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A MAGAZINE OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM



Washington D C

Thirty-five Conte o Vone

Religious Liberty Association

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

- r. 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.
- 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.

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

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LIBERTY

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THE "MAYFLOWER" IN ICY ARMOR, REACHES AMERICA

VOL. XII

FOURTH QUARTER, 1917

NO. 4

Senator Sheppard's Historic Speech

on a

Historic Occasion

By the Editor

N July 30, 1917, Senator Morris Sheppard, of Texas, made the opening speech in the United States Senate, favoring a Constitutional amendment for nation-wide prohibition. The joint resolution providing for the submission of such an amendment to the various State legislatures for ratification was passed by the Senate on the following day, 65 Senators voting for it, and 20 against it. This is the first time the Senate has acted favorably on such a resolution. There is no doubt in the minds of those who seem to be familiar with the sentiment prevailing in the House of Representatives, that the House will speedily concur in this action. The resolution limits the States to six years' time for this amendment to be either approved or rejected by three fourths of the States. This important question is being referred to the people as the final tribunal. The will of the whole people will thus become the supreme law, and there is no question as to how the people will vote on this issue.



© Harris & Ewing SENATOR MORRIS SHEPPARD

Senator Sheppard's notable address was, in part, as follows:

"Mr. President, this is a historic occasion. For the first time in its annals the Senate is to vote on the submission of a Constitutional amendment for nation-wide prohibition. The method ordained by the federal Constitution for its own alteration is being strictly followed. If the proposed amendment should be adopted by three fourths of the States, the traffic in intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes would be forbidden anywhere within the American Republic. Prohibition would be embedded in the organic law of the nation.

"At the outset an inquiry may arise

as to why a subject of this kind should have assumed such importance as to justify the proposal of an amendment to the federal Constitution.

"Let Abraham Lincoln give answer:

" 'The liquor traffic is a cancer in society, eating the vitals and threatening destruction; and all attempts to regulate it will not only prove abortive, but will aggravate the evil. There must be no attempts to regulate the cancer. It must be eradicated; not a root must be left behind, for

until this is done all classes must continue

in danger of becoming victims of strong drink. . . . Slavery is abolished. The next great question would be the overthrow of the legalized liquor traffic. And you know, Mer-win, that my head and my heart, my hand and my purse, will go into tha work. In 1842, less than a quarter of a cent ry ago, I predicted that the day would come when there would be neither a slave nor a drunkard in the land. I have lived to see one prediction fulfilled; I hope to see the other realized.'

"Senators, a vote for the amendment now pending will help to realize the dream of Lincoln.

"Let one of the foremost scientific and professional bodies of the nation, the American Medical Association, give answer. At its sixty-eighth annual session in the city of New York, in June of this year, the following resolutions were adopted:

"" WHEREAS, We believe that the use of alcohol as a beverage is detrimental to the human economy; and

"' WHEREAS, Its use in therapeutics, as a tonic or a stimulant, or as a food, has no scientific basis; therefore,

"'Resolved, That the American Medical Association oppose the use of alcohol as a heverage; and be it further

" Resolved. That the use of alcohol as a therapeutic agent should be discouraged."

"To make the second resolution plainer, let it be said that therapeutics is that branch of medicine dealing with the treatment of disease.

"Let Arthur Mee and Stuart Holden,

noted students of the drink problem in England, give answer:

" The drink trade in these fifty years has deprived the country of man

> power equivalent to the whole of the British army under arms. . . . If you would know how we de-

stroy our

PLEDGE children, there is a little new book that will tell you. It is Dr. Norman McLean's noble book, "Stand Up, Ye Dead." . . . You will learn from it that we sacrifice one third of our possible growth of population losing in the way of France, which cries in vain today for her best men. There are other causes than drink for these things, but there is tragic meaning in the words of one of our great medical officers of health, Dr. Millard, of Leicester, which says that were he offered the abolition of drink alone or of all the other enemies of public health put together. he would choose the abolition of drink. . Is it nothing to us that these social Zeppelins of ours, not content to have stolen our man power in the past, not content to imperil our land today, not content to turn the happiness of millions into misery through all the years they live, sap the very foundations of our future, and write across the entrance of the world for millions of children who come through its gates - "All hope abandon, ye who enter here"?"

SIGNING THE

"Let the New York Tribune answer:

"' Upon what does the liquor traffic depend? - Upon debased manhood, wronged womanhood, and defrauded childhood. It holds a mortgage on every cradle, a deed written in the heart's blood on every human life.'

"Let Dr. Howard A. Kelly, medical professor of Johns Hopkins Hospital, give answer:

" Alcohol -

"'I. Is nonefficient as a food, a most awful, wasteful substitute.

"'2. May be classed as a drug and a poison.

"'3. Has no rightful position as a medicine.

"'4. Destroys individual, domestic and civil.

"'5. Increases taxation by filling prisons, madhouses, and workhouses.

"6. Greatest foe to civilization in heathen lands.

"'7. Therefore could be wholly abolished with profit.

"'8. Therefore, as one of the human family, an individual member has no right to introduce into the household or use for his own pleasure that which hurts even one other member, or sets at work an evil influence he has no well-grounded hope of controlling. . . . It is clear in the light of experience and of recent research work that alcohol ought to be classed in the list of dangerous drugs, along with morphine, cocaine, and chloral, a drug which may so affect the will power as to gain the complete mastery over a patient and in the end destroy him. . . . As a citizen, I note that it is alcohol which fills our prisons, whether taken in the form of a strong beverage as whisky, or beer, as a representative of milder beverages. It is at the bottom of

most crimes, domestic infidelity, poverty, seductions, murders; it is allied to all that is evil and destructive of the high aims of civilization."...

"Let the following facts also give answer:

"Alcohol is a liquid poison. It attacks the tissues that compose the

various parts of the human

organism. . . . The most delicate tissues are those composing the brain and nerves. Here alcoholic poison works especial havoc. It impairs the highest functions of the brain, the sense of right, of moral conduct, of proper obligation

to society and to God. It thus imperils virtue, integrity, respect for law and order—all that is sacred and pure in civilization. It is the chief source of immorality and crime.

" Madame Tarnowsky, in her famous study of 'female offenders,' says that eighty-two per cent of fallen women were brought to ruin by alcohol. recent investigation the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Statistics found that eighty-four per cent of the convicted criminals of that State were made criminals by drink. A lord chief justice of England said that if sifted, nine tenths of the crime of England and Wales could be traced to drink. Col. L. Merwin Maus, who served forty-one years in the Medical Corps of the United States Army, who organized the Public Health Service in the Philippines, and who has made a profound study of the effect of alcoholic liquors on the human race, says that probably all the crime committed in the army, directly or indirectly, can be traced to alcohol. He says, further, that

nearly all crime may be traced to alcoholic drink. He calls alcohol 'our racial poison' and holds it mainly re-

sponsible for our 200,000 insane, our 250,000 feebleminded, our 100,000 deaf and dumb, our 100,000

SAVE THE BOYS

blind, our 50,000 juvenile delinquents in institutions, our 100,000 paupers, our 150,000 prisoners and criminals. Vance Thompson, who has written a stirring and impressive indictment of alcohol under the ironical title 'Drink and Be Sober,' says:

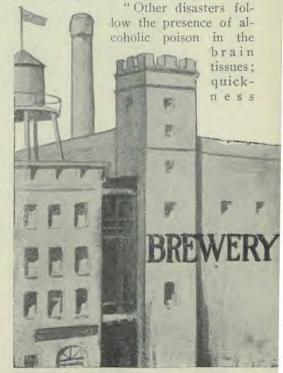
"'But alcohol is a curious thing. It is often as erratic in its manifestations as electricity. Its ordinary way of work is to degenerate its man, making for general organic degeneracy, with progressive waning of the intellectual faculties. Now and then it has another way. Instead of slowly murdering its man, it attacks him furiously at intervals. Now and then, at an unforeseen moment, out of the blue a drinkstorm beats upon him and sweeps him away from his usual moorings. . . . The best man who drinks is never sure that crime may not get him; that when his moral discrimination is put to sleep by the drug, a strange new criminality may not start up in him. The chance is one in a hundred. If it be only one in a thousand, it is a bad chance to take, and it is on the edge of this peril that one finds the most awful and the most sad tragedies of life. One such adventure in life haunts me. The youth I loved most was an undergraduate at one of the English universities. Destiny had given him birth in a famous English family - near the head of it. . . . Once, I remember, we had wandered far afield, debating the old Utopian idea, and a winter night shut down on us. We went into a little wayside inn for dinner and took what we could get. It was an alehouse and there was no wine to be had. And I remember his pathetic exclamation, "How can a gentleman dine without a half pint of claret?"

"Let me interrupt here to say that a few days ago a Senator who has everything the world can give to make life beautiful, useful, inspiring, and worth while, who has eloquence, genius, and charm, who has in him the making of a president, said in my hearing, 'What possible harm can come from a glass of sherry in the home?' And that Senator is going to vote against the amendment. He is going to vote to continue a traffic which will send millions of men and women to careers of crime and shame because personally he can see no harm in a glass of sherry in his palatial home.

"But let us return to Vance Thompson and the story of his ill-fated friend. He continues:

"'Now, in the horoscope of this grave and gentle lad was the maddest night ever written by the stars. I did not witness it. I was not even in England, but what happened I know, and I know the end. He had been studying hard and late, and in the afternoon he rode out for an hour or so,—those were the days when youth took its pleasure on a horse,—

and he came back and dressed to dine in town with some friends. There you have him at a trifle before eight o'clock. He had never been drunk in his life; he was the half-pintof-claret sort of man; the man who wets his pipe with a glass or two of whisky and soda; a clean-mannered man who had as soon think of drinking to excess as of rolling in the kennel like a dog. Where he went that evening I do not know. The bolt from the blue struck him. At ten o'clock he was a drinkmad maniac, scouring the streets of the town with an American revolver - Heaven knows where he got it, I have forgotten - in his hand, and five minutes later he shot and killed a constable who expostulated with him in the kindly British way. They hanged that boy. In spite of the mighty weight of his family name, in spite of his dazed defense, in spite of the evident madness of that drinkstorm, they hanged him on a gallows. "I don't remember anything about it," was all he could say. How could he? Science would have made clear today that he was in an alcoholic trance. When he went out to kill, the real man in him - the man I knew and loved, the dreamer of Utopia - was deaf and blind. I do not care to write any more about this boy's life and death, only this: No man who plays with the lawless force of alcohol knows when or where the bolt from the blue will strike. No man knows. For inexorably as a triangle is embedded in a circle, there is hidden in alcohol the swift potentiality of crime.'



and accuracy of judgment, memory, perception, coördination, ability to receive and transmit impulses, appreciation of the highest standards and motives of human conduct, faculties of initiative and originality, thrift, energy, all are affected at the very fountains of their being. . . .

"But alcohol does not confine its devastations to the brain. Nor are its ravages limited to the production of inefficiency, immorality, and crime. Permeating all the organs of the body and attacking their component tissues, it weakens them to such an extent as to invite and hasten the inroads of disease. It finds its way into the blood vessels that carry nutriment to every part of the human anatomy. It paralyzes, more or less, both the red and white corpuscles in the blood, injuring the disease-resisting power of the former, the microbedestroying function of the latter. Entering the stomach, it produces, with continued use, gastric catarrh and disturbs the entire digestive apparatus. It alters the tissues of the liver, dilating the cells, interfering with the liver's basic functions, producing cirrhosis, with possible complications of dropsy, swollen veins, and jaundice in its train. . . .



It is a menace to the health as well as the morals of a nation, and should be abated like any other nuisance or any other malignant plague.

"The indictment is not yet complete. This alcoholic drug adds poverty of the blackest, dreariest, and most hopeless sort to the list of its offenses. Such is its power that men will take bread money from their families and make it blood money for drink. Such is its power that the American people are expending two and a half billion dollars for it every year, an average consumption of about twenty-two gallons for every man, woman, and child in the Republic. Nearly all the American people must earn a living with the labor of their hands. Keep in mind the fact that those who bear most of the nation's burdens, produce most of the nation's wealth, and constitute the chief source of the nation's vitality, are the individuals, male and female, who can earn a living by manual labor. . . .

"In view of the fact, Mr. President, that the toiling millions are to be the principal beneficiaries of the abolition of the liquor traffic, is it not astounding that there should have been a definite effort to enlist organized labor in behalf of this traffic? The laboring hosts of America, with their families, seventy-five or eighty million strong, are asked to oppose prohibition, presumably because 100,000 bartenders have a union, as well as probably most of the 62,000 brewery, distillery, and other beverage-factory operatives. Labor is asked to imperil its very existence, to take food from the mouths and clothes from the backs of men, women, and children, to sustain a traffic meaning hunger, disease, insanity. and death for the masses, while liquor barons thrive in luxury, on account of these few men who would be infinitely better off in some other line. . . .

"Another charge against the beverage alcohol must now be added — that of economic waste. Over a hundred million bushels of grain and vast quantities of other foodstuffs intended by nature

(Concluded on page 127)

Beers and Light Wines as "Temperance" Drinks

Bu THE MANAGING EDITOR



when defeat of the stronger intoxicants looms big on the horizon, their whilom friends and defenders forsake them and begin to laud "light wines and beers." How "light" some of these drinks are appears from an editorial admission made in the New York American of July 10, 1917, in these words:

"To make temperance sure, THE POR-TION OF ALCOHOL PERMITTED TO BE MANUFACTURED, SOLD, OR CON-SUMED OUGHT TO BE LIMITED TO SOME DEFINITE DEGREE. The percentage of alcohol in beverages should be limited to ten, or twelve, or fourteen per cent. This newspaper's judgment is that the conservative sentiment of the entire country would prefer ten per cent."

"Conservative" means "adhering to existing institutions." Of course the dealers and the drinkers who want to keep right on selling and drinking would be satisfied with "light" wines and beers containing "ten, or twelve, or fourteen per cent" of alcohol. That is very much

more than most of the so-called light drinks contain now. American beers run from about four to something over six per cent. The per cent of alcohol in naturally fermented wines varies from seven to sixteen per cent, the lower percentage

being in the clarets and the higher in the heavier wines.

But it is worse than folly to plead for even the milder wines and beers as temperance drinks. Alcohol is one of the poisons that even in its most innocent forms and in small quantities creates a demand for more. It is a habit-forming drug, and a wine- or beer-drinking people are a besotted people. This is true where the beers contain only four per cent of alcohol and the wines only seven per cent. How much more true would it be if these liquors contained ten to fourteen per cent of alcohol. In such a case the man or other person who took a schooner of ten-per-cent beer or a goblet of fourteen-per-cent wine would have almost the equivalent of an ordinary glass of whisky.

In data recently prepared by the Scientific Temperance Federation, and printed in the Congressional Record of June 27, it is shown that the drunkenness of ancient history was caused by wine, beer, and cider.

"There is nothing in the history of the nations that gives us any reason to suppose that this [the use of beers and wines] will be anything but a detriment to the efficiency of the nation at a time when every particle of energy is required.

"As long as human deeds have been recorded, whether in song and story or on stones, papyrus, or printed page, the record has contained accounts of man's drunkenness.

> Edicts and exhortations against it are found in the most ancient writings of China, India, and



Persia. In Egypt its origin is credited to Isis or Osiris. Pompeii had a statue of Bacchus. The Bible contains fifty-eight references to drunkenness. It closed the career of Alexander the Great and many of the high and low in ancient Greece and Rome.

"But the drunkenness of the ancient was wine, beer, or cider

drunkenness. The accredited inventor of distillation died in 1106 A. D., hence whisky and other distilled liquors were not responsible for the intemperance of the olden times."

This statement is followed by these facts on the effect of wine drinking in France:

"At the beginning of the present war, France abolished absinth, but left her wine and brandy and other liquors. Here is a poster issued in 1916 by the French Society Against Alcoholism, the honorary president of which is M.

Raymond Poincaré, the president of France:

Noah Became a

Hushandman

"L'ALARME

[Société Française d'Action Contre Alcoolisme; Honorary President, M. Raymond Poincaré.] "To French Women and French Young People:

"I. Alcohol is as formidable an enemy to you as Germany.

"2. It has cost France since 1870 in men and money more than the present war.

"3. Alcohol pleases the taste, but, a veritable poison, it destroys the body.

"4. Drinkers grow old early. They lose half their normal life, and are easy prey to numerous weaknesses and maladies.

"5. The 'little glasses' of parents are transformed into hereditary weaknesses in their descendants. France has today about 200,000 insane, twice as many consumptives, to say nothing of the victims of gout, scrofula, rickets, premature degeneracy, and the majority of criminals.

"6. Alcoholism reduces our productivity two thirds, increases the cost of living and misery.

"7. Like the criminal kaiser, alcoholism decimates and ruins France to the great joy of Germany. Mothers, young people, husbands, fight alcoholism and remember the glorious wounded and dead for the country.

"8. You will thus accomplish a great task, equaling that of our heroic soldiers."

Then follow facts and figures relative to the effects of the same curse in Switzerland and Italy, all showing most clearly and undeniably that wherever

> light wines and beers abound there drunkenness also abounds. Mr. Vance Thompson, the well-

known journalist, is quoted in this connection as saying in a recent book:

"The greater part of my life I have lived in wine countries. Always one remembers the best of life; the dirty and tragic parts slip out of mind. And so with the wine lands.

Go to the real facts of life, banish the haze of poetic fancy, and what you see is not the cannikin-clinking merriment of comic

opera, but a sadder, drearier way of life.
"I am speaking of lands where the grapes grow, where wine is 'natural, pure, and cheap.' It is there at its best. The alcohol, always a poison, is, in its

least harmful form, concealed in the beneficent juice of the grape — hidden in suavity and perfume. And what it does to the race of men, dwellers in sunlight, you know, for you have shuddered at these crippled and distorted generations, with their beggars and idiots, bearing one and all — to the eye of the physiologist — the stigmata of alcoholic penalties.

"'No drunkenness in southern Europe'?

"He who makes that statement speaks out of deep ignorance. He has never dwelt in the villages of Provence or wandered over the wide roads of Italy. You do not, I admit, see so wild and manifest a drunkenness as in the harsh, northern, spirit-drinking lands, but the southern drinker, making up in quantity what was wanting in the alcoholic strength of his beverage, reaches the same stage of physical impairment, begets the same poisoned offspring, dies in the same kind of alcoholic dissolution - to use the technical phrase. His moral corruption, as his physical degeneration, is slower in its progress, but statistics might be piled hospital-high to show it reaches the same end."- Congressional Record for June 27. 1017. p. 4743.

Our nation has entered upon a great war. Prohibition has been urged, and to some extent adopted, as a war measure. Let us hope that it will be made unlim-

(Concluded on page 127)



The

Theocratic Theory of Government

By A. G. DANIELLS

A THEOCRACY is a form of government in which all the affairs of men, whether temporal or spiritual, civil or religious, are united under the control of God. The government of Israel was a true theocracy. It was really a government of God.

When doing their duty, the kings of Israel ruled the people according to the directions of God. But the kings did not always do their duty, Many of them rejected the counsel of the Lord. This was carried to such an extent by Zedekiah that God said to him:

"Thou, profane wicked prince of Israel, whose day is come, when iniquity shall have an end, thus saith the Lord God; Remove the diadem, and take off the crown: this shall not be the same: exalt him that is low, and abase him that is high. I will overturn, overturn, overturn, overturn, it: and it shall be no more, until he come whose right it is; and I will give it him." Eze. 21:25-27.

In fulfilment of this sentence, the kingdom of Israel was subsequently overturned three times — once by Medo-Persia, once by Grecia, and once by Rome. Soon after the third overturning, the theocracy of Israel was removed from the earth, and, according to the sentence of God, "It shall be no more, until he come whose right it is; and I will give it him."

He "whose right it is," and to whom that kingdom will be restored, is the Lord Jesus Christ. Of him we read:

"He shall be great, and shall be called the Son of the Highest: and the Lord God shall give unto him the throne of his father David:

and he shall reign over the house of Jacob forever; and of his kingdom there shall be no end." Luke 1:32, 33.

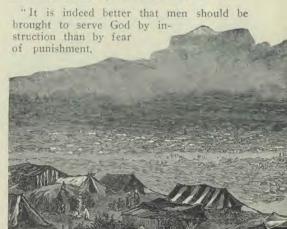
When Christ was on earth, he declared to Pilate that his kingdom was not of this world. John 18:36. He further declared that the time when he would sit upon the throne of his kingdom would be at his coming. Matt. 25:31, 32.

"Therefore while this world stands, a true theocracy can never be in it again. From the death of Christ until now, every theory of an earthly theocracy has been a false theory. And from now on until the end of the world, every such theory will be a false theory. Yet such was the theory of the bishops of the fourth century."

And it was this theory that led to the establishment of the Papacy.

Augustine's Dangerous Theory

. Augustine, one of the Fathers of the Catholic Church, reasoned thus:



or by pain. But because the former means are better, the latter must not therefore be neglected. . . . Many must often be brought back to the Lord, like wicked servants, by the rod of temporal suffering before they attain to the highest grade of religious development."— Schaff's "Church History," Vol. II, sec. 27.

Of the principle in Augustine's theory, Neander says:

"It was by Augustine, then, that a theory was proposed and founded, which . . . contained the germ of that whole system of spiritual despotism, of intolerance and persecution, which ended in the tribunals of the Inquisition."—Id., p. 217.

Yes, the theory that advocates law, compulsion, punishment in matters of religion, contains the germ of spiritual despotism, of religious intolerance and cruel persecution. The Papacy was that theory fully developed. The man who holds that theory will invade the rights of his fellows. The church that holds that theory will usurp authority over the state, and use the civil power as an instrument of persecution.

of persecution.

This has been done by men claiming to be Protestant reformers, and by professed Protestant churches. The

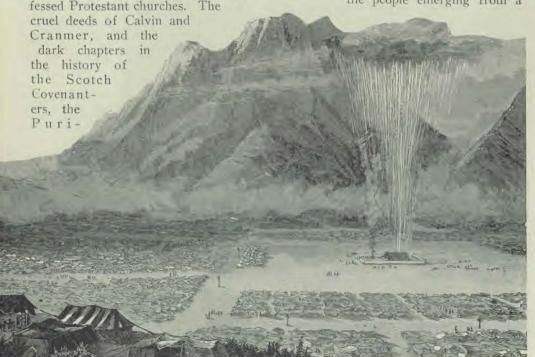
tans, and the English Church are the natural and awful results of this theory.

Augustine's Theory Adopted by Calvin

The theory of counteracting evil and of making Christians by enforcing laws and inflicting penalties, propounded by Augustine and now advocated by the Evangelical Alliance and other religiopolitical organizations of America, found a large place in the heart of John Calvin. One of his apologists says:

"He allowed to the church a greater authority than any other Reformer. Here, again, the influence of Augustine is seen. He says, 'The church is our mother.' . . . Outside of the church there is no salvation. . . . In this scheme he had in mind the Israelites. He aimed at a theocracy."—Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia, art. "Calvin."

Calvin "aimed at a theocracy," and he succeeded in establishing one, and the account of its working and its influence in various countries forms one of the darkest chapters in the history of modern times. Geneva was his home, and the seat of his operations. On arriving in that city in 1536, Calvin found the people emerging from a



violent conflict between papists and Protestants. The reformed religion had just been adopted by the state. Calvin decided to remain in Geneva, and devote himself to the cause of the Reformation.

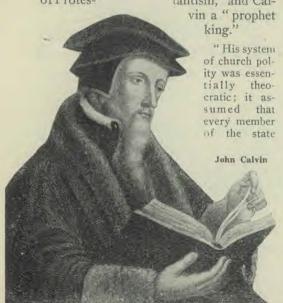
"He soon found himself at the head of the whole movement, political as well as religious; and by his iron hand a theocracy of a very stern type was established. The reformed doctrine became a civil duty, and dogmatical deviations were treated as treason. Ecclesiastical discipline was carried even into the routine of daily life, and a breach of its dictates was punished as a crime."—Id., art. "Geneva."

Calvin's Theocracy

Calvin formed a "church court," which had "full authority to maintain discipline."

"On Nov. 20, 1541, at a popular meeting, the scheme he drew up was ratified. This provided for a consistory composed of six city ministers and twelve elders,—one of the latter to be a syndic, and their president,—which met every Thursday, and put under church discipline, without respect of persons, every species of evil-doers."—Id., art. "Calvin."

This was a government after Calvin's own heart. It was the theocracy which he aimed to establish. The church controlled the state, and Calvin controlled the church. It is not surprising that historians have called Geneva the "Rome of Protes
tantism," and Cal-



was also under the discipline of the church; and he asserted that the right of exercising this discipline was vested exclusively in the consistory, or body of preachers and elders.

consistory, or body of preachers and enters.

. . . Nor was it only in religious matters that Calvin busied himself; nothing was indifferent to him that concerned the welfare and good order of the state or the advantage of its citizens. His work, as has been justly said, "embraced everything;" he was consulted on every affair, great and small, that came before the council,—on questions of law, police, economy, trade, and manufactures, no less than on questions of doctrine and church polity."—Encyclopedia Britannica, art. "Calvin."

The government established by Calvin, and over which he exercised almost absolute control, bore such a striking resemblance in form to the Jewish theocracy that Wylie, speaking of Geneva, says:

"Calvin took the Jewish theocracy as his model when he set to work to frame, or rather to complete, the Genevan republic. What we see on the banks of the Leman is a theocracy.

. . The government exercised a presiding and paternal guardianship over all interests and causes, civil and spiritual. Geneva, in this respect, was a reproduction of the Old Testament state of society."—"History of Protestantism," book 10, p. 284.

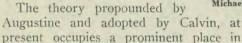
Yes, Calvin's government exercised a "paternal guardianship over all interests and causes, civil and spiritual." It interfered with the private affairs of the people to such an extent that it became intolerable. On one occasion the people arose in rebellion and banished Calvin from Geneva. At the end of two years he returned with a firm determination to persevere in his course to the end. Those who spoke against Calvin's religion or doctrines were severely punished. Ameaux, who declared that Calvin's religion was "deceit and tyranny," was compelled "to walk through the streets bareheaded, carrying a lighted candle, and to make confession of his fault on his knees." - Id., book 17, p. 310.

Gruet, on a charge of infidelity, was condemned and beheaded. Jerome Hermes Bolsec was imprisoned, and finally banished, on the same grounds. Michael Servetus was persecuted and

ocracy, for having opposed the doctrine

of the Trinity.

These are a few samples of fruits produced by this manmade theocracy. The theocracy itself was an exact counterpart of the Papacy, which grew out of Augustine's theocratical theory of government. And, like the Papacy, it invaded the rights of the people. It robbed them of their liberties.





Michael Servetus

finally burned to death by Calvin's the- the schemes of many religious organizations in this and other Protestant lands.

> And as the germ of each scheme is the same, the fruits are not likely to be different. The only just and safe course to pursue is to keep the state and the church separate, and to allow men to exercise the fullest liberty in matters of religion. This is in harmony with the words of Christ, "Render . . . unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's: and

unto God the things that are God's." Washington, D. C.

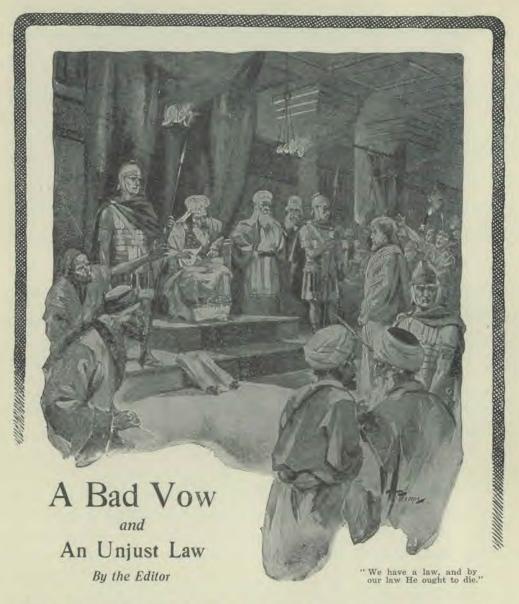
The Struggle for Liberty

UP to the early part of the sixteenth century there was little liberty in Europe,- little liberty, civil or religious. The state and the church had formed an unholy alliance against the liberties of men. For freedom of conscience, freedom of opinion, men were condemned by the Inquisition to die; and as when Christ was condemned by the Jewish church and turned over to the Roman procurator to be crucified, so the church condemned men and women for their opinions, and called upon the state to inflict punishment. In almost every country of Europe fires were lighted to burn "heretics," and multitudes of martyrs preferred death to the surrender of their rights of private opinion, and liberty to worship God according to their consciences. The great battle between truth and tyranny was on, and thousands of men had to choose between oppression and death. They contended for the truth, refusing to give up the eternal principles of righteousness. God is truth and will prevail.

Martin Luther, John Calvin, and John Knox thundered the truths of the Bible out over Europe, giving men back their Bibles, and so the people rose to contend for truth and liberty. They set their faces toward the sunrise, and struggled for the light of a great day.

Old Calvin in his lecture-room in Geneva, showed men a vision of an infinite. eternal, and unchangeable God, the sovereign of the universe; and having seen this magnificent vision of the Almighty, the people no longer feared man, priest, pope, or emperor. They saw in these but gilded worms of the dust, wearing gay garments of assumed authority and power over human souls. Luther burned the Pope's bull, and brave hearts all over Europe who had seen and felt the power of God, defied the Pope, the priests, bishops, and all the mad hosts of clergy of the Roman Church. They had set out to win liberty, and would stop at no hardship in quest of this unspeakable boon.

To make a long, a very long, and terrible, but glorious story, short, they won liberty in Germany, Switzerland, Holland, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and the British Isles, and we are the heritors of the splendid legacy they left to fol-· lowing generations. The reason we have absolute freedom of conscience in America today is because our fathers fought. bled, and died for truth, and for her imperial daughter, Liberty.- Presbyterian of the South, June 30, 1015.



A BAD vow is better broken than kept, and an unjust law is better nullified than enforced and upheld. To enforce an unjust law upon the people does not inspire reverence for those in authority, nor does it add dignity and majesty to the law, in the estimation of the people. The less an unjust law is enforced, the better it is for the country.

Even Mohammed recognized this principle, which some modern Solons are not yet willing to accept. A Bedouin woman made a rash vow as she mounted on a dromedary and fled for her life from the face of her pursuers into the presence of Mohammed. "The enemy," said she, "have seized upon my flock, that I was pasturing in the desert: I mounted this dromedary, and made a vow to immolate it in your presence to God should I succeed in escaping through its speed. I come to fulfil the vow." "But," said Mohammed, smiling, "would it not be ingratitude to the gen-

erous animal to whom thou owest thy safety? Thy vow is null, because it is unjust."—Lamartine's Turkey, p. 121.

"I believe this law is unjust, discriminatory, and religious," I once heard a civil magistrate say as he fined a man for violating a drastic Sunday law, "but I am bound by the oath of my office to uphold the dignity of the law." The cruel Caiaphas, presiding officer of the Sanhedrin, reasoned the same way when the immaculate and inimitable Christ stood before what was called the bar of justice, with Caiaphas on the throne. So did the Jews when they said, "We have a law, and by our law he ought to die." The cruel Nero, as he bathed his sword in the blood of the Christian martyrs, said, "The dignity of the Roman law requires the blood of all who refuse to worship Cæsar as well as Christ."

When the presidents, princes, governors, and counselors appeared before King Darius to accuse Daniel because he reverenced the law of his God above human laws, they said:

"That Daniel, which is of the children of the captivity of Judah, regardeth not thee, O king, nor the decree that thou hast signed, but maketh his petition three times a day. . . . Know, O king, that the law of the Medes and Persians is, That no decree nor statute which the king establishes may be changed."

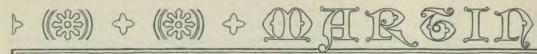
So to uphold the dignity of the law, they threw Daniel into the lions' den. But how much more dignified would it have been on the part of Darius, and to his eternal glory, to have declared the law null and void because unjust, and have set Daniel free! How much more honorable it would have been for Pilate to have set Christ free after he declared him to be innocent, than to have enforced against him a misinterpreted Roman law, at the demand of the religious hierarchy!

"The dignity of the law must be upheld," is a plea which is never more urgently made than when an unjust law is to be maintained at all hazards. This sophistry has led both the church and the state to commit the greatest atrocities in the name of religion and justice, recorded on the pages of history. In every land, in every clime, the religio-civil statutes have been invoked against honorable, God-fearing men and women, to cause them to be put to death, and in every instance the plea has been the vindication of the law.

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A Lesson from the Past

THE controvertists of this age [the fourth century], in their discussions, resorted to new sources of proof. truth of doctrines was proved by the number of martyrs that had believed so, by prodigies, and by the confessions of devils, that is, of persons in whose bodies some demon was supposed to reside. The doctrine that has so disgraced the church in after ages, and stained her garments with the blood of thousands, was approved and practiced upon in this century; namely, that errors in religion, when maintained and adhered to after proper admonition, ought to be visited with penalties and punishments. doctrine had its source in the natural corruption of the human heart. When a religious system is adopted and upheld by pride and selfishness, backed with power, the result will be the oppression and persecution of dissentients. Hence the pagans, while in power, persecuted the Christians; and when it had become an established practice to interfere, in this manner, with liberty of conscience, it ought not to surprise us to find men with the name, but without the spirit, of real Christians, pursuing the same course, and even men of undoubted piety joining with them. There are few, comparatively, that can see clearly through the mist which the general custom and ruling spirit of the age gather round them. The doctrine in question, however, and its corresponding practice, are diametrically opposed to the gospel of Christ. "Who art thou that judgest another man's servant? to his own master he standeth or falleth."-" Sketches Church History," James Wharev, pp. 62, 63. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1914.





Luther the Student Entering the Monastic School

"Today you see me, and never more."



Luther the Preacher Engaged in Studp

"The just shall live by faith."

HERE was a time, and that quite re-, cently, when the state was religious in its establishment, and when it administered and enforced religious functions. A religious test was required as a qualification for civil office, and ecclesiastics were by virtue of their religious positions also state officials. Religious interests shaped the policy of the state in both foreign and domestic affairs.

The state approved by law that which it considered orthodox, prohibited skeptical writings, and punished heresy as a crime of the greatest magnitude. Freedom of speech and of the press were regarded as incompatible with stable government. Civil and religious freedom for the individual were unknown, or at least considered intolerable. The individual had no rights either in the realm of religion or the domain of the state. The individual existed for the service of the established church as

The Secular Stat

well as for that of the state. The church and the state were paramount in all things. and the individual was but a cog in

Enemies

By C.

the wheel of the religio-political machine. The people had privileges, but no rights

Protestantism has endeavored for more than four centuries to establish a purely civil government upon the broad fundamental principles of an equality of individual right and justice before the law between man and man, and to guarantee to each individual entire civil and religious freedom. This has been the paramount aim of true Protestant-

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Luther the Opponent of Indulgences

"My advice is that no one should buy them."

Luther the Defier of the Pope

"Since thou hast bexed the Holy One of the Lord, may everlasting fire bex and consume thee!"

20 Freak Creation

Religion

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ism, so far as its relations to the state are concerned. But this ideal has had many obstacles to overcome, and for a time

made slow progress even among leading Protestant Reformers. Some understood imperfectly the great principles of human liberty and religious freedom, and others who understood, only partially obeyed these principles when they were intrusted with power.

It seems strange that men could not see that Christ, in his teachings and practice, had separated the church and the state, and that he esteemed the individual as of paramount worth. The words, "Render therefore unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's; and unto God the things that are God's," spoken to the individual, put a divine separating wall between these two realms—the civil and religious. What Christ has thus separated no man has any right to join together. A failure to recognize a distinction between civil and religious obligations has been the primary cause of all the religious persecutions that have cursed the world and shamed religion.

But there have been a few men who saw and recognized this plain dividing line between civil and divine concerns. Some of these lived and wrought even before the dawn of the great Protestant Reformation. Marsilius of Padua published a book, "Defensor Pacis," in 1324, in which he separated the church and state entirely, and held that the state should have no religious

functions and the priest no power in secular affairs. In it he laid the foundation for the modern secular state. This book created no small stir, and was epoch making, in that it weakened the grip and power of the Roman hierarchy in secular matters.

Wycliffe, "the Morning Star of the Reformation," a half century later, wrote another book, "De Dominio Divino," in which he separated the spiritual and secular realms and authorities, and firmly denied the Catholic claim that "all power and authority flows solely or chiefly through sacrament and hierarchy." This book struck a terrific blow at all tyrannies in state and in church, and raised up worthy champions in the cause of religious freedom.

Finally, Luther broke the chains of darkness and medieval superstition; but while in theory he separated the church and state, yet in practice he failed to obey the principles he advocated. He still left the individual bound in his reason and the gospel dependent upon the state. To him religious liberty meant religious liberty for only those who agreed with him. Zwingli advocated a broader view of freedom; but Calvin

caused Servetus to be burned at the stake at Geneva, in 1553, because he would not desist teaching contrary to Calvin's faith. Castellio vigorously employed his pen and voice in strong denunciation of such persecutions for opinion's sake, and advocated the widest liberty of religious belief for all. A decade later, William of Orange in the Netherlands, the broad-minded Socinus in Poland, and Sigismund, of Hungary, heroically raised their voices in favor of legislation granting full religious freedom to all. Slowly but surely, Protestantism was struggling toward its ideal of a total separation of church and state and liberty of conscience for the individual.

A terrible religious struggle ensued during the entire sixteenth century. Catholics and Protestants were frantically and cruelly waging religious wars upon each other. Parties within the Roman Church and divergent Protestant sects on the outside literally devoured each other. Those days were horrifying and bloody times, and both Catholics and Protestants today would fain blot these records from the pages of history. The one great principle that would have put



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an end to all this bloodshed was not yet practically established, viz., that the state should cease forever to regulate the religious opinions of the people. Any gov-

ernment or c h u r c h which holds the theory of a union of church and state or a union of religion with the state is



@ Burbank

PLYMOUTH IN 1622

case in the theocratic form of government of our Puritan forefathers. That experiment proved a dismal failure, and for that reason the founders of the American Republic renounced the scheme and denied the principle.

of church and state. The state was to be entirely secular and the church wholly

religious. Each was to be entirely in-

dependent of the other.

Taken en masse, we may appropriately say that we are a Christian people in sentiment; but it is not proper to say that we are a Christian nation or government, in order to give a religious flavor to the quality of our laws, as is frequently attempted by certain churchmen whose creeds were formulated in Europe instead of in America.

The secularization of the state, of politics, and of jurisprudence has made the American Republic the greatest and most prosperous nation in the world. Likewise the separation of the church from the state has resulted in the greatest evangelical progress of the churches in human history.

The secularization of the state was no sudden freakish creation on the part of a few men who were enemies of religion, and intended to give religion a slap in the face. It has been a natural but slow growth based upon the accumulated experiences of God-fearing men who had the welfare of truth and religion at heart, as well as the good of the individual and society, so that the church might realize its largest possibilities and the state its greatest political efficiency. The secular state was a creation of religious men who were friends of religion and humanity. Their object was to erect an effec-

bound to persecute the dissenter and nonconformist, and to ignore the rights of the individual conscience in religious matters. Europe was not able in the Reformation era to solve this great question, which makes so much for peace and national prosperity. Nor has she yet solved it.

It was left for the United States to settle the question of a complete separation of church and state, and guarantee to the individual perfect religious equality, by making it unconstitutional to enact any law respecting religious establishments. The American Republic was the first nation to recognize a purely secular state, free from ecclesiastical dictation and no longer bound to religious dogmas and ecclesiastical establishments. In America the federal government is purely civil and does not discharge any religious functions, nor does it profess or defend any religious dogmas.

When churchmen in America seek to ingraft religion upon the state and to interfere in civil matters, they do well to remember that they are given religious freedom on the implied condition that they leave the state free in its civil realm. If they do not want the state to interfere in religious matters, they must not interfere with the state in civil affairs. The state can of right recognize individuals only as citizens and not as religionists, or as representing church dogmas and establishments.

The founders of the American Republic aimed at a complete divorcement tual barrier against religious persecution, and make bloodshed and despotism impossible, so far as religious differences were concerned.

That the United States has in all respects reached the ideal of a purely secular state cannot be successfully maintained. Some of the States still retain some of the old ecclesiastical relics of the colonial period, and have not always been true to the spirit of religious liberty as guaranteed in the Declaration of Independence and the federal Constitution. Some States never repealed the religious tests as a qualification to public office, nor the Sunday laws, which are purely religious in origin, nature, and

purpose. Frequently religious crusades are carried on by the churches, under which these laws are spasmodically revived. These religious laws which exist here and there and the methods by which they are carried into effect by religious agencies, are a direct violation of the basic principles of the fundamental law of the American Republic and also of the foundation principles of true Protestantism.

Thomas Jefferson truly said that if these religious "shackles" are "not knocked off" from our statute books. they "will be made heavier and heavier, till our rights shall revive or expire in a convulsion."

"A High-Handed Decision"

THIS is the characterization given a certain semiofficial act by our Secretary of War, by the Pilot (R. C.) of Boston, in its issue of June 23. The following is the Pilot's editorial entire:

"It was graceful of Secretary Baker to write Congressman Tinkham of Massachusetts 'in regard to the designation of the Y. M. C. A. to take charge of certain recreational activity inside the military camps,' and to assure him 'that

the Y. M. C. A, has undertaken a truly nonsectarian work in which Catholics will find themselves able heartily to coöperate,' but it is not convincing.

"Mr. Baker, in making these assurances, underwrites two propositions that are negatived by the public record of the Y. M. C. A. and the uniform Catholic position. This 'designation' is by executive order, which states: 'It seems best for the interest of the service that it (the Y. M. C. A.) shall continue as a voluntary civilian organization,' as if a proposal had been made to incorporate it as part and parcel of the mili-



@ Underwood and Underwood, N. Y.

declaration of policy has been exacted from the Y. M. C. A. which has been guaranteed 100 per cent nonsectarian, and taken in as it stands, 'lock, stock, and barrel.'

"Nor does it make for Catholic peace of mind here in Massachusetts to see Governor McCall giving a blanket approval of the Y. M. C. A. 'designation,' especially when the 'sectarian amendment' stands fourth on the list of constitutional convention business, and the lines are re-forming to push that iniquitous measure.

"With certain reservations, the Y. M. C. A. occupies in this country a place analogous to the Established Church in England. It takes in all varieties of religious vagary that will wear its collar; it excludes Jews and Catholics as its English relative excludes Dissenters; it constitutes a loose yet enormously powerful body of active, influential, and wealthy people who, though little concerned with its aims and policy, approve everything it does.

"In this decision by government officials who knew just what they were doing, the Catholic standpoint is understood and ignored.

"The American Catholic young man does not doff his religious ideas with civilian dress. As he keeps away from the Y. M. C. A. in times of peace, so he will keep away from it in camp or field. It is estimated that between 300,000 and 400,000 Catholics out of a million registered in the recent enrolment. They constitute a body to be respected and reckoned with.

"The Y. M. C. A. is as Protestant an association as can be found in this Union. If it lives up to its constitution and the objects for which it was founded, it is bound to be sectarian. If it is now said to have become suddenly nonsectarian, thinking folk will opine that it is not to be trusted.

"The Knights of Columbus have appropriated a million dollars for this 'recreational activity' among the soldiers, but certainly not to be turned over to the

Y. M. C. A. to use as it sees ht. We see no reason whatever why the Y. M. C. A. should arrogate paramount position by official 'designation' in the American army, when in practice its activities will work out, as they always have, in distinctly Protestant lines.

"It is eminently fitting that this association be afforded perfect freedom to accomplish the good work it desires among those who are in sympathy with it and its policy, but when it is proposed to turn over to this plainly Protestant and essentially sectarian organization the moral and recreational welfare of hundreds of thousands of Catholic soldiers and in effect and practice setting up an established church in the American army, we think it is going too far.

"In this matter the plain words of the Constitution are to be preferred to any felicitous phrasing whatever. The official 'designation' of the Y. M. C. A. in military work with the broad and unexampled powers given to it, is a tremendous mistake. We do not want in the army proselytizing interference either open or disguised."

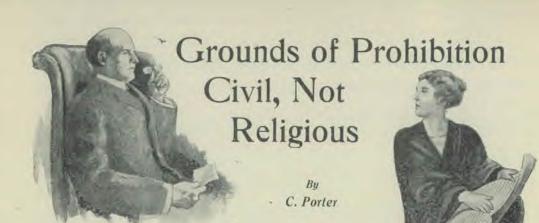
This simply serves to illustrate how difficult it is for the government to have anything whatever to do with religion or religious teaching without getting into trouble. Of course, from the Protestant standpoint the Y. M. C. A. is wholly nonsectarian, but as the Catholics view it, that organization is Protestant, and therefore sectarian.

According to Roman Catholic opinion, there can be no true religion outside the Roman Catholic Church. The very existence of the Y. M. C. A. challenges the Catholic view, and its recognition by the government is therefore offensive to Catholics. Secretary Baker is simply face to face with one of the many problems that confront his department in the conduct of a great war.

C. P. B.

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EVERY man has the inalienable right to relate himself to God as he shall choose



Some of our readers have asked us how we can consistently espouse the cause of prohibition of the liquor traffic, and at the same time oppose Sunday laws and similar measures of a

moral or religious nature.

Our answer is that the two things are totally unlike. It is true that drunkenness and the promotion of habitual drinking of intoxicating liquors are both immoral, but it is not for this reason that they are properly placed under the ban of civil law. The habitual use of intoxicants weakens and even destroys men both physically and mentally. It reduces them to poverty, and makes them prematurely old. It robs their families of the support to which they are entitled at the hands of their natural protector. It imposes upon the sober portion of the community unnecessary burdens in the suppression and punishment of crime and in the support and care of paupers and the insane. It increases liability to accident so that nondrinkers are daily and almost hourly put in jeopardy of life and limb from entirely preventable causes. It is such considerations as these that justify the prohibition of the liquor traffic, and not moral or religious considerations, which are sometimes mistakenly urged in behalf of political prohibition.

Another argument in favor of prohibition is that the organized liquor traffic is always a corrupting influence in politics. This influence can be destroyed only by destroying the traffic. In every State that has the legalized liquor traffic, is a liquor party, or cabal, caring

nothing for principles, but existing solely for the protection of an "industry" that thrives at the expense of every legitimate, honorable phase of productive or commercial activity. This cabal generally holds the balance of power as between the great parties through which the State is governed, and so is able to dictate terms, to shape platforms, and largely to name candidates for public office. This is so great an evil that even politicians, for purely political reasons, without any reference whatever to moral influences, have in many instances set themselves for the destruction of this utterly selfish traffic, that brings only degradation to its patrons, poverty to their families, and financial burdens to the community. Let him who can, disprove these allegations.

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"Christianizing Our Politics"

In a neat panel, on the first page of the Southern Methodist (Baltimore) of Aug. 17, 1916, appeared the following from the pen of Dr. J. H. Jowett:

"We must Christianize our conception of politics. Politics has become a debased word.
. . It originally meant the science and art of government. It meant the regulation of man in all his relations as the member of a nation and a state. It was a science and an art, with large ideals, and with correspondingly noble endeavor and achievement. But today politics too often means self-seeking, wirepulling, secret maneuvering, the pursuit of

personal advantage, sectional campaigns, the magnifying of party interests above the welfare of the nation and the state. It is too often a low scramble and not a lofty crusade.

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And therefore there is urgent and immediate need that we Christianize our conception of

politics. We must get back to Christ. What is the end and aim of government in the life and teach-

ings of Christ? It is this: 'Thy kingdom come!' And what is the kingdom? It is 'the kingdom of righteousness, and peace, and joy.' And, therefore, the Christianized conception of politics is this - such an intelligent direction of human government as will make all that is crooked straight, and will appoint such relations in righteousness as will provide a nest for the holy dove of peace. and for all the singing birds of sacred joy. Christianized politics are human regulations in the sphere of government for answering the prayer of our Lord, 'Thy kingdom come. What a conception of politics! But it is the only conception that is Christian. And if we are Christians, every other conception will be brushed aside. And if this is the meaning of politics, what manner of men ought our politicians to be? It is abundantly clear that there are some men who ought never to be allowed to get into office. No man is going to labor for righteousness whose own life is not straight. Such a man has neither vision nor aspiration. His own iniquity bereaves him of clear eyes and holy will."

Dr. Jowett's conception of what politics should be does more credit to his heart than to his head. It is a mistake that no Bible student ought to make, to suppose that Christ's kingdom, "the kingdom of righteousness, and peace, and joy," has or ever can have any connection with human politics. This is not to say that a Christian can have no part in political matters, nor that a Christian will not be governed by Christian principles in everything that he does; but it is to say that the administration of civil government is not the peculiar preroga-

tive of Christians, nor are they to use civil government to coerce their fellow men in matters of conscience.

Government is ordained of God, and is necessary for a world in alienation from the divine Being; but civil government can never take the place of God's spiritual government, and the Scriptures do not so teach. To depend upon any such thing or to hope for it is to lean upon a reed, destined to break and pierce the hand of him who would find support in it.

Dr. Jowett's theory would take civil authority out of the hands of the world at large, wholly withdraw it from the great majority of the people, and put it into the hands of the comparatively few who either are or profess to be Christians.

Marriage, too, is a divine institution, "ordained of God." And the Catholic Church claims that the only true marriage is that which is solemnized by the rites of the church; all else is "filthy concubinage." This is exactly on a par with the theory that because civil government is a divine ordinance, it is Christian, and therefore can be properly administered only by Christian men. Our forefathers thought to negative forever any such proposition or possibility, so far as this country is concerned, when they wrote into the Constitution the words, "No religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States." - Article VI, par. 3.

Let us at least strive to preserve intact the guaranties of liberty bequeathed to us in the providence of God, by the fathers of the Republic.

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Whatever establishes a distinction against one class or sect is, to the extent to which the distinction operates unfavorably, a persecution; and if based on religious grounds, a religious persecution. The extent of the discrimination is not material to the principle.— Cooley's Constitutional Limitations.

"Limits of Religious Liberty"

By C. P. Bollman

NDER this heading the Continent (Chicago) of July 1, 1915, printed the following editorial:

"National Welfare Outranks Religious Liberty

"This is a declaration more likely to provoke protest than approval. It goes against most thinking on the subject. And ordinarily religious liberty and national welfare are in perfect harmony, so there is no occasion to ask which is superior.

"Yet the wise patriot keeps in the back of his head, for application when required, the basic rule which puts the two in proper order.

"In the United States this national responsibility for the national welfare rests ultimately on the judgment of the majority of the Re-

public's voting citizenship.

"And against the will of that majority no man can long maintain in contradiction any private or factional preference. There is no refuge of even personal right behind which he can resist what the preponderance of his fellow citizens have decided he ought to do for the well-being of his country.

"Free schools are maintained at public charge in every part of the United States be-

cause it is the fixed persuasion of Americans that the nation could not live out its life in any safety unless its children are trained in intelligent powers of personal judgment and a lively appreciation for the history and opportunities of the land.

"Some citizens nevertheless insist on a re-

ligious right to educate their children in schools where religion is definitely taught according to their own faith. And the States, being convinced of the propriety of yielding to the preferences of citizens in so far as it is socially and civically safe, have as yet done nothing to interfere with parochial schools.

"But if any State or all of the States should be at any time persuaded that the permanent unity of the nation demands the common education of all children in its own free schools. — one undivided body, — nobody's inherent right would be violated by enactments closing parochial and private schools entirely.

"Furthermore, if the state should determine that its welfare depends on training its youth in the fear of God and the knowledge of his commandments, it has every right to introduce such instruction into the public school system, regardless of the skepticism of individual parents. . . .

"The point here—now perhaps sufficiently made—is simply that nothing can forbid the state to do what it believes to be required for its own best good—not even the invocation of religious liberty."

The Continent is certainly wrong in its initial statement, and just as certainly right regarding said declaration as "more likely to provoke protest than approval." Of course not all that is claimed as religious liberty is such in very truth, but it is none the less true that the Continent's initial proposition is a most mischievous one, and would, if admitted, furnish a moral vindication for all the religious persecution the world has ever seen, from the death of Abel and of Christ himself down to the last victim that shall suffer civil penalties

rather than deny his faith, no matter how mistaken that faith

may be.

Some of the best of the Roman emperors were the worst of persecutors, not because they delighted in torture and blood-

shed, but exactly because, as does the Continent, they verily believed that national welfare outranks religious liberty, and that unity in religion is essential to national welfare.

The argument that prevailed with the Jewish rulers eighteen hundred years ago, determining them to demand the death of the Lord Jesus Christ, was:



A DENOMINATIONAL COLLEGE

The Great

Martyr

" If we let him thus alone, all men will believe on him: and the Romans shall come and take away both our place and nation. And one of them, named Caiaphas, being the high priest that same year, said unto them, Ye know nothing at all, nor consider that it is expedient for us, that one man should die for the people, and that the whole nation perish not." John 11:48-50.

The apostles were accused and persecuted, all but one of them to the death, as disturbers of the peace, men who had "turned the whole world upside down," and all through the ages "national welfare" has been the justification of religious bigotry in all lands.

The trouble with the Continent is a failure properly to discriminate between the sphere of religion and that of civil government. Draw the line where Christ drew it and as he drew it, and there need be no difficulty:

"Render therefore unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's; and unto God the things that are God's."

The Continent's logic would turn us back to Greece, when all children were the wards of the state, and were reared by the state and for the state. But the Christian conception is that children belong not to the state but to God, and that it is the duty of parents to rear them primarily for God rather than for Cæsar.

We freely admit not only that the state has the right, but that it is its duty, to require that children shall receive sufficient education to fit them for intelligent citizenship; but to deny to the parent the right to give this in connection with a religious education, and to say that for this purpose he shall not send his child to a private or a parochial school, would be a most flagrant abuse of civil power. We are astonished that any American, and especially any Protestant, would take any such position as that, or that in this country those who believe in private and parochial schools should even be called upon to defend their right to maintain them. It is indeed surprising and even ominous that a leading Presbyterian paper should advocate any such theory of the powers of civil government.

The right to educate their own children

in their own way has always been insisted upon by dissenters from the dominant religion. Lutherans, Baptists, Presbyterians. Methodists, and others have from time to time suffered persecution, sometimes even to the death, rather than surrender the right to educate their children in their own faith; nor do we believe that the martyr

spirit is wholly dead even now. We trust, however, that such persecution will never arise in this country, though it must be confessed that matters are tending strongly in that direction. The times seem to be strangely out of joint, and principles of liberty formerly supposed to be firmly established are boldly challenged in the interests of despotic power, and sometimes even in the supposed interests of Protestantism.

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OBSERVANCE of the Lord's day should not be made a matter of legislation. A free-born American citizen has a right to go to a ball game on Sunday if he wants to. It is his privilege to attend a movingpicture show, or enjoy any other diversion on Sunday, if such diversion is legitimate on a week day. For most of us, Sunday is the only day in the week we have for amusement. It may be deplorable that most of us do not go to church on Sunday. We might, for that matter. lead better lives throughout the week. We know of no better way to make fun on Sunday seem desirable than to make it against the law to have fun on Sunday. Being good is, and ought to be, a matter of conscience. If it is possible to make folks good by legislation, then all we need do to send everybody to heaven is to make it against our man-made law to go to the other place. The Portland News. Portland, Ore., Oct. 23, 1916.

"A Revival of National Religion"

By K. C. Russell

about a union of church and state in this country was made in Xenia, Ohio, in July, 1863, at a convention where representatives of eleven different Protestant denominations met to consider how certain moral reforms might be effected in this country in and through the state.

In very fact the National Reform Association met to inaugurate a union between the church and the state. At a banquet held by the association in Philadelphia, Nov. 19, 1910, this was plainly stated in so many words, in an address made by the late Dr. T. P. Stevenson, a prominent National Reformer, who acted as toastmaster on the occasion. He said that at the time of the first meeting. in 1863, there was a deep feeling on the part of many Christian people that there should be a revival of religion. The first session of the meeting referred to, he continued, had to do with the "revival of religion in the hearts of the people and in the homes of the people." As they discussed the question, the movement developed into one for a "revival of national religion."

Had the delegates of the convention referred to been content with the worthy and noble object for which they met .-"a revival of religion in the hearts of the people and in the homes of the people,"—they would have been in a position which the Lord approves in the Bible, and which is in accord with the attitude of God's true people in every age. But when the enemy of all truth turned them aside from the exalted purpose for which they had nominally met. to seek for a "revival of national religion," they were launched upon a course that has led every church which has taken that course, to repudiate the principles of the gospel, and therefore the principles of logical and genuine Protestantism.

It was this evil principle that under-

THE first organized effort to bring lies a national religion, that the Fathers of this country sought to escape when they incorporated into the Constitution the immortal words of the First Amendment, "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

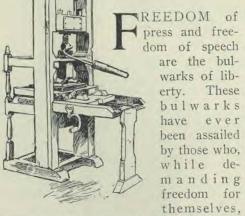
The principles of the National Reform Association have produced their baneful fruits, for other great and influential organizations have adopted the principle which seeks for a "revival of national religion," which the National Reformers were deceived into adopting in 1863. The Lord's Day Alliance and the great Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America embrace sixteen million people and more than thirty religious denominations. One of the principal things these organizations are seeking to bring about is a national Sunday law. Their representatives, who are seeking for a "revival of national religion," are persistently beseeching State legislatures and the United States Congress for legislation of a religious character. It is a thing of great satisfaction, however, that, up to date, Congress has never fully yielded to their unchristion and un-American demands. But it will require the united efforts of all true Christians and all true Americans to stem the onrushing tide of religious legislation which seeks for a "revival of national religion," and in the last analysis, such legislation will result in a condition more serious than the European conflict.

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THE religion of Jesus was a democratic religion, - a religion of the rulership of God alone in the individual human soul. And Protestantism stands for this idea, which is the obvious New Testament idea. - a commonwealth of free souls enjoying immediate fellowship with God, untrammelel by human hierarchies.

Freedom of the Press One Hun-

dred Years Ago By William Q. Sloan



are unwilling to grant it to those who do not believe in their dogmas and doctrines. That the question now stirring the United States is not a new one is evidenced by this interesting citation from the London *Times*, May 9, 1816:

"The liberty of the press-that ark and palladium of all our other liberties - became last night the subject of a most interesting debate. Highly distinguished as this country has been for everything pertaining to freedom, the press is of all its institutions that which foreign nations have most admired, and have least been able to imitate. The press, notwithstanding its admitted susceptibility to misuse, has been in fact the best guardian of our private morals, the best exciter and supporter of our public virtues. It was before the free press of England that the audacious boastings, the haughty menaces, the sophistries and the falsehoods of our once formidable enemy, melted in the air, and that the arts which sufficed to delude a whole continent passed by us as the idle wind which we regard not. If such, then, have been the power and efficacy of the press in its present state, and under the guardianship of the existing laws. why, it may be argued, resort to any new enactment. Why? For this very reason, because the institution is most precious, let us guard against its corruption; let us do what depends on us to improve and perfect it. Human affairs are never at a standstill: and we may say of our country, with reference to this particular branch of her policy, what the poet laureate so happily says of her general destiny,

"'On she must go progressively in good,
In wisdom, and in weal—or she must
wane.'"

Men who are in error, whether the error be political or religious, are ever ready to clap their hand on the mouth of the man who is making known the truth. Truth is never afraid of opposition. It is like pure gold: the more it is rubbed by investigation, the brighter it shines. No man who has the truth, and who has confidence in the ultimate triumph of truth, will seek to overthrow freedom of speech and of the press. A people free to express themselves will ever remain the bulwark of civilization.

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"Servile Labor"

Our readers will remember that as related in Liberty for the first quarter of 1917, the Oklahoma Criminal Court of Appeals construed the term "servile labor" as meaning secular or common labor, including merchandising. This view is unquestionably correct, nor is it new. Speaking of the Tartars under Zingis Khan in the thirteenth century, Gibbon says:

"The victorious nation was held sacred from all servile labors, which were abandoned to slaves and strangers; and every labor was servile except the profession of arms." — Milman's Gibbon's Rome, Vol. VI, chap. 64, par. 3.

Who does not know that wealthy but illiterate Romans had slaves who were their readers and scribes; and Zingis Khan, the Mongol, mighty ruler and great military leader though he was, could neither read nor write. With him, as Gibbon says, learning was servile labor, unworthy of a great man with more important things to look after.

C. P. B.

The Meaning of Religious Freedom

As Set Forth in the Federal Constitution

By Sanford B. Horton

VILLIAM GLADSTONE, the great British Commoner, said of our Constitution, "The American Constitution is the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man." Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, writing of "The Constitution and Its Makers," in the North American Review for July, 1912, said, "With a deep reverence for the great men who fought the Revolution and made the Constitution, when they dealt with elemental questions and fundamental principles, the same yesterday, today, and forever in human history, one follows them because they have proved their wisdom by their success."

The great burden of the forefathers who wrought so successfully in lawmaking was to provide a government for the nation which would be satisfactory to all the colonial States concerned, without interfering with individual rights and responsibility. Guaranties of civil and religious freedom must be placed in clear and definite terms in the fundamental law of the nation of which they were laying the foundation. That they regarded religious freedom as primary, may be deduced from a brief reference to the attitude of the leaders of the constitutional convention of 1787 and the conventions called to ratify the Constitution. For instance, in the Massachusetts convention we find this record:

"JAN. 31, 1788: In the conversation on the sixth article, which provides that 'no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office,' etc., several gentlemen urged that it was a departure from the principles of our forefathers, who came here for the preservation of their religion; and that it would admit deists, atheists, etc., into the general government.

"REV. MR. SHUTE: Mr. President, to object to the latter part of the paragraph under consideration, which excludes a religious test, is,

I am very sensible, very popular; for the most of men, somehow, are rigidly tenacious of their own sentiments in religion, and disposed to impose them upon others as the standard of truth."—Elliott's Debates, Vol. II, p. 118.

In the South Carolina convention, July 30, 1788, Mr. Iredell, in replying to some opposition to this no-religious-test clause, said:

"I consider the clause under consideration as one of the strongest proofs that could be adduced, that it was the intention of those who founded this system to establish a general religious liberty in America. . . . Happily, no sect here is superior to another. As long as this is the case, we shall be free from those persecutions and distractions with which other countries have been torn."—Id., Vol. IV pp. 192-196.

So much for Article VI of the Constitution, which, in the opinion of Washington, the president of the convention, sufficiently guaranteed religious freedom. But the Virginia Baptists were not fully satisfied with the Constitution on this point. As a result of their conferring with Madison, the father of the Constitution, and Washington, the presiding officer of the constitutional convention, the First Amendment was proposed in Congress Aug. 8, 1789, passed Sept. 23, 1789, and finally ratified by eleven of the thirteen States between 1789 and 1791.

By the terms and spirit of the First Amendment not only is Congress prohibited from making any law "respecting an establishment of religion," but it cannot pass any law which might intervene by "prohibiting the free exercise thereof." From the standpoint of the Constitution, then, the right to the free exercise of religious doctrines, teachings, etc., is recognized to be as inherent as is the right to be protected from subversion to any establishment of religion.

It can be demonstrated beyond the shadow of a doubt that a law by Congress enforcing Sunday observance is a manifest abridgment of one's right to be free in the exercise of religion; because, in the last analysis, religion is and has always been the basis of Sunday laws. The enforcement of Sunday laws not only annuls the right to the free exercise of one's religious convictions concerning Sabbath observance, but by consequent prosecution for violation of such laws it deprives one of his or her civil liberty. All of which is contrary to the spirit and letter of the American Constitution.

Commenting upon the First Amendment, Story says, "The same policy which introduced into the Constitution the prohibition of any religious test, led to this more extended prohibition of the interference of Congress in religious matters. We are not to attribute this prohibition of national religious establishment to an indifference to religion in general, and especially to Christianity (which none could hold in more reverence than the framers of the Constitution), but to a dread by the people of the influence of ecclesiastical power in matters of government; a dread which their ancestors brought with them from the parent country, and which, unhappily for human infirmity, their own conduct, after their emigration, had not, in any just degree, tended to diminish."

The Constitution contains another provision worthy of notice in Sunday law enforcement in some States; it is Section I of the Fourteenth Amendment, which declares, "All persons born or naturalized in the United States, . . . are citizens of the United States, and of the State in which they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States," etc.

It is true that many of the States which enforce Sunday observance, came into the national compact with Sunday laws on their statute books, but it would seem to a layman that this is no justifica-

tion for the present existence of Sunday law enforcement. Moreover, it would seem that when a governor or a judge or a legislator or other State officer takes the oath of office (which mentions the Constitution of the United States first), he should feel it to be his duty to at least encourage his State to purge its law books of any law not in harmony with the spirit of the national Constitution.

The Constitution purports to interpret the immortal Declaration of Independence, and purposes to safeguard the principles contained therein by guaranteeing to its citizenry civil and religious freedom. Whether civil officials and lawmakers will stand by it, remains an unsettled question. The safety of the forefathers' work depends upon today's answer. What shall it be?

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Liberties Not Secured by Sunday Laws

The Constitution was established to "secure the blessings of liberty," but the framers of that instrument did not deem that religious legislation could in any way secure these blessings nor "promote the general welfare." Had they thought so, it would surely have been incorporated in the Magna Charta of American liberty. The interests of a people with strong, vigorous intellects and decided religious convictions widely divergent, could be best secured by leaving each person free to worship God in his own way.

Their own experiences taught the wise statesmen of those days that men's consciences are not controlled by human enactments. To compel respect for any religious institution would be to reënact scenes of oppression and bloodshed. So in their sense of justice and fair play and in their fear of causing confusion and rebellion, our fathers established that document which is the admiration of all liberty-loving peoples. And this Constitution not only totally ignores religion.

but requires that Congress shall ever refrain from entering upon the path of religious legislation. And who can rightfully declare that this principle has not secured the liberties and promoted the general welfare of a mighty and prosperous nation?

C. E. H.

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What Is True Liberty? What Is Toleration?

BY J. O. CORLISS

THE best general definition of liberty is "the unrestrained enjoyment of natural rights." Such rights are the gift of the Creator himself, and are therefore absolute. They include liberty of choice, and are limited only by the equal rights of others.

First and foremost in natural rights is liberty of conscience. Deprived of this, man becomes a slave to imperious human dictation. Liberty of conscience, or religious liberty, is the natural right of every man. It is above and beyond the control of just human laws, being the gift of Jehovah.

At times circumstances have seemingly demanded statutes of toleration for certain sects or individuals dissenting from the state religion. But these acts of toleration have always been of an uncertain nature, implying more or less censure on those tolerated, from the fact that the very favors granted argued that the government granting them had the right to withhold them, or, in other words, to establish a religion and to control its public exercise. This, however, is a direct violation of the divine law, and an assault upon God's authority. More than that, being only a concession, the policy is subject to disappointing change, as in the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and other supposed ameliorating grants.

It has been well said that "whatever establishes a distinction against one class or sect, is, to the extent to which the distinction operates unfavorably, a persecution." This is exactly what toleration or exemption laws do; for they make distinctions against certain classes or sects, by indirectly pointing to them as outside of the general pale of ordinary citizenship.

Edicts of religious toleration, exemption clauses, etc., are, in their last analysis, assertions of the state's right to regulate religious practices, and tend to a union of the state with the church, and the return to medieval practices in civil government. When the thirteen colonies declared their independence from foreign rule, they also by implication proclaimed freedom of conscience for every dweller within the bounds of their jurisdiction. Yet nearly every one of the thirteen original States had forms of state religion. while their several constitutions carried provisions of toleration in certain cases. Later by bills of rights, constitutional amendments, etc., it was supposed that all this was changed.

Yet strange to say, with the history of all the past before them, grave Solons in this country frame measures by which to regulate religious conduct. True, for policy's sake, toleration, by means of exemption clauses, is made a feature of these laws, for the assumed benefit of those who "regularly observe" another day than Sunday. But where is the liberty in this for those who do not regularly observe another day and yet have no desire to observe Sunday? Have they not, as citizens, equal rights with those who do regularly observe another day? Then, if these Sunday laws are not religious legislation, why make religious observance the foundation of exemption?

This class of legislation on the part of the nation directly violates the Constitution, which expressly declares that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." Sunday is an establishment, or institution, of religion; and to create a law requiring its observance, is to make a law respecting that establishment, or institution, of religion. Will Congress undertake to override the Constitution in this? We shall shortly see.

Beers and Light Wines as "Temperance" Drinks

(Concluded from page 105)

ited as to time and universal as to alcoholic beverages. It may be truly said of the lighter wines as it is said in Holy Writ of the smaller sins, that it is "the little foxes that spoil the vines." No man becomes a drunkard all at once. Few men acquire a taste for liquor except as a result of prolonged indulgence. The social glass taken at a dinner or other social function has been the first step in the downward career of many a man. The taste for beer must be cultivated. Nobody, or only a few at most, would drink beer were it not for the alcohol it contains. Remove the four or five per cent of alcohol, and nobody would want the residue. People drink it for the stimulant it contains; and in order to get the effect the quantity must be continually increased. The only way, therefore, to save our young men not only during the war but after peace shall have been restored, is by outlawing the traffic once for all. It is a trade that lives on the weaknesses of the people; it thrives upon their vices, and grows rich at the expense of the necessities of women and children. Its crimes demand its utter extirpation. Our people will be better fed, better clothed, better housed, and will develop into better citizens without liquor than with it; and above and beyond all other considerations that should influence the government, the great mass of our women and children would enjoy advantages in food, clothing, and health and opportunity now denied them by the greed of the liquor seller and the weakness and selfishness of the breadwinners upon whom they have a right to depend for the comforts of life, but to whom they too often look in vain. Let the government do its full duty in the preservation of the rights of the people, and especially of the women and children, against the unstinted avarice and selfish greed of that sum of all villainies, the liquor traffic.

A Historic Speech

(Concluded from page 103)

to be used in supporting life are converted into a beverage that corrupts and destroys it. Millions of tons of coal are employed in the processes of distillation and fermentation while human beings are suffering for lack of warmth. Thousands of freight cars are required to haul the brew of death, while legitimate industries suffer from lack of transportation. Hundreds of thousands of laborers are engaged in the liquor business when they could be contributing to the supplying of genuine economic needs. Lumber, glass, all other forms of building material, warehouses, stores, autos, teams, wagons, could all be enlisted in the promotion of some necessary industry instead of an enterprise that answers no proper requirement.

"Finally, the constant activity of the liquor interests in the politics of the country is another peril to free institutions. They understand that their business has no inherent constitutional right of existence, that it continues purely by tolerance, and that it may be destroyed by an aroused electorate at any time. They know that the agitation against it will persist as long as humanity is able to protest against the traffic in broken hearts and ruined homes. Therefore self-preservation keeps them always on the alert. They are thoroughly organized for the making and unmaking of men and Congresses and legislatures. There can be no satisfactory solution of legitimate public questions so long as this formidable force measures men by their attitude on liquor, and endeavors by the lavish use of money to bring about their success or defeat."

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"LOOK not thou upon the wine when it is red, when it giveth his color in the cup, when it moveth itself aright. At the last it biteth like a serpent, and stingeth like an adder." Prov. 23:31, 32.

EDITORIAL BREVITIES

If the world is getting better, one must obliterate the facts of current history in order to prove it.

The man who wants to force another man's conscience, as a rule possesses no religion himself that is worthy of the name.

The nations of this world will never crown Christ as King of kings and Lord of lords. There is no league of friendship between the world and Christ.

This world will never see lasting peace established until the Prince of Peace comes and brings peace through God's "kingdom, which shall never be destroyed."

Men who are negative and destructive in their criticisms, instead of positive and constructive, are like the incendiaries who set buildings on fire. They do it for the sake of seeing the smoke and fire and watching the engines go by.

War cannot be abolished as long as men remain unregenerate by nature, and injustice prevails. Ninety-nine per cent of the inhabitants of this world are thus constituted; and as long as their natures remain unchanged, they will fight under provocation.

Christianity and a large portion of its followers frequently have very little in common. Especially is this true of those who desire to establish Christianity by civil statute, and want all to observe its institutions both of human and divine origin under duress.

A man whom God cannot win through the ministry of love, is unworthy of a place in the kingdom. Why, then, should men attempt to force unwilling subjects into the kingdom of grace? Law cannot drive a man into religion, if love fails to draw him in. When love fails to attract one, let him alone; force cannot save him. Be not deceived by the cup that curses while it cheers.

Things that are worth something are counterfeited. There are many counterfeit Christians, but no one has ever seen a counterfeit infidel. A counterfeit claims to be just as good as the genuine, but everybody knows it is not. The papal Sunday is the counterfeit of "the Sabbath of the Lord." Everybody knows that Sunday was never divinely appointed, sanctified, and blessed. Which will you choose, the genuine or the counterfeit?

A file of the New York Weekly Journal, published by John Peter Zenger, from 1733 to 1750, constitutes a recent valuable addition to the newspaper collections of the Wisconsin State Historical Society at Madison. This is the fourth largest collection of the Zenger journals in the United States, and it is the only one west of the Alleghanies.— Inland Printer.

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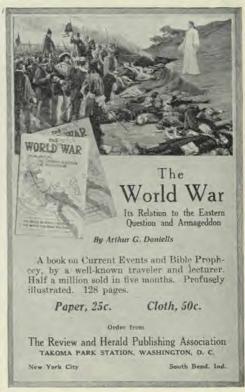
Christ Desires Only Voluntary Service

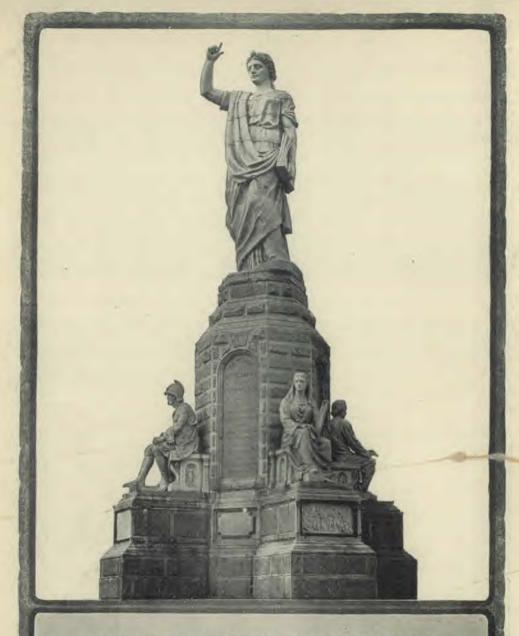
IT is no part of Christ's mission to compel men to receive him. It is Satan, and men actuated by his spirit, that seek to compel the conscience. Under a pretense of zeal for righteousness, men who are confederate with evil angels bring suffering upon their fellow men, in order to convert them to their ideas of religion; but Christ is ever showing mercy. ever seeking to win by the revealing of his love. He can admit no rival in the soul, nor accept of partial service; and he desires only voluntary service, the willing surrender of the heart under the constraint of love. There can be no more conclusive evidence that we possess the spirit of Satan than the disposition to hurt and destroy those who do not appreciate our work, or who act contrary to our ideas .- E. G. White, in "The Desire of Ages."











FOREFATHERS' MONUMENT, PLYMOUTH, MASS.

On the front of this monument is this inscription:

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

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