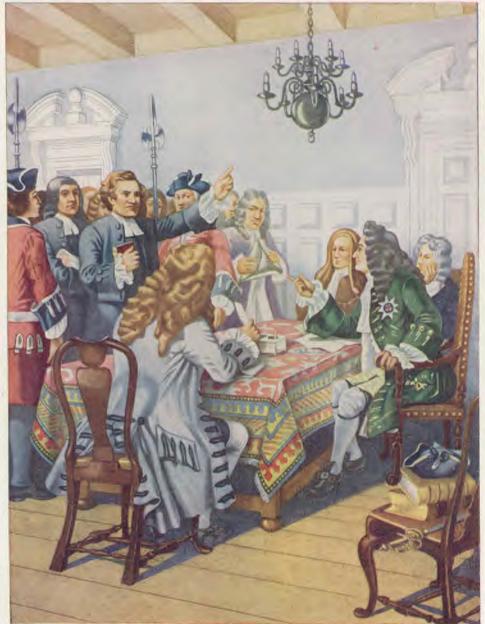
LIBERTY A MAGAZINE OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM



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MAKEMIE'S PLEA FOR RELIGIOUS LIBERTY BEFORE LORD CORNBURY. See Back Cover

TWENTY CENTS A COPY-

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Religious Liberty Association

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

10. We also believe in temperance, and regard the liquor traffic as a curse to society.

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

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

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

Northern Religious Liberty Association (affiliated organizations in Minnesota Iowa, North Dakota, and South Dakota): Office 2718 Third Ave., South, Minneapolis, Minn.; secretary, E. T. Russell. North Pacific Religious Liberty Association (affiliated organizations in Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Montana, and Alaska): Office, College Place, Wash.; secretary, H. G. Thurston.

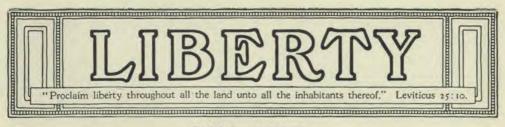
Pacific Religious Liberty Association (affiliated organizations in California, Nevada, Utah, and Arizona): Secretary, W. F. Martin, 421 North Label St., Glendale, Calif.

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Southwestern Religious Liberty Association (affiliated organizations in Arkansas, Oklahoma, Texas, and New Mexico): Office, 518-519 Terminal Bidg., Oklahoma City, Okla.; secretary, Morris Lukens.

Western Canadian Religious Liberty Association (affiliated organizations in Alberta, British Columbia. Manitoba. and Saskatchewan): Office, 201 I. O. O. F. Building, Calgary, Alberta; secretary, A. C. Gilbert.



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SECOND QUARTER, 1923

NO. 2

CHARLES S. LONGACRE, Editor

r CALVIN P. BOLLMAN, Managing Editor WILLIAM F. MARTIN, Associate Editor

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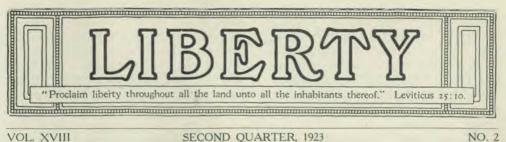
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MAKEMIE MONUMENT AT HOLDEN'S CREEK, ACCOMAC CO., VA.

THE Western world had need of one like him, The true, historic, Presbyterian grit. The persecutors still were on his trail. To feed and aggrandize an alien faith, They wrest the godless tithes from all he had; Corrupt and vile Cornbury in the North Arrested, swindled, flung him into jail. America's first legal fight for men's Religious liberty, he waged and won. From Barbados to Boston flashed the light. —" Makemieland Memorials," p. 76.



VOL. XVIII

SECOND QUARTER, 1923

Memorial of the Presbytery of Hanover

to the

HE Presbyterians, together with the Baptists, took a very active part in establishing religious liberty in Virginia, and

General Assembly of Virginia

Dissenters' Petition Oct. 24, 1776



ination, prejudice, or bigotry had interwoven with the regal system."

We have room for only the first of these grand

memorials, entitled, "Dissenters' Petition 1776, October 24," which is as follows:

" To the Honorable the General Assembly of Virginia:

"The memorial of the presbytery of Hanover humbly represents, that your memorialists are governed by the same sentiments which inspired the United States of America, and are determined that nothing in our power and influence shall be wanting to give success to their common cause. We would also represent that the dissenters from the Church of

England in this country have ever been desirous to conduct themselves as peaceable members of civil government, for which reason they have hitherto submitted to several ecclesiastical burdens and restrictions that are inconsistent with equal liberty. But now, when the many and grievous oppressions of our

later, in guaranteeing it in the Federal Constitution. The Presbyterians and

Baptists of a century and a half ago seem to have had a much clearer vision of the rights of conscience than many members of the same communions have today. The history of Christian denominations demonstrates that purity of doctrine is not maintained, and liberty of worship does not thrive, when the church becomes popular with the world and links arms with the state.

From 1776 to 1785, the presbytery of Hanover sent five

strong memorials to the General Assembly of Virginia, which were largely instrumental in "breaking the fetters of tyranny, and of forming independent governments upon equitable and liberal foundations," so that "nonconformists and dissenters should be freed from all the encumbrances which a spirit of dom-

LIBERTY

mother country have laid this continent under the necessity of casting off the yoke of tyranny and of forming independent governments upon equitable and liberal foundations, we flatter ourselves that we shall be freed from all the encumbrances which a spirit of dominaparts of the country there are so many thousands of zealous friends and defenders of our State who, besides the invidious and disadvantageous restrictions to which they have been subjected, annually pay large taxes to support an establishment from which their con-

tion, prejudice, or bigotry hath interwoven with most other political systems. This we are the more strongly encouraged to expect by the Declaration of Rights! so universally applauded for that dignity, firmness, and precision with which it de-



First Presbylerian Church, at Rehoboth, Va., near Pocomoke City, Md. Rev. Francis Makemie was once pastor of this church.

lineates and asserts the privileges of society and the prerogatives of human nature, and which we embrace as the Magna Charta of our Commonwealth, that can never be violated without endangering the grand superstructure it was destined to sustain. Therefore we reply upon this declaration, as well as the justice of our honourable Legislature, to secure us the free exercise of religion according to the dictates of our consciences: and we should fall short in our duty to ourselves and to the many and numerous congregations under our care were we upon this occasion to neglect laying before you a statement of our religious grievances under which we have hitherto labored, and that they no longer may be continued in our present form of government.

"It is well known that in the frontier counties — which are justly supposed to contain a fifth part of the inhabitants of Virginia — the dissenter has borne the heavy burdens of purchasing glebes, building churches, and supporting the established clergy, where there were very few Episcopalians, either to assist in bearing the expense or to reap the advantage; and that throughout the other sciences and their principles oblige them to dissent, all which are confessedly viol ations of their natural rights, and in their consequences a restraint upon freedom of enquiry and private judgment.

"In this enlightened age.

and in a land where all of every denomination are united in most strenuous efforts to be free, we hope and expect our representatives will cheerfully concur in removing every species of religious as well as civil bondage. Certain it is, that every argument for civil liberty gains additional strength when applied in the concerns of religion; and there is no argument in favor of establishing the Christian religion but what may be pleaded with equal propriety for establishing the tenets of Mahomet by those who believe in the Alkoran: or if this be not true, it is at least impossible for the magistrate to adjudge the right of preference among the various sects that profess the Christian faith, without erecting a chair of infallibility, which would lead us back to the Church of Rome.

"We beg leave further to represent that religious establishments are highly injurious to the temporal interests of any community. Without insisting upon the ambition and arbitrary practices of those who are favoured by government, or the intriguing, seditious spirit which is commonly excited by this as well as by every other kind of oppression, such establishments greatly retard population,

and consequently, the progress of arts. sciences, and manufactures, Witness the rapid growth and improvement of the northern provinces compared with this. No one can deny that the more early settlement and the many superior advantages of our country would have invited multitudes of artificers, mechanics, and all other useful members of society to fix their habitation among us. who have either remained in the place of their nativity, or preferred worse civil government and a more barren soil where they might enjoy the rights of conscience more fully than they had a prospect of doing in this. From which we infer that Virginia might now have been the capital of America and a match for the British arms, without depending upon either for the necessaries of war, had it not been prevented by her religious establishment.

"Neither can it be made to appear that the gospel needs any such civil aid. We rather conceive that our blessed Saviour declares His *kingdom is not of this world*, He renounces all dependence upon state power; and, as His *weapons were spiritual*, and were only designed to have influence upon the judgment and hearts of men, we are persuaded that if mankind were left in quiet possession of their inalienable religious privileges, Christianity, as in the days of the apostles, would continue to prevail and flourish in the greatest purity, by its own native excellence and under the all-disposing providence of God.

"We would also humbly represent that the only proper objects of civil government are the happiness and protection of men in their present state of existence, the security of the life, liberty, and the property of the citizens, and to restrain the vicious and to encourage the virtuous, by wholesome laws equally ex-

(Concluded on page 63)

Ruins of the First Brick Church Building at Jamestown

THE first permanent English settlement within the limits of the United States was made at Jamestown, Va., May 13, 1607, or more than thirteen years before the Pilgrims landed on the shores of Massachusetts.

The one hundred or more settlers who founded Jamestown were pronounced royalists, and named their settlement after their king, James I.

The first public worship at Jamestown was conducted in a rude shed made of branches of trees, native grass, and such canvas as could be spared by the ship from which the settlers landed. The brick church, the ruined tower of which is shown in the picture, was probably not built until about 1620. The worship of the first settlers of Virginia was conducted according to the forms of the Established Church of England, nor was any other worship permitted by law in the Commonwealth for about a century and a quarter, or until the days of Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, George Mason, and other large-hearted and clear-headed patriots.





Christ and the Tribute Money "Render therefore unto Cæsar the things which be Cæsar's, and unto God the things which be God's."

Sunday Observance by Majority No Justification for Sunday Laws

S O says L. Tyler Barnes, a major of the United States Army, in the Boston *Transcript* of December 16, 1922:

"The observance of Sunday by thousands of professed Christian people does not justify the passage of a Sunday law. Though an individual may desire to keep Sunday, he does not wish to be told in what particular way he shall observe it. Each individual should be free to arrange his own religious program. The man who desires to observe no day at all has the right, under the United States Constitution, to refuse to believe in the sacredness of a day, just as the religionist has the right to observe a day of rest.

"It is to be regretted at this time, when great moral forces have been unitedly successful in the prohibition issue, that Sunday observance enforced by law, should be pressed upon Congressmen and legislators. It is not the day upon which an act is done that makes the deed evil, or a menace to society, but the harm is in the deed itself. Gambling is bad every day in the week. Immoral moving pictures are as much a crime against society on Monday as on Sunday.

"All Sunday laws are based upon religion, for Sunday is a religious day. All Sunday legislation is religious legislation, and is therefore un-Christian and un-Constitutional. Christ's admonition in Luke 20: 25, is, 'Render therefore unto Cæsar the things which be Cæsar's, and unto God the things which be God's.' The First Amendment to the Constitution of the United States says: 'Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.'

"Advocates of Sunday-closing laws would have us believe that they do not in any way conflict with any one in the full exercise of his liberty of belief. Champions of Sunday laws point to the origin of Sunday legislation, and tell us that ' canons were incorporated into the common law, and became a part of it.' This is true, and this was the beginning of the union of the professed Christian church with the state, which resulted in the persecution and death by martyrdom of millions of honest men and women. Even today honest individuals - Jews. Seventh Day Baptists, and Seventh-day Adventists-who conscientiously regard the seventh day of the week as the Sabbath, are feeling the strong arm of prejudice and misguided zeal. Sunday laws deprive them of one sixth of their time. Sunday laws compel them to rest two days each week, and thus deprive them of one sixth of their wages, or if they refuse to obey, they must pay a fine or go to jail, and perhaps both.

"Near the close of 1916, T. J. Krieger and his son, who conduct a general mercantile business at Hitchcock, Okla., were arrested for keeping their store open on Sunday, convicted and sentenced. The case was appealed to the supreme court of Oklahoma, and the decision reversed. Judge Bret, in rendering the decision of the State supreme court, wrote: 'It is factitiously argued, by some courts, that to say to these people, they must keep their Sunday, does not prevent them from also keeping the day they regard as "holy day." But these overlook the fact that under the divine commandment these people are striving to obey, it is just as imperative that they work six days as that they rest on the seventh. And if their conscience compels them to rest one day, and the law forces them to also rest another day, they would thus be forced to violate the first provision of the commandment that they are attempting conscientiously to keep. For these reasons, and others that might be added. we think the judgment should be reversed. The judgment is therefore reversed, and the cause remanded with direction to dismiss the case. Doyle, R. J., and Armstrong, J., concur.'

"Many other instances might be given where the supreme court has reversed the decision of the lower court on the question of Sunday observance during the last few years. It is but a short time since the people of Oregon, by popular referendum vote, wiped the blue laws from the statute books of that State.

"May we appeal to all to follow the injunction of Christ, who said, 'Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them: for this is the law and the prophets."

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President Harding on Liberty

THAT the President is a stanch friend of liberty will not be questioned by any one who reads the following from his lips:

"A free America has the right to labor without any other's leave. It would be no less an abridgment to deny men the right to bargain collectively. Government cannot tolerate any class or group domination through force. It will be a sorry day when any group domination is reflected in our laws. Government and the laws which government is charged with enforcing, must be for all the people, ever aiming at the common good. . . Liberty is gone in America when any man is denied by anybody the right to work and live by that work, it does not matter who denies."

A few months since, as President Harding turned up the first shovelful of earth on the spot where a Baptist Memorial Church is being erected in Washington, in honor of Roger Williams, the great American apostle of religious liberty, the President said: "We cannot erect too many memorials to religious liberty, nor can we have too much religious life in America." May the President continue to voice such classic utterances. He has been acting the rôle of a father giving wise counsel to his children, rather than that of a dictating schoolmaster wielding the rod of authority.



The Wilkes-Barre Blue Law Controversy

T HE city of Wilkes-Barre, Pa., just now is experiencing an old-

time religious controversy between the authorities of the civil government and the Protestant hierarchy, which seeks to force the mayor's hand in the matter of the enforcement of the musty Sunday blue laws of that State.

Mayor Daniel L. Hart, of Wilkes-Barre, refuses to accept the interpretation of the Sunday blue laws as rendered by the Protestant Ministerial Association. In replying to Rev. Samuel Me-Dowell, who appeared before the city council, urging the mayor to stop the Young Men's Hebrew Association from playing basket ball in their own hall on Sunday afternoons, the mayor said:

"While I live I will never allow the lesson taught by the Liberty Bell to be drowned out by the weak chimes of church bells. I am for the people first, always, and all the time, and as long as I have the reins of government, I will

By

C. S. Longacre

work for them. When I do not have the reins of government, I will go out on the street corners and work for the continuance of

the liberties guaranteed by the Declaration of Independence, which is composed of the beautiful things taken from the Bible."

Continuing, Mayor Hart said to Reverend McDowell:

"You demand that I go out and stop the Y. M. H. A. from holding their basket ball games. The poor Jews, who have been persecuted for centuries, never went outside of their race to ask for aid, and now you want me to stop the basket ball games which they hold for charity. The Jews are a race that observe Saturday as the Sabbath, and Scripture will tell you that they are right and we are wrong, and that the Y. M. H. A. should not be prevented from holding games in its own hall for its own benefit.

"This city was compelled to eliminate Sunday band concerts on account of the churches. The persons who used to sit under the trees in Riverside Park listening to the beautiful music of the bands will now be compelled to spend their time otherwise as a result of this sacrifice on the altar of the blue laws. "My ancestors fought for the liberty of this country, but that liberty, according to the apostles of the blue laws, has long since passed. I suppose it is up to me now to stop decorating their graves on Decoration Day.

"It is not Bolsheviks that will ruin this country, but the people who believe they know everything about Scripture and do not know anything about it."

The controversy between the mayor and the churchmen grew warmer and warmer till finally the mayor called a big mass meeting in the Savoy Theater on Sunday afternoon, February 4, and invited the writer to speak on the same platform with himself, and sound out public sentiment upon the Sunday issue. The theater was well filled, and an enthusiastic reception was given the mayor for his courageous position and to the writer for defending the great American ideals of civil and religious liberty. At the conclusion of the public discussion, the following resolution was adopted, with only one dissenting vote:

"We, the citizens of Wilkes-Barre, in mass meeting assembled, in the Savoy Theater on Sunday, February 4, believe in law and order and in the fundamental principles of Christian religion and in the observance of its divine institutions, but we are opposed to a legal religion and the enforcement of religious obligations and observances by the civil authorities.

"We believe in the total separation of church and state and the free exercise of the individual conscience in religious concerns. We believe that our Federal Constitution in its 'bill of rights' has not only placed a limitation on the powers of Congress, but also upon our State legislatures and local municipalities, prohibiting them from legislating upon and enforcing religious obligations by civil law.

"We, therefore, most respectfully protest against compulsory Sunday observance, and believe that such laws are matters of church discipline for church members, and should never be enacted and enforced under the pretense of civil regulations for the citizens of the State. We do not believe that it is ever proper for the Christian religion to be propagated by force.

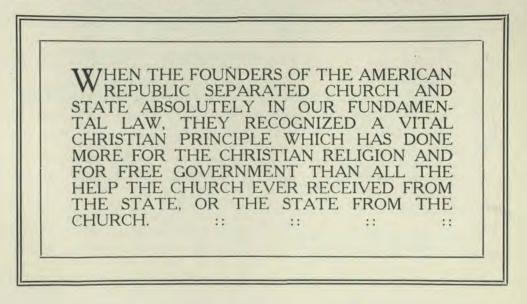
"Christ never made any appeal to Cæsar for aid, and His uncorrupted church needs no unsanctified support now. Enforced idleness is the curse of society and the promoter of crime and immorality.

"A legal religion can only engender dead formalities and hypocrisy on one hand, and stir up religious controversy and animosities on the other hand.

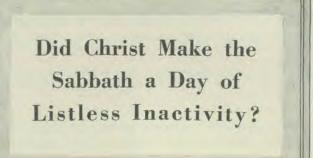
"We, therefore, petition the civil authorities to repeal the local religious statutes, relative to compulsory Sunday observance, so that in Wilkes-Barre and Pennsylvania there may exist a complete separation of church and state and the conscience left free to worship God in harmony with its own dietates without State interference, and that peace and good will may preval among its citizens of divergent beliefs and practices."

The editor of the Wilkes-Barre Record made a vicious attack upon the editor of the *Liberty* magazine in a lengthy

(Continued on page 62)







E invite the political preacher who has turned into a political lobbyist, and who seeks to jail every man who holds a divergent view on the question of Sunday observance, to read the following excellent editorial from the pen of the editor of the Memphis *Press*, Jan. 11, 1923:

"If Jesus were in Tennessee today, what would be His attitude on the legislation that some of the sectarian preachers of the State are attempting to get through the legislature?

"The answer to the question can be found in every precept and teaching of the Man of Galilee, in whose footsteps these same preachers desire to follow.

"At no time during His stay on earth did Jesus attempt to drive men into His service. He never attempted to save a soul by threatening to fine or jail a man or woman who happened to differ with Him.

"He brought to earth a message of hope and love. There is nothing in His precepts or teachings that justifies His followers in attempting to lash persons who happen to differ with them, into doing as they want them to do.

"There is nothing in His precepts or teachings that makes the Sabbath a day of listless inactivity, with people fearing to pursue their desires lest they be sent to jail.

"If some of the sectarian ministers lobbying and working and pulling wires to get through a measure that they believe will force people into their church pews, were actually attempting to follow in the footsteps of Christ, they would go into the highways and byways with His message of hope and love instead of seeking to drive people into the fold with threats of fines and jail.

"If political preachers can prevent the people of an entire State from observing Sunday as their individual tastes dictate, how much farther can they go?

"How long will it be before the combine breaks up, and the strongest denomination gets through a law compelling every one to go to a church of that particular denomination?

"That is not a foolish suggestion at all, and it is only necessary to turn back the pages of history to find sects parading under the banner of Jesus, committing worse sins than that.

"The passage of the blue laws now before the legislature will be a step backward. Another step backward, another and another, and it will not be long until we are back to where civilization was when religious zealots and bigots ruled with an iron and bloody hand."

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IF we expect "to make the world safe for democracy," we must stand upon the fundamental principles of democracy, and one of these principles is a complete separation of church and state. Christ taught it, His apostles taught it, the history of the Christian church has demonstrated it. Let us never surrender it at the demands of misguided religious zeal. THE Pastors' Federation of Washington and the Washington Federation of Churches made an attempt recently to ban the community singing in the Central High school of the District on Sunday nights. The Rev. Herbert F. Randolph, president of the Pastors' Fed-

eration, in opposing the community sing, said he was speaking for 207 white Prot-

estant churches, and asserted: "These community gatherings on Sunday evenings are a direct competition to houses of worship, and I strongly protest against their continuance."

The Rev. George M. Diffenderfer, president of the Washington Federation of Churches, speaking for the same churches as did Dr. Randolph, likewise asserted: "I protest as a Christian minister against anything which will interfere with the worship of Almighty God on Sunday evenings."

In reply to these protests, the Washington Music Association, at the request



Attempt to Ban Community Singing on Sunday

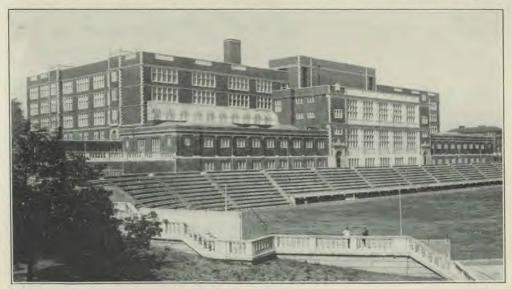
By

C._S. Longacre

"3. Sunday night has been selected because thousands have asked that the sings be held on that day.

"4. If the concerts draw their crowds from any source, it is from the movies and theaters rather than from the churches."

Some of the most prominent citizens and government officials of the District of Columbia composed the committee which submitted this report. The Board of Education, after hearing the arguments on both sides, placed their endorsement upon the community sing in the Central High School on Sunday nights,



National Photo

Central High School, Washington, D. C.

of the District Board of Education, submitted a statement which pointed out the following facts:

"1. That there are 300,000 white persons in the District of Columbia who attend no church services on Sunday.

"2. Sunday night is the logical and only

night to hold the concerts, because it is the only time when families are together.

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and allowed the singing concerts to be continued.

It would seem that from the standpoint of competition the movies and the theaters would have had greater justification in petitioning the Board of Education to stop this community sing than the churches had, since the movies and theaters suffered the greater loss of attendance. Upon this basis the theaters and movies would be justified in requesting the churches to close their doors on every week night, lest they interfere with the attendance at the theaters on show nights. What is food for the goose is also food for the gander.

When the churches plead that they want somebody else to help them and to save them from attending a community sing on Sunday nights, what a confession of weakness this is on the part of the churches and their pastors. The sheep usually go to feed from the crib that has the most attractive food, and is placed at a level where they can reach the food the easiest. If the preachers would preach the old-time gospel with the old-time power, they would not be compelled to resort to restrictive and oppressive measures to compel people to fill the church pews when they preach. What the pastors need is a fresh anointing of heavenly power, and all their problems will be solved. There is altogether too much fellowship with Cæsar on their part, and too little fellowship with Christ.

District Officials Oppose Blue Laws

A CCORDING to the Washington Post of recent date, Hon. Cuno H. Rudolph, president of the Board of Commissioners for the District of Columbia, gave the following exceedingly illuminating interview on the subject of the Sunday blue laws:

"Washington does not need any Sunday blue laws. There will be

no effort made by District officials to repress innocent amusements and recreation on Sunday. I believe it much better for the general community to have moving-picture theaters and other amusements open, affording through them an outlet for the normal desire for recreation."

Commissioner Rudolph further declared :

"Prior to the time that Sunday baseball games and other athletic contests were permitted on Sundays, there was an unusual number of minor disturbances and arrests as a result of the police efforts to prevent them. Boys and young men, with idle time on their hands, congregated on street corners and in back alleys, shot eraps, and indulged in other diversions that were not beneficial. I do not believe



there is any great demand for enactment of blue laws on Sunday observance, and I believe that such laws will result in more harm than good."

One of the leading police officials for the District of Columbia, when asked what he thought of the proposed Sunday blue laws, declared that "Washington is too blue now," and added: "I am in favor of innocent Sunday ts"

amusements."

This whole question of what is right and proper to do on Sunday from a religious viewpoint, is not a matter for the civil government to determine in a country where the church and state are completely divorced from each other. It is altogether a question of church discipline on the part of church officials when the members of their church fail to conform to the doctrines and beliefs set forth in a church ritual. Sunday observance and restrictive legislation relative thereto had its origin in the church ritual of certain sects, and it is highly

LIBERTY



National Photo

Municipal Building, Washington, D. C.

improper to impose these religious restrictions upon nonchurch members or the citizens of the State under duress of civil authority. In the exercise of their legitimate powers under our Constitution, the civil authorities can only enact civil regulations and enforce strictly civil duties. To enact a religious obligation into civil law and to enforce it by civil authority, does not make it civil. It is simply enforcing religious obligations by civil authority in violation of the great American principle of the total separation of church and state.

The trouble with most of the churches that favor compulsory Sunday observance is their failure to recognize the distinction between the duties we owe to God and the duties we owe to our fellow men. They are unable to draw a sharp line between matters of church and state. They are laboring under the mistaken idea that our lawmakers can legislate upon any subject under heaven, forgetting that the Federal Constitution as well as the State constitutions have placed definite limitations upon the powers of state and national legislatures, beyond which they cannot pass without overriding the Constitutional guaranties of civil and religious liberty vouchsafed to each individual.

The failure to recognize this limitation and the distinction between civil and religious obligations, has led many of our State legislatures into the grievous and lamentable error of enacting laws which are in conflict with each other. The only way to settle a conflict of laws is to have the paramount law or court decision prevail. In the case in hand, of course, the Constitutional guaranties and the inalienable rights of man to worship God in harmony with the dictates of his own conscience, should always prevail over the local religious statutes that are in conflict with the fundamental law of the land. L.

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To any one who considers for what purpose Christ came into the world, and what results He ordained should flow from the preaching of the gospel, it is sad to reflect how a union of church and state authorizes the spiritually blind to lead the blind, the dead in sins to lead away from sin others more dead than themselves. Ought not every Christian to demand that there be no more of it?

Teaching the Hens to Observe Sunday

E VEN the children are catching the Sunday law idea and imbibing the intolerant spirit that goes with it. Some weeks ago *The Continent*, a Presbyterian paper published in Chicago, printed the following, which was reproduced a little later with proper credit by the *United Presbyterian*, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania:

"One Sabbath morning a minister's wife saw her son

chasing the hens with a stick. She went to the door to investigate, and heard him say: 'I'll teach you to lay eggs in a minister's family on Sabbath morning.'"

This is somewhat amusing, but such an incident ought not to be thought strange, considering all that is claimed by Presbyterians for Sunday, here miscalled the "Sabbath."

Reared a Presbyterian, the present writer, who was not even allowed to whistle on Sunday, no matter how softly, well remembers wondering when a small boy why hens cackled, birds sang, bees hummed and worked, and even grass grew and flowers bloomed on Sunday, as on other days.

Inquiring of the small boy's oracle, his mother, the writer failed to get any very satisfactory explanation touching nature's failure to recognize the sacred character of Sunday, and it was not until after man's estate was reached, that he came to understand that the keeping of a Sabbath is an act of worship, dependent, not upon the promptings of nature, but upon divine revelation, and that such revelation was made, not to hens, birds, bees, etc., but to human beings, and that the moral law, which enjoins Sabbath keeping, is addressed only

By

The Managing Editor



to moral creatures, and is enforcible only by its divine Author, for the reason that it takes hold even of the thoughts and intents of the heart.

For the time being, our sympathies are strongly with the boy who sought to chastise the hens for what appeared to him as unseemly conduct on Sunday. He is not to blame for his environment. He may get his eyes open some day, but

if not, he is destined to be a National Reformer of the most pronounced type, namely, one who thinks that in compelling his fellow men to do seemingly pious acts, he is doing God service. May a kind Providence spare the lad such a fate.

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Liberty — the Hope of All Mankind

IBERTY is older than law, older than government, older than the state. Liberty goes back to the garden of Eden, where first was taught the bitter lesson that where liberty is uncontrolled, society breaks down. The word is a splendid one, coined by the Romans. "With a great price obtained I this freedom," said the Roman centurion. "But I was free born," replied St. Paul. Liberty was in the hearts of the English colonists: liberty rang out from the bell of Independence Hall; liberty is stamped upon our State and Federal Constitutions. For liberty, millions of men have struggled and died. Toward liberty, oppressed myriads are stretching out their hands today. Liberty is the polestar of people, the hope of mankind. - The Mentor, July 1, 1918.

The Blue Law Battle on in

Jersey City

A FEUD has been carried on in Jersey City, N. J., between the clergymen and the theater owners for some time, and the clergymen finally car-

By

The Editor

ried their contention to the vice-chancellor of the court of equity, and obtained an injunction against the theater men to restrain them from opening their theaters on Sunday nights, regardless of whether or not the proceeds went to charity.

It has been the custom for a number of years in Jersey City to have the theaters open for several Sundays before and after Christmas to raise funds for the annual Christmas tree of the city fire department and for the poor children of the city. This Christmas approximately 25,000 poor children of the city received gifts of toys and clothing and thousands of poor families were supplied with wellstocked larders as a result of the charitable entertainments conducted by the theaters on Sundays.

But the Society for the Suppression of Vice and Immorality, composed largely of the Protestant ministers of Jersey City, felt that the opening of the theaters for charity was in desceration of Sunday sacredness, and so they appealed to the courts, and Chancellor Bentley took the side of the Protestant ministers in the controversy, and barred all performances in the theaters on Sunday for charity on the ground "that the argument of the theater men that the performances were for charity, could apply equally well to saloon keepers if they agreed to give their receipts to a public cause."

This is strange logic. The saloon is outlawed altogether, and would be prohibited from operating on any day of the week, but the theater is not an outlaw, and the only reason that can be assigned for closing it on Sundays, is a religious reason. But the only parties who outlawed works of charity on the Sabbath day were the self-righteous Pharisees in the days of Christ. They laid their hands

upon Him and sought to kill Him, because He did works of charity and mercy on the Sabbath day. It appears that the old régime is coming back into power again.

The commissioner of public safety of Jersey City favored the operation of the theaters on Sunday for charity, and the ministerial society had the commissioner arrested and indicted for refusal to close the theaters on that day. The police commissioner retaliates by threatening to enforce the Sunday blue laws of New Jersey to the limit in every detail, that will "cause even the ministers to quail." He says he is going to prohibit all " amusements, such as playing the piano, riding in an automobile, and participating in outdoor games," all of which come under the ban of the Sunday blue laws of New Jersey when literally interpreted and rigorously applied.

If this is not the church in politics, we would like to know how much farther the churches would have to go before they are mixing religion with politics and using carnal force to propagate religious dogmas? Certainly the churches cannot be making many converts from the unbelievers in the world, nor from the poor families whose bread they take from their hungry mouths. The political preachers and reformers would rather see these poor people perish than have Sunday desecrated - a day which the Lord never sanctified. Certainly the clergymen are making more enemies than friends when they become intolerant toward nonprofessors of religion, and attempt to make them observe religious festivals.

THE News-Dispatch of Endicott, N. Y., Jan. 25, 1923, gives the following interesting editorial on "The Church in Politics," and shows some of the evils which have grown out of such a union in the past:

" Is the question of the church in politics a live issue? You would believe it was if you could have stood by and heard a phone conversation that the editor had with a church-in-polities man. The day of fanaticism is not past. Our friend of the phone conversation said some very un-Christian things. The unreason that has swayed the world in the past is still close to the surface in many men, in church and out. Therefore we would prefer to have ecclesiasticism kept out

of politics. We have no desire for an inquisition. "Do churchmen make mistakes — have they ever resorted to torture? for instance,

"There was one man, Benedict Carpzov (about 1750), 'who boasted that he had read the Bible through fifty-three times; that he took the Holy Communion at least once a month; that he had sentenced or caused to be sentenced to death over twenty thousand persons; that he had devoted his life to strengthening the foundations of witchcraft procedure, and to increasing the severity of torture.'

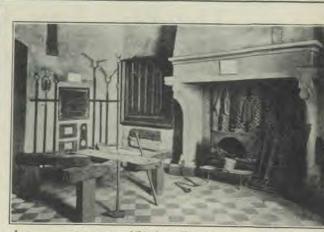
"A statement has been made in the controversy that we have been having in this paper that the church will not be defiled by participation in politics. This we believe to be the unsophisticated statement of a person who knows nothing of history. Read some not very ancient history, and you will find the reverse of this to be true.

A PRICE LIST OF TORTURE

"For the benefit of those confiding souls in the church whom we are forced to oppose in their efforts to drag the church into politics, we wish to present a little history that may be found in the library of Cornell University. This is a price list of torture issued by a prelate of the church in 1757, and consists of fifty-five paragraphs covering four printed folio pages, enumerating fifty-five sorts of hideous cruelty which an executioner could commit upon a prisoner, with the sum allowed him for each, and for the instruments therein required. Typical examples of this tariff are the following:

				Thalers Alb. (Dollars)	
		tearing asunder		horses	
2.	For	quartering	 	*****	4

5. For beheading and burning 5



Instruments of torture exhibited at The Hague, used on dissentin fore

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7. For straugling and burning 4 8. For cord and for laying the fire and kindling it 2 9. For burning alive 4 11. For breaking a man alive on the wheel 4 13. For setting up the wheel with the body twisted in it 2 20. For burning with a hot iron 1 21. For beheading and placing the head upon a stake 3 22. For beheading, twisting the body in the wheel, and placing the head upon a stake — altogether 5 23. For tearing a criminal before his execution with red-hot pincers,— each tearing of the flesh 26 24. For beheading, twisting the body in the wheel and placing the head upon a stake — altogether 5 24. For tearing a criminal before his execution with red-hot pincers,— each tearing of the flesh 26 24. For the first grade of forture 1 26 25. For the first grade of forture 1 26 26. For the first grade of forture 1 26 27. For the first grade of forture 1 26 26. For the first grade of forture 1 26 27. For the first grade of forture 1 26 28. For the second grade of forture 1 26 27. For the second grade of forture <

and so on through the fifty-five items and specifications.

"The above form of pastime seems very rough to modern sensibilities (only 166 years since), but church people were very fond of performing these tricks upon their fellows of different creeds. We wonder how many people have suffered torture for not observing Sunday worship! As for ourselves, we would surely object to having one of our hands, for instance, nailed to a gallows at so much per. We shudder, as no doubt you do also, at the thought of being broken on the rack because we disbelieve something that somebody else believcs. But



ender a union of church and state. "Keep church and state z."

in Politics Issue"

this torture was quite common before the church and state were separated. There was a time, not so long ago, when church people thought that they ought to save the souls of their fellow men by force. Are church people any better informed nowadays that they never make mistakes and know of a surety what brand of polities to preach in church, and what kind of 'blue laws' the Lord of the universe wants them to enforce?

"We much prefer to keep church and state separate, letting the church preach, and letting all men as citizens decide upon what laws to enact, enforce, and repeal in regular political manner.

"We are anxious to join the Moral and Civic Alliance of Endicott — as soon as it is divorced from the church. We will then aid it in every way that we can, by publicity, and personal support. But we must repeat that the idea of meeting in Protestant churches when the organization is supposed to be democratic in character, is a fatal blunder. We asked a member point-blank, 'Would you yourself attend these meetings and give it your support if such meetings were held in a Roman Catholic church or a Jewish synagogue, or home of any other non-Protestant creed?' This stunned him for an instant, and he hesitatingly admitted that he would be very reluctant to meet in a non-Prot estant church, or join an organization that was conceived in and announced from a non-Protestant pulpit. The Alliance men readily admit that it is hopeless to expect that Greek and Roman Catholics, Jews, and nonchurch members will join this political organization that was born in a church building, and is being run as a religio-political organization. Again we endorse a Moral and Civic Alliance that is kept clear from ecclesiastical domination, and will thus appeal to all loyal Americans for law enforcement and clean politics."

This editorial is to the point. Many of the Protestant pulpits are cursed with political preachers who are substituting the policeman's club for the cross of Christ.

They are dragging their churches into politics and lowering the standards of Christianity. The clergymen are organizing their churches into moral and civic alliances for the purpose of bringing pressure to bear upon the politicians who do not subscribe to their religio-political measures. While these alliances assume a civic aspect in name, yet they are the churches dressed up in disguise to deceive the public. If the churches came out openly in religious garb, they would be rebuffed and their proposals would be resented, hence this camouflage on their part. The churches have been a terror in politics in the past, and it is surprising how slow some people are in learning the lessons of the past. We read their history of terror and say: "If we had been in the days of our fathers. we would not have been partakers with them in the blood of the prophets," and then we immediately forget what manner of persons we are, and "fill up the measure" of our fathers in bloodguiltiness.

Human nature never changes unless by the grace of God. A political religion is always unsanctified. Christianity has to corrupt itself before it enters politics. The mere formal profession of belief in religion is no guaranty against religious bigotry and tyranny. Religion and religious obligations are not matters of civil law and authority, but purely matters of faith and conscience. Unless these religious organizations retreat from the arena of politics, they are going to lose their prestige and influence over the hearts of men. The churches can ill afford to descend into the political arena, and thus substitute the sword of Cæsar for the cross of Christ, and the force of law for the power of love.

Loyalty to the Greatest Document of the Land

By A. R. Bell

NE hundred thirty-six years ago the most wonderful document ever written by the hand of man, outside the Scriptures, was adopted and submitted to the thirteen States for ratification. The Declaration of Independence had been made eleven years before.

These two documents, one announcing fundamental truth, declaring, " All men are created equal: that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights ; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed:" the other guaranteeing these inalienable rights to all alike, and reserving to the people all power not delegated to the United States .- these two are the Magna Charta of the nation, the source of her power and greatness. And we believe the founding fathers were led of God in the course they pursued, and in the documents they produced, to the end that this land of ours should take its place in the world as a nation of prophecy, the grand climax, if you please, of the gigantic struggle for religious liberty begun by the Reformers of the sixteenth century.

We rejoice in the fact that in this great nation of ours the rights of the individual are safeguarded by the provision that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof;" and that as announced by the Father of his Country, "Every man who conducts himself as a good citizen, is accountable alone to God for his religious faith, and should be protected in worshiping God according to the dictates of his conscience."

Today we offer heartfelt gratitude to God for the benefits we enjoy under the Stars and Stripes. We thank God for liberty, civil and religious. We thank God for a country that recognizes the rights of conscience. We are proud of our country; proud of her history; proud of her exploits; proud of her institutions; proud of her traditions. We pledge ourselves to be loyal and true to We are proud of the Stars and her. Stripes. We plight our troth to the principles for which our flag stands. We pray God for a continuance of the mercies and blessings enjoyed under the protection of its ample folds.

> "Long may our land be bright With freedom's holy light; Protect us by Thy might, Great God, our King."

But we must not forget that "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty." Here in Oregon we are in danger. A law was passed on the referendum that is a denial of our individual rights and liberties, and also a denial of our religious rights. The law is called, "The Compulsory Education Law." It ought to be called, "A Monopoly of Education by Law." This law has in it the destruction of every private school, sectarian or nonsectarian, and purposes to force every child into the public school. In this it purposes to take the place of the parent, and dictate what kind of education the child shall have, and also where he shall receive it.

To us, as parents, our children belong first, and not to the State. It is the inalienable right of the child to receive an education; and it is the parent's inalienable right, under God, to provide that education.

This law practically gives the State control of the child through all the elementary grades, and during the formative period of his life; and as it is fundamentally wrong to teach religion in the public school, the law debars the child from religious training, which in the church school keeps step through the grades with the other branches of learning.

The law is a violation of the great doctrine of human rights. It is a violation of both State and Federal Constitutions, which forbid the State legislature and the national Congress to pass any law aiming at the establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.

This law prohibits the teaching of religion in all the elementary grades. The law is an invasion of our inherent rights as parents, and should be repealed by the people, or declared unconstitutional by the courts.

Legislators Protectors of Liberty and Defenders of Justice

By W. F. Martin

I N the senate chamber, in the great capitol building out in the State of California, is inscribed a most excellent motto. Even the gold-tipped dome, flung high in the skies, is not more precious, nor is its symbol of greater value. Here is the motto, just as it is inscribed in Latin over the desk of the lieutenant governor, who is ex-officio president of the senate, and who presides over that rather sedate body of forty men: "Senatoris est civitatis libertatim tueri," a liberal translation of which would be: "It is the duty of the legislators to protect the liberties of the people."

This is excellent. Ideas are mighty. The idea that the liberties of the people are sacred, laid the foundation for a great nation. That same idea has caused that nation to expand until it reaches from the western shore of one sea to the eastern shore of another and a greater sea. The mountains of that nation are reared and dedicated to liberty. The valleys are scooped out and leveled to be the homes of people who love freedom. From the easternmost point of land which catches the first rays of light, to where the setting sun slowly sinks outside the Golden Gate, the land is peopled with men and women born to be free.

Just under the motto named above, stands a magnificent painting in oil, of Washington. Looking down on the senators as they work, planning and debating, passing laws to regulate the commerce of the land, providing for travel on the highways, and the navigation of the streams of the State, stands this portrait of the Father of the Country.

Sometimes pressure has been brought to bear by certain elements in the nation to cause these men to forget and to trample upon the liberties of the people. As much or more than any State, this far Western republic, if I may so call it, has turned a deaf ear to these insidious demands. California has largely kept itself free from religious intolerance and from oppressive enactments. Why should it not? The great original of the elegant portrait once declared, "If I had the least idea of any difficulty resulting from the Constitution adopted by the convention of which I had the honor to be president when it was formed, so as to endanger the rights of any religious denomination, then I never should have attached my name to that instrument. . . . Every man who conducts himself as a good citizen, is accountable alone to God for his religious faith, and should be protected in worshiping God according to the dictates of his own conscience."

If the California Solons and legislators of other States will ever heed these words, and always remember the motto worthy to be written in gold, no oppressive measures will ever be enacted, no matter how strong the pressure may be from those who regard not the rights and liberties of their fellow men. "It is the duty of the legislature to protect the liberties of the people." May this banner never be lowered, nor its sentiments be trampled on by the heel of the oppressor.

What Is Americanism?

By S. B. Horton

E hear very much in recent years about Americanism; but what is Americanism? Is this generation of selfish profiteering competent to answer? Will an answer from this era of inconsiderateness regarding "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" suffice? We believe not. The only answer as to what true Americanism is, ethically speaking, is to be found from the history of its source.

We are fortunate today, however, in having patriotic statesmen who are sufficiently informed on the subject of Americanism to make us familiar with it. For example, in his inaugural address, President Harding said in part:

"Standing in this presence, mindful of the solemnity of this occasion, feeling the emotions which no one may know until he senses the great weight of responsibility for himself, I must utter my belief in the divine inspiration of the founding fathers.

"Surely there must have been God's intent in the making of this New World Republic. Ours is an organic law which had but one ambiguity, and we saw that effaced in a baptism of sacrifice and blood, with union maintained, the nation supreme, and its concord inspiring.

"We have seen the world rivet its hopeful gaze on the great truths on which the founders wrought. We have seen civil, human, and religious liberty verified and glorified.

"In the beginning the Old World scoffed at our experiment; today our foundations of political and social belief stand unshaken, a precious inheritance to ourselves, an inspiring example of freedom and civilization to all mankind. Let us express renewed and strengthened devotion, in grateful reverence for the immortal beginning, and utter our confidence in the supreme fulfilment."

Vice-President Coolidge on a different occasion, discussing various definitions of Americanism, said :

"Much has been said of Americanism as the need of America... So we here in America need a deeper understanding of Americanism and a firm practice of it. It is the Americanism of the American Constitution, the belief that our Government should fulfil the guaranties of our Declaration of Independence, that life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness should be as much in the mind of modern statesmen as they were in the minds of the pioneers of American liberty. There is but one ark upon which our national faith may rest secure, it is our Constitution."

These are splendid statements of Americanism, to which might be added a portion of former Vice-President Marshall's farewell address to the Senate, March 4, 1921. He said in part:

" I sprang from the loins of men who helped to lay the foundations of the Republic. At my birth my father placed upon my haby brow the coronal of a free-born American citizen. In my youth I was taught that if I wore it worthily, no prince nor potentate nor electorate could add to or detract from the honor of that royal coronet.

"I may have failed, but I have tried to keep the faith. I have never doubted that, so far as the principles of civil government are con-

(Concluded on page 61)

Tennessee Legislature Rejects Sunday Bill Banning Sports

THE senate of the Tennessee Legis-lature killed the Sunday bill which aimed to place under the ban, commercialized Sunday baseball and golf playing in Tennessee. The vote against the bill was 17 to 11. According to the newspaper accounts, the debate in the senate lasted more than two hours, and was the most heated that has taken place in the senate during the present session. The Tennessean says that "the fight against the bill centered chiefly upon the grounds that morals and religion could not be legislated upon the people," and that the bill, if enacted into law, would invade "the personal rights of all citizens of the State." The Tennessean continues:

"Senator Washington, of Davidson, opened the fight upon the bill with the statement that the measure would not only affect baseball, but would make it possible to convict hundreds of the best citizens of every big city for playing golf on Sunday.

"The Davidson senator explained that the bill covered all sports where collections or admissions were charged. In the case of golf, caddies are paid by the round, and thus every lawyer, doctor, banker, and business man that bends over his desk during the week and attempts to build or hold his health through golf on Sunday afternoons, could be sentenced to jail, according to Senator Washington.

"'To pass the bill would break down the greatest instrument of health ever invented for the banker, business man, and thousands of others. Under the provisions of the bill I could go into the courts and convict every man in the State that plays golf, when you and I know that they violate no laws of God,' stated Washington in vehement terms.

"Senator L. D. Hill, of White County, spoke fervently against the passage of the bill, stating that it hit at every fiber of the freedom of the people for which the United States of America stood.

"Following the White County senator's speech, which he delivered standing near the center of the room, trembling with the emotion that characterized his speech, the arguments were mostly of a religious character.

"'Christ came not to enslave and not to bind the people,' spoke Senator Hill. 'Our needs are not so much legislation to force people into religion, but more teaching and practice of the laws of the Son of God,' he continued.

"Senator Bennett stated that he had never seen a baseball game on Sunday, and hoped that he never would, yet he did not favor the passage of any bill that strikes so heavily at a person's rights and moral beliefs.

"Senator Wiseman exhibited a petition from 474 church members of Murfreesboro, asking for the passage of the bill, but added that he 'challenged any man, Christian, pagan, or atheist, to show any single principle in all Holy Writ that would ask a civil government to enact such legislation.'...

"Senator T. Y. English broke the serious aspect of the argument with a humorous but strong argument in favor of killing the measures. In answering several speakers who had recited their family ancestry and church membership before declaring against the bill, told of his years in France with five children at home. He declared against the bill on the grounds that so much legislation to force such tendencies was demoralizing the country.

"He recalled an incident in his home when a minister was to visit them on Sunday. The youth's mother dressed the boy and warned him against going to the creek. 'Five minutes later he was in the creek, and probably would never have thought of it on the cold day, had his mother not ruled against it,' concluded the senator.

"Senator Hake declared that the move was going 'too far' toward restricting personal liberty and in forcing moral beliefs upon a people."

At a preliminary hearing on this bill, conducted by the Senate Judiciary Committee and the House Social Welfare Committee in the Hermitage Hotel Assembly room, where 200 people were present, the Lord's Day Alliance, the National Reform Association, and the Ministerial Association of Nashville furnished speakers to defend the Sunday bill. Hon. Malcolm R. Patterson, former governor of Tennessee and a leader in Anti-Saloon League work, attacked the Sunday bill in decisive terms, claiming that the right of the American people would be imposed upon should such legislation be enacted, that this was a religious and not a civil question. Ex-Governor Patterson said:

"I personally believe in Sunday observance, but I am opposed to forcing upon the people of the State a law that would take away a pleasure that was not an evil. It is unwise, and will defeat the very purpose the proponents of the bill have in mind if they insist upon such laws. If American baseball is an evil, it should be abolished. If it is not an evil, it should not be abolished. The longer I live the more I am convinced that you cannot put humanity in a strait-jacket. Do the preachers who turn the leaves of their Bible in the light of their churches realize that some one is working to make the light burn while they are preaching and that they are making some one toil on the Sabbath? Is it any more harm to witness a baseball game on Sunday than to sit down to a big meal and gorge yourself? The Constitution of the United States gives man the right to go and do as he pleases on the Sabbath. It will be a moral wrong to enact such legislation."

M. A. Hollister, a minister of the Seventh-day Adventist church of Nashville, and secretary of the Religious Liberty Association of Tennessee, also appeared in opposition to the Sunday bill. He said that if religion were removed from the arguments of the proponents of the bill, they would have no arguments left to defend the measure, and the bill would die of its own lack of support. "A man has a right to worship and he has a right not to worship on Sunday, and when you use force on him in these matters, you drive him away from the church. I stand for American principles," he continued, " and not for things that take away our rights as citizens of this great country."

We are glad to see that the Southland has such stanch supporters of religious liberty, who believe in Sabbath observance on the basis of conscientious convictions and not as a dead, cold, formal, legal matter. Legislators with such clear vision are the hope of our political freedom and the stay of genuine Christianity. Christianity that lobbies in our legislative halls and asks for legal support is a sickly thing and undeserving of the name. L.

A Distinction Without a Difference

By L. A. Smith

THE National Reform Association, which wants Sunday observance enforced by State and Federal law, says it is wholly opposed to any union of church and state.

It believes, however, in a union of religion and the state, and professes to see a great difference between these two combines.

The effort to discern this alleged difference involves the mind in a few difficulties which this association spends very little time trying to clear up.

Can there be a religious state without a state religion? And can state religion exist independently of church religion? Whence would the state get its religion but from some church or church combine? With the state officials holding membership in the churches, as at least the great majority of them do, would they not administer the state religion in harmony with the tenets of the church to which they belong ?

Would not the state religion, in any country where there is majority rule, necessarily be the religion of the church or churches to which the majority belong?

Would not the dissenter from the state religion meet the same fate that he would if state and church were united? And would there not be the same opportunity for a display of religious intolerance?

The National Reform Association sets up a distinction without a difference. The truth is that a religious state and a persecuting church always go hand in hand. It is always an intolerant church that wants a religious state, in order to make her intolerance effective in the punishment of dissenters. She wants the state to be religious in order that it may be willing to do her bidding in religious matters, and enforce her institutions.

In advocating a union of religion and the state, these would-be reformers really proclaim that they stand for a union of church and state. We submit that this Republic is not in need of that kind of reformation.

Persecution in Massachusetts of the Old Puritan Type

THE Clinton (Mass.) *Item* of Nov. 29, 1922, gives the following interesting account of three Seventhday Adventists who were arrested and haled before the Clinton court for doing innocent work on Sunday, while exercising their God-given right to work six days, and rest on the seventh day of the week, in harmony with their religious belief and their conscience, and their convictions of duty:

"Last Monday three citizens were haled before Judge Jonathan Smith for quietly painting the interior of Gould & Zeidel's apartment last Sunday, under pressure of getting the rooms ready for immedi-These men had preate occupancy. viously conscientiously observed the seventh day as the Sabbath, and although the Massachusetts law requiring the cessation of secular labor on Sunday specifically exempts those who observe another day as the Sabbath, these lawabiding Christian citizens, without any request from the officer of the law to discontinue their work, were suddenly placed under arrest, and although no evidence was introduced that others were disturbed by their quiet indoor labor, they were each fined ten dollars, an appeal being taken to the superior court.

"One of these men had served during the World War as top sergeant, until honorably discharged at the close of the war. How must this man have felt after having offered his life in defense of the liberties of his countrymen, to find himself arrested while quietly working to earn an honest living for his family, and arraigned by the side of common drunkards! No wonder the Stars and Stripes adorning the court — fit emblem of freedom and justice — appeared to droop with shame at the scene.

"Shall we hark back to the days of the blue laws of Massachusetts, when men were fined ten shillings for not attending church on Sunday, or were set in cages or stocks for three hours, the argument in favor of church attendance by the weary toiler being further elinched by the imposition of a fine of from ten to twenty shillings for attendance at 'any concert of music, dancing, or public diversion, show, or entertainment, or using any sport, game, play, or recreation on the Lord's day'?

"Traveling was entirely prohibited by statute, except to church and back, and even then the tithingman could arrest any person who walked or rode at too fast a pace. The man who presumptuously desecrated the day by work, traveling, sports, or recreation, 'shall be put to death or grievously punished at the judgment of the court.'

"Blasphemy was punishable by imprisonment not to exceed six months, by sitting in the pillory, by whipping, boring through the tongue with a red-hot iron, or sitting on the gallows with a rope around the neck.

"In spite of these gentle measures designed to make men religious by law, folks sometimes forgot themselves, as in the case of the old sea captain returning home after a year's voyage, who was fined for kissing his wife within the three-mile limit when she met him at the beach that Sunday morning.

" Little wonder that pious Roger Williams, to use his own words, felt safer 'among the Christian savages than among savage Christians,' and was impelled to found a State where every man might be free to worship his Creator according to the dictates of his own conscience. Fleeing from the religious persecutions which had drenched the Old World with the blood of its best citizens. and believing in the inalienable right of every citizen to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, the founders of our country specifically guarded against the possibility of religious bigotry resorting to fines, imprisonment, and burnings, by

providing in the First Amendment to the Constitution that 'Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof,' further stating in a report adopted by the United States Senate Jan. 18, 1829, that ' the proper object of government is to protect all persons in the enjoyment of their civil as well as their religious rights, and not to determine for any whether they shall esteem one day above another, or esteem all days alike holy. . . . What other nations call religious toleration, we call religious rights. They are not exercised in virtue of governmental indulgence, but as rights of which government cannot deprive any portion of its citizens, however small. Despotic power may invade those rights, but justice still confirms them.""

"California Will Never Accept Puritan Rule"

UNDER the above caption the Sacramento Bee of Dec. 16, 1922, said this, and moreover said it very forcibly:

"With much beating of drums and noise of tom-toms, the Lord's Day Alliance has launched its campaign to turn back the pages of time and force upon California the régime of the blue laws, one of the notorious inheritances of seventeenth-century bigotry. One of the speakers at a recent meeting in San Francisco, is quoted as saying:

"'We have just recently gained a foothold in California, and we are going to stay.'

"As long as there is no quarantine on human pests, this is probably true. California has her quota of all kinds of them. "But the effort to convert California to the Lord's Day Alliance program will meet with some obstacles which will temper the enthusiasm of even these fanatical enthusiasts.

"Chief of these is the intense dislike of the vast majority of citizenry, not only for the ideas promulgated by the Alliance, but also for activities of all such busybodies, who too well recall Macaulay's remark about their Puritan ancestors:

"'They hated bear baiting, not so much because it gave pain to the bear, but because it provided amusement for the spectators.'

"They had their way one time, and what a gloomy, dull, and sour world they made of it."

John Wycliffe Saw the True Light

J OHN WYCLIFFE is described by "The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge," as "the most prominent of the Reformers before the Reformation." The year of his birth is not known, but he died Dec. 31, 1384.

"Wycliffe himself narrates how under the deep impression made upon him by his Biblical studies he came to the conclusion that there was a great contrast between what the church was and what it ought to be."

Wycliffe held that "in temporal things the king is above the pope." In other words, while he maintained that the church had no right to use the power of the state to enforce church discipline, the state had not only rightful authority, but an imperative duty to enforce upon the members and officers of the church the discharge of their civil obligations.

All of which was good doctrine in the fourteenth century, and is just as sound today. B.

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The Oregon Thanksgiving Proclamation

H ON. BEN W. OLCOTT, the former governor of the State of Oregon, whose State is passing through the throes of religious bigotry and intolerant factionalism over the question of closing all private and church schools in the State after Sept. 1, 1926, issued the following remarkable Thanksgiving proclamation, in part:

"But may we also ask that this be a day of peace and forgiveness? That it may be a day on which the people set aside forever any ill-timed rancor, if such may exist. That the people of the State may remember above all that all are brothers and sisters, fellow Americans. That they may remember the true spirit of America gushes from a spring deeper than the superficial flow of factionalism or shallow feud. . . .

"Hours of tribulation and trial are

sure to fall upon a people torn asunder by strife and dissension. Our democracy was cradled in the belief and nurtured in the thought that all men are created equal and given the inalienable right to worship God as their own consciences might dictate. Every nation that has strayed from that doctrine has been split on the rock of destruction or has toiled its weary way through centuries of blood, travail, and tears.

"We are at the crossroads. To the right stands an America imperishable upon the rock of eternal truth. To the left lies an America bleeding, torn by strife and dissension. May the God of our fathers preserve us from pursuing the left-hand turning."

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California Reformers Called Intolerant

A N editorial in the Sacramento Star of Dec. 7, 1922, entitled, "Intolerance," gives the Los Angeles reformers the following advice and trouncing:

"Los Angeles reformers, planning Sundayclosing legislation for California, will base their campaign upon misrepresentation.

"Dr. Gustav A. Breigleb announces the campaign to stop the 'commercialization of the Sabbath' will be based upon arguments that Sunday-closing legislation would stop Japanese working in their gardens on Sunday and would give workers one day's rest in seven.

"In the first instance, Breigleb knows he is appealing to race prejudice, and that Sundayclosing legislation is not inspired by a desire to restrict the activities of Japanese.

"Certainly, every worker is entitled to one day's rest in the week. It doesn't have to be the first day of the week. Ninety per cent have Sunday as their only day of rest and amusement. Close theaters, baseball games, gasoline stations, and amusement parks on Sunday, and you will deny the worker the recreation to which he has every right.

"If the Los Angeles doctor desires to benefit the workers, let him devote his attention to maintaining the California minimum wage for women, to abolishing the twelve-hour workday in the steel industry, to curbing child labor, and to improving generally the hours and working conditions of millions of overworked, underpaid Americans. "Sunday-closing advocates are, for the most part, intolerant folk who wrongly believe that they can legislate people into being good. We hope their bill is defeated."

And such seems to be the general opinion of California editors. Californians love liberty, and are not likely to surrender it at the behest of those who are clamoring for State-enforced Sunday rest.

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The Passing of Doctor Crafts

ILBUR F. CRAFTS, Ph. D., founder of the International Reform Bureau, died in this city, Dec. 27, 1922. He was nearly seventy-four years of age, and had long been prominent in reform circles.

That Dr. Crafts was sincere in his efforts for the uplift of humanity, those who knew him cannot doubt; that all his methods were as faultless as his motives were commendable, is open to serious question.

Though affiliated to some extent with the National Reformers, being for a short time editor of the *Christian Statesman*, he was probably never fully in sympathy with them, and so preferred to have and to manage his own organization; hence his bureau.

Dr. Crafts has to his credit' several excellent measures initiated by him and enacted into law by Congress. He was unable, however, to secure the passage of any Sunday law, though he attempted it on more than one occasion, and, through a mistaken sense of duty, invariably gave his moral support to the Sunday law propaganda. His inability to differentiate between civil and religious obligations, led him to take positions and to sponsor measures entirely out of harmony with the principles of true Protestantism and free government. With him, moral reform by act of Congress seemed an obsession which made him at times less scrupulous than otherwise his own sense of right would have dictated. Being a persistent advocate of the measures sponsored by him, and a hard

fighter for what he considered to be right, Dr. Crafts was worthy of any man's forensic steel, and will be missed alike by friends and foes. B.

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Californians Resent Church Dictation in Politics

THE Loomis *Recorder*, of California, Jan. 26, 1923, under the caption, "Blue Law Advocates Busy," published an editorial which shows that the Californians do not look with favor upon the Lord's Day Alliance program for that State. The editorial is as follows:

"The Lord's Day Alliance has struck San Francisco, and has started out on a housecleaning expedition to make Californians walk the chalk line, or know the reason why. From its established headquarters in the Bay City, it. sends out the ultimatum that ' Sunday is a day of rest, and we are going to see that everybody rests.' How kind it is of the good Alliance to take so much interest in us! Surely, it deserves a vote of thanks. One of the officials was asked, 'How about men and women who are obliged to work in shops and offices every day - if such should not have an opportunity to enjoy the fields, woods, and other works of nature?' But this stern advocate of the antediluvian ages discountenances anything except rest - absolute rest on the Sabbath day.

"We have a wholesome respect for the observance of the Sabbath, handed down from twelve generations of Puritan ancestors. At the same time, the one — man or woman, boy or girl — who is tied down long hours in a hot, dirty shop or factory, or an office, is entitled to one day in which to enjoy the relaxation which he needs, and to deny him the privilege of filling his lungs with God's fresh air, would be a crime.

"No, we need not worry about the activities of this Alliance, as its tenets are foolish and unreasonable. We wonder if these blue law advocates ever read the lines from Shakespeare regarding 'tongues in trees, books in running brooks, sermons in stones, and good in everything '? Macbeth fully described the pronouncements of the Alliance when he said, 'It is a tale told by an idiot, full of sound and fury, signifying nothing.'"

We wish to add that these Christian people who desire to impose their religious views upon others by civil law mean well, but certainly they have zeal without knowledge of what is proper and improper in law and in religion. The Sabbath should be observed by all men, but never under duress of civil law. Real Christianity will never stifle human rights in the name of religion or enforce its peculiar doctrines upon dissenters by invoking the police power of the State. The churches and religious societies can ill afford to mix religion with politics.

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Oregon Set Back by School Law

THE Portland *Telegram* of Dec. 13, 1922, contained the following interesting news item on the Oregon situation relative to the obnoxious antichurch school law:

"Two outstanding reasons are given by W. G. Ide, colonization man of wide experience, why farmers of the Middle West refuse to come to Oregon to make their homes.

"One is that many farmers owe banks money as a result of the hard times for the past two years, and are not now in position [to migrate].

"The other reason is the results of the last election in Oregon, particularly the majority given the compulsory education bill.

"Ide is representing the Oregon State Chamber in an effort to attract settlers to Oregon, particularly to the Ochoco project. He has been traveling through the Middle West, meeting farmers and endeavoring to get them interested in migrating here.

"Thus far he has met with little success. In his correspondence he tells of the difficulties he encounters in getting farmers interested in Oregon. On top of the fact that many farmers are so deeply indebted that they are unable to move at this time, came the results of the Oregon election. These were heralded in big headlines in all the newspapers and all church publications. They caused many who were becoming interested to decline to consider further any plan to make a move.

"In one of his recent reports submitted to the State Chamber, Ide says:

"'Since the election I have been entirely on the defensive. This week I called on two ministers of the Holland church, one of whom had been in Oregon and thought it fine and would like to see a settlement of his people there, but he said now it could not be thought of until the courts had decided whether or not the compulsory school law was unconstitutional.'"

This un-American act on the part of the Oregon voters is giving their State a

black eye, and the quickest way to remove the stigma is for the courts to declare the act unconstitutional, or for the people themselves to repeal this intolerant measure which is so hostile to the spirit of true Americanism.

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Tennessee Judge Scores Blue Laws

BY H. B. MAYER

B LUE law advocates are not following the teachings of Christ when they want a policeman with a club to drive people into the churches. The machinery of government is already complicated with an excess of laws, and instead of petitioning the legislature to enact more laws, we should urge a repeal of those already on the statute books, which are practically obsolete. So declared Justice A. B. Pittman in an address at the North Memphis Civic Club.

"It used to be that our Federal Court was a place of great dignity, where questions involving great issues were settled, but now it has been converted into a police court, and its docket crammed with cases that could be disposed of by a police judge.

"During the last five years our Solons in Congress have passed more laws than have been passed by all the other nations in the world combined. Many of these laws are such as to cause disrespect for laws and courts."

Referring to the bills pending before the legislature, the judge said: "I have read every line of the New Testament, and every version of the life and work of Jesus Christ as told by His apostles, but I fail to find a single instance where Jesus Christ called on a policeman to drive the people into His meetings. You cannot make people moral by legislation. It can be done only by an appeal to conscience."

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"Nor by might, nor by power, but by My Spirit, saith the Lord."

News and Comment

According to a dispatch from Wabash, Ind., "Wabash Blues Cause Blues in Wabash." The Ministerial Association of that city closed up everything tight on Sunday, including "theaters, movies, lodge rooms, restaurants, garages, and the street cars." That certainly is religion clamped down with a The preachers, no doubt, vengeance. will now have thousands flocking to the altar and applying for baptism and membership in the churches as a result of this wielding of the "big stick" in the interests of religion. But against this false hope is the truth that it is the goodness of God, not the police power of the State, that leads men to repentance.

According to the Boston Traveler of Dec. 12, 1922, Isidore Goldman and Isidore Wederman were each fined \$5 in the Dorchester Court of Massachusetts for working on the "Lord's Day." When asked why they did not work on Saturday, they replied that Saturday was their Sabbath, and they could not work. The court recommended that they go to the legislature and have it change the law so they could work on Sunday. This is exactly what the Massachusetts Legislature has done, and vet the court, in ignorance of this statute. fined them, and the poor Jews knew no better. Such a course is in violation of both justice and liberty.

SENATOR MOSES, of the Oregon Legislature, introduced a bill which was enacted into law, requiring the teaching in both public and private schools, of the United States Constitution, beginning with the eighth grade and continuing through the high school. Senator Garland, in defending the measure, said: "No one rightly imbued with the spirit of the Constitution can be a bigot. Any man who under that Constitution would deny to any other man the right to worship God as his conscience dictates, is a traitor to his country." So say we, THE superior court judgment of California, permitting the Selma High School to buy twelve Bibles of the King James Version for the school library out of the public funds, was reversed by the district Court of Appeals. The court held that the purchase of the Bibles was in direct violation of the school law, because the King James Version is the accepted Protestant version, and therefore sectarian.

ARTICLE 161 of the new penal code of the Soviet government of Russia, reads as follows:

"Teachers in government or private schools, giving religious instruction to children or minors, are liable to punishment not exceeding one year's imprisonment."

Russia is still ahead of the State of Oregon, which has recently passed a law prohibiting all private and church schools altogether after Sept. 1, 1926.

According to the Baltimore Sun of February 1, nine respectable citizens of Baltimore, charged with the heinous crime of working on Sunday, were arrested and fined heavily. Work is supposed to be honorable and idleness dishonorable in the eyes of the civil law, but here the idea is reversed.

THE Baltimore Symphony Orchestra won a victory over the Lord's Day Alliance of Maryland relative to Sunday evening concerts. Its first Sunday evening concert was patronized by more than 3,000 people, who purchased their tickets the day before. The establishment of Sunday baseball without police interference last season is regarded as having cleared the way for Sunday concerts at any hour.

THE three Sunday bills introduced during the Sixty-seventh Congress died in committee when Congress adjourned, March 4. This does not mean, however, that the fight is over. New Sunday bills will doubtless be introduced early in the Sixty-eighth Congress.

Editorial Brevities

THE church needs no human protector — a church protector soon becomes a patron, then a dictator, and finally a tyrant.

THE Christian lobbyist can never do the work of the Christian prophet. The one is inspired from beneath, and the other from above.

THERE should be no supremacy of church over state or of state over church. Each should function absolutely independent of the other.

WHEN a church substitutes a policeman for the Holy Spirit, she begins not only to walk after the flesh, but to war after the flesh, which the Christian church is exhorted not to do.

To adopt any form of church and state union to any degree is to revive the old controversy as to which shall rule, the church or the state. If united, one must dominate the other. Separated as they are in this country, each is supreme in its own sphere. Shall they not so remain?

What Is Americanism?

(Concluded from page 52)

cerned, the pillars of Hercules rest upon the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States. To my mind there is no beyond. The forms under which the principles of the Republic are administered may need changes to meet changing conditions, but the underlying idea does not, for truth is unchanging and eternal. What was so when the morning stars sang together will be so when the Angel of the Apocalypse appears.

"I venture to express this much of that idea: A government dedicated to the inalienable rights of man to life, to liberty, and to the pursuit of happiness, can find its perfect accomplishment only in representatives brave and strong enough to rise above the ambitions, passions, and prejudices of individuals and groups. Representative government was intended to guarantee these inalienable rights of men through the enactment and enforcement of laws calculated to preserve and promote equal and exact justice to all men. Religions die because priests mumble their creeds, but have no faith in their gods. Governments go to wreck because their statesmen shout aloud their shibboleths, but let a friendly enemy pass the ford."

It is quite evident that President Harding spoke advisedly when he stated his belief in the "inspiration of the founding fathers." He had doubtless read Thomas Jefferson's political prophecy in which these fathers were warned to make secure the rights of the people against the encroachments of bigots:

"They [the people] will be forgotten, therefore, and their rights disregarded. They will forget themselves, but in the sole faculty of making money, and will never think of uniting to effect a due respect for their rights."

That Sunday laws affect the principles of Americanism in the estimation of the founding fathers, may be gleaned from the following official data:

"It should, however, be kept in mind that the proper object of government is to protect all persons in the enjoyment of their religious as well as civil rights, and not to determine for any whether they shall esteem one day above another, or esteem all days alike holy."—Senate Report on Sunday Mails, Jan. 19, 1829.

"If the measure recommended [Sunday law] should be adopted, it would be difficult for human sagacity to foresee how rapid would be the succession, or how numerous the train of measures which follow, involving the dearest rights of all — the rights of conscience.

"It is perhaps fortunate for our country that the proposition [Sunday law] should have been made at this early period while the spirit of the Revolution yet exists in full vigor."— House Report on Sunday Mails, March 4, 5, 1830.

It seems very necessary for some one to restate the principles of original Americanism, as well as the principles of original Christianity. Original Christianity as enunciated by the Christian stands for this program of duty: "Render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's. and to God the things that are God's." So-called reformers change that to read, "Render to Cæsar the things that are God's."

America's greatness lies in, and will be in proportion to, our adherence to the principles of our founding fathers, who were for the most part Christians, with a vision for both God and country.

The Wilkes-Barre Blue Law Controversy

(Continued from page 41)

editorial, the gist of which appears in my reply to his baseless charge of being a "Bolshevik of the Russian type" and a national "menace" to my country. My answer, printed in the Wilkes-Barre newspapers, is as follows:

" To Editor of Record:

"Will you kindly allow me in Christian courtesy to reply in the columns of your paper to the editorial attack you made upon me February 6? In fairness, I am sure you will grant me the privilege of self-defense.

"I regret very much that you publicly charged me with being 'a menace as great as the Russian emissaries who preach the strange doctrines of political and social revolution of the Russian type - Bolsheviki as dangerous as the wild-theory propagandists of that benighted land.' Of course, you as an editor have a perfect right to express your opinion and personal convictions in bringing this odious charge against me, and all I ask is that you grant the same privilege to a fellow editor and to a minister of the gospel in answering the charge which is so baseless. In the first place, I am an American citizen to the core, and believe in American ideals and institutions as conceived by the founders of the American Republic. I believe in the American Constitution and its guaranties of human rights as much as I believe in my Bible, which holds first place in my heart. I am devoting most of my time to the defense of the grand and glorious principles of civil and religious liberty guaranteed to the individual under the Constitution. I have absolutely no sympathy for Bolshevism and its doctrines and principles.

"I believe in the Bible and in all its divine institutions, commandments, and ordinances. I am continually preaching the binding obligations of the law of Jehovah, and have been instrumental in getting hundreds of people to observe the Sabbath of Jehovah who were openly violating and disregarding that divine institution. Yet you charge me with destroying 'the Sabbath as a day of rest and as a day set apart for the church,' when I ask the state to keep her legal hands from employing force and civil penalties to compel Sabbath observance.

"You call me a.' Bolshevik of the Russian type' because I advocate a total separation of church and state, and the elimination of civil force in matters of religion. The Puritans charged Roger Williams with guilt of heresy and treason because he was opposed to the Puritan Sunday blue laws, and asserted that the civil magistrate had no right to enforce the duties prescribed in the first four commandments of the decalogue. They decided to exile him for teaching 'the damnable doctrine that the civil magistrate should not enforce purely religious obligations.' Yet what was a 'damnable doctrine ' to the Puritan has now become the pride of the American Constitution.

"For advocating this Constitutional doctrine of church and state separation, which is so grossly violated by the Sunday blue laws of Pennsylvania, I am denounced as a national 'menace as great as the Russian emissaries,' and called a 'Bolshevik as dangerous as the wild-theory propagandists.' Yet both Thomas Jefferson, who wrote the Declaration of Independence, and James Madison, who is called the Father of our Federal Constitution, were strenuously opposed to all civil regulations relative to Sunday or Sabbath observance. By an actual poll of the Congressmen, I found that 85 per cent of these national legislators are opposed to Sunday legislation on the part of the Federal Government. So far Congress has refused to enact any of the one hundred and fifty Sundaylaw measures introduced into Congress for the District of Columbia during the past 35 years. Both California and Oregon have repealed all their Sunday laws. Yet religion flourishes faster in the District of Columbia and in California and Oregon than in any other place in the United States, and Sunday is better observed without the Sunday laws than with them. Neither Christianity nor the civil government is dependent upon a union of church and state. The old church-and-state advocates used to argue that both Christianity and civil government would perish from off the earth if the church and state were separated and could no longer give civil and religious support and aid to each other.

"The Roman Empire united the church and state and had the strictest Sunday laws upon its statute books when it went to pieces; the American Republic separated the church and state and refused to incorporate a single Sunday law into its Federal statutes, and the American Republic stands, and has become a star of the first magnitude and a gem of gems among the nations.

"Public sentiment in America is against Sunday legislation. You say that the audience which supported and applauded is 'not representative of the great majority of the people of your community.' I never had a more intelligent and respectable audience greet me inall my travels, and while I am not a prophet, I am going to venture a prediction: You present your old church-and-state views to the citizens of Wilkes-Barre, and then give me a chance to present the great American ideals of a total separation of church and state to these same people, and I predict that the people of Wilkes-Barre will yote in favor of my pringiples by a majority vote of 3 to 1. I believe in the rule of the people, and I believe that the Constitutional and inalienable rights of the people are paramount to local authority when it is in conflict with the natural rights of all men.

"You say it is not necessary to 'hold a brief for everything contained in the blue laws.' I accept your proposition. If you have a right to reject a part of the blue laws without becoming a 'Bolshevik of the Russian type,' I likewise have a right to reject the other part which you leave without becoming a 'Bolshevik.'"

"The fight is on," says Mayor Hart, "and I am going to carry the issue to the people." In the next issue of the *Liberty* we may be able to report some interesting developments as to the outcome of this contest which is now raging and which promises to become still more intense and interesting.

Memorial of the Presbytery of Hanover to the General Assembly of Virginia

(Continued from page 37)

tending to every individual; but that the duty which we owe to our Creator, and the manner of discharging it, can only be directed by reason or conviction, and is nowhere cognizable but at the tribunal of the Universal Judge.

"Therefore we ask no ecclesiastical establishment for ourselves, neither can we approve of them and grant it to others; this, indeed, would be giving exclusive or separate emoluments or privileges to one set (or sect) of men, without any special public services, to the common reproach or injury of every other denomination. And, for the reasons recited, we are induced earnestly to entreat that all laws now in force in this Commonwealth which countenance religious domination may be speedily repealed, - that all of every religious sect may be protected in the full exercise of their several modes of worship, and exempted from all taxes for the support of any church whatsoever, further than what may be agreeable to their own private choice or voluntary obligation. This

being done, all partial and invidious distinctions will be abolished, to the great honor and interest of the State, and every one be left to stand or fall according to merit, which can never be the ease so long as any one denomination is established in preference to others.

"That the Great Sovereign of the universe may inspire you with unanimity, wisdom, and resolution, and bring you to a just determination on all the important concerns before you, is the fervent prayer of your memorialists.

"Signed by order of the Presbytery.

" JOHN TODD, Moderator. " CALEB WALLACE,

Presbytery Clerk."

Marked Popular Revulsion from a State Religion

HE overthrow of the monarchy in Russia brought also the downfall of the cruel reign of the Orthodox Greek Church. As is usual in such cases. there was a great revulsion of feeling. The established church, its corrupt and oppressive priesthood, its institutions and usages, had long been abhorrent to multitudes of the people. They had long professed faith in relics and icons, under compulsion : now they were free to manifest their real feelings, and began at once, like the English upon the downfall of the Puritan Commonwealth in 1659, to This indulge in the greatest excesses. seems to be carried farther and farther in Russia each year.

An Associated Press dispatch from Moscow, under date of Jan. 8, 1923, told that the young communists, in mock observance of Christmas of the Julian, or old style, calendar on the previous day, that is on January 7 of the Gregorian, or reformed, calendar, "launched their widely heralded ' attack upon heaven ' in a grotesque carnival procession that was a mockery of the world's great religions.

"As American college boys make merry after a football victory," runs the story, "so thousands of Russian students did a gigantic snake dance around a great bonfire, the kindling of which before one of the principal railway stations brought the day of revely to a close. The climax of the celebration came, however, when the young people gleefully tossed into the flames straw and paper figures representing the deities of the Christian, Mohammedan, Jewish, and Buddhist religions.

Few Religious Reminders

"The Russian Christmas had been especially chosen by the young communists as the occasion for shattering by mockery the ancient Yuletide story and the traditions which their organization hails as 'religious myths.' Hence the procession that threaded the streets of Moscow Sunday held few reminders of the old-time Christmas celebrations of the Russian Church.

"Flaring stars of red, burlesques of the star of Bethlehem, were held aloft at the head of the parade, followed by posters and banners upon which were daubed cartoons of deities and saints.

"No icons, no reminders of the church processions that in the past have marked the advent of the Christmas festival, were in evidence. There was music and singing aplenty, but the songs were jeering parodies of the splendid earols or chants of the Russian Church.

Caricature Church Dignitaries

"Goblinlike burlesques of the gods of all peoples alternated with motor trucks upon which rode students and young women dressed as caricatures of religious dignitaries. Placards proclaimed such communist doctrines as 'Religion is the opiate of the people' and 'Man made God in man's image, not God man in His.' One truck carried an infant wearing a red cap. He was placarded as 'Young Communism.'

"Lost in their long coats and army caps, young children from the orphanages and institutions tramped through the snow, led by their teachers, to watch the bonfire, which their communist elders had decreed should take the place of the chimney-side vigil in wait for Santa Claus." Scenes of a similar nature marked the passing of the Puritan régime in England in the latter half of the seventeenth century. Men and women can be made civil and can be kept civil by civil law, but they cannot be made religious by any such means, though for a time they may be compelled to play the hypocrite, that is, to observe the forms of religion while knowing nothing of the spirit of real Christianity, the religion of the Scriptures of Truth.

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A New Federation

I T is announced that the International Reform Bureau, the World Prohibition Foundation, and the National Temperance Society have decided to pool their resources, "and co-ordinate their activities for a united front against prohibition repeal, track gambling, prize fights, Sunday shows, drug traffic, and for better marriage and divorce laws."

This federation, which at this writing has not been definitely named, expects to erect a \$500,000 headquarters building only two blocks from the national Capitol, and to carry forward a strong campaign in behalf of all these "reform" measures.

Most of the objects named are legitimate subjects of civil legislation, and must claim the sympathy of good citizens everywhere. But as we have repeatedly pointed out, the prohibition of Sunday activities means giving the churches a monopoly of that day for religious reasons, something civil government has no right to do. There are at least large possibilities for evil in this federation, as well as of much good. It will bear watching. B.

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THE Christian principle of individual inquiry, belief, and profession is exactly the opposite of the pagan principle of universal and unquestioning conformity. The gospel makes the conscience everything, declaring, "Whatsoever is not of faith is sin."

The Church in Politics Contrary to Constitutional Restraints

By W. F. Martin

S TUDENTS of the prophetic word have long looked for the time to come when the churches of the land would enter into a combination for one great purpose,— to control the politics and politicians of the country.

Careful, thoughtful men have read Isaiah 2:1, 2, "The word that Isaiah the son of Amoz saw concerning Judah and Jerusalem. And it shall come to pass in the last days, that the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established in the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills; and all nations shall flow unto it," and viewed this scripture as teaching that the mountain of the Lord's house, the church, would gain a place, be established in the tops of the mountains,— the civil governments, and in fact would even be exalted "above the hills."

This has been strong evidence that church control would again prevail, and that the policies of the state would be dictated by those high in church realms. Recent activities of religionists looking to this end may well be viewed with apprehension. Yes, such is the case, and yet, these things are mileposts telling us where we are along the highway.

A recent utterance, or more than an utterance, amounting to a declaration, appeared in the Portland (Oreg.) *Telegram* of Dec. 6, 1922. This item follows: "CHICAGO, ILL., Dec. 6.— A campaign to enlist 50,000 ministers, and through them 40,000,000 ehurch members, to take an active part in the 1924 Presidential election, has been announced by the Rev. J. Clover Monsma, editor of the *Ministers' Monthly*.

"The plan, he said, will embrace organization of the Christian voters' league, and the holding of a national convention here shortly before the Presidential nominating conventions.

"If the party conventions keep on following the beaten path, and refuse to designate candidates that stand for the things that churches uphold, 'a bolt will be suggested.' His announcement continued, 'With the churches organized, however, no party can afford to ignore the tremendous vote controlled by them.'"

Because a man is a Christian is not a reason why he should lose his interest in all political affairs, but for ministers to combine and then enroll so great a movement as contemplated, would be a real menace to the politics and religion of the nation. Much more could be done by these men if they should combine in prayer and in faithful preaching of the word of God. Everywhere signs point us to the fact that we are nearing the end. We are facing a crisis as verily as did Noah. No combination for a control of politics or to gain power would have helped in that day, nor will it now.

It might be well for those who are proposing this thing to go back in the history of our nation to the adopting of the First Amendment to the Constitution. It is well known that this part of the Constitution reads: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

It is not so well known what were the reasons for adopting this Amendment. A reading of the records of the time reveals the fact that the author of the Amendment, Mr. Madison, had in mind to prevent just such a project as is revealed in the above announcement. According to the chronicles, he "feared one sect might obtain a pre-eminence, or two or more join together and establish a religion to which they would compel others to conform."

Madison, that farseeing statesman, thought to safeguard the rights of conscience by the Amendment, and succeeded largely. Patriots must still be on their guard that some plan is not foisted on us that will undo all the good of past years. "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty."

Makemie's Plea for Religious Liberty Before Lord Cornbury

The picture on the front cover represents the first trial of Rev. Francis Makemie before Lord Cornbury.

The portraits in this painting are those of Rev. Francis Makemie, Rev. John Hampton, Lord Cornbury, Peter Schuyler, and Philip Van Dam. Francis Makemie, founder of organized Presbyterianism in America, was arrested in New York in 1706 by Lord Cornbury, a cousin of Queen Anne, for preaching without permission from the governor. He was tried in the council chamber at Fort Anne, New York, was thrown into jail, but afterward released on bail, and in his subsequent trial before a jury was unanimously acquitted.

Taken from an exhibit of the Presbyterian Historical Society, the President's collection.

A Tribute to Francis Makemie

By Henry Van Dyke

"To thee, plain hero of a rugged race, We bring the meed of praise too long delayed! Thy fearless word and faithful work have made For God's Republic firmer resting place In this New World: for thou hast preached the grace And power of Christ in many a forest glade, Teaching the truth that leaves men unafraid Of frowning tyranny or death's dark face.

"Oh, who can tell how much we owe to thee, Makemie, and to labor such as thine, For all that makes America the shrine Of faith untrammeled and of conscience free? Stand here, gray stone, and consecrate the sod Where rests this brave Scotch-Irish man of God!"

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