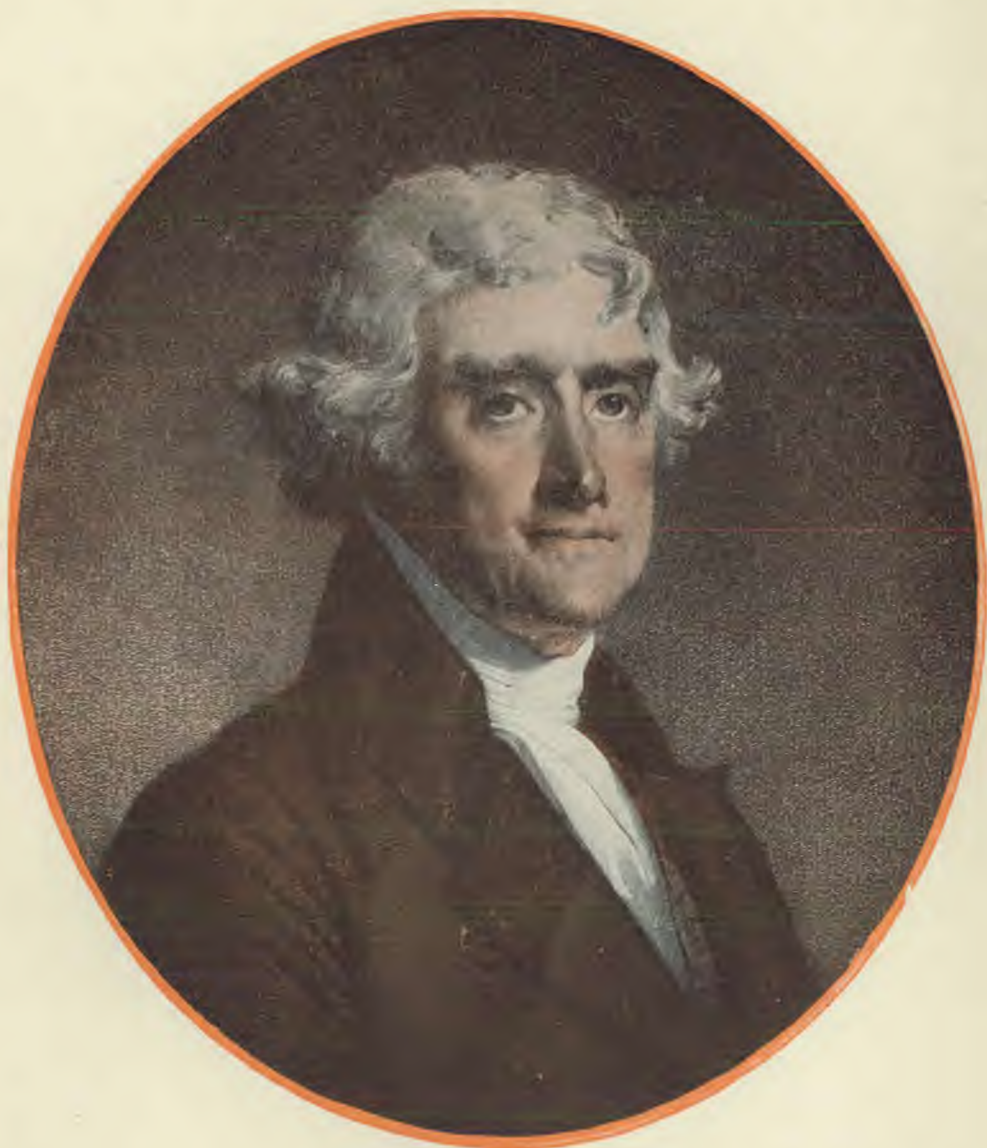


LIBERTY

A MAGAZINE OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM



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Religious Liberty Association

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

Scriptural Basis: "Render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and to God the things that are God's." "The powers that be are ordained of God."

1. The Bible is the Word of God, and Jesus Christ the Saviour of the world.

2. The ten commandments are the foundation of all morality, and comprehend the whole duty of man, both to God and to man.

3. The religion of Jesus Christ, being founded in the love of God, needs no human power to support or enforce it. Love can not be forced.

4. 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 that right he does not interfere with the equal rights of others.

5. Civil government is of divine origin, designed for the protection of men in the enjoyment of their natural rights. It is ordained to rule in civil things, and in this realm is entitled to the respectful obedience of all.

6. The civil power is not authorized to enter the realm of religion, enacting legislation to define or to enforce any religious dogma, ritual, or observance. Coercion in matters of religion always means persecution.

7. All religious legislation on the part of the state, and all movements tending to unite church and state, are subversive of human rights, persecuting in character and opposed to the best interests of both church and state.

8. It is proper, therefore, for all to protest against, and use every laudable and legitimate means to prevent, religious legislation, or the union of church and state, in order that all may enjoy the inestimable blessings of religious liberty.

9. The warfare of modern science and modern theology upon the Word of God is a warfare upon the liberties of men, which are defined and guaranteed by that Word.

10. The liquor traffic is a curse to the home, to society, and to the nation, and a menace to civil order, and should be prohibited by law.

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

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"Thomas Jefferson," "Religious Persecution," and "National Prohibition" Number

Read Thomas Jefferson, President Wilson, Speaker Clark, Secretary Bryan, and Others on Human Liberties, Civil and Religious, in This Number



SAID Jefferson: "I have sworn upon the altar of God, eternal hostility against ANY FORM OF TYRANNY over the mind of man. . . . I am for FREEDOM OF RELIGION, and against all maneuvers to bring about a legal ascendancy of ONE SECT over ANOTHER. . . . The spirit of the times may alter, will alter. Our rulers will become corrupt, our PEOPLE CARELESS. A single zealot may commence PERSECUTION, and better men be his victims."

Current Events Fulfilling Jefferson's Prophecy!

Many religious "zealots" and not a few ecclesiastical organizations, such as the National Reform Association, and the Lord's Day Alliance, are even now busily engaged in efforts to UNDERMINE THE FOUNDATIONS of our AMERICAN LIBERTIES! Politico-Ecclesiastical Romanism is also undermining and sapping these foundations day and night! The previous or "America" number of Liberty Magazine was viciously attacked by both National Reformism and Romanism; the *Christian Statesman*, official organ of the first-named organization, attacking one article in a four-page editorial, and the *Catholic Standard and Times* devoting a 28-inch editorial to three of its articles.

What Are You Willing to Do?

As a Citizen, Protestant, Catholic, Jew, or Infidel, YOU should see to it that no laws are enacted which will in any way deprive YOU or YOUR FELLOW CITIZENS of DIFFERENT BELIEF of the RIGHT OF CHOOSING or the RIGHT OF CHANGING one's belief in CIVIL or RELIGIOUS MATTERS. Help us to help you and us to maintain forever OUR CIVIL RIGHTS IN RELIGIOUS MATTERS.

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LIBERTY

A MAGAZINE OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

Editor: C. S. LONGACRE.

Associate Editors: C. M. SNOW, W. W. PRESCOTT

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A UNION OF CHURCH AND STATE.

The church that seeks the enactment and enforcement of Sunday laws through carnal weapons is leaning upon the arm of the state and a civil crutch for support, and the state that accepts her overtures and enforces such laws will ultimately wield the carnal sword to persecute non-conformists and dissenters in the enforcement of religious practises under the excuse of exercising the police power. (See page 15.)

LIBERTY

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

VOL. IX

FIRST QUARTER, 1914

No. 1

William Jennings Bryan on the Statute for Establishing Religious Freedom

JEFFERSON was a political philosopher, and thought far in advance of his time. And yet he differed in one essential particular from the philosophers who do not live to see the triumph of their ideas. He proclaimed great, living truths, and then he applied those truths to the questions with which he had to deal. Some have contented themselves with laying down abstract principles, and have not sought to give them vitality in the present day; but Jefferson not only saw the future, but he saw the present, and we have this great advantage in the study of the principles of Jefferson, that he gave us those principles embodied in legislation. I have been more and more surprised as I have studied the questions with which we have to deal, to find that there is no subject with which our people grapple today that he did not consider in principle. Take the questions that are subjects of controversy, and you will find that he stated principles and applied principles at that time that apply to the questions at this time; and today we do not have to go beyond his writings to find principles that will solve aright the problems of today. He saw great, fundamental truths, self-evident truths, if you



please; and I am coming to believe that there are not only self-evident truths, but that all truth is self-evident — that the best service that a man can render to a truth is to state it so that it can be understood. Jefferson had the power of statement, and he stated the truths so they could be understood. . . . I place far above any purchase of acres or square miles, the utterance of those truths upon which human liberty must rest. Philosophy is above geography.

Jefferson rightly measured his own work when he looked back over a long and eventful life, and, ignoring the foothills of honor, saw only the mountain peaks of service. He gave to us proof that the Bible is right when it fixes service as the measure of greatness. You will remember that when there was a controversy as to which should be greatest in the kingdom of heaven, and the question was brought to Jesus, he said: "Let him who would be chiefest among you be the servant of all." So Jefferson, when he looked back over his life, saw, not the things that he had received, but the things that he had given to the world; not the things men had done for him, but the things he had done for mankind.

I have been asked to write about the statute for establishing religious freedom, prepared by Thomas Jefferson, and enacted by the State of Virginia in 1786, about eight years after it was drafted. Let me quote you the statute: —

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

The conciseness of Jefferson's style is well illustrated in this statute. Read it over. There is not a superfluous word, and yet there is enough to guard religious liberty. It is not strange that this doctrine, so well set forth by Jefferson more than a century ago, is now a part of the constitution and bill of rights of every State of this Union. Not only is that today the law of this land, but it is spreading throughout the world. It was only a short time ago that the czar of Russia issued a decree in which he acknowledged the right of all the subjects of his empire to worship God according to the dictates of their own consciences; and I believe that when we come to measure the relative importance of things,—the importance of an act like that, the very foundation upon which we build religious liberty,—the importance of an act like that, which, gradually spreading, has become the creed of ninety millions of people, and is ultimately to become the creed of all the world,—when we come to consider the vast importance of a thing like that, how can we compare lands or earthly possessions with it?

In the preamble of this statute Jefferson set forth the main reasons urged by those who believed in religious freedom. Let me call attention to some of the more

important ones. He said, in the first place, that to attempt to compel people to accept a religious doctrine, by act of law, was to make, not Christians, but hypocrites. That was one of the reasons, and it was a strong one. He said, too, that there was no earthly judge who was competent to sit in a case and try a man for his religious opinions; for the judgment of the court, he said, would not be a judgment of law, but would be the personal opinion of the judge. What could be more true? No man who has religious convictions himself bears them so lightly that he can lay them aside and act as a judge when another man's religious convictions are involved. Then he suggested—and I think I am justified in elaborating upon this suggestion a moment—that religion does not need the support of government to enable it to overcome error. Let me give the exact words of his report, for I cannot change them without doing injury to them: —

“And finally that truth is great and will prevail if left to herself; that she is the proper and sufficient antagonist of error, and has nothing to fear from the conflict unless by human interposition disarmed of her natural weapons, free argument and *debate*; errors *ceasing* to be dangerous when it is permitted freely to contradict them.”

Tell me that Jefferson lacked reverence for religion! He rather lacks reverence who believes that religion is unable to defend herself in a contest with error. He places a low estimate upon the strength of religion who thinks that the wisdom of God must be supplemented by the force of man's puny arm.

Jefferson paid a tribute to the power of truth when he said that truth is able to overcome error in the open field; and it was this sublime confidence in the triumph of truth that distinguishes him from many of the other great men of his time. In fact, of all the men who have lived upon this earth I know of no man who has surpassed Jefferson in his confidence in the ultimate triumph of truth; and upon what can people build if not

upon faith in truth? Take from man his belief in the triumph of that which is right, and he builds upon the sand. Give to man an abiding faith in the triumph of that which is true, and you give him the foundation of a moral character that can stand all reverses.

It was this belief in the triumph of truth that made Jefferson favor free discussion, not only in religion but in everything; and one of the virtues of Jefferson was that he was consistent in applying his principles wherever they could be applied, . . . no matter where those principles led him.

The same doctrine that he applied to religion he applied to the press, and I suppose no American — certainly no one who lived before the time of Andrew Jackson — ever had more reason than Jefferson to find fault with the untrue utterances of the press. Yet so great was his faith in the triumph of the truth, and so willing was he to have error presented if truth could only be let free to combat it, that he was opposed to censorship of the press; and I believe he gave expression to the strongest eulogy of the press that any statesman has ever uttered, when he said that if he must choose between a government without newspapers, and newspapers without a government, he would prefer to risk the newspapers without a government. That is, he said

that public opinion would measurably correct things if public opinion was left free, but that a government without the free expression of public opinion would soon become a despotism.

In the preamble to the statute for religious freedom, Jefferson put first that which I want to speak of last. It was

that the regulation of the opinions of men on religious questions by law was contrary to the laws of God and to the plans of God. He pointed out that God had it in his power to control man's mind and body, but that he did not see fit to coerce the mind or the body into obedience to even the divine will; and that if God himself was not willing to use coercion to force man to accept certain religious views, man, uninspired and liable to error,



STATUE OF THOMAS JEFFERSON,
KNOXVILLE, TENN.

ought not to use the means that Jehovah would not employ. Jefferson realized that our religion is a religion of love and not a religion of force.

There has recently been published a little book called "The Jeffersonian Bible," and in the fore part of that book there is a letter, written by Jefferson in reply to an inquiry, in which he states his estimate of the teachings of Christ as compared with the philosophies of other religious teachers; and he points out the superiority of the philosophy of the Nazarene, in that, while other philosophies deal with man's conduct, Christ's

philosophy purifies the fountain at its source—cleanses the heart.

Jefferson recognized that our religion is a religion of the heart, that it is propagated from heart to heart; and he recognized, too, that the heart controls human life. He was great in his intellect. I know of no mind that our nation has produced that could express itself with more clearness or with more logic; but I believe that there was in Jefferson that which was greater than his head. It was his heart. Greater than his intellect was his love for all mankind.

It has been said that it marks an epoch in history when God lets loose a thinker in the world. God let loose a thinker when Jefferson was born. Carlyle says that thought is stronger than artillery sparks; that thought molds the world like soft clay; that it writes and unwrites laws, makes and unmakes parliaments; and that back of every great thought is love; that love is the ruling force in the world. I believe it is true. I believe that Jefferson's greatness rests more upon his love of humankind than upon his intellect, great as was his intellect, and that he was great because his heart was big enough to embrace the world. And the people loved him "because he first loved" them. He wanted our religion to rest on the basis of love, and not on the basis of force; and when we get down to the foundation of our government and the foundation of our religion, we find that they alike rest on the doctrine of human brotherhood,—on the doctrine "that all men are created equal," "that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights,"—rights that government did not give, rights that government cannot take away; that the object of government is to secure to the individual the enjoyment of his inalienable rights, and that governments derive their just powers from the

consent of the governed. But all of these things rest upon that conception of human brotherhood which one cannot have unless he has the love that is back of every great thought. I believe that when Jefferson assisted in establishing religious freedom, he assisted in giving to our government its strongest support. Chain the conscience, bind the heart, and you cannot have for the support of our form of government the strength and the enthusiasm it deserves. But let conscience be free to commune with its God, let the heart be free to send forth its love, and the conscience and the heart will be the best defenders of a government resting upon the consent of the governed.

I believe that Jefferson gave a complete theory of government when he gave us the doctrine of the Declaration of Independence; and he gave us the two great supports of free government when he gave us universal education and an unfettered conscience. . . .

I thank God that Jefferson's memory needs no marble or bronze to perpetuate it. Erect your monument as high as you can, make it of material as enduring as you may, time will finally destroy it; the years will come and go, and at last that monument will disappear; but there is in the hearts of the people a monument that time cannot touch, and this monument, growing as the world grows, increasing as civilization increases, is a greater monument than the hand of man can rear. And as people measure the influence of Jefferson upon the destinies of the human race, they will be convinced that the Bible is true when it says that "it is more blessed to give than to receive," for he gave the largest measure of service that man ever gave to man.—*Introduction to "The Writings of Thomas Jefferson," Memorial Edition, Vol. VIII. (By permission.)*

Christian Civil Government

L. A. SMITH

AMONG people professing the Christian religion, measures to compel the conscience and coerce the religious minority into conformity with the religion of the majority require some species of justification. To this end the advocates of religious legislation have brought forward the theory that a nation is a moral person, with moral accountability separate and apart from the moral accountability of its citizens as individuals. A government, they say, can sin, can repent, can obtain salvation from God, the same as an individual, and is therefore bound by the same moral law. Hence there must be national as well as individual religion; and the national religion in the United States must be the Christian religion. We must have here a Christian civil government.

As the civil government acts by force, a religious civil government necessarily means enforced religion.

Let us assume a case for purposes of illustration. Mr. A, let us suppose, believes with the religious majority, while his neighbor, Mr. B, stands with the minority. Mr. B's religious belief and practise are a testimony that Mr. A is in the wrong; and this Mr. A does not like, especially as he can find no very strong Scriptural proof in support of his position. It would suit him if Mr. B were compelled to show deference to his belief, at least in his outward acts. But Mr. A cannot say to Mr. B, "You must bring your religion into outward conformity with mine." He would have no more right to make such a demand of Mr. B than the latter would have to make the like demand of him. That is too plain for anybody to deny. Neither could Mr. A get a company of his friends with him, and with their support demand that Mr. B make this surrender; this likewise would be plain injustice of the rankest sort. Neither could Mr. A's church rightfully make such a demand of Mr. B; all would stigmatize this as religious

intolerance. But now recourse is had to the theory of the government's moral personality and moral accountability; the government is made to profess religion, which religion will, of course, in a republic be that of a majority; and lo! the thing is accomplished, and Mr. B is obliged under the pains and penalty of the law to act as if he believed the same as Mr. A. And that which in every other light is recognized as being wholly wicked and incapable of justification, now all at once becomes reasonable, just, and Christian! The religious minority are coerced by the religious majority, and punished in any way the law may prescribe for non-compliance; and it is all right, since the government has moral accountability and must profess religion! It would be terribly wrong, it would be plain religious persecution, for the citizens to do this in an unorganized capacity; everybody admits this. It would be a manifest exhibition of religious intolerance for a church to do it. But when the people do it in the capacity of a civil government, it is not wrong at all, but eminently good and necessary! What a wonderful power there is in a little sophistry to change the character of deeds from bad to good!

Now let us look a moment at this theory of the state's moral personality, and see whether it will stand the test of analysis.

Individuals, certainly, are morally accountable; and they are accountable under all circumstances. No individual is ever excused from obedience to the moral law of God. Whether a public official or only a private citizen, he is equally responsible before God for his acts. But he is responsible for himself alone; he cannot have moral responsibility delegated to him by others. No one can get rid of moral responsibility in that way.

If the people of the nation, each one for himself, would be true to their convictions of right and of duty before God,

as each one of them is bound to do, and be guided by his Word, there would be national religion of the right sort, and of the only sort that is needed or that has any power to keep the nation in the favor of God.

A civil government exists because the people delegate to certain ones—their representatives—authority to act for them in civil affairs. But in religion this cannot rightfully be done. Religious responsibility to God cannot be delegated from one person to another. Each person must carry his own responsibility, and in the judgment-day, as the Scripture declares, “every one of us shall give account of himself to God.” Rom. 14:12. No person can hide behind another in that day on the plea of having chosen some one else to represent him in religion. No person can answer for another before the great Judge. Nor can any person hide behind the government, on the plea that the government required him to do something contrary to the Word of God. There will be no government action then, but all the world will stand before God with a dread sense of accountability to him as individuals, and of utter helplessness as far as any human power and authority are concerned.

Since therefore there can be no rightful delegating of religious responsibility by one person to another,—none that God will recognize,—there can be no basis for such a thing as Christian civil government to stand on; for the basis of government, in a republic, is representation.

Civil government can indeed be religious,—the world knows this to its sorrow,—but it cannot possibly be Christian.

And this is not to say that civil government is against Christianity. The men who founded this nation, and who took care in so doing to separate the civil government from religion, were devout Christians. The government of these United States, which some seek to stigmatize as being irreligious and atheistic, has from the first been a haven of refuge for Christians from every land,

who fled from the injustice imposed on them by state Christianity, so called.

Jesus Christ himself plainly distinguished between the spheres of civil government and religion when, in reply to the question of the Pharisees about paying tribute to Cæsar, he said: “Render therefore unto Cæsar [the civil power] the things which are Cæsar’s; and unto God the things that are God’s.” Matt. 22:21. And that his kingdom could not be united with any of the civil powers of earth he declared before Pilate, in the words, “My kingdom is not of this world: if my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight, that I should not be delivered to the Jews.” John 18:36. The very best and most righteous kingdoms of earth fight in a just cause, and the cause of delivering Christ from the murderous mob bent on killing him was certainly a just one. But Christ called for no earthly aid, for his kingdom could not be established by any earthly agencies, whether good or bad.

The gospel which Christ came to earth to proclaim is Scripturally defined as “the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth.” Rom. 1:16. The salvation which the gospel brings is salvation from sin. “Thou shalt call his name Jesus,” said the angel to Joseph, “for he shall save his people from their sins.” Matt. 1:21. Note that it is from their own sins that people are to be saved by the gospel; no one is assured of salvation from the sins of others. Salvation from the wrong-doing of others may come from an earthly source, but salvation from one’s own sins comes by faith alone. Faith is the foundation of all Christian experience. “Without faith it is impossible to please him [God].” Heb. 11:6.

These and many other Scripture passages which might be cited, show that God deals with people individually, and not in the mass or by organizations. The organization, whether it be the church or the nation, is affected through the individuals composing it. If the individual citizens are righteous, the nation is

righteous and will have the favor of heaven; while if the individuals are not right before God, by no possible means can the nation be righteous, whatever resolutions and protestations of goodness congress or the legislature might put forth. If national enactments made a nation righteous, we should have the absurdity of a righteous nation composed of wicked people; for it is perfectly evident that the people might be as wicked as the Pharisees who killed Christ, and at the same time have all the zeal of the Pharisees for outward demonstrations of piety. They might have the pride of Lucifer and the covetousness of Judas without being any the less ready to make and enforce religious enactments. And

thus God would incur the impossible obligation of punishing the people for their sins and at the same time rewarding the nation for its righteousness; or, in the end, of destroying the people and at the same time saving the government. To such absurdities does this theory of a nation's moral personality and moral accountability lead us.

God punishes nations; but the punishment falls on the individual people of the nation, not on the government. God punished this nation for the sin of slavery by a terrible civil war; but it was not the government that suffered, but the blighted homes that were left when the war was over.

Nashville, Tenn.

Jefferson, "The Apostle of Individual Freedom"

THE EDITOR

THOMAS JEFFERSON had visions of the future greatness of the American republic, provided its people were allowed the right and privilege of self-government. He was a firm believer in the worth and dignity of human nature, and in man's endowment by divine Providence with sufficient capacity for self-government. The desire to see all men enjoy the blessings of freedom and the free exercise of conscience in legitimate ways, at once enlisted his powerful reasoning faculties, and became the undying passion of his soul.

This passion came to him, not as the result of personal abuse and oppression endured by the poor and inferior at the hands of the rich and opulent,—for he belonged to the upper and wealthy class,—but because of his innate love for all mankind. His was a generous disposition which was drawn out toward all, and sympathized with all in their afflictions.

The desire to put all men on an equal footing, and to knock off the shackles that had bound them for centuries, took possession of his soul; and when the

great clock of time struck the auspicious hour of his opportunity in his summons to pen the immortal Declaration, the heavenly strains of freedom burst from his ardent soul like the peal of the angelic anthem over the plains of Judea announcing the glad tidings of great joy to all people.

Jefferson "himself has happily singled out, to be engraved upon his tomb, three particular achievements with which he wished his name to be associated, by friend or stranger, for all future time." As long as time shall last, and even if the monument should crumble to dust and his epitaph be obliterated, his countrymen to the latest generation will never forget the beneficent blessings and the tribute of honor and glory due to the "author of the Declaration of American Independence, of the statute of Virginia for religious freedom, and to the father of the University of Virginia."

After he had devoted sixty-six years of the best of his life to public service, "his intellectual faculties were unimpaired, his bodily strength was well preserved, and he was still conscious of the

possession of a large capacity for usefulness to his countrymen and to mankind. He had cherished through life a passion for the acquisition of knowledge, and was one of the best-educated men, if not the best-educated man, of his country and time, and he could have filled the remainder of his days with a serene and tranquil enjoyment of the pleasures of literature and science" or the acquisition of wealth; "but such a life was not possible for him, nor was any life possible for him the strength of which was not devoted to the advancement of the liberty and happiness of men. . . .

Lover of liberty as he was, firmly as he believed that popular government was the only form of public authority consistent with the highest happiness of men, he yet did not believe that any nation or community could permanently retain this blessing without the benefit of the lessons of truth, and the discipline of virtue to be derived only from the intellectual and moral education of the whole people."

"The general features of his political philosophy still remain as the nominal creed at least of the great body of his countrymen."—*Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, Vol. II.

The principles of individual rights and liberties which developed in the minds of the people during the conflict between the colonies and the mother country, seemed finally to accumulate and become incarnate in Thomas Jefferson. His whole body, spirit, and soul were saturated, charged, and electrified with the loftiest yet most practical sentiments and principles of universal liberty and equality.

Providence had endowed him with the wisdom and the favor of a Solomon, and for the first time in the annals of a nation, at the time of its birth, did God find a man who understood and was willing to defend the free gifts of God to man, and to incorporate them in the birth cry of the nation—the immortal Declaration of Independence. While the Lord had decreed a universal liberty 3,268 years before the acceptance of the Declaration of Independence in 1776, in his words to Moses at Mt. Sinai,—“Proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants there-

of,”—yet the human race waited over three millenniums before it ever heard a legislative body of men declare, assert, and affirm that all men were entitled to the divine heritage of life, liberty, and happiness.

It remained for America to

recognize the free and universal enjoyment of the natural gifts of God to all men; and it remained for Jefferson to amplify and elucidate those lofty principles, and make a practical application of them in the framework of the basic laws of the infant republic, which was destined to become the mightiest of nations.

Since the acceptance of the great Magna Charta of human rights, our nation has made the greatest progress and has enjoyed the greatest privileges of any nation in all history. Our nation is the miracle of nations. What has made our nation the greatest giant among the nations in the shortest period of time in its comparative and substantive development? There can be only one answer: It was the triumph of the prin-



HOME OF JEFFERSON

ciples of civil and religious freedom, and the separation of church and state, as set forth in the guaranties of freedom in our federal Constitution and the Declaration of Independence.

Jefferson has rightly been called "the apostle of individual freedom." His desire to see the individual freed from the tyranny of the past, was not a blind, vague idea of freeing him for the mere sake of being free, but he wanted to give liberty to each individual so that all the people might develop themselves in character, in intelligence, and in the science of self-government.

He loved to be a free man himself, and his unflinching determination was to do what he could toward giving freedom to all people. In 1776 he introduced his bill to secure religious freedom in Virginia, and for ten full years he strug-

gled unceasingly with his opponents before he succeeded; but after he won his victory, his "act of religious freedom" became the vanguard to pioneer the way for the enactment of the bill of rights in the other States. Thus the United States, at her very inception, started as no other nation ever started. She was founded on the divine principles of a separation of church and state, so clearly announced by Jesus Christ when he said, "Render therefore unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's."

England, with her centuries of civilization, maintained barriers that merely for reasons of religious belief excluded native-born Englishmen from holding public offices even down to the year 1888.

Jefferson's public life was greatly em-

bittered toward its close by many unscrupulous political and ecclesiastical critics, but never did they succeed in alienating from him the confidence and tender affections of the people, to whose welfare he had consecrated all the energies and talents of his life. They looked upon him as a second Moses who had brought them "out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage." In spite of all the murmuring of his hostile critics, they knew that this colossal giant among men was their unchanging friend and devoted benefactor.

"The clergy," says Jefferson, entertained "a very favorite hope of obtaining an establishment of a particular form of Christianity throughout the United States; and as every sect believes its form the true one, every one perhaps hoped for

his own." Jefferson adds these words:—

"The returning good sense of our country threatens abortion to their hopes, and they believe that any portion of power confided to me will be exerted in opposition to their schemes. And they believe rightly; for I have sworn upon the altar of God, eternal hostility against any form of tyranny over the mind of man. But this is all they have to fear from me: and enough, too, in their opinion. And this is the cause of their printing lying pamphlets against me, forging conversations for me with Mazzei, Bishop Madison, etc., which are absolute falsehoods without a circumstance of truth to rest on.

"But enough of this. It is more than I have before committed to paper on the subject of all the lies that have been



INTERIOR OF JEFFERSON'S HOME

preached and printed against me."—
"Writings of Thomas Jefferson," Vol. VII.

On the other hand, Jefferson's unfaltering faith and confidence in the people as the final court of appeals and the arbiter of all secular questions, was as firm and unshaken as the rock-ribbed coast line along the Atlantic after the onslaught of the mighty waves at the end of a terrific tempest. The following apothegms from the pen of Jefferson show how firmly he believed in the people:—

"I know no safe depositary of the ultimate powers of society but the people themselves.

"The will of the majority honestly expressed should give law.

"Our citizens may be deceived for a while, and have been deceived; but as long as the press can be protected, we trust them for light.

"I am for freedom of religion, and against all maneuvers to bring about a legal ascendancy of one sect over another; for freedom of the press, and against all violations of the Constitution to silence by force and not by reason the complaints or criticisms, just or unjust, of our citizens against the conduct of their agents."

Jefferson realized that his work in behalf of the cause of freedom was not finished nor secure. In his "Notes on Virginia," he says: "The spirit of the times may alter, will alter. Our rulers will become corrupt, our people careless. A single zealot may commence persecution,

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

May God, who sent this modern Moses to deliver his people from "the house of bondage," raise up also another Joshua to prevent his people from returning to Egypt, which many are now assaying to do. If America loses her liberties, the world is doomed.

CAN the liberties of a nation be

thought secure when we have removed their only firm basis, a conviction in the minds of the people that these liberties are of the gift of God? that they are not to be violated but with His wrath? Indeed, I tremble for my country, when I reflect that God is just; that his justice cannot sleep forever.—*Jefferson.*



GRAVE OF JEFFERSON

Religion and the State

W. F. MARTIN

It is a well-known and widely accepted fact that one of the dominant features of Americanism is that here, as in no other land, the citizens are free to worship their Creator as they think most acceptable to him. A strong demand, however, is now being made by a certain class calling themselves "National Reformers," to have religion made a part of the law of the land; not only this, but it is purposed to have the government recognize the Christian religion. In proof of this, note the following: "And to secure such an amendment to the Constitution of the United States as will declare the nation's allegiance to Jesus Christ and its acceptance of the moral laws of the Christian religion, and to indicate that this is a Christian nation, and place all the Christian laws, institutions, and usages of our government on an undeniable legal basis in the fundamental law of the land."—*Christian Statesman*.

This will easily be recognized as an effort to secure religious legislation, nor can it be truthfully said that there is any difference in fact between a union of "church and state" and a union of "religion and the state." In most countries where religion is a part of the civil law, it is religion according to the ideas of some particular sect; in other words, it is the accepted ideas of the dominant church. No one denies that such a condition constitutes a union of church and state. Now, it is proposed that representative men from different denominations come together and agree on what they would term the basic principles of Christianity, such as the moral law and certain religious ordinances, present these to the government, and have them made into civil statutes.

It will be seen at once by the careful reader that if one of these plans is superior to the other, it must be the first. Perhaps a better way to state it would

be to say there is less evil in the former than in the latter. As long as the government accepts the ideas of only one church, the other denominations are left free to protest. On the other hand, if all the denominations which are pleased to call themselves evangelical or orthodox, should have their opinions enacted into law, it would tend only the more toward intolerance to all dissenters, and admit of less chance for reform.

Another vital objection to this is that it would form a religious trust. History teaches us that of all trusts, a religious trust is the worst. It not only enslaves the body, but it enslaves the mind. Persecution follows as surely as night follows day. Whenever a body of religionists stoops to ask the civil government to enact laws favoring its views, there is something dangerously carnal in the purpose. There is always an intent to compel those of contrary views to conform to the ideas of the majority.

This was well stated in a report adopted by the American Congress in 1829, as follows: "Extensive religious combinations to effect a political object are, in the opinion of the committee, always dangerous. All religious despotism commences by combination and influence; and when that influence begins to operate upon the political institutions of a country, the civil power soon bends under it; and the catastrophe of other nations furnishes an awful warning of the consequences." Again: "It is not the legitimate province of the legislature to determine what religion is true or what false." These are the ideas that predominated in the minds of the framers of the government.

It was not, as often charged, antagonism to Christianity that prevented a recognition of the Christian religion by the Constitution. There were people then, as now, who clamored to have "God in the Constitution." But every

denomination that had suffered from religious persecution was opposed to taking any steps that would be the initiative to the renewal of such persecutions. Well has it been said by the great scholar and thinker, Philip Schaff, "Secular power has proved a satanic gift to the

God"—for the civil realm, not to dictate the religion of their citizens. "We ought to obey God rather than men." Again, Dr. Schaff says: "The church has nothing to do with the state except to obey its laws and strengthen its moral foundations. The state has nothing to do with the church except to protect her in her property and liberty; and the state must be equally just to all forms of belief and unbelief which do not endanger the public safety." This is the ideal. It can be realized only where there is a peaceful separation between religion and the state. This condition is best exemplified in—

The Government of the United States

It was left for America to abolish the tyranny of a state religion. This government secured for its citizens the most sacred of all rights and liberties, the right of free worship. Religious freedom of all is America's gift to the philosophy of government. It furnishes the first example of a nation deliberately depriving itself of all control of religion. Time has proved the wisdom of this plan. The historian Bancroft, speaking of this in his history of the reformation of the Constitution, says:—

"Vindicating the right of individuality even in religion, and in religion above all, the

new nation dared to set the example of accepting in its relations to God the principle first divinely ordained in Judea. It left the management of temporal things to the temporal power; but the American Constitution, in harmony with the people of the several States, withheld from the federal government the power to invade the home of reason, the citadel of conscience, the sanctuary of the soul; and not from indifference, but that the infinite spirit of eternal truth



VICTOR EMMANUEL III, A CHAMPION OF RELIGIOUS LIBERTY AND TOTAL SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE IN ITALY

church, and ecclesiastical power has proved an engine of tyranny in the hands of the state." It is not profitable either to religion or to the state for the two to be united. Each has its specific sphere, and its work to do. Christ, the author of Christianity, said, "My kingdom is not of this world." He rebuked Peter for drawing the sword even in defense of his Master.

Civil governments are necessary. "The powers that be are ordained of

might move in its freedom and purity and power."—*History of the United States, Vol. II, page 326.*

May the citizens of this great republic

ever be zealous to maintain and foster these true principles of civil and religious liberty, and grant "equal and exact justice to all."

True and False Theocracy

T. F. HUBBARD

THE term theocracy is applied to that form of government among men which suggests God as the ruler. Many forms of government, such as imperial, monarchical, and republican, are controlled by men, and the laws of such governments are the result of human legislation.

Sin having entered our world, these governments were ordained by God to control those who would not, and those who could not, control themselves.

A theocracy is a government independent of human legislation, only as human beings act as intermediaries be-

tween God and man, as did Moses. It is a government where God is king and speaks directly to the leaders of his people.

A theocratic government can deal with both religious and civil measures, because God is the direct ruler and knows what is best for men, and because of this, not one law can be enacted that will result in hardship or persecution.

But civil government is controlled by sinful men, subject to frailties and human prejudice and bigotry; and because of this, God has ordained that civil government shall deal only with civil measures, and the right to deal with the re-

ligious convictions or consciences of men he has reserved to himself.

Civil governments have no right to deal with religious issues, and if they do assume the right, they at once become a false theocracy.

The only heaven-born right any civil government has in connection with religion is to protect its citizens in their worship, whether all agree upon one creed or are divided into many creeds, so long as such creeds keep within the bounds of civility.

A civil government has the power to deal with crime, but never has it the right to deal with

sin. If the civil government could legislate on religious questions and enforce laws governing the consciences of men, it would virtually transform itself into a religious tribunal, and its voice would be considered the voice of God; hence all not subscribing to such laws would be branded as heretics and disloyal citizens. This would be a legislative body taking the judgment-seat of the Deity and constituting a false theocracy.

Civil government determines the penalty of the criminal by the civil laws that are incorporated in the statute-books of its state. A theocratic government determines the character of the sin by the

President Wilson on Liberty

America is a name which sounds in the ears of men everywhere as a synonym with individual opportunity because a synonym of individual liberty. I would rather belong to a poor nation that was free than to a rich nation that had ceased to be in love with liberty. But we shall not be poor if we love liberty, because the nation that loves liberty truly sets every man free to do his best and be his best, and that means the release of all the splendid energies of a great people who think for themselves.—*Extract from the address of President Wilson at the fifth annual convention of the Southern Commercial Congress at Mobile, Ala., on the 27th of October, Congressional Record, Nov. 3, 1913, page 6550.*

great moral law, written with the finger of God upon tables of stone, and retained upon the statute-books of heaven.

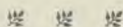
By breaking the civil law, man becomes a criminal, and may or may not at the same time become a sinner. For example, Daniel became a criminal by being condemned under the law of the Medes and Persians in the reign of Darius, for asking a petition of the God of heaven, which was considered a crime by civil law, but not a sin by God's law in the sight of heaven.

By breaking the law of God, which law governs a true theocratic government, any man becomes a sinner, and the guilty must pay the penalty sooner or later; for God, who is the legislator, takes cognizance of every act and is the executive officer to punish the transgressor.

Civil law punishes crime, divine law punishes sin. When, therefore, any civil government assumes the right to dictate

in matters of religion, prescribing dogmas to all, and proscribing those who do not conscientiously agree with church-and-state religion, it assumes the prerogative which belongs to God alone, and becomes a false theocracy.

If at any time a nation should frame a law which carried with it a religious tenet, and impose a penalty upon those who failed to regard said law, it would be nothing short of a law to "command under sin;" therefore the government in which such law would be in vogue would be defining sin and punishing for sin, which is the prerogative of God alone. This is true whether the law enforces one religious tenet or another, whether baptism, feet washing, belief in the infallibility of the Pope, or Sunday observance, which tenets, although incorporated for a guise into a civil law, are none the less purely religious, and place the power enacting them in the position of a false theocracy.



The Merits of the American Constitution

WM. MAYHEW HEALEY

THE constitution of a government should contain the basic principles and general rules upon which the government is founded, and which are to govern all its legislative acts.

The Constitution of the United States of America is of this character, and is sometimes called a "rigid Constitution," it being fully written out, and unchangeable except as provided for in the Constitution itself, which is by a three-fourths vote of the legislature of each State taken separately.

This is in marked contrast with the constitution of Great Britain and of many other monarchical governments. The constitution of England is not a clearly written instrument that distinctly defines what may and what may not be done by the governing power. It leaves all to the will of the king and Parliament. The principles of the government are

largely understood from precedents and customs, so that when the constitutionality of a matter is called in question in the House of Commons, they appoint a committee to "search its journals for precedents," that they may be guided in their doing by what others have done.

If constitutional questions arise in the United States, we can refer to our written Constitution, which our highest legislative body, Congress, cannot change nor alter. On the contrary, Congress itself is bound and governed by the Constitution.

In England, although custom and precedent are found opposed to any proposed measure, it could still be enacted into law, as the British king and Parliament constitute the sovereign power of the English government, and not only make and change the statutory laws, but the constitution also. For this reason the

people have no well-defined principles of government upon which they can depend as staid and "rigid," their constitution being mobile, adaptive, and constantly changing according to the enactment of the governing power. The rights and liberties possessed by the people yesterday may be changed or taken away today. Everything with them depends upon a good king and a good Parliament.

In the United States, if a bad or unwise president and Congress are elected, which may result in much foolish and unprofitable or even injurious legislation, nevertheless the liberties and general rights of the people are protected by the Constitution, which places them beyond the power of president or Congress.

So complete is the Constitution of the United States that, although written one hundred and twenty-four years ago, there has been found no reason why any portion of it should be repealed, and only fifteen amendments have been made to it. Ten of the fifteen amendments were added within three years after the Constitution was written, and within one year after its adoption by all of the thirteen States, the other five amendments being made in almost a century and a quarter.

Of the fifteen amendments, at least thirteen especially define and guard the liberties of the individual citizen.

The first clause of the First Amendment to the Constitution reads: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." Under this amendment the fullest liberty is allowed in matters of religion.

If Congress should pass a law that every citizen should be baptized by being immersed in water, it is hardly conceivable that any one would deny that Congress had entered the realm of religion, and that the act was unconstitutional, although no other theological question was considered; and even if it should be claimed by the advocates of the measure that a bath is good for the health,

an absolute necessity, no one would be deceived into thinking that this law enforcing baptism was a purely sanitary law, and not religious.

A law enforcing the observance of Sunday as a day of rest is as purely religious as one for baptism. Although some might get real physical good out of it, the fact remains that it is a religious institution, and to enforce it by law would be unconstitutional.

The Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution reads, in Section 1: "No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States." Thus every State is forbidden by the Constitution of the United States to pass any laws establishing any religion or interfering with its free exercise. *This amendment virtually says that while Congress cannot make laws respecting religion (being forbidden to do so by the First Amendment), no State shall be allowed to do it.*

San Diego, Cal.

Important Petition

In this issue, on pages 45 and 46, will be found an important petition blank urging upon Congress the passage of a bill that will open the way for such an amendment to the national Constitution as will prohibit the manufacture, sale, and importation for sale of all intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes. We know that the majority of our readers are strongly in favor of temperance, and we know further that the cause of temperance is one of the greatest human-welfare causes that has ever commanded the attention of humanity. Let our readers begin at once to circulate this petition. It is a plea for the release of physical humanity from the slave chains of the liquor demon. Let the petition be circulated widely and industriously, and let the names roll in to your congressmen by the tens of thousands to add their influence to the rising tide of national temperance.

Is This a Christian Nation?

W. F. MARTIN

If by Christian nation is meant that the religion which is accepted by a majority of citizens who profess any religion, is the Christian religion, then it may be said that the United States is a Christian nation. If, on the other hand, the term is taken to indicate that the Christian religion is the religion of the national government, and is to be accepted as a legalized faith, the United States is not a Christian nation. This is both logically and historically true.

It is true that in the early history of our land, there was a time when in different parts of the country the Christian religion was recognized by law, and the accepted ideas of the dominant religious sect were enacted into civil statutes. Even this did not in the true sense make those local governments Christian. Far from it! On the contrary, some of the most unchristian acts in all our history were done by these so-called Christian governments. The worst of it is these acts were done in the name of Christianity.

Whenever now it is argued that this is a Christian nation, it is done by some one who is desirous of a governmental recognition of Christianity, and through that recognition of securing from the government certain favors for the Christian church. Again nearly always, if not always, it is to secure certain favors for some dominant sect of Christians. Not only is there a desire for recognition, but a purpose to have the Christian religion enforced upon the citizens of the government irrespective of their wishes in the matter. In proof of this, note the following from one of the most noted ministers of our country:—

“The law of ten commandments as given to Moses by God at Mt. Sinai is the fundamental element which governs and protects this nation in its exercise of religion. *This is a Christian nation.* These ten commandments should be in-

terwoven in the federal Constitution without the tiniest variation and without a single amendment, and *they should be enforced.*”

These words well illustrate the intention in the minds of those claiming this to be a Christian nation. It is true that a supreme judge in rendering a decision said in his *obiter dicta* that this is a Christian nation. This has been seized upon and adduced as final evidence. It must be borne in mind, however, that in matters of faith, decisions by a court do not settle controverted religious questions. On the other hand, let us examine some of the basic principles on which our government was founded, the prevailing sentiment in the minds of the framers of the national system:—

“Vindicating the right of individuality even in religion, and in religion above all, the new nation dared to set the example of accepting in its relations to God the principle first divinely ordained in Judea. It left the management of temporal things to the temporal power; but the American Constitution, in harmony with the people of the several States, withheld from the federal government the power to invade the home of reason, the citadel of conscience, the sanctuary of the soul; and, not from indifference, but that the infinite spirit of eternal truth might move in its freedom and purity and power.”—*Bancroft.*

These ideas were well exemplified in the Constitution, that splendid document, the Magna Charta of American liberty. Pertinent to this, note the following penned by the noted writer, Philip Schaff:—

“North America was predestined from the very beginning for the largest religious and civil freedom, however imperfectly it was understood by the first settlers. It offered a hospitable home to emigrants of all nations and creeds. The great statesmen of the Philadelphia con-

vention recognized this providential destiny, and adapted the Constitution to it. They could not do otherwise. To assume the control of religion in any shape, except by way of protection, would have been an act of usurpation, and been stoutly resisted by all the States."

Even before the calling of the Constitutional convention the idea of the equality of all religions before the law had taken root in the State of Virginia, that land whence came so many men of wide learning and broad intellect. In 1785, through the influence of Mr. Jefferson, a bill entitled "An act for establishing religious freedom" was passed. As a preamble to this, the following was offered:—

"Well aware that Almighty God hath created the mind free; that all attempts to influence it by temporal punishment or burdens, or by civil incapacitations, tend only to beget habits of hypocrisy and meanness, and are a departure from the plan of the holy Author of our religion, who, being Lord both of body and mind, yet chose not to propagate it by coercions on either, as was in his almighty power to do."

In Jefferson's autobiography we find the following interesting statement regarding this preamble:—

"The bill for establishing religious freedom, the principles of which had, to a certain degree, been enacted before, I had drawn in all the latitude of reason and right. It still met with opposition; but, with some mutilations in the preamble, it was finally passed; and a singular proposition proved that its protection of opinion was meant to be universal. Where the preamble declares that coercion is a departure from the plan of the holy Author of our religion, an amendment was proposed, by inserting the word 'Jesus Christ,' so that it should read, 'a departure from the plan of Jesus Christ, the holy Author of our religion;' the insertion was rejected by a great ma-

majority, in proof that they meant to comprehend within the mantle of its protection the Jew and the Gentile, the Christian and the Mohammedan, the Hindu, and infidel of every demonination."

This all goes to show that it was not the intention of the framers of the government to establish a Christian nation, nor to give any one religion a preference over others, but to form a government where all who conduct themselves as good citizens stand on an equality before the law. No man because of his religious profession was to be given an advantage over other equally good citizens. It will be of interest at this juncture to note a comment by Jefferson, made regarding the First Amendment to the Constitution:—

"Believing with you that religion is a matter which lies solely between man and his God, that he owes account to none other for his faith or his worship, that the legislative powers of government reach actions only, and not opinions, I contemplate with sovereign reverence that act of the whole American people which declared that their legislature should 'make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof,' thus building a wall of separation between church and state."

Let us now place with these the wording of a treaty made with Tripoli. In it we find the following: "As the government of the United States is not in any sense founded on the Christian religion." This treaty was signed by President Washington, who we all know was a Christian and had a high regard for the Christian religion. It simply means that the government was founded in justice and on the rights and duties of man to man. It is a political and not a religious institution, a civil and not a Christian nation. A union between religion and the state is injurious to both.

College Place, Wash.

Religion the Basis of Sunday Laws

S. B. HORTON

IN their zeal to justify and enforce Sunday observance by civil enactment, it is asserted by some that religion is not the basis of Sunday laws, that the interests of the church are not subserved thereby, and that Sunday-rest statutes relate to the body politic in a civil way only. This position is aptly set forth in an article appearing in a New York

rest to choose their own day. . . . The proposed measure certainly is constitutional, American, and just. The discussion on a measure of this kind must proceed along the lines of expediency."

The author of the article seems not to realize that the position revealed by his observations admits the point at issue; namely, that religion is involved in Sunday laws. For instance, "it simply sets aside Sunday as a day of rest, at the same time permitting those whose consciences dictate to them to observe another day of rest to choose their own day."

Conscience is recognized the world over to be God's monitor to each individual, telling him the right and wrong of things. Conscience, therefore, relates itself to the



THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES IN SESSION

magazine which stands for separation of church and state, on the subject of a District Sunday-rest bill now pending in Congress. In this article it is stated:—

"A magazine, LIBERTY, calls this bill 'unconstitutional, un-American, unjust, and unnecessary.' Why?—They claim that it conflicts with the principles of the separation of church and state, and that therefore every lover of liberty should oppose this bill. We do not agree. If the bill demanded that Sunday be observed as a day of worship, and if the bill denied the right or the protection to any worship on another day than Sunday, then we would agree. As it is, the bill does neither. It simply sets aside Sunday as a day of rest, at the same time permitting those whose consciences dictate to them to observe another day of

Creator, leading the individual to obey him at whatever cost. It was conscientious duty to God in the face of contrary civil laws which gave to civilization and Christianity the lives of the martyrs. Let us examine the subject of rest-day observance from the standpoint of conscientious regard for the fourth commandment. It must be apparent to all that the highest evidence of worship is obedience. The fourth commandment of the decalogue grants to every man, woman, and child the inalienable right to work six days, and requires rest on the seventh day of the week. Resting from work in this particular is as truly an act of worship as is going to church services. And, inasmuch as the Sabbath command reveals its author to be the Creator, who requires certain things upon that day, its

observance must be rendered to him and to no one else. Rest-day observance does not belong to the state. The only relation the state can rightfully sustain to rest-day observance is to protect each individual in the right granted to him in the matter.

But a very great wrong is done by the state in enforcing Sunday observance. The conscientious Christian, in obedience to the fourth commandment, observes the seventh day as the rest day; but the state confronts him with another rest day, saying in substance: "It is true you have kept the day you conscientiously regard as the true rest day, but you 'must proceed along the lines of expediency,' because others—the majority—observe another day, and you will have to observe the rest day of the majority, no matter what your pecuniary loss may be, no matter what the fourth commandment says, no matter how you may view the situation from the standpoint of your conscience." If this is not unjust, un-American, unconstitutional, then it is hard to find a case of that nature.

If religion is not the basis of Sunday laws, why do the following statements form so large a part of the literature now being distributed in behalf of more stringent laws on the subject of Sunday or rest-day observance?—

"The first legislation within the territory now occupied by the United States was by the assembly of Virginia in 1619. It contained a provision with respect to the proper observance of the Sabbath. . . .

"At the time of the outbreak of the Revolutionary war, the law known as the 29th, Charles II, Chapter VII, enacted in 1676, was the Sabbath law in force in all the American colonies. In legal circles it is regarded as the immediate historical antecedent of all our present Sabbath legislation. . . . In more recent years there has been a marked and growing tendency to depart from the strictness of Sabbath legislation. In some States there has developed a pronounced

antagonism to all laws protecting the first day of the week except such as would make it a mere holiday."—"*Sabbath Laws in the United States*," by R. C. Wylie, pages 1-3.

To protect the first day of the week from being made a "mere holiday" is the object of all Sunday legislation. Again:—

"During nearly all our American history the churches have influenced the States to make and improve Sabbath laws."—*Rev. W. F. Crafts, in Christian Statesman, July 3, 1890.*

"Give us good Sunday laws, well enforced by men in local authority, and our churches will be full of worshippers."—*Rev. S. V. Leech, in Homiletic Review for November, 1892.*

"A weekly day of rest has never been permanently secured in any land except on the basis of religious obligation. Take the religion out and you take the rest out."—*Rev. W. F. Crafts, in "Hearing on Sunday-Rest Bill," Dec. 13, 1888.*

And, if Sunday is regarded by the state only as a *dies non*, as in the cases of July 4, election day, Labor day, etc., then why prohibit on that day the things permitted on other such days? The answer is patent upon its face: Because Sunday observance cannot be disconnected from religion, a realm into which the Christian church in its early history unwisely placed Sunday, to the discredit of the Sabbath of Jehovah.

We submit, therefore, that any legislation the effect of which would be to thwart the conscientious desire of a Christian to work six days of the week and rest upon the seventh day, is a manifest interference with an inalienable right vouchsafed by the Almighty. Stated in another way, By enforcing Sunday observance by civil law the state in effect compels the Bible Sabbatarian to observe two days, one by so-called permission, the other by compulsion.

Washington, D. C.

The Influence of the Gospel Upon Social and Political Life

C. P. BOLLMAN

JESUS CHRIST was not a political agitator, nor a social reformer, but a spiritual teacher; and yet his doctrine has largely revolutionized political systems, and greatly modified the social customs of the world.

His mission was not the regeneration

Politically, the ancient world knew only despotism. The first civil government was that of Nimrod; and his kingdom was established, not upon principles of justice, but upon force. He was a "mighty hunter," not only of wild beasts, but of human beings; and men bowed to



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THE GREATEST PERSONAL PETITION EVER PRESENTED TO THE CONGRESS OF THE MOST IMPORTANT MATTERS EVER BROUGHT TO

of states, but of individuals; and yet, wherever his gospel is preached, human society is leavened by its pure principles, and to the whole social fabric there comes a mighty moral uplift. This is so because the truths of the gospel are fundamental, its principles the very embodiment of justice.

his government, not because its principles appealed to their better nature, but because they must choose between submission and death.

The kingdoms that followed the original Babylon were similar in character to Nimrod's government. Each was despotic, and instead of this feature being

modified by the flight of years, it was intensified, until we find Rome described in both sacred and profane history as an iron kingdom. The Roman republic was not in real truth a government of the people, for the people, and by the people, but an oligarchy. There was no king, but imperial principles ruled, and there is little choice between the despotism of a single individual or a coterie, and the despotism of a class.

The lower order of the people were only cattle, of which the patricians were the overlords or owners. Might made right, and the height of human ambition was to acquire wealth and to enjoy luxury without honest labor.

It is true that when Christ was born, the temple of Janus was closed. The world was at peace. It was not, however, the real peace that comes as the result of an equitable administration of justice,



D STATES. THIS HUMAN PETITION IS ASKING FOR LEGISLATION UPON ONE OF THE ATTENTION OF LEGISLATORS. (See pages 41-46.)

When Christ appeared, it was the mid-night of the world. The individual, even though he belonged to the upper class, had no inherent rights, recognized as such, but only privileges. The state was supreme, and granted or withheld "rights" at will, while the individual existed only for the service of the state.

but a peace secured by ruthlessly crushing with an iron hand all opposition, and irresistibly bearing down every agency that had any tendency to change the established order.

But with the coming of Christ a new impulse seemed to stir the world. At his birth the angels sang, "On earth peace,

good will toward men;" and the fundamental principle of his kingdom was the absolute sovereignty of the divine Being only, and the perfect equality of men, embodied in these words: "For one is your Master, even Christ; and all ye are brethren."

There was at this time, in Rome, human slavery. But neither Christ nor his apostles sought to release slaves from the service of their masters, nor indeed to change any social custom in any particular, except as individuals were led to change their manner of living, to forsake the ways of sin, and to follow the paths of righteousness. And yet, in teaching the equality of all men, that all are brethren, Christ did in effect strike the shackles from the wrists of every bondman whose master became a follower of the lowly Nazarene. Outwardly the relation of master and slave might be maintained, and service might still be given and received, but in very truth the gospel established social equality as between master and servant. The slave, equally with the master, became the Lord's freeman, while the master, equally with his slave, became Christ's bond-servant.

Then, too, the promulgation of the doctrine that God is supreme and that every man is answerable directly to him, was in effect to teach that all despotism was unlawful, that just human government must be by the consent of the governed.

It follows, as logically as it is possible for one thing to follow another, that the man who is answerable directly to God must be left free by his fellows to render to God that obedience which his conscience dictates. This principle is embodied by our Saviour in the familiar words, "Render therefore unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's; and unto God the things that are God's."

Christ was not an anarchist. He did not seek to destroy the established order, nor even to supersede civil government or society in general by his spiritual kingdom; but he did draw a clear line between the civil and the spiritual.

At the time those words were uttered, "Render therefore unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's," the Jews were living under the Roman government. They were receiving protection from Rome against the aggressions of other nations. They themselves had appealed to Rome for protection, and had formed an alliance, offensive and defensive, with Rome. Their money bore the image and superscription of the Roman emperor. It was only right that they should render something to Rome for that which they received from Rome; hence the Saviour's words, "Render therefore unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's."

But loyalty to Cæsar must not mean disloyalty to God. Before Rome was, God existed. His government and its principles were fundamental. Rome could neither add to nor take from the obligations resting upon all men to obey God; and in rendering to Cæsar the things that were Cæsar's, they must remember the supreme obligation to render to God that which belonged to God.

And this same principle has leavened the world. It is true to a great extent that rulers have been unconscious of the fact that they were influenced by the gospel, yet nevertheless they have changed their methods and modified their claims, until today there is scarcely an unlimited monarchy in the world, and the principles of political liberty, which have their root in the gospel, are more or less fully recognized everywhere.

It is true that these principles are but imperfectly understood even now; and the selfishness of men and the false philosophy of pseudoreformers have prevented the full establishment of civil and religious liberty; but whatever the world enjoys today of freedom, in either civil or religious things, is the direct result of the spiritual truths taught by him whose mission it was "to preach good tidings unto the meek; . . . to bind up the broken-hearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound."

Nashville, Tenn.

EDITORIAL

MERCY and justice accompany liberty.

A TRUE American is one who wants all men to enjoy what he enjoys.

RELIGION and Christianity flourished most when they met and overcame opposition without the aid of the civil powers.

A RELIGION that cannot survive honest criticism and defend itself without appeal to carnal weapons is a false religion.

CIVIL and religious liberty can thrive and survive only when all citizens are granted equal privileges before the law.

FREE speech is possible only when, without recrimination, one allows the other person to say what he wants to say.

THE individual who does not believe in equal liberty for his neighbor does not understand the meaning of religious liberty.

GOD never intended that any man, or set of men, should enjoy special privileges above others; for "God is no respecter of persons."

If Sunday laws do not entail persecution, why are Sabbatarians arrested by the civil magistrate, indicted by the grand jury, and put under bond to stand court trial for working on Sunday after they have conscientiously rested on the seventh day, as has recently been done in the State of Tennessee?

THE purpose on the part of the clergy to have Sunday laws enacted and strictly enforced would seem to spring more from a desire to fill the pews than to fill the people.

A PERSON who persecutes another is bound by chains of darkness himself, and the axiom, "Whoever is wrong, the persecutor cannot be right," should be taught to every child that has come to the age of accountability.

DOES the American citizen enjoy the rights of conscience when he is arrested and fined for doing legitimate work on six days of each week, after resting the seventh day as God has commanded him? Must he surrender the free exercise of his conscience to the absolute control of another, and pay a penalty because he happens to differ from his neighbor as to which is the proper day to observe? Yet this is what every American citizen in the State of Tennessee is asked to do, if he happens to be a Sabbatarian instead of a Sunday-keeper.

ONE reason why the state should not legislate upon religious matters is that the state rules by force and by the decision of majorities, but in religious matters the only power that should be brought to bear upon the individual is the force of conviction, and the choice of the minority is just as sacred as that of the majority. If the majority has the right to settle religious questions and force the minority to submit, then Mohammedanism, which exceeds Christianity by a majority of two hundred million adherents, would be justified in compelling all Christians to keep Friday as the

Sabbath, instead of Sunday. Let the Sunday-law advocate ponder over this question when he wants to compel a Sabatarian to observe Sunday.

ABOUT one year ago, at the meeting of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America held in Chicago, it was decided to establish in Washington a bureau for the purpose of conserving the interests and furthering the projects of the Federal Council. There has now been chosen as the head of this bureau Dr. H. K. Carroll, the former special agent of the government Census Bureau. Dr. Carroll's name has become more familiar perhaps through his work as a church statistician. The press notices of his appointment to this position stated that the

new office would be opened the first of the year, and that Dr. Carroll will sustain the same relation to Protestant interests at the national Capitol that Dr. Ketcham, of the Roman Catholic Church, sustains to Catholic interests. Dr. Ketcham's efforts have been directed toward the promotion of legislation favorable to Catholic purposes and the prevention of legislation that might be considered inimical to such purposes. It will doubtless develop that where the interests of the two organizations are similar or identical, the two bureaus will be found working in harmony. This is a development that has long been foreseen, and the creation of this new bureau is another step toward the long-predicted dominance of religious leaders in the civil affairs of the nation. History is repeating itself.

The Tennessee Sunday-Law Case

THE trial of J. S. Rooker, a member of the Seventh-day Adventist Church, who was indicted by the grand jury of Humphreys County, Tennessee, for hoeing corn in his own field on Sunday, took place in the courthouse at Waverly, Tenn., on December 16. Hon. Cyrus Simmons was the attorney for the defendant, and Attorney-General Bowman prosecuted the case for the State of Tennessee. The trial lasted for three hours, and the jurymen deliberated for another hour before they could come to any agreement. The first ballot was eight to four in favor of acquitting the defendant, but they finally brought in a verdict of guilty, and the court fined the defendant, one dollar and costs.

The following interesting facts were developed during the trial:—

1. All the prosecuting witnesses admitted that they had occasionally worked on Sunday.

2. Many of the defendant's neighbors

worked regularly on Sundays and were never prosecuted.

3. The national and State constitutions are subordinate to the judicial decision of the State supreme court.

4. The plea for the rights of conscience and religious convictions, as set forth in the bill of rights, is of no avail in the face of a judicial decision which requires all people to observe Sunday.

5. It is no defense that the accused conscientiously believes in observing and actually observes the seventh day of the week in preference to the first day, but he must also observe the first day.

6. The accused had worked part of four Sundays during the past year in his cornfield, which is three miles from a public road and out of sight of any public building, and none of the prosecuting witnesses saw him work, only meeting him going to and coming from his field; yet he was convicted on the ground that the work done was a public nuisance.

Attorney-General Bowman's Speech to Jury

Please, Your Honor, for Mr. Rooker and his religious belief I have the utmost respect, and I have no word of criticism to make either of Mr. Rooker or of the faith which he follows. I am charged with a duty as attorney-general of enforcing the law or aiding in its enforcement, and you, gentlemen of the jury, have likewise taken oath of office to enforce the law. And it isn't what my friend Rooker may believe with reference to the observance of the Sabbath, it isn't what I may believe, it isn't what the members of this jury believe; if the law has fixed a day to be observed by the people of the land, then it is obligatory on the people.

You are going to follow the law of Tennessee in this case, if you know it. You took oath to follow it. What does the law say? The laws and ordinances have been uniformly upheld by this court. It

is necessary and proper that the Sabbath should be uniformly observed by the whole community at the same time. Our law has fixed upon the Christian sabbath, or Sunday, as a day upon which the common avocations of life should be suspended.

You heard it fall from his own lips that he keeps sacred that day that he believes should be observed, and he does not work upon that day at all. He does not work in the corn rows nor hoe corn on that day. The law says you can observe that day if you want to. He told you when the laws were in conflict with God's laws that he violated man's laws, and in this particular he did it in that he labored on that day.

He attracts attention down there. Mr. Hobbs says, "I went out to him as he passed." And upon one occasion he said, "You ought not to do this, you are violating the Sabbath." He said, "I am go-

ing to observe God's laws." I don't blame him for that; but when the laws of the land say he should observe Sunday, then if he is a good citizen, notwithstanding what he believes to be divine law, he is going to obey those laws, too.

It ought not to take you two minutes and a half to reach your verdict. He worked on the Sabbath, attracted the attention of Mr. Hobbs, who remonstrated with him on one occasion. His son saw him, and said he made a practise of working on Sunday and keeping Saturday as the Sabbath. If the law says it is violation of law, then to you as jurors there is but one thing left, and that is to

bring in a verdict of guilty.

Attorney for the Defendant, Mr. Simmons

Your Honorable Court and Gentlemen of the Jury: We have a question here that involves a principle, and it is a principle upon which the government of the United States is

founded and the government of the State of Tennessee. It is a principle that gives religious liberty to you and to me. It is a principle that allows every man to worship his God according to his conscience. Now there was a time when a man's conscience was restricted. There was a time when he could offer up prayer only according to certain rules; but the men who were behind the Constitution of the United States—the fathers of our country—are the ones who proclaimed that this country should be an asylum for the oppressed; and the ones who wrote the declaration of rights that is incorporated in the Constitution of the State of Tennessee, also recognized that right. The question here, gentlemen, is not whether Sunday laws shall stand or fall; it is not in opposition to the integrity of the Sunday law, whatever it may be, but the question to be decided is the liberty and the conscience of a man. Whenever



J. S. ROOKER AND FAMILY, OF HUSTBURG, TENN.

there is a case that comes before the court which involves a man's conscience, then, gentlemen of the jury, the Sunday law will fall of its own weight before the rights of a man's conscience.

Now I have a few extracts here from Cooley's "Constitutional Limitations," page 476, that I wish to read to this jury:—

"The Jew who is forced to respect the first day of the week when his conscience requires of him the observance of the seventh also, may plausibly urge that the law discriminates against his religion, and by forcing him to keep a second sabbath in each week, unjustly, though by indirection, punishes him for his unbelief."

Now, that is the case here. That's the result of all this. I do not believe, gentlemen, that it was in the mind of the makers of the Sunday law to take up a good, law-abiding citizen of your State and to punish him because his religion permits him to work on Sunday.

"The legislators have not been left at liberty to effect a union of church and state, or to establish preferences by law in favor of any religion or mode of worship. There is not complete religious liberty where any one sect is favored by the state and given advantage by law over other sects.

"Whatever establishes a distinction against one class or sect is, to the extent to which the distinction operates unfavorably, a persecution; and if based on religious grounds, a religious persecution. The extent of the discrimination is not material to the principle; it is enough that it creates an inequality of right or privilege."—Cooley's "Constitutional Limitations," chap. 13, pars. 1-9.

Now, it is the ruling of the court, of the supreme court of this State, and no doubt His Honor will so charge you, that Sunday laws do not undertake to regulate a man's religion. That was not the object of the enactment of the Sunday law. It was just simply a civil regulation; and Cooley, one of the greatest constitutional authorities in the land, argues that the enforcement of a Sunday law, if there is no religion in it, if there is no religion attached to the law, is a civil persecution; but if there is religion attached to the interpretation of the law, then it becomes a religious persecution. Now how about the application of the Sunday law in this

State? If its enforcement violates the defendant's conscience, that enforcement is a religious persecution.

You are sworn here to do what is right between the State and the prisoner at the bar. Are you going to make him a criminal because he is living up to what he believes to be right? Suppose he does belong to a sect that seems to be peculiar; suppose he is wrong in his belief; suppose the sect or denomination to which he belongs is wrong, yet if you honestly believe that this man believes what he professes to believe, do you want to have him violate his conscience? If he believes the law of God permits him to work on Sunday and it is a matter of conscience with him, do you want him to violate his conscience? Suppose the man is right,—and sometimes peculiar people are right,—suppose the teaching of the fourth commandment in the law of heaven is binding, what is your position, gentlemen? It is Christ or Diana, it is Christ or Constantine; because history tells us that the first Sunday law was given by Constantine. Sunday gets its name from the heathen worship which set the day apart. It is known as the venerable day of the sun, and therefore it is called Sunday. Let me read you that from legal authorities which rank high in the estimation of the profession of law. "It originated in Rome in A. D. 321, when Constantine the Great passed an edict commanding all judges and inhabitants of cities to rest on the venerable day of the sun."—*Cyclopedia of Law and Procedure*, Vol. XXXVII, page 540.

"All Sunday legislation is the product of pagan Rome; the Saxon laws were the product of middle-age legislation of 'the Holy Roman Empire.' The English laws are the expansion of the Saxon, and the American are the transcript of the English. The first Sunday law, the edict of the emperor Constantine, was the product of that pagan conception developed by the Romans which made religion a part of the state. The day was to be venerated as a religious duty owed to the god of the sun."—*Pennsylvania Superior Court Reports*, Vol. XXV, page 134.

Now, gentlemen, I read you that, not to raise any controversy in your minds as

to which day of the week is the Sabbath, not at all; but I read you that to show that this defendant has some ground for what he believes. Now, gentlemen, there has been a challenge, and the law books so tell us that there is no warrant in the New Testament for keeping Sunday for the Sabbath. Therefore this defendant has some reason for his belief. Now the question is, Suppose that he is right, and that the fourth commandment is still a binding obligation, then what position do you sit in, gentlemen? It is to sit in judgment on the law of God. It is putting the law of God against the law of man. That is the position you occupy. What instruction have we when such a proposition comes before the rulers and juries of the land? There was a time, gentlemen, when the law of God was at stake; the law of God was in opposition to the law of the land. There was a time when a great king, Nebuchadnezzar, the king of Babylon, made up his mind that he was going to defy the law of God. He was the king, and he considered that he had the right to pass a law that the golden image that he ordered to be set up in Babylon should be worshiped at the sounding of the musical instruments. The law of the land said that every man that did not bow down and worship the image should be cast into the furnace. What did the law of God say? The law of God says, "Thou shalt have no other gods before me. Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image. . . . Thou shalt not bow down thyself to them, nor serve them." There were three Hebrew captives brought over from Jerusalem to Babylon. They had learned the law of God. They had learned what God said in the ten commandments; and when this edict came forth, they had to decide between their God and the king; and what did they say? They said, We shall have to obey God; and so the three Hebrew captives were reported to the king, and the king ordered them at once to be thrown into the fiery furnace which had been heated seven times hotter than it was wont to be heated. What did God do? He vindicated the course of those three captives, and delivered them.

There was another time, when Daniel was in the kingdom of the Medes and Persians; the Medes and Persians passed a law that for a certain period nobody

should offer prayer to anybody but the king, and you remember Daniel was a praying man. He prayed three times every day, and notwithstanding that law he said his prayers; and the king ordered him thrown into a den of lions; but God worked a miracle that he should be delivered.

How about the religion of Christ today? Suppose the apostles and fathers of our religion had listened to the law of Rome, would you have learned about the religion of Jesus today? It was a violation of the law to teach any new religion, and so the apostles were thrown into prison and whipped, and Paul had his head cut off, and Peter was crucified with his head downward. It was that kind of faith in God that has brought the Christian religion to you and to me today. Liberty of conscience is the bulwark upon which our State rests; and whenever there is a union of church and state in the administration of any law, it then is when a man's rights are invaded. I tell you, gentlemen, Sunday, the weekly rest day, Sabbath, the weekly rest day, are primarily church property. You cannot any more divorce religion from Sunday or from the seventh-day Sabbath than you can divorce a wife and yet maintain the marriage relation. That is absolutely the foundation of the whole thing. Whenever any law so regulates a day that it does violence to a man's conscience, then it is between that man and his God as to what he shall do.

Gentlemen, the history of the Dark Ages tells us how the law of God and the law of the land were in opposition. The bloody history of the Dark Ages tells us the results of the union of church and state. The Spanish Inquisition,—this was its history; and it tells us the result of the union of church and state. Gentlemen, it is for you to decide this case. It is for you to say, gentlemen, whether or not this man has violated this law in the spirit of the law. It is for you to say whether or not that law has been broken in spirit. Does he come here before you as a man defying the law of the land? Does he keep one day of the week?—He does. He keeps one day of the week, and then works on Sunday, the first day of the week. Do you think that law was purposely violated? It was the purpose of the legislators that

say to men, Go forth and plow, drag your corn rows, take your hoe and weed, and if perchance God Almighty should send his showers on Saturday night to loosen the clods, you can go out on Sunday morning and break them up. If this man is guilty and you acquit him, you can all go out and work on Sunday.

I am sure my friend is a good lawyer, but we are not going to say here that the Sunday law must and will fall before the rights of one's conscience. In other words, that if a man believes he is doing right, he can do as did Rooker, and work on Sunday. If this man can go out in his field and work all day on Sunday, haven't these merchants a right to go down and open their stores and sell?—Yes, they have.

I heard my friend say "persecution." I am too happy, too glad, that I am living to persecute anybody. That old word persecution was used way back yonder. That's got nothing to do with this case, because the law says if he does a certain thing it is a violation of the law, and I know what this jury is going to do.

Not so long as the law of Tennessee is observed and twelve honest jurors sit in the box will this man be permitted a right to work on your sabbath, and never will any man be permitted to overrule the law. So much for this case, gentlemen of the jury. Take it and do with it as you see fit.

I am glad that the lawmakers of Tennessee have seen fit to say that the first day of the week is the sabbath, and that it has been observed. I am glad that the good people in Humphreys County close their shops, their stores, their places of business; they drop the plow in the furrow, they turn old Beck loose in the pasture, and they go to church on that day and worship their Maker.

We say to you, You can observe your Saturday, too, if you will; but this day is holy, and is set apart to the people of the land, and shall be observed by everybody, and I thank God for that day, its blessings, and the sunshine that it brings to mankind.

The Court to the Jury

This indictment charges that the defendants, J. S. Rooker and Lyn Taylor, carried on the ordinary business of life

by working in the field openly so as to attract public attention.

The defendant enters a plea of not guilty, and the jurors are to determine whether or not the defendant is guilty as charged in the indictment. The law states that the carrying on of one's ordinary business, if carried on so openly as to corrupt public morals, is a misdemeanor. The Sunday law says that if the accused conscientiously believe in observing and observe Saturday rather than the first day as the Sabbath, they, as citizens of Tennessee, are bound by the law, and yet are not precluded from observing their own sabbath. The question to be determined is whether or not the defendant carried on his ordinary business of a farmer on Sunday, and did it openly so as to attract public attention and thereby create a nuisance, corrupting public morals.

If the jurors believe that the defendant did in Humphreys County, Tennessee, openly and publicly carry on his ordinary work of a farmer by working in his field, . . . your report will be "Guilty," without more. But if you are in a reasonable doubt as to whether the defendant did carry on his ordinary work on Sunday, but believe it was an act of necessity to save his crop or property from injury or destruction, you will acquit, and your report will be "Not guilty." As to Lyn Taylor, your verdict will be "Not guilty," because there is no proof that he ordinarily worked on Sunday. But the case of Mr. Rooker is a question of fact to be determined by the jury upon the law and facts of the case.

The Verdict of the Jury

Foreman of jury: The defendant is found guilty.

Court: Are all the jurors agreed to this verdict?

Jurors: Yes.

Mr. Simmons: Your Honor, I had a talk with the defendant, and he has decided not to appeal to a higher court for a new trial, and he awaits your sentence.

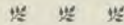
Court: My sentence is one dollar fine.

Mr. Simmons: I thank Your Honor for your leniency in making the penalty so mild on behalf of the defendant.

Court: I wish to state the reason why I was so lenient with the defendant. I

am conscious of the fact in the evidence of the case that the defendant did not wilfully violate the law out of malice, nor did he do the work with the intent of being a public nuisance. It is my sworn

duty to uphold the law, and the minimum fine which I have imposed is a mere technicality of law, because I consider that the defendant has only technically violated the Sunday law. C. S. L.



More Persecution in Tennessee

Their Only Offense the Law of Their God

IN some particulars this world moves, and in others it seems to stand still. We are far ahead of Nebuchadnezzar's time and the time of Darius in wireless telegraphy and general education, but in some other things this generation stands about where the majority of their people stood.

It was said by certain of the people of those ancient days that they would not be able to find any fault with Daniel unless it was regarding the law of his God. So they arranged without delay for the passage of a law that would make it a crime for him to call on the name of God for thirty days. His religion was different from theirs. They disliked his religion, and they disliked him because of his religion. But God taught those prejudiced persecutors what he thought of their course by the way he sustained Daniel in his brave disregard of the unjust law. They could thrust Daniel into the den of lions, but the God whom Daniel served could lock the jaws of the lions when Daniel was with them, and unlock those jaws when Daniel's persecutors took his place in the den. God knows how to judge righteous judgment. He has never sanctioned persecution for cause of conscience. When men have oppressed other men on account of religious prejudices, God has invariably been on the side of the oppressed and against the oppressors. It is as true as the gospel itself that "whoever is wrong, the persecutor cannot be right."

God honored the three Hebrew worthies who would not break Jehovah's law to bow down to a heathen idol, and the

Son of God went through the fire with them and brought them out unharmed.

While the bigoted Pharisees were stoning Stephen, God was giving him a revelation of the saints' reward and the glories that await the overcomer.

While Saul was "breathing out threatenings and slaughter" against the early Christians, God smote him with a javelin of light, and then sent one of the despised Christians to minister to his spiritual and physical needs. And God let him know, and lets us know through him, that he who persecutes a child of God, a follower of Christ, is persecuting Jesus Christ himself. "Why persecutest thou me?" is the question that God himself is asking of every man who troubles another because of his religion.

In the year 1885 a movement was started in Tennessee for the systematic and persistent persecution of a class of citizens against whom no fault could be found except that after having rested on one day of the week according to the law of Jehovah, they exercised that other God-given privilege of performing honest industrial labor on their own premises on the other six days of the week. Neither accusers nor witnesses complained that the work done was noisy, or disturbed them in their worship, or interfered with them in any way.

In the year mentioned, Mr. W. H. Parker, of Springville, Tenn., was arrested for doing quiet, inoffensive work on his own farm on Sunday; and although the statute pronounces a fine of only three dollars for such an "offense,"

yet Mr. Parker's work was held to be an indictable offense; and, though a poor man with a family to support, he was required to spend 280 days in prison. While there, he contracted malarial fever, and died in 1890.

William Dortch and James Stem were arrested at the same time that Mr. Parker was arrested, and for the same offense. As a result of the trial, both these men were compelled to spend about sixty days in jail.

In July, 1889, Mr. R. M. King, of



DANIEL IN THE LIONS' DEN FOR CONSCIENCE' SAKE

Lane, Tenn., was brought before Justice Barker, of Obion County, tried for Sunday work, declared guilty, and fined. Mr. King was again arrested for Sunday work, found guilty, and fined again. His case was appealed, the verdict confirmed, and Mr. King was fined seventy-five dollars. Believing the indictment and sentence unjust, Mr. King refused to pay the fine, and was imprisoned until the sentence should be served out. This imprisonment resulted in his death, which occurred soon after his release from prison.

On May 27, 1892, four upright Christian men, W. S. Lowry, J. Moon, J. H. Dortch, and James Stem, all of Springville, Tenn., were tried at Paris, Tenn., on a charge of doing Sunday work. All the witnesses for the prosecution testified that they were not disturbed by the

Sunday work of their neighbors, and none brought charges against any of the accused on any ground of dishonesty, immorality, intemperance, or of disturbing the peace. Yet the fact that these men obeyed the law of Jehovah in resting on the seventh day of the week, and worked the other six days, offended their idea of religious propriety, and they were willing to make the accused men suffer for being out of harmony with them on a question of religion. The defendants were convicted, and suffered imprisonment of

from forty-five to fifty-three days each. A portion of this time they were compelled to work in the chain-gang with convicts justly convicted for serious offenses.

In this case the judge declared that these men must "educate their consciences by the laws of Tennessee." And yet the

supreme law of that commonwealth declares this righteous principle in its bill of rights, that "no human authority can in any case whatever control or interfere with the rights of conscience," and further declares that "no preference shall ever be given by law to any religious establishment or mode of worship."

When men are required to take their conscientious convictions from human law instead of from divine law, man is put in the place of God, and all liberty in religious things is outlawed. What the judge would require is an impossibility, an undertaking which he himself could not perform. The most peculiar feature of such proceedings is that while the constitution of a State gives such a guaranty as that quoted above, such prosecutions for cause of religion can be conducted, and such judgments rendered.

On June 26, 1894, W. B. Capps, another member of a Christian denomination, was arrested for doing Sunday labor after having rested on the day he believed to be the true Sabbath. He was convicted, and for the "offense" was sentenced to spend 289 days in prison. After spending ninety-seven days in prison, he was released, his fine having been paid by public subscription among non-Christians.

All these men were Christians and members of a Christian denomination. They were made offenders because their religion was different from that of their neighbors. No accusation was brought against them save in reference to the law of their God. They chose to obey him in the matter of Sabbath observance; and because they did, other men claiming to be Christians put themselves in the place of Daniel's persecutors, and thrust them behind prison-bars for not being religious in their way.

But Tennessee is not the only State that has made Christian men offenders for cause of conscience. We wish it were. Others, too, have forgotten the religious guaranties of their constitutions, have forgotten that no religion in this country is supposed to have legal preference over any other, and have fined and imprisoned men for living in harmony with the law of God and with the spirit of the constitutions of both State and nation. From such a record any state or nation ought to recoil in shame.

In the State of Tennessee, however, an attempt is being made to revive the persecutions of previous years. Mr. J. S. Rooker, of Hustburg, Tenn., has been indicted by the grand jury for the fearful "crime" of hoeing corn on Sunday, three miles away from the public road and a mile and a half from any house. The trial of this inoffensive Christian tiller of the soil was set for the third Tuesday in December. There is no

charge against Mr. Rooker of disturbing the peace, of rioting, of intemperance, of burglary, of injuring his neighbors. But those who do not wish to be religious in this way are seeking to make a criminal of him because he is not religious in their way.

There still stands in the constitution of the great State of Tennessee this guaranty to all her citizens:—

That all men have a natural and inalienable right to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of their own conscience; that no man can, of right, be compelled to attend, erect, or support any place of worship, or to maintain any minister against his consent; that no human authority can, in any case whatever, control or interfere with the rights of conscience; and that no preference shall ever be given by law to any religious establishment or mode of worship.

The spirit of every clause of the preceding quotation is violated in each and every case of prosecution of Christian Sabbath-keeping men for Sunday labor in the State of Tennessee. The Sunday law itself nullifies that constitutional guaranty; for it does give "preference" to one "mode of worship" over another, and does establish religion to the extent that it establishes that religious custom, the observance of the Sunday sabbath.

It is to be hoped that a sense of fair play, of justice, of common brotherhood, and of regard for the constitution of the State itself, will cause the judge, and the jury, and the people to see the iniquity of such prosecutions and to refuse to sanction them.

C. M. S.

MARTIN LUTHER: "It is by the Word that we must fight. . . . I am unwilling to employ force against the superstitious or the unbelieving. Let him who believes approach; let him who believes not stand aloof: none ought to be constrained. Liberty is of the essence of faith."—*D'Au-
bigné*.

President Woodrow Wilson and Speaker Champ Clark on American Liberty

THE rededication of Congress Hall, Philadelphia, Oct. 25, 1913, was a fitting opportunity for reviewing some of the principles upon which this government was founded, and which have found expression in its history. Both the occasion and the place were rich in suggestion, and naturally turned the thoughts of the orators to the achievements of those men who builded a new nation and established new ideas in government. The men of today saluted the men of yesterday and paid tribute to that genius which was able to cope with trying circumstances so wisely as to transmit to later generations the blessings

of freedom for the body and the soul.

Chief among the speakers were Hon. Woodrow Wilson, the President of the United States, and Hon. Champ Clark, the Speaker of the House of Representatives. From the official text of their addresses we take the following extracts, which are worthy of a wide reading. President Wilson said, in part:—

We have stumbled upon many unhappy circumstances in the hundred years that have gone by since the event that we are celebrating. Almost all of them have come from self-centered men,—men who saw in their own interest the interest of the country, and who did not have vision enough to read it in wider terms, in the universal terms of

equity and justice and the rights of mankind. I hear a great many people at Fourth of July celebrations laud the Declaration of Independence who in between Julys shiver at the plain language of our bills of rights. The Declaration of Independence was, indeed, the first

audible breath of liberty, but the substance of liberty is written in such documents as the declaration of rights attached, for example, to the first constitution of Virginia, which was a model for the similar documents read elsewhere into our great fundamental charters. That document speaks in very plain terms. The men of that generation did not hesitate to say that every people has a right to choose its own forms of government — not

once, but as often as it pleases — and to accommodate those forms of government to its existing interests and circumstances. Not only to establish but to alter is the fundamental principle of self-government.

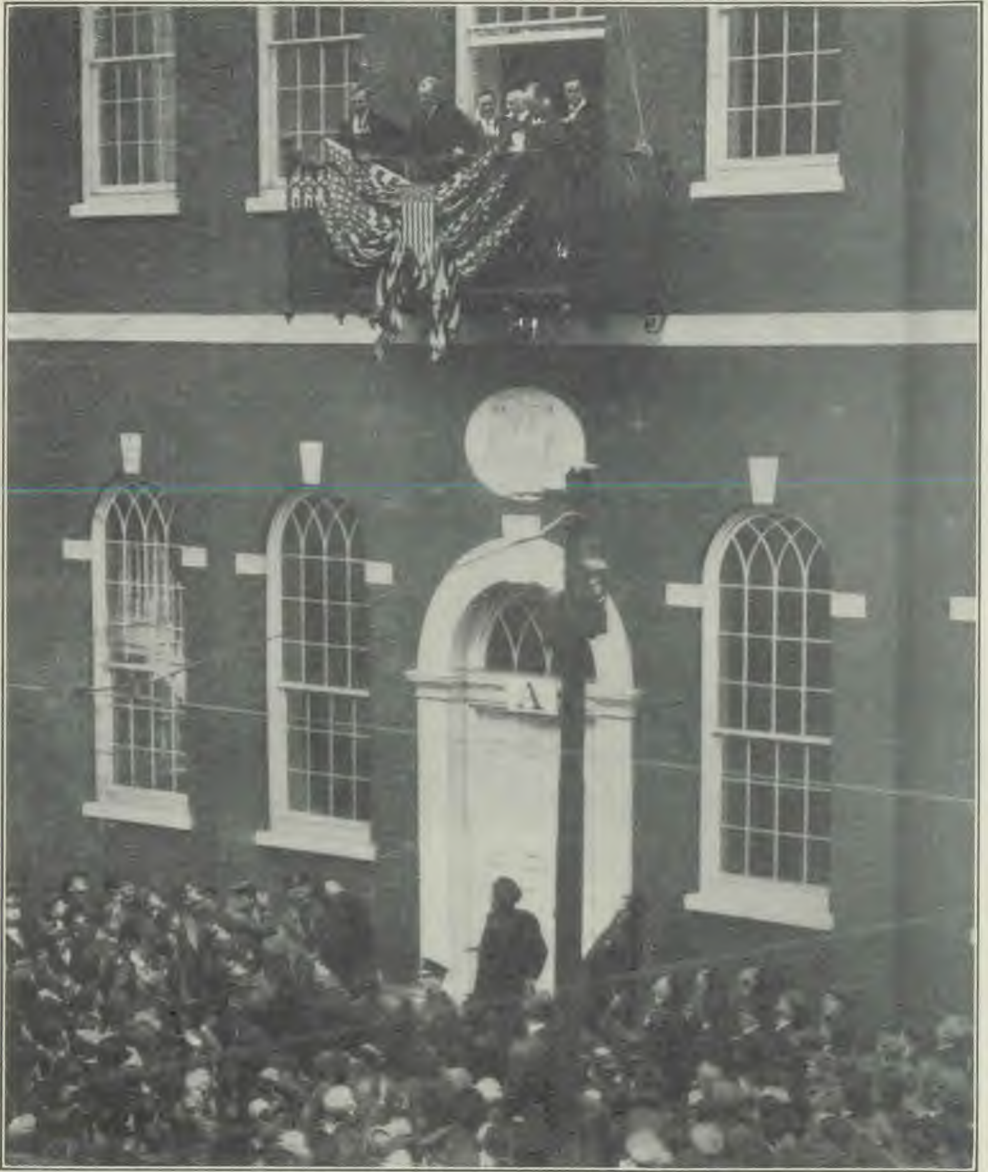
We are just as much under compulsion to study the particular circumstances of our own day as the gentlemen were who sat in this hall and set us precedents, not of what to do but of how to do it. Liberty inheres in the circumstances of the day. Human happiness consists in the life which human beings are leading at the time that they live. I can feed my memory as happily upon the circumstances of the revolutionary and constitutional period as you can, but I cannot feed all my purposes with them in Washington now. Every day prob-



WOODROW WILSON

lems arise which wear some new phase and aspect, and I must fall back, if I would serve my conscience, upon those

to give the American people, and, by example, the peoples of the world, more liberty, more happiness, more substantial



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PRESIDENT WILSON DELIVERING SPEECH FROM THE BALCONY OF INDEPENDENCE HALL, PHILADELPHIA, AT THE REDEDICATION OF THIS MEMORABLE BUILDING. FROM THIS SAME BALCONY PRESIDENT WASHINGTON DELIVERED HIS MESSAGES TO THE PEOPLE

things which are fundamental rather than upon those things which are superficial, and ask myself this question, How are you going to assist in some small part

prosperity; and how are you going to make that prosperity a common heritage instead of a selfish possession?

No man can boast that he understands

America. No man can boast that he has lived the life of America, as almost every man who sat in this hall in those days could boast. No man can pretend that except by common counsel he can gather into his consciousness what the varied life of this people is. The duty that we have to keep open eyes and open hearts and accessible understandings is a very much more difficult duty to perform than it was in their day. Yet how much more important that it should be performed, for fear we make infinite and irreparable blunders. . . .

I love to think of those plain men, however far from plain their dress sometimes was, who assembled in this hall. They were beginning, when there was so little to distract their attention, to show that they could live upon fundamental principles of government. We talk those principles, but we have not time to absorb them. We have not time to let them into our blood, and thence have them translated into the plain mandates of action.

The very smallness of this room, the very simplicity of it all, all the suggestions which come from its restoration, are reassuring things,—things which it becomes a man to realize. Therefore my theme here today, my only thought, is a very simple one. Do not let us go back to the annals of those sessions of Congress to find out what to do, because we live in another age and the circumstances are absolutely different; but let us be men of that kind; let us feel at every turn the compulsions of principle and of honor which they felt; let us free our vision from temporary circumstances and look abroad at the horizon and take into our lungs the great air of freedom

which has blown throughout this country and stolen across the seas and blessed people everywhere; and, looking east and west and north and south, let us remind ourselves that we are the custodians, in some degree, of the principles which have made men free and governments just.

Speaker Clark made specific reference to those two documents—remarkable productions of a remarkable time—in

which were embodied the principles of freedom and the governmental method for preserving them,—the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States. We quote the first part of his address:—



SPEAKER CHAMP CLARK

Philadelphia was the scene of two of these vastly important and far-reaching transactions,—the promulgation of the Declaration and the making of the Constitution. The

former published our theory of government; the latter set forth the plan to put that theory into effect. The Declaration is the most splendid state paper in all the hoary registers of time; the Constitution has been pronounced the greatest single emanation of the human mind. The majestic sweep of the Declaration helped us secure our liberty. A man of sensibility cannot read it, even at this late day, without his blood flowing faster. For one hundred and thirty-seven years it has been a pillar of cloud by day and a pillar of fire by night to people everywhere struggling for the freedom to which all men are entitled. . . .

The twin basic ideas, "All men are created equal" and "Governments derive their just powers from the consent

of the governed," which the fathers enunciated that day in this goodly city, have worked like the leaven described in the Bible, until the civilized world has accepted our political philosophy in whole or in part. Like Tennyson's brook, they will go on forever until men everywhere are free. Our Declaration of Independence is the Magna Charta of human liberty, and has revolutionized the world.

Be it ours to preserve, strengthen, and perpetuate our free institutions, thereby transmitting to our descendants the richest heritage ever possessed by the children of men.

These are not mere words of men, say-

ing something in a perfunctory manner. They breathe the true spirit. The sentiments expressed need to be repeatedly emphasized. There is constant danger lest, through indifference or the working of wrong influences, the inestimable blessings of liberty, secured at such cost at the first and maintained for more than a century and a quarter, be lightly esteemed or foolishly surrendered without a vigorous struggle. The same spirit that actuated the fathers of the republic should control their descendants, the inheritors of a precious legacy.

W. W. P.

Labor Federation Opposed to Sunday Laws

OVER 67,000 members of the California State Federation of Labor were represented by their delegates in their fourteenth annual convention in Fresno. A five days' session was held, beginning on October 6. The State Federation of Barbers introduced the following resolution in the convention:—

Resolved, That the California State Federation of Labor in its fourteenth annual convention assembled, does hereby indorse the Journeymen Barbers' Unions of California, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor in their efforts to secure, through the initiative petition, the enactment of a law prohibiting unnecessary labor on Sunday.

After a heated discussion on both sides of the question, the resolution was voted down by a large majority of the delegates of the Labor Federation, on the ground that specific Sunday laws of necessity made such legislation religious in character, and that the Labor Federation refuse to lend its influence in support of any laws whose object it was to discriminate between certain days of the week. It was argued that each individual should be left free to decide such questions for himself, and that no law should be enacted that would force any or all

to work, or not to work, on any day of the week. California compels none to do either, and that is religious freedom.

A Sunday bill, H. R. 7826, to provide for the closing of barber shops in the District of Columbia on Sunday, was introduced in the United States Congress by Mr. Keating, on Aug. 27, 1913. We trust that the 67,000 members of the California State Federation of Labor, together with every lover of religious liberty, will send in their protest not only against this Sunday bill, but also against bills S. 752 and H. R. 9674, which aim to compel all people in the District of Columbia, under heavy penalties, to conform to the religious custom of "the proper observance of Sunday as a day of rest."

Congress should again consider in full the following partial Senate report, on Sunday legislation:—

The proper object of government is to protect all persons in the enjoyment of their religious as well as their civil rights, and not to determine for any whether they shall esteem one day above another, or esteem all days alike holy.—*Sunday Mail Report, by Senate Committee, 1829.*

Petitions of protest to Congress will be sent free of charge upon application.

C. S. L.

TEMPERANCE

Federal Prohibition Legislation

S. B. HORTON

FEDERAL prohibition is now the watchword of the temperance legions engaged in the important work of eradicating the great national destroyer — alcohol. Wednesday, Dec. 10, 1913, is a day long to be remembered by the people of Washington, and especially by the members of Congress and others interested in Congressional matters.

In accordance with the plans of the National Temperance Convention, held in Columbus, Ohio, in November, a committee of one thousand Anti-Saloon League men, augmented by two thousand or more representatives from the W. C. T. U., and from the different churches of Washington, organized a parade and marched to the Capitol for the purpose of presenting to both houses of Congress petitions asking for the passage of a joint resolution in favor of amending the Constitution of the United States, providing for national prohibition. The temperance forces were met at the east portico of the Capitol by Senator Sheppard, of Texas, and Representative Hobson, of Alabama, who were handed petitions by the spokesman of the forces, Dr. Purley A. Baker, president of the National Anti-Saloon League.

Speeches were made by Ernest W. Cherrington, of Ohio, editor of the *American Issue*; ex-Gov. M. R. Patterson, of Tennessee; Mrs. L. M. N. Stevens, national president of the W. C. T. U.; Mrs. Ella A. Boole, president of the New York W. C. T. U.; Mrs. Mary Harris Armor, of Georgia, a popular W. C. T. U. lecturer; Senator Sheppard; and Representative Hobson.

Among other things, Mr. Cherrington said:—

“The gentlemen composing this committee, gathered from every State of the Union, are here in no spirit of bombast or parade, but on serious business. They are not fanatics who have narrowed



SENATOR SHEPPARD

their thought and vision to a single propaganda, but thoughtful, patriotic men who realize that there is more than one question before the public and more than one problem for society to solve.”

He referred to the fact that absolute prohibition has been adopted by the States of Maine, Kansas, North Dakota, Georgia, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Mississippi, Tennessee, and West Virginia, having an aggregate population of 14,685,961; and that thirty-one other States have by law prohibited the sale of intoxicating liquors in certain classes of

political subdivisions, prohibition becoming operative whenever a majority of the electors wish the provisions of the law to apply. Under this arrangement live 26,446,810 persons. In three of the States — Arkansas, Iowa, and South Dakota — laws have been enacted placing all sections of the State under prohibition except in political subdivisions where a majority of the electors indicate that they do not wish the provisions of such law to apply. In these States there are 3,693,201 people living in prohibition territory. He stated also that as a result of the operation of these several provisions, at the present time more than 47,000,000 of the population of the United States live under prohibition, and more than seventy-one per cent of the area of the nation is, by federal, State, or local decree, prohibition territory.

The speaker emphasized the fact that in seeking an amendment to the supreme

to a decision handed down by the Supreme Court in the Christensen case twenty-three years ago to substantiate this statement. The decision, in part, was as follows:—

“There is no inherent right in a citi-



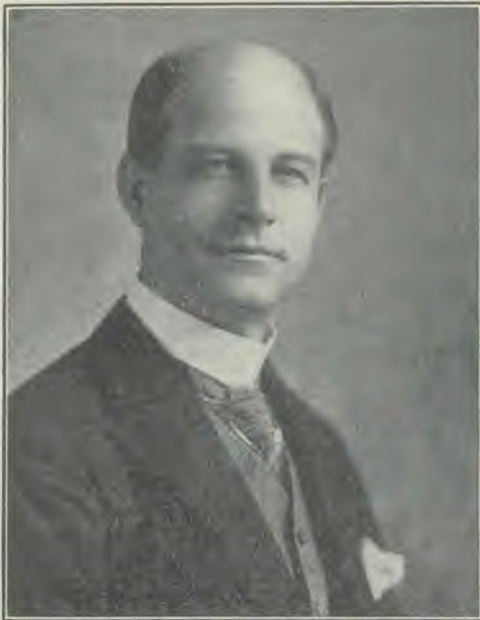
MRS. L. M. N. STEVENS

zen to sell intoxicating liquors by retail. It is not a privilege of a citizen of the State or of a citizen of the United States.”

Ex-Governor Patterson and the W. C. T. U. leaders made strong addresses upon the subject, appealing that the liquor traffic be so dealt with as to carry out more fully the preamble of the Constitution, which states:—

“We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.”

Senator Sheppard and Representative Hobson both stated that they were very glad to serve the temperance forces of the United States to the best of their



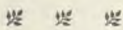
RICHMOND PEARSON HOBSON

law of the land, the temperance forces of this nation are not seeking in any way to interfere with, or encroach upon, the rights of any American citizen or any class of American citizens, referring

ability in securing from Congress the passage of a joint resolution that will open the way for such an amendment of the national Constitution as will establish the nation-wide prohibition of the liquor traffic. Soon after this mass convention adjourned, these legislators introduced in their respective bodies simultaneously a joint resolution, the text of which will be found on another page. The Senate resolution is No. 88, and that of the House is No. 168.

In the evening a monster mass-meeting was held in the D. A. R. Continental Hall, where speeches were made by Howard H. Russell, of Ohio, the founder of the Anti-Saloon League; Dr. Edwin C. Dinwiddie, of Washington, legislative superintendent; John G. Woolley; Samuel Small; Congressman Kelly, of Pennsylvania; Senator Borah, of Idaho; John Stuart, of Tennessee; Purley A. Baker; Dr. Howard; and others.

The spirit permeating this entire occasion indicated that there is an urgent demand for the writing of a new declaration of independence — freedom from King Alcohol. This mass convention at the Capitol was photographed by the Washington Photo Company. A reproduction of the photo will be found in this number of LIBERTY, on pages 24, 25.



Effects of Cigarette Smoking on the Body

EDWARD QUINN, JR.

EXPERIENCE truly is the best teacher, and the writer's experience has given him ample opportunity to observe the insidious effects of cigarette smoking. A boy who has used cigarettes for any length of time, especially one who inhales the smoke into the lungs,—and most of them do,—can usually be identified by his lack of physical and mental development.

Boys cannot use cigarettes and develop normally. The heart, the brain, and the nervous system are most seriously affected by the tobacco poison.

The evil effects of this habit on the heart can be understood when one reads that "out of 11,896 men who applied for enlistment in the English army, only 3,078 passed the required physical examination. The majority rejected were suffering from heart-disease resulting from the use of tobacco.

In 1902 sixty-seven young men, apparently in the best of health, appeared for examination to enter the medical department of the United States army. To their surprise forty-three were rejected on account of tobacco-heart.

The testimony of many directors of college gymnasiums could also be given, but the above will suffice to show the injurious action of tobacco on the heart.

Luther Burbank, the great plant expert, says:—

"To assist me in my work of budding, work that is as accurate and exacting as watchmaking, I have a force of some twenty men. I discharge men from this force at the first show of incompetency. Some time ago my foreman asked me if I took pains to inquire into the personal habits of my men. On being answered in the negative, he surprised me by saying that the men I found unable to do the delicate work of budding invariably turned out to be smokers and drinkers. Even men who smoke one cigar a day I cannot trust with some of my delicate work. Cigarettes are even more damaging than cigars, and their use by boys is little short of criminal."

A cigarette smoker is unfitted to do good mental work, proving the detrimental effect of nicotin on the brain. I know men, users of the cigarette, who were unable to memorize simple quotations. A head nurse in the Minnesota Hospital for the Insane, recently remarked: "It is astonishing the number of women who come to us who have become insane from smoking cigarettes."

In another asylum three clergymen called incessantly for this poison, which had dethroned their reason. Think of it! Men who once had fine intellects, men who had proclaimed the liberty of

the gospel, were themselves slaves to the cigarette habit, and were ruined by it.

Another proof of the effect of tobacco on the mind is that it weakens the will-power. I have heard many a person say, "I will stop," and a few days later have met him still smoking. There is but one sure way for one who is addicted to the use of tobacco to obtain release from its thralldom, and that is to ask God for strength. In his own strength, man can never obtain nor maintain his freedom, for the poisons have taken too great a hold on him. His will-power is largely destroyed.

An eminent oculist declares that tobacco using is the direct cause of a certain form of blindness.

To show the effects of the cigarette habit upon the nervous system, one incident in the Filipino rebellion will suffice: Our company was ordered out one morning, and each man knew that there would be trouble before he got back. One young man, an inveterate cigarette smoker, became so pale and nervous that it was necessary to order him from the ranks, and to leave him behind. Think of his humiliation due to the manly (?) habit of cigarette smoking!

The cigarette has a very injurious effect on growing boys. After beginning the habit, the boy becomes listless, nervous, irritable, pale, and in athletic sports he is generally a mere looker-on.

One of the quickest means of getting medicine into the system is by inhalation. It can readily be seen, therefore, that when the poisons in tobacco are inhaled, they are given the most favorable opportunity for doing their deadly work upon the human system. The use of that poison can have but one effect, and that a decidedly injurious one, upon the mental and bodily functions.

We are opposed to the liquor traffic because it is not only destructive to the individual and society, but to the best interests of self-government. No traffic that is an enemy to the best interests of progress and civilization has any justifiable reason for its existence.

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Important Notice!

To All Enemies of the Liquor Traffic



Please read carefully the "Petition to Congress" on the opposite page. Fill in the blank spaces, start the list with your own name, and secure as many other signatures as possible.

If there are not enough lines on this petition blank for signatures, paste additional sheets of white paper at the bottom.

Send your petition to one of the senators from your State, or to the representative of your Congressional district, in Congress, addressing him, Washington, D. C.

THROUGH the courtesy of Mr. Marvin Brown, associate editor of the *Menace*, an attractive two-inch reading notice of LIBERTY magazine appeared in that weekly for January 10, which had a circulation of 1,166,800 copies. Thus this magazine was brought to the attention of over 5,000,000 readers, and hundreds of subscriptions and orders are being received from those interested.

Full Text of Proposed Amendment to the Constitution

Now Pending in the United States Senate and House of Representatives

(S. J. Res. 88 and H. J. Res. 168)

JOINT RESOLUTION

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

Whereas, Exact scientific research has demonstrated that alcohol is a narcotic poison, destructive and degenerating to the human organism, and that its distribution as a beverage, or contained in foods, lays a staggering economic burden upon the shoulders of the people, lowers to an appalling degree the average standard of character of our citizenship, thereby undermining the public morals and the foundation of free institutions, produces widespread crime, pauperism, and insanity, inflicts disease and untimely death upon hundreds of thousands of citizens, and blights with degeneracy their children unborn, threatening the future integrity and the very life of the nation; therefore be it —

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two thirds of each House concurring), That the following amendment of the Constitution be, and hereby is, proposed to the States, to become valid as a part of the Constitution when ratified by the legislatures of the several States, as provided by the Constitution:—

“ARTICLE —.

“Section 1. The sale, manufacture for sale, transportation for sale, importation for sale, and exportation for sale of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes in the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are forever prohibited.

“Sec. 2. Congress shall have power to provide for the manufacture, sale, importation, and transportation of intoxicating liquors for sacramental, medicinal, mechanical, pharmaceutical, or scientific purposes, or for use in the arts, and shall have power to enforce this article by all needful legislation.”

(OVER)

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WASHINGTON, D. C.

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Protestant Magazine, Washington, D. C.

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W. J. Bryan