors were strongly in evidence at New England ordination banquets, and that even staid clergymen sometimes became actually intoxicated on these occasions. It may be, however, that the Puritans did not themselves dance, nor even countenance dancing. We are willing to give them the benefit of the doubt as to the dancing.

C. P. B.

Note and Comment

CHRISTIANITY is designed to save, not society, but souls.

THE mission of the church is not to reform, but to warn the world.

NO man can answer for another in the judgment; therefore one cannot be conscience for another.

THE principles of our Government absolutely deny that the majority have any authority over the minority in matters of religious belief and practice.

ALL men are directly responsible to God; hence the challenge of Romans 14: 4: "Who art thou that judgest another man's servant? to his own master he standeth or falleth."

SUNDAY is a religious institution, and every compulsory Sunday law is an effort to enforce in some degree upon all the people what a part of the people esteem a religious obligation.

THE mission of LIBERTY is not to oppose the church nor any legitimate work the church may undertake, but to oppose anything and everything that misrepresents the church and places it in a false light before men.

To say that the Puritans were narrow, bigoted, and intolerant, is not to assert that they were bad men; many a good man has made mistakes. John Calvin probably believed that in compassing the death of Servetus he was doing God service.

WE learn from the Baltimore (Md.) *News* that a decision handed down July 7, by Judge Soper in the Superior Court of that city and county, upholds the action of the Maryland Legislature in providing for a referendum vote this fall on the question of whether Sunday motion pictures will be permitted in Baltimore city.

THE President may appoint the last Thursday in November as Thanksgiving Day, but only individuals can be truly thankful.

THE true mission of the Christian is to save souls. This is his work; whatever else he does is only incidental. William Carey had the right idea when, in stating his business, he said that it was to preach the gospel, adding, "But I cobble shoes to make expenses."

NATIONAL REFORMERS, and a good many people who are not so classed, and who would deny the imputation, would nevertheless make the law of God the basis of all civil legislation. But no human government is qualified even to define and expound the divine law, much less to administer it.

SAUL, later known as Paul, was sincere and very zealous when as a persecutor he gave his voice to condemn Stephen, and persecuted even unto strange cities every Christian he could find. But Saul was wrong. So are men wrong now who invoke civil power to enforce their views of righteousness.

God's appeal is not made to men *en masse*, but individually. "God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that *whosoever* believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life." John 3: 16. "If *any man* hear my voice, and open the door, I will come in to him, and will sup with him." Rev. 3: 20.

THE activity of the Pastors' Association of Paterson, N. J., in behalf of Sunday enforcement has resulted in the formation of a Liberty League, the object of which is to labor for the preservation of the separation of church and state in this country and to safeguard the liberties guaranteed to us in State and national constitutions.

REUNION of churches is being agitated more and more almost the whole world over. Only a few weeks ago the bishops of the Anglican Church, or in other words, the Established Church of England, issued an appeal to this end, addressed to "the orthodox churches of the East," that is, to the Greek Catholic churches and to "the great Roman communion of the West, no less than to the free churches among the Anglo-Saxon races."

EVERYBODY is now too busy with the great political campaign to say or do much concerning Sunday laws, but be it known that the particularly mischievous Sunday bill introduced last spring is not dead, but only sleeping, quietly awaiting the reassembling of Congress. Whichever party wins, we may expect at that time a renewed assault upon the liberties of the people in the shape of an insistent demand that Sunday rest be made compulsory in the District of Columbia.

HUMAN governments are ordained of God for the good of mankind, but not in the sense that they partake in any degree of divinity. They have no power to command men under sin. No moral obligation attaches to any human law unless it exists in the very nature of things; and with all just law, this is the case. Civil society is a great blessing, and every man should bear his share of the burdens incident thereto. This makes the payment of just and equitable taxes a moral obligation. The "moral obligation" comes, however, not from the civil but from the moral law as expressed in the golden rule: "All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them: for this is the law and the prophets."

INDIVIDUAL responsibility directly to God makes at once and forever impossible any right on the part of any man or of any government to any legitimate authority over any other man's conscience.

If God has given human governments any authority over the consciences of their subjects, then not the divine law, but human statutes must necessarily be the ultimate standard of righteousness.

All men are alike in the sight of God, and all are alike amenable to the divine law. The king upon his throne must finally stand and be judged at the same tribunal to which the humblest of his subjects shall answer. Nor can the subject plead before that tribunal that a law or decree of his earthly sovereign freed him from obligation to obey the law of God. The Creator has not committed to men the interpretation or administration of his law.

OUR estimate of the Puritans should be made, not from the standpoint of our own day, but with reference to their environment. We are all largely creatures of circumstance. Training very largely makes us what we are.

Puritanism had its origin in an age when church and state were united, and when it was supposed to be just as much the duty of civil rulers to punish heresy as we now believe it to

be their duty to punish theft, murder, or any of the graver crimes against civil society.

The Puritans were not the first to entertain the theocratic theory of government, nor did that theory become extinct with the death of the Puritan theocracy. The National Reformers of our own day hold very similar views; and judging from their own statements, we must believe that they would go quite as far in enforcing the laws they crave as did the men of colonial Massachusetts.

THAT "politics is a thing that can be carried to church and that it should be mixed with religion," was the statement made by Mrs. Mary Settle Sharpe, of North Carolina, Republican candidate for State superintendent of public instruction, some weeks ago.

As Mrs. Sharpe probably meant it, this is true. We would, however, turn the statement around, and say that religion should be mixed not only with politics, but with everything a Christian does. The Bible rule for Christians is, "Whether therefore ye eat, or drink, or whatsoever ye do, do all to the glory of God."

This does not mean, however, that political power is to be used to coerce our fellow men into religion. The Christian should be honest wherever he is and in everything that he does. When he votes, he should have the best interests of the public in view. In this sense religion certainly ought to be mixed with politics, but never in the sense of using political power for the furtherance of religion. "Not by might, nor by power, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord of hosts." Zech. 4: 6.

A DISPATCH from Rome, under date of August 17, told of seven persons killed, one of them a monk, in a riot at Siena, Italy, when Socialists attacked a religious procession. This is a phase of Socialism that is hard for an American to understand. Does Socialism mean the nationalization not only of public utilities and national resources, but of religious belief as well, so that every man shall become not only a cog in the national industrial wheel, but simply a parrot to recite and a hypocrite to profess the creed dictated to him by the state? This may be the goal of the Reds, but we cannot believe that many Americans will be found who are willing to subscribe to it.

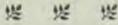
Individualism may be carried to an extreme in worldly matters, but not in religion. The Lord deals with men only as individuals. There is no collective bargaining with God. "Whosoever will" may come and buy "without money and without price," but each individual must come for himself. It is for this reason that civil governments can never of right have anything to do with religion.

IN preaching at Laporte, Indiana, the night of August 10, Rev. John Timber said:

"If a bolt of lightning should come from heaven, it would not find many of this congregation prepared!"

"Hardly had he finished speaking," said a newspaper report of the occurrence, "when there was a flash. The tent was struck by lightning, and Henry Lenz, of Belvedere, Ill., and L. S. Huston, of Wisconsin, his brother evangelists, were instantly killed."

If the men killed had been members of a Sunday boating or automobile party the occurrence would have been heralded far and wide as a divine judgment for "Sabbath breaking." The lesson to be learned is that the ways of God are past finding out, and that we should not sit in judgment upon them.



Mayflower Year

DECEMBER 21, 1920, will be the three hundredth anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrims on the bleak shores of Cape Cod. This year has been styled, therefore, "Mayflower Year."

Under the heading, "A Thought for Mayflower Year," the *20th Century Quarterly* says:

"The New America will be free of some faults of the Old America, chief of which were slavery and the liquor traffic; but this Mayflower Year is the fitting time to bring back the things in the Old America that drove out these faults and made 'America' a word of honor and hope in all the world—daily Bible reading in home and school, and the Sabbath protected against greed, for rest and worship and altruism."

It would be difficult to show that either slavery or the liquor traffic was driven out because of "daily Bible reading in home and school, and the Sabbath protected against greed, for rest and worship and altruism."

We are in favor of daily reading of the Bible, and we ourselves are practising it, but the abolition of slavery was not a distinctively religious movement, nor was the North more ardently religious when slavery was abolished than was the South.

Indeed, the South is today, as it has long been, more religious than the North. Universalism, Unitarianism, and higher criticism have their American strong-

holds, not in the South, but in the North. The Sunday laws of the South, with the single exception of Louisiana, are and always have been more rigid and more rigidly enforced than those in the North, and the practice of religious exercises in the public schools is more nearly universal south of Mason and Dixon's line than north of it.

The writer was reared in the North, but subsequently spent more than a score of years in the South, and knows whereof he affirms touching these things.

While prohibition cannot be said to have originated in the South, that section finally led in the movement, not from religious conviction, but because of the civil necessity of keeping intoxicants as far away as possible from the large Negro population.

The editor of the *20th Century Quarterly* cannot be ignorant of the fact that the Puritans of New England were not opposed to slavery. They even sold into slavery in the West Indies men and women of their own nationality, who chanced to differ from them in religious faith and practice. Cotton Mather himself, prominent as a clergyman and writer, a Puritan of the Puritans, advocated waylaying "William Penn and his ungodly crew," making them captives and selling them into slavery in Barbados.

If any Puritan ever discovered from the Bible that slavery and liquor drinking were wrong, the fact was not recorded. It was many years after the death of the last Puritan before slavery was abolished in Puritan Massachusetts, and even then the climate probably had more to do with it than had religious convictions. When the abolition of slavery began to be seriously urged, nowhere outside of the slave States themselves was emancipation more bitterly opposed than in Boston. The fear was that it would affect adversely the trade of the city. Dr. Crafts claims too much for Puritan conviction, customs, and influence.

GOVERNOR COX is reported to have said in one of his speeches that "morals cannot easily be produced by statute." This is true, but the governor might have gone still farther without fear of successful contradiction; he might have left out the "easily."

OUR cover design is a faithful representation, in two colors, of the "Mayflower," a little vessel of only one hundred eighty tons, which carried the Pilgrims in safety from Plymouth, England, to the site of a new town of the same name which they were destined to found.

The company sailing on the "Mayflower" numbered one hundred souls, men, women, and children. The original design of the leaders of this company was to find a home on the banks of the Hudson River, but Providence decreed otherwise, and Dec. 21, 1620, they landed upon the shores of Cape Cod, where they founded the first New England colony.

SOME people would have us believe that Sunday laws are not religious. But no Sunday law can be enacted or drafted which is not religious. The very fact that such a law forbids acts upon the first day of the week which are not wrong in themselves, but are merely considered wrong because done on Sunday, shows that the law is intended to protect the day, not to prohibit a wrong act.

The purpose of civil law is to restrain the vicious and punish the guilty. A thing that is wrong from a civil viewpoint on one day is wrong on all days. The man who attempts to coerce one of his fellow men into honoring a day because of its supposed sanctity, is endeavoring to control the actions of others in their relation to their God. Whenever men have set themselves as God's avengers, they have always brought persecution to bear upon those who did not agree with them.

Honest work under any circumstances, is not opposed to the best principles of

civil government. But popular custom, tradition, the decrees of church councils and of civil magistrates, have made Sunday a religious day, and any law for its protection is a religious law.

W. F. M.

THE principle of religious liberty is so opposed to the kingdom of darkness that, as long as that kingdom exists, warfare must continue between them. Therefore, in view of the fact that nearly all the individual States of this nation are at the present time committed to the opposite principle through their own constitutions or legislative enactments, it should not surprise us if history should repeat itself in this country, and religious oppression be witnessed here again.

Sentenced to State Prison

IT will be recalled by LIBERTY readers that shortly after the shooting on Tangier Island, Va., featured in our issue for the third quarter of 1920, we expressed the opinion that Virginia law as defined by the higher courts of that State would not uphold the Tangier Sunday ordinance or its enforcement at the point of a revolver. The following dispatch, which appeared in the *Washington Herald* at the conclusion of the trial in the circuit court sitting in Accomac County, fully justifies that opinion:

Carl Connorton, Tangier Island deputy sheriff, yesterday convicted of unlawfully shooting Roland Parks because he failed to go to church, was today denied a new trial by Judge James H. Fletcher, and sentenced to one year in the penitentiary."

It would be impossible to get along without peace officers, and they are to be honored and sustained in the discharge of their duties; but unfortunately it is too often the case that unsafe men are found in such positions, men who seem to regard themselves as superior to the laws they are commissioned to enforce.

B.

REPENTANCE is always an individual act.

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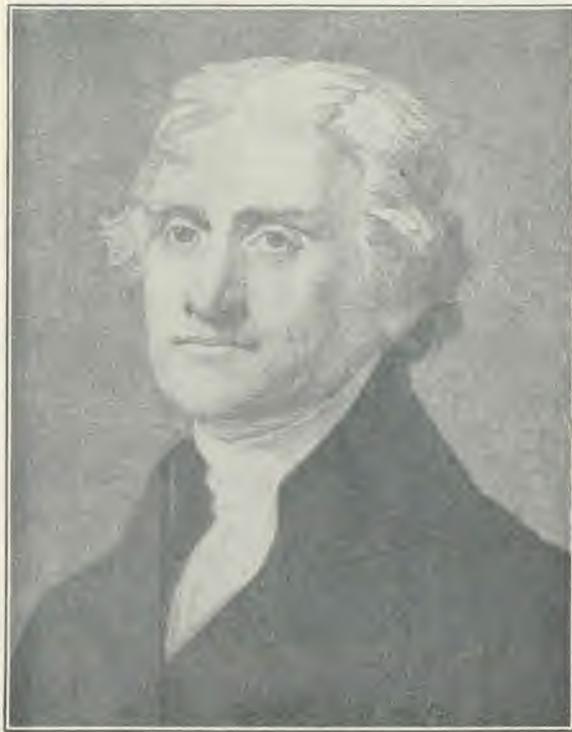
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THOMAS JEFFERSON

Author of the Declaration of Independence

I have sworn upon the altar of God eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man.— *Writings of Thomas Jefferson, Ford Edition, Vol. VII, page 460.*

I am for freedom of the press, and against all violations of the Constitution to silence by force and not by reason the complaints or criticisms, just or unjust, of our citizens against their agents.— *Id., page 328.*

Our liberty depends on the freedom of the press, and that can not be limited without being lost.— *Id., Vol. IV, page 132.*

Where the press is free and every man able to read, all is safe.— *Id., Vol. X, page 4.*