A MAGAZINE OF REEDOM

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Religious Liberty Association

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

I. 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.

g. 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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A MAGAZINE OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

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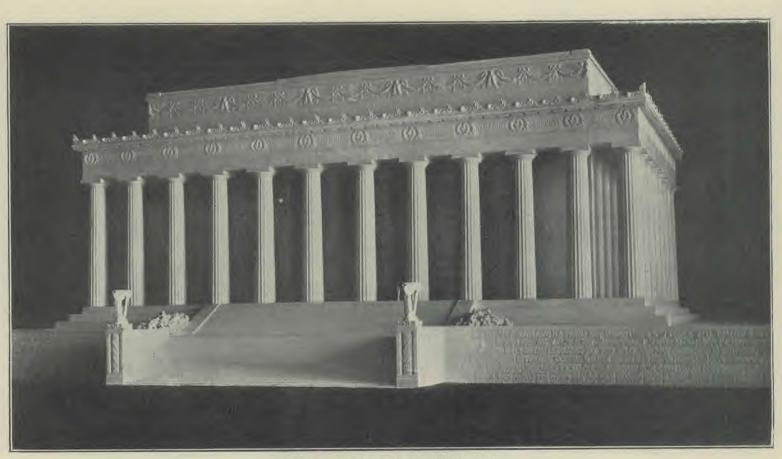
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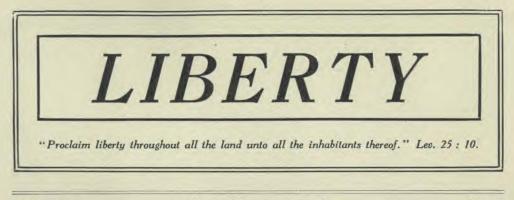
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LINCOLN MEMORIAL, WASHINGTON, D. C.

"The people of the United States are the rightful masters of both Congress and the courts; not to overthrow the Constitution, but to overthrow the men who pervert the Constitution."- Lincoln.



VOL. XI

THIRD QUARTER, 1916

No. 5

A United States Congressman on Religious Liberty

BY HON. W. H. COLEMAN *

MR. SPEAKER,-

on this subject, I purpose speaking plainly. The history of the past is full of political persecution, which other governments have vainly sought to justify.

Most of these persecutions are traceable to the Old World idea on interdependence of church and state. But when the Puritans of Massachusetts, who sought a home in this Western wilderness in which they might worship Almighty God as they deemed best, drove from their community that champion of religious liberty, Roger Williams, they prepared the way for the colony of Rhode Island, where was founded the first State to establish itself firmly on the rock of liberty of conscience for all men.

True, for a brief period under the empire in the time of Constantine, the Edict of Milan introduced a universal and unconditional religious freedom. The emperor, while encouraging the Christian religion, was able to see and argue that to constrain by fear was no proper means of conversion. He saw clearly what became the corner stone of the little colony of Rhode Island, that conscience demands for all men what it asks for itself. Yet this brief period of time in the fourth century was the only exception among the Christian nations to the rule of union or dependence of church and state.

Union of Church and State

The reason for this universal idea is found in the supremacy of the church after the fall of the empire, for with that fall civilized Rome was face to face with the barbarism of the north. It was the church to which all eyes turned, and to the church is due the credit of saving society from the wreck. It was the only stable thing in the midst of that universal ruin; and, faithfully performing its duty, it not only saved society, but civilized and made Christian the northern invaders. The supremacy of the church was the inevitable result, and it continued to sway a powerful influence in civil affairs until checked by the rise of nationalism, following in the footsteps of the Reformation.

But with the establishing of the nation followed the desire of the nation's chief to control the religion of his realm; and so, whether under Catholic or Protestant

^{*} When the immigration bill was before the House of Representatives, Mr. W. H. Coleman, of Pennsylvania, expressed his views of religious liberty. They were printed in the Congressional Record of March 25, 1916. Mr. Coleman gives an interesting review of the struggle for liberty of belief and worship. C. E. H.

LIBERTY

The constitution of man is such that for a long time after he has discovered the incorrectness of the ideas prevailing around him, he shrinks from openly emancipating himself from their domination; and constrained by the force of circumstances, he becomes a hypocrite, publicly applauding what his private judgment condemns.— J. W. Draper.

rule, the religion of the king became the established worship of the state. Unity of faith, all reasoned, was essential to the integrity of government. The Reformation, therefore, did not introduce religious liberty. The religious war following Luther's death resulted in a victory for

Charles, but brought no peace to warring religion; and the peace of Augsburg, in 1555, could only legalize the Lutheran religion for the time, with the understanding that the religion of the community in the future was to be determined by the religion of the prince.

Even Calvin, who insisted upon the independence of the church from the civil authorities in matters of order and discipline, demanded, on the other hand, that the secular power

should enforce the censures of the church in the punishment of heresy and vice; but the magistrates in the Swiss republics did not agree with Calvin, even to the extent of his teaching, and the leading Reformers held that excommunication should be in the hands of the civil authorities.

I refer to Calvin because, like the gen-

tleman from New York [Mr. Bennet], I am largely Calvanistic in my beliefs, and cannot therefore be accused of reflecting on another's religion. And as a student of Calvin I am mindful of the fact that the Spaniard Servetus was committed to the flames in Geneva in 1553

for committing the

offense of writing

his views on the

doctrine of the

Trinity. Calvin

himself was large-

ly to blame for

this crime against

freedom of con-

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REPRESENTATIVE WM. H. COLEMAN OF PENNSYLVANIA

in time, the religious wars, with their persecutions and counter persecutions, all of which history should impress us with the truth of the words of Grotius, "To put men in prison on account of their religious belief or persuasions is a great oppression, and, properly speaking, false imprisonment; to fine them or take

(Continued on page 156)

He's true to God who's true to man; wherever wrong is done, To the humblest and the weakest, 'neath the all-beholding sun, That wrong is also done to us, and they are slaves most base Whose love of right is for themselves and not for all the race.

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- James Russell Lowell.

Tennessee Court Vindicates Sabbatarians

BY THE EDITOR

For many years those who observed another day than Sunday as holy time were mercilessly persecuted before the courts of the State of Tennessee. Scores of Seventh-day Adventists were fined, imprisoned, and forced to work in chain gangs, for observing the fourth commandment as it is written in the decalogue. For the most trifling work done on Sunday, after these Sabbatarians had conscientiously rested on Saturday, they were indicted and haled before the courts, where they stood no possible chance of escaping conviction.

But the court at Gallatin, Tenn., on May 24, refused to perpetuate this shameful record any longer against these inoffensive citizens. Five Sabbatarians had been indicted by the grand jury for doing triffing work on Sunday, and placed under bond to answer before the circuit court at Gallatin. Religious prejudice was at the root of the indictments. During the trial this feature was quite strongly developed on the part of the prosecutor * and a few witnesses, and the court refused to sustain the first three indictments.

The prosecutor charged that he had seen Robert and Ralph Ashton in their potato bin on Sunday, picking over a few bushels of decaying potatoes, while he was passing by in his automobile, himself on a business errand. Mr. Templeton was charged with having violated the Sunday law of Tennessee by digging a mess of potatoes out of his garden for dinner on Sunday. These were all the offenses that the prosecutor could bring

against these three men after he and his private sleuths had watched them for nearly two years to see whether they could not catch them working on Sunday. It would have been a great travesty upon justice if the judge had not thrown these cases out of court, the indictments having been found upon insufficient evidence.

The next cases, those of Mr. Robinson and his son, were submitted to the jury. Ten men on the jury were for acquittal, but the other two had strong religious prejudices and refused to yield to the ten. So it resulted in a mistrial, and these cases were passed over to the next term of court. Our readers will be interested in a few striking extracts taken from the speeches to the jury by the prosecuting attorney, Mr. Bowman (who never fails to show his religious prejudice on such occasions), and by the attorneys for the defendants.

Speech of Attorney-General Bowman

"Gentlemen of the jury, this gentleman is charged with following his usual avocation of labor on Sunday, designated by the law as the day to be observed. The law of Tennessee has seen fit to fix the first day of the week as a day of rest. He must desist from his usual work. Our law has fixed upon the Christian sabbath, or Sunday. The carrying on of any ordinary business on Sunday is a violation of it.

"You have heard Mr. Robinson say, you have heard it fall from his lips, that he would do no work on Saturday. It is observed by those people as scrupulously as any man ever observed the Christian Sunday fixed as a day of rest in Tennessee. While they do this, yet this man did openly violate the law and did openly pursue his usual avocation on Sunday. He did work in his chair shop, and his excuse for that labor was that he worked on Sunday because he wanted to get the job out and get the money on Monday. If that excuse would hold good, you could all have a good time.

Bigotry has no head and cannot think, no heart and cannot feel. When she moves, it is in wrath; when she pauses, it is amid ruin. Her prayers are curses, her god is a demon, her communion is death, her vengeance is eternity, and her decalogue is written in the blood of her victims.—Daniel O'Connell.

^{*} In Tennessee the complaining witness is called the prosecutor, and his name appears upon the indictment. The case is prosecuted before the court, however, by the attorney-general of the judicial district.

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

"You have heard witness after witness say he passed this man's chair shop on Sunday. They heard him hammer and work to such an extent that it attracted their attention to his labor, and he had the blinds over his windows. If he was not doing wrong on Sunday, the first day of the week, why did he put his blinds down over the windows to keep the people from seeing what he was doing? If he was doing no wrong, why not have the curtains up? These people saw him, with the dice to persuade our minds unconsciously, and especially when people have got together and have decided to watch for the purpose of trying to secure a conviction. When you let fellows get together and they decide to watch you, you have very little chance. How it warps our judgment and blinds our vision!

"Here is an old man, a citizen of Sumner County, who all his life has maintained a blameless character. On one occasion he picked up a few apples on Sunday morning, and

> while he was doing it, picked up a scythe and knocked a few weeds out of his way. One time he gathered a few peaches on Sunday. Who is there of you that on Sunday does not go out into his garden and gather vegetables and fruit? It is a common, ordinary experience of all of us. These things are mere trifles. None of the witnesses that passed by acknowledged that they were disturbed in any way whatever. Who is

there who would



PETER, IMPRISONED FOR PREACHING CONTRARY TO THE CIVIL LAW, IS RELEASED BY AN ANGEL OF GOD

drawing knife in his hand, peeping out. If this jury thinks he has not violated the law of the State of Tennessee, in this case of working on Sunday, then your Sunday law is a nullity."

Attorney Collier's Speech

"Gentlemen of the jury, the violation of this Sunday law on which this indictment is based must be clearly shown in order to sustain a conviction. It must be proved to you that there has been a violation of this law in such a manner as to become a nuisance to the public. You have to prove a nuisance. It is easy in prosecutions of this kind for prejudoor to keep out the flies in hot weather?

"Peter Bright, the prosecutor, says he was disturbed. I want you to see the inconsistency of this man. He was, on the same Sunday, on his way going to work in Nashville in order to be on hand Monday morning. Only one witness says he was disturbed. He comes along on Sunday on his way up to his farm to superintend and see what was to be done on his farm, and he is very much agitated because he hears a little noise in the chair shop.

"The old man, Mr. Robinson, explains it to you. The children go in there and crack nuts, and necessarily there is noise made there every day of the week; and simply because

The fact that the Christian voluntarily keeps holy the first day of the week, does not authorize the legislature to make that observance compulsory. The legislature cannot compel the citizen to do that which the constitution leaves him free to do or omit, at his election.— Chief Justice Terry, in declaring the Sunday law of California unconstitutional.

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Considered as a municipal regulation, the legislature has no right to forbid or enjoin the lawful pursuit of a lawful occupation on one day of the week, any more than it can forbid it altogether.— Supreme court of California, 9 Cal., 502.

Peter Bright hears a noise as he passes by, it could not possibly be anybody but old man Robinson working on his chairs, according to his judgment. The State has failed to make out a case as in the preceding trials. The object of the law is to prevent anybody from making himself a public nuisance."

Speech of Attorney Baskerville

"Honorable Court and gentlemen of the jury, I believe in the observance of Sunday, but because I do is no reason why in this free republic of ours, this land that we are proud to call the land of liberty where men are granted the right to worship God according to the dictates of their own consciences, I should not be charitable and broad-minded. I do not want to be guilty of turning loose criminals, but I want to say that you can turn that old man loose in that old chair shop and you will not have made the Sunday law a nullity. Your attorney-general says if you do not convict him, your Sunday law is a nullity. The spirit and intention of the Sunday law has not been violated by the prisoner at the bar. The spirit of the Sunday law is to preserve Sunday, it is true. And it was said by the attorney-general that this man believes in Saturday and keeps Saturday as the Sabbath; and in order to stir your prejudice he says, 'He does not care anything about your Sunday, and is working on and defying it.' The old man's character for truth and veracity has not been assailed anywhere. He says when Sailers came in and said he was an officer and had come to arrest him, and he replied, 'You can't arrest me,' that he was merely joking with him. But yet the attorney-general says he meant it all. But where is there a man who can prove a more excellent character than this man? He says he does keep the seventh day, but out of respect for his neighbors who observe Sunday, he does not follow his usual avocation on Sunday.

"Old man Robinson went out there by that little shop by the roadside to mend a screen door for perhaps thirty minutes. The women folks complained of the flies, and he went down there to fix that screen, not knowing that he was being watched. Who has been disturbed in this case? Why, Uncle Peter Bright has been disturbed.

"I do not think that I am charging any one with consciously persecuting these people; but the number of times the attorney-general has asked these witnesses, who are Sunday observers, if they did not belong to the Seventhday Adventist denomination,- if they were not Seventh-day Adventists, even trying to stigmatize me as going over to them,- I say it looks very much like persecution. Gentlemen, it is a difficult thing to lay aside prejudice. It is a difficult thing to lay aside the preconceived opinions of a lifetime. I have seen men walk out and lay aside preconceived opinions to do what was right and true, and I have seen them persecuted by father and mother. We must be careful in these matters. Gentlemen of the jury, tell the old man to walk out of this courthouse a free man; and if your Sunday law is never violated any more than this old man has violated it, it will remain far more sacred than it is now.

"The attorney-general ridicules the excuse of the old man, and tells the jury only part of what he said. The prisoner said, 'I lacked part of a chair, and Sunday afternoon I quietly went down to that shop and I pulled down the blinds'- (and he criticized him for that !) Why? - ' because my word was out to deliver the job Monday morning, and I had not been able to finish it.' He also says, 'I had a daughter in the infirmary, and I needed the money at once to pay the bill.' The old man endeavored to fulfil his promise. He says in the three instances in which he worked on Sunday, the time altogether amounted to about one and one-half hours. I want to get in the class with this man and say that I have worked more than an hour and a half to get out something on Sunday. I have as much regard for Sunday as any man. I expect I observe it as much as most men. I have gone quietly to my office and worked an hour and more on Sunday afternoon getting out something that I was not able to get out before, and I expect you all have done a little something; but my friend, Uncle Peter Bright, says it's wrong to work on Sunday, and yet he will travel twenty miles to get to his work early Monday morning. I say that preconceived opinion and religious prejudice has been working on some people."

The attempt to compel the observance of any day as "the Sabbath," especially by penal enactments, is unauthorized by Scripture and reason, and is a shameful act of imposture and tyranny.— William Lloyd Garrison. Sabbatarians find no authority in the Scripture for keeping Sunday, the first day of the week, nor can any one else. All commentators agree that Saturday is and was the Scriptural Sabbath, and that the keeping of Sunday, the first day of the week, as the Sabbath, is of human origin, and not by divine injunction.— Senator Robert H. Crockett, in speech before Arkansas legislature.

Watching Like the Pharisees

"Pull down the curtain and finish a little job of one chair, and for that poor little Peter. Bright has been disturbed. He has been watching. Uncle Peter is a clever man. I am going to read from the Scripture about the Pharisees and Sadducees. Uncle Peter and his crowd are not the first people who ever watched. Uncle Peter says they were watching to see if they could catch these people doing any work on Sunday. They have all been watching for



PHARISEES PLOTTING AGAINST CHRIST

nearly two years, and with all the watching they have done, they have found these three solitary times.

"We read in the third chapter of Mark, 'He entered again into the synagogue; and there was a man there which had a withered And they watched him, whether he hand would heal him on the Sabbath day.' The Pharisees were constantly watching Christ to see if he would do any work on the Sabbath. So you were watching your neighbor, Uncle Peter? Did you ever go to your neighbor and tell him that he should not work on Sunday? You said you had not. If you were guarding the morals of the community, why didn't you go to him? If you had the spirit of the lowly Nazarene in your heart, why didn't you go to these people and labor with them first in order to set them right? I do not say you are a Pharisee, because that is a very mean term, but you acted exactly like the Pharisees.

On another occasion Christ and his disciples were going through a cornfield, and they were hungry and plucked some corn to eat on the Sabbath day, and the Pharisees were watching them again, and accused Christ of doing that which was not lawful on the Sabbath day. Those Pharisees were always watching everywhere, just as Uncle Peter and his crowd were watching these people to see if they would not do some work on the Sunday.

"Gentlemen of the jury, who has been disturbed in this case? and what has this old man done that he should be put in jail and have a fine? The bottom dropped out of the other three cases, and they didn't get to the jury. The zeal of their own house has eaten them up.

"These people who observe Saturday for the Sabbath are among the best citizens we have. They observe Saturday, and then have such respect for their neighbors, when they have already satisfied their conscience in observing the seventh day, that they refrain from work on Sunday that would actually disturb their neighbors. This is very commendable in them, and a feeling which Sunday observers often fail to reciprocate. I have absolutely no feeling of partiality in the matter, except that feeling which comes from a belief in the absolute justice in the case. I am going to leave the fortunes of that old man, who has never been in the courthouse before, with you as to whether you will brand him as a criminal under the law, subject to pay the fine and costs, because he was watched, and caught as the Saviour of the world was caught by the watching of the Pharisees. Let him go in peace without the stamp of a criminal on his brow."

Attorney-General Bowman's Final Retort

"Attorney Baskerville said I was persecuting this people. As long as I am attorneygeneral I shall indict them. Months ago I warned them to cease from all labor on Sunday and I would not give them any trouble. With that fair treatment at my hand, it is said that I am persecuting them today. They have even gone so far as to write up these prosecutions in their journals—that it was a persecution because they believe Saturday is the

The enforced observance of a day held sacred by one of these sects, is a discrimination in favor of that sect, and a violation of the religious freedom of the others. — Supreme court of California, in declaring the Sunday law unconstitutional. If the Sabbath day be of God, it does not need legislation to uphold it. There is no power which can prevail against it.- William Lloyd Garrison.

Sabbath. They have followed their labor a sufficient number of times to attract the attention of the public and to distarb them. In your verdict as a jury, I believe the Sunday law will be vindicated and this defendant found guilty."

Judge Cook gave a very fair and impartial charge to the jury. This was not the first time that the judge had tried similar cases, and the writer remembers when his charges were less fair and impartial. After a delay of many hours, the court announced a mistrial, as the jury failed to agree; and so the case of old Mr. Robinson and also the case of his son go over to a future term of court, with little likelihood that any Sumner County jury will ever convict them.

This fair treatment on the part of the court and the jury, is a long step in advance of the past court proceedings in Tennessee in reference to the prosecution of Sabbatarians. The light of liberty is beginning to dawn in the fair State where the ashes of Andrew Jackson are quietly . resting - the man who was a great lover of religious freedom. We trust that some day the splendid guaranties of religious liberty set forth in the constitution of Tennessee will be given full sway, and that the drastic Sunday laws of that State will be relegated to the former days of persecution, and a new reign of American principles instituted, so that each citizen may truly worship or not worship God as his individual conscience dictates.

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Freedom of Speech Upheld

BY K. C. RUSSELL

IN his address before a meeting of Methodist ministers in Boston, April 10, 1916, Governor McCall of Massachusetts said: —

"You show that you believe in free speech, that you do not believe there is any argument in throwing a brick or in smashing windows. The world is not going ahead by such action. We must keep free and open forums of truth, where truth will be analyzed from all points of view. A man cau adopt the religion which he chooses, and no church or state has any right to interfere. There should always be separation of church and state. The basic principle of government cannot exist upon any such union."

These statements by the governor were called forth by a resolution passed by the Methodist ministers of Greater Boston against the mob violence that took place in Haverhill, Mass., on Monday evening, April 3, because a lecturer had been announced to deliver an address in the city hall against the appropriation of state funds for the support of parochial schools. This outbreak of violence is the sort of argument that is used in vindication of a wrong principle,— that of appropriating state funds for the support of sectarian schools.

The newspapers had great, blazing headlines in their accounts of the Haverhill riot, which called forth the resolution referred to and the remarks by Governor McCall. But in all the newspaper writeups there was a noticeable absence of any mention of the class of citizens which composed the mob. It would seem, in a

Compulsory labor would be slavery. Compulsory leisure is no less a tyranny and usurpation of power. And compulsory religious rest, or Sabbatizing, is religious tyranny.— Opinion of U. S. Supreme Court, delivered by Justice Harlan, 1896, in Henning versus Georgia, 163 U. S., 299. The contemplation of so vast a property as here alluded to (exceeding 3,000,000,000 worth of church property), without taxation, may lead to sequestration without Constitutional authority, and through blood. I would suggest the taxation of all property equally, whether church or corporation.—U. S. Grant, "Liberty and the Great Libertarians," p. 56.

country like this, which boasts of her free institutions, that the prominent feature in all the press reports would have been the pointing out of the instigators of this attempt to lynch an American citizen. The only reason that the mob attacked the hall in which the lecture was to be conducted was because the speaker announced that he would lecture against

the appropriation of state funds to the support of Roman Catholic parochial schools. The most natural thing for the press to do would be to lay bare the facts before the public, and t h e n sound a warning against the un-American methods employed to suppress freedom of speech.

If a mob of Jews had attacked this lecturer, should we have been denied the information by the press of this country that they were Jews? Or, if Mormons had composed this mob, would that important infor-

mation be suppressed? The very fact that we are not told the class of citizens who were implicated in this cowardly affair at Haverhill, indicates that the press is muzzled and dare not exercise the freedom that is guaranteed it by the Constitution of this Republic.

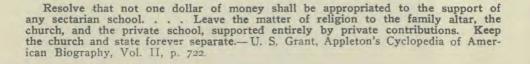
An eyewitness says that the boy scouts might just as well have been called out as the police force, for the police offered no resistance to the mob. This shows that police protection is denied the citizens of the United States when a certain class of citizens indulge in violence.

Outbreaks of mob violence throughout the country are Rome's protest against opposition to her demands for state funds to carry on her sectarian schools, and against any criticism of her policies and methods.

The writer is a member of a religious

denomination that conducts parochial schools. Thousands of its children and youth are attending these schools in this and other lands. The maintenance of these schools - the cost of buildings, the teachers' salaries, the supplying of books and other equipment - is a heavy financial burden on the members of this church. This burden, however, is voluntarily borne, for the state would gladly provide for the education of these children and youth did not the parents prefer to do it themselves.

The reason that we as a people have never appealed to the state for financial aid, or for a portion of the revenue which is paid by all citizens, ourselves included, is because we believe that to do so would be a flagrant violation of the principles that underlie this government, which stands for total separation of church and state. The burden voluntarily assumed is cheerfully borne because of attachment to the vital principle involved.





use of stones in Stephen's

time.

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BY L. L. CAVINESS

In recent months we have seen a growing tendency in this free land to interfere with the freedom of public discussion. In many cases speakers have been denied the use of halls or churches for public presentation of certain questions concerning which a class in the community had violent prejudices. In other cases where halls have been secured, the lecturer suffered mob violence. In many cases the proper authorities, instead of protecting the man and making it possible for him to deliver his lecture, have, while perhaps rescuing him from personal violence, hindered the delivery of his lecture, and even sent him out of town.

According to American law a man has a perfect right to give a public lecture on practically any subject he wishes. Those who differ from him in his opinion do not need to go to hear him. If public sentiment is overwhelmingly against him, it should be very easy to stop his lecture by simply staying away.

Interference with Free Speech

One of the most recent examples of interference with freedom of speech occurred at Haverhill, Mass. A lecturer, Thomas E. Leyden, wishing to discuss the subject of appropriation of public money to the support of parochial schools, applied for the use of the city hall. The mayor refused his request, but his action was overruled by the board of aldermen, which granted him the use of the hall.

The first lecture was given the evening of April 2, but broke up in some disorder. It was at the time of the second lecture, which was planned for the evening of April 3, that the riot occurred. In anticipation of trouble the entire po-

lice department was called out for dufy at seven o'clock, according to the report given in the Boston *Evening Globe* of April 4. It seemed strange under these circumstances, prepared as the authorities seemed to be, that they were unable to handle the situation. This same paper points out another peculiar thing: the crowd at the entrance to the city hall seemed in good humor up to the time that a score of uniformed men appeared. We quote: —

"At seven o'clock a score of uniformed men were sent to the Winter Street entrance, but they had no sooner appeared than the crowd, which had been in good humor up to this time, started to rush the door. Leyden had not appeared, but Howland was at a small table in the upper corridor, collecting quarters from the few who broke through the police lines.

"The first break was a signal for the remainder of the force of police to be sent to the stairways; but the news that Howland was taking tickets reached the crowd outside, and men, women, and children were pushed past the barriers and up over the stairs, some being fairly carried up the second flight."

It seems strange indeed that if those who "broke" through the police lines were persons desiring to attend the lecture, and who paid 25 cents to do so, "the first break" should be "a signal for the remainder of the force of police to be sent to the stairways." It can but seem that the police were hostile to the holding of the meeting. If not, why should they have done anything more than keep out those who were not sufficiently desirous of attending the lecture to pay the fee? The Boston *Post* of April 4, tells us what next happened:—

"After 150 persons had [each] paid 25 cents' admission and secured entrance to the hall, the police suddenly announced that the doors should be locked."

Rich or poor, white or black, great or small, wise or foolish, in season or out of season, in the right or in the wrong, whosoever will speak, let him speak, and whosoever will hear, let him hear. And let no one pretend to the prerogative of judging another man's liberty.—J. A. Andrews, ex-governor of Massachusetts.

Every citizen may freely speak, write, and publish his sentiments on all subjects, being responsible for the abuse of that liberty. No law shall ever be passed to curtail or restrain the liberty of speech or of the press.— Constitution of Connecticut.

The *Globe* said that this was by the order of City Marshal Mack, who had been directing police affairs on the stairs. The police refused to reopen the doors, and decided to order a dismissal of the assembly. Police Commissioner Hoyt was delegated to carry this into execu-

tion. As he appeared on the stage, handclapping and cheering began. After restoring quiet, he announced, "We have concluded that it will be inadvisable to continue. I have told Dr. Leyden so, and he has agreed not to speak." Quoted from the *Globe*.

The *Post*, on the other hand, stated that Alderman Hoyt "announced that he had advised Leyden to cancel his talk. He also announced that Leyden had refused." From what happened

afterward, it would seem that the *Post* was right in its statement that Leyden refused to cancel his engagement. Dr. Leyden himself appeared, and Rev. Robert Atkinson, as soon as there was a lull sufficient for him to be heard, demanded that Leyden should have the right of free speech. The *Evening Globe* quotes him as saying, "As a decent citizen, I move that Dr. Leyden be permitted to speak." The Boston *Post* records what happened then, in these words: —

"Leyden finally appeared on the platform. He was pale, and he started to speak. It was impossible. The crowd hooted and jeered. They sang, and they shouted. Leyden paced back and forth, waving his arms. The Rev. Robert Atkinson again attempted to restore order. He was grasped by several and rushed down the stairs. The police inside the building rescued him. The crowd, muttering threats.

surged back into the

hall. Leyden in the meantime had beaten

"As he ran from

the platform, a glass

door on a fire escape crashed inward. A

crowd of one hundred

men and boys surged

into the hall. They

shouted, 'We want Leyden.' Commis-

sioner Hoyt guarded

his exit long enough

to slam a door in the

face of the oncoming

a retreat.

crowd.

WM. HUNTER, A MARTYR TO FREE SPEECH

commit no violence Stones and sticks were raining through the windows. The crash of glass sounded throughout the building. Most of the windows were smashed. In the police station in the basement a bullet buried itself in the wall. A special squad of police started to clear the hall."

State Militia Called Out

When the police were unable to control the situation, the State militia was called out. Meanwhile the mob had heard that Dr. Leyden had returned to his rooming house. They went there

Every citizen may freely speak, write, or print on any subject, being responsible for the abuse of that liberty.— Constitution of Pennsylvania.

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Nothing is so effectual as the liberty of the press, by which all the learning, wit, and the genius of the nation may be employed on the side of freedom, and every one be animated to its defense. As long, therefore, as the republican part of our government can maintain itself against the monarchical, it will naturally be careful to keep the press open, as of importance to its own preservation.— Hume.

with the purpose of wrecking the building, but were assured that he was not there. They attacked the residence of Dr. Herbert E. Wales, breaking windows and wrecking expensive furniture. Also the residence of Alderman Hoyt was visited. During this time Dr. Leyden was under guard in the aldermen's room in

the city hall, until the police were able to get him away in safety. The militia was ordered to charge the crowd which was scattered about the city hall, demanding that Leyden be brought out. This the militia did with fixed bayonets, and the crowd retreated.

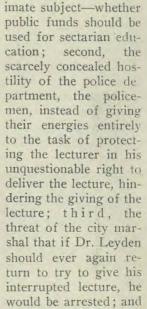
Leyden escaped from the hall by the rear door, and went by automobile to Newburyport, where he passed the night, returning to his home the next day. The *Globe* gives an in-

teresting detail as to City Marshal Mack's attitude. We quote: —

"City Marshal John E. Mack delivered his ultimatum to Leyden before he left town, to the effect that he should not try again to continue his twice-interrupted lecture; that he must leave the city and remain outside of Haverhill. If he reappears, the marshal will have him arrested, charged with inciting to riot."

The local militia, which had been called out to aid the police, then retired, and no arrests were made. To end the disgrace, an effigy labeled "Free Speech" was publicly burned in front of the hall while the crowd marched, sang, and shouted. After this, the mob gradually dispersed.

There are several things in this riot which should make lovers of freedom of speech take notice: first, the hostile attitude of the mayor of the town, who did not wish a discussion of a perfectly legit-



LIBERTY OAK, BOSTON Marshal last, this public burning of an effigy labeled "Free Speech," which act indicated ivered his a public repudiation by the crowd of the town, to in to conthat he speech.

> It is alarming that such occurrences as this are becoming frequent. They spring from deep religious antagonism and prejudice. If this condition is to continue, where then is our boasted right of freedom of speech guaranteed us by the First Amendment to the Constitution?

Many politicians of our time are in the habit of laying it down as a self-evident proposition that no people ought to be free till they are fit to use their freedom. The maxim is worthy of the fool in the old story, who resolved not to go into the water till he had learned to swim. If men are to wait for liberty till they become wise and good in slavery, they may indeed wait forever.— Macaulay.

Proposed Oregon Blue Law

BY H. W. COTTRELL

THE one-day-rest-in-seven bill which is to be submitted to the voters of the State of Oregon on initiative petition at the November election, is very clearly only the entering wedge for a religious Sunday rest *forced* upon all citizens of the State. Denied though it may be, the bill is entirely religious. Its chief promoters are representatives of the National Reform Association, a body of sectarian religionists.

If this Sunday bill is passed, it will be as rigidly enforced on "grocers, butcher shops, workshops, mines, factories, logging and construction camps" as the existing 1864 Sunday blue law, now upon the Oregon statutes, was undertaken to be enforced on independent grocers and confectioners in the city of Portland a few months ago, when some of these business men were placed under arrest and dragged into court as if they were criminals.

The superintendent of the One-Day [Sunday]-Rest-in-Seven League, a supposed minister of the gospel of free choice, was present at the various hearings in these cases, and busied himself in prompting the prosecuting attorney "lest he forget."

Were these men really criminals? One of them had sold some canned goods to one of the complainants. Reader, did you ever buy and eat such goods? Were you a criminal for so doing? Is it a crime to sell salmon on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, or Saturday? You say, "No;" and Echo answers, "No." Then why a crime on Sunday?

Such law enforcement savors not only of prosecution but of the spirit of persecution as well. Sunday-enforcement legislation is always religious legislation prompted by the spirit of the pharisaical religionists. How unlike the spirit manifested by our divine Lord! Said he, "If any man hear my words, and believe not, I judge him not."

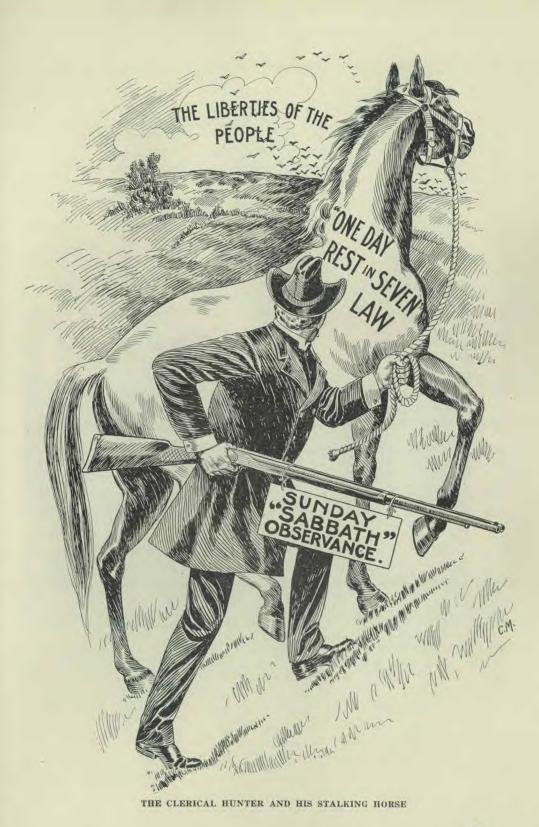
Civil government was ordained of God to protect its citizens, or subjects, in the enjoyment of their inherent rights, not to invade those rights. It is the further duty of the state to punish every individual invader of the personal rights of another.

Every man has the inherent right of personal choice to be religious, and to choose the form of his religion and the sect with which he will affiliate. He also has the equal right to choose not to worship God, provided only that in the carrying out of his choice he does not trench upon the equal rights of any other person.

The state, therefore, is not divinely authorized to legislate on any religious question. When it does thus legislate, it steps outside the bounds of civil government, trenches upon the God-given rights of its citizens, enters the domain of Deity, *assumes* divine authority, seats itself in the temple of God, and dares to do by civil legislation that which God declined to do through his gospel of love — force obedience to religious institutions.

To legislate on a religious question is directly to trespass on the right of choice of those who believe, and dare to assert that they believe, differently from the sect favoring such legislation. It is equally an invasion of the right of choice of every man who is not religious. Civil legislation that brings about the forced observance of a religious institution, is also an invasion of the right of

God grants liberty only to those who live it, and are always ready to guard and defend it.— Daniel Webster.



LIBERTY

choice of the religious sect or sects favoring such legislation; for the time may come when they will change their present views on sectarian ideas and desire to change their course of conduct relative thereto, but having bound themselves by the religio-civil law they have caused to be enacted, they are compelled by its enforcement to live thereafter contrary to their consciences, or else encounter persecution.

Sunday-rest-law enforcement had its

seven days in the week. This pagan was more considerate of the personal right of choice than are the promoters of the One-Day [Sunday] - Rest - in - Seven League, as their proposed initiative bill exempts only the dairymen. But the emperor or state that assumes power to grant an exemption has equal right, on the least provocation, to annul it; and then what?

In this the twentieth century, the period of great enlightenment and sup-



MARTYRDOM OF JOHN HUSS

Huss was condemned and burned at the stake for practical dissent from the statute-intrenched religion.

origin in legal religion, and has ever since held its place in that definite setting. Constantine, a Roman emperor, in the interest of pagan religion, issued the first Sunday enforcement rest law, in the year of our Lord 321. He said:—

"Let all judges and all city people and all tradesmen rest upon the venerable day of the sun [Sunday]. But let those dwelling in the country freely and with full liberty attend to the culture of their fields."

The heathen emperor gave full liberty in his exemption to agriculturists to work posedly ideal civilization, it is said of this our nation, one of the great nations of the world, by its chief executive, Woodrow Wilson, "America was born a Christian nation."—Pacific Christian Advocate, May 3, 1916. If the nation is Christian, logically its citizens are Christians, for the nation is composed of its citizens. If the nation is Christian, would its constituency have to be forced, by civil law, to rest on the Sabbath day? If it be contended that not all are Christians, therefore civil force must be used in the

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interest of Sabbath rest, allow us to suggest that sinners are not made Christians, after the pattern of Christ, by civil law, but through grace,— on our part by *persuasion*, on their part by free choice.

There is something radically wrong when Christian men stoop from their high calling of preaching Christ, to enforce Sunday rest by law in order to promote righteousness.

There can be no such thing as a civil sabbath rest law, because in very truth there is and can be no civil sabbath. Periodical rest acts no part in civilization. The man who plays ball, takes a flight in

an aeroplane, hoes in his garden, works in a factory, takes a pleasure trip in his automobile, or goes fishing on Sunday is just as civil as he would be were he compelled to attend church and sit on the front seat. The only good that can come from a fixed rest



on account of the conduct of certain covetous men who are in competitive business and keep their stores open every day in the week; that these seven-daysa-week workers are unfair competitors, and that they thus invade the personal rights of their neighbors by prohibiting them from resting on Sunday. That could not be any invasion of rights or liberties, for each man has the natural right of *choice* either to work or to rest, as he may elect.

Note that Seventh-day Adventists observe the Sabbath (Saturday) instead of Sunday; but none of the men who rest

> on Sunday and work Saturday, nor even those who work seven days in the week. invade the inherent rights of the Adventists either to rest on the day of their choice or to earn a support for themselves and carry forward with their earnings aggressive missionary

PAUL ANSWERS FOR HIS FAITH BEFORE A ROMAN GOVERNOR

day over that of rest on other periods, comes because of its religious influence; and such rest must be from personal choice and sincere motives on the part of the citizen.

The law of physical rest requires rest to be taken when one is weary; not on a stated day of the week, when, perchance, he who rests has had nothing but continuous physical rest for many months, and as the result of his overrest, his family is suffering the pangs of hunger. What the people of the State of Oregon need and desire is work, and the opportunity of doing it when most convenient, without interference from any would-be regulator of other men's liberties.

It is said that certain grocers and other merchants who desire to rest and go to church on Sunday are compelled to keep their places of business open that day, work both at home and in the darkest heathen lands.

In the preamble of the proposed Sunday rest law, Rev. G. L. Tufts, of Berkeley, Cal., chief promoter of the bill, says, "The proposed law makes no religious requirements." Rev. Mr. Tufts is a Methodist clergyman. However, in this utterance he does not express the views held by the bishops of the great denomination of which he is a minister. Observe that in the carefully prepared and written address of the board of bishops of the denomination, read by Bishop John W. Hamilton, of Boston, at the opening of the Methodist General Conference at Saratoga Springs, N. Y., May 1, 1916, and reported in the Portland Evening Telegram, they advise against "the repeal of Sabbath observance laws." This is a public official rebuke to the view

being advocated by lesser lights, that Sunday laws are not religious, but "civil," or "police regulations."

Sunday legislation is both religious and sectarian class legislation, hence it is a

violation of both State and federal constitutions. Therefore, let every citizen in the State of Oregon vote against the one-day-rest-in-seven initiative bill at the November election.

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Will the United States Climb the Vatican Stairs?

BY CLAUDE E, HOLMES

A Roman Catholic Writer Thinks So

THE "Rome Letter" in Cardinal Gibbons's organ, the *Baltimore Catholic Re*view, Aug. 14, 1915, gives an insight into some of the Vatican's plans. Under the subhead "The World of Politics" the correspondent writes: —

" Politics are in the very air of Rome these days, and will continue to be so until the termination of the war of nations; therefore we must return to them. On the tenth instant the concordat between the Holy See and the kingdom of Serbia came into force; consequently on the following day His Excellency Michael Gavrilovitch, minister plenipotentiary of Serbia to the Vatican, presented himself for audience with Benedict XV. And in about three weeks' time the minister plenipotentiary of Holland, His Excellency Louis Regent, will do likewise. Who knows but a French and a United States representative may in the not distant future ascend the royal stairs of the oldest and grandest palace in the world for a similar purpose!"

Luther Goes Part Way Up and Turns Back

Martin Luther once went to Rome. He started to ascend Pilate's staircase on his knees. When part way up, he heard, or seemed to hear, the wonderful words, "The just shall live by faith." Shamefacedly he arose and hurried down the stairs, and returned home. With those divine words ringing in his ears, he started the mighty Reformation. That great movement revived the vital principles of liberty upon which our nation was later built. Shall this great Protestant nation now climb the Vatican stairs. as Luther started to climb Pilate's staircase, and in so doing repudiate the principles handed down to it by the Reformer? To do this would be to discredit Luther's act in exalting the Word, with its message of liberty and equality, and to repudiate our principles of civil government.

No Excuse for America

Luther should not be condemned for going to Rome and crawling up the stairs of the Church of St. John. His training had been in that direction. At that time he knew no better. But there is no excuse for the American government's ever supplicating the Vatican for lodging. The history of the Papacy lies bared before the world. Spiritual darkness, illit eracy, tyranny, and physical suffering have followed in the wake of Rome wherever she has ruled in the past.

The founders of our free institutions were thoroughly awake to the blighting influences of this monarchical system, and they repudiated its doctrines of bigotry and intolerance. The Continental Congress was not afraid to voice its opinion of this power: —

"Nor can we suppress our astonishment that a British Parliament should ever consent to establish in that country [Canada] a religion that has deluged your island in blood, and dispersed impiety, bigotry, persecution, and murder, and rebellion, throughout every part of the world."—Journals of the Continental Congress, Vol. 1, p. 44.

Nov. 15, 1774, Judge William H. Drayton, while on his circuit through South Carolina, delivered a charge to the several grand juries. In this exhortation he explained the relation of this country to the Catholic religion. Speaking of the paramount rank of this nation, he said : --

"It is compounded of the most generous civil liberty that ever existed, and the sacred Christian religion released from the absurdities which are inculcated, the shackles which are imposed, the tortures which are inflicted, and the flames which are lighted, blown up, and fed with blood by the Roman Catholic doctrines,- doctrines which tend to establish a most cruel tyranny in church and state, a tyranny under which all Europe groaned for many ages."

It is not at all surprising that serious

objection was made when it was even suggested that this country receive a delegate from the Vatican. John Adams wrote to the president of Congress that -

"Congress will probably never send a minister to His Holiness [the Pope], who can do them no service, upon condi-tion of receiving a Catholic legate or nuncio in return, or, in other words, an ecclesiastical tyrant, which it is to be hoped the United States will be too wise ever to admit into their territory. -Manuscript in Department of State.

It is quite noticeable that the clamor for a United States rep-

resentative to the Vatican comes entirely from one direction - Catholic. On the other hand, the principles of the Declaration of Independence are against it; the spirit of the Constitution is opposed to it; the majority of the citizens abhor the thought of it; and, if the claims of many Catholics are sincere, they would not approve it. Then why send a diplomatic representative to Rome?

The following, taken from the Wash-

ington Post of April 13, 1910, illustrates the suggestions that are being continually presented to the American public: -

"It is pointed out here [in Rome] that in the near future the United States will, peaceably or otherwise, find itself face to face with the whole of Latin America, where the influence of the Roman Catholic Church is unquestionable. Is it therefore possible, it is asked, that what may be very important interests for the Republic should be left to the mercy of possible incidents due to misunderstandings, such as that which marred Mr. Roosevelt's

visit to the Eternal

City? "What is the remedy? is again asked. And the answer comes that the only way to avoid such friction is to see that between the United States and the Vatican there is an exchange of diplomatic representatives.'

Manufacturing a Precedent

Another Roman Catholic writer in this country has recently suggested the propriety of establishing diplomatic relations with the Pope. He referred to the trip of Mr. Taft. governor of the Philippines, to the Vatican to arrange for the purchase of the friar

lands, as a precedent. Mr. Taft's errand to the Vatican was purely a business one. It carried no more weight in favor of a diplomatic representative than if a government official should make arrangement with Cardinal Gibbons to buy a lot of the church in Baltimore. In fact. the position taken by the Catholic writer is squarely denied by the government. In a communication to Hon. William H. Taft, May 9, 1902, Mr. Elihu Root, Sec-

PILATE'S STAIRCASE, CHURCH OF ST. JOHN

THE DIVINE, ROME



If you would achieve undying fame, attach yourself to the most unpopular righteous cause.— George William Curtis.

retary of War, states this clearly :-

"Your errand will not be in any sense or degree diplomatic in its nature, but will be purely a business matter of negotiation by you as governor of the Philippines for the purchase of property from the owners thereof." — Annual Report of the Secretary of War, 1902, p. 235.

In order that Mr. Taft should thoroughly understand the situation, Mr. Root warned him to "bear in mind" certain propositions, "which are deemed to be fundamental, and which should be fully and frankly stated to the other side in the negotiations." The first one of these propositions reads: —

"One of the controlling principles of our government is the complete separation of church and state, with the entire freedom of each from any control or interference by the other. This principle is imperative wherever American jurisdiction extends, and no modification or shading thereof can be a subject of discussion."—Id., p. 234.

It is true that this country had a representative at the Pope's court from 1848-70. From the debates held in our national Congress at the time he was sent, it is evident that it was intended that he should merely look after the commercial affairs in our business with the Papal States, when the Pope had his temporal sovereignty.

No Recognition of the Head of the Catholic Church

Mr. Jacob L. Martin was the first chargé d'affaires of the United States to the Papal States. Before entering upon his mission, he was given definite instruction by the State Department regarding America's relation to the Catholic Church and its head, the Pope. The Secretary, Mr. Buchanan, wrote: —

" There is one consideration which you ought always to keep in view in your intercourse with the papal authorities. Most, if not all, the governments which have diplomatic representatives at Rome are connected with the Pope as the head of the Catholic Church. In this respect the government of the United States occupies an entirely different position. It possesses no power whatever over the question of religion. All denominations of Christians stand on the same footing in this country; and every man enjoys the inestimable rights of worshiping his God according to the dictates of his own conscience. Your efforts therefore will be devoted exclusively to the cultivation of the most friendly civil relations with the papal government, and to the extension of the commerce between the two countries. You will carefully avoid even the appearance of interferring in ecclesiastical questions, whether these relate to the United States or to any other portion of the world. It might be proper, should you deem it advisable, to make these views known, on some suitable occasion, to the papal government, so that there may be no mistake or misunderstanding on this subject."-MS. Inst. Papal States, I. 3. April 5. 1848.

A similar statement was made by the State Department in 1871: ---

"In the United States, Christianity is not prescribed by statute, and the government, as such, is not and cannot be interested in any form of religion. . . .

"If, therefore, the United States, as such, exerts no influence upon the religion of its citizens concerning questions of faith and of individual opinion, in the formation of which the government neither has nor can have any voice, it would seem to follow that the United States, as such, should take no greater interest in the propagation of the Christian faith in foreign lands than it does in the development and growth of religious denominations within its own territory; that is to say, the United States cannot well be a party to missionary enterprise in the sense that the missionaries are in any way clothed with an official character, or that they may be granted greater rights and privileges by virtue of their sacred calling than other American citizens engaged in lawful pursuits. . . .

The blaze of truth and liberty may at first dazzle and bewilder nations which have become half blind in the house of bondage. But let them gaze on, and they will soon be able to bear it.— Macaulay.

"It is a fundamental principle in the United States that all persons, of every sect, faith, or race, are equal before the law. They make no distinction in favor of any ecclesiastical organization. Prelates, priests, and ministers can claim equal protection here, and enjoy equal rank in the eye of the civil law."—Foreign Relations, 1871, pp. 154, 155.

Good Advice Not Followed

Shortly after the Crimean War, the representatives of the lead-

ing European nations were assembled to talk over the Eastern Ouestion. The French plenipotentiary suggested that it would be a good time, before they dispersed, to take "advantage of the circumstance which brings together the representatives of the principal powers of Europe, to clear up certain questions, to lay down certain principles, to express intentions, in fine, to make certain declarations always and solely with the view of insuring the future tranquillity of the world, by dispelling the clouds which are still seen on the political horizon before they become menacing."

When it came his turn, the British representative advised that "for the wellbeing of the pontifical states, as also for the interest of the sovereign authority of the Pope, it would therefore, in his opinion, be advantageous to recommend the secularization of the government, and the organization of an administrative system in harmony with the spirit of the age, having for its object the happiness of

the people." — Parliamentary Papers, Vol. LXI, pp. 99-101.

It is as true now as when the British plenipotentiary spoke, that the spirit of the age and the happiness of the people demand that the Pope and all other re-

ligious leaders keep out of secular affairs. Of course the Pope did not follow this good advice of England's minister; but evidently the people did, for in 1870 the Vicar of Christ was relieved of further secular embarrassments in connection with the Papal States.

A Solution to the Question

A solution to the question of sending



a representative to the Vatican is offered to Congress by Mr. Vinson, of Georgia. He has introduced a bill (H. J. Res. 21), which, if it becomes a law, will put an end to the constant agitation for an alliance between this country and the Vat-

LIBERTY

It is clear that nothing can bring the good to light, or expose the evil, but full and free discussion. Until this takes place, a plausible fallacy may do harm; but discussion is sure to elicit the truth, and fix public opinion on a proper basis; and nothing else can do it.— Thomas Cooper.

ican. The bill reads as follows:-

"Whereas, The government of the United States, as well as the State governments of every member of the Union, contemplates a complete separation between the affairs of the state and those of the church, it is in violation of the fundamental principles of this government to make the slightest departure from these original constitutions; and,—

"Whereas, Any encroachment, however slight, upon the basic idea of our government

is insidious and dangerous, for the history of the world proves that these departures fromprinciples which are tolerated create precedents which are used to excuse further encroachments, and these in turn become precedents for greater aggressiveness, until the evil primarily avoided comes



The crime of the Albigenses was dissent from the established religion. For this, fire and sword were invoked against them.

back again to cause trouble, which has invariably grown out of the union of church and state; and,-

"Whereas, Our government, being strictly secular, has no right to recognize and deal with a public functionary, envoy, delegate, or ambassador, if his business concerns religions; and,—

"Whereas, No such ambassador, envoy, functionary, or delegate from any church shall ever be received by our government; therefore—

"Be it resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That it is the sense of this Congress that it is no part of the duty of this government to send or receive ambassadors to and from any church whatsoever."

danger, due to powerful influences operating upon the nation, that our principles of church-and-state separation will be ignored or repudiated. The time to settle matters of this character is before a crisis comes. Have high public officials, political parties, and aspiring candidates the courage of their convictions? Will they prove true to the American principles of separation of church and state? or will they surrender principle for temporary political advantage? This is not a question of political expediency, but one that is vital to the preservation of our liberties as a nation and as individuals.

Where there is one slave, there must of necessity be another — the slave's master. He is a slave to the spirit of greed and oppression. No man knows true liberty unless he stands for the security of liberty to all.— Editor.

The Pope is preeminently a spiritual ruler. The government of the United States is absolutely a civil commonwealth. There is nothing in common between the two powers. The United States recognizes and protects the liberties of all religious and nonreligious. The Vatican concedes freedom to none but those of her own communion; and that freedom

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American Republic Being Betrayed by Its Friend

BY WILLIAM MAYHEW HEALEY

IF the great republic of the United States, which for nearly a century and a half has been the gallant and powerful defender of the principles of religious liberty, ever falls, it will be because the professed Christian people, those who should be its stanchest friends, shall betray it into the hands of its worst enemies by injecting religion and religious observances into its fundamental law, the Constitution.

The Constitution of the United States, the like or equal of which has never been seen in all the history of human government, which was but the complement of the Declaration of Independence, was the product of the noblest ambition in the hearts of a people who had long been made to feel the iron heel of civil and religious oppression, and who had determined to be free; free to rule themselves and free to worship God as their consciences prompted; free to worship any God or no god. The guiding hand of Christ was upon the men who made the Constitution, so that it was afterward said, "They builded better than they knew." A clear knowledge of these primitive American truths is fast becoming obsolete in these days. The principles which were enshrined in the hearts of Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Otis, and others, should be just as highly esteemed by the men of this generation.

Religious Liberty Guaranteed

When the body of the Constitution was first viewed, and it was seen that the most essential safeguard, the safeguard of religious liberty, had been omitted, prompt action by Madison and Washington led to the adding of the First Amendment, which provided that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." The names of Christ and God and the recognition of the Christian religion were de-

signedly omitted from that instrument, on the same basis that the name of Mohammed or Buddha or any other god or religion was omitted. Religion was not mentioned in the Constitution, except to provide for its free exercise under the protection of the supreme law. The Christian, the Jew, the pagan, the infidel, was each accorded freedom to worship as he pleased, or not to worship at all, if such were his choice. All that was required, so far as the government was concerned, was that each person conduct himself in civil and religious matters in such a way as not to interfere with the civil or religious rights of his neighbor.

James Madison wisely observed at that time: "The freemen of America did not wait till usurped power had strengthened itself by exercise, and entangled the question in precedents. They saw all the consequences in the principle, and they avoided the consequences by denying the principle."—Memorial and Remonstrance; Virginia General Assembly, 1784. That is, they saw the evil consequences that would surely follow the establishment of religion in governmental law. The memory of the Dark Ages was still vividly before them.

The Un-American Policy

But the guaranty of religious liberty was not secured without stern and stubborn resistance from misguided men in whose hearts still burned the flame of the spirit of despotism and tyranny. From that beginning up to the present time there have been and are prominent men whose hostility toward the Constitution in its present form is open and determined. The desire is openly expressed to have the Constitution labeled "Christian," and thus make this a "Christian nation."

It is not the label that makes the contents of the can "honey" or "potash," it is the material inside which determines its character. An individual Christian is not so simply because of his claim to be such. It is his inner life which determines his Christianity. Likewise a nation is not Christian simply because the word "Christian" is engrossed on its charter.



DANIEL BETRAYED BY PROFESSED FRIENDS

On Oct. 27, 1799 (note the date), a large religious assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Massachusetts complained to President Washington that "there was no explicit acknowledgment of the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom he has sent, inserted anywhere in the Magna Charta of our country."

This objection on the part of religious leaders was kept up in different parts of the country, until it finally crystallized into an organized opposition to the Constitution of the United States, in the year 1863. In that year an organization was formed in Xenia, Ohio, which later received the name of the National Reform Association, whose policy from that time to this, as stated in Article II of its constitution, is " to secure such an amendment to the Constitution of the United States as will . . . place all Christian laws, institu-

tions, and usages of our government on an undeniable legal basis in the fundamental law of the land."

The Image of the Beast

This organization and others of like character, supported by an alleged 17,-000,000 Christians of nearly all Protestant denominations, are making demands

upon legislators, State and national, for religious legislation, which, if enacted into law, will in effect as well as in theory unite the church and the state in this country. It will nullify the very guaranty of religious liberty for which the early Americans labored so earnestly. It will in fact be a fulfilment of the prophecy of Rev. 13:13-17. It will be the formation of "an image to the beast." The "beast" government of that prophecy was, in both primary and final analysis, a union of religion and the state in Europe during the Dark Ages. It was an apostate church in league with and directing a corrupt state. An "image," therefore, would be something just like the "beast;" that is, a union of religion and the state in America. Already these organizations have, "in the name of Christ," addressed the President of the United States, during the present administration, in such terms as, "We elected you," "It is our will." The sound advice spoken by the United States Congress in 1829 is timely, and ought to be heeded by all Americans just now :---

"All religious despotism commences by combination and influence; and when that influence begins to operate upon the political institu-



DANIEL IN THE LIONS' DEN

tions of a country, the civil power soon bends under it; and the catastrophe of other nations furnishes an awful warning of the consequences."—*Twentieth Congress, Second Session.*

Let us rejoice in that we, as Americans, are made free. Let us, as Christians, pray that this freedom may be perpetuated.

That "Unjust Accusation" Again

ON page 43 of LIBERTY for the first quarter of the present year, the writer made some comments on certain statements attributed to Rev. G. L. Tufts in the so-called Lord's Day Congress, held in Oakland, Cal., July 27 to Aug. I, 1915. In this connection Mr. Tufts was challenged to prove the truthfulness of certain charges alleged to have been made by him in said congress. Mr. Tufts has not fully met the specifications of our challenge, nevertheless we give space to the following reply from him to our editorial strictures upon his statements: —

" Unjust Accusation "?

"Under the above caption the last issue of the LIBERTY devotes over a page to the writer of this defense. The associate editor, 'C. P. B.,' challenges me to prove the assertions I have made about the Seventh-day Adventists.

" My general comment on the article is that it is another proof that Adventists are adepts at telling half a truth and misrepresenting the other half. You quote me as having said:—

"' The leaders of the Adventists declare that it is better to work men seven days a week than to provide by law for them to rest one day in seven.'

"Instead of the words 'one day in seven,' substitute the words 'on Sunday,' and I will agree to the statement.

"You continue to quote me as having said : ---

"'Their leaders are opposed to closing the saloons upon Sunday, but advocate keeping men at work so that they cannot go to the saloon on that day.' Insert after the word 'Sunday' the words 'by means of a Sunday law,' and I will youch for it.

"In 1909 a Sunday rest bill was before the California Legislature. Elders Wm. Healey and J. O. Corliss were there lobbying against the bill, and thus uniting their efforts with the saloon lobby, which was also opposing its passage. In a formal hearing on the bill before the Committee on Public Morals, I asked Elders Healey and Corliss whether they would oppose a bill which applied to the closing of saloons only and to nothing else on Sunday. Elder Healey answered, 'Yes, we would.' When I argued for the passage of the bill on the ground that it would close saloons on Sunday, the day they did the greatest harm because men were at leisure, these Adventist elders replied that the way to prevent the evils of Sunday drunkenness was not to close the saloons on that day, but to keep men at work

so they would have no chance to patronize the saloons. I am ready to take my oath on these statements in any court of justice.

"Again you quote me as saying : --

"'An Adventist elder said in the pulpit, "I would fill the people with liquor on Saturday night so that they could not go to church on Sunday."' Strike out the words 'in the pulpit' and substitute in their place the words 'If I were a saloon keeper,' and follow with the remainder of the quotation, and it will read as it was repeated to me by the Presbyterian and Methodist pastors of Calistoga, Cal., Reverends Flemming and Partridge, shortly after they heard the statement made in a public meeting two nights after I had spoken in behalf of the Sunday rest bill then pending before the State legislature.

"Your editorial says, 'We challenge Mr. Tufts or any one else to prove that any Seventh-day Adventist elder made any such statement as that quoted above. . . . Let him offer evidence in support of his statement, evidence such as a court would admit in the trial of a case, and we will print it in LIBERTY, with any additional statement of reasonable length that Mr. Tufts may wish to make. But he cannot do it, for the charge is untrue.'

"I accept the challenge, and offer the following letter in proof, which now lies before me. I will take my oath that the copy I hereby send the LIBERTY is a correct verbatim copy: —

"'Methodist Episcopal Church, California Conference, Upton E. Partridge, Pastor. Oroville, Cal., Jan. 13, 1916.

"'DEAR BROTHER TUFTS: In reply to your letter of a few days ago, I will say that I was pastor of the Methodist Church in Calistoga, Cal., during the years from September, 1907, to September, 1909, and remember very distinctly when you gave an address there in favor of the Sunday law at that time being proposed. I also remember when Elder Taylor of the Adventists' sanitarium at St. Helena came a few nights later and replied to your address.

"'The Presbyterian pastor, the Rev. Mr. Flemming, and I both attended this meeting and took notes, and although my notes are now lost, I remember distinctly that Elder Taylor said this was a move of the preachers to get a law that would shut up everything else on Sunday so people would have to go to church, and then said, "If I were a saloon keeper, I would fill the people so full of liquor on Saturday night that they could not go to church," etc. I think the above is exactly the words he used; if not, I am sure it covers the exact meaning.

"' Very truly,

"' (Signed) UPTON E. PARTRIDGE.'

"Dr. Bovard, then editor of the *California Christian Advocate*, will testify that he saw the names of a brewer and saloonists of his acquaintance upon the petition introduced by Adventist elders in the California Legislature in 1907, to prevent Sunday legislation.

"Dr. Wills, pastor of the Presbyterian Church of Sacramento, stated to me that he saw the Adventist preacher of that city go from saloon to saloon with a petition against Sunday legislation.

"A reliable member of the M. E. Church South of Sacramento related to me that while he was doing some carpenter work in one of the dives of that city, an Adventist elder entered and solicited the signatures of the bartender and all others present in the room on his anti-Sunday petition.

"Elder Healey, and Professor Longacre, editor of the LIBERTY, have recently been in Oregon assisting some law-breaking grocers in their efforts to nullify the Sunday law of this State. The leader of the movement to overthrow this law, by the recent findings of our court, is a criminal. Yet these heads of the Adventist Church, with Elder Cottrell and other prominent Adventists of Oregon, have been cooperating with this criminal and others who were under indictment for violating the State law which has recently been upheld as Constitutional by both our supreme and federal courts.

"Your editorial asserts that we 'would stop every wheel,' 'silence every newsboy,' 'tie up every street car, discontinue every train,' etc., all of which is utterly false. Our bill distinctly provides for all of these things. In California Elders Healey and Corliss published and circulated falsehoods about the Sunday rest bill for which the workingmen were laboring. After we sent them the correct construction of the bill over the signature of the attorneygeneral of the State, they continued by voice and pen to falsify it.

"The advice you give to me, 'Thou shalt not bear false witness,' I hand back to you and your colaborers. Your editor in chief came across the continent to say to our citizens that all Sunday laws are against religious liberty. I challenge your entire staff of editors to prove to the satisfaction of thoughtful people that a law which prohibits a bank or a grocery store from doing business on Sunday interferes one iota with Seventh-day Adventists' worshiping on Saturday.

" (Signed) G. L. TUFTS. "Portland, Oregon, Feb. 11, 1916."

Mr, Tufts's reply was received three months ago, in time to have appeared in LIBERTY for the second quarter, but deeming it unfair to the parties mentioned by name to print his personal attack upon them without giving them an opportunity to be heard, we sent his reply to Messrs. Taylor and Healey, asking them to give their version of the matters referred to by Mr. Tufts. Mr. Taylor replies as follows: —

" MAPLE PLAIN, MINN., Feb. 21, 1916. "Editor Liberty Magazine, Washington, D. C.

"DEAR SIR: It seems almost needless to repeat my denial of the charge made by Brother Tufts that in an address of mine at Calistoga, Cal., I made the statement that 'if I were a saloon keeper, I would fill the people with liquor on Saturday night so that they could not go to church on Sunday.' However, since the *charge* is repeated, it may not be out of place to repeat the denial, which I now do.

"This charge was first brought shortly after the Calistoga meeting, to which reference was made, and while all details were still fresh in mind. Knowing that Brother Partridge (then pastor of the M. E. Church at St. Helena, Cal.) heard my address, I at once wrote to him, asking him to affirm or deny the truthfulness of the report. In a very explicit and positive way, he denied that I had used such words, or words of any similar character. And he also authorized me to make use of his letter, either publicly or privately, as circumstances might demand.

"A few months later I met Brother Tufts at the Palace Hotel, in San Francisco, and during our conversation I called his attention to the charge he had made, and very earnestly contradicted it. I also told him of the denial which I had received from the pastor of the Methodist Church. He therefore understands from first-hand information that his report of the meeting was incorrect.

"But there is every difference in the world, Mr. Editor, between the statements of Brother Tufts, as given in your editorial, and that which I find in a personal letter of his addressed to you. The first says, 'I would fill,' etc.; the second, 'If I were a saloon keeper, I would fill,' etc. That 'if' changes entirely the character of the statement. The first, if true, would make the speaker to be actually in sympathy with the liquor interests, and abetting their business; the second expresses only what the saloon man would naturally seek to do in his effort to defeat the ends of the law. The first could be used only by a friend of evil, the second might be used by a true friend of temperance. Your challenge, therefore, is a perfectly safe one, even if I had made the statement, 'If I were a saloon keeper,' etc. But I did not, and so you are doubly sure.

"In the interests of truth, of temperance, of right, I hope you will give the actual facts a free field. Let everybody know that Seventhday Adventists have no need to stoop to that which is mean. They are a people whose temperance principles are known the world over, and whose temperate lives are above suspicion. May God grant to all earnest inquirers a full understanding of the right, and unite them on one great platform for the betterment of Yours sincerely, the world.

"C. L. TAYLOR."

Mr. Healey writes a little more briefly and somewhat more sharply, saying: -

"EDITOR LIBERTY: The charges which Dr. G. L. Tufts makes against me in his com-

munication to you seem to demand a brief notice.

"He says that I 'published and circulated falsehoods about the Sunday rest bill.' If the falsehoods were published and circulated, he had ample opportunity to show their true character before the public, and so have saved his bill from defeat at the polls by a majority of 161,000 votes. He does not specify what the falsehoods were, and it is difficult to imagine, for on general principles the bill was so bad that it would have been difficult, if not impossible, to find language within the bounds of a Christian's vocabulary that would make it appear worse than it was.

" Dr. Tufts says that ' in 1909 a Sunday rest bill was before the

California Legislature. Elders Wm. Healey and J. O. Corliss were there lobbying against the bill, and thus uniting their efforts with the saloon lobby, which was also opposing its passage.' Of this and some other assertions he says, 'I am ready to take my oath on these statements in any court of justice.'

at her feet.

"A more untruthful statement could not be made than this one, that J. O. Corliss and Wm. Healey were uniting their efforts with a saloon lobby, and I invite Dr. Tufts to place his affidavit to the assertion. But for his good I advise him not to do so.

"We never had any evidence that the saloon men had a lobby in Sacramento to oppose the Sunday bill. It was claimed by the friends of the measure that the better class of the liquor men were in favor of the proposed law. "W. M. HEALEY."

We might drop the matter right here, for these replies leave Mr. Tufts's charges, even in their amended form. without a leg upon which to stand. But possibly his strictures upon LIBERTY and its editors should receive some attention. lest silence be misunderstood.

Evidently Mr. Tufts is so obsessed with the idea of the importance of his own work that it is quite impossible for

> him to look at it even momentarily from the standpoint of those who do not agree with him. As he views it. the man who is opposed to enforced Sunday rest is necessarily a knave, or at best a fanatic and an enemy of law and order. Had Rev. Mr. Tufts lived in 1776 he must have been of necessity a royalist. Had he lived in the days prior to the war between the States, and been devoted to the same principles of despotism by which he now seeks to outlaw others, he must have stood for the fugitive slave law and the Dred Scott decision.

But nothing is settled until it is settled right. The lawbreakers in this case are not the men who are fighting an unjust law in the courts, but the men who in the interests of not only a religious institution, but a tenet of sectarianism, would override Article I, Sections 2, 3, and 21, of the Oregon Bill of Rights :-

"All men shall be secured in their natural right to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of their own consciences.

"No law shall, in any case whatever, control the free exercise and enjoyment of religious opinions, or interfere with the rights of conscience."

"No law shall be passed granting to any

Human sympathy is so sweet that this Chris-tian martyr, with the breath of the wild beasts in her face, into whose den she has been cast, turns her eyes upward to thank by a look the

stranger who has just dropped a full-blown rose



citizen or class of citizens privileges or immunities which, upon the same terms, shall not equally belong to all citizens."

We suppose that Mr. Tufts means to be honest. Probably he thinks that he is perfectly fair; but as we view it, he is biased to that extent that he is incapable of fairly representing the question at issue. He doubtless thinks that he is doing God service, but that does not prove him to be right; our Saviour foretold the coming of a time when religious zealots would put his true followers to death, thinking that they were doing the will of God; and to us it seems clear that while Mr. Tufts has not yet gone so far, even in his mind, he belongs to that class of reformers.

The man — any man — who assumes to construe the divine law, and who seeks its enforcement by the power of the state is, to say the least, an inquisitor in the making, and therefore a dangerous man. Mr. Tufts is doubtless a very estimable gentleman socially, but he is on untenable ground. The logic of his position is utterly mischievous, un-American, and unchristian. C. P. B.

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A United States Congressman on Religious Liberty

(Continued from page 132)

away their estate for that cause is robbery; to put them to death for not acting against their conscience is murder."...

Listen to the appeal in the application for a charter to merge Providence with the other settlements into the colony of Rhode Island: "It is much in our hearts to hold forth a lively experiment that a most flourishing civil state may stand and best be maintained with a full liberty of religious concernments." King Charles granted this charter, and Roger Williams described this act as "the king's extraordinary favor to this colony, in which His Majesty declared himself that he would experiment whether civil government could exist with such liberty of conscience." The charter, in its section pertaining to religion, read: " No person within said colony at any time hereafter shall be in any wise molested, punished, disqualified, or called in question for any difference of opinion in matters of religion. Every person may at all times freely and fully enjoy his own judgment and conscience in matters of religious concernments."

The American Idea

Thus was constituted, in contradiction to the ideas of the Christian world, a genuine republic — the first thoroughly

free government in the world, the conscience of the individual at liberty to express itself in any way of doctrine and of worship. This government was the answer of Roger Williams to his Puritan persecutors for conscience' sake. This was his great gift to the people of Rhode Island, and his principle of religious liberty has come to be the great American principle, and the spirit of Rhode Island is now the boast and pride of our great nation. To Williams a state church was an abomination. He held civil law had nothing to say of religion save that each individual should be left free to the guidance of his own conscience; and the church or churches should be molded by the members therein. He insisted on the lordship of God alone over man's conscience, and for liberty for all kinds of consciences. It was impossible, he argued, for man or men to maintain their Christ with a sword and worship a true Christ, and his work has proved that there is no more prudent way of preserving peace in the world than by permission of differing consciences.

We need argue no further for the right of the Rhode Island spirit, or show the persecution on the part of religious zealots in other of the colonies, but remember only that there was persecution, that Episcopal Virginia persecuted Quaker, Presbyterian, Baptist, and Catholic; that New York persecuted Lutheran, Baptist, Quaker, and Jew; that Puritan Massachusetts banished nonconformist, punished the Baptist, which sect, as early as 1524, drew the distinction between the kingdom of nature and the kingdom of

grace, and insisted that freedom of conscience and worship was fundamental, and that religion should be entirely exempt from the regulation or interference of the civil power, so that a man's religion should not work his civil disability.

Made Men Think

But Puritan Massachusetts, with its intolerance, met in the grapple of death with religious liberty under the guise of Quakerism, when her unjust laws sent four Quakers one a woman — to the

gallows. From the gallows the blood of those representatives of a peaceable, industrious, and godly people cried aloud, until in time the Quakers won the victory, and Puritan Massachusetts was obliged to give up her theocracy, in which state and church were merged, and none but communicants were privileged to exercise the franchise. Martyred Quakers made men think, and the spirit of Rhode Island, which was the spirit of the banished Roger Williams, long years after his death conquered the Puritan intolerance that had persecuted him. . . .

Persecution Indefensible

Persecution cannot possibly be defended upon Christian principles. "If I am wrong," said Robert Wedderburn, when being tried for blasphemy, "they —the Christians — ought to pity and pray for me and endeavor by argument

and persuasion to convince me of my error; but all attempts to force me are absurd because impossible, tyrannical because unjust." And again, in the words of the Rev. Robert Taylor, "He who can be angry with another for not being a Christian is himself no Christian; or he who can love another the less, or withhold his confidence for the avowal of dis-



ROGER WILLIAMS, FOUNDER OF RHODE ISLAND He taught that the civil magistrate had no power to enforce the duties enjoined in the second table of the decalogue, and for so teaching was banished from Massachusetts in the dead of winter.

sent from his opinions, only holds out a bribe to purchase insincerity. He pays to be deceived, and he is so."

I rejoice that my own State of Pennsylvania occupies so conspicuous a place among the early communities contending for the right of religious freedom; for it was under Penn's government that the second State was established, though forty years after Rhode Island, on the expressed purpose of the founder of trying a holy experiment on the corner stone of freedom.

Members of Congress and citizens of the United States, let us set our faces against all intolerance or persecution for conscience' sake; let us range ourselves with Roger Williams, demanding freedom for ourselves and, with it, freedom for all others. That minister who lends himself to any movement tending to curtail this priceless boon, whether Catholic or Protestant, does not measure up to the requirements of the age. . . .

Stand for Principle

I range myself on the side of those who battle for religious freedom. . . . I stand with Roger Williams and the other leaders of the great Baptist Church, which church did more for religious freedom in America than any other sect. . . . I stand with William Penn, the Quaker founder of Pennsylvania, who said, "I abhor two principles in religion: the first is obedience to authority without conviction, and the other is destroying them that differ from me for God's sake." . . . I

the introduction of anything that looks like a religious test or qualification for office in a republic where perfect freedom of conscience is the birthright of every citizen." I stand with Macaulay, English statesman and historian, who, Protestant strongly as he was, ever raised his voice in the English Parliament in behalf of persecuted Catholic and Jew, and in one of his fervent speeches said, "For my own part, I will give a strenuous support in this House to any attempt to take away any civil disability imposed upon men in consequence of their religious opinions."

And at another time, with equal force,

Macaulay used these words: "Infliction of any penalties on account of religious opinion is persecution, and I cannot conceive any argument to be adduced in favor of the mildest degree of this injustice, which, logically speaking, though not morally, indeed. might not be used with equal force in favor of the most cruel inflictions from similar motives."

And these sentiments. my friends, concurred

in by the best thought of the world, should meet the approval of all lovers of liberty, and especially of all who live beneath the folds of our flag, which represents, among other things, first and foremost the principle, the American principle, of religious freedom. Let us as citizens of this land stand together with our feet firmly fixed on this rock, guaranteeing to every man the rights we claim for ourselves, remembering, in the words of William McKinley, that "that citizen is the best citizen who does his best, who follows the light as God gives him to see the light, and freely accords to others the rights and privileges which he claims for himself."

Let us remember that the American principle of religious liberty is for all.

OF INDEPENDENCE stand with Alexander Campbell, founder

of the Christian (Disciples) Church, as he says, "There is nothing more genial to civil liberty than to enjoy an unrestrained, unembargoed liberty of exercising the conscience fully upon all subjects respecting religion."

I believe, with Chancellor Kent, that " civil and religious liberty generally go hand in hand, and the suppression of either for any length of time will terminate the existence of the other." I agree with Daniel Webster when he says, "It is established as our principle that a man's religion is a matter above human law, because he is responsible to none but his Maker for it."

I am in accord with the words of James G. Blaine, as follows: "I abhor

THE SPIRIT OF 1776 - SIGNING THE DECLARATION



Back to the Constitution

THAT a number of prominent men in our country have become alarmed by the growing disregard of our national Constitution, is witnessed by the fact that we have, with headquarters in our capital city, a National Association for Constitutional Government, with Hon. David J. Hill as its president.

At a recent dinner given by this association, Senator Lodge of Massachusetts was one of the speakers, and he embraced

the opportunity to say some very pertinent things.

Senator Lodge, and other speakers also, alluded to the rapid spread of destructive doctrines among the people, and warned their hearers against the alarming progress of tearing down the bulwarks of individual liberty in this country.

The senior Senator from Massachusetts especially emphasized the thought that the degenerative process had now become so marked

that the very life of democracy is at stake. He did not think that American democracy would be swept away all at once, or by some revolutionary movement that everybody would recognize, but that the process now in operation, if unchecked, would result, and that very shortly, in undermining and destroying the American system of government as established by the Constitution, and interpreted by such men as Abraham Lincoln.

The several gentlemen who voiced such sentiments told the truth. The danger is real, not imaginary. The fact is that we as a nation are a lawless people. We are not willing to abide by the rules of national conduct to which we once gave assent. We want what we want, and are determined to have it regardless of the Constitution. If that instrument stands in the way, let it be amended, if possible, and if not, let it be disregarded. We may not say such things out loud, but that is the way many feel, and the way that a still larger number act. But the trend is a most dangerous one.



HON, DAVID JAYNE HILL

At the same dinner Judge Sanders of Ohio made the suggestion that the children of the United States should be required to study and to understand the compact which sets the bounds of government and safeguards their liberty. One reason given for urging this was that inquiry might develop the fact that American children have a notion that the Declaration of Independence, rather than the Constitution, is the fundamental

law of the land, and that it consists of a general repudiation of all restraints whatsoever.

We do not know to what extent such an idea is entertained by the rising generation. It may be as general as the judge suggests; however so, it is little more erroneous and withal less mischievous than the idea that the Declaration is "out of date," "a lie," etc. The principles of the Declaration of Independence are just as true and just as vital now as they were in 1776, and our courts would come much nearer a correct interpretation of the Constitution of the United States than they sometimes do if they were to interpret that instrument in harmony with the Declaration of Independence, rather than in harmony with English, French, and Roman law, and with the decisions of English courts.

The Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, which was formed only eleven years later, were designed by the fathers of the Republic to establish a new order of things. But to far too

great a n extent their work has been nullified by Old World influences and by judicial conservatism, or more accurately, reactionism.

Watson's Magasine for February contained an article entitled "Back to the Constitution.' by Chief Justice Walter Clark of North Carolina, that deserves not only to be read, but to be carefully studied. We cannot say that we fully agree that the English system is better than our

own, as Judge Clark seems to imply, in that it makes the legislature the supreme governing body under the people; but the judge certainly shows very clearly that our own system, in which the Supreme Court is the highest authority, is very far from perfect, and that the power of that tribunal not only may be abused, but that it has been abused, as in the matter of declaring the income tax unconstitutional, some years ago — a decision that the people reversed by Constitutional amendment.

Perhaps what we most need in this country is a revival of the love of genuine liberty and an enthusiastic espousal of the bedrock principles of justice between man and man. For while the forms of democracy may be preserved, true freedom can exist only in name unless the love of it dominates the heart of the individual citizen to such an extent that he feels not only that he must have liberty himself, but that he must demand freedom and justice likewise for his fellow men. Individual liberty must be preserved, for in it is bound up national liberty. The state cannot be free and its

> citizens or any portion of them slaves. In a democracy, as are the people so will be the government. If the whole people have learned to submit to law. they can administer a government of law, but not otherwise; and ours should be a government not of caprice, nor of men, but of principles, the principles of the Declaration of Independence a s subsequently restated, amplified, and formally crystallized into law in our national Con-

stitution. The tendency of the times is to regard far too lightly the principles once regarded as vital. There has been an unwarranted extension of the " police powers." Of course this has been due to apparent necessity. Under great stress precedents are established that are sure to rise up to vex us in the future. Our government should be strictly one of law, and never of clamor. The people should be taught to respect the law. and in this the judicial and executive departments of government, municipal, state, and national should scrupulously set a worthy example. Even the right thing is right only when done in the right C. P. B. way.

SENATOR H. C. LODGE





The State Cannot Give a Christian Education

BY W. F. MARTIN

THE writer is a strong believer in the principles of Christian education. In fact, so strong is his belief and confidence in its superiority over that of a purely secular education that he has spent hundreds of dollars that his children might have the advantages of a Christian school, when at the same time they could have attended, practically without cost, as good a state school as the land afforded. The preceding is stated to show that what follows cannot be construed fairly as opposition to an education which inculcates instruction in the Christian religion. In fact, no education is complete without Christian instruction. A wise man said. " The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom." Again (Prov. 2: 1-6), "My son, if thou wilt receive my words, and hide my commandments with thee; so that thou incline thine ear unto wisdom, and apply thine heart to understanding; yea, if thou criest after knowledge, and liftest up thy voice for understanding; if thou seekest her as silver, and searchest for her as for hid treasures; then shalt thou understand the fear of the Lord, and find the knowledge of God. For the Lord giveth wisdom; out of his mouth cometh knowledge and understanding."

But such an education is not within the power of the state to give, and is not to be enforced on any one. The state is a civil institution, not a religious institution. Those who are chosen to political office are not selected because of their religious faith, but because of their fitness to administer the affairs of the civil government. If this were not so, none but professed Christians would be eligible to hold office. It can readily be seen to what this would lead. The political parties would be turned into religiopolitical parties. The dominant religious party would of course be in the ascendancy, and the men of that persuasion

would be chosen to stand at the head of the state, to administer not only the affairs of the state but also those of the church; to rule not only over the bodies but over the souls of men. This dominant party would also rigidly supervise the religious education of the youth. Then, if the government should change hands, the religion of the government and the religion taught in the schools would be changed.

Another evil necessarily connected with this, would be a state-established religion. No one would be chosen to teach who did not profess Christianity. The state by this requirement would not make Christians, but would evolve professors of Christianity. Some capable teachers who are not Christians and yet are too honest to profess what they are not, would be debarred from teaching. Some who are not Christians and yet not too honest to profess what they are not, would meet the state requirement and could teach. There would be some who would protest against having their children taught a religion they did not believe. A court decision would be necessary, and that would involve the settling of a religious controversy by the civil magistrate. This was common in the Dark Ages - called dark because of religious persecution and the suppression of learning, arising from a union of the church and the state.

A great American once said, "Religion is not in the purview of human government." It has not been given to any man to enforce his ideas of religion on his fellow men; neither has any set of men that right. The true American idea of church-and-state relation, its contribution to the philosophy of government, is that the state should not seek to control the religious belief of its citizens in any degree whatever. May that principle never be forgotten.

The Maryland Sunday Law Still Lives

EARLY in May of the present year of grace, the papers of this city made known to their readers the fact that in the village of Friendship Heights, Md. (practically a suburb of Washington), warrants had been served on two residents, charging them with violating the Maryland Sunday law, and that the trial was to take place before a justice of the peace, at the county seat of Montgomery County, on the thirteenth of that month.

Section 384 of the Maryland Code of General Laws, under which these warrants were issued, provides, under the title "Sabbath Breaking," that —

"no person whatsoever shall work or do any bodily labor on the Lord's day, commonly called Sunday, and no person having children or servants shall command, or wittingly or willingly suffer any of them to do any manner of work or labor on the Lord's day (works of necessity and charity always excepted), nor shall suffer or permit any children or servants to profane the Lord's day by gaming, fishing, fowling, hunting, or unlawful pastime or recreation; and every person transgressing this section, and being thereof convicted before a justice of the peace, shall forfeit five dollars to be applied to the use of the county."

Three days before the trial, that is, on the tenth day of May, the Washington *Times* made semifacetious editorial mention of these cases as follows: —

Another Blue Law Menace

"The smooth lawns and clean-clipped hedges of Montgomery County are threatened; not by insects or parasites, with which the Department of Agriculture could cope; not by neglect, which a clean-up, paint-up week might overcome; but by an ancient and recently resurrected law which prohibits 'unnecessary manual labor' on Sundays.

"Two citizens of Rockville, performing the proud civic duty of trimming their hedges and lawns on Sunday, have been served with a warrant by a neighbor who seems not to realize that such labor has the element of spiritual devotion; nay, almost approaches the sacred. "Connecticut clings to a law forbidding even the most chaste and formal osculation on Sunday, but time has nullified the statute. Massachusetts proscribes walking on Sundays except to cemeteries, but even that law, too, has become moribund.

"A late day, indeed, for a Maryland statute to be dragged out of retirement to hamper the suburbanite with a brand-new lawn mower, to handicap a suburbanite experiencing the first thrills of a new pair of clipping shears. Every quasi ruralite must await the fate of these knights of the mower and the shears with deep concern."

According to a report which appeared in the same paper on the evening of the thirteenth, both defendants were discharged because of lack of definite and positive evidence that they had performed the work charged upon the day specified by the complainant. The justice took occasion, however, to warn those present at the trial that the statute above quoted is, as the *Times* reports his words, "a part of the regular working law of Maryland, and that it will be enforced" by the courts, notwithstanding the fact that it had in practice become apparently a dead letter.

A Mischievous Feature

And herein is one of the mischievous features of all such statutes. The newspapers pooh-pooh them, and the public generally refuses to take them seriously, until they are supposed to be obsolete; and then somebody files a complaint, and the law is found to be in full force, and somebody is punished for doing no more than many of his neighbors had been doing for years without even exciting remark.

The reason for this is not far to seek. Other laws forbid acts that are in themselves wrong, or, rather, uncivil. Other statutes provide penalties for acts that

The answer to the Sunday question which the Christian citizen should give is clear. He has no right to put the religious restriction of his conscience on another. Let us catch the spirit of Jesus Christ.— Rev. Spencer B. Meeser, pastor of the Woodward Avenue Baptist Church, Detroit, Mich., May 31, 1903. To the question, "Where have you seen the best Sabbath observance?" a San Francisco pastor answers, "Among the Christian people of California." (Mr. Crafts' "Sabbath for Man," page 95.) But California has no Sunday law. Therefore Sunday laws are not essential to good Sunday observance.

trench upon human rights. Their purpose is to safeguard life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. But Sunday statutes undertake to give the protection of civil law to a religious institution, and it is only as some one is moved by religious considerations that the law is invoked by the people and enforced by the courts.

Thomas Jefferson pointed out this very feature of Sunday laws, nearly a hundred and forty years ago, when he said, "A single zealot may commence persecution, and better men be his victims."

All such laws are dangerous as long as they are unrepealed. Instead of making them a subject of cheap jokes and trying to laugh them out of court, the newspapers should agitate seriously and persistently for the repeal of all such statutes. Instead of being laughed out of court, they should be legislated off the statute books; and this could be done if the newspapers, and the people who do not want any Sunday laws for themselves, treated the matter seriously instead of facetiously.

The "Evening Star" on Another Feature

Another feature of the Maryland Sunday law is discussed by the Washington *Star* in its Sunday edition of the morning of May 14, as follows: —

" It is unfortunate that the trials at Rockville last Saturday in the cases of the alleged Sabbath breakers of Friendship Heights did not result in a more specific definition of what a resident can do in the way of Sunday work around his own premises. One of the defendants was acquitted on the ground that a mistake had been made in the charge in the matter of the date of the alleged offense, and

the other was released on the ground that he had only picked up a few pieces of paper from his lot and burned them, which the judge did not regard as sufficiently heinous to warrant punishment. The law under which these men were prosecuted is that prohibiting the performance of unnecessary manual labor on the Sabbath. Just what constitutes necessity in such a case evidently remains to be determined in each individual case. Many suburbanites find their best, and indeed their only, opportunity for effective care of their house lots on Sunday, unless they arise at a very early hour or work late in the evening after their return from the city. Plainly the matter rests upon the discretion of the court, but it would be to the advantage of everybody if a more exact interpretation of the law were given in general terms so that each resident of the adjacent counties of Maryland can tell just what he can do legally and what he cannot do. This should be established on a legal basis, and not subjected to a personal censorship."

The *Star* points out a very real difficulty in the equitable enforcement of the law in question, but misses the larger question of the ground and propriety of such statutes.

No Civil Basis for Such Laws

From a civil standpoint, what possible reason can there be for a law that forbids the individual who is confined to business for six days in the week to spend the nonbusiness day in the very way in which it is asserted these men did spend it? From the standpoint of health and of moral uplift in the nonreligious sense what could possibly be more helpful than a day spent at home, and not only at home but in improving and beautifying the immediate physical surroundings of the home? What civil reason could possibly be urged for a law forbidding such employments at any time? — Absolutely none.

I shall refuse to take up an attack on people who entertain on Sunday, because I believe the matter rests entirely with them, and no one should interfere. It is a question for a man's conscience to decide, and not for any other man to decide for him.— Rev. U. G. B. Pierce, reported in the Washington Post, March 6, 1911. Religion and liberty are inseparable. Religion is voluntary, and cannot, and ought not to, be forced. . . Such liberty is impossible on the basis of a union of church and state, where the one of necessity restricts or controls the other. It requires a friendly separation, where each power is entirely independent in its own sphere. The church, as such, has nothing to do with the state except to obey its laws and to strengthen its moral foundations; the state has nothing to do with the church except to protect her in her property and liberty; and the state must be equally just to all forms of belief and unbelief which do not endanger the public safety.—"Church and State," pp. 9, 10.

But it may be said that the morals of the community must be protected, and that for the sake of morals Sunday work must be prohibited. But how does Sunday work come to be any more immoral than Monday or Tuesday work? There can be but one answer, namely, that Sunday is a religious institution, and that to disregard it is irreligious, and immoral because irreligious.

No Stopping Place

But if the State undertakes to enforce morality in the religious sense, there is no logical stopping place short of the Inquisition, the rack, the thumbscrews, and the stake. It can therefore deal with morals only in the primary sense of manners, which means that the State cannot legitimately go beyond purely political questions, questions which pertain not to the moral or religious nature and life of the individual citizen, but only to the physical relation of man with his fellows.

If the newspapers would discuss Sunday legislation from this standpoint, if they would rise superior to religious custom and prejudice and examine the real foundation reasons for Sunday laws, and insist that they must be such as to be maintained, if maintained at all, for purely civil reasons, they would perform a real service to the community at large.

But of course a Sunday law that could be honestly maintained for purely civil reasons, could be only a *holiday*, not a *holy* day. It could be only a *dies non juridicus*, a day on which no court business could be legally transacted. Legal citations would not summon anybody to answer to a suit at law on that day; drafts, notes, and bills of exchange falling due upon Sunday would be due and payable on Monday; nobody could be compelled to attend to such matters on Sunday; and on the other hand, nobody could be fined, imprisoned, or otherwise punished for doing anything he saw fit to do on Sunday, any more than he could be fined or imprisoned for mowing his lawn or trimming his hedge on Thanksgiving.

To go beyond this in Sunday legislation or in Sunday enforcement is to act from religious rather than from civil considerations, whatever the pretext may be. There is absolutely no civil ground for compulsory Sunday rest.

The so-called civil sabbath is a legal fiction. It is a figment of the imagination, and exists only in minds already committed to the policy of maintaining, right or wrong, a state-enforced day of rest and worship - rest not because of physical necessity, but because it is demanded by the religious convictions of a larger portion of the people who as Judge Hammond once said, have obtained the authority of the civil law in their favor and "adhere to that advantage with great tenacity." Every man knows that were it not for the religious phase of Sunday observance there would be no civil sabbath, or, in other words, no Sunday law. And knowing this every man knows that the civil sabbath is only subterfuge and pretense. C. P. B.

The keeping of the Sabbath is eminently a moral duty, and hence it must be a voluntary service, rendered under pressure of moral suasives only.— Binney's "Theological Compendium."

Safety of America and Sunday Laws

BY SANFORD B. HORTON

JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL, at one time minister of the United States to Great Britain, was asked by M. Guizot, the French historian, how long the republic of the United States might reasonably be expected to endure. "So long," replied Mr. Lowell, " as the ideas of its founders continue dominant." It requires but a cursory examination of the history of our colonial and national experiences to learn that the predominant idea of the forefathers was the recognition of inalienable rights, rights with which men were born. In framing the government, its founders proposed that, the question of human or civil authority having been settled by a Higher than man, in the statement of Holy Writ, "Render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's," administrators of the government were to be prohibited from exercising any other than civil authority. This spelled an absolute separation of church and state, prohibiting Congress from passing any "law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

Congress has thus far refused to be moved from this fundamental mooring of the ship of state. But will Congress always stand firm in this particular? There are before this, the Sixty-fourth Congress, several measures which would abridge the guaranties of the First Amendment. These measures consist of proposed Sunday laws for the District of Columbia and statutory restrictions against the freedom of the press. Only a brief reference to Sunday laws is necessary to show that they prohibit "the free exercise" of religion. The man who observes the Sabbath of the decalogue by refraining from his usual vocation on Saturday, must also refrain from his usual vocation on Sunday, if Sunday laws prevail. Now, the right to work six days and to rest one day of the seven belongs to the realm of religion. It belongs to that relation which exists between the Creator and man, and cannot of right be legislated upon by civil government. The fourth commandment emanated from an Authority already extant when man was vested with civil authority, the only authority granted to men for their own welfare; and this authority pertained to them only in their relation to one another. Specious sophistry may yet induce Congress to yield to the demands of so-called national reformers, but if it does, the step thus taken will be the uprooting of our national moorings and the casting of our ship of state adrift upon the sea of uncertainty.

The memorable report of the Twentyfirst Congress on the subject of Sunday Mails, submitted to the House March 4, 5, 1830, should ever guide that body, if "the ideas of its [America's] founders" are to "continue dominant." In that report it was held,—

"If the measure [Sunday bill] recommended should be adopted, it would be difficult for human sagacity to foresee how rapid would be the succession or how numerous the train of measures which follow, involving the dearest rights of all—the rights of conscience. It is perhaps fortunate for our country that the proposition should have been made at this early period, while the spirit of the Revolution yet exists in full vigor."

We trust Congress will stand by the Constitution and by Congressional precedent, by refusing to enact any Sunday law for either the District of Columbia or any other part of the American domain.

The government of the United States of America is not, in any sense, founded upon the Christian religion.- Treaty with Tripoli, 1797.

An Inverted Pyramid

BY L. A. SMITH

THE various systems established in the earth for the purpose of bringing man under the domination of his fellow man, often present to us a towering volume of assumption standing upon an infinitesimal basis of fact.

No more striking example of such an inverted pyramid can be found, probably, than that represented in the claims put forth by the head of the papal church.

In the coronation service of the Roman pontiffs, these words are addressed to the papal sovereign: —

"Take thou the tiara adorned with the triple crown, and know that thou art the father of princes and of kings, and art the governor of the world."

The Roman Pontiff assumes authority over kings and princes, and assumes the right to be the governor of the world. A tremendous claim, surely! And in the light of papal history, it is very clear that it is not put forth as a mere piece of flattery by the pontiff's adherents. Wherever they have possessed the power, the popes or their representatives have actually exercised just this authority over mankind. They have assumed to be rulers in every sphere of human activity. From the cradle to the grave, the controlling hand of the priest is laid upon his parishioners' affairs, and not even those of the most private nature are exempt from his prying inquisition.

In this tremendous claim to be the governor of the world, is included the right to prescribe the conduct of all individuals,— to tell the people how they must vote, how they must marry, how they must educate their children, how they must spend their money, what they must read, what gatherings they must attend and what not, and just what dogmas they must accept as spiritual truth. It includes the right to interfere in all the affairs of state, and if need be, to absolve citizens -from allegiance to their sovereign. Such are the facts attested upon all the pages of papal history.

Such authority as this residing in the Roman pontiffs would surely, one would think, be able to justify itself by the most convincing proofs. Certainly it would be supposed that the evidence of its rightfulness must be as weighty as the hills and as clear as the noonday sun. But when we come to look for such evidence, what do we find?

We find only this: that, in the first place, Christ spoke certain words to Peter which are interpreted to mean that the Christian church was to be built on Peter, and that Peter was to have authority in the church. The inspired Record on this point says, "I [Christ] say also unto thee, That thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven." Matt. 16: 18, 19.

Did this utterance make Peter the father of princes and of kings, and the governor of the world? Did it confer on him authority to regulate the conduct of all people, in public and in private affairs? Certainly there is nothing in the text to suggest such a meaning as this.

It is not even asserted here that the Christian church, as Catholics claim, is built on Peter; an analysis of the Greek text disposes of this claim. Nor did Peter himself ever assert such a claim. Neither did Peter ever essay to be the chief authority in the church; much less to be a lord over kings and the governor of the world.

The tremendous authority assumed to reside in the Roman Pontiff, and actually exercised by him over people and princes whenever opportunity permits, is shown to be without foundation in the words of Christ.

But even should it be granted that Christ did invest Peter with authority over the church and the world, whence comes the authority claimed and exercised by popes and prelates of the Catholic Church throughout her history? In answer to this question we are told that the popes derived their authority from Peter. We are asked to believe that at the election of a pope, and by virtue of that election, all the authority which it is claimed that Peter was invested with, passed to the individual chosen to fill the pontifical office.

How this could be - by what law human or divine - we are not told. Christ himself said nothing about the successors of Peter. If the authority claimed for Peter rests upon the language of Christ, then by the same evidence there is no authority for any claiming to be Peter's successors, for Christ said nothing about them. It is simply assumed that those assuming to be Peter's successors in the church, received by virtue of their election to office all the tremendous authority claimed to have been given to Peter,authority over the church, over princes and kings, and over all people of the world. Here again the basis of fact, truth, and logic upon which this inordinate claim is made to rest, shrinks to the vanishing point.

First, it is assumed that Peter was invested with authority to be the father of princes and of kings, and to be the governor of the world. We say assumed, because the words of Christ to Peter do not assert any such thing, and Peter himself neither claimed nor exercised such authority. Next, it is assumed that the Roman pontiffs are the successors of Peter (though their lives are entirely dissimilar from his); and lastly, it is further assumed that the election of an individual to the pontifical office causes him to be invested with power and authority such as only heaven can bestow. Assumption is piled upon assumption, with no solid basis whatever of either fact or Scripture.

And upon this basis, which as regards demonstrated truth is too small to be visible, is upreared a system which assumes authority over kings and princes, authority to govern the world, and which did for centuries so dominate the people of Europe that they lived in a state of constant terror, not daring to claim even a small degree of civil and religious freedom, and not knowing at what hour the terrible hand of the Inquisition might lay hold of them and consign them without trial to the dungeon and the chamber of torture.

Such is the system known as the Papacy: an inverted pyramid,— a mere point at its base, so far as truth is concerned, a mountain of assumption at its top,— a monument to human credulity, and a towering menace to human welfare.

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MADISON COUNTY, Illinois, is one of the wettest counties in the State, and yet it is honeycombed with blind pigs. The county is being cheated out of over \$40,-000 license money each year by the blindpig methods under wet rule, yet the liquor element claims that prohibition breeds blind pigs. Experience proves that blind pigs thrive best in high license districts as they escape the excessive taxation incident to high license. A blind pig has no better chance for its existence when the law is against it than has the saloon; in fact, it would be easier to detect the blind pig under prohibition law than under license law; because, when liquor is sold under prohibition, one at once knows that a blind pig is doing the business; whereas, under license, one cannot tell whether the liquor is obtained from the licensed saloon or from the blind pig. Thus the argument of the wets that prohibition breeds blind pigs is fallacious.

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CHRIST was murdered by the Jews because he sought to set the body, mind, and soul free.

The Heroes of Liberty

BY JOHN N. QUINN

THOUSANDS of them are unknown, and yet to these unknown heroes under God we are indebted for much of the liberty at present enjoyed in these United States.

We are so secure in the enjoyment of religious liberty that we are inclined to forget what has been endured by those who refused to yield to the dictates of human authority when they conflicted with the conscience of men and the law of God. The following citation from Lecky's "History of European Morals," end of chapter three, vividly portrays what was endured by Christians :---

In Pagan Times

"Among the records of pagan persecution there are histories which display perhaps more vividly than any other both the depth of cruelty to which human nature may sink and the heroism of resistance it may attain. . . . We read of Christians bound in chairs of redhot iron, while the stench of their half-consumed flesh rose in a suffocating cloud to heaven; of others who were torn to the very bone by shells or hooks of iron; of holy virgins given over to the lusts of the gladiator or the mercies of the pander; of 227 converts sent on one occasion to the mines, each with the sinews of one leg severed with a red-hot iron, and with an eye scooped from the socket; of fires so slow that the victims writhed for hours in their agonies; of bodies torn limb from limb, or sprinkled with burning lead; of mingled salt and vinegar poured over the flesh that was bleeding from the rack; of tortures prolonged and varied through entire days. For the love of their divine Master, for the cause they believed to be true, men, and even weak girls, endured these things without flinching, when one word would have freed them from their suffering. No opinion we may form of the proceedings of priests in a later age should impair the reverence with which we bend before the martyr's tomb."

"In a Later Age"

The following from a recent number of the Youth's Companion, tells what was endured "in a later age" by those who chose "to obey God rather than men : "-

"A company of Americans was visiting the old prison at The Hague. That place of horror is now a museum, in which are gathered 168

instruments of torture such as were used in that and similar institutions in the Middle Ages. The guide took them through the pestilential dungeons; he showed them the torture chambers: he pointed out that the starvation cell was placed, with fiendish ingenuity, where the odors of the kitchen must constantly ascend through the windows in the court.

"He caused them to stand in the spot where men formerly were chained with a shaven spot upon their heads, to feel the dropping of water that at intervals dripped from a tiny hole in the ceiling above, and told them how in three days men went mad, and within a week died, raving. He showed them the blocks where men were beheaded, the axes and the swords that had once run red; he exhibited thumbscrews, racks, and other devices for inflicting inhuman cruelty on human flesh.

"Last of all, he showed them the wheel where men were broken with an iron bar and the sledge that finally put a merciful end to the suffering.

"As he escorted the company to the door, he said, 'And all these things happened in what we call "the good old times."' . . .

" They built great cathedrals in the good old times, but -

"'Those glorious windows shone upon the black

And hideous structure of the guillotine:

Beside the haloed countenance of saints

There hangs the multiple and knotted lash.

The Christ of love, benign and beautiful,

Looks at the torture-rack, by hate conceived, And bigotry sustained. The prison cell,

With blood-stained walls where starving men went mad,

Lies under turrets matchless in their grace. . . How was it then that men,

Conceiving such vast beauty for the world

And such large hopes of heaven, could entertain

Such hellish projects for their fellow men?""

The Test Apparently Insignificant

The test in many cases was apparently insignificant — a grain of incense taken from the hand of a priest and placed upon the altar of a false god; a word in recognition of a false doctrine being forced upon the conscience. A drop of deadly poison in a glass of pure water seems small, but it means death to the one who drinks the water. The apparently insignificant acts demanded of the followers of Christ meant the denial of

their Master and the repudiation of his Word.

The need of the hour is the courage of the martyr, who would cheerfully suffer rather than soil his conscience. Our liberties are being threatened, the foundations of free government are being sapped, and voices of earnest protest must be sounded in all the land and to all the inhabitants thereof. God's law is the bulwark of liberty, and even this is being assailed, but it can never be overthrown. As Lowell says: — " In vain we call old notions fudge,

And bend our conscience to our dealing; The ten commandments will not budge, And stealing will continue stealing."

The hero of liberty today is he who if need be will stand alone for right, justice, truth, and equity. God and this man are a majority, and triumphant indeed will be the result of standing with God for liberty. Earth has still its heroes, and in the crisis they will be revealed. God does not leave himself without witnesses.

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Christians Do Not Persecute

BY T. E. BOWEN

No Christian will persecute another; for Christians do not persecute. True, professed Christians often have been known to carry forward severe persecution, but there is a wide difference between professed Christians and Christians. So we repeat, Christians do not persecute.

"How is that?" do you ask?

Christians follow Christ. To be a Christian means that one must follow in the footsteps of Christ Jesus his Lord. And Christ did not persecute.

"Persecute.— 2. To pursue in a manner to injure, grieve, or afflict; to beset with cruelty or malignity; to harass; especially to afflict, harass, punish, or put to death because of belief, etc., as for the adherence to a particular creed or mode of worship."—Webster's New International Dictionary, 1915 edition.

Jesus pursued no one "in a manner to injure, grieve, or afflict." He beset no one "with cruelty or malignity." He did not "harass, punish, or put to death because of belief," or for the nonbelief of any one, even though some entreated him to do this very thing. This being true, that Jesus in no manner whatsoever, however tempting the provocation to do so, persecuted, it must be true that Christians do not persecute.

Two recorded instances alone are sufficient to show that Christians are forbidden by their Lord to persecute: — I. Jesus takes his stand against persecution. "If any man hear my sayings, and keep them not, I judge him not: for I came not to judge the world, but to save the world." John 12:47, A. R. V.

Although a time will come when Christ will judge the world, that time was not at his first advent. And as long as the gospel continues to be "the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth," so long will Christ through his followers — *Christians* — beseech men to be reconciled to God. Hence, during this time Christians will be engaged in saving men, not in persecuting such as "believe not." Any who follow not Jesus' instruction and example in this particular, cut themselves off from true discipleship; for "if any man hath not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his," says the Word.

2. Jesus forbids his followers to do this wicked thing.

"They went, and entered into a village of the Samaritans, to make ready for him. And they did not receive him. . . . And when his disciples [his followers] James and John saw this, they said, Lord, wilt thou that we bid fire to come down from heaven, and consume them? But he turned, and rebuked them." Luke 9: 52-55.

Not a hair of the head of one of the Samaritans was harmed because of their refusal to receive the divine Son of God. Not even were they rebuked, so far as this record shows, while the two disciples were rebuked; and the record is left for us.

On every count it remains the same, — true Christians do not persecute; false Christians do. And when a Christian deliberately enters upon the persecution of any of his fellow men, he ceases to be a Christian, to be a follower of his Lord and Master, and must repent of his wicked deed and turn from his purpose, if he would again follow the example of his Lord.

He who became the apostle Paul persecuted the saints. He says he verily thought, while persecuting them, that he was doing the will of God. But Jesus Christ himself set Paul right on that point. Above the shining of the noonday sun, the Son of God smote this persecutor to the ground, blinded, and demanded of him, "Why persecutest thou me?" This man became changed,— became a Christian,— and right there ceased forever his persecution. He thereafter *suffered* persecution, but persecuted no man. Christians do not persecute.

Today Christians will not persecute. "But why call attention to persecution in this manner at this age of the world when no one has any thought of persecution?" some one may query. To such it may not be out of place to suggest that Sunday laws have in them, every one of them, the seeds of persecution as wicked as were the papers Saul held in his hand that day when he, with a band of Roman soldiers, went on his way to Damascus, with the authorization from the chief priests to arrest and bind and take to Jerusalem all men and women whom he found believing on Jesus of Nazareth, whom God had raised from the dead. Persecution is bound up in these Sunday laws. They are neither religious, in the true sense, nor Christian. To enforce them makes no one a Christian. No one is made righteous by observing them; for God has not required this thing at any man's hand.

The righteous thing to do is to repeal every such statute, strike it from every statute book, and leave every one free to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience, or not to worship at all.

One thing is certain: Those who profess to be Christ's followers, but would compel men-by the enforcement of Sunday laws - to do what the majority think is right, instead of meriting the blessing they fondly hope for thus doing. are themselves under the rebuke which the divine Lord addressed to James and John; and should he speak to such today. he might also add, as to them, " Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of." But the Lord knows. He knew then whose spirit was behind John's proposal to call down fire upon the Samaritans. The spirit which inspired James and John then has inspired all religious persecution since their time. It comes not from Jesus Christ, the meek and lowly one, who came to save men; but from Christ's foe, the prince of evil. Jesus taught : -

"Blessed are ye when men shall reproach you, and persecute you, and say all manner of evil against you falsely, for my sake. Rejoice, and be exceeding glad: for great is your reward in heaven: for so persecuted they the prophets that were before you." Matt. 5:11, 12.

The blessing is pronounced upon the persecuted, not upon the persecutors. Men did the persecuting in those days; Christians had to endure it. The same is true today. Christians do not persecute.

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The Church Seeking Civil Power

BY A. G. DANIELLS

THERE is at the present time an alarming tendency on the part of the church to make use of the civil power. Everywhere may be heard the clamor of professed Christians for the use of Cæsar's sword. There was a time when the leaders of the church spurned the offer of state aid to accomplish their ends. They had faith in God and in the power of his Word, but no faith in the power of civil governments to promote the interests of religion. This was especially true of the apostles, and of the Reformers of the sixteenth century. Luther said: —

"We must leave results to God. It is not we that must work, but his word. And why so? you may ask. Because the hearts of men are not in my hand as clay in the hand of the potter. We have a right to speak, but none whatever to compel. Let us preach; the rest belongs to God. If I resort to force, what shall I gain? — Grimace, fair appearances, apings, cramped uniformity, and hypocrisy. But there will be no hearty sincerity, no faith, no love. Where these are wanting, all is wanting; and I would not give a straw for such a victory. . . .

"I am ready to preach, argue, write, but I will not constrain any one; for faith is voluntary. Call to mind what I have already done. I stood up against Pope, indulgences, and papists; but without violence or tumult. brought forward God's word; I preached and wrote, and there I stopped. And whilst I laid me down and slept, or chatted with Amsdorff and Melanchthon, the word I had preached brought down the power of the Pope to the ground, so that never prince or emperor had dealt him such a blow. For my part I did next to nothing; the power of the word did the whole business. Had I appealed to force, Germany might have been deluged with blood. But what would have been the consequence? - Ruin and destruction of soul and body. Accordingly, I kept quiet, and let the word run through the length and breadth of the land." "No secular sword can advance this cause. God must do all without the aid or cooperation of man. He who has most faith is the most availing defense." - D'Aubigné, "History of the Reformation," book 9, chap. 8.

How vastly different the leaders of the churches talk and act today! Instead of looking to the great Head of the church to carry on his work with mighty power, their eyes are turned imploringly to the state. They appeal to the government for help. "We must have vigorous administration of law," is the battle cry of the church today. This cry is heard in the annual meetings of the churches, and from the pulpits and the religious press. Various organizations are formed to take charge of special lines of work. The masses are urged to cooperate with these organizations, and to give force to their demands by signing petitions which are presented by influential deputations to members of Congress and to legislative committees.

The Oklahoma Sunday Cases

THE Sunday law cases in Oklahoma have been appealed to the supreme court. and a decision is awaited with interest. The particular point involved in these cases is whether or not the term "servile labor" includes selling goods from a store. In the lower court it was held that it did not, and that therefore the statutory exemption in favor of those observers of "another day of the week as holy time" does not extend to those who are engaged in merchandising, or as the statute expresses it, engaged in "public traffic," on Sunday. It is believed, however, that the supreme court will hold that the intent of the legislature was to exempt from the prohibition of the statute all secular pursuits that might be engaged in by observers of "some day other than Sunday," whether technically servile or not. Then, too, there is a serious constitutional question involved, and the whole Sunday law of the State may be declared void. C. P. B.

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Religious Affiliations of the Justices of the Supreme Court

FREQUENT inquiries are made concerning the religious affiliations of the several members of the Supreme Court.

"Here is a statement," remarks an exchange, "taken from reliable sources, which will answer all inquiries and settle disputes and misstatements:"—

"President Taft, during his term of office, appointed the following members of the Supreme Court: Horace H. Lurton, an Episcopalian; Charles E. Hughes, a Baptist [resigned June ro]; Willis Van Devanter, a Methodist; Joseph Rucker Lamar [deceased], a Christian Disciple; and Mahlon Pitney, a Presbyterian. The other members of the Supreme Court are: William R. Day, a member of the Dutch Reformed Church; Oliver Wendell Holmes, a Unitarian; Joseph McKenna, a Catholic; Edward Douglas White, chief justice, a Catholic; and Louis D. Brandeis, a Jew."

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SOCRATES was murdered by the Athenian people because he endeavored to set their minds free.

Nation-Wide Prohibition

BY E. H. PARKINSON, D. D.

THE goal to all temperance effort should be nation-wide prohibition. The rescuing of an individual here and there and the banishing of saloons from communities, great and worthy ends though they are, should rather augment than diminish exertion looking toward the speedy prohibition of the liquor traffic. And the day has come when definite and distinct work can be done by the individual toward this very worthy and ultimate object. To be sure, the professional politician would have him confine all his plan and effort to his neighborhood, and then not to antagonize the outlines of procedure prescribed by certain bosses living miles away. But whatever may be the hints or mandates of the few, the duty and the privilege of every wellwisher of his country remain very clear - to do his utmost for the effectual national prohibition of the liquor traffic at the earliest possible date.

It may be asked, What can the individual do for the accomplishment of that end? Does not the local work afford more opportunities though the end is not so great? We answer, There are opportunities in the larger and better work if we only look for them. Every one can scatter literature urging nationwide prohibition. Every voter should at least forward petitions to legislators and congressmen urging their vote and support of a national prohibition bill; he should also petition delegates to the coming national conventions, urging support, and vote for candidates favoring unequivocally national prohibition - that he will by work and vote seek the indorsement of that vital issue in the national platforms.

Chicago.

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"A MAN who cannot discuss his religion has none. A man who is afraid to discuss it has none."— Speech of Senator W. B. Heyburn, May 26, 1911.

The Saloon an Enemy to Personal Liberty

WE are opposed to the liquor traffic because it tramples underfoot with impunity the most sacred rights of humanity. No man or business enterprise has any natural or delegated right, from either human or divine sources, to do anything that will mar and destroy the life, liberty, and happiness of another. Personal liberty does not mean the right to do as one pleases, irrespective of others' rights. My personal liberty ends where another's personal injury begins. Liberty of action does not mean that I have the right to attack the welfare of all humanity, and engage in a public enterprise productive of crime, misery, and poverty. For example, personal liberty does not mean that a husband has the right to hand his income to the bartender and feed himself from the free lunch counter while he compels his wife and children to stand in the bread line. The saloon is an enemy to personal liberty, and an alien to all that is truly noble in man and grand in the nation.

C, S. L.

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THE only permanent reformations which God wrought in all the ages that are past have been individual works. All national improvements have terminated in backsliding or apostasy when their course was fully run. . . . Among barbarous and polished, learned and unlearned, powerful and weak, honorable and vile, the same dispositions have been manifested; and with persistent perversity, men have refused to submit to the righteous laws of God, and have disdained to seek his mercy or to adjust the long-continued controversy which they have waged with him. Never has mercy prevailed with the multitude .--"The Great Controversy Between God and Man," by H. L. Hastings, 1858, pp. 118, 119.

Editorial Note and Comment

American Leadership

To the lover of liberty, some interesting observations as to the possible spread of democracy and constitutional government in Europe were made in an address to the law class of the University of Virginia, by Senator Lewis of Illinois. The Washington Post of May 22 editorially quotes Senator Lewis as predicting "that the United States will lead other countries in the march toward greater individual liberty and equality guaranteed by law." He also thinks that while European nations will be struggling to reach the point now occupied by America, this country will be blazing the way toward greater security for individual rights and better guaranties of equality of opportunity.

It is to be hoped that the Senator is right, and that liberty may be extended to the whole world, and we trust that with civil liberty may also go America's principle of separation of church and state, with complete religious liberty to every man to worship God as he sees fit. L. L. C.

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Milton on Freedom of the Press

IT was in November, 1644,—272 years ago,— that John Milton published to the world the most popular and most eloquent of all his prose productions, "Areopagitica, a Speech of Mr. John Milton for the Liberty of Unlicensed Printing to the Parliament of England."

This speech was highly eulogistic of Parliament in other respects, but denounced its printing ordinance as utterly unworthy the representatives of freemen, and called for its repeal. This effect did not follow at once, but the licensing system had received its deathblow. The publication of Milton's speech was itself an offense against the press ordinance, but he was not prosecuted for it. The

power of Charles I was then crumbling to its fall. The rights guaranteed by King John, but overridden and denied both by him and by his successors, were reviving, and men were again demanding the liberties of men.

But the pendulum seems to be swinging backward again; and while in England men may publish what they will, being responsible only for any flagrant abuse of the right, in our own country it is sought to restrict the freedom of the press and to establish a censorship as galling and despotic as that against which Milton launched the lightning of his eloquence, the thunderbolts of his logic, nearly three centuries ago. B.

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Burning the Flag

MANY a good cause has been reproached and hindered by the unwise zeal of its would-be friends. There is an organization in New York called the Church of the Social Revolution that indulged itself recently in a flag burning, in which it seems that the American flag was the most conspicuous figure. We are not of the number who believe in divine right either of kings or of democracies. We believe in the divine right of men to be men and to enjoy untrammeled the privileges and immunities conferred upon them by their Creator, and so believing, we believe of necessity in the means that God has ordained that these rights may be secured to us and to all men, namely, civil government. Living under the iron monarchy of Rome, the apostle Paul wrote: --

"I exhort therefore, that, first of all, supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giving of thanks, be made for all men; for kings, and for all that are in authority; that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty." I Tim. 2: I, 2.

Doubtless our own government is not perfect either in its structure or in its practical workings, but it is infinitely better than Rome even in its best days, and every right-thinking man ought to feel thankful for it. No possible good can come from such exhibitions of contempt for legitimate authority as was the New York flag burning. Better a thousand times even a defective government of law than the rule of the mob, for that is what the destruction of a government of law would mean. Rev. Bouck White is guite within his rights when he indulges such a harmless idiosyncrasy as wearing a smock. One can sympathize with him in his desire to live close to his people, but he is on indefensible and dangerous ground when he encourages flag burning by those to whom he ministers. В.

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Religious Life and the Nation

THE Christian Statesman for February quotes from the "Holy Roman Empire," by James Bryce, this statement: ---

"It is on the religious life that nations repose."

"This," says the Statesman, " is a profound truth established by the political history and political science of the ages."

And this, as the *Statesman* seems to think, fully establishes and justifies the contention of the National Reformers that our government must have a religion; that it must be the Christian religion; that Jesus Christ must be explicitly acknowledged as ruler of nations; and his law must be enthroned as of ultimate authority in all governmental affairs.

But the statement made by Mr. Bryce is general in its terms, and is just as true of other religions and of other nations as it is of our nation and of the Christian religion. If, therefore, that statement be taken as justification of a union of Christianity and the state in this nation, it affords just the same justification of the union of other religions with other states in other lands.

Some of the Roman emperors who

were the best civil rulers were the worst persecutors, for exactly this reason: they regarded unity of religion as essential to the stability of the state. To them paganism was the true and highest form of religion, and therefore essential in securing the highest good to Rome and her people. Therefore it was their duty to put down all opposing systems of worship. Their logic was exactly the same as that of the modern National Reformers.

There is of course some truth in the statement quoted from Mr. Bryce. Man is a moral being, and to reach his best development must have something that appeals to his moral nature. Religion does this; therefore religion develops and brings out the best there is in man, and as in the case of civil government, even a poor religion is better than none at all, for it imposes some moral restraint and offers some incentive to the attainment of a certain moral standard.

But does this justify the use of force in the promulgation of religion? or argue that governments must foster that religion which civil rulers deem true, or most true, and repress or entirely prohibit what they deem to be false systems of faith and worship?

To answer this question in the affirmative is to justify all the bloody persecutions of the past, whether by Protestants, papists, or even pagans. Is the *Statesman* prepared to follow this logic to its legitimate conclusion?

If it is the duty of civil rulers to enforce religion in any degree, it follows that they can enforce only the religion they know, and only the forms of even that. If they know only paganism, they can enforce only paganism; if they know only Papacy, they can enforce only Papacy; even if they know Christianity, they can enforce only the forms of Christianity.

The history of the world shows that true religion has reached its highest development, not when its forms were enforced by civil statutes, but when it was under governmental ban. Witness the mighty moral revolution effected not only in England but in the world by Methodism, resulting in the abolition of the slave trade first in the British colonies and subsequently in all civilized countries.

There is but one legitimate service the state can render the church, and that is to give her a free field and no favors. The National Reformers are simply demanding that the church forsake Christ and form an adulterous union with Cæsar. C. P. B.

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Freedom of the Press

FROM time to time we have called the attention of our readers to various proposals to interfere with the freedom of the press. One of the most recent is in the form of a rider to the post-office appropriation bill. This rider leaves it at the discretion of the Post Office Department as to whether some of the mail may not be sent by freight instead of by express. This provision has awakened great opposition on the part of some of the newspapers which said little or nothing concerning the proposed laws to give the Postmaster-General discretionary power to exclude from the mails publications making attacks on any religion or which are deemed obnoxious by any religious sect. The Washington Post of May 31, under the heading "Kill This Press Gag!" speaks of the subject editorially. As the editorial is short and strong, we are quoting it entire: --

"The Senate should lose no time in defeating that provision of the post-office appropriation bill which would enable any Postmaster-General to stifle and destroy any newspaper or periodical by his arbitrary ruling. Under this provision, the Postmaster-General may require that certain publications which for any reason may have aroused his ill will shall be distributed by freight, whereas other publications in precisely the same class, rivals and competitors of the first, may enjoy the rapid transit of the regular mails.

"On its very face this is the power of life and death. No newspaper or magazine could

long survive such a handicap if a Postmaster-General imposed it, and, under the terms of the bill, there is no appeal from his decision. Such power for harm should not be intrusted to any man. The proposition has been described as the boldest attempt in the history of the country to muzzle the free press of the United States. It is nothing less than that. Freedom of speech and freedom of the press are such fundamental rights under the Constitution that it is astonishing to find men willing to defeat one of those guaranties, even by indirection. It would give any party in power a political weapon with which to punish its enemies. It would paralyze public opinion in America.

"This particular section of the post-office appropriation bill must have been passed in the House and reported subsequently to the Senate only because the attention of members of the committee was not directed to the insidious character of the provision. The Senate committee evidently saw the wisdom of restricting the discretion of officials of the Post Office Department along certain lines, for it recommended legislation with that in view. The section in question strikes more deeply at the liberties of the people than any condition that is sought to be remedied in the pending bill. It should be killed promptly and for all time when it comes up in the Senate."

We wish also to call our readers' attention to the fact that the statement of principles as set forth in this editorial apply equally to the proposed legislation giving the Postmaster-General arbitrary power to stifle publications dealing with religious controversy which may be obnoxious to those religious bodies which are attacked. The preservation of our liberties demands that there shall not be in this country any political party or religious sect exempt from liability to criticism. Freedom of the press is absolutely essential to the maintenance of liberty, both civil and religious. L. L. C.

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FORTUNATELY for the minority in this world, there have always been some willing to give them a hearing. That is why the oppressor is opposed to granting his enemies the right of dissent. The jury, or in other words the people, may decide against the old order and in favor of the new ideas.

Equal Liberty Not Absolute Liberty

WHAT all men have a right to demand before the law is equal liberty, but not absolute liberty. Absolute liberty is that liberty that disregards the rights of others; whereas equal liberty is bounded by the like liberty of each and all. Many people believe in liberty for themselves and their views, but not for others or others' views; such is neither equal nor absolute liberty, but tyranny in embryo. Every man who lives by the golden rule believes in equal liberty, and will never injure or persecute his neighbor.

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Compulsory Sunday Observance

A PETITION of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, recently in session at Saratoga Springs, N. Y., has been presented to Congress, and its presentation recorded in the *Con*gressional Record of May 31. This petition prays for the enactment of legislation for compulsory Sunday observance in the District of Columbia. This commits that church to the principle of compulsory Sunday observance; for if such legislation is desirable in the District, it is desirable in every State of the Union.

A peculiar side light is thrown on the mental attitude of the members of this same church by the fact that at this same General Conference there came up for vote a resolution to abolish the rule against the indulgence by members of the church in such amusements as dancing, theatergoing, and card playing. Though the resolution was defeated, the vote was far from unanimous.

In an address recently given at a Methodist Episcopal church in Washington, D. C., the Washington *Herald* of June 2 informs us that the minister expressed the opinion that "whether a Christian should dance, go to the theater, or play cards is a matter that should be left to the individual conscience." On the other hand, we are informed that he "also stated that there was too much laxness in the observance of Sunday," and that "he did not approve of patronizing soda water fountains on that day, even though the fountains were permitted to keep open." Can it be possible that he would prohibit them if he could? Evidently more concern is felt by this minister for Sunday sacredness than for these other matters. L. L. C.

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Boycott in Favor of Sunday

A RESOLUTION was passed by the delegates of the Presbyterian General Assembly recently held at Atlantic City, which provides that no delegate shall subscribe for, or support by advertisement or in any other way, newspapers published on Sunday. We regret very much to see any such action taken by any church. Of course every individual has a perfect right to buy or not buy newspapers published on Sunday, but this resolution involves a boycott of all papers which find it to their own interest to publish Sunday editions. The Presbyterian Church has thus placed itself on record as desirous of forcing all newspapers to suspend their Sunday editions under threat of loss of Presbyterian patronage.

At the same assembly the delegates placed themselves on record as opposed to all sports and games on Sunday, and urge that as little traveling as possible be done on that day. Perhaps shortly they will be ready to advocate the boycott on all persons known to attend or in any way patronize Sunday baseball, and they may perhaps demand that railroads cease their Sunday traffic under threat of loss. None can prophesy to what this may lead; possibly the boycott foretold in Rev. 13:16, 17: "He causeth all, both small and great, rich and poor, free and bond, to receive a mark in their right hand, or in their foreheads; and that no man might buy or sell, save he that had the mark." L. L. C.

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