A MAGAZINE OF OUS FREEDOM

"The First American"

READ OUR LEADING ARTICLE "AMERICANISM-WHAT IT IS"

S'M'Harlan

Religious Liberty Association

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

to. 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:

AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS

Atlantic Religious Liberty Association (affiliated organizations in Maine, Vermont, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New York, Connecticut, and Rhode Island): Office, South Lancaster, Mass.; secretary, A. J. Weaver.

Eastern Canadian Religions Liberty Association (affiliated organizations in New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Quebec, Ontario, and Newfoundland): Office, Oshawa, Ontario; secretary, F. W. Stray.

Central States Religious Liberty Association (affiliated organizations in Kansas, Nebraska, Missouri, Colorado, and Wyoming): Office, College View, Nebr.; secretary, S. E. Wight.

Columbia Religious Liberty Association (affiliated organizations in Pennsylvania, Ohio, New Jersey, Virginia, West Virginia, Delaware, and Maryland): Office, Takoma Park, D. C.; secretary, F. H. Robbins.

Lake Religious Liberty Association (affiliated organizations in Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, and Wisconsin): Office, Berrien Springs, Mich.; seeretary, S. B. Horton, 812 Steger Bldg., Chicago, Ill.

Northern Religious Liberty Association (affiliated organizations in Minnesota, Iowa, North Dakota, and South Dakota): Office, 2713 Third Ave., South, Minneapolis, Minn.; secretary, E. 1. Russell. North Pacific Religious Liberty Association (affiliated organizations. in Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Montana, and Alaska): Office, College Place, Wash.; secretary, H. G. Thurston.

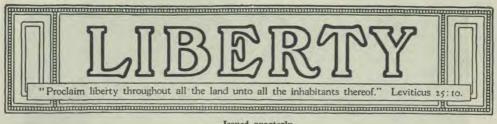
Pacific Religious Liberty Association (affiliated organizations in California, Nevada, Utah. and Arizona): Secretary, W. F. Martin, 421 North Isabel St., Glendale, Calif.

Southeastern Religious Liberty Association (affiliated organizations in Florida. Georgia, North Carolina, and South Carolina): Office, 169 Pryan St. Atlanta, Ga.; secretary, W. H. Heckman.

Southern Religious Liberty Association (affiliated organizations in Alabama, Kentucky, Tennessee, Louisiana, and Mississippi): Office, 2123 24th Ave. N., Nashville, Tenn.; secretary, J. L. McElhany.

Southwestern Religious Liberty Association (affiliated organizations in Arkansas, Oklahoma, Texas, and New Mexico): Office, Keene, Tex.; secretary, Morris Lukens.

Western Canadian Religious Liberty Association (affiliated organizations in Alberta. British Columbia, Manitoba, and Saskatchewan): Office, 304 L. O. O. F. Building, Calgary. Alberta; secretary, A. G. Gilbert.



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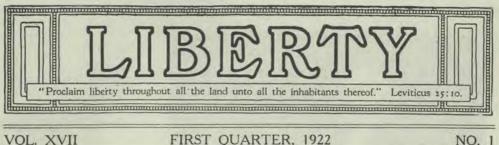
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© Plew. Washington. D. C. Showing the "Aurora Borealis" Illumination of the United States Capitol on Armistice Night, Nov. 11, 1921



FIRST OUARTER, 1922

AMERICANISM

What It Is

MERICANISM" is a term much used these days, and withal not

a little abused. It is employed as meaning many things not American at all, but which their promoters would impose upon the public as being in harmony with American spirit and principles.

For an example of a glaring misuse of the word "Americanism," we need only refer to the Christian Statesman for July, 1921. In that paper an attempt was made to show that certain measures of religious legislation demanded by the National Reformers are consonant with American principles, and

therefore entitled to be described by the term "Americanism." But let us examine the subject a little with a view to ascertaining what the word really means.

In a political sense, Americanism signifies the recognition and protection of natural, God-given rights, both civil and religious. It means the Declaration of Independence as against the doctrine of

By C. P. Bollman



"Render to Cæsar the Things That Are Cæsar's "

the divine right of kings. It means civil administration by right and not by might.

NO. 1

It stands for "government of the people, by the people, and for the people" in all secular affairs, and the policy of "hands off" in all matters pertaining to real or supposed duty owed by men to God. This is Americanism.

But strange as it may seem, that which is now properly called Americanism was first enunciated, not in the New World, but in the Old; not upon the Western Continent. but the Eastern; not in America, but in Asia; not in a free commonwealth, but in a Roman province: not

in the United States, but in Palestine. It was not born of human wisdom, but of divine prescience; and was voiced, not by man, but by God, even by the Lord Jesus Christ, our divine Teacher and Saviour. Says George Bancroft:

"No one thought of vindicating liberty of religion for the conscience of the individual, till a voice in Judea, breaking day for the

LIBERTY



James Madison, the "Father of the Constitution"

greatest epoch in the life of humanity by establishing for all mankind a pure, spiritual, and universal religion, enjoined to render to Cæsar only that which is Cæsar's."—" History of the United States," Vol. VI, book 5, chap. 1.

TELEVISION OF THE OWNER OWNER

In the same volume, Dr. Bancroft writes:

"Vindicating the right of individuality even in religion, and in religion above all, the new nation dared to set the example of accepting in its relations to God the principle first divinely ordained in Judea. It left the management of temporal things to the temporal power; but the American Constitution, in harmony with the people of the several States, withheld from the Federal Government the power to invade the home of reason, the citadel of conscience, the sanctuary of the soul; and not from indifference, but that the infinite spirit of etemnal truth might move in its freedom and purity and power." The freemen of America did not wait till usurped power had strengthened itself by exercise. . . . They saw all the consequences in the principle, and they avoided the consequences by denying the principle. - Madison.

And it is this doctrine of civil and religious liberty, especially freedom in the sphere of religion. that is today properly known as "Americanism;" and that for the sufficient reason that though originally voiced in Judea, it was first accepted and adopted in a practical way as a sound political principle by the founders of the American government, who wrote it into the Declaration of Independence. and then after independence had been acknowledged by Britain, embodied it in the national Constitution, in the immortal words:

"Congress shall make no law respecting an

establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

The prohibition of "an establishment of religion" might have been construed to mean that there should be no state or national church, as was the case in every European country. But the words, "or prohibiting the free exercise thereof," give the First Amendment a very broad and unmistakable meaning. The domain of religion, "the home of reason, the citadel of conscience, the sanctuary of the soul," is not to be invaded in any way by the civil power. This was Americanism in the infancy of the American Republic, and it is Americanism today.

Dr. Bancroft well says that this Constitutional provision was adopted, "not

LIBERTY

"Vindicating the right of individuality even in religion, the new nation dared to set the example of accepting in its relations to God the principle first divinely ordained in Judea."

> from indifference, but that the infinite spirit of eternal truth might move in its freedom and purity and power."

> This statement by America's greatest historian, has been challenged by some who would have us believe that our Constitution is godless, made so by the atheistic philosophy of French infidelity; but the charge is false. Americanism is not in its nature anti-Christian, but essentially Christian, the fruit of genuine respect for, and admiration of, the principles of government taught by Jesus Christ Himself.

James Madison, the

Father of the Constitution, was not only a theoretical believer in Christianity, but a man of known personal piety.

Paine lost the friendship of Washington by the publication of his "Age of Reason." Indeed, a large majority of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, as also of the framers of the Constitution, were Christian men, at least by profession, and who has any right to judge them and to say that they were not sincere? Certainly not the men who are trying today to turn us back to medievalism in both church and state.

It is time that Americans ceased to hark back to Puritan days for the origin of Americanism. If the Plymouth



George Bancroft, American Historian and Statesman

colony had not been swallowed up by the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, and if the mere handful of Pilgrims coming to these shores in 1620 from England by way of Holland, had not been lost in the thousands of Puritans that followed them ten years later, coming direct from England, the history of New England might have been very different from what it is, and Massachusetts might indeed have been the home of Americanism, for the Pilgrims were not persecutors, as were the Puritans. But such was not to be.

To Roger Williams in Rhode Island and to the Presbyterians and Baptists of Virginia must be awarded the honor (Continued on page 18)

5



Upper — President Harding Placing Wreath on Casket of "Unknown" American Soldier Lower — Ex-President and Mrs. Wilson in Funeral Cortège for "Unknown" Soldier



Photo by R. E. Clark

D. A. R. Building, Where Public Sessions of Arms Conference Were Held

The International Conference for the Limitation of Armaments

E VERY human heart in the world must beat

By C. S. Longacre

by all the horrors that demons of war can devise. It means that

in sympathy with the aims and endeavors of the international arms conference at Washington to bring about a limitation of armaments among the leading nations of the world, in the hope that the dangers of war and its attendant horrors and evils may be minimized. We have learned the lesson that preparedness for war is no longer a security against war, but rather an incentive to it. While the limitation of arms may not prevent war, yet we are convinced that it is a safer and saner experiment than the old rival method of arming to the limit of endurance. Certainly the taxpayers will breathe a sigh of relief. The mothers will feel that they are rearing their sons for something better than cannon fodder.

Armed peace means that the menace of war is always imminent. It means that the difficult problems will be submitted, without deliberation, to the cruel arbitrament of brute force, accompanied something worse even than the war of 1914-18 awaits the fairest civilizations. Unless there is some kind of legal restraint placed upon the modern war lords, our civilization, with all its rich heritage of human rights, will vanish into oblivion after a few more rounds at the war game.

President Harding saw this ominous war cloud looming above the horizon, and as he saw it, "there grew on me." said he, "the sense of the failure of civilization." In his magnificent address at the services at Arlington Cemetery in memory of the unknown American dead in the Great War, the President expressed the hope that the nations assembled at the International Conference of Arms Limitation, might come to some happy agreement and understanding so as not to "leave its problems to such cruel arbitrament. Surely no one in authority, with human attri-(Continued on page 16)



© U. & U., N. Y. President Harding and Other Notables Granted Degrees by William and Mary College

Jamestown Declared Birthplace of Americanism

By Frances A. Walker

In the Washington Star, Oct. 23, 1921

I N view of the visit of the President to William and Mary College, and to that shrine of our common country, Jamestown, may I claim the indulgence of a little space in your columns, touching on a speech made by our revered General Pershing before he left for France, at a dinner of the Lafayette Marne Committee ?

In the course of his remarks on the patriotism of the citizens who helped win the war, and that all classes contributed nobly to that end, and not any one group of men, he further stated that these same citizens "inherited their patriotism from their forefathers who came across in the 'Mayflower,' and helped to determine and decide the independence of America!"

Disputes Pilgrim Honors

Shades of Washington, Patrick Henry, Jefferson, Monroe, and all the rest! And still earlier shades of Capt. John Smith, of the godly and truly Christian priest, the Rev. Robert Hunt, and all that gallant company that braved untold terrors, sailed practically uncharted seas, and left homes and friends and safety to suffer and die that we might live!

The Pilgrim Fathers did not found the United States of America.

South of them another colony at Jamestown, Va., more truly representative of the ideas of England, their common mother country, had been established for thirteen years before the "Mayflower" began her journey.

In this older colony representative government had already been established, and indeed, but for the existence of this older colony, America might not have been selected by the Puritans, as they thought of going elsewhere.

This they debated after a ten-year sojourn in Holland, where they had been living peacefully and quietly, unmolested by any one.

Declared More Significant

But the Jamestown settlers carried the banner of their beloved country and

its religion and laws voluntarily into the wilderness to extend its power and influence in the world at large.

The Virginia settlement was therefore a larger, nobler, more significant movement than that of the Plymouth settlement. It was the great national struggle of the whole of England, while the Plymouth settlement was that of a part which was out of harmony with the whole. (See "The Conquest of Virginia, the Forest Primeval," by Conway Whittle Sams.)

And to Virginia we owe not only the States that were carved

President and Mrs. Harding and Cabinet Members Visit the Oldest Church in America, at Jamestown, Va.

out of her sides (New England among them, which was first called " North Virginia"), but the race of men she produced, the men who first lifted their voice against tyranny, who later fought and won the Revolution, who wrote the Declaration of Independence, the Bill of



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From Group in National Museum

Capt. John Smith Trading with the Indians

Rights, the great state documents that have never been surpassed, the patriots, jurists, orators, soldiers, the hardy pioneers who won the West with their good blades and stout hearts, the great explorers, who penetrated even to the Pacific — in short, the men who stamped their impress upon our country and established our Anglo-Saxon civilization, and whose deeds and achievements and ideals are woven into the very fabric of our national life.

Plea for Jamestown

Surely something of their spirit must also have inspired the brave men who went forth to battle for the right in the last Great War, as well as the spirit of the Pilgrim Fathers, to whom all honor is due.

Although I do not agree with the gentleman, smarting under Puritanical restrictions of his personal liberties, who wittily remarked that he "thought it was a great pity when the Pilgrims landed on the rock, that the rock didn't land on the Pilgrims." still, as a Virginian, I must enter a plea for Jamestown, where the birth of the nation really took place, and where the spirit of her great sons still broods upon the face of the waters.

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THE Portland (Oreg.) News of July 12, 1921, in an editorial, gives good counsel to the churches as to how they may regain their "lost grip upon the people," in the following words:

"As churches take their message to the people, and as churches really minister to the needs and longings of the people, churches will renew their strength, and indeed this is the only way out for the church anywhere. The church that feels it must call in the legislature and force Sabbath 'observance' and church attendance by civil law, is a church that is no church at all, and that admits it by its insistence on trying to conquer where it cannot persuade. Blue laws will make Sunday a horror to millions; the gospel and the ministrations of Christ will save humanity."

It is only consciousness of the lack of spiritual power that causes ministers to appeal to the power of the state.

Proposed Sunday Legislation Recalls Imprisonment of John Bunyan

From the Sacramento (Calif.) Bee

To the Editor of the "Bee."—Sir: Nearly three centuries ago, in Nasbie, England, my ancestor was incarcerated for twelve years in Bedford jail as a "renegade, heretic, and infidel" for not going to the parish church on the Sabbath day.

Today a fell star of like portent is striving to appear above the horizon in this smiling land of freedom — I refer to the mooted blue Sunday observance law.

A few years ago, at a cost of some \$15,000, a stained-glass window with allegorical scenes from "The Pilgrim's Progress," was erected to his memory in Westminster Abbey; from which it would appear that he was not, after all, the renegade, heretic, and infidel that Judge Kellings had pronounced him to be in the court. History has exonerated him, and condemns his persecutors.

Does religious tyranny, or the tyranny of a democracy, differ in any wise from the tyranny of a despot, an oligarchy, or a plutocracy?

Jesus Christ was condemned as "not of God, because He keepeth not the Sabbath day"! Also (incidentally) He was denounced as a "gluttonous man, and a winebibber." He turned, furthermore, water into wine (not wine into water). Verily, Matthew's Gospel and John's must be a sad enigma to the scribes and Pharisees of our day.

Again, if I be a Jew or a Seventh-day Adventist, may I not keep Saturday? or, if a Moslem, Friday? or if I give my allegiance to the gods of my Nordic forefathers, may I not keep Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday to Woden, Thor, and Freya? Must I, perforce, bow myself down on the day of the sun? I was living in Paris at the time of the passing of the Loi du repos hedomadaire [Law of rest for pleasure], and recall the lovely scenes then; but that law gave freedom, whereas this sapient piece of proposed legislation takes freedom away. It is, in its nature, not constructive, but destructive, an unjustifiable, foolish, and tyrannical effort to shackle a free people.

F. W. BUNYAN.

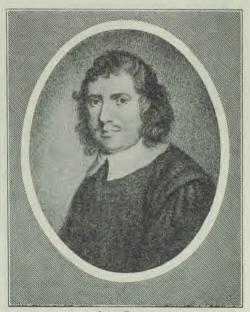
Sacramento, Calif., Jan. 2, 1921.

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THE greatness of man consists in his charity for all and his malice toward none.

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THE kingdom of God will never come through the gateway of politics.



John Bunyan



Photo by R. E. Clark

United States Capitol After First Snow of Season, Dec. 4, 1921

Liberty of the Press

A CASE affecting very seriously the liberty of the press was decided last Saturday. The city of Chicago claimed heavy damages in identical suits for libel which it instituted against two newspapers, alleging that they had published false statements regarding Chicago's financial standing and had thereby injured its credit. Important in themselves, these suits were rendered doubly so by the fact that it was the first time that a municipality in this country sought to restrict the right to criticize its corporate acts.

The judge, in sustaining the demurrer of one of the newspapers, declared that the city had no cause for action, and denied it the right to amend its petition. Quoting from the Illinois constitution of 1870, which lays it down that "every person may freely speak, write, and publish on all subjects, being responsible for the abuse of that liberty," the court said that legitimate restraints had been narrowed down to the four heads of blasphemy, immorality, sedition, and defamation. The first two were not involved, and counsel for the plaintiff admitted that the publications were not seditious. There remained only the question whether there was defamation or libel, and, if so, whether it was applicable to a municipality, and on that question the decision was rendered.

The First Amendment to the Constitution provides that Congress shall make no law abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, and therefore the Chicago jurist with great propriety stressed the fact that at the very inception of this government, liberty in these two matters was regarded as indispensable to a free state, adding that those who attempted to check the passion for it were branded by history as barbarians and tyrants.

The fight for a free press in England was one of the most arduous and protracted struggles on record, and showed how tenacious bureaucracy is of its powers and how reluctantly it surrenders them. The pleadings of Milton in the billowy sentences of the "Areopagitica," in the seventeenth century, were as unavailing against tyranny in this respect as were for a long time the heroic struggles of the London *Morning Chronicle*

and the Times in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Freedom conquered in the end. as it always does; and yet in this very year 1921 the world was afforded a striking illustration of the reactionary processes of the official mind when, because of criticism of the government, facilities for acquiring political news previously enjoyed by the same London Times were arbitrarily taken away.

The judge in the Chicago case gave utterance to a cardinal maxim when he said that the harm which would certainly result to the community from an official dom unrestrained by fear of publicity,

Photo by R. E. Clark Illumination of Washington Monument on Armistice Day, Nov. 11, 1921

is incalculable.— The Washington Post, Oct. 18, 1921.

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A BIGOT is one who is absolutely sure his creed is right and all other creeds are wrong, and who wants a civil law of the Medo-Persian type to compel universal conformity to his notions. A bigot may be right in the creed to which he subscribes, but never in his manner of promulgating it.

A Significant Statement

T HANK God, there are plenty of industrious clergymen. Were it not for them, the high office which we fill would be brought into reproach. The preachers of all denominations,

even though a great many of them are lazy and indifferent, are willing, I am sure, to be led into the path of the largest efficiency. They are men of culture, refinement, and conscience, and when aroused, will become the mightiest force in the nation.

There is no reason why the Christian people of America cannot rule America absolutely and in everything - rule it in Washington and in all the capitals of our States and in all our cities. The host is big enough for the purpose, but it lacks in captains with fighting blood in their veins in the right kind of ministers, eld-

ers, and deacons.— Rev. Mark Allison Matthews, D. D., in an interview printed in the Los Angeles Times, March 1, 1914.

This statement is not only significant, but it is ominous of rule by a religious oligarchy. Rapid progress has been made recently in that evil direction, and today we see in action mighty religious organizations formed for the very purpose of ruling, not only "in Washington," but "in all the capitals of our States and in all our cities."

American Vindication of the Rights of Man

By the Editor

A MERICA evidently was reserved through the ages by a wise Providence as a virgin continent to fulfil a special mission in the emancipation of the human race from the unyielding and arrogant tyrannies of the past. God intended America to be the home of free men. As Wendell Phillips said:

"For aught I know, the wave of Russian rule may sweep so far westward as to fill once more with miniature despots the robber castles of the Rhine. But of this I am sure: God piled the Rocky Mountains as the ramparts of freedom. He scooped the valley of the Mississippi as the cradle of free States. He poured Niagara as the anthem of free men."

God made this continent supremely beautiful; He stored it with unlimited resources; He netted its surface with navigable rivers; He made its soil inexhaustibly fertile; He filled its mountains and hills with every precious metal; He insulated this magnificent country with three thousand miles of ocean; yea, Providence must have brought this new, peerless nation into existence for some glorious mission. That mission is the proclamation of the evangel of civil and religious liberty to all the world, As Hon. Harry B. Hawes said in the Congress of the United States on Oct. 31, 1921:

"Destiny has reserved for our nation the duty of securing liberty without license for each citizen, and by its example to spread this liberty throughout the world."

God reserved the United States of America as a land where liberty was to be given a new cradle, new sponsors, and a new home. The founders of the great American Republic were the first civil rulers on earth to recognize the separate spheres of church and state, and to vindicate the natural rights of man. They established the rule of the people in a republican form of government, which meant the death knell to the arrogant assumption by certain individuals of the divine right to rule in all things because of their birth and lineage. They inscribed upon the corner-stone of the Republic the two exclusively American principles of civil and religious liberty, and reared their structure accordingly. They were the first to recognize the equality of all men before the law, and above all, the inalienable rights of the individual in the free exercise of his conscience in matters of divine obligation.

The great instrument which our forefathers drew up at Philadelphia — the Declaration of Independence — contains these immortal words:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal [entitled to the same natural and political rights and privileges]; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

In order to protect the individual in the free and unmolested exercise of his religious opinions, within proper moral restraints, they placed a limitation upon the powers of Congress, so it should forever be prohibited from invading the realm of the soul, by adopting the First Amendment to the Constitution, which reads in part as follows:

"Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

These statements and guaranties set forth in the immortal Declaration and in our fundamental law, are the very spirit of true Americanism and in perfect accord with real Christianity. Any teaching or practice which seeks to undermine these guaranties of the equality of all men before the law, and to override the inalienable rights of every man to follow the dictates of his own conscience in religious concerns, is anti-American and anti-Christian. Any movement having for its object the establishment of a legal religion and the enforcement of religious obligations by civil law in the American Republic, should be instantly detected, not only as an enemy to the Constitution, but to the most sacred rights and liberties of the American people.

One Hundred Per Cent American

We hear much today about being " one hundred per cent American." What does it mean to be one hundred per cent American? Where must we go to ascertain what true Americanism is? Must we go to the political theories of the modern politician? Should we wish to ascertain what true Christianity is, would we go to the modern theologian or the popular preacher to find out? Most assuredly not! We would go to the Author of Christianity, and learn from its Source what real Christianity signifies. Just so, it is necessary to consult the founders of the American Republic to learn the true principles of genuine Americanism.

What were the conceptions and ideals of the signers of the Declaration of Independence and the framers of our Federal Constitution? What did they mean by the "fundamental law" and the guaranties of civil and religious liberty which they gave us? What did they aim to abolish in the old order of things, and what did they design to establish, protect, and preserve under the new order? What did they believe and teach upon the subject of civil and religious liberty, and what did they purpose to transmit unimpaired to those who should come after them?

Certainly no American citizen will challenge the statement that George Washington, the Father of his country, and Thomas Jefferson, the author of the Declaration of Independence, and James Madison, the father of the Federal Constitution, were one hundred per cent American, and capable of defining the true principles of real, genuine Americanism. If these men are not prepared to tell us what was intended to be guaranteed to each American citizen under the Constitution, then there is no one qualified to give us an answer to these questions.

Washington on Liberty of Conscience

In a reply to a communication from the Baptist churches of Virginia, in which they gave expression to the fear entertained by many that liberty of conscience was not sufficiently secured by the Constitution without amendment, George Washington wrote, Aug. 8, 1789:

"If I could have entertained the slightest apprehension that the Constitution framed by the convention where I had the honor to preside might possibly endanger the religious rights of any ecclesiastical society, certainly I would never have placed my signature to it; and if I could now conceive that the general government might ever be so administered as to render the liberty of conscience insecure, I beg you will be persuaded that no one would be more zealous than myself to establish effectual barriers against the horrors of spiritual tyranny and every species of religious persecution. For, you doubtless remember, I have often expressed my sentiments that any man, conducting himself as a good citizen and being accountable to God alone for his religious opinions, ought to be protected in worshiping the Deity according to the dictates of his own conscience."-" History of the Baptists," Thomas Armitage, D. D., pp. 806, 807.

Our Government Not Founded on Christianity

The "treaty of peace and friendship" between the United States and Tripoli of May 26, 1798, was drawn up by Thomas Jefferson, Secretary of State, approved by George Washington, as President, and ratified by the United States Senate. Article II of this treaty reads in part:

"The government of the United States of America is not, in any sense, founded on the Christian religion."

This shows that it was the purpose of the founders of the American Republic and the framers of its laws completely to divorce the civil government from its connection with all the forms of religion of every kind.

Article VI of the Constitution of the United States says:

(Continued on page 19)

LIBERTY

The International Conference for the Limitation of Armaments

(Continued from p. 7) butes and a full appraisal of the patriotic loyalty of his countrymen. could ask the manhood of kingdom. empire, or republic to make such sacrifice until all reason had failed. until appeal to justice through understanding had been denied, until every effort of love and consideration for fellow men had been exhausted. until freedom itself and inviolate honor had been brutally threatened."

These men who have been called upon to devise plans that will make war less liable, know full well

that the limitation of arms is not going to prevent all war in the future. They know, as everybody ought to know, that so long as men are selfish and covetous, so long as they are swayed by worldly ambition and the human heart is unregenerated by the grace of God, men and nations will be inclined to fight under extreme provocation, and when national honor and justice are flagrantly violated. So long as men dwell in the flesh, the carnal desire to assert self will be regnant in the human heart.

The dove of peace will not be given an everlasting habitation on this earth until the grace of God shall have subdued human passions in the hearts of all men: and that miracle will not be wrought until the voice of the Prince of Peace is heard again on earth. But that voice will not be heard until the morning of the resurrection. Then all His



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THE FIRST OFFICIAL PHOTOGRAPH OF THE

Seated at the head of the table are, left to right: Pr Hon. Elihu Root, and Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, the A Rt. Hon. Arthur James Balfour, Lord Lee of Fareham, a the British delegation. Seated at left side, left to right: Tokugawa, all of Japan; Jules Jusserand, Ambassador a gation. Seated on right side, left to right: Senator Albe of Italy; Srinivasa Sastri, of India; Sir John Salmond, Robert Borden, of Canada. Seated at the tables in the ture) are, left to right: Dr. Chang Hui Wang, Dr. V. K. Wei Portugal; Captain Vasconcellos, Dr. H. A. Van Karnebeet land, both of the Netherlands: Baron de Cartier de Marc LIBERTY

ERENCE ON LIMITATION OF ARMAMENTS

ristide Briand, of France; Senator Oscar Underwood, delegation; Secretary of State Hughes, the chairman; Auckland Geddes, British Ambassador at Washington, e official interpreter, Admiral Kato and Prince Iyesato ington, Albert Sarraut, and Rene Viviani, French delembassador Rolandi Ricci, and Senator Carlo Schanzer, Zealand; Senator George Pearce, of Australia; and Sir and (facing Secretary Hughes, but not shown in this pie-Koo, and Dr. S. Alfred Sze, all of China; Count D'Alto, of lent of the League of Nations, and Jonkheer Van Blok-Belgian Ambassador. subjects will be raised in a moment, and this corruptible shall put on incorruption and this mortal shall put on immortality, and these vile bodies shall be fashioned into the likeness of His own glorious body. Both a spiritual and a physical regeneration and transformation are necessary before the kingdom of God shall come. and before the reign of everlasting peace and righteousness can be established.

The vision of such a glorious kingdom, where all shall know the Lord from the least to the greatest, has been the hope of God's people

since the sorrowing parents of the human race first mourned the loss of their son the victim of his brother's hate. Thus far the Christian's cherished hope has been deferred, the philosophic dreams of an earthly Utopia have remained unfulfilled, and statesmen's peace treaties have been broken; but some day the kingdom of God will come, the everlasting reign of peace and righteousness will be established. And when it does come, it will not come, as some expect, "through the gateway of politics," or "through social evolution and political reform legislation."

Men may devise schemes to eliminate strife and to minimize war, and they should have our co-operation and earnest prayers that their plans may be made effective as far as possible; but let no one be deceived by the delusion that men can accomplish by law that which can be done only by the power of the Spirit of God and His grace in the hearts of men.

Wars will never cease permanently on earth until the Prince of Peace shall come the second time in the clouds of heaven with power and great glory and take the scepter of righteousness to rule supremely over all the earth. This event will be the climax of human history, the beginning of "the world to come" and of "all things made new." Man and Eden will be restored in pristine glory and innocency, but it will be by God's own act of divine intervention at the last great day.

"The restitution of all things" will not come by man's own devising through political legislation or international diplomacy. The human race cannot cure its own ills and natural maladies. Man cannot lift himself out of the pit of sin. He can see no light beyond the sad tragedy of the tomb. Man needs a divine Physician, a Saviour and Deliverer. The Prince of Peace is God's answer to the desperate need of a helpless world; and Calvary is the only basis of lasting peace between man and man, and between God and man.

Until this glad day shall dawn, we should do all in our power to stay the tide of evil in the world, to relieve the burdens and sufferings of humanity, to make the earth a fit place to live in; and to this end we should uphold the hands of our noble statesmen by earnest prayer, as they are seeking under God to effect such international agreements that the threatening deluge of war and desolation may be stayed until the gospel of peace shall have been carried to all the nations and peoples of the whole earth.

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WE have no power to make a better world, except as we witness to the truth about God, and this we cannot do much beyond our personal experience.— Rev. H. P. Hoskins, in the Christian Herald.

Americanism - What It Is

(Continued from page 5)

of establishing on these shores the principles now comprehended in the term "Americanism."

Williams was the first in modern times to grasp the meaning of the Saviour's words, "Render therefore unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's; and unto God the things that are God's."

A century after Roger Williams' time, Baptists and Presbyterians, suffering persecution in the way of fines and imprisonment under the church and state régime in Virginia, demanded, and through the influence of such men as James Madison, George Mason, and Thomas Jefferson, secured, the guaranties of religious liberty they sought. And it was to make these guaranties secure for all time, that the framers of our socalled "godless" Constitution, wrote into that instrument the very provisions that are so bitterly assailed today in the supposed interests of the great Author of true Americanism, Jesus Christ, Son of man. Son of God. the divine Author of the only religion the world has ever known that cannot be united to any state without being first corrupted, and whose saving power can be realized only by personal faith in the personal Christ, whose it is, and whose life and power are available to every believer, but to the believer only. To Him personal piety alone is acceptable. Governmental religion is a pretense and a sham in the sight of God.

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REAL Christianity does not strangle human liberty in the name of religion, because true religion recognizes human liberty and individual rights. The religion of Christ rests on freedom of choice and action, fulness of joy and happiness, and the wideness of His love and compassion. It is too bad that misguided bigotry has changed His plans and His precepts into intolerant blue laws.

American Vindication of the Rights of Man

(Continued from page 15)

"All treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding."

Thomas Jefferson on the Rights of Man

In his "Autobiography," Thomas Jefferson, speaking of the Virginia "Act for Establishing Religious Freedom," said:

"Its protection of opinion was meant to be universal. Where the preamble declares that coercion is a departure from the plan of the Holy Author of our religion, an amendment was proposed, by inserting the word 'Jesus Christ,' so that it should read, 'a departure from the plan of Jesus Christ, the Holy Author of our religion; ' the insertion was rejected by a great majority, in proof that they meant to comprehend within the mantle of its protection the Jew and the Gentile, the Christian and Mohammedan, the Hindu, and infidel of every denomination."—"Works of Thomas Jefferson," Vol. I, p. 45.

They aimed to protect the rights of the individual to worship or not to worship God, as the preamble alluded to clearly indicates:

"Almighty God hath created the mind free; ... all attempts to influence it by temporal punishments or burdens, or by civil incapacitations, tend only to beget habits of hypocrisy and meanness, and are a departure from the plan of the Holy Author of our religion, who being Lord both of body and mind, yet chose not to propagate it by coercion on either, as was in His almighty power to do."— Virginia Act for Establishing Religious Freedom, 1785.

Jefferson, in speaking of the natural and inalienable rights of man, which no earthly government has a right to invade, said:

"The idea is quite unfounded, that on entering into society we give up any natural right."

James Madison on Human Government

James Madison not only drafted our Federal Constitution, but he also wrote the first ten amendments to the Constitution, often called the "Bill of Rights." He had more to do in the framing of our original Federal laws than any other man, and therefore his opinion and conception of American ideals are invaluable. In writing to Edward Everett in 1823 he said:

"Religion is essentially distinct from civil government, and exempt from its cognizance; ... a connection between them is injurious to both."

The great American patriots not only worked for the total national prohibition of any legal religion, but for the repeal of all the religious laws upon the civil statute books of the several States. But some of the States were not willing to disestablish the church or to repeal their religious laws. In fact, Massachusetts did not disestablish the Congregational Church until 1835, and many of the States to this day retain their Sunday laws which were enacted under the old Puritan régime. Many of the American patriots insisted that these old relics and shackles of religious tyranny, which were so hostile to the Constitutional guaranties of civil and religious liberty, should be stricken from the local statute books. Both Jefferson and Madison were strenuously opposed to the state's having "anything whatever to do with regulating religious observances of any kind." In fact, Jefferson said :

"The shackles, therefore, which shall not be knocked off at the conclusion of this war, will remain on us long, will be made heavier and heavier, till our rights shall revive or expire in a convulsion."

It is very evident that the founders of the American Republic intended that eventually the States which entered into the Union should completely divorce the church and the state, and no longer enforce any religious observances and obligations by the power and authority of the civil magistrate. Religion was to stand upon its own authority, and advance its claims upon the individual only by gospel means and methods. The gospel was to have a free field without civil favors. In the spiritual realm man's will was to be left free to obey the dictates of conscience. The obligations which man owes exclusively to God were

not to be prescribed and enforced by civil law, but only the duties which man owes to man. The first four commandments of the decalogue written on the first table were to be excluded from the domain of civil jurisdiction, because they define duties which the individual owes exclusively to God. These fundamental principles constituted the creed of the founders of the American Republic. Upon this platform primitive Americanism was constructed.

Facing a Crisis

As David Jayne Hill says:

"There are overwhelming proofs that we are at present passing through a crisis in which the great structure of liberty and justice erected by our fathers is being insidiously undermined; not in the interest of the people, of whose rights it [the Constitution] is the only guarantee, but in the interest of private powers within the state, which, for purposes of their own, wish to dominate it and employ it as the instrument of their designs."—"Americanism— What It Is," p. 82.

The real foes of the Constitution are those who, while professing to be its friends and even its advocates, are selfishly seeking legislation which is openly hostile to, and in direct violation of, the Constitution, and in this sinister way they are professedly holding to the Constitution while they are overriding every Constitutional guaranty vouchsafed to the individual citizen. They are establishing a political class absolutism which our forefathers intended to destroy by the Constitution. The real enemies of the Constitution and of true Americanism are those who, in any form whatever, desire to make the civil government their omnibus, and through the domination of public officials use it to serve their own personal or selfish class interests at the expense of others.

The real danger which threatens our democracy, is class imperialism. This absolute class imperialism is assuming gigantic proportions, and threatens not only to invade the sanctuary of personal freedom,— the rights of the individual citizen as guaranteed by the Constitution,— but to paralyze and nullify even the authority of Congress itself.

In seeking to preserve our government, we cannot do better than frequently to revert to the great doctrines of human rights as enunciated by the founders of our glorious Republic, which have made us the great, peaceful, and prosperous nation that we are. These fundamental principles are our only hope of political salvation, and when these are lost to us, free governments and genuine Americanism must perish, and the world will be doomed. The fate of the world is about to be determined by our own course of action, whether it is to be progressive or retroactive.

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The Church Triumphant; the State in Ruins

By H. G. Thurston

ANY times has our government been assailed by its professed friends; but like Judas, their kiss is that of a betraver; and although in some points our nation has already been pressed beyond the boundary of prudence and safety, still our star of hope has not set. Liberty's angel has not yet taken her flight to return no more. The banner of liberty still floats over our Capitol. This nation is still on trial. The decree has not yet gone forth against us, and it cannot so long as considerable portions of our country are not dominated by religious laws enforcing a man-made institution, claiming it to be divine. This being true, the importance of keeping the last corner of the United States from succumbing to the destructive influence of religious legislation, can scarcely be overestimated.

How will this mighty Republic stand the test? Will the words "weighed and wanting" be the heavenly verdict, or shall bigotry and oppression be held in check by our firm and noble attitude in matters of conscience? Shall we silently consent to have our freedom sold for a mess of pottage? The answer waits on the lips of Time. Concerning our attitude toward one another, Christ's words and example make duty plain, and of him who offends even the least of His children He has said it were better for such a one that a millstone were hanged about his neck and that he were drowned in the depths of the sea; for God "hath appointed a day in the which He will judge the world in righteousness by that Man whom He hath ordained; whereof He hath given assurance unto all men, in that He hath raised Him from the dead."

"Right" will be "might" in that day; and majorities will have no advantage. Wealth, popularity, and lust for power must then stand on a level with the poor, despised, and the oppressed. All who have professed Christ's name but have not revealed His kind, considerate spirit toward those who have differed in matters of religious faith, will hear those dread words, "I never knew you, depart."

Of those who have remained loyal to right principles we read :

" I saw as it were a sea of glass mingled with fire: and them that had gotten the victory over the beast, and over his image, and over his mark, and over the number of his name, stand on the sea of glass, having the harps of God. And they sing the song of Moses the servant of God, and the song of the Lamb, saying, Great and marvelous are Thy works, Lord God Almighty; just and true are Thy ways, thou King of saints. Who shall not fear Thee, O Lord, and glorify Thy name? for Thou only art holy: for all nations shall come and worship Thee; for Thy judgments are made manifest." Rev. 15: 2-4.

Reform Logic Which Leads to the Inquisition

By W. F. Martin

W HEN men seek a certain end, there is always some motive back of this purpose. It may not be apparent at first, but by watching the actions and listening to the words of these men, one can eventually arrive at and fathom the aim of the aggressors.

At first it is hard to see why men have burned their fellow men at the stake, or have buried them alive and otherwise tortured and destroyed them.

If Philip of Spain or Catherine de Medici were to be asked why the former, by the Iron Duke of Alva, overran Holland, or why the latter caused the castle bell to ring out the beginning of the massacre, they would tell you all this was done to stamp out heresy and to be a warning for the future generation. "Why," they would say, "these people were wrong in their belief, and if left alone, would lead others astray. They are all lost souls, under the disfavor of God. It is no wrong to put them to death, and by so doing give a warning to others who may be tempted to follow them. It is really no hardship to them. They should accept the true faith."

It is interesting to note a few words recently spoken by the secretary of the Lord's Day Alliance. Commenting on those whose faith led them to regard as sacred another day of the week than Sunday, he said:

"The Jew will have to observe our Sabbath. As a matter of fact he might as well, because Saturday is not, after all, his Sabbath. By the revised calendar he is wrong. Therefore it will work no hardship for him to attend his synagogue on the same day we attend our churches."

According to this reverend gentleman, all who think they are doing God service in keeping Saturday for the Sabbath, are wrong, and he is appointed of the Lord to set them right. Their wishes or convictions are not to be considered. Their construction of the Lord's command means nothing to this gentleman. He is right, and they should accept his version. They are all mistaken. He knows. That ought to settle the matter. They should without any question give up their ideas and practices. They should keep Sunday instead of Saturday. It matters not what they may think about it; they are not to be consulted. Why should they be? They are wrong. Their ideas are not worth considering. It would work no hardship on them to change. After they did change, what assurance would they then have that they were right? That is all very simple. They would be in

harmony with Mr. Bowlby and the Lord's Day Alliance.

In all soberness, such ideas as expressed by these reformers are the identical ideas that were held by the inquisitors in the darkest period of the Dark Ages. We are willing to grant that those who are actuated by these motives do not themselves realize to what such sentiments will lead. *They should know*. The history of the past should be a solemn warning to them. When such men are vested with power over their fellows, they will certainly exercise such power. Are the people of America ready to surrender?

The Policy of "Sunday Laws"

By Charles M. Bice Attorney at Law, Member of Colorado Bar

THE real object of Sunday laws, sometimes openly avowed, is to increase the attendance in the churches on the Sabbath day. In other words, a confession that the purpose is to compel people to go to church, even against inclination,— the most repulsive form of human coercion imaginable.

The French Roman Catholic clergy, in 1676, justified such a policy by the famous Scriptural text, "Compel them to come in," and appealed to St. Augustine; but history shows that the policy proved a failure. There is deep down in the human heart a feeling of resentment and obstinacy against any and all forms of coercion in matters of religion. This spirit which dwells in every breast will never tolerate force. It is simply impossible to legislate morality into people. They resent it, though intended for their own good, if it is to be crammed down their throats by any species of force or coercion. Those who advocate Sunday laws have much to learn of human nature as disclosed in the religious history of our race.

The attitude of the church in the seventeenth century, in its coercive methods and lack of secular and religious toleration, was condemned by such eminent leaders in Christian thought as Milton. Locke, Boyle, and many other lesser lights, who wrote books condemning such un-Christian methods. The sphere of civil government is quite distinct from that of religion; the one is constituted for preserving and protecting the civil interests of its members, such as "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," the other is concerned only with the means for the inward persuasion of the mind, and the mind or soul is so constituted that force cannot compel it to believe.

Gradually, though grudgingly, the church yielded the argument at that time, and religious and secular liberty triumphed substantially as we have them today.

But now comes along a so-called Lord's Day Alliance, and the National Reform Association, with other radicals, and demand that we all right about face, surrender our hard-earned rights, and reinaugurate a veritable "reign of terror" in the land.

Religion, in some misguided men, is

always looking backward, and to them progress is really odious. They have an irresistible hankering to reinstate the times when the Puritans were burning and hanging people in the name of God, and selling Quaker children into slavery in the name of the Christ who said, "Suffer the little children to come unto Me."

The Declaration of Independence announced the sublime truth that all power comes from the people. This was the first direct denial by any nation of the infamous dogma that God confers the right upon one man to rule over or govern others — the "divine right of kings."

Our Constitution does not mention God. The framers knew that to put God in the Constitution was to put man out, and that to recognize a higher power than man in civil affairs would be seized upon by fanatics and zealots as a pretext for destroying liberty. They knew church history too well for that.

But notwithstanding all this, the spirit of persecution crept into our early laws, or was there before the Constitution, and in many forms still lingers in them.

It is indeed surprising that instead of purging our laws of these remnants of an inquisitorial age, these indicia of barbaric times, men are to be found in this great free land, which owes all its greatness to liberty, who demand legislation for the restoration of these horrible old enactments, which were the disgrace of their times and the ridicule of the ages. If their demands were acquiesced in, they would but constitute the entering wedges for all forms of religious intolerance and persecution, if not for the actual revival of the disgraceful scenes of the inquisitorial fiendishness of a Torquemada.

In this connection it is germane to quote the language of a famous orator, in describing the world's condition, which the blue law champions would desire to reinaugurate:

"For ages science was utterly ignored; thought was a poor slave; an ignorant priest was master of the world; faith put out the eyes of the soul; reason was a trembling coward; every human feeling was sought to be suppressed; love was considered infinitely sinful; pleasure was the road to eternal fire, and God was supposed to be happy only when His children were miserable. . . . Every public calamity was caused by the sins of the people; by a failure to pay tithes, or for having, even in secret, felt a disrespect for a priest; life, to the people, was a dim and mysterious labyrinth, in which they wandered, weary and lost, guided by priests as bewildered as themselves; the soul was supposed to be crowded by the wild beasts of desire; the heart to be totally corrupt, prompting only to erime; the flood, the tornado, the volcano, were all evidences of the displeasure of Heaven and the sinfulness of man. The world was governed by fear. . .

"Science found agriculture plowing with a stick, reaping with a sickle; commerce at the mercy of treacherous waves; a world without books, without schools; men denying the authority of reason, employing their ingenuity in making instruments of torture, in building inquisitories and cathedrals. It found a world full of ignorance and fear, cruelty the only means of reformation; it found the earth filled with slaves and tyrants without hope and without reason in the world. Ignorance worships mystery; Reason explains it: the one grovels, the other soars."

This describes a condition of the world which the blue law champions would have restored. To those familiar with church history, the picture is not overdrawn.

But thank Heaven! under liberty, religion has not stood still, but has evolved and developed with science to its present glorious consummation; and palsied be the hand that would wrench it back to its old superstitious moorings!

One hundred and fifty years ago the foremost preachers of our time would have been burned at the stake. Unitarians would have been confined to the stocks. Maryland, when a colony, enacted a law as follows:

"That if any person shall hereafter, within this province, wittingly, maliciously, and advisedly, by writing or speaking, blaspheme or curse God, or deny our Saviour Jesus Christ to be the Son of God, or shall deny the Holy Trinity, or any of the persons thereof, and shall be thereof convict by verdict, or confession, shall for the first offense, be bored through the tongue and fined twenty pounds . . . to be levied on the offender's body. . . . For the second offense, the offender . . . shall be stigmatized by burning in the forehead with the letter 'B' and fined forty pounds. For the third offense, the offender . . . shall suffer death without the benefit of the clergy."

This is a sample of the law when the church was all powerful, and similar laws were in force in most of the colonies. Ridiculous enactments were common in those days, minutely particularizing what you should and should not do, even within the sacred precincts of daily family and conjugal life.

In view of these facts, and knowing what the church is capable of, if given the necessary power, is it any wonder that our forefathers not only kept religion out of the Constitution, but by an ironelad provision inserted in the fundamental law expressly prohibited the union of church and state?

The advocates of the blue laws would undo all this, and in defiance of the Constitution would connect us up, whether willing or not, with the church, and relegate us to the tender (?) mercies of rules prescribed by unreasoning bigots for the sole purpose of filling their churches, which a stupid ministry has all but depleted.

Such a program, I am happy to say, does not appeal to the people of the West, and has here no following.

The Church, the State, and the Bible

True Christianity Inspirational, Not Legalistic

By Hon. S. A. Clark Lecturer and Author, of Carrollton, Mo.

I F the day has come when the church must ask the civil authorities to assist in maintaining "religious ideals," then the time is ripe for the church to become introspective and selfexamining.

It is generally supposed that the purpose of the Christian ministry is to maintain "religious ideals." If that is not the mission of the gospel, then the church of Jesus Christ has no place in this world; or, to use the language of St. Paul, "If righteousness come by the law, then Christ is dead in vain."

The opinion of right-thinking men is well expressed by Benjamin Franklin in the following language:

"When religion is good, it will take care of itself; when it is not able to take care of itself, and God does not see fit to take care of it, so that it has to appeal to the civil power for support, it is evidence to my mind that its cause is a bad one."

The lesson all should learn is that men cannot be regenerated morally by any human power. There is in government absolutely no power to lift mankind to a higher spiritual plane. Men can be reformed only as individuals, not *en* masse. The religion of Christ appeals only to the individual, and it effects real moral reformation and regeneration only as it is voluntarily accepted by the individual and becomes a real force in his daily life. All legislative attempts to accomplish this purpose *en* masse are meaningless platitudes, deceiving men and offending God.

The Orthodox Greek, or Eastern, Church was the national church of the empire of Russia. According to the latest available statistics, 70 per cent of the entire population of the empire belonged to the national church. It had joined hands with the Russian government. It was the power behind the throne. But when it wrote its "religious ideals" into the law of the realm, it wrote the death sentence of both the church and the nation.

It was the same old story of the union of church and state, with the same result that has always followed such an unholy alliance. If the Lord's Day Alliance and the National Reform Association can seize the reins of this government and write their "religious ideals" into laws, America will soon follow Darkest Russia into chaos.

It was the union of church and state that strengthened the hands of ecclesiastical butchers during the Dark Ages, and well-nigh extinguished the torch of liberty in the world. Let the church, instead of looking back to the days of intolerance and persecution for methods of reform, look to Jesus, the author and finisher of our faith.

The kingdom of Christ is a kingdom of love, and not of law. It is a kingdom of choice, and not of force. It is a kingdom of moral suasion, and not of legal coercion. He seeks to write His precepts in the hearts of men, and not on the statute books of the state.

The theories of certain modern political preachers, who would substitute a policeman's club for the cross of Christ, are all wrong. The God-inspired, invincible hosts of time will refuse to follow any church or creed that, in the realm of morals or religion, abandons the power of love for the force of law. Jesus was the antithesis of Cæsar. He refused to fight with the sword, and could not be conquered by the sword. Alexander won a world by force and lost it in death. Force put Jesus to death, but the Christ ideal has conquered and held the allegiance of more subjects each century since, than ever acknowledged fealty to a Cæsar, an Alexander, or a Napoleon. The gospel of love has multiplied His power, increased His fame, and placed nations, thrones, and principalities at His feet. The glory and splendor won with the sword by the gods of force perished with the victors. Every time the church has seized the sword, she has retarded the cause of Christ. Every time she has called upon the law to make men righteous or moral, she has discredited the power of love and injured the cause of righteousness and true morality. Contrast the religion of Saul of Tarsus with the religion of Paul the apostle, and you get a true

conception of the difference between a religion of force and a religion of love.

A Personal Saviour

The Jews looked for a temporal ruler, a great lawgiver after the order of Moses, and the Pharisees of today are trying to represent Christ as such, when as a matter of fact He was and is a personal Saviour. His gospel is not a law of the realm, but a law of the soul; not for the government of the state, but for the guidance of the individual. In a recent sermon at the Hyde Park Christian Church in Kansas City, the Rev. James Small said: "Jesus never used force. He was a lover, and not a legislator. He was a redeemer, and not a policeman. He was a teacher, not an Christianity is inspirational, officer. not legalistic."

Without fear of successful contradiction I make the assertion that the lives and efforts of all those who have attempted to reform the world by force have been failures; while the names of those who have followed the Man of Galilee in His efforts to reform the world with the gospel of love and moral suasion,— such names as Luther, Knox, Wesley, and others,— will ever adorn the brightest and most glorious pages in the world's history.

The man most needed today is not the legal reformer, not the professional uplifter, but the ideal man - the man who comes nearest to Him who was the model of all moral and manly beauty, whose presence was a benediction, whose words were pearls of wisdom, whose deeds were untainted by selfism, whose manners were affable and courteous, whose gentleness caused Him to call His betrayer "friend," whose benevolent love caused Him to lay down His life to save His foes, and who asked no return for all He was and did, but a love responsive to His own. The man who comes nearest this ideal Man-the divine Redeemer - is the man most needed in this hustling, restless, unbelieving, self-seeking age. Such a man, be he rich or poor, learned or unlearned, titled or untitled,

ennobles humanity, lifts his fellows up from degrading vices, makes this old world brighter and better and purer and happier, and holds high rank among the benefactors of his race and the friends of God. Therefore, the age greatly needs him, and whoever longs to serve his generation will strive to rise as nearly as he may to the stature of this ideal Man.

Religious Propaganda Under Civil Disguise

THE Pacific Conference of the Methodist Church, South, recently held a meeting at Stockton, Calif. On Oct. 15, 1921, the committee on resolutions made its report. One prominent feature of this was a resolution calling on Congress to pass the Sunday closing bill now before that body. Delegates were chosen to go to the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and to present this resolution to that body and urge its adoption.

Such resolutions as these are of more than passing interest to liberty-loving Americans. Our readers will be interested in seeing a copy of this resolution, at least a salient part of it. Here it is:

"Resolved, That the desceration of our Lord's Sabbath day is imperiling the safety of our nation, and that working for profit seven days in the week will destroy the religious life of any man, state, or nation.

" And as a nation, and as States, cities, and individuals, we should recognize the Sabbath as God commanded; and we should not license or permit city, State, or interstate or national business for profit on Sunday. It is now enslaving millions, and teaching millions more the satanic slavery of Sabbath breaking. Our government should not use physical force to make men pray or study the Bible or go to church, but it should see that a Sabbath day's rest is secured by law to every person under its jurisdiction. This is necessary for our physical, moral, and financial growth and safety, as has been preached by our best statesmen and handed down in decisions of our supreme courts for generations past. A nation that violates the Sabbath regularly is as sure to go to ruin as that Israel went to Babylon and Continental Europe to war.

"We hereby approve the national Sunday law proposed to our President and Congress July 14, 1921, by Noah W. Cooper and other committees from our Tennessee annual conference and eighteen other conferences of the Methodist Church, South, to stop all interstate Sunday trains, newspapers, mails, and federal work for profit, and secure a Sabbath day's rest for all, except in the case of charity and necessity."

No one will question the zeal of these ministers, and no doubt can be entertained as to their desire to see Sunday better observed, both by members of their own churches and by those who make no profession of Christianity.

One is led to wonder, however, as to why a religious body, especially a body of ministers who believe their authority for preaching is derived from the Saviour's commission backed by the Holy Spirit, should seek the arm of the civil law to further their propaganda. The Master did not so. He told Peter to put up his sword.

The weapons of the church are not carnal. The early disciples did not seek to the civil power to further the gospel. Whenever any church does this, it so far denies the power that is supposed to go with the great gospel commission.

More than this, whenever any church has been granted civil power, that church has used this power to its fullest extent. Pages might be written on this theme and many cases cited to illustrate it. To do so, it would not be necessary to go to the Dark Ages for data.

A well-known case is that of a man in Arkansas who, a few years ago, lay in jail four days for the crime (?) of digging enough potatoes for dinner. The potatoes were dug on Sunday. Would our friends who adopted resolutions demanding such a drastic Sunday law, like to see this repeated?

Under the same Sunday law an aged Christian man lay in jail twenty-six days for hauling wood on Sunday.

There is couched in this very demand for a Sunday law the surety that, if it is once secured, its precepts will be enforced. A leading Sunday law agitator said:

"We propose to incorporate in our national Constitution the moral and religious command, 'In it [Sunday] thou shalt do no work,' except the works of necessity; and by external forces of sheriffs we propose to arrest and punish all violators of this law."

Further it was said:

"Our remedy for all these malefic influences is to have the government simply set up the moral law and recognize God's authority back of it, and lay its hand on any religion that does not conform to it."

Can it be that America, the land of civil and religious freedom, wants any power-seeking, arrogant religious body to dominate their fellows who do not agree with them on matters that pertain to the individual conscience?

W. F. M.

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The Pharisaism of Sunday Laws

THE type of mind which is represented by this spirit [of bigotry] is one which belongs to an age of intolerance, and it may be added, of literalism. It believes that the outward observation of rules and customs is equivalent to piety. It is a pharisaical way of thinking which lays more emphasis upon ritual than spirit....

Yet it is in the minds of these bluelaw fanatics to pass a law that men shall be obliged to go to church on Sundays. With such a law in force it is pleasant to speculate on the state of mind of the different members of the congregation as they foregather in church to conform to the law. We can imagine the wells of devotion that would be plumbed.— The Chronicle, Monthly Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church, January, 1921, p. 238.

A Denial and a Correction

In the third quarter issue of the LIBERTY magazine for 1921 we stated that the International Reform Bureau, together with other reform organizations, favored "the confiscation of property " and the extreme penalty of " treason" for Sunday law violators and opponents. Dr. W. F. Crafts, superintendent of the International Reform Bureau, claims that his bureau never favored these extreme penalties, and should not be classed with any who may favor such penalties. In our judgment, however, the logic of the bureau's position upon the subject of religious legislation by the civil power, is the same as that which, when carried to its ultimate conclusion by similar movements in the past, led the dissenter to the gibbet and the rack. With Madison we hold that the only way of avoiding the evil consequences of religious legislation is by denying the principle.

In the same article we referred to an alleged interview Dr. Crafts gave to the Washington papers in which these papers claimed he was going to use "a million dollars" " for Christianizing and dry-cleaning and dyeing 'blue' the United States," and to defeat Congressmen if they did not vote for his measures. Dr. Crafts denies that he said he had a million dollars in hand for this purpose, and claims that he was erroneously quoted and grossly misrepresented when we applied it to the Sunday law issue alone and denominated it a "slush fund." Dr. Crafts says that the million dollars is still prospective, and is to be applied to the promotion of a dozen or more reform measures instead of a single measure, as we represented it.

When we called this large sum of money a "slush fund," we did not mean to imply that Dr. Crafts obtained it or was going to use it in a corrupt way, but that it was too much money for one person to spend to put reform measures through Congress, and as the Washington papers alleged, to notify "the Godfearing people back home, which Representatives have been derelict."

We used the term in the same sense as a prominent United States Senator used it recently when he charged another Senator with securing his election by means of a "slush fund." He said he did not intend to go behind the returns and intimate that the money was obtained or used by the Senator in a corrupt way, but that such a large sum was too much money to spend for the purpose to which it was devoted in a political campaign. We had no intention of attributing a corrupt motive to Dr. Crafts' use of this fund, and as Christian gentlemen and as a matter of Christian ethics we gladly take this opportunity, at Dr. Crafts' request, to print his denials, and make these corrections and explanations.

C. S. LONGACRE,

The Bible and Religion in the Public Schools

NE feature of the program of the National Reform forces for making the United States a Christian nation, is the introduction of religious instruction into the public schools. An effort was made recently in the State of Washington to open the way for the reading of the Bible in the public schools of that State, and one of the superior courts of the State granted a writ of mandamus to that end. But upon appeal the writ was dismissed by the supreme court. The case, we are informed, is to be carried to the United States Supreme Court.

The same question is now prominently before the people of Hartford, Conn., such teaching being insistently demanded by the Hartford Council of Churches. Pastor Lee S. Wheeler, of the Seventh-day Adventist church of that eity, in a recent letter to the Hartford *Courant*, gave in a very dispassionate way some reasons why religion should not, yea, why it can not, be taught in the public schools. In part Mr. Wheeler said:

"It is inconceivable that teachers should impart other than their own ideas to their pupils in any course of instruction, and it has not been found easy, even in colleges and seminaries wholly under the supervision of Christian churches, to guarantee satisfactory religious instruction to the youth intrusted to their eare. In most American colleges the books prepared since the beginning of this century for the religious instruction of students are so written as to fill them with a subtle skepticism regarding the inspiration of the Scriptures, ereation, the account of the flood, the origin of the ten commandments, the birth of Christ, and all things supernatural.

"According to 'modern scholarship,' the world and all that is in it came into existence through the processes of evolution, and not by 'creation as the Scriptures relate. Consequently man never was in the image of God, and there was no garden of Eden, nor fall of man. These accounts, like the story of Abraham, of Joseph, and of Moses, are taught as myths floated down in tradition, which gave form to the religious belief of prehistoric times, but are not longer regarded as in harmony with science. Everything supernatural is placed in doubt, and the inspiration of the prophets is explained as emotional, like that of Milton, or Browning, or Longfellow, or Edgar Allen Poe, or Walt Whitman.

"The common people, however, still, as in the days of Jesus, believe in Him, and in His teachings and miracles, as divine, and desire to preserve in their children the simple evangelical religious faith in the fundamentals of Christianity.

"What does the present movement to teach religion in the public schools contemplate? Many of the clergy connected with the Federated Council of Churches share the views of 'modern scholarship,' or higher criticism. How is it possible to have a practical standard of religious teaching in the public schools which will meet the minds of evangelical Christians and at the same time conform to popular teaching in the higher institutions of learning which have as a body gone over to the side of radicalism? Or how can their system of religious teaching be incorporated into the public schools without creating dissension and bringing public education into greater disfavor with those who would adhere to orthodox principles?

"These are some of the questions which call for consideration in connection with the proposed action of the Council of Churches in urging the board of education to make religious teaching a part of the curriculum in the city schools."

Certainly Mr. Wheeler's words should appeal strongly to those who would remain loyal to the faith of their fathers and mothers. Those who care only for outward appearances, for a high-sounding profession, who believe that men and nations can be made Christian by act of Congress, will of course insist that the plan of making clean the outside, be carried out.

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THE product of a legal religion is either hypocrisy or persecution.

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A CIVIL Lord's day is as much an anomaly as a civil Lord's Supper.



According to the Knoxville (Tenn.) Journal and Tribune, a concerted movement is on in that city for the enforcement of the State Sunday law. Oct. 3, 1921, two or three citizens visited fiftyeight fruit stands, cigar stores, etc., and secured evidence against them all. Warrants were sworn out the next morning, and arrests were made the same day, the fines being imposed on Tuesday. The Tennessee law was enacted in 1741, and was amended in 1803.

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THE Chicago News of Nov. 16, 1921, tells that a deceased veteran of the World War was denied a military funeral because it was proposed to hold it on Sunday. So great was the opposition that the funeral was postponed to Monday and the military and Masonic features were abandoned, Sunday being the only day that those organizations could be present in full force.

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THE following from the Washington Star of July 17, 1921, shows how resolutions are sometimes "put through" without their real character and meaning being disclosed:

"BALTIMORE, MD., July 16.— Rev. Carlton D. Harris, editor of the Southern Methodist, and Rev. E. L. Woolf, presiding elder of the Baltimore district, made the discovery yesterday that they had one 'put over' on them at the Baltimore Conference held in Roanoke last April.

"It all came out through the efforts of the extremists group, led by Noah W. Cooper, which is in Washington in the interest of legislation which would halt all railroad trains, stop all the activities of the post office on Sunday, and forbid the publication of Sunday newspapers, and which was responsible for the statement that the program had been approved by the Baltimore Conference.

"When asked about this statement yesterday, Dr. Harris denied that any such action was taken.

"'The Baltimore Conference, held in Roanoke last April, did not approve that radical program,' he said. 'There was no discussion of it, and I am confident that we could not secure the conference's approval of such a program. While I think, if it could be accomplished, it would probably exert a wholesome influence, I do not think it possible at this time, and I think we would do more harm than good by trying to accomplish it.'

"While Dr. Woolf expressed the same views, he was not so sure that no action was taken, and suggested that they go over the proceedings of the conference.

"This was done, and, in Dr. Harris' own words, 'We were dumfounded to find that the conference did approve that program. There was no discussion of it, however. It was slipped through during the closing hours, and I do not believe it represents the sentiments of the conference.'

"The indorsement is in report No. 2 of the proceedings of the body, and reads: 'Also that we indorse the proposed national law to stop all Sunday mails, newspapers, interstate commerce, and to secure Sunday as a rest day for all.'"

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THE Portland (Oreg.) News, some weeks ago, telling of one church which with a seating capacity of only five hundred, reached an audience of five thousand by using an amplifier, said this:

"As churches take their message to the people, and as churches really minister to the needs and longings of the people, churches will renew their strength, and indeed this is the only way out for the church anywhere.

"The church that feels it must call in the legislation and force Sabbath 'observance' and church attendance by civil law, is a church that is no church at all, and that admits it by its insistance on trying to conquer where it cannot persuade.

"Blue laws will make Sunday a horror to millions; the gospel and the ministrations of the Christ will save humanity."

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STANDING for the "American Sunday," the repeal of existing so-called "blue" laws and the prevention of legislation of a "blue" tendency, the Helpers from the Hills, for twenty years a local organization, has taken out a national charter, incorporated under the laws of the District, and has started a nation-wide campaign for a more liberal interpretation of Sabbath observance.

The Helpers from the Hills, based on Psalm 121, was founded by the Rev. Dr. A. H. Zimmerman twenty years ago, and existed as a local organization for the uplift and help of the poor. J. H. Wells becomes executive secretary. The "American Sunday" included in the organization's platform is defined as a Sunday of rest, religion, and recreation.

The headquarters of the organization in Washington is at Locksley Hall, 1300 Rhode Island Avenue, Northwest.— Washington Post, Oct. 10, 1921.

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Our Sunday Visitor (R. C.), published in Huntington, Ind., called attention some time ago to the difference between Catholics and Protestants touching Sunday observance, in these words:

"The Catholic congregation gathers in fulfilment of its obligation to worship Almighty God. Incidentally it is given opportunity to hear some instruction in religion or morals. And the duty done, it is free to spend the remainder of the day in harmless recreation. Non-Catholics, at least those of the old-fashioned stripe, are not so free to use the Lord's day, and some of them are objecting strenuously to any one's so using it. Yet, oddly enough, it is the non-Catholic congregation that shows the most notable falling off in the matter of church attendance during the summer."

This is a marked difference. It does not consist wholly in a larger falling off in Protestant Sunday church attendance, but in the method adopted to remedy the growing evil. Catholics enforce Sunday church attendance by church discipline. Protestants seek to do this by means of "civil" laws, which give the church a practical monopoly of the day by closing everything else.

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According to a report published in a Santa Cruz, Calif., paper recently, Dr. J. C. Pinkerton, executive secretary of the California State Federation of Churches, was applauded to the echo at the Pacific Coast conference of the Methodist Church, South, at Stockton, when he said it was "the united action of the churches which put the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution" through, and declared that while "our government should not use physical force to compel people to go to church." "it should see that a Sabbath day's rest is secured to every person under its jurisdiction." And further, that "it must be the Sabbath the churches want, and not the Sabbath of other religions."

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THE Capital Journal, Salem, Oreg., remarked recently that the "intolerance of the Puritans in the early days of the colonies seems a far cry from the twentieth century, yet there are those among us in the 'enlightened era' who seek to establish a similar tyranny today. Movements are under way to curb and restrict the liberty of the individual, regulate his conscience, and make him good by statute, in a manner that recalls the old attempts of the 'saints.'"

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THIS from the New York Times of Nov. 22, 1921, will be read with interest:

"That Protestant Christians had no right to force Sunday observance legislation was an opinion expressed yesterday by the Rev. Dr. Charles S. Kemble, Methodist minister, of Irvington, N. J., before the thirty-third annual meeting of the Lord's Day Alliance of the United States, which was held in the Madison Avenue Baptist church, at Thirty-first Street. His words followed a heated arraignment of the motion-picture industry.

""We must remember that this [New York] is not a Protestant city,' declared Dr. Kemble. "Every third man is a Jew, and possibly every third man is a Roman Catholic. Two thirds of the population are not Protestant.

"' The Roman Catholic Church does not agree with us at all as to the observance of Sunday. The Jews disagree with us as to the conception of the Sabbath. Now why should we force upon them a bill which disagrees with their thought and their views?

"'We have no right to force our views and conception, which is the Puritan conception of the Sabbath, upon them. It is all right to do it in the churches and to voice our sentiments from pulpit or by propaganda. But I don't believe in legislation which forces our religious views upon those who do not agree with us. It is not American in spirit.'

"Dr. Kemble was listened to with astonishment. Immediately several clergymen answered him in succession, all declaring that it was 'not a matter of man's viewpoint, but of God's word.'

"Dr. Kemble was not on the program, and his remarks followed several formal addresses, all in perfect accord with the Puritan idea of Sunday observance for which the Alliance stands. It was when the session was thrown into an open forum that Dr. Kemble spoke.

"Dr. Kemble began by asking the Alliance on what grounds it based its right to dictate what the public should do after two o'clock on Sunday afternoon.

"It was first affirmed and then denied that the Episcopal Church stood for 'complete observance of the Sabbath.' Extracts were quoted from the canon law of the Episcopal Church to prove that it did insist on keeping holy all of Sunday. Discussion of the attitude of the Roman Catholic Church on Sunday observance also caused some disagreement. One speaker said he had been reared a Roman Catholic, but had 'been converted to Presbyterianism,' and that the Catholic Church did not call for an observance of Sunday except that all must go to mass.

"In the afternoon at the annual business session it was voted to call the attention of Governor Miller, Mayor Hylan, the sheriff of New York County, and the State legislature to the fact that a city magistrate had dismissed a case referred to him of games of basket ball played in Madison Square Garden on Sunday, despite the fact that the law had been broken."

Roger Williams, "The First American"

(Continued from page 32)

doctrines undermined the foundation of the Puritan and Episcopal theocracies in New England and Virginia, and from these quarters great men who had accepted his views, came to the front and founded a new state and government, modeled upon the principles of Americanism — a free church in a free state.

In his recent "Introduction to the History of the Nineteenth Century," Professor Gervinus says:

"Roger Williams founded, in 1636, a small new society in Rhode Island, upon principles of entire liberty of conscience and the uncontrolled power of the majority in secular concerns.... The theories of freedom in church and state taught in the schools of philosophy in Europe, were here brought into practice in the government of a small community.

"It was prophesied that the democratic attempts to obtain universal suffrage, a general elective franchise, annual parliaments, entire religious freedom, and the Miltonian right of schism would be of short duration. But these institutions have not only maintained themselves here, but have spread over the whole Union. They have superseded the aristocratic commencements of Carolina and New York, the High Church party in Virginia, the theocracy in Massachusetts, and the monarchy throughout America; they have given laws to one quarter of the globe; and, dreaded for their moral influence, they stand in the background of every democratic struggle."

The eminent historian Bancroft pays him the following high tribute:

"Roger Williams was the first person in modern Christendom to establish civil government on the doctrine of liberty of conscience. ... At a time when Germany was desolated by the implacable wars of religion, when even Holland could not pacify vengeful sects, when France was still to go through the fearful struggle with bigotry, when England was gasping under the despotism of intolerance, almost half a century before William Penn became an American proprietary, and while Descartes was constructing modern philosophy on the method of free reflection, Roger Williams asserted the great doctrine of intellectual liberty, and made it the corner-stone of a political constitution. It became his glory to found a state upon that principle, and to stamp himself upon its rising institutions, in character so deep that the impress has remained to the present day, and can never be effaced without the total destruction of the work."-" History of the United States," Vol. I, pp. 254, 255, last revision.

Roger Williams framed a charter for his new colony, which in spirit and substance became the model for the great Magna Charta of human liberty and equitable jurisprudence in the American Republic. Had it not been for the inestimable blessings that came to this little colony, and the liberty-loving spirit so generously fostered and aggressively promulgated throughout the English colonies by the members of the Rhode Island democracy, there never would have been a Revolutionary War, no civil and religious liberty, and no republican form of government in America.

Thus Roger Williams has been justly styled "the first American." We owe him a debt of gratitude equal to that due to Washington. The work Roger Williams began in America, George Washington finished, and Abraham Lincoln perpetuated. Let us not forget the rock whence we were hewn and the hole of the pit whence we were digged.

Roger Williams, "The First American "

UR front cover page is adorned with a pictorial representation of Roger Williams, the great American apostle of soul liberty, whom historians delight to call "the first American." Of him Hon. Oscar S. Straus says:

"If I were asked to select from all the great men who have left their impress upon this continent from the days that the Puritan Pilgrims set foot on Plymouth Rock, . . . if I were asked whom to hold before the American people and the world to typify the American spirit of fairness, of freedom, of liberty in church and state, I would without any hesitation select that great prophet who established the first political community on the basis of a free church in a free state, the great and immortal Roger Williams."

Roger Williams was a man of noble parts, highly educated and truly refined. He was the first American who advocated the complete and absolute separation of church and state, and first to deny to civil government any authority over the soul and conscience of the individual. He was the one man, and the first man, the one who did more than any other. to lay broad and deep the foundation principle of civil and religious liberty upon the American continent, and to plant the seed of soul liberty in the fertile soil of the hearts of his countrymen. He was the first man that challenged the right of the civil magistrate to intrude into the spiritual domain, and who first announced upon American soil and to Americans the right of individuality in religion and the free exercise of liberty of conscience without interference on the part of the civil magistrate.

The general court of Massachusetts charged Williams, during his trial for heresy and treason, with having "deelared his opinion that the magistrate might not punish a breach of the Sabbath, nor any other [religious] offense, as it was a breach of the first table." This doctrine was in advance of his time. It was denounced as treason against the government and as heresy against the established religion, and for it the Puritans sentenced him to exile from home, wife, and children. To escape this sentence, Williams fled for protection from his Christian persecutors to the Indians of southern New England.

Thus savage Indians, instead of the Puritans, became the conservators of religious liberty in North America. Later on, when things were going well with Williams in his new plantation which he founded at Providence, the governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony invited him to return, but in his characteristic style he replied :

"I feel safer here among the Christian savages than in the Massachusetts Colony among the savage Christians."

Roger Williams founded a miniature republic in Rhode Island, with the church and state completely separated, and the rights of the individual protected by law. What Luther did for the emancipation of the church in Europe, Roger Williams did for the state in America. He was the noblest type of the ideal American statesman. None was better fitted than he for the work to which he was called by divine Providence.

Williams was a man sent of God as a forerunner to prepare the way for the establishment of the greatest nation the world has yet seen. He came at just the right time to prepare the soil and sow the precious seed of a new freedom, which was not only eventually to shake the triple tiara from its pinnacle of temporal power, but was to break the tyrannical power of the crown of absolute sovereignty which for ages had enslaved both the bodies and the souls of men.

The little colony founded by Roger Williams became the home and asylum for the oppressed of both Europe and America. His republican ideas and his Christian doctrine of soul liberty, found ready champions and adherents among the dissenters and nonconformists in the Puritan and Episcopal settlements of America, and gradually these ideals and

(Continued on page 31)

The

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