

# LIBERTY

A MAGAZINE OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM



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WASHINGTON, D. C.

# Religious Liberty Association

## DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

1. We believe in God, in the Bible as the word of God, and in the separation of church and state as taught by Jesus Christ.
2. We believe that the ten commandments are the law of God, and that they comprehend man's whole duty to God and man.
3. We believe that the religion of Jesus Christ is founded in the law of love of God, and needs no human power to support or enforce it. Love cannot be forced.
4. We believe in civil government as divinely ordained to protect men in the enjoyment of their natural rights and to rule in civil things, and that in this realm it is entitled to the respectful obedience of all.
5. We believe it is the right, and should be the privilege, of every individual to worship or not to worship, according to the dictates of his own conscience, provided that in the exercise of this right he respects the equal rights of others.
6. We believe that all religious legislation tends to unite church and state, is subversive of human rights, persecuting in character, and opposed to the best interests of both church and state.
7. We believe, therefore, that it is not within the province of civil government to legislate on religious questions.
8. We believe it to be our duty to use every lawful and honorable means to prevent religious legislation, and oppose all movements tending to unite church and state, that all may enjoy the inestimable blessings of civil and religious liberty.
9. We believe in the inalienable and constitutional right of free speech, free press, peaceable assembly, and petition.
10. We also believe in temperance, and regard the liquor traffic as a curse to society.

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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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**LOOKING IN THE WRONG DIRECTION**

One step suggests another, when the state pursues a policy of religious coercive legislation to its logical conclusion

# LIBERTY

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

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SECOND QUARTER, 1914

No. 2

## Daniel Webster's Oration on Religious Liberty

WE have come to this rock to record here our homage for our Pilgrim Fathers; our sympathy in their sufferings; our gratitude for their labors; our admiration of their virtues; our veneration for their piety; and our attachment to those principles of civil and religious liberty which they encountered the dangers of the ocean, the storms of heaven, the violence of savages, disease, exile, and famine, to enjoy and to establish.

And we would leave here, also, for the generations which are rising up rapidly to fill our places, some proof that we have endeavored to transmit the great inheritance unimpaired; that in our estimate of public principles, and private virtue; in our veneration of religion and piety; in our devotion to civil and religious liberty; in our regard to whatever advances human knowledge, or improves human happiness, we are not altogether unworthy of our origin.

### Power of the Love of Religious Liberty

The love of religious liberty is a stronger sentiment, when fully excited, than an attachment to civil or political freedom. That freedom which the conscience demands, and which men feel bound by their hopes of salvation to contend for, can hardly fail to be attained. Conscience in the cause of religion, and the worship of the Deity, prepares the mind to act, and to suffer beyond almost

all other causes. History instructs us that this love of religious liberty, a compound sentiment in the breast of man, made up of the clearest sense of right, and the highest conviction of duty, is able to look the sternest despotism in the face, and, with means apparently most inadequate, to shake principalities and powers.

There is a boldness, a spirit of daring, in religious reformers, not to be measured by the general rules which control men's purposes and actions. If the hand of power be laid upon it, this only seems to augment its force and its elasticity, and to cause its action to be more formidable and terrible. Human invention has devised nothing, human power has compassed nothing, that can forcibly restrain it, when it breaks forth. Nothing can stop it, but to give way to it; nothing can check it, but indulgence. It loses its power only when it has gained its object. If it be allowed indulgence and expansion, like the elemental fires it only agitates and perhaps purifies the atmosphere, while its efforts to throw off restraint would burst the world asunder.

Thanks be to God, that this spot was honored as the asylum of religious liberty. May its standard, reared here, remain forever! May it rise up high as heaven, till its banner shall fan the air of both continents, and wave as a glo-

rious ensign of peace and security to the nations!

#### True Principle of a Free Government

The true principle of a free and popular government would seem to be so to construct it as to give all, or at least to

bers. Education, wealth, talents, are all parts and elements of the general aggregate of honor; but numbers, nevertheless, constitute ordinarily the most important consideration, unless indeed there be a military force, in the hands of the few, by which they can control the many.

#### Citizens to Restrain and Abolish Injustices

We are bound to maintain public liberty, and by the example of our own systems, to convince the world that order and law, religion and morality, the rights of conscience, the rights of persons, and the rights of property, may all be preserved and secured, in the most perfect manner, by a government entirely and purely elective. If we fail in this, our disaster will be signal, and will furnish an argument, stronger than has yet been found, in support of those opinions which maintain that government can rest safely on nothing but power and coercion.

As far as experience may show errors in our establishments, we are bound to correct them, and if any practices exist contrary to the principles of justice and humanity, within the reach of our

laws or our influence, we are inexcusable if we do not exert ourselves to restrain and abolish them.

NOTE.—From a discourse delivered by Daniel Webster before the Pilgrim Society at Plymouth, Mass., Dec. 22, 1820, in commemoration of the first settlement of New England. Selections arranged by A. J. S. Bourdeau.



NATIONAL MONUMENT TO THE FOREFATHERS,  
PLYMOUTH, MASS.

a very great majority, an interest in its preservation: to found it as other things are founded, on men's interest. The stability of government requires that those who desire its continuance should be more powerful than those who desire its dissolution. This power, of course, is not always to be measured by mere num-



# Ecclesiastical Monopolies and Government Chaplains

A Hitherto Unpublished Essay by James Madison, Fourth  
President of the United States

With an Introduction by Gaillard Hunt, Chief of the Division of MSS., Library of Congress

JAMES MADISON retired from the Presidency in 1817, and died in 1836, nineteen years later. This was the growing period of American nationality, and it was during these years that an enduring attachment was formed for the frame of government under which the growth took place. So, as Madison had been the master builder of the government, he enjoyed extraordinary prestige, and whatever he said on public questions was regarded as oracular. He felt the weight of the responsibility and expressed his views carefully, realizing that he was addressing posterity. During the closing years of his life he prepared certain papers for posthumous publication, the chief one being the journal he had kept of the proceedings of the Federal Convention of 1787. This journal, with certain letters which he had grouped with it, was published by the United States Government in 1840 in three volumes under the title of *The Madison Papers*. Before this mode of publication was decided upon, however, the papers were offered by Mrs. Madison, who inherited them under the terms of her husband's will, to several publishers, and among others to Messrs. Harper & Brothers; but a satisfactory pecuniary arrangement could not be reached by private publication, and the papers were sold to the government.

It was not known that, at the same time with *The Madison Papers*, or perhaps a few months later, several essays which Madison had prepared for publication were placed in the Messrs. Harpers' hands, but such, as it now appears, was the fact. All of these have since found their way into print, except the one which follows. It was written, or re-

vised, by Madison some time before 1832, and is in the penmanship of one of the amanuenses whom he employed at Montpelier.

It is entitled "Monopolies, Perpetuities, Corporations, Ecclesiastical Endowments," and deals for the most part with the subject of religious freedom, of which he could justly claim to be one of the great champions. It was he who had caused the Virginia Bill of Rights to be amended so that it declared for free exercise of religion instead of toleration or permission to exercise religion; it was he who wrote the remonstrance against assessments for religious purposes in Virginia which broke down the bill for that purpose; it was he who carried through the Virginia Legislature the bill for complete religious freedom which Jefferson had written. There are few historical characters whose views on this subject are as valuable as his.

[We insert only that portion of Madison's document relating to ecclesiastical monopolies, following Madison's style of copy.—Ed.]

## Madison's View on Ecclesiastical Trusts

The danger of silent accumulation and encroachments by Ecclesiastical Bodies has not sufficiently engaged attention in the U. S.

They have the noble merit of first unshackling the conscience from persecuting laws, and of establishing among religious sects a legal equality. If some of the States have not embraced this just and this truly Christian principle in its proper latitude, all of them present examples by which the most enlightened States of the Old World may be instructed; and there is one State at least,

Virginia, where religious liberty is placed on its true foundation, and is defined in its full latitude. The general principle is contained in her declaration of rights, prefixed to her constitution; but it is unfolded and defined, in its precise extent, in the act of the Legislature, usually named the Religious Bill, which passed into a law in the year 1786. Here the separation between the authority of human laws and the natural rights of man, excepted from the grant on which all political authority is founded, is traced as distinctly as words can admit, and the limits to this authority established with as much solemnity as the forms of legislation can express. The law has the further advantage of having been the result of a formal appeal to the sense of the Community, and a deliberate sanction of a vast majority, comprising every sect of Christians in the State. This act is a true standard of religious liberty; its principle, the great barrier against usurpations on the rights of conscience. As long as it is respected and no longer, these will be safe. Every provision for them short of this principle will be found to leave crevices at least, thro' which bigotry may introduce persecution; a monster that feeding and thriving on its own venom gradually swells to a size and strength overwhelming all laws divine and human. Ye States of America which retain in your constitutions or Codes, any aberration from the sacred principle of religious liberty by giving to Cæsar what belongs to God, or joining together what God has put asunder, hasten to revise your systems, and make the example of your Country as pure and complete, in what relates to the freedom of the mind and its allegiance to its maker, as in what belongs to the legitimate object of political and civil institutions.

Strongly guarded as is the separation between Religion and Government in the Constitution of the United States, the danger of encroachment by Ecclesiastical Bodies may be illustrated by precedents already furnished in their short history.

The most notable attempt was that in Virginia to establish a general assessment for the support of all Christian sects. This was proposed in the year 178 . . . by Patrick Henry and supported by all his eloquence aided by the remaining prejudices of the sect which before the Revolution had been established by law. The progress of the measure was arrested by urging that the respect due to the people required in so extraordinary a case an appeal to their deliberate will. The Bill was accordingly printed and published with that view. At the instance of Col. George Nicholas, Col. George Mason and others, the memorial and remonstrance against it was drawn up<sup>1</sup> and printed copies of it circulated thro' the State to be signed by the people at large. It met with the approbation of the Baptists, the Presbyterians, the Quakers, and the few Roman Catholics universally; of the Methodists in part; and even of not a few of the sect formerly established by law. When the Legislature assembled, the number of copies and signatures presented displayed such an overwhelming opposition of the people, that the plan of a general assessment was crushed under it, and advantage taken of the crisis to carry thro' the Legislature the Bill above referred to, establishing religious liberty. In the course of the opposition to the Bill in the House of Delegates, which was warm and strenuous from some of the minority, an experiment was made on the reverence entertained for the name and sanctity of the Saviour, by proposing to insert the words "Jesus Christ" after the words "our Lord" in the preamble, the object of which would have been to imply a restriction of the liberty defined in the Bill, to those professing his religion only. The amendment was discussed, and rejected, the opponents of the amendment turned the feeling as well as judgment of the House against it, by successfully contending that the better proof of reverence for that holy name would be not to profane it by making it

<sup>1</sup> By Madison. It may be found in Vol. II, p. 183, of *The Writings of Madison*.—G. H.

a topic of legislative discussion and particularly by making his religion the means of abridging the natural and equal rights of all men, in defiance of his own declaration that his kingdom was not of this world. This view of the subject was much enforced by the circumstance that it was espoused by some members who were distinguished by their reputed piety and Christian zeal.

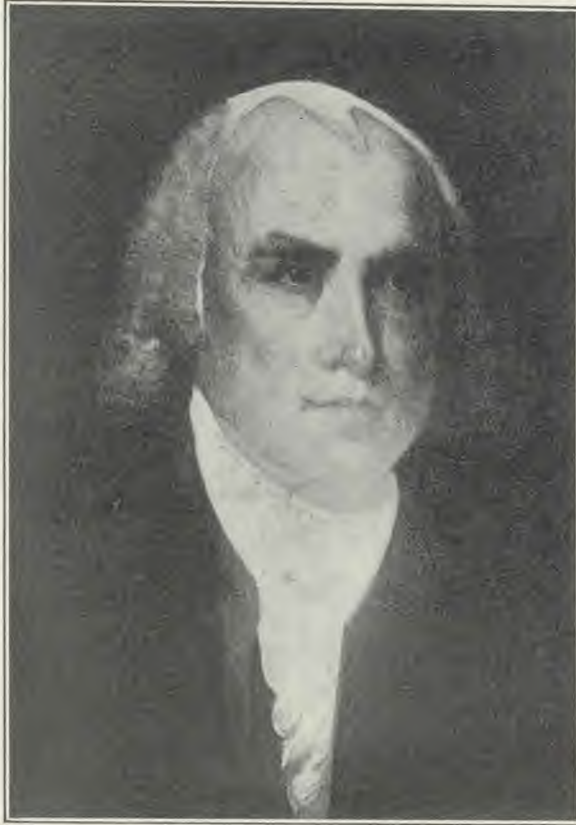
But besides the danger of a direct mixture of religion and civil Government, there is an evil which ought to be guarded against in the indefinite accumulation of property from the capacity of holding it in perpetuity by ecclesiastical corporations. The power of all corporations, ought to be limited in this respect. The growing wealth acquired by them never fails to be a source of abuses. A warning on this subject is emphatically given in the example of the various charitable establishments in Great Britain, the management of which has been lately scrutinized. The excessive wealth of ecclesiastical corporations and the misuse of it in many countries of Europe has long been a topic of complaint. In some of them the church has amassed half, perhaps, the property of the nation. When the reformation took place, an event promoted if not caused by

that discordant state of things, how enormous were the treasures of religious societies and how gross the corruptions engendered by them; so enormous and so gross as to produce in the Cabinets and Councils of the Protestant States a disregard of all the pleas of the interested party drawn from the sanctions of the

law, and the sacredness of property held in religious trust. The history of England during the period of the Reformation offers a sufficient illustration for the present purpose.

Are the U. S. duly awake to the tendency of the precedents they are establishing, in the multiplied incorporations of Religious Congregations with the faculty of acquiring and holding property real as well as personal? Do not many of

these acts give this faculty without limit either as to time or as to amount? And must not bodies perpetual in their existence, and which may be always gaining without ever losing, speedily gain more than is useful, and in time more than is safe? Are there not already examples in the U. S. of ecclesiastical wealth equally beyond its object, and the foresight of those who laid the foundation of it? In the U. S. there is a double motive for fixing limits in this case, be-



JAMES MADISON, THE FATHER OF THE  
AMERICAN CONSTITUTION

cause wealth may increase not only from additional gifts, but from exorbitant advances in the value of the primitive one. In grants of vacant lands, and of lands in the vicinity of growing towns and cities, the increase of value is often such as, if foreseen, would essentially control the liberality conferring them. The people of the U. S. owe their independence and their liberty to the wisdom of desecrating in the minute tax of 3 pence on tea, the magnitude of the evil comprized in the precedent. Let them exert the same wisdom, in watching against every evil lurking under plausible disguises, and growing up from small beginnings. *Obsta principis.*

#### Opposed to Chaplains

Is the appointment of Chaplains to the two Houses of Congress consistent with the Constitution, and with the pure principle of religious freedom?

In strictness the answer on both points must be in the negative. The Constitution of the U. S. forbids everything like an establishment of a national religion. The law appointing Chaplains establishes a religious worship for the national representatives, to be performed by ministers of religion, elected by a majority of them; and these are to be paid out of the national taxes. Does not this involve the principle of a national establishment applicable to a provision for a religious worship for the Constituent as well as of the Representative Body, approved by the majority and conducted by ministers of religion paid by the entire nation?

The establishment of the Chaplainship to Congress is a palpable violation of equal rights as well as of Constitutional principles. The tenets of the Chaplain elected shut the door of worship against the members whose creeds and con-

sciences forbid a participation in that of the majority. To say nothing of other sects, this is the case with that of Roman Catholics and Quakers who have always had numbers in one or both of the Legislative branches. Could a Catholic clergyman ever hope to be appointed a Chaplain?<sup>2</sup> To say that his religious principles are obnoxious or that his sect is small, is to lift the veil at once and exhibit in its naked deformity the doctrine that religious truth is to be tested by numbers, or that the major sects have a right to govern the minor.

If Religion consist in voluntary acts of individuals, singly or voluntarily associated, and if it be proper that public functionaries, as well as their constituents, should discharge their religious duties, let them, like their constituents,

do so at their own expense. How small a contribution from each member of Congress would suffice for the purpose! How just would it be in its principle! How noble in its exemplary sacrifice to the genius of the Constitution; and the divine right of conscience! Why should the expense of a religious worship for the Legislature, be paid by the public, more than that for the Executive or Judiciary branches of the Government?

Were the establishment to be tried by its fruits, are not the daily devotions conducted by these legal ecclesiastics, already degenerating into a scanty attendance, and a tiresome formality?

Rather than let this step beyond the landmarks of power have the effect of a legitimate precedent, it will be better to apply to it the aphorism, *de minimis non*

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 consequence.—*Senate Mail Report of Jan. 19, 1829.*

<sup>2</sup> A few years after this was written, on December 11, 1832, Charles Constantine Pise, a Catholic priest, was elected Chaplain of the Senate.—G. H.

*curat lex: or to class it "cum maculis quas aut incuria fudit, aut humana parum cavit natura."*

Better also to disarm in the same way the precedent of Chaplainships for the army and navy, than erect them into a political authority in matters of Religion. The object of this establishment is seducing; the motive to it is laudable. But is it not safer to adhere to a right principle, and trust to its consequences, than confide in the reasoning, however specious, in favor of a wrong one? Look thro' the armies and navies of the world, and say

whether in the appointment of their ministers of religion, the spiritual interests of the flocks or the temporal interests of the shepherds, be most in view; whether here, as elsewhere the political care of religion is not a nominal more than a real aid. If the spirit of armies be devout, the spirit out of the armies will

never be less so; and a failure of religious instruction and exhortation from a voluntary source within or without, will rarely happen; and if such be not the

spirit of armies, the official services of their Teachers are not likely to produce it. It is more likely to flow from the labors of a spontaneous zeal. The armies of the Puritans had their appointed Chaplains; but without these there would have been no lack of public devotion in that devout age.

The case of navies with insulated crews may be less within the scope of these reflections. But it is not entirely so.

The chance of a devout officer, might be of as much worth to religion, as the service of an ordinary Chaplain. But we are always to keep in mind that it is safer to trust the consequences of a right principle, than reasonings in support of a bad one.—*Harper's Magazine, March 17, 1914. (To be continued)*



GEORGE MASON, AUTHOR OF THE VIRGINIA BILL OF RIGHTS

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## Church and State

W. F. MARTIN

AMONG the many blessings that true Christianity has brought to the world, not the least is a recognition of human rights. The state existed prior to Christianity. The state had existed in different forms. It was patriarchal, regal, oligarchic, democratic, etc. In none of these, however, was it considered that the government

had any limitations. In all, it was considered that the individual had given up his entire rights to the state. Absolute power was conceded over minorities even in free republics. Therefore no rights of toleration were conceded to the individual, even though it might be at times thought expedient to be tolerant. The

private man was held to be subject to the state, and bound to conform to the state religion and religious practice, the same as in more external affairs.

The change of view that now obtains in civilized nations is purely and altogether the result of Christianity. The first one to declare the rights of the individual was the great Head of the church, who said, "And if any man hear my words, and believe not, I judge him not." The same can as truthfully be said of the first statement of the true relation that should exist between the church and the state. "Render therefore unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's; and unto God the things that are God's." A failure to recognize this

proper relation, instead of being Christian, is heathen.

Then again, the facts as stated above disprove the claims of infidelity to any priority in the advocacy of the rights of man. It is sad to have to acknowledge that the professed church of Christ has often forgotten this teaching of the Master, but no one while walking in the footsteps of Christ has ever lifted the hand of persecution. On the contrary, the very fact of persecution is of itself an evidence of a failure to grasp the truth of Christianity. Persecution is the working out of the principles of infidelity and heathenism, even though it be carried on in the name of religion.

*College Place, Wash.*

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## A Judicial Review of Sunday Legislation by the Supreme Court of North Carolina

THE EDITOR

MANY are not informed as to the past history and the origin of Sunday legislation. They do not know that Sunday as a religious institution was transferred from pagan Rome to papal Rome nearly four centuries after Christ, and that the early Christians observed the seventh day of the week as the Sabbath, or Lord's Day, instead of the first day of the week. The supreme court of the State of North Carolina, in reversing the decisions of the lower courts to the effect that "a contract made on the Lord's Day was invalid, in that Christianity is a part of the law of the land, and hence independent of any statute," reviewed the history of Sunday legislation before delivering an opposite opinion of the court.

In these days when Sabbatarianism are fined, imprisoned, sentenced to chain gangs, and attempts made to force them to work on the Sabbath and rest on Sunday, as has been done repeatedly in some States, and all on the basis "that Christianity is a part of the law of the land," and that "the holy Christian sabbath [Sunday] must be uniformly observed

by the whole community at the same time," it is refreshing to have State supreme courts overrule such drastic and intolerant measures, and vindicate the guaranties of human rights and liberties set forth in the federal Constitution, which are so ruthlessly set aside by some State legislatures and lower courts.

We set forth here the arguments and opinion of the presiding judge of the supreme court of North Carolina, in the case above mentioned. It is most interesting, inasmuch as it contains a judicial review of Sunday legislation. It is as follows:—

"Sunday legislation is more than fifteen centuries old, and this 'historic argument' is of value in construing the existing law. 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.

"During the Middle Ages, the civil authorities exercised the right to legislate in religious matters after the manner of the Jewish theocracy. The English Reformation introduced, for the first time, the doctrine of the fourth commandment to the first day of the week. . . .

"Chief Justice Lowrie, in *Commonwealth vs. Nesbit*, 34 Pa., 403, 409, after referring to the earlier legislation in this commonwealth and to the English act of 29 Charles II, chapter 7, upon which our laws were in a great measure modeled, said: 'Let us consider the statutory definition of what is forbidden. It is "any worldly employment or business whatsoever." What does this word "worldly" mean? Its correlates hold us to its meaning. Very evidently "worldly" is contrasted with religious, and all worldly employments are prohibited for the sake of the religious ones.' — *Pennsylvania Superior Court Reports*, Vol. XXV, page 134.

"Counsel for defendant contend that Christianity is a part of the law of the land, and hence independent of any statute, the contract is invalid. . . . The Founder of the Christian religion said that his kingdom was 'not of this world,' and under our constitutions, both State and federal, no act can be required or forbidden by statute because such an act may be in accordance with or against the religious views of any one. The First Amendment to the federal Constitution provides: 'Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof,' and the constitution of this State, Article I, section 26, reads: 'All men have a natural and inalienable right to worship

Almighty God according to the dictates of their own consciences, and no human authority should in any case whatever control or interfere with the rights of conscience.' If, therefore, the cessation of labor or the prohibition or the performance of any act were provided by statute for religious reasons, the statute could not be maintained. The Seventh-day Baptists and some others, as well as the Hebrews, keep Saturday, and the Mohammedans observe Friday. To compel them or any one else to observe Sun-



PLYMOUTH ROCK, PLYMOUTH, MASS.

day for religious reasons, would be contrary to our fundamental law. . . .

"It is incorrect to say that Christianity is a part of the common law of the land, however it may be in England, where there is union of church and state, which is forbidden here. The beautiful and divine precepts of the Nazarene do influence the conduct of our people and individuals, and are felt in legislation and in every department of activity. They profoundly impress and shape our civilization. But it is by this influence that it acts, and not because it is a part of the organic law which expressly denies religion any place in the supervision or control of secular affairs. As a contemporary construction of the federal Constitution, it may be well to recall that one of the first treaties of peace made by the United States,— that with Tripoli, — which was sent to the Senate with the signature of George Washington, who

had been president of the convention which adopted the United States Constitution, began with these words: 'As the government of the United States is not in any sense founded on the Christian religion.' This treaty was ratified by the Senate. If it was presumption in Uzza to put forth his hand to stay the tottering ark of God at the threshing floor of Chidon, it is equally forbidden under our severance of church and state for the civil power to enforce cessation of work upon the Lord's Day in maintenance of any religious views in regard to its proper observance. That must be left to the conscience of men, as they are severally influenced by their religious instruction. Churches differ widely, as is well known, on this subject, the views of Roman Catholics and Presbyterians, for instance, being divergent, and the views of other churches differing from both. Even if Christianity could be deemed the basis of our government, its own organic law must be found in the New Testament, and there we shall look in vain for any requirement to observe Sunday. . . . The Master's references to the Sabbath were not in support but in derogation of the extreme observance of the Mosaic day of rest indulged in by the Pharisees. The Old Testament commanded the observance of the Sabbath, . . . and it designated Saturday, not Sunday, as the day of rest.

"Sunday was first adopted by Christians in lieu of Saturday long years after Christ, in commemoration of the resurrection. The first 'Sunday law' was enacted in the year 321 after Christ, soon after the emperor Constantine had abjured paganism, and apparently for a different reason than the Christian observance of the day. It is as follows: 'Let all judges and city people and all tradesmen rest upon the venerable day of the sun. Let those dwelling in the country freely and with full liberty attend to the culture of their fields, since it frequently happens that no other day is so fit for the sowing of grain or the planting of vines; hence, the favorable

time should not be allowed to pass, lest the provisions of heaven be lost.' 'Given the seventh of March, Crispus and Constantine being consuls, each for the second time (321).—'Codex Justin,' lib. 3, tit. 12, §. 3.

"Evidently Constantine was still something of a heathen. As late as the year 409 two rescripts of the emperors Honorius and Theodosius indicate that Christians then still generally observed the Sabbath (Saturday, not Sunday). The curious may find these set out in full, 'Codex Justin,' lib. 1, tit. 9, cx. 13. Not till near the end of the ninth century was Sunday substituted by law for Saturday as the day of rest by a decree of the emperor Leo (Leo Cons., 54). . . .

"The first Sunday law in this country was enacted in Virginia in 1617 (three years before the landing at Plymouth), and punished a failure to attend church on Sunday with a fine payable in tobacco. This was reenacted in 1623. Plymouth Colony (Records, Vol. XI, page 214) made it punishable by imprisonment in the stocks to go to sleep in church, and on June 10, 1650, the same colony made it punishable by whipping to do 'any servile work or any such like abuse' on the Lord's Day. 'So any sin committed with an high hand, as the gathering of sticks on the Sabbath day, may be punished with death, when a lesser punishment might serve for gathering sticks privily and in need.'—*Records of Massachusetts Bay, Vol. II, page 93.*

"On May 19, 1668, after the union of New Haven and Connecticut in one colony, unnecessary travel or playing on Sunday, or keeping out of the meeting-house, was made punishable by imprisonment in the stocks, adding, 'And the constables in the several plantations are hereby required to make search for all offenders against this law and make return thereof.'—*Colonial Records of Connecticut, 1665-67, page 88.* Similar laws, but of less severity, were enacted in some other provinces. . . .

"To sum up the whole matter, the validity, in the courts, of any act done



on Sunday depends not upon religious views, . . . and our statute . . . does not invalidate a contract. . . . As was said in *State vs. Rickett's*, supra, 'What religion and morality permit or forbid to be done on Sunday is not within our province to decide.'—*North Carolina Reports, Vol. CXXXIV, pages 508-515.*"

The last statement of the court is very significant, and if the legislatures and the courts would consider that whatever "religion" forbids to be done on Sunday is not within their province to decide, or regulate, then there could be no such thing possible as special legislation on the part of the State to regulate man's conduct on Sunday differently than on the other days of the week. Since Sun-

day was set apart as a holy day by the Roman Catholic Church at the Council of Laodicea in 364 A. D., the churches were the promoters and sponsors of every Sunday law enacted for a period of over fifteen hundred years; and the things that were then "forbidden" by the churches as not being proper conduct on Sunday, were based on religious concepts and precepts. For the State legislatures and courts to "forbid" the same things which religion forbids to be done on Sunday, in the name of a police regulation for the benefit of the public welfare, is simply exchanging "names" and "terms" without changing the character of such legislation. It is still religious legislation enforced as a police regulation.

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## Religion in Public Schools

W. F. MARTIN

THE question of teaching the Christian religion in the public schools is one that is at present agitating the public mind. This is a period of time when the study of the Scriptures is seriously neglected. Many of the youth are growing to manhood and womanhood without a knowledge of the Sacred Writings. In many homes where the family altar once was erected and the Bible read daily, the voice of prayer is now hushed, and God's Holy Word is not revered nor studied. Some, knowing this to be true, hope to supply a remedy by having the state come to the rescue. It is purposed to have religion taught in the public schools. The desire is for more than the simple reading of the Bible. The teacher is to give instruction in the principles of Christianity.

From the standpoint of a true American, there are serious and grave objections to this proposed plan. The public schools are purely secular. They are designed to train citizens for the government, and not Christians for the kingdom of heaven. This brings us to this question: Can a man be a good citizen without being a Christian? The answer is obvious. Good citizenship is not depend-

ent upon the acceptance of the Christian religion. One may make no profession of religion and still be a good citizen of the state. If a profession of religion were to be made a test of good citizenship, this would encourage a spirit of hypocrisy. It would not make a single Christian, but would encourage a profession of Christianity. One who professes to be a Christian but who is not such at heart, is a hypocrite. The making of hypocrites is all that has ever been accomplished by religious legislation. All the religious laws that have ever been enacted have never made one single Christian. More than this, they have never helped the cause of Christianity one whit. True religion needs no help from the state for the furtherance of its aims. Its innate goodness is sufficient to carry it to victory. Civil laws favoring Christianity have ever been a hindrance rather than a help in forwarding the gospel.

A perfunctory teaching of Christianity is not at all calculated to instill into the minds of the students respect for its principles. One has well said, "What we have most to fear in the religious ob-

servance of this day is that it should come to be a mere perfunctory and formal observance." Nothing could be more calculated to accomplish this than to place the teaching of religion in the hands of those whose hearts are not filled with its love. To make the profession of Christianity a test for a teacher, would exclude many capable men and women who are too honest and sincere to act the hypocrite, and yet who would be excellent instructors. Again, as already mentioned, it would cause some insincere persons to make a pretense of Christianity in order to secure positions as teachers in the state schools.

After all, this is not the most serious objection to the proposed plan. Even Christians themselves are not agreed as to what constitutes the true principles of Christianity.

As soon as the schools should attempt to teach Christianity, the things taught would of necessity be the conception of some one man or some body of men. Naturally, some one else would disagree, and trouble would ensue. The matter would go to the courts, and ultimately to the Supreme Court, for a decision as to what constitutes true Christianity. No sooner would that decision be secured than we should have a state-established religion. Where there is a state-established religion, there must of necessity be a state-established head of that religion. That means a union of church and state. That would also mean that some one's religion would be favored above that of another. That would destroy perfect religious liberty. One of the best authorities on American law has said: "There is not complete religious liberty

where any one sect is favored by the state and given an 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."—*Cooley*.

If a decision of the Supreme Court should be given on the question and should be accounted final, that would be accounting the magistrate as infallible, and granting him the right to settle differences of religious opinions. It would

be rendering to Cæsar the things which belong to God.

We cannot do better here than to introduce some noble sentiments expressed by the Hanover Presbytery in that noted year 1776. In writing to the general assembly of Virginia, protesting against being



PATRICK HENRY ADDRESSING THE VIRGINIA ASSEMBLY AND PROTESTING AGAINST THE ESTABLISHED RELIGION

taxed for the support of a state-established church, the following pertinent truths were uttered:—

"There is no argument in favor of establishing the Christian religion but that may be pleaded with equal propriety for establishing the tenets of Mohammed by those who believe the Alcoran; or, if this be not true, it is at least impossible for the magistrate to adjudge the right of preference among the various sects that profess the Christian faith without erecting a chair of infallibility, which would lead us back to the Church of Rome."

True religious liberty recognizes the right to worship or not to worship. It recognizes that religion is and must be a voluntary service; that only that kind of service is acceptable to God. It is not given to any earthly power, civil or ecclesiastical, to compel conformity to any

creed, or form of worship, or to tax a man for its support. This gives to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, but denies to Cæsar the things that belong to God.

It is no opposition to the Christian religion to say that it should not be taught in the public school. It has already been shown that such a move would lead to a union of church and state. This union is to secure support for religion from the state. Religion needs no such support. As stated by the supreme court of Wisconsin, "It is stronger and much purer without it. The connection of church and state corrupts religion, and makes the state despotic." The great thinker and writer Macaulay said: "The whole history of the Christian religion shows that she [the church] is in far greater danger of being corrupted by the alliance of power than of being crushed by its opposition." Benjamin Franklin spoke the truth when he said: "When religion is good, it will take care of itself; when it is not able to take care of itself, and God does not see fit to take care of it, so that it has to appeal to the civil power for support, it is evidence to my mind that its cause is a bad one." Once more I quote from the Wisconsin Supreme Court decision rendered in the year 1890:—

"The priceless truths of the Bible are best taught to our youth in the church, the Sabbath, and the parochial schools, the social religious meetings, and above all by parents in the home circle. There those truths may be explained and enforced, the spiritual welfare of the child guarded and protected, and his spiritual nature directed and cultivated."

Then the question may well be asked, Why single out and teach the Christian religion in schools which are paid for and fostered by people of all religions and of no religion at all? The Mohammedan and the Hindu could just as logically demand that their faith be taught. Then the Hebrew is as much a citizen as the Christian. These classes all pay their taxes for the support of the public schools, and all are equally en-

titled to their benefits. None of them can logically claim any favors because of religious belief. To demand this because of a majority of adherents is to claim that numbers are an argument in favor of the truthfulness of the position held by the majority. This again opens the way for the establishment of some particular sect of Christians; for the same authority that can establish Christianity to the exclusion of other religions, can with equal propriety establish some particular sect to the exclusion of all other sects. This is all opposed to the principles of true Americanism.

As a reason for adopting the First Amendment to the national Constitution, Mr. Madison feared one sect might obtain a preeminence, or two or more sects combine and establish a religion to which they would compel others to conform. It was stated by a committee appointed from the House of Representatives and adopted by that body in 1829, that "the principles of our government do not recognize in the majority any authority over the minority except in matters which regard the conduct of man to his fellow men." "The Constitution regards the conscience of the Jew as sacred as that of the Christian, and gives no more authority to adopt a measure affecting the conscience of a solitary individual than that of a whole community."

Religious coercion is not only opposed to true Americanism, but it is opposed to true religious liberty. It is also opposed to the gospel of Jesus Christ, who said, "If any man hear my words, and believe not, I judge him not: for I came not to judge the world, but to save the world." And again: "Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them: for this is the law and the prophets." One of America's greatest statesmen, General Grant, said: "Let us labor for the security of free thought, free speech, pure morals, unfettered religious sentiments, and equal rights and privileges of all men irrespective of nationality, color, or religion: encourage free schools, resolve

that not one dollar appropriated to them shall go to the support of any sectarian school. Resolve that neither State nor nation shall support any institution save those where every child may get a common school education, unmixed with any atheistic, pagan, or sectarian teaching. Leave the matter of religious teaching to the family altar, the church, and the pri-

vate school supported entirely by private contribution. Keep the church and state forever separate."

The highest regard that can be had for religion is to recognize that God, who is its author, will care for it, and that its support and furtherance do not depend upon its enforcement by civil law.

*College Place, Wash.*

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## Patriotism; in What Does It Consist?

SANFORD B. HORTON

"WHAT constitutes a state?

Not high-raised battlements or labored mound,

Thick wall, or moated gate;

Not cities proud, with spires and turrets crowned;

Not bays and broad-armed ports,  
Where, laughing at the storm, rich navies ride;

Nor starred and spangled courts,  
Where low-browed baseness wafts perfume to pride.

No! Men, high-minded men,  
With powers as far above dull brutes endued,

In forest, brake, or den,  
As beasts excel cold rocks and brambles rude;

Men who their duties know,  
But know their rights, and, knowing, dare maintain,

Prevent the long-aimed blow,  
And crush the tyrant, while they rend the chain,—

These constitute a state."

—*Sir W. Jones, in "Truths Illustrated."*

Patriotism is defined by the lexicographer to be "devotion to one's country," and patriot to be "one who loves his country and zealously guards its welfare." The term may be further defined by reference to notable expressions; such as,—

"No nation can expect to prosper and become great without ardent and devoted patriotism; it is irresistible, unconquerable, universal."—*Lord Acton.*

"He cares too much for his country to

uphold her in any wrong. He does not reserve his patriotism until he has a chance to die for his country; he lives for her."—*The True Patriot, in "Holydays and Holidays," page 637.*

It may be safely claimed that patriotism received one of its greatest baptisms of fire during the early preliminaries connected with the founding of the United States of America. No men ever had such a commission as was given the founders of this government. Here were to be exemplified heaven-born principles, eternal in character and boundless in their application. Here were to be brought to successful fruition the ideals of man in his relation to his fellow man and to his God, as enunciated by the Christ; namely, "Render therefore unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's; and unto God the things that are God's." The familiar lines by Bishop Berkeley cannot be too often repeated:—

"Westward the course of empire takes its way;

The first four acts already past,

A fifth shall close the drama with the day;

Time's noblest offspring is the last."

The verdict of the world as to the marvellous growth, resources, and noble principles of this young "giant of the West" is too well known to need repeating; and yet if "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty," it is well to pause occasionally and count our many blessings, and at the

same time see if there are any within or without the walls of our body politic who would despoil us of these blessings, our American heritage. Occasions for thus pausing are to be found in the anniversaries which keep afresh the patriotic past, such as fourth of July, Washington's and Lincoln's birthdays. Writing upon the subject of the adoption of the Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1776, John Adams wrote to his wife: "I am apt to believe that it [the day] will be celebrated by succeeding generations as the great anniversary festival. It ought to be commemorated as the day of deliverance, by solemn acts of devotion to God Almighty. It ought to be solemnized with pomp and parade," etc.

Sounding a word of warning, one writer referred to the Adams letter, saying:—

"These words have proved prophetic. That, as a people, Americans have emphasized the lighter part of the prophecy in the spirit of their celebration is greatly to be deplored. The day at times appears rather to be an orgy than a solemn festival; a time of noise and self-indulgence rather than of patriotic joy and thankfulness."

And yet when we call to mind the history of our colonial and national struggle for liberty, when we consider the great work of George Washington as constructor and that of Abraham Lincoln as preserver of our national being, the fourth of July, February 22, and February 12 will mean more to us than simply an opportunity for "noise and self-indulgence." Then will true patriotism find time for study and recounting, thus making for intelligent Americanism.

One has truthfully said, "The safety of the republic lies in the vigilant and ac-

tive patriotism of the American people."

James Russell Lowell, minister to Great Britain, was asked by the historian Guizot how long the republic of the United States might reasonably be expected to endure. His reply was, "So long as the ideas of its founders continue dominant." Concerning these "ideas" Mr. Lincoln said on Washington's anniversary in



A GROUP OF PATRIOTS

Philadelphia in 1861, while en route to the capital to be inaugurated President of the United States:—

"It was not the mere matter of separation of the colonies from the motherland, but that sentiment in the Declaration of Independence which gave liberty not to the people of the country, but, as they hoped, to all the world for all future time. It was that which gave promise that in due time the weights would be lifted from the shoulders of men, and that all should have an equal chance;

this is the sentiment embodied in the Declaration of Independence."

While doubtless the question of slavery was in the mind of Mr. Lincoln at the time of this speech, still that was but an incident in his patriotic reference to and consideration for the fundamental principles contained in the Declaration: "All men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure [not make] these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

The "spirit of '76" had to do with a momentous drama. That spirit and the activities growing out of it were not merely the posing of a few men for pictorial effect. The patriots of that time gave their lives and pledged their sacred honor for principles of eternal character. And may we not claim that the measure of patriotism today will be in proportion to the measure of devotion we give to original Americanism? Bancroft has well said: "American law was the outgrowth of necessity, not the wisdom of individuals. It was not an acquisition from abroad; it was begotten from the American mind, of which it was a natural and inevitable, but also a slow and gradual, development."

One thing which contributed toward making America free, from the viewpoint of both civility and religion, was the restrictions obtaining in the Old World against freedom of thought. From this "old order of things" a "new order of things" was entered upon, which was designed to be the sheet anchor of national hope and existence. One of the things proposed under the "new order of things" was a provision for absolute separation of church and state; not that the state should be irreligious, but that all religionists as well as nonreligionists should have equal privileges conditioned upon noninterference with the civil and religious rights of one another.

"When the Constitution first made its appearance, the friends of religious liberty, especially those who had been oppressed under the religious establishments of the colonies, felt that liberty of conscience was not sufficiently secured in it. Article VI forbade religious tests as a qualification for office under the government, but there was no guaranty against religious tests and religious intolerance to those not in office. Aug. 8, 1789, the United Baptist churches of Virginia addressed a communication to George Washington, in which they gave expression to the prevailing fears in this regard. Replying, Washington said:—

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

Washington was not alone in holding such views on the subject of the functions of church and state, respectively. From a report of the Forty-third Congress (1874), dealing adversely with a petition so to amend the Constitution as to declare this country a Christian nation, the following is gathered:—

"Upon examination even of the meager debates by the fathers of the republic in the convention which framed the Con-

stitution, they find that the subject of this memorial was most fully and carefully considered, and then, in that convention, decided, after grave deliberation, to which the subject was entitled, that, as this country, the foundation of whose government they were then laying, was to be the home of the oppressed of all nations of the earth, whether Christian or pagan, and in full realization of the dangers which the union between church and state had imposed upon so many nations in the Old World, with great unanimity that it was inexpedient to put anything into the Constitution, or frame of government, which might be construed to be a reference to any religious creed or doctrine.

"And they further find that this decision was accepted by our Christian fathers with such great unanimity that in the amendments which were afterward proposed, in order to make the Constitution more acceptable to the nation, none

has ever been proposed to the States by which this wise determination of the fathers has been attempted to be changed." —*American State Papers*," page 346.

We are therefore justified in asserting that when the religious forces of this country press our lawmakers for Sunday laws and such other legislation which may be related to purely religious affairs, and when the lawmakers yield to that pressure, there is to that extent a deviation from the priceless principles laid down by a patriotic ancestry, and that deviation will guide the ship of state into forbidden channels, the end of which will be ruin. And we repeat, The measure of patriotism today will be in proportion to the devotion which we loyally give to the principles for which the forefathers so nobly stood. Such patriotism will make for the prosperity of the church and the peace and happiness of the state.

*Washington, D. C.*

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## Illinois Supreme Court Decision on the Unconstitutionality of Sunday Laws

THE EDITOR

It is refreshing to see the spirit of true Americanism assert itself occasionally in our higher courts when the tendency is so strong toward the church-and-state unionism of medieval times. During the past thirty years, more than fourscore Sunday bills were introduced in the United States Congress. There are at present three Sunday bills before Congress waiting action, whose purpose is to compel the citizens of the District of Columbia to abstain from secular pursuits and to observe Sunday religiously, whether or not they have observed another day as the Sabbath.

One of these Sunday bills makes it a crime for a barber "to shave, cut hair, shampoo, or the like on Sunday," and if he does, he is liable to a fine of twenty dollars or to sixty days' imprisonment.

A similar law was passed by the State legislature of Illinois, and was declared unconstitutional by the supreme court of that State.

It will be of unusual interest to read the records of the court proceeding in the test case which was carried up from the justice of the peace to the criminal court and finally to the supreme court, where the decisions of the lower courts were reversed, and the Sunday law was declared unconstitutional. We shall copy the records of the court quite fully, together with the arguments of the attorneys and the presiding judges:—

"William S. Eden vs. the People of the State of Illinois.

"Filed at Springfield, May 12, 1896.

"1. *Sunday*.—Common law rule as to observance of. The common law





the evidence on both sides, reviewed the case, and delivered the opinion of the court.

#### Supreme Court Verdict

Mr. Chief Justice Craig delivered the opinion, which was quite lengthy. We give a few of his important statements and citations of law and his opinion, which follow:—

“Plaintiff in error was convicted in the criminal court of Cook County for the violation of an act to prohibit barber shops from being kept open on Sunday, and for a violation of the law he was fined \$25. The act was passed at the last session of the legislature, and contained two sections, as follows:—

“Section 1. Be it enacted by the people of the State of Illinois, represented in the general assembly, That it shall be unlawful for any person or persons to keep open any barber shop, or carry on the business of shaving, hair cutting, or tonsorial work, on Sunday, within this State.

“Sec. 2. Any person, by himself, agent, or employee, violating the provisions of Section 1 of this act, shall, upon conviction thereof, be fined in any sum not exceeding two hundred dollars (\$200) for each and every offense.”

“It is contended in the argument that by the act in question that part of the Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution (Section 1) has been violated, which reads as follows: ‘Nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.’ . . .

“The common law of England, as adopted in this State as a part of our jurisprudence, does not prohibit the citizen from pursuing his ordinary labor on Sunday, nor is a contract entered into between two parties in this State void because executed on Sunday. . . . Under the law of this State as it existed prior to the passage of the act in question, each and every citizen of the State

was left perfectly free to labor and transact business on Sunday or refrain from labor or business, as he might choose, so long as he did not disturb the peace and good order of society. By the act in question an attempt has been made by the legislature to inaugurate a radical change in the law as to a class of the laboring element of the State, the barbers. The stat-

ute, as has been seen, declares that it shall be unlawful for any person or persons to keep open any barber shop, or carry on the business of shaving, hair cutting, or tonsorial work on Sunday. That act is plain, and its meaning is obvious. The owner of a place where is carried on the barber business is prohibited from doing any business whatever during one day in the week. He may have in his employ a dozen men, and yet during one day in seven he is deprived of their labor and also deprived of his own labor. The income derived from his place and his own labor and the labor of his employees is his property, but the legislature has by the act taken that property from him. The journeyman barber who works by the day or week, or for a share of the amount he may receive from cus-

It would be a strained and far-fetched construction to hold that violations of the Sabbath per se would affect the health of the citizens or constitute a nuisance.—*12 Lea, Tennessee Reports, page 507.*

The power to pass laws for the preservation of the health and comfort of the town is limited to such ordinances as relate to these two objects.—*Id.*

Power given to a municipality “to make regulations to secure the general health of the inhabitants, and to prevent and remove nuisances,” does not authorize Sunday ordinances.—*American and English Encyclopedia of Law, Vol. XXVII, page 392.*

tomers for his services is by the law denied the right of laboring one day in the week. He may rely solely upon his labor for the support of himself and family; his labor may be the only prop-

States says the state shall not deprive any person of property without due process of law, and our State constitution declares the same thing. What is understood by the term 'due process of law'



#### GALLIO'S WISE DECISION — RELIGIOUS

“WHEN GALLIO WAS THE DEPUTY OF ACHAIA, THE JEWS MADE  
TO THE JUDGMENT SEAT, SAYING, THIS FELLOW PERSUADETH ME  
NOW ABOUT TO OPEN HIS MOUTH, GALLIO SAID UNTO THE JEWS,  
REASON WOULD THAT I SHOULD BEAR WITH YOU: BUT IF IT BE  
IT; FOR I WILL BE NO JUDGE OF SUCH MATTERS. AND HE DRAV

erty he possesses, and yet this law takes that property away from him. His labor is his capital, and that capital is all the property he owns. Can a law which takes that from the laborer be sustained?

“The Constitution of the United

is not an open question. ‘Due process of law’ is synonymous with ‘law of the land,’ and ‘the law of the land’ is ‘general public law, binding upon all the members of the community, under all circumstances, and not partial or private

laws, affecting the rights of private individuals or classes of individuals.' Is the law in question a law binding upon all the members of the community? A glance at its provisions affords a nega-

laws as will preserve the right of each citizen to pursue his own advancement and happiness in his own way, subject only to the restraints necessary to secure the same rights to others. The funda-



#### LETTERS NO BUSINESS OF THE STATE

REPROBATION WITH ONE ACCORD AGAINST PAUL, AND BROUGHT HIM  
TO WORSHIP GOD CONTRARY TO THE LAW. AND WHEN PAUL WAS  
ACCUSED OF A MATTER OF WRONG OR WICKED LEWDNESS, O YE JEWS,  
CONSIDERATION OF WORDS AND NAMES, AND OF YOUR LAW, LOOK YE TO  
YOURSELVES FROM THE JUDGMENT SEAT." Acts 18: 12-16.

tive answer. The act affects one class of laborers, and one class alone. . . .

"In speaking of the term liberty as used in the Constitution, it is there said: 'There can be no liberty protected by government that is not regulated by such

mental principle upon which liberty is based in free and enlightened government is equality under the law of the land.' It has accordingly been everywhere held that liberty, as that term is used in the Constitution, means not only

freedom of the citizen from servitude and restraint, but is deemed to embrace the right of every man to be free in the use of his powers and faculties, and to adopt and pursue such avocation or calling as he may choose, subject only to the restraints necessary to secure the common welfare.

"In *Ritchie vs. People*, 155 Ill., 98, the question arose in regard to the validity of a statute which provided that no female shall be employed in any factory or workshop more than eight hours in any one day, or forty-eight hours in any one week, and it was held that the right to labor or employ labor and make contracts in respect thereto, upon such terms as may be agreed upon, is both a liberty and a property right, and is included in the guaranty of Section 2 of Article II, of the Constitution, and that the act prohibiting the employment of females in any factory or workshop for more than eight hours a day is unconstitutional, as being partial and discriminating in its character. In the decision of the case it is said (page 104):—

"'Labor is property, and the laborer has the same right to sell his labor and to contract with reference thereto as has any other property owner. In this country the legislature has no power to prevent persons who are *sui juris* from making their own contracts, nor can it interfere with the freedom of contract between the workman and the employer.'

"If the legislature has no power to prohibit, by law, a woman from being employed in a factory or workshop more than eight hours in any one day, or forty-eight hours in a week, upon what principle, it may be asked, has the legislature the right to prohibit a barber from laboring and receiving the fruits of his labor during any number of hours he may desire to work during the week? If a woman may be allowed to determine the number of hours she may work in a week, why not allow a barber the same right? Moreover, if the merchant, the grocer, the butcher, the druggist, and those engaged in other trades and call-

ings, are allowed to open their places of business and carry on their respective avocations during seven days of the week, upon what principle can it be held that a person who may be engaged in the business of barbering may not do the same thing? Why should a discrimination be made against that calling, and that alone?

"But it is said the law may be sustained under the police power of the State. . . . It must be conceded that there is a limit to the exercise of this power, and that it is not an unlimited, arbitrary power, which would enable the legislature to prohibit a business the prosecution of which inflicts no damage upon others. It is a judicial question whether the trade or calling is of such a nature as to justify police regulation. . . .

"In *Austin vs. Murray*, 16 Pick., 121, it was said: 'The law will not allow the rights of property to be invaded under the guise of a police regulation for the promotion of health, when it is manifest that such is not the object and purpose of the regulation.' See also *Waterman vs. Mayo*, 109 Mass., 315, and cases referred to in *Matter of Application of Jacobs*, 98 N. Y., 109. See also Cooley's 'Constitutional Limitations,' section 484.

"It will not and cannot be claimed that the law in question was passed as a sanitary measure, or that it has any relation whatever to the health of society. As has been heretofore seen, as a general rule a police regulation has reference to the health, comfort, safety, and welfare of society. How, it may be asked, is the health, comfort, safety, or welfare of society to be injuriously affected by keeping open a barber shop on Sunday? It is a matter of common observation that the barber business, as carried on in this State, is both quiet and orderly. . . . In view of the nature of the business and the manner in which it is carried on, it is difficult to perceive how the rights of any person can be affected, or how the comfort or welfare of society can be disturbed. If the act were one calculated to promote the

health, comfort, safety, and welfare of society, then it might be regarded as an exercise of the police power of the State. In *Toledo, Wabash & Western R. R. Co. vs. City of Jacksonville*, 67 Ill., 37, it was held that if the law prohibits that which is harmless in itself, or requires that to be done which does not tend to promote the health, comfort, safety, or welfare of society, it will in such case

Where the ostensible object of an enactment is to secure the public comfort, welfare, or safety, it must appear to be adapted to that end. It cannot invade the rights of person and property under the guise of a mere police regulation, when it is not such in fact; and where such an act takes away the property of a citizen or interferes with his personal liberty, it is the province of the courts to



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be an unauthorized exercise of power, and it will be the duty of the courts to declare such legislation void.

"In *Ritchie vs. People*, supra, in speaking of the police power of the State, the court said (page 110): 'The police power of the State is that power which enables it to promote the health, comfort, safety, and welfare of society. It is very broad and far-reaching, but not without its limitations. Legislative acts passed in pursuance of it must not conflict with the constitution, and must have some relation to the ends sought to be accomplished; that is to say, to the comfort, welfare, or safety of society.

determine whether it is really an appropriate measure for the promotion of comfort, safety, and welfare of society.'

"We do not, therefore, think the law was authorized by the police power of the State. . . . All should be placed on a perfect equality, so no one can complain of an unjust discrimination. But when the legislature undertakes to single out one class of labor harmless in itself, and condemns that, and that alone, it transcends its legitimate powers, and its actions cannot be sustained. The judgment will be reversed."—*Illinois Reports*, Vol. CLXI, pages 296-309.

(Concluded on page 86)

# EDITORIAL

LOVE is the law of heaven.

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FORCE is the law of the state.

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LIBERTY is not license but love.

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JESUS CHRIST is the author of liberty.

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THE religion of Jesus Christ leads men to God by the power of love.

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A MAN-MADE religion drives men into submission by the power of a civil statute.

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A FREE republican government should protect and defend, without discrimination, the free exercise of every religion which is wholesome to civilization, and should never molest the liberty, the rights of conscience, and the equality of privileges of a single individual who conducts himself as a good citizen. No one's rights and privileges in religious matters are secure until the government has protected the individual.

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THE state does not legislate on the Lord's Prayer, nor the Lord's Supper, nor the Lord's baptism; why should it legislate on the Lord's day? All are religious institutions, and bear the image and superscription of the Lord instead of Cæsar. Therefore, the state should not enact laws for the proper observance of either. We have a divine Sabbath law, and that is sufficient for the church. The world should be won to the truth by the subduing grace in the church and not be coerced by the state in religious things.

How can it be possible that Christ is to become "this world's king," and that "the kingdom of Christ must enter the realm of law through the gateway of politics," when Christ himself said, "My kingdom is not of this world"? Is not he rather to become the King of "the world to come," whereof we speak?

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WHEN the state forces a religious law upon honest dissenters in order to aid a legally established church in her warfare against nonconformists, that is religious persecution. When the state enforces discriminatory and oppressive religious laws by virtue of the exercise of the police power, that, too, is religious persecution.

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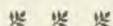
WE do not believe that any church ought to advocate that its adherents, when elected to civil office, should combine and use their influence to effect legislation in behalf of the interests of their church for public patronage and pecuniary benefits from the public exchequer. We were startled when we read in the *Catholic Standard and Times* of March 14, 1914, the following language under the caption, "Still Warring on Nuns in Indian Schools:"—

If the fifty-three Catholic Democrats who have a vote in the House had been present, and had voted against the objectionable item [to require an educational test for certain employees in the civil service of the government in Indian schools and hospitals] it would have been eliminated by a majority of thirty-four. . . . The effort to eliminate the objectionable features of the item was defeated, according to the testimony of a Catholic gentleman who was present at the time, by a strictly party vote — forty-

four ayes, sixty-three noes, a majority of nineteen.

This is strange language for a church who claims not to be in politics. We do not discriminate between the Protestant

or Catholic churches when they advocate a policy to form an ecclesiastical combine in politics for the purpose of gaining sectarian advantages. They both alike deserve censure.



## Judge Elliott Declares From Bench That Maryland Law Must Be Observed

THE following is taken from the Baltimore *News* of March 25, 1914:—

Thirteen violators of the Sunday-selling law were arraigned before Judge Elliott in the criminal court, part 1, this morning, and listened to a lecture upon keeping the sabbath day holy.

All thirteen were charged with keeping their stores open on Sunday. They were represented by Attorney Louis Ashman, who stated that his clients observed Saturday, and therefore kept their places open on Sunday.

"That cannot be considered as an excuse by this court," declared Judge Elliott. "The law of this land is that Sunday is to be observed, and people coming from other countries must abide by the laws of this land. This country does not recognize Saturday, and it is immaterial to the law whether they close or keep open on Saturday, but they must not do business on Sunday."

The cases were dismissed with the warning that should the accused appear before the court on a similar charge the extreme penalty would be meted out to them.

The best comment on the above is an editorial in the Oakland (Cal.) *Tribune* of March 19, 1914, with the title, "The Freedom of Religious Faith:"—

There is in session in this city a body of men, the superiors of whom in industry, orderliness, loyalty, honesty, good repute, and all that makes for the best citizenship, we think it would be difficult to find. These are the Seventh-day Adventists, now holding their biennial conference.

The members of this church observe Saturday as the Sabbath, and no matter whether this is sound theology or not, it

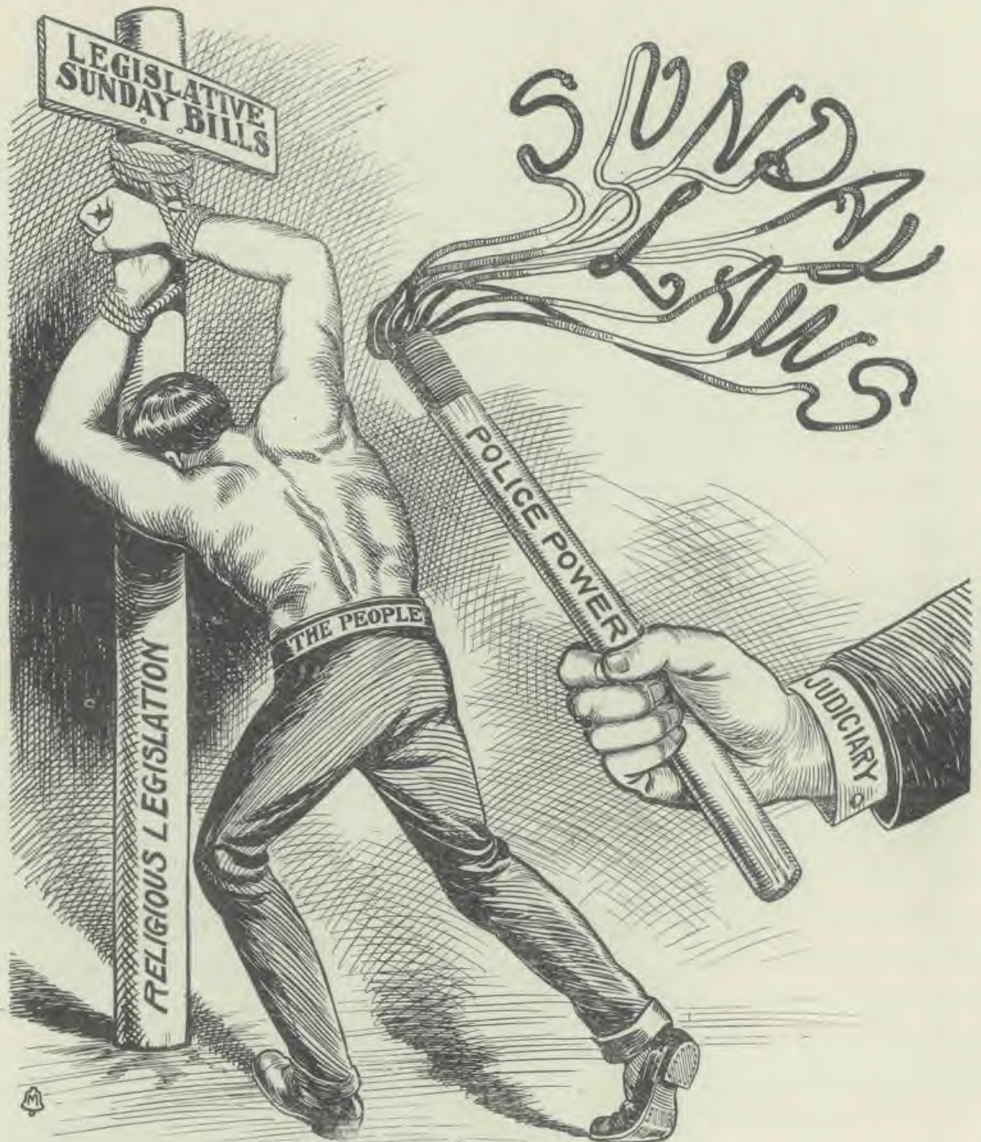
is their belief and their undoubted constitutional right as citizens and free men and free women, so to keep the seventh day as holy.

Observing the seventh day as the Sabbath, it is at once a violence offered to their faith and an unreasonable business hardship to compel them by law to observe also the first day of the week as a day in which they shall not labor or carry on their usual business and professional avocations. And upon these grounds these good people are strenuously opposed to all so-called Sunday laws.

We think they are absolutely right in their contentions for their civil privileges under the guaranties of the Constitution. They have an indefeasible right to their faith. They are entitled to religious liberty. And it is impossible to say that a citizen who is compelled to keep a day which is not holy to him as the Sabbath, and which he believes it sinful to keep as the Sabbath, enjoys religious freedom within the true intent and the full meaning of the Constitutional guaranties.

The Supreme Court of the United States has decided that it is within the police powers of a State to make and enforce laws forbidding work to be done on Sunday. But, as a matter of justice and fair play, such laws should expressly exempt all citizens who honestly and as a matter of conscience observe another day than the first of the week. It is manifestly unfair to compel a man who conscientiously refrains from all labor on Saturday, to also refrain from labor and amusement on Sunday, simply because there are more persons who believe that the first day is the Sabbath than there are who believe that the seventh day is holy.

In the theological dispute we are not greatly interested. But in the maintenance of civil and religious liberty we



THE MODERN SCOURGE OF THE MODERN PILATE. CONSCIENCE IS TIED TO THE STAKE — TRUTH AND EQUITY MUST BE CRUCIFIED

are earnestly and always interested. Without those noble and precious liberties life is not worth the living. And we most assuredly believe that the Seventh-day Adventists are right in contending for those liberties, and heartily do we wish them courage in their good fight.

We commend the principles here laid down to the candid consideration of Judge Elliott, of Baltimore.

Our government should protect and defend the free exercise of every religion that is wholesome to civilization, and should never molest the liberty and religious belief of a single individual who conducts himself as a good citizen. We affirm that the consciences of the minority are just as sacred as those of the majority, and should be equally protected.



# A Vigorous Protest Against Encroachments Upon Individual Liberty

IN view of the present tendency to regulate human conduct by law and to look to legislative enactment as the panacea for moral ills at the expense of individual liberty, a protest against such a course from a man of influence in public affairs is an encouraging omen and a valuable contribution to the agitation of this most important question. We note with satisfaction that such a protest has been made, and we feel warranted in devoting considerable space to it.

In an address delivered last January before the New York State Bar Association, printed in the *New York Times* of February 8, Edgar M. Cullen, the retired chief judge of the court of appeals of that State, took the ground that there is now "a strong tendency in courts, in legislatures, and, worst of all, in the people themselves, to disregard the most fundamental principles of personal rights," and he cited a number of cases in proof of his contention. After affirming that a most momentous question now before the country is "whether individual liberty is still to obtain in America," Judge Cullen went on to say:—

It may seem remarkable that less than one hundred and forty years after the Declaration of Independence, and twelve years less than that time after the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, the question I have propounded should be still open for discussion. Nevertheless, unless I am utterly mistaken, there is now a strong tendency in courts, in legislatures, and, worst of all, in the people themselves, to disregard the most fundamental principles of personal rights.

Judicial decisions are made, statutes are enacted, and doctrines are publicly advocated which, when I was young, would have shocked our people to the last degree. In those days liberty was deemed to be the right of the citizen, to act and live as he thought best so long

as his conduct did not invade a like right on the part of others. Today, according to the notion of many, if not most people, liberty is the right of part of the people to compel the other part to do what the first part thinks the latter ought to do for its own benefit.

It has been said that the great misfortune of the day is the mania for regulating all human conduct by statute, from responsibility for which few are exempt, for those who resent as paternalism or socialism legislative interference with their own affairs are often most persistent in the attempt to regulate the conduct of others. That there has been of late years a reaction from the faith in individualism, which was almost universal in free countries in the middle of the last century, is certain.

After stating that he had always believed that "the subordination of the military power to the civil was an axiom in a free country," Judge Cullen reports the repudiation of this principle in dealing with the disorders in West Virginia growing out of the great coal strike in 1912, quotes from the court decision concerning the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus, and expresses himself quite strongly concerning the tendency to call out the militia on small provocation:—

The lust for military intervention in civil affairs grows on what it feeds upon. It is becoming the common practice, in the case of any great disaster, such as fire or flood, to call out the military.

Finally, in this very month, in the State of Washington, a young lady, acting as secretary to the governor, placed the town of Copperfield under martial law and the control of the military because the civil authorities had failed to close the saloons as required by law. Thus one violation of liberty and law leads to another. . . .

If it be true that in this country order cannot be maintained and the law en-

forced by the civil authorities, but we must constantly resort to military force, our boast of freedom is but idle, and, at least, we should refrain from the expressions of indignation in which we have recently been indulging at the invasion of the rights of civilians by the army in Germany.

The next topic discussed in the address is the freedom of the press, and a court case in Minnesota is cited. A law had been passed in that State prohibiting newspapers from printing detailed reports of the execution of criminals, and the Pioneer Press Company of St. Paul had been indicted for an infraction of this law. In the trial the court held that the statute in question did not deprive the publishers of any Constitutional right. We quote again from Judge Cullen's address:—

In answer to the appellant's argument that there were no Constitutional limitations upon the press unless the subject matter be blasphemous, obscene, seditious, or scandalous in its character, the learned court said: "This is altogether too restricted a view. The principle is the same whether the subject matter of the publication is distinctly blasphemous, seditious, or scandalous, or of such character as naturally tends to excite the public mind and thus indirectly affect the public good." With the greatest deference to the learned court, I insist that the doctrine asserted in this opinion is fatal to the liberty of the press. If it is a correct exposition of the law, the famous decree of the Star Chamber forbidding unlicensed printing, held up to execration in free countries for centuries, has been the subject of unmerited obloquy.

Surely, if government can prohibit the publication of anything that tends to excite the public mind, it is much wiser that nothing should be published that has not been properly censored. I believe that on many subjects it is right that the public mind should be excited, despite of whatever disadvantage may come from that condition, and I had supposed that it was the inalienable right of the press to excite the public on the subject of any

wrong, so that that wrong might be redressed.

The tendency of one class to obtain legislation which interferes with the rights of other classes is next considered, and some rather plain language is employed:—

In the domain of commercial and industrial activities have been the greatest attempts to restrain individual activity and liberty. The members of nearly every vocation have sought, and often secured in their own interest, legislation which invades the rights of the rest of the community and, at times, the rights of some of their own members. . . .

Nor are the professions free from the same spirit. Surely there is no nobler, none so charitable and unselfish a profession as that of the physician. Yet, the persecution which some of the physicians seek to inflict on the Christian Scientists is discreditable. Personally, when ill, if compelled to make a choice, I prefer the attendance of the physician to that of the minister, but others may entertain a different view. It took centuries of time and untold human suffering to establish the right of a man to be saved or damned in the next world in his own way. And the right of an adult sane person to be cured or killed in this world, in his own way, seems to me to be equally as great, unless his disease, being contagious, endangers others, and even in that case it is difficult to see how the attendance of the Christian Scientist can increase the danger. Doubtless the requirements of technical education and skill prescribed as conditions for a license to practice as a physician are proper. In default of such requirements, we should be subject to be imposed upon by impostors and charlatans. But no one, however, can be deceived by the Christian Science reader except as to the extent of the special intervention of the Deity in human affairs. As to that, a man has a right to believe what he chooses, and the further right to act on his belief. In all Christian churches prayers are offered for the recovery of the sick, and all decent Christians, Friends possibly excepted, believe in supporting their clergymen. The Christian

Scientist has exactly the same right to be paid for his service. The sect seems to be unpopular and to have few defenders. That is only a greater reason why we should see to it that its rights be respected.

In closing his address, Judge Cullen put into brief statement his protest against the tendencies of which he had spoken more at length:—

I protest against two tendencies of the times: First, to disregard as legal technicalities, on the plea of necessity, the constitutional safeguards for the security and protection of the individual citizen as against the government; and, second, to restrict the liberty of action of the individual, when the effect of such action is confined to himself, except in the sense so often urged, that the community is interested in whatever concerns the individual, in which there is no force, as the community is simply the aggregation of individuals. Nor do I complain of democracy. On the contrary, if I must be deprived of my liberty and rendered miserable, I am sufficient of a utilitarian to desire that my misery shall contribute to the happiness of the greatest number. But I protest against being compelled to surrender my liberty at all. To those, if there are any such at this day, who share these views, I have but this to say, that the only way in which our own conduct can be secured against the inroads of paternal or socialistic government is to be alert to protect the con-

duct of others and to condemn violations of private rights equally whether the violation is of our rights or of those of others.

Of interest in this connection is an editorial in the *New York Times* (February 23) in which the question of compulsory voting is discussed. We quote a part of it:—

Suffrage is both a privilege and a duty, but a man cannot be compelled to vote by statute. To be sure, the bill introduced in the assembly by Mr. Francis W. Stoddard subjecting to a fine a citizen who neglects his duty on election day, is aimed principally at the apathetic, careless, and unpatriotic. But the principle is false. . . . We cannot increase the public intelligence by summary legislation, and to make voting compulsory would not be to increase the efficiency of the ballot.

For years we have been advocating individual liberty, and we have again and again announced the same principle stated by Judge

Cullen, and in almost the same words: "In those days [when Judge Cullen was young] liberty was deemed to be the right of the citizen, to act and live as he thought best so long as his conduct did not invade a like right on the part of others." We have also protested against the misdirected efforts of the members of different vocations, the

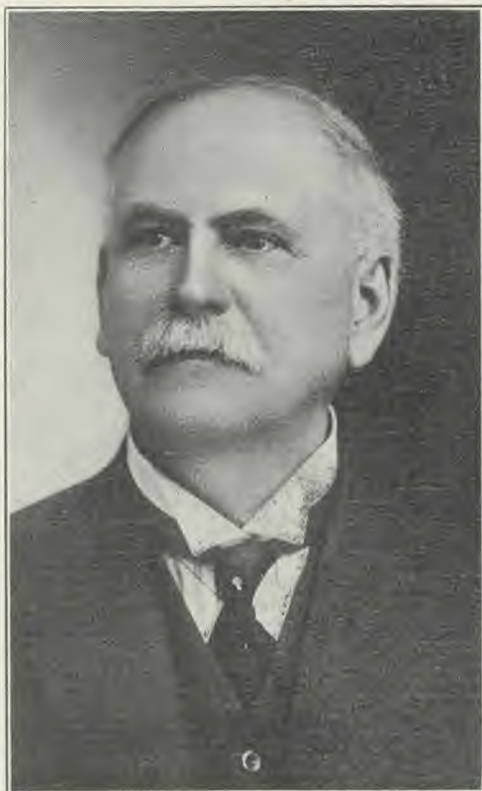


Photo by G. V. Buck

DR. HENRY KING CARROLL, THE PROTESTANT DELEGATE TO CONGRESS

barbers for example, to secure "legislation which invades the rights of the rest of the community and, at times, the rights of some of their own members." We have also championed the liberty of the individual as against the long-continued efforts to induce Congress to pass laws compelling citizens to conduct themselves differently on the first day of the week, commonly called Sunday, than on any other day of the week, maintaining that it was his privilege to do as he pleased

on that day, just as on any other day, provided that he did not interfere with the equal rights of others. In all this we feel sure that we have been carrying out the principles advocated by Judge Cullen, and that we have been warning our readers against the very things against which Judge Cullen protests. We are gratified that a learned judge has spoken so plainly upon this subject. It sounds good to hear voices of protest in the legal profession. W. W. P.

## The Conservation of Our Natural Rights

K. C. RUSSELL

CONSERVATION has become a very familiar term in these times. Statesmen and others in prominent walks of life are strongly advocating conservation of various things. We hear of the conservation of our great forests, of our waterways, of health, etc., but we hear little or nothing of the conservation of our natural rights, which are among the most precious heritages God has given to man.

To many the very suggestion that in this "land of the free and the home of the brave," over which proudly float the Stars and Stripes, there is a necessity for conservation of this kind, is a great surprise; they suppose that ever since the fathers of our country ingrafted into the national Constitution the First Amendment, which says, "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof," we are immune from any encroachment that will necessitate a conservation of any of our liberties. To those who entertain this optimistic view of the situation, it will be an astonishing revelation to know that for over half a century seeds have been sown that are destined to produce the baneful harvest of a union of church and state in our country.

The first organized movement which threatened our natural rights was launched in the month of July, 1863, at

Xenia, Ohio. This organization is known as the National Reform Association. The original purpose of this convention was a revival of true religion in the lives of men, but, as stated by one of the promoters of the movement at a National Reform banquet held in Philadelphia, November, 1910, it is evident that it yielded to the temptation which Satan presented to Christ when he "showed unto him all the kingdoms of the world," and said, "All this power will I give thee, and the glory of them. . . . If thou therefore wilt worship me, all shall be thine." This promoter of the movement stated that the first convention had to do with the revival of religion in the hearts of the people, in the homes of the people; but, as they discussed it, the movement developed for a revival of national religion; and as he continued his address, he dwelt upon the idea of a revival of national religion, and emphasized that which is now the world-wide aspect of the movement.

The object of this association, which has been persistently maintained ever since, is outlined in Article II of their constitution, as follows:—

"The object of this Society shall be to maintain existing Christian features in the American Government, to promote needed reforms in the action of the government touching the Sabbath, the in-

stitution of the Family, the religious element in Education, the Oath, and Public Morality as affected by the liquor traffic and other kindred evils; 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 so 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."

Its allies are now composed of numerous religious associations and many leading churchmen and statesmen. Among these allied movements are the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, the Lord's Day Alliance, and many others.

Among the things that they are seeking to secure are further and more drastic Sunday laws in all the States in the Union, besides bringing pressure to bear upon our federal government at every session of Congress for a compulsory Sunday law. During the last quarter of a century no less than seventy religious measures have been introduced into Congress. Fifty-five of these relate to Sunday observance, thirty-nine of which are for a Sunday law in the District of Columbia. They are still continuing their efforts in this direction with unrelenting vigor and determination. These facts alone should be sufficient to prove to the most incredulous that there is an imperative demand upon every true American citizen to exert a most earnest influence to conserve our natural and God-given rights. It must be evident to all who read this magazine from time to time that Sunday legislation is a species of religious legislation.

The late Justice Brewer, in his work entitled "The United States a Christian Nation" (pages 29, 30), spoke as follows:—

"Indeed, the vast volume of official action, legislative and judicial, recognizes Sunday as a day separate and apart from the others, a day devoted not to the or-

inary pursuits of life. It is true in many of the decisions this separation of the day is said to be authorized by the police power of the State and exercised for purposes of health. At the same time, through a large majority of them there runs the thought of its being a religious day, consecrated by the commandment, 'Six days shalt thou labor, and do all thy work: but the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God: in it thou shalt not do any work, thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, thy man servant, nor thy maid servant, nor thy cattle, nor thy stranger that is within thy gates.'"

In view of these things, the question of paramount interest is, How is it possible to conserve the principles of religious freedom upon which this government was founded? This can only be done by adhering to the principle enunciated by Jesus Christ, the Author of all true liberty, which is expressed in his own words as follows: "Render therefore unto Cæsar [civil government] the things which are Cæsar's; and unto God the things that are God's;" and in the First Amendment to the Constitution, which voices the same sentiment,—the total separation of the church from the state,—"Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

In the book "The Desire of Ages," page 550, these heaven-born principles are clearly set forth: "In matters of conscience, the soul must be left untrammelled. No one is to control another's mind, to judge for another, or to prescribe his duty. God gives to every soul freedom to think, and to follow his own convictions. 'Every one of us shall give account of himself to God.'" On page 487 of this same work, the author further says: "It is no part of Christ's mission to compel men to receive him. It is Satan, and men actuated by his spirit, that seek to compel the conscience. Under a pretense of zeal for righteousness, men who are confederate with evil angels bring suffering upon their fellow men, in order to convert them to their

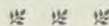
ideas of religion; but Christ is ever showing mercy, ever seeking to win by the revealing of his love. He can admit no rival in the soul, nor accept of partial service; but he desires only voluntary service, the willing surrender of the heart under the constraint of love. There can be no more conclusive evidence that we possess the spirit of Satan than the disposition to hurt and destroy those who do not appreciate our work, or who act contrary to our ideas."

Should any one think that there is no reason for alarm because of the existence of Sunday laws, let him consider the fact that in eleven years, from 1885-96, under the administration of Sunday laws which took place, over one hundred conscientious, God-fearing Seventh-day Adventists in the United States, besides some

thirty in foreign countries, were prosecuted for doing quiet work on Sunday, resulting in fines and costs amounting to \$2,269.69, and imprisonment totaling 1,438 days, and 455 days served in the chain gang. In at least fifteen States prosecutions of this kind have taken place. Even during the last few months Christians have been arrested in the State of Tennessee for doing quiet labor on the first day of the week, after they had conscientiously observed the seventh day according to the commandment.

In view of all these facts and many more that might be cited, is it not high time for every liberty-loving citizen to exert a most vigorous and decided influence for the conservation of his natural and God-given rights?

*South Lancaster, Mass.*



## Christian Civil Government an Anomaly

L. A. SMITH

GOD deals with individuals directly, and with organizations through the individuals composing them. In God's view, which is the only true view, the individual comes first, and all other things are of subordinate consequence. God did not first create a state and then make individuals to fit it; he made man, and man created the state for his own needs. And the Declaration of Independence is right in asserting that human governments exist for the purpose of preserving the inalienable rights with which all men have been endowed by their Creator, which rights are individual rights.

In other words, the state was created to serve man, and not man to serve the state. This may not be the doctrine of kings, but it is, as stated, the only view which accords to man the position of preeminence assigned to him by his Creator.

Why is man of so much account in the sight of God? The answer is that man is created in the image of God. The value of man in the sight of his Creator can be estimated only in the light of the

cross of Calvary. The infinite price there paid for man's redemption testifies that man, the individual, is of incomparably greater importance than anything else on earth. The death of Christ on the cross was not to save any government; these at best will exist but temporarily, and all of them, good and bad alike, will pass away at the sounding of the Archangel's trump; but the beings rescued by the sacrifice of Calvary will live eternally. Man, and man only of all earthly things, will be deemed worthy of immortality.

The conditions of salvation are that a person shall believe and be baptized. This fits the case of the individual, but it cannot be applied to governments. Mark 16:16. The salvation that comes through the gospel is eternal salvation, and can have no reference to things which are of limited duration.

We have said that there can be no such thing as Christian civil government. There was in ancient times a theocracy, when God spoke to Moses, and Moses was the mouthpiece of God to the people.

But such a condition does not exist today, albeit there are not wanting those who claim to be mouthpieces of the Deity to the world. We have been told that the preachers of today are the successors of the prophets; but we prefer that such a claim should be substantiated by their doing the works of the prophets, rather than by giving any exhibition of their ability in running the affairs of state.

Let us see now what would be involved in the attempt of a civil government to practice Christianity; for that is what a Christian civil government would have to do. A fundamental principle of Christianity is that when the offender repents, he shall be forgiven. And Jesus on one occasion emphasized this feature of Christianity by telling his disciples that they should forgive the trespasser against them seven times in a day if he came seven times and said, "I repent." Luke 17: 3, 4. See also Matt. 18: 21, 22.

Let us, then, imagine for a moment a court of law, with a prisoner before the court accused of theft. The prisoner admits the charge, but says to the court, "I repent;" and the court being now conducted on Christian principles, since the civil government has become Christian, the state is bound to forgive him, and he is turned loose. Soon he is brought in again, charged with assault; but again he says, "I repent," and the court is obliged to forgive him. Soon he is before the court again, charged with murder; but on saying, "I repent," he is again turned loose. How long could this procedure go on before the people would be telling one another that something was wrong?—Not very long, certainly.

Christianity is a wonderful thing, a manifestation of wisdom and power which God alone has at his command. Its agencies are divine, and infinitely greater than any which this world can afford. Through the provisions of this divine system a wondrous thing is accomplished; namely, God can be just and at the same time justify the repentant transgressor. Rom. 3: 26. He can show mercy without abating one jot of justice

He can pardon the transgressor so that he escapes the penalty of the broken law, without in any way dishonoring the law. But to do this required a plan which only infinite wisdom could devise and only infinite power could carry into effect.

The penalty for the transgression of God's law is death. "The wages of sin is death." Rom. 6: 23. "The soul that sinneth, it shall die." Eze. 18: 4. "Sin is the transgression of the law." 1 John 3: 4. Justice demands the death of the transgressor. Therefore if the government of God aimed at justice alone, all sinners would be put to death. But this would defeat the purpose of the gospel; hence it is absolutely necessary, if the gospel is not to be nullified, that mercy should be shown to the transgressor. But if the penalty of the law is set aside, is not law dishonored? It would be, certainly, but for the mighty fact that Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of God, equal with the Father himself, died on Calvary for man's transgressions. The death of such a being for the transgression of the law, affords the highest vindication of its holy and immutable character. Hence there is no dishonoring of God's law when the sinner who takes refuge in Christ receives pardon for his sins.

But while the divine government combines both justice and mercy, civil government, on the other hand, aims at justice alone, and can do nothing else than this without becoming self-destructive, as shown in the illustration already given. While Christianity requires that the penalty of the divine law be not executed as long as probation shall last, all the interests of civil government demand that the laws of the government shall be enforced, and that without delay. Granting that the laws are just, the best civil government is that in which the laws are most fully put into effect,—that in which every violator of law is most certainly to be apprehended and punished.

It is evident, then, that a truly Christian civil government is an impossibility; not because there is any antagonism between civil government and Christian-

ity, but because civil government cannot combine justice and mercy, as Christianity must do; and because it has no command of the superhuman agencies and resources by which alone Christianity can be administered. Christianity requires the mind and the resources of God. Civil government is on an altogether lower plane, having for its purpose not the salvation of souls in heaven, but only the preservation of natural rights on the earth.

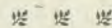
The shallow statement is often made by the advocates of state religion that if a government is not Christian, it must be antichristian. It would be far more correct to say that when a civil government undertakes to become Christian, it must become antichristian. For a government must enforce its laws, and when it incorporates the law of God into its code and goes about to enforce that law and execute its penalty on the transgressor, it does that which the gospel is designed expressly to prevent; hence it must work counter to Christianity, as indeed every government which combines religion with the civil power has worked in the past.

Civil government must be just; but justice alone is not Christianity. Yet justice is not against Christianity, for it is a part of Christianity. God is just, and so strictly just that any injustice on his part would be a denial of his Godhead. How shallow, then, to affirm that because a government is not Christian it must be antichristian or atheistic! The government of the United States is in harmony with Christianity, for it seeks to give justice to all classes of its citizens; and it will certainly not become more Christian when it denies to any of its people equal rights and privileges with others at the dictates of those who think that only men who believe a certain way are fit to participate in the affairs of state. When a government becomes "Christian" at the expense of justice, it becomes unchristian.

"Christian civil government" is only a name for a union of church and state, or of religion and the state, which is

practically the same thing. For when the state becomes Christian, why should it not unite with the Christian church? And who, if not the Christian church, so called, will run the state at that time? Who will say what constitutes Christianity for the state if not those who define it for the church? There easily can be, and if affairs in this nation continue in their present course, there certainly will be, a union of religion with the civil government in this country, and that at no distant date. But the religion of that union will not be Christianity; and in character and results the union will not be essentially different from the church-and-state unions which have cursed mankind in the past.

The fruit of religious intolerance, of coercion of the conscience by law, never grew upon a good tree. Whatever logic may be invoked, whatever passages of Scripture twisted, to prove that one class of people may rightfully define and enforce religious duties for another class, or that the majority may rightfully coerce the minority, however small, in religious matters, the fact that such coercion appears as the outcome, is conclusive proof that the system from which it proceeds is unchristian and un-American, a curse to both state and church, and never in any sense a blessing.



### Illinois Supreme Court Decision

*(Concluded from page 75)*

If Sunday laws are unconstitutional from a legal viewpoint because they are an infringement upon the guaranties of human rights set forth in the Fourteenth Amendment of the national Constitution, then they are doubly unconstitutional because of the First Amendment of the federal Constitution, which prohibits Congress (and by virtue of the prohibitions of the Fourteenth Amendment also the State legislatures) from establishing any religious institution by law, and compelling its citizens to observe the same under penalty. Sunday, as a rest day, is the direct offspring of religion and the church.



## Congressional Hearing on Barbers' Sunday Bill

JUST as we were ready to go to press with this issue of the LIBERTY MAGAZINE, we were notified that a subcommittee of the District of Columbia Committee of the House of Representatives would grant our request for a hearing on the Compulsory Sunday Observance Bill, H. R. 7826, which makes it a criminal offense for a barber "to shave, cut hair, shampoo, or the like on Sunday." This hearing took place April 1, in the office building of the House of Representatives. Because of limited time and space, we can give only a few items of this interesting affair at this time.

The proprietors of eighteen large barber shops in Washington protested against the passage of this bill. Messrs. Luber, Myers, and Bulman, three of the leading proprietors, spoke at the hearing, and gave reasons why they did not favor the closing of barber shops on Sunday. At a previous hearing on this bill, some of the barbers who favored the closing of the barber shops on Sunday stated that they were compelled to keep their shops open on Sunday because others kept theirs open; that they wanted to rest and go to church on that day, but could not do so because others kept their shops open, thus taking their customers from them.

Another barber said that the hotel proprietor required him to sign a lease to keep his shop open to accommodate the guests of the hotel, and this barber, in demanding a Sunday law, was virtually asking Congress to make a law to prevent him from signing a lease to barber on Sunday.

Mr. S. B. Horton, secretary of the Religious Liberty Association of the Middle Atlantic States, presented reasons why the committee should report adversely on the measure. He asserted that the


legislation contemplated in the bill was at variance with progressivism, whose shibboleth is "equal rights to all and special privileges to none."

Reference was made to a decision handed down by the Kentucky Court of Appeals, March 8, 1910, in the case of John Stratman versus Commonwealth of Kentucky, in which a law closing barber shops on Sunday was set aside as class legislation.

It was shown also that Congress heretofore had decided against enacting Sunday laws because of the prohibitive character of the First Amendment, which provides that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." Emphasis was laid upon the axiom that as the government was purely civil, an act not wrong in itself could not be adjudged criminal when done on Sunday.

The editor spoke also against the bill, and cited quite a number of State supreme court decisions which had declared this kind of legislation unconstitutional and void, even if passed by State legislatures as an exercise of the police power.

At the very hour that we were having this hearing before the House Committee on the Barbers' Sunday Bill, we received word that Senator Hughes of New Jersey had introduced a new compulsory rest-day bill in the Senate. There are now five Sunday bills pending before Congress. There seems to be a mania for religious legislation this year in Congress. Every lover of liberty should send a letter of protest to the senator and the representative from his district now in Congress. We shall be glad to forward petition blanks of protest upon application to this office.



# TEMPERANCE

[We do not think we are inconsistent or out of harmony with the principles of civil and religious freedom in advocating state and national prohibition of the promiscuous sale of intoxicating beverages. It is not a question of, "I like tea but do not like wine or beer, so you must drink only what I say;" it is a question of "evil consequences involved" in the destruction of the happiness, life, and liberty of others who are made involuntary victims. When we consider the unspeakable sorrow, disgrace, debauchery, immorality, crime, and ruin which the liquor traffic brings yearly to innocent wives and children in the homes of the devotees at the altar of Bacchus, and to society at large, we believe that the government has a Constitutional right to adopt measures which will guarantee to each individual the enjoyment of his inalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, all of which are molested by the promiscuous traffic in intoxicating beverages.—ED.]

## "Why I Changed Front on the Liquor Question"

BY EX-GOVERNOR PATTERSON OF TENNESSEE

I AM aware that to have suddenly changed the views of mature manhood, which I once asserted and proclaimed from one end of Tennessee to the other, has excited surprise and provoked comment. But this is a world of change. Stagnation is decay, and progress is the command of the age and the hope of immortality. I am neither ashamed nor abashed to stand before this great audience and acknowledge the wrong, when I once advocated policies which would have made legal a trade which I have come to look upon as having no rightful place in the scheme and economy of Christian civilization.

### Grew Up Where Saloons Were Many

Let me relate some facts and experiences in my life, and leave the causes which have brought this change about to your own opinions. I grew up in the city of Memphis, where saloons were numerous, and regarded as fixed and permanent institutions. I cannot remember to have ever heard of any movement to close them, or recall any speech or newspaper article attacking them. I became a lawyer, was elected prosecuting attorney of the district, and during my incumbency saloons were opened and licensed under the law, and were without restriction as to number. I was afterwards sent to Congress, where I served

six years. At this time liquor was openly sold in the restaurants of both wings of the Capitol. The convenience and comfort with which intoxicating drinks could be obtained often interfered with my own attendance, that of other members, and distracted attention from the duties of our representation.

While serving in Congress, I became a candidate for governor of Tennessee, and took a position on the liquor question in the first speech I made from which I never deviated throughout my official career. At that time it was pleasing to many of the temperance people of our State, for I favored the right of communities to vote liquor out if they so desired, and pledged myself, if elected governor, to carry into effect the will of such communities; and this pledge was performed to the letter. I stated that I did not believe in compulsory State-wide prohibition, and if the legislature should pass such a bill, I would veto it; and this promise also was performed. I prepared a careful message, and sent it to the legislature, setting forth my views and expressing the opinion that prohibition as a governmental policy was fundamentally wrong. I thought that such a law would result in multiplying the evils of the liquor traffic instead of correcting them and holding them in check.

My life has had deep sorrows. My

soul has been tossed on the waves of angry seas. My nature has been profoundly touched and stirred.

I have seen the trail of liquor in the criminal courts where I have prosecuted crime. I know and have been a participant in its paralyzing and corroding influence in the social and public life of our national capital.

Going through life, I have seen it drag down many of the associates of my boyhood, blasting their hopes and consigning them to untimely graves. I have seen its forked lightning strike my first-born, the child of my young manhood, and I have borne with him the suffering, and tried to help him in his brave but sometimes melancholy struggle for redemption. At last, I have felt its foul and stealthy blow as it turned upon me in its deadly and shaming wrath—upon me, who had pleaded before the people for its very existence. Men have called me strong; and while I could see its harm in others, I thought myself immune,—as thousands before my time have thought,—and suffered for the thought.

All this I knew and felt without a revelation of the deep pathos and meaning of it all. I needed help, for I was groping, and my feet were stumbling in the dark. Deep in humiliation, tortured and condemned in my own esteem, which is the severest penalty a man may inflict upon himself, I thought of the oft-repeated phrases about personal liberty, of the power of the human will to resist temptation, with which I had beguiled myself, and I found them as unsubstantial as the fabric of a dream.

#### Went to the Throne of God

When logic failed and reason gave no answer, I cast aside all pride of opinion, all thought of what the world might say or think, and went to the throne of Almighty God. There, on bended knees, I asked for light and strength, and they

came. The curtains of the night parted, and the way was clear. I arose a changed man. An invisible hand has led me on to where the vision is unobscured and the purposes of life stand revealed. From a critic of others, I looked within. From an accuser, I became a servant in my own house to set it in order. From a vague believer in the guidance of divine power, I have become a convert to its infinite truth. From an unhappy and dissatisfied man,—out of tune with the harmony of life and religion,—I have become happy and content, firmly anchored in faith, and ready to testify

from my own experience to the miraculous power of God to cleanse the souls of men.

Out of this has come the profound conviction that, on the question with which I had to deal in my public career, all my arguments and all my conclusions, so far as they excused or justified the moral right or policy of the State to legalize the sale of liquor, and thereby gave sanction to its ravages on society, were only the empty

and hopeless statements of propositions which had no verity or application to a thing wholly and essentially evil, and concerning which no principle of right or order or liberty should ever be evoked for its existence.

I do not mean to undervalue character and resistance as elements of personal safety; but I do mean the time will come somewhere in the life of every man who has delusions of his security against the insidiousness and fearful grip of liquor, when the sentinels of duty will sleep and the strongholds of manhood will be invested and captured by the enemy.

#### Local Self-Government—Prohibition Does Not Prohibit

The idea of local self-government as related to the liquor traffic is not new. I have urged it, and it is sound if we are to recognize the right to sell liquor and the legitimacy of the business, for in that



SEIZE THE ARM AND  
STOP THE KNIFE BE-  
FORE IT DOES ITS DEAD-  
LY, RUINOUS WORK

contingency any community should be permitted to make the decision for itself. But it has no meaning, and is only an empty phrase, where the sovereign power has declared the business illegitimate, and no subdivision of the State can exercise any authority without the State's consent, as no State can without the consent of the government.

It has also been said that prohibition

it, and the more difficult it becomes to change it.

In the treatment of this question by the States alone, a degree of failure need not be surprising or discouraging, and this may be expected as long as the government recognizes liquor as a subject of commerce between the States. But such has been the growing power of public sentiment that the States, even without



UNCLE SAM IS IN PARTNERSHIP WITH CRIME AND IS LEGALLY RESPONSIBLE FOR SIXTY-FIVE PER CENT OF ALL CRIMINAL ACTS CAUSED BY THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC UNDER HIS LICENSE

does not prohibit, and I have said it many times as a reason why a State law of this character should not be passed; and it is true that a law that will not be obeyed or respected should not be enacted. But the liquor traffic does not use this argument in good faith, and its real fear is that prohibition will prohibit. It first evades the law, and then asserts its own violation as the proof of failure. But we must remember that no law enforces itself, and until an honest effort is made to enforce it, as was not done until recently in Tennessee, we have no means of judging its efficacy. It has also been demonstrated that prohibition will prohibit, and the more it prohibits, the more it is respected by the people who opposed

federal aid, have scored great successes, and with it the victory will be complete.

I favor prohibition in any form that will either reduce or destroy the liquor traffic. I favor it personal-wide, town-wide, State-wide, nation-wide, and world-wide. . . .

Property Rights, Wealth, Business, Personal Liberty

In Tennessee every community but the cities of Nashville, Chattanooga, and Memphis voluntarily voted liquor out, and the argument was always used that there would follow a depression in business; but the reverse has been true, and today there is not one of these communities that would vote for a return of the saloon. . . .

It may be a personal right to take a drink if the liquor traffic exists; but it is not a personal right for the liquor traffic to exist.

It becomes very jealous of the preservation of personal liberty, and loudly it is invoked whenever the State proposes to outlaw its business. The answer of organized society is that it has a right to protect itself and its people up to the point of annihilation. . . .

#### A Great Movement and Contest

This century has a broad sweep of purpose, which is carrying us on to a better and higher destiny. The prohibition movement has been met and will be met by timid conservatism. . . . But conservatism that does not change has never been a moving force in the world's progress. It is static, unimaginative, unresponsive, and indolent. It has never built a railroad, a steamboat, or an airship. It has never invented a printing press, a sewing machine, or a reaper. It has never freed a man in bondage. It has never discovered a new star in the heavens or a new continent upon the earth. . . .

The great contest will soon be on, and one that ought to come, for the government to divorce itself from all connection with and participation in the liquor traf-

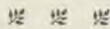
fic, and to destroy it by any method that will most effectually accomplish the result. . . .

#### A House Divided Against Itself

Shackles may encircle limbs, but the coil of the still holds in its crushing embrace more human forms than the slave mart ever held, and alcohol is a fiercer and more heartless taskmaster than any slave driver who ever cracked a whip over a black and writhing back. To free this country from intoxicating drink is a crusade worthy of all the Richards and Ivanhoes of modern chivalry.

Will it not be a mighty victory of peace—the return of a greater blessing than the North conferred upon us when she freed the slaves—for the South, asserting the old manhood of the race, to gird on the armor of truth, and, full panoplied in righteousness, to lead a successful assault upon the entrenched citadels of intemperance in the North?

The South, from Arkansas to the Carolinas, from Tennessee to Texas, has freed herself, and now turns her face to the North and East, and proclaims that she has no Missouri Compromise to offer on the slavery of the liquor traffic, for a house divided against itself cannot stand, and this nation cannot exist half slave and half free.—*Zion's Herald*.



## Virginia and the Liquor Traffic

S. B. HORTON

THE great State of Virginia, which was once the territory of patriotic activities connected with the founding of this government, is to vote on the question of State-wide prohibition in September of the current year. This has been made possible through the passage by the general assembly recently of an enabling act entitled, "A bill to provide for the calling and holding of an election upon the question of prohibiting the manufacture for sale and the sale of intoxicating liquors, to prescribe the qualification of said voters in said election, and to de-

clare the effect of the vote of such election."

It was Virginia that laid the foundation for the principles contained in the opening portion of the Declaration of Independence. It will be remembered that this great instrument published to the world the fact that "we hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," and that the principles therein apply with equal

emphasis when considering the destructive and happiness-destroying conditions relating to the liquor traffic.

A cursory consideration of the terrible toll which is paid by humanity to perpetuate the traffic in alcohol shows the liquor business to be a constant menace to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Then why not use the lawful means of destroying the said traffic, and thus increase the peace and safety, liberty and happiness, of the whole people?

The worn-out assertions that "prohibition does not prohibit" and that "human rights are affected" by this character of legislation, will not suffice as arguments against the elimination of the liquor traffic. The record of those States enjoying the favor of prohibitory laws, the economic figures and facts attainable upon application, are all-sufficient answers to the quibbling arguments of the rum seller and drinker. If Virginia acts favorably upon this enabling act next September, it will have great influence in deciding the question from the national viewpoint also.

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### Spirit of Wine

WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE, for once at a loss for a word, proposed to call the spirit of wine "devil," but it is entitled to no such honor—it is no prince of darkness, it is no prince of anything. It is the cockroach of human industry; it is the louse of human liberty; it is the San José scale upon the orange trees of youthful ambition; it is the cutworm, the Hessian fly, the cankerworm, the caterpillar of the growing crops of character; it is the coddling moth of the trees of righteousness; it is the filthy-footed house fly of domestic love; it is the fever-bearing mosquito of politics; it is the flea-bearing plague rat that plants pus in moral fiber; it is the slug that eats life's roses from the cheeks of happy wives; it is the world's most notorious and accomplished sneak thief, and it does its larceny in broad daylight as well as in the dark.—*John G. Woolley.*

In the previous quarter we had a gain of more than 12,000 new subscribers. The quarter just ended we had a gain over the same quarter of a year ago. This issue is deserving of a wide circulation. It contains many valuable authoritative statements hitherto unpublished. It is an arsenal of effective ammunition which ought to be used in practical service. If each subscriber should secure five new subscriptions for \$1.00, it would increase our usefulness fivefold.

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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.

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PROF. ADDISON HOGUE, head of the department of Greek of the Washington and Lee University, Virginia, sent a lengthy letter of appreciation with his subscription to the LIBERTY magazine, in which he says: "I should like to send \$1,000 to have it sent to as many subscribers. I hope subscriptions have poured in." Please see whether or not your subscription is expiring, and read pages 49-51 to see how readily you may earn a little money and help circulate this valuable magazine. Send a club of five subscriptions for one dollar.

# PETITION TO CONGRESS

To the Honorable, the Senate, and House of Representatives  
of the United States:—

*Whereas,* (1) Exact scientific research has demonstrated that alcohol is a narcotic poison, destructive and degenerating to the human organism;

(2) That its distribution as a beverage, or contained in foods, lays a staggering economic burden upon the shoulders of the people;

(3) Lowers to an appalling degree the average standard of character of our citizenship, thereby undermining the public morals and the foundation of free institutions;

(4) Produces widespread crime, pauperism, and insanity, inflicts disease and untimely death upon hundreds of thousands of citizens;

(5) Blights with degeneracy their children unborn, threatening the future integrity and the very life of the nation:

We, the undersigned, adult residents of \_\_\_\_\_

State of \_\_\_\_\_, earnestly petition your honorable body to pass Joint Resolution (S. J. Res. 88<sup>1</sup> and H. J. Res. 168<sup>1</sup>), proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, providing for national prohibition of the liquor traffic.

NAMES

ADDRESSES

TEAR OUT PAGE ALONG THIS LINE

NAMES	ADDRESSES
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<sup>1</sup> Introduced by Senator Sheppard, of Texas, and Representative Hobson, of Alabama, Dec. 10, 1913, Sixty-third Congress, second session.

(OVER)

# Full Text of Proposed Amendment to the Constitution

Now Pending in the United States Senate and House of Representatives

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

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## 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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 Colorado Tract Society (Eastern), 1112 Kalamath St., Denver, Colo.  
 Colorado Tract Society (Western), 122 South Eighth St., Grand Junction, Colo.  
 Connecticut (see New England, Southern).  
 Cumberland Tract Society (E. Tennessee), Graysville, Tenn.  
 Delaware (see Chesapeake).  
 District of Columbia Tract Society, 708 Macclachlen Bldg., Washington, D. C.  
 Florida Tract Society, Drawer 28, Orlando.  
 Georgia Tract Society, 169 Bryan St., Atlanta.  
 Idaho Tract Society, Box 126, Nampa, Idaho.  
 Illinois Tract Society (Northern), 3645 Ogden Ave., Hawthorne Station, Chicago, Ill.  
 Illinois Tract Society (Southern), 304 West Allen St., Springfield, Ill.  
 Indiana Tract Society, 521 East Twenty-third St., Indianapolis, Ind.  
 Iowa Tract Society, Nevada, Iowa.  
 Kansas Tract Society (East), 821 West Fifth St., Topeka, Kans.  
 Kansas Tract Society (West), 508 Fifth Ave., East, Hutchinson, Kans.  
 Kentucky Tract Society, Nicholasville, Ky.  
 Louisiana Tract Society, 810 Jackson Ave., New Orleans, La.  
 Maine Tract Society, 75 Grant St., Portland, Maine.  
 Maryland (see Chesapeake).  
 Massachusetts Tract Society, South Lancaster.  
 Michigan Tract Society (East), 426 Trumbull Ave., Detroit, Mich.  
 Michigan Tract Society (North), 510 Petoskey St., Petoskey, Mich.  
 Michigan Tract Society (West), 1214 Madison Ave., Grand Rapids, Mich.  
 Minnesota Tract Society, 336 East Lake St., Minneapolis, Minn. (Exchange case 45.)  
 Mississippi Tract Society, 932 Union St., Jackson, Miss.  
 Missouri Tract Society (North), Hamilton.  
 Missouri Tract Society (South), 520 West Lynn St., Springfield, Mo.  
 Montana Tract Society, Box 118, Bozeman.  
 Nebraska Bible Supply House, 905 North California Ave., Hastings, Nebr.  
 Nevada Mission, Box 172, Mountain View, Cal.  
 New England Tract Society (Northern), 136 N. Main St., Concord, N. H.  
 New England Tract Society (Southern), 51 Whitmore St., Hartford, Conn.  
 New Hampshire (see N. New England).  
 New Jersey Tract Society, 200 Columbus Ave., Trenton, N. J.  
 New Mexico Tract Society, Box 286, Albuquerque, N. Mex.  
 New York Tract Society (Greater), Room 904, 32 Union Square, New York, N. Y.

New York Tract Society, 317 West Bloomfield St., Rome, N. Y.  
 New York Tract Society (Western), 8 East Jefferson St., Salamanca, N. Y.  
 North Carolina Tract Society, 711 W. Lee St., Greensboro, N. C.  
 North Dakota Tract Society, Box 285, Fargo.  
 Ohio Tract Society, Box 187, Mt. Vernon.  
 Oklahoma Tract Society, Box 644, Oklahoma City, Okla.  
 Oregon Missionary Society (Western), 508 E. Everett St., Portland, Oregon.  
 Oregon Tract Society (Southern), 1164 Military St., Roseburg, Oregon.  
 Pennsylvania Tract Society (Eastern), 4910 Arch St., Philadelphia, Pa.  
 Pennsylvania Tract Society (West), 7155 Mt. Vernon St., Pittsburgh, Pa.  
 Rhode Island (see New England, Southern).  
 South Carolina Tract Society, 821 4th St., Columbia, S. C.  
 South Dakota Tract Society, Drawer B, Redfield, S. Dak.  
 Tennessee River Tract Society (Western Tennessee), 509 Cole Building, Nashville, Tenn.  
 Texas Tract Society, Keene, Tex.  
 Texas Tract Society (South), Box 392, Austin, Tex.  
 Texas Tract Society (West), Abilene, Tex.  
 Utah Tract and Bible Society, 776 E. Sixth St., S., Salt Lake City, Utah.  
 Vermont (see Northern New England).  
 Virginia Tract Society, 2705 West Main St., Richmond, Va.  
 Washington Missionary Society, Box 328, Auburn, Wash.  
 Washington: Upper Columbia Tract Society, College Place, Wash.  
 West Virginia Tract Society, Fairmont.  
 Wisconsin Tract Society, Box 57, Grand Rapids, Wis.  
 Wyoming Tract Society, Crawford, Nebr.

## UNITED STATES POSSESSIONS

Hawaiian Tract Society, 767 Kinau St., Honolulu, Hawaii.  
 Panama Tract Society, Cristobal, C. Z.  
 Philippine Islands Mission, 803 Georgia Ave., Manila, Philippine Islands.

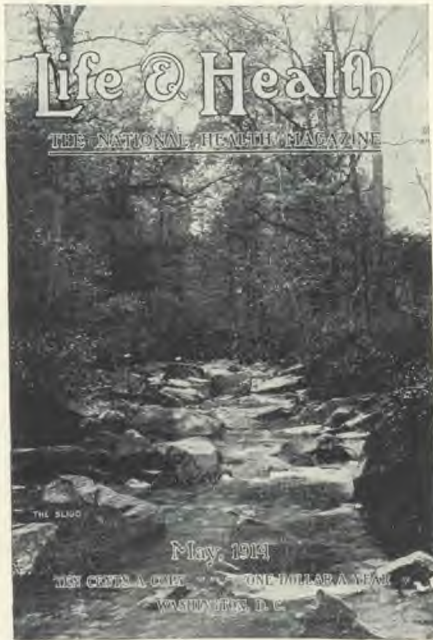
## CANADIAN AGENCIES

Eastern Canada:  
 Canadian Pub. Assn., Port Hope, Ont.  
 Maritime Tract Society, 161 Botsford St., Moncton, N. B.  
 Newfoundland Tract Society, Box 217, St. John's, Newfoundland.  
 Western Canada:  
 Alberta Tract Society, Lacombe, Alta.  
 British Columbia Tract Society, 1708 Maple St., Vancouver, B. C., Canada.  
 Manitoba Tract Society, 290 Bannerman Ave., Winnipeg, Man., Canada.  
 Saskatchewan Tract Society, 1930 Angus St., Regina, Sask., Canada.

## FOREIGN AGENCIES

Great Britain: International Tract Society, Stanborough Park, Watford, Herts, England.  
 India Union Mission: 17 Abbott Road, Lucknow, India.  
 Mexico: Imprenta de la Verdad, 1420 Avenida 20, Tacubaya, D. F., Mexico.  
 South Africa: International Tract Society, 56 Roeland St., Cape Town, South Africa.  
 West Indies: Watchman Press, Riversdale, Jamaica, B. W. I.

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LANDING OF THE PILGRIMS AT PLYMOUTH ROCK, 1620

## Daniel Webster on Religious Liberty

**W**E have come to this Rock to record here our homage for our Pilgrim Fathers . . . and our attachment to those principles of civil and religious liberty, which they encountered the dangers of the ocean, the storms of heaven, the violence of savages, disease, exile, and famine, to enjoy and establish.

¶ This love of religious liberty . . . is able to look the sternest despotism in the face, and with means apparently most inadequate, to shake principalities and powers. . . . Human invention has devised nothing, human power has compassed nothing, that can forcibly restrain it, when it breaks forth. . . . It loses its power only when it has gained its object. . . . Its efforts to throw off restraint would burst the world asunder.

¶ Thanks be to God, that this spot was honored as the asylum of religious liberty. May its standard, reared here, remain forever! May it rise up high as heaven, till its banner shall fan the air of both continents, and wave as a glorious ensign of peace and security to the nations!—  
*From a discourse delivered by Daniel Webster at Plymouth, Mass., Dec. 22, 1820, to the Plymouth Society. See article, page 53.*