

iers and sailors at the front. No wrapping—No address—A. S. Burlison, Postmaster-General.

LIBERTY

A MAGAZINE OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM



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Religious Liberty Association

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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

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CONTENTS

Ring the Bells of Freedom - - - - -	Frontispiece
After the War — What? - - - - -	3
A Convert to Prohibition - - - - -	7
Congress and Pending Sunday Legislation - - - - -	8
Sixty Papers Placed on the "Black List" - - - - -	13
Liberty Restricted Because of Its Abuse - - - - -	15
Congress and the "Christian" Sabbath - - - - -	16
"Great Sunday-Baseball Battle Coming" - - - - -	20
Prohibition and the Fall Elections - - - - -	22
"The One-Eyed Censor" - - - - -	23
Present Persecutions in Vermont and Maryland - - - - -	24
National Prohibition — Then What? - - - - -	26
Is Enforced Religion Justifiable? - - - - -	28
The Citizen, the State, and God - - - - -	28
Editorial Brevities - - - - -	29
After the War - - - - -	30
Connecticut Blue Law Repeal - - - - -	31
Blue Laws in District are Proposed in Bill - - - - -	32

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Ring the bells of Freedom!
Ring, ring, ring!
Say to every nation,
The people must be king.
Stand for truth and justice;
Stand for God and right;
Stand, remembering ever,
Truth itself is might. B.

LIBERTY

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

VOL. XIII

FIRST QUARTER, 1918

NO. 1

After the War—What?

By C. S. Longacre

THE greatest war that has ever been witnessed by the inhabitants of this world is now desolating the earth. The human race has already paid an unprecedented sum in treasure and blood, and the end is not yet in sight. Every great war has its "aftermath," which sometimes proves more perplexing to the reconstructionists than did the war itself to the victorious generals. After the cessation of hostilities in this war, what can we reasonably expect will follow? Will it be peace or trouble? Many are prophesying that this will be the last war our world will ever see. Statesmen tell us that "lasting and permanent peace" will be established among all nations as the result of this international cataclysm. They say that the world will then be ready to welcome the dove of peace and give it an everlasting habitation.

The establishment of the everlasting reign of peace and righteousness has been the hope of God's people ever since the sorrowing parents of the race first mourned their dead—the victim of his brother's hate; it has been the dream of every philanthropist and philosopher who has endeavored to solve the perplexing problems of human life; but thus far the Christian's cherished hope has been deferred with prolonged sorrow, and the philanthropist's and philosopher's dreams have remained unfulfilled, to their dire

disappointment, while the human race has plunged deeper and deeper into the horrors and sorrows of war.

Prophets, theologians, and moral reformers have assured us time and again that the millennium of peace on earth had begun or was about to dawn. They were never more certain and enthusiastic over their predictions than just before the beginning of the present war. Never before were men's ideals so suddenly, so rudely, and so completely shattered.

What of the Future?

The aims and purposes of the warring nations to secure a "future permanent peace" are certainly most laudable. If the statesmen who shall arrange the terms of peace can eliminate future wars from the world, they will receive the plaudits of a grateful people in every nation; for the desires and efforts of men to obtain universal and lasting peace at the conclusion of this war deserve the praise of all men. We wish it were possible to form a league of nations or an international court of arbitration strong enough and wise enough and unselfish enough to effect and permanently to maintain peace and good will among the nations of earth. We wish that earthly courts could solve all the problems of human experience by political means, by the mere passing of resolutions and the



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SCENE IN VENICE, ITALY

attainable" through their own selfish devisings and by artificial means, and that they should utterly ignore the experiences of the past and the natural tendencies of carnal men and selfish nations. The commercial greed and innate wickedness so prevalent in the human heart offer poor foundation material to build upon for eternal good will among the nations, nor will they even assure peace and tranquillity between capital and labor.

enactment of laws. We wish that they could eliminate national hatred and selfishness from human hearts, and cause unregenerate human nature to endure insult, provocation, dishonor, and abuse without resentment or retaliation; but this can never be.

A Defect in the Fabric

It would be folly for us, or any one else on this planet, to profess pure altruism and charity in politics and international diplomacy. It would be worse than a nursery jingle to talk of mutual love of the angelic sort, among the nations, or to speak of a time when nations will in honor prefer one another. The whole structure of society, jurisprudence, and commercialism between nations is based on self-interest and business rivalry. It seems strange that our modern statesmen should think that "a future permanent peace among the nations is

dation material to build upon for eternal good will among the nations, nor will they even assure peace and tranquillity between capital and labor.

Deluded No Longer

Many thinking men refuse to be deluded any longer by the sureties of lasting peace among selfish men and nations. They refuse to close their eyes and stop their ears to the unerring voice of history which deals with human experiences among selfish men and covetous nations. Men have prophesied lasting peace many times in the past, and no doubt they will continue to do so from now until doomsday. But as long as men and nations are selfish and unregenerate by nature, they will fight under provocation of self-interest or insult.

No Peace till the Prince of Peace Comes

According to the Bible, wars will never cease permanently until the Prince of

Peace comes the second time and terminates the reign of earthly rulers and the existence of ungodly men. The last war will be waged when Satan marshals all the wicked hosts of earth against "the beloved city," the New Jerusalem, which is to descend from God out of heaven. The nations will never live at peace and learn war no more until men and the earth itself have been "made new," and reflect again the glory of God as they did when Divinity first clothed them with the panoply of his glorious effulgence in Eden.

Eden will be restored again, but not by the instrumentality of man. This world will be redeemed, but it will be by God's own act of special intervention at the last great day, not by man's own devising through political means and international diplomacy.

Man Needs a Saviour

The human race is not its own savior or deliverer. It cannot cure its own ills. It cannot permanently solve its own problems. Man in his natural, sinful state is a complete failure. He cannot

prolong his days. He cannot see any light beyond the sad tragedy of the tomb. He needs a Physician, a Saviour, and a Deliverer who can satisfy the fondest longings of his soul, and who can do for him what he cannot do for himself. The Prince of Peace is God's answer to the crying need of a helpless world; and Calvary, instead of "culture" or "diplomacy," is the only basis for a just and lasting peace among men and nations.

The only permanent basis of real peace is found at the foot of the cross of Christ, and comes through a spiritual change wrought by the power of the Holy Spirit in the heart and mind of man. The Prince of Peace is the only hope of the



ST. MARK'S CHURCH, VENICE, ITALY



world; and as long as men do not admit him and his teaching into their personal experience, the dove of peace will return without the olive branch. Any one who says that man can change his own carnal nature and unregenerate heart, or who teaches that man without this spiritual change can suffer wrongfully without resentment or revenge, is ignoring the evidence of all the history of the past.

Nations Will Never Crown Christ

We are assured in Holy Writ that when the Lord comes the second time, he will not find peace on the earth. The nations, we are told, will be engaged in fighting the battle of Armageddon in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, near old Jerusalem. The nations will not be prepared to crown Christ as their King; for they will be "angry," and their armies will be "gathered together to make war against him." The nations of earth, the divine Record affirms, will go down before the Lord of heaven in a universal crash. Instead of peace among the nations, there will be strife and destruction. This present evil world, with all its human plans and promises of peace, is awaiting the day of doom. Well may the inhabitants of earth tremble as they see the great day approaching, and realize that God and heaven, time and eternity, speak with one voice, teaching the same truth, and offering only one hope of salvation for man.

The Divine Outlook

Human events are moving in the direction of the world's destined goal. The nations have passed nearly all the way-marks divinely outlined along the way. The weary and lonely pilgrim on earth can count his journey almost ended. He

can in faith lift up his head to heaven, and brave the fury of the coming storm.

You ask: After the war — what? The answer is: A smoldering calm, and then another storm — a storm which will make the present war look like a summer shower — a storm that will involve all the civilized world in a universal catastrophe which can be adjusted finally only before the peace tribunal of the Lord God Almighty. The battle of Armageddon, involving every nation under heaven,

will close the drama of human history.

Armageddon Still Future

The battle of Armageddon is still in the future, and when it comes, it will sound the death knell of earthly principalities and potentates;

it will prepare the way for deliverance of the redeemed and regenerated of all nations in all ages, and usher in the glorious reign of the Prince of Peace. This will be God's final move to rescue a helpless world from self-destruction and utter ruin. Out of the world holocaust will arise a new world, where all men will be free and eternally happy, never again to taste the pangs of sorrow, pain, and death.

The supreme question of all questions is, Are we seeking after the fleeting vanities of time? or are we making first things first, and living for God and eternity? The divine exhortation comes rolling down the centuries in thunder tones: "Prepare to meet thy God."

This journal is set for the defense of the fundamental principles of civil and religious liberty. For this reason it opposes every form of union between the church and the state, or as it is sometimes styled, "religion and the state."

"ADVANCE in civilization will not necessarily mean the advent of an era of perpetual peace; war will remain as long as evil and injustice continue. We should believe in the abolition of war only if we believed that some day no criminals will be left and that all the prisons will be closed, and that some day sincere differences of opinion in matters of principle will be impossible."—*Lecture No. 7, on the Amicable Settlement of Disputes, by Rear-Admiral Charles Stockton, LL.D., president of George Washington University.*

A Convert to Prohibition

MAYOR DAHLMAN, of Omaha, has seen a light on the prohibition question. Once he was an extreme and outspoken opponent of prohibition. Now, having observed the effect of prohibition in his home town, he confesses to a complete change of opinion.

In an interview he was asked if the policy had hurt Omaha, and promptly replied, "No. Everything is all right here."

Asked then about the effect on business, he replied:

"It has helped business. People are able to buy more, and collections are much better. It is easy to understand that when we had saloons, a man would stop in a saloon and spend half of his week's pay before he went home. Now he takes the money home to his family. In the evening he will clean up, eat his supper, and come down town with his wife to buy groceries."

Asked next about the number of men who had been thrown out of employment

by the closing of the saloons and the breweries, he replied:

"No, there are no unemployed; there is plenty of work. You know I used to be wet, and used to make speeches on the wet side, tell how many people would be thrown out of employment, how many millions of dollars of business would be lost, and the lot of vacant houses there would be; but it has not panned out that way. Arguments, outside of that of personal liberty, so generally used by antiprohibitionists, are shot to pieces so far as our city is concerned, as they have not materialized."

Asked then if he would make speeches again for the saloon, he replied:

"I couldn't and be honest, and I wouldn't be dishonest. I used to think prohibition would be a bad thing, but it has not turned out that way."

Mayor Dahlman, in confessing his conversion, said he could not "go against the facts."—*The Washington Evening Star*, Nov. 21, 1917.



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AMERICAN SOLDIERS LEARNING THE USE OF LIQUID FIRE

Congress and Pending Sunday Legislation



By the Editor

WILL the present Congress ignore the wise precedents of the past, and enter upon the disastrous path of religious legislation? or will it refuse to enact Sunday laws for the territory over which it has jurisdiction, as its predecessors have done? This is an important question which Congress will be called upon to answer during the second session of the Sixty-fifth Congress.

This is not a new matter before our national representatives. Strong religious organizations have besieged Congress ever since the founding of the American Republic, to get the lawmaking body to submit for ratification a Constitutional amendment which would make an explicit acknowledgment of God, of Christ and the Christian religion. One attempt after another has been made by religious organizations representing certain Christian sects, to obtain from Congress a legal recognition of their peculiar religious dogmas and institutions.

More than one hundred fifty compulsory Sunday bills have been introduced in Congress during the past four decades; but Congress has been true to the American principles of civil government, and thus far has steadfastly and consistently refused to enact this kind of legislation. Today there is not a single Federal Sunday law upon the statute books for any of the territory over which the Federal Government has exclusive jurisdiction. The First Amendment to the Constitution expressly denies to Congress the power to enact any religious law, or to interfere

with the free exercise of religious rights.

Notwithstanding the fact that Congress is Constitutionally prohibited from enacting religious legislation, and from the beginning to the present day has persistently refused to enact Sunday laws for its territorial domain, yet a number of the religious societies of certain churches in America, who had their origin in Europe, where they have a union of church and state, have just as persistently endeavored to get Congress committed to the subject of such compulsory legislation. Religious organizations whose creeds were formulated in Europe, have been the instigators of practically every Sunday measure that has been introduced in Congress. They even boldly declare, through their official organs, that they are the motive power back of these measures; and they openly lay claim to these bills as their own.

At the instigation of a purely religious organization, a Sunday bill (S. 2260), quoted as follows, was introduced in the United States Senate about the middle of 1917, and is now pending:

" A BILL

"To protect the Lord's day, commonly called Sunday, from desecration and to secure its observance as a day of rest in the District of Columbia.

"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That from and after the passage of this Act it shall be unlawful in the District of Columbia for any person to labor or employ any person to labor or to pursue any trade or secular business on

the Lord's day, commonly called Sunday, works of necessity and charity always excepted.

"Section 2. That from and after the passage of this Act it shall be unlawful in the District of Columbia to keep open or use for secular purposes any dancing saloon, theater, bowling alley, place of public assembly or amusement for secular purposes, to engage in unlawful sports on the Lord's day, commonly called Sunday.

"Sec. 3. That from and after the passage of this Act it shall be unlawful in the District of Columbia for any person, firm, corporation, or municipality, or any of their agents, directors, or officers, to require or permit any employees engaged in works of necessity or charity, excepting in household service, to work on the Lord's day, commonly called Sunday, unless within the next succeeding six days during a period of twenty-four consecutive hours he or it shall neither require nor permit such employee to work in his or its employ.

"Sec. 4. That any person who shall violate any of the provisions of this Act shall, on conviction thereof, be punished by a fine of not less than \$5 nor more than \$50 for the first offense, and for each subsequent offense by a fine of not less than \$25 nor more than \$500, or by both fine and imprisonment in the jail of the District of Columbia for a period of not less than one month nor more than six months, in the discretion of the court.

"Sec. 5. That all prosecutions for violation of this Act shall be in the police court of the District of Columbia."

It may be thought by some that this measure is so drastic in its prohibitions and so distinctly religious in its preamble, that it will have little chance of favor-

able action on the part of Congress; but we are living in times when the unexpected is most likely to happen. History teaches us the never-failing maxim, "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty."

This measure harks back to the times when Puritanism held sway in colonial New England. At that time everybody

was required to observe Sunday according to the belief of the strictest sect of the seventeenth-century Pharisees; and men were penalized for nonattendance at church on Sunday; for refusing to give one seventh of their time and one tenth of their income to the church; for walking or driving on Sunday other than to the church or to the cemetery; for laughing or whistling on Sunday; for gathering sticks and kindling fires on Sunday, even under dire necessity; for kissing their wives on Sunday; and for a hundred and one other things. Recently the Connecticut legislature abolished one hundred and thirty-six detailed specifications of what was forbidden on Sunday, but unfortunately it still retains a score of them on its statute books.

God gave but one commandment for his people concerning the observance of the Sabbath day, but the scribes and Pharisees added two hundred fifty of their own commandments to the one commandment which God had given, and thereby made Sabbath obligations so oppressive that even the Son of man did not escape their condemnation. The glory of a formal religion is its multiplicity of ceremonies and governmental sanctions.



"Even the Son of man did not escape their [scribes and Pharisees] condemnation"

No one can fail to see that the Sunday bill now before the Senate is a purely religious measure, introduced for distinctly sectarian purposes. It is marked by religious phrases and titles in its preamble. The protection of "the Lord's day from desecration" and legislation compelling "its observance as a day of rest," refer clearly to religious obligations imposed upon citizens under civil penalties. No exemption is provided for those who

observe another day than Sunday, nor for the people who observe no day as the Sabbath. Paul says: "One man esteemeth one day above another: another esteemeth every day alike. Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind." Rom. 14:5. Paul believed in religious freedom and the rights of the individual conscience; but evidently our modern theologians who drew up this Sunday bill and had it intro-

duced in the United States Senate, do not intend that religious liberty and freedom of conscience shall be guaranteed to those who conscientiously differ from them on this controverted religious question. They want Congress to give legal sanction to this church dogma, and then penalize every nonconformist, as the Puritans used to penalize men under the colonial rule of combined church and state.

Whose Image and Superscription?

Christ drew a distinct line between the church and the state. He separated civil and religious obligations when he answered the question, "Is it lawful to give tribute unto Cæsar?" He said, "Show me the tribute money." Holding it up so that the scribes and Pharisees could clearly see what was stamped and printed on it, he asked, "Whose is this image and superscription?" They answered, "Cæsar's." Christ then made his wonderful pronouncement which separated forever the state and the church in the Christian economy: "Render therefore unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's; and unto God the things that are God's."

Whose image and superscription does the Sabbath institution bear, Cæsar's or

the Lord's? If it bears Cæsar's superscription, it must belong to Cæsar; and all people belonging to the state ought to obey him, and render it to him as belonging to him, and to him only. But if



"Show me the tribute money"

it bears the Lord's superscription, then the Sabbath belongs to the Lord; and Christians only are amenable to religious requirements, and they must render them not to Cæsar but to God. The Lord's day evidently belongs to the Lord, for it

has his superscription. It does not belong to Cæsar, or it would have Cæsar's superscription; therefore the observance of the Sabbath as the Lord's day is a religious duty which Christians should render to the Lord direct, instead of to Cæsar, or through Cæsar — the civil government.

A distinct line of demarcation exists between civil and religious obligations, and between the citizens of the world and the children of God. There is no bond of union between the world and Christ. A failure to recognize the distinction between civil and religious requirements has been the primary cause of all the religious persecutions of the past. Cæsar's laws are purely civil statutes, while those of the Lord are religious and spiritual. Cæsar's laws rest altogether on force, while the Lord's statutes are based on the drawing power of love. God accepts only free-will service, the liberty of choice, motivated by a pure conscience, a perfect heart, and an unwavering faith. No service is acceptable to God if it is forced; "for whatsoever," says Paul, "is not of faith is sin."

There is also a matter of religious controversy as to which day of the week is "the Lord's day." A large class of con-

scientious Christians of several sects hold that the seventh day of the week is "the Lord's day," and that they have irrefutable Biblical and historical evidence to sustain their contention. It is a fact acknowledged by nearly all well-informed men that there is not a single text in the entire Bible that calls Sunday, the first day of the week, "the Lord's day." No reputable church historian cites an authentic instance for nearly three centuries after Christ, in which the term "Lord's day" was applied to the first day of the week.

These facts raise a serious question as to the standing of Sunday as a holy day. But even were there no such question as to the claims of the first day, it would certainly be unwise and contrary to the Constitution of the United States for Congress to presume to settle a religious controversy in favor of any religious sect, no matter how popular or numerous that sect might be, and to establish by civil law the religious tenets of certain sects, to the detriment of others. All religions and sects in America are privileged, under the Constitution, to stand on a perfect equality before the law. "The equality of rights is the first of rights," said Charles Sumner.

This Act, if it were passed, would compel those who observe Saturday as the Sabbath to keep Sunday also, and thus they would be penalized for holding a faith divergent from the legally established religion. To say

the least, such a law would lack the essential quality of justice.

This measure aims to prohibit and penalize all "secular business on the Lord's day." Purely "secular business" can be distinguished only as it is contrasted with purely "religious concerns." This Act, then, must have but one aim, and that is to enforce purely "religious" duties on Sunday. Consequently, it is strictly religious and not civil or secular legislation. The state legitimately can enforce only "secular duties." "Secular business" that is in itself honorable and legitimate on the other six days of the week, cannot be forbidden or penalized on the Lord's day, except on distinctly religious grounds. That which is civilly criminal on one day of the week is a

crime on all seven days of the week. It is just as much a crime to steal and murder on Monday as on Sunday. These are criminal acts with which the state has to do. The time element does not determine the nature of an act as to whether it is criminal or not; the quality of an act is affected by the day on which it is committed only when religious obligation is involved.

It may be an offense toward God to do certain things on "the Lord's day," or "the Sabbath of the Lord;" but such offenses

are sins against God, and not crimes against the state. We are answerable to God alone for religious offenses, and will have to appear before God's judgment



"The Pharisees believed that ideal Sabbath observance was abstinence from physical effort, and consequently they stood all day long on street corners saying lengthy prayers"

seat at the last great day instead of before Cæsar's judgment bar now.

This Act, if it becomes a law, will prohibit and penalize all "works of necessity or charity, excepting in household service, . . . on the Lord's day, commonly called Sunday." Such a requirement, if enforced, would make the observance of the Lord's day a matter of sheer idleness. This was never the intent of the divine command concerning the observance of the Sabbath. Works of necessity and charity are always in order in the divine economy. Christ said, "It is lawful to do well on the Sabbath days." Idleness is a curse on any day. It was one of the prevailing sins of Sodom, according to Holy Writ.

The Pharisees believed that ideal Sabbath observance was abstinence from physical effort, and consequently they stood all day long on street corners saying lengthy prayers. Likewise the "dyed-in-the-wool" Puritan thought that physical rest constituted true Sabbath ob-

servance, and so when not attending church services he idly sat all day in a cushioned chair, without even daring to twiddle his thumbs, for that might be construed to be "unnecessary work." Christ did more charitable acts on the Sabbath day than on any other day of the week. He boldly denounced the Pharisees' outward show of piety on the Sabbath day as the embodiment of the hypocrites' religion, and as having no value in the estimation of heaven.

The question is, Will Congress yield to demands for Sunday legislation by the popular religious organizations of modern times? We sincerely hope and pray that the Sixty-fifth Congress will stand firmly by the fundamental principle of civil and religious liberty so wisely established by the founders of the American Republic and so consistently maintained by the American Congress in the past. Let every lover of liberty urge his Representatives in Congress to steer afar from this kind of legislation.



A Question that Should be Left to the Individual Conscience

There are certain statutes intended to compel observance of the Sabbath. They were passed by State legislatures long ago in all States, and are enforced in none. . . .

The basis of all this legislation was the contention that the Sabbath should be observed, and its object was to enforce the observance of the Sabbath; that is, to enforce an observance of the Sabbath in a certain way, devised by the Puritans, brought by them to this country, and handed down to and impressed upon their descendants. . . .

But America was not for the Puritans or their descendants alone, it was for all men. . . .

How the Sabbath should be observed is, I think, a question that should be left to the individual conscience.—*Brand Whitlock, Mayor of Toledo, to the Federation of Churches, 1910.*

Sixty Papers Placed on the "Black List"

By Gilson Gardner

HOW about the new censorship? is a live question these days, to publishers in particular and to radicals generally; for to the latter the question is equivalent to: How about free speech?

So far, there has been no action taken either by the Post Office Department or by courts under what is known as the "new censorship law." This "law" consists of a clause contained in the recently passed Trading-with-the-enemy Act, making it illegal not only to mail, but otherwise to publish or circulate, matter declared by post office officials "unmailable" under the old law—that is, the Espionage Act, enacted shortly after our entry into the war.

Carriers Succeed Mail

A number of papers denied the privilege of the mails under this old law, have still circulated locally by carrier or on the news stands, or by freight or express.

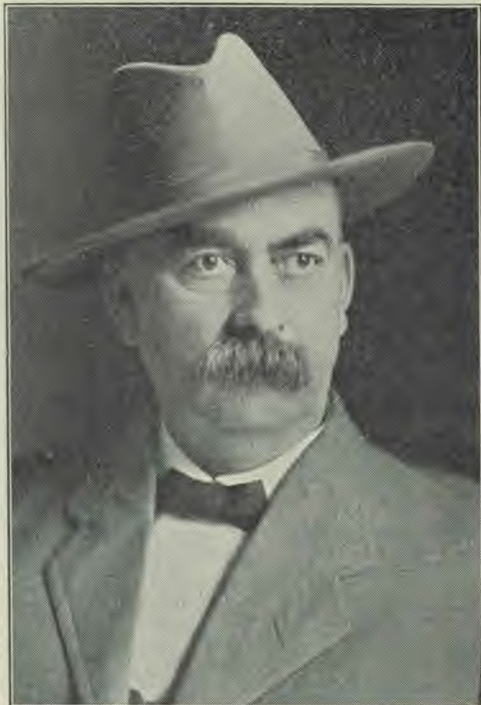
Secrecy surrounds the administration of the post office censorship to such an extent that not even a list of the papers summoned will be made public. All hearings are behind closed doors, and the records are given to the parties interested "only in confidence." There is no docket, no notice, no open trial, nor any certainty as to when an order will be issued in any case.

Up to date about sixty papers have been put on the "black list," according to Solicitor Lamar, for the Post Office

Absurd and Contradictory

The Idaho Sunday Law Should Be Repealed

While perhaps a worthy object was sought to be attained by its passage, the provisions of the act itself are in many respects both absurd and contradictory, and the matter has twice been before the supreme court, requiring the construction at the hands of that tribunal, while many other of its provisions still remain in grave doubt. . . . The reasons for many of these prohibitions are simply incomprehensible to the average mind. Personally, I do not believe it proper to legislate upon matters of this kind. . . . As a result of its experience in construing this law, the supreme court has proposed in its report to the governor that it be so amended as to make it intelligible. Undoubtedly the act needs amendment if it is continued in force, but I would suggest as a still better remedy that the entire act be repealed.—Governor James H. Hawley, of Idaho, in his message to the eleventh legislature, 1911.



Department, who, with Third Assistant Postmaster Dockery, constitutes the court of inquisition in the censorship cases. About thirty of these publications have been summoned to show why they should not be deprived of the second-class mailing privilege, and a number, estimated at a dozen or fifteen, have been completely suppressed. The black list includes everything from small, sporadic monthlies or weeklies to daily papers having a half million circulation. It includes English-speaking as well as foreign papers, and the scope of the Department's activities ranges from Texas to Massachusetts.

Some of the Barred

Among the papers permanently cut off from the use of the second-class mailing privileges are: *The Bull*, New York City; the *Jeffersonian*, Thomson, Ga. (one of Tom Watson's magazines); *Watson's Magazine*, Thomson, Ga.; *Wachter und Anzeiger*, Cleveland, Ohio; the *Leader*, Milwaukee, Wis; the *American Socialist*, Chicago; the *Rebel*, Texas; the *Masses*, New York City.

Among the papers summoned to show why they should not be deprived of the mailing privilege are: *The Jewish Daily Forward*, New York City; the *Call*, New York City; the *American*, Charleston, S. C.

In addition, there are probably a dozen other publications, summoned or suppressed, whose names are unknown.

The list of the summoned and suppressed papers includes practically all Socialistic publications. What appears to be the ordinary formula of Socialism is regarded by the Department as objectionable in many instances under the second paragraph of the Espionage Act, invoked by Postmaster-General Burleson as a "rule to the Post Office Department" to determine what publications are admissible to the mails.

Not All Socialists

It is not only the Socialist press, however, that is regarded by the post office censoring bureau as offensive. The

Charleston American has not the remotest affiliation with Socialism. Its editor was a great admirer of President Wilson at one time, but he has failed to follow him in the war.

The Jewish daily, *Forward*, is the principal organ of the Jewish population in New York. Its offending was likewise not due to its voicing of Socialism, but in utterances on the lines of pacifism.

Tom Watson's publications in Georgia were much more militantly opposed to the war, and were aggressively against the conscription law, which Watson contended was unconstitutional.

The *Masses*, in New York City, has been the voice of a small group of intellectuals who disagree with almost any conventionalities, and have felt themselves free to climb the Olympus of intellect and survey critically all conditions of the commoner human beings in the world's valleys below. This was an offense to Burleson, who felt its editor, Max Eastman, must be a traitor to his country. So he held up the publication and neglected to make any ruling on the number of *Masses* published for subsequent months, with the result that the latter were in effect also refused the mails.

"Citing" Brings Discredit

It is said that serious injury has been done many publications by the mere announcement to the world that they have been "cited to show cause," even when the Department has not ruled that they were guilty. The fact that they were cited tended to discredit them, and has made them an easy prey for competitors and an easy victim of war antagonisms. In the case of Victor Berger, some business men of Milwaukee were moved to organize a boycott of advertisers to ruin his publication, while in South Carolina the *American*, which was the second paper in circulation in the State, suffered heavily in its circulation and also from an incipient boycott by advertisers.

In several cases, notably the *Call* and the Jewish *Forward*, the Department has withheld its decision, leaving the sword of Damocles hanging over their heads.

Some editors have tried to make terms with the Department. The editor of the *Forward*, and Max Eastman, of the *Masses*, have written the Postmaster-General, promising to refrain from any comment on international war relations or

war topics. The editor of the *Charleston American* has also offered to cease expressing his pacifist views. The Department has not made any reply to their offers.—*Washington Herald*, Nov. 4, 1917.

Liberty Restricted Because of Its Abuse

By the Managing Editor

WE have received a number of communications from different sources soliciting our coöperation and protesting against the action of the Post Office Department in excluding from the mails publications that have criticized the draft and the whole war policy of the Government. These appeals are evidently in the interests of a propaganda of unlimited freedom along the lines indicated. But it has seemed to us that the present is not an opportune time to press these questions, and that the Government is not altogether at fault.

It would appear that some of the departmental acts complained of have been arbitrary and not according to American law and principles, as we understand them; but the man who rocks the boat in midstream is likely to get scant consideration, whether he is technically entitled to it or not, and the same is true of those who in a time of national peril seem, even in small degree, to do or say things that might, though only indirectly, give aid and comfort to national enemies.

We wish that all men would be moderate, and especially so in times of great public stress. Liberty is often restricted because of its abuse. For example, there has never been the same freedom of speech in American cities since the Haymarket Riot, that was enjoyed before that time. The bomb that killed eight Chicago policemen the night of May 4, 1886, and seriously injured sixty-six others, struck down at the same time that full measure of freedom of speech known

in this country before that fatal hour. Not only in Chicago, but in every American city, it was practically said: "If we cannot have free speech without murder, we will not have it at all." This determination was and is sustained by public opinion.

And now again, in the second decade of the twentieth century, because of the abuse of freedom of speaking, writing, and publishing, liberty is being further restricted, not only by the authorities, but by public opinion. Men are giving their lives, as they believe, and as the great majority of the people believe, to make democracy safe in the world, and that majority will brook no interference, nor tolerate words and acts calculated in any way to give aid and comfort to the enemies of popular government.

Some of these men who complain of arbitrary action on the part of the Government, may be technically right in thinking that they have kept within the guaranties of the Constitution, but however that may be, the effect of their acts and words has caused further restriction rather than enlargement of the liberties of the people. We are sorry they cannot see this, and voluntarily forego for the time being even what they esteem the Constitutional measure of their individual rights, in the interests of the larger right of a great democracy to perpetuate its own existence and to keep alive in the world, "government of the people, by the people, and for the people."

SUNDAY, the so-called Christian sabbath, was brought to our shores about two hundred years before Congress was regularly established. Its observance was fostered by an intensely religious people. Their customs were unmistakably molded by it, and the laws of the different commonwealths, which were formed as the country was settled, were strongly characterized by legislation in its behalf.

Our Fundamental Laws Repudiate Sunday Legislation

The time came when the various colonies wished to unite. After a metamorphosis covering some years they emerged with a full-fledged written Constitution and a federal government. Being mostly religious men, it would not have been a strange thing if those who were instrumental in framing the fundamental laws for these United States, had incorporated some of their religious customs into that new Constitution. Many times these statesmen expressed their belief in a guiding and overruling Providence. But the Articles of Confederation, the Declaration of Independence, and the Constitution form a three-fold witness against the principles of religious legislation. No demand or suggestion is made in them for a law setting apart Sunday as a sabbath, nor even as a civil rest day. Nor is there any provision for such a thing in the future.

The American Government Civil, Not Religious

It is not necessary to recognize God and force his precepts upon unwilling minds by means of civil law; for his law is already elevated to a higher position than any civil law; it is entrenched in the very citadel and throne of the heart, and far beyond the reach of any human law.

Congress and the “

By Cla



Photo Harris & Ewing

THE SENATE AND

The taking of this position does not in any way disparage the value of constitutions framed by men; for, as one religious writer says:

“It has been very aptly remarked, that the state which does not encroach on the sphere of the conscience of its subjects can be called antireligious just as correctly as it can be called anti-industrial, antimusical, and anti-medicinal, if it manufactures no tobacco, composes no opera, and dispenses no medicine.”
—“*Religious Condition of Christendom*,” p. 277.

Christian" Sabbath

Holmes



IN JOINT SESSION

Religious Worship Should be Free

The feelings of many were no doubt reflected in the words of one who wrote in the days closely following the adoption of the Constitution:—

"If I observe Sunday, I ought to observe it from a motive of religious obligation and propriety, not because the laws of man have prescribed it. If I am convinced that it is my duty, a duty which I owe to God, to observe that day, no government can have a right to prohibit me from doing so. As I can have no right to interfere with my neighbors' opinions in any other way than by ar-

gument and persuasion, so neither can government in justice do so with the people." —*An Inquiry Concerning the Liberty and Licentiousness of the Press,* by John Thompson, p. 47 (1801).

Sunday Recognized by Congress; but Its Observance Not Enforced

Congress has recognized the existence of certain religious feelings, and especially has it respected the conscience of its own members. With some exceptions it has adjourned its sessions from Saturday to Monday, thus giving the members the day most generally observed as a rest day. But such recognition is vastly different from legislating to protect the day from desecration by either Congress or the people at large. The right to use Sunday for a day of labor has been repeatedly asserted by Congress to the present time.

Over and over again efforts have been made to secure from Congress some action that would place it on record as favoring a national Sunday law. The chief promoters of this scheme are the churches, who are most interested and who hope to be the chief gainers in case such a result could be achieved. But this deliberative body has uniformly refused to accede to such demands. It must be stated in this connection, however, that, under pressure from the great religious organizations,

Congress is beginning to relax its former hold upon the Constitutional principles of absolute liberty to all.

Congress Asserts Its Right to Sit on Sunday

Saturday, May 20, 1826, when the House of Representatives was in session and the hour of midnight arrived, Mr. Powell of Virginia introduced this resolution: "Sunday is not, in the contemplation of the laws and Constitution of the United States, a legislative day upon which business ought to be transacted by the House of Representatives." This resolution was tabled,

however, and business was continued until 4:30 the next morning.

A similar move was made by another Congressman, March 26, 1836. At midnight "Mr. Lawler raised a point of order, that it was not lawful to continue the sessions of the House after twelve o'clock on Saturday night, so as to break in upon the sabbath." (See "Debates in Congress," March 26, 1836.) The House refused to discontinue its session. Since that time both houses of Congress have repeatedly remained in session on Sunday. As stated by Senator Bacon:

"There is nothing in the law which denies to Congress the right to sit on Sunday, and I have myself frequently seen Congress sit on Sunday."—*Congressional Record*, Dec. 1, 1913.

There should be nothing in the law forbidding any one to labor on Sunday if he wishes to do so in a way consistent with the rights of others. And surely the people who send a Congressman to Washington have as much right to work on Sunday as has Congress. Furthermore, no legislator is empowered by the people to set up a standard of morals for them. Again: the Constitution, which each swears to uphold, forbids his even attempting such a thing.

Congress Against Sunday Legislation

A strong and concerted movement was inaugurated in 1829 to stop the carrying

of mail on Sunday, as it was termed a desecration of the Christian sabbath. Petitions and memorials came in from all parts of the country, protesting to Congress against this terrible sin! However, Congress did not feel compelled to act upon such a question, and the propa-



A DECEMBER SCENE IN THE CAPITOL GROUNDS

ganda was checked by one well-directed stroke. How this was accomplished, was told by a member of the House a few years later, and was recorded in the *Congressional Globe* for Dec. 18, 1835, page 29:

"The opponents of a Sunday mail petitioned Congress; their memorials were rejected, because their object was unreasonable; they persisted, and their numbers increased; the House of Representatives finally referred all these

petitions to a select committee; from which emanated one of the most masterly state papers which has ever been published in this country. It was addressed to the understanding, not to the passions, of the American people, and there was a response from all quarters to its cogent, persuasive, and conclusive reasoning. Its arguments were unanswered

"If a solemn act of legislation shall, in one point, define the law of God, or point out to the citizen *one* religious duty, it may, with equal propriety, proceed to define *every* part of divine revelation, and enforce *every* religious obligation, even to the forms and ceremonies of worship, the endowment of the church, and the support of the clergy."

About fifty years later Senator Blair introduced a bill covering practically the same ground as that taken by the memorialists referred to in Mr. Johnson's able paper. But this bill died in committee.

Many Religious Measures Rejected

Since 1888 there have been nearly one hundred measures introduced into the national Congress seeking in one way or another to coerce the people into compliance with some religious opinion or dogma. A few of these have passed both branches of Congress at different sessions, but so far none has become law. Nor will any such bill become law, while our legislators remain true to the American principles



WINTER AT THE CAPITAL OF THE NATION

and are unanswerable, and the petitioners were silenced."

Sunday-Law Champions Defeated by Unanswerable Arguments

This masterly and unanswerable state paper referred to was the report on Sunday mails written by the chairman of the committee, Hon. Richard M. Johnson. A paragraph will show the forcefulness of his arguments:

of religious liberty and to the fundamental law of our Republic. There can be no question as to the purpose of the framers of the First Amendment to withhold from Congress all authority to enact any legislation touching any religious question. The Amendment has been so understood in the past; it is so understood now.

Takoma Park, D. C.

“Great Sunday-Baseball Battle Coming!”

THIS heading is quoted from the *Reform Bulletin*, organ of the New York Civic League, printed in Albany. Under it the *Bulletin* describes, in part:

“A great State-wide movement among the sporting element, especially the baseball fans, to secure the passage of a Sunday-baseball bill by the coming session of the legislature. They declare that they are going to secure the passage of a bill to legalize not simply amateur baseball on Sunday, which in the past is all that they claimed to be working for, but now they are throwing off the mask and declaring that professional baseball must be legalized on Sunday.

“We shall have the most strenuous battle on this question that we have had for several years past. The New York Civic League, which keeps two representatives on the ground here at Albany, working all the time throughout the session of the legislature, will be on hand this year as usual to lead this fight, as it has led many other similar hard fights in the last ten years.

“Mr. Charles H. Ebbetts, who is leading this great State-wide movement for Sunday baseball, is one of the most prominent baseball men in the country, and is a man of great influence with big baseball magnates, who doubtless will put a large amount of money into this fight to secure the passage of such a bill. Sunday baseball would probably double the dividends of all the baseball corporations; hence they can well afford to make large contributions to such a campaign.

“As a result of a complaint made by the New York Civic League to the authorities in Brooklyn against Mr. Ebbetts's holding Sunday baseball games last summer, he was arrested and convicted. He appealed his case to the higher court, and the higher court sustained his conviction in the lower court; hence Mr. Ebbetts's determination to repeal a law which he has found uncomfortable to violate.

“We have shown in the *Reform Bulletin* many times in the past and will do the same again in the near future, that the legalizing of baseball on Sunday will mean in the end the legalizing of all other public sports on Sunday.

“We earnestly urge every friend of the Christian Sabbath in our State to help the New York Civic League financially in this extraordinary campaign which is *immediately* upon us. We ought to have at least a thousand dollars or more at the earliest possible moment to pay the expense of doing a number of very important preparatory things which ought to be done before the legislature meets on the first Wednesday in January. Friends of the Christian Sabbath, it is *your* fight; help us.”

This sufficiently reveals the true nature of the New York Civic [?] League; it is in fact the New York Sunday enforcement league. It is a league to enforce a church institution by civil law. It is a league to give the Sunday churches a monopoly of Sunday, so that on that day nothing shall compete with them in getting and holding the attention and liberalities of the people.

As we view it, it is better spiritually to go to church on Sunday than to go to a ball game, for to tell the truth we are not enthusiastic over ball games at any time. They are far from being a means of grace. But we deny the right of the state to control in any way the activities of the people on Sunday any more than on other days.

Sunday is a religious institution. Its observance is believed by many to be a religious duty; and these are the people who are appealing to the state to enforce its observance upon those who either do not admit its claims to divine authority, or who, admitting its moral claims theoretically, are not willing to give them practical acknowledgment by devoting that day to the services of religion. Our position is that the state has no right to enforce the observance of any moral duty as such. If it may enforce one such duty, then it may enforce another, and



another, and there is no logical stopping place. The thing to do is to stop at the line between things civic and things religious.

Civic means "relating to, or derived from, a city or citizen; relating to man as a member of society, or to civil affairs."—*Webster's Dictionary, edition 1864.*

In like manner, civil is defined as "pertaining to a city or state, or to a citizen in his relations to his fellow citizens or to the state."

It must be evident to every thinking man not blinded by prejudice, that the only duty the state has in regard to Sunday is to protect from unreasonable disturbance those who want to rest on that day, just as the civil authorities protect people who want to be quiet, from unreasonable disturbance at unreasonable hours upon other days.

If a baseball club should secure a ground and attempt to play a game of ball on Sunday at the hour of worship, in such close proximity to a church as actually to disturb the congregation or to interrupt their devotions, we believe that it would be legitimate for the authorities to say, "You cannot play here at this hour," etc.

But no ball club does anything of that kind. The amateur game is played on a vacant lot in the outskirts of the town or city, where no one is disturbed unless it be mentally by the mere knowledge that a game is in progress on Sunday. The professional clubs play in some enclosed ground to which nobody is admitted except such as pay a fee for the sake of seeing the game. The only possible disturbance is the annoyance felt by A because B does something that he (A) regards as wicked, and for which A may feel himself responsible in a measure because he, as a part of the community, permits it to be done.

In short, the only disturbance caused by Sunday baseball is mental disturbance due to bigotry and intolerance. It is due also in part to the mistaken notion that

the state has some measure of responsibility to prohibit and punish whatever is morally wrong or sinful, and to encourage and make as easy as possible that which is morally right or righteous.

It was this idea that was responsible for all the persecution of the Middle Ages. The state was held to be a moral person, responsible not only for its own acts, but also for the acts of its citizens.

The ruler who believes that he is morally responsible for the religious faith and practice of the people under him, must of necessity be a persecutor. He must endeavor, to the best of his ability and to the utmost of his power, to enforce upon all men what he believes to be true religious views and right practices. And this is what is bound up in every attempt to treat Sunday as other than a civil holiday.

If because of the desire of so many people to be free on Sunday from the ordinary cares of business, the state sees fit to make it a legal holiday, or *dies non*, that is, a day on which no legal business can be transacted, nobody ought to object. That is just what is done for all our legal holidays; that is, they are made civil holidays. But when the state or city goes farther and forbids work, business, or pleasure on a given day, that makes it not a civil holiday but a church holy day. It is against this that LIBERTY protests, and against this every liberty-loving citizen ought to protest, regardless of his opinions concerning the religious sanctions of the day. Let the state keep its hands off from holy things. B.

HUMAN enactments which circumscribe conscience, subject the soul to a thralldom more humiliating and more ruinous than any the body has ever endured. Where conscience is fettered, there is no freedom worthy of the name. It took many generations for men to learn that he who prescribes laws to hamper or to crush the consciences of men, makes a slave of himself and of his posterity, as well as of those against whom such laws are aimed.—*C. M. Snow.*

Prohibition and the Fall Elections

By the Editor

THE prohibition forces have had occasion for great rejoicing over the results of the fall elections. All the election returns were against the liquor traffic. In every contest in every State the temperance cause succeeded in making excellent scores. The liquor interests are beginning to see "the handwriting on the wall" of modern Babylon's banqueting hall. Dagon and Bacchus are lying on their faces at the foot of their shrines.

The seesawing in Ohio, which lasted several days,—now the drys, then the wets, now the drys, then the wets claiming the majority,—did not hide the fact that in the very close vote itself was a decided victory for the prohibition forces. The fact that the prohibition cause overcame more than 40,000 wet majority in the previous contest in the State; and the fact that it overcame the seesawing of the wets in Cincinnati, with honest election returns from the State; and the fact that the wets in Cincinnati could, with the press of a button, dig up 10,000 wet majority in the city to overcome a lead of 8,000 dry majority in the State, and then again by the same means unearth 2,000 more wet votes in the same city, after all the precincts had been tabulated and reported, in order to overcome the final lead of dry votes in the State, are a significant running commentary on Cincinnati politics and the system of wet rule, which in itself spells

final defeat for the wets. A victory for the wets with a beggarly one thousand votes obtained in the questionable way they were, is a triumph which is destined ultimately to turn the victor's laurels to ashes. No wonder the drys are already picking their flints for another shot at the enemy! The momentum of the movement and its success elsewhere are bound to sweep Ohio into the dry column at the next election.

In New Mexico the prohibitionists won with a large majority, upon a clear presentation of their cause.

In New Jersey, local option won easily with the full force of the powerful Democratic machine of the State swung in favor of the liquor interests. The foes of the booze traffic have much to rejoice over in New Jersey.

In the State of New York the cause of temperance was tremendously advanced by the



Sign the Pledge



Temperance Pledge
Realizing the importance of having my mind and body in the best possible condition, both for the happiness of myself and of those with whom I associate, I hereby solemnly promise, by God's help, to abstain from the use of tobacco, alcoholic drinks, and other narcotic poisons, and to do what I can for the cause of true temperance.

Name _____ Date _____

And every man that swears for the mastery is temperate in all things.

enfranchisement of the women of the whole State. Women, as a rule, are

opposed to the saloon; and in New York, where the saloon has long been a power-

ful factor in politics, the opponents of the saloon are already planning to swing against the saloon power of the State the full force of the 2,000,000 additional votes of the fair sex.

In Kentucky, through the referendum, the question of State-wide prohibition is to be submitted to the voters. Local option has already banished the saloons from all but a few counties of the State.

In Minnesota and Florida the temperance wave is gaining great strength, and is sure of sweeping the prohibition cause to complete victory at the next election.

In two other States of about equal strength it has been decided that the dries and wets shall measure swords again at the fall elections of 1918.

The closing of the distilleries during the war by Act of Congress; the recent Act of Congress making the capital of the nation dry; and the passage of the resolution by the Senate of the United States to submit to the State legislatures

for ratification a Federal Constitutional Amendment for national prohibition, with the almost certain prospect that the House of Representatives will duplicate the action of the Senate during the early part of the present session of Congress, have been a source of much encouragement to the prohibitionists. Should they win thirty-six States to their standard during the next few years, so as to assure a victory for national prohibition, their cup of joy — not of booze — will be full and running over. In every aspect, such a triumph over King Bacchus would be more glorious than any triumph of the monarchs of all past ages.

May the glad day hasten on when King Alcohol, the mightiest conqueror of the greatest conquerors of earth, will himself be conquered, and forced to submit to the all-conquering voice of the people. Let democracy triumph everywhere and in all things pertaining to civil relations, duties, and obligations.

C. S. L.

◆ ◆ “The One-Eyed Censor” ◆ ◆

In its issue of June 16, the *Catholic Advance* (Wichita, Kans.) said this:

“The one-eyed censor who represents the decent public as monitor over moving pictures is nearsighted in the one eye. We ought to put the censor and the movie outfit out of business if they keep on vying with each other in nastiness and deviltry, and not be so rigidly finicky about innocent recreation on the Sabbath.”

A good many people are nearsighted, not only in one eye, but in both eyes; and we suspect that among them is the editor of the *Catholic Advance*.

This editor ought to realize that he cannot both eat his cake and keep it. He cannot have Sunday laws and keep his liberty to indulge in “innocent recreation on the Sabbath.” As a Catholic the Kansas editor doubtless feels that when the people for whom he speaks have attended mass on Sunday morning, they

may innocently spend the rest of the day about as they please; but there are a great many people who do not share his views. They feel that the whole day must be safeguarded from “desecration,” — in other words, from what this Catholic editor calls “innocent recreation,” — and they will be likely to insist that their views be crystallized into law, as well as the views of our editor.

The whole trouble lies in the assumption, both by the editor of the *Catholic Advance* and by a large number of Protestants, that the state has the right — yea, that it is under sacred obligation — to compel people to observe in some measure a religious institution. Once grant the validity of this assumption, and there is no logical stopping place; the man who admits the principle must go the whole length of the evil road.

C. P. B.

Present Persecutions in Vermont and Maryland

IN these strenuous war times, when great issues are at stake in the nation, calling for harmony and co-operation in a common cause, one would naturally think that religious persecution and bigotry would be forgotten, or at least laid aside for the sake of the common weal. Especially when conservative Massachusetts and Connecticut have gone so far as to suspend the operation of their Sunday laws during the war period, granting full liberty to farmers and gardeners to cultivate and harvest their produce on their farms and in their gardens on Sundays, without incurring the usual penalties, one would think that Vermont and Maryland would at least exercise enough Christian charity in their courts to refrain from prosecuting and penalizing those who have already conscientiously observed the seventh day as the Sabbath if Sabbatarians do the same things on Sunday that many Sunday observers are doing now without molestation or fear of prosecution. But religious bigotry and sectarian narrow-mindedness know no such thing as justice and equality before the law. They know religious freedom only for themselves.

The Vermont Persecution

Recently a competing barber in Enosburg, Vermont, swore out a warrant of arrest against Mr. Cantell, a barber and a sincere Christian of noble qualities, who conscientiously observes the seventh day of the week instead of the first day, or Sunday, as the Sabbath. Mr. Cantell was indicted by the grand jury, and tried and condemned by the county court of St. Albans. The defendant is planning to carry his case on appeal to the supreme court of Vermont. We hope that



QUAKERS ON TRIAL FOR NONCONFORMITY IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

the supreme court of that State will follow the example of the supreme court of Oklahoma in recognizing the fact that essential justice is greater than the mere

letter of the law, and that it will so construe the spirit of the Vermont statutes.

Verdict of Supreme Court of Oklahoma

Judge Brett, in writing the opinion and decision of the Oklahoma court after the trial of a similar case, struck the taproot of essential justice and religious liberty with respect to the faith and practice of Sabbatarians, in the following terse and forceful statements:

"I cannot, and would not if I could, make my conscience the standard of my brother. We are all fallible, and I would not assume the responsibility of forcing him to adopt my faith: for should I be wrong, my responsibility would then be doubled. And the legislature intended to refrain from interfering with or coercing the conscience of those who uniformly and conscientiously keep another day

keeping the day they regard as a 'holy day.' But these courts overlook the fact that under the divine commandment these people are striving to obey, it is just as imperative that they work six days as it is that they rest on the seventh. And if their conscience compels them to rest one day, and the law forces them to also rest another, they would thus be forced to violate the first provision of the commandment they are attempting conscientiously to keep."

The supreme court of Oklahoma reversed the judgment of the lower court, and remanded the cause, all three judges concurring in the opinion. We trust that the Vermont supreme court will take the same broad, liberal, and courageous position in the Cantell case.

The Maryland Persecution

In Glenburnie, Maryland, a jealous neighbor observed Mr. Grant Franklin and his son-in-law digging some potatoes in their garden on Sunday, Oct. 28, 1917, and he immediately swore out a warrant for their arrest. Examination was waived in the justice's court, and a transcript was ordered to the circuit court at Annapolis, and they were each placed under \$100 bond. Their cases are now pending trial before the circuit court.

Grant Franklin and his son-in-law are carpenters working for the Government

at Camp Meade, in Maryland. The Government pays these men double wages for working on Sundays at Camp Meade; but when they stay at home one Sunday



SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTISTS ON TRIAL FOR NONCONFORMITY
IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

than the first day of the week as holy time. . . .

"But it is facetiously argued by some courts that to say to these people they shall keep our Sunday, does not prevent them from also

to dig their potatoes in order to conserve food in these war times, they are immediately apprehended on complaint of a fellow Christian who can see nothing good outside the fence which incloses his own creed.

Both these men, who are haled before the court as criminals because they dug a few potatoes in their garden on Sunday, uniformly and conscientiously observe the seventh day of the week as the Sabbath, and their daily conduct and life are above reproach. Over all the State of Maryland, men were seen every Sunday gathering in their crops and working for the Government, and no one thought of invoking the Sunday blue laws of colonial antiquity upon the toilers. But just as soon as men who conscientiously and uniformly observe another day than Sunday as holy time, gathered their fruits on Sunday, perchance under necessity, Jealousy and Religious Tyranny lifted their despotic hands, and the letter of an

old worn-out, obsolete religious law was strictly construed so that some old-time Puritan might be enabled to satisfy his vengeance lest God might forget.

This may sound severe, but in the full light and liberty of modern times, what other purpose do the Sunday blue laws serve, when they penalize and harass those who have already observed one day of the week as holy time, for doing work honorable and legitimate on any of the other six working days? Justice demands that such laws be stricken from the statute books. They are un-American, unchristian, unjust, and unkind. They belong to a former age, another government, and another people. It is high time that a voice of protest be raised against such encroachments upon the natural rights of the honest individual conscience, no matter who the oppressed are, or what their creed may be, so long as they are decent and respect the equal rights of others.

C. S. L.

National Prohibition—Then What?

A Word of Warning

By William Q. Sloan

REGULATION of the business interests of a country is not contrary to the proper function of civil government. This truth has been recognized in the United States by the Anti-Saloon League of America, which has assailed the liquor traffic with such marked success. Other associations have done valiant work in the antiliquor cause, but to the Anti-Saloon League the palm is gracefully and gratefully surrendered; for to this association belongs the honor of having made so many States free from "the licensed saloon," an institution that never should have been recognized by civil government. The liquor traffic never has been anything else but an outlaw, robbing mothers of their sons, making fathers demons and homes hov-

els, and undermining democracy by its corruption of the ballot box.

There is in the Anti-Saloon League movement every element that makes for success—brains, morality, religious zeal, consecration, wealth, political power.

The eighteenth annual convention of the League was held in Washington, D. C., Dec. 10-13, 1917, and on its list of speakers were such men as Senator Sheppard, Senator Borah, Congressman A. W. Barkley, and Hon. William Jennings Bryan, besides a number of prominent ecclesiastics.

Enthusiasm and a fixed determination to make the United States a "bone-dry" nation characterized each meeting.

Hon. Andrew Wilson welcomed the convention to the city, and he closed his

address by referring to the metal image of Daniel's prophecy (Daniel 2). The stone that crushed the image and which became a great mountain of universal power, according to Mr. Wilson represented the Anti-Saloon League and its work. This statement was received by the audience with vociferous applause.

Rev. A. C. Bane, D. D., responded to the address of welcome, and he emphasized Mr. Wilson's application of the prophetic stone.

Congressman Barkley assured the convention that the national prohibition amendment would be passed by Congress before the end of the present year, and that the States would vote for national prohibition. The applause that greeted this statement gave evidence that the delegates had no other belief than that the United States will be free from liquor in the near future. This is the hope and the prayer of all men who believe the liquor traffic to be a national curse.

When national prohibition becomes a fact, will the League's work be finished? Evidently not. The atmosphere of the convention seemed to have in it Sunday legislation and a religious amendment to the national Constitution. It needs no prophetic mind to predict that the tremendous resources of the Anti-Saloon League will be dedicated to the cause of a national Sunday law, and such dedication will undoubtedly terminate in success. What will be the result? A denial of the American principle of government, a union of religion and the State — and retrogression. When a national Sunday law becomes operative, evil will result. It is to be regretted that the league gives prospect of adding a religious propaganda to its work. "The Christian citizenship" of the country was a phrase frequently used by the speakers as they addressed the convention.

Sunday legislation is un-American and anti-Christian, and when the Anti-Saloon League uses its tremendous power for the enactment of a national Sunday law, its days of usefulness will have ended. "Ichabod" will be written not only on

the portals of the league, but likewise upon the escutcheons of the United States.

The keeping of religious days belongs to the individual conscience: enforced observance of them causes men to be mere formalists, and formalism is abhorrent to God and will result in ruin. "Let the shoemaker stick to his last."

MAN'S first and highest allegiance in all things is due to his Creator; therefore the domain of conscience is one which human government, whether of one or of many, has no right to invade.

No man can surrender his conscience to the keeping of another, and maintain his loyalty to God; but as a responsible moral being, he must remain loyal to his Creator at whatever cost, even at the sacrifice of life itself.

In such cases the word of the Lord is: "Whosoever will save his life shall lose it: and whosoever will lose his life for my sake shall find it." God's word is, "Thou shalt not follow a multitude to do evil." This places every man on his own responsibility, and shows that a question of duty toward God, a question of conscience, is a question with which majorities and minorities have nothing to do.

C. P. B.

THE state is within its legitimate sphere when it deals with the temporal affairs of men. The church is within its legitimate sphere when it deals with the spiritual affairs of men, and even then not as a lord over men's consciences. When neither of these organizations enters the domain of the other, there is peace, harmony, and prosperity, both temporal and spiritual.—*C. M. Snow.*

THE proper object of government is to protect all persons in the enjoyment of their religious as well as civil rights, and not to determine for any whether they shall esteem one day above another, or esteem all days alike holy.—*Senate Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, Jan. 19, 1829.*

Is Enforced Religion Justifiable?

THE *Christian Statesman* for November last, had this note on page 491:

"One of the stock objections to any and all connection between the state and religion is the fact that the state has often abused its power in forcing creeds upon people against their convictions. But however difficult of adjustment this matter may be, it is poor logic that reasons in this manner."

The trouble with this so-called "stock objection" is that it does not touch the principle at all. The state has no right to enforce any creed upon any one. This is just as true of one creed as of another, without reference to the truth or falsity of that creed.

It was just as wrong for Elizabeth to burn Roman Catholics as for Mary to burn Protestants. The state can only declare and guarantee human rights. To go beyond this in any way is to usurp a

divine prerogative and to trench upon the rights of conscience.

The reason for this is twofold. First, God has the right to every man's voluntary service. That which is forced is not and cannot be voluntary. Therefore to make religion obligatory is to deprive the divine Being of the voluntary service which is his by right. Second, so far as his fellow men are concerned, every man has the absolute and undeniable right to believe in, to reverence, and to worship God, or not to do any of these things, just as seemeth to him to be good; and to attempt to enforce all or any of these duties is to deny to the individual the rights that the Creator has given to him.

Union of church and state has always worked evil and only evil, and we greatly marvel that it still has defenders, or even apologists. B.

The Citizen, the State, and God

By Judge Cyrus Simmons

Knoxville, Tenn.

THE citizen owes allegiance to the state and obedience to God. The decalogue constitutes a complete system of legislation pertaining to this dual relationship. The last six precepts enjoin one's duties to his fellows. They may be re-enacted or enforced by the state, in so far as citizenship is concerned, without violating religious obligations or rights of conscience. They have a literal application to the citizen, and a spiritual application to the Christian. Thus the laws against murder and adultery may be transgressed by the heart of hate and the lustful, salacious eye. The state can only take cognizance of the overt act, regardless of the impurities of the mind and heart.

Whether the transgression is mental or physical, all these six commandments define what is right and prohibit what is wrong, and the guilty have no right to claim that the enforcement of them by the state violates liberty of conscience or freedom of religion.

With the first four commandments this is not so. They enjoin one's duties to his God. Their obedience requires faith and worship. They are church properties, and the foundation of church governments and regulations. The state can measure up to the highest ideals of civility and good citizenship without the need or assistance of them. An attempt by the state to change, modify, or enforce any one of them makes a union of church

and state. The union of church and state is responsible for the history of intolerance of the Dark Ages, the Inquisition, with its chamber of horrors, the millions of martyrs whose blood is still crying out against such wicked alliance. The light of the Reformation has swept from the statute books all laws pertaining to the first three commandments. We are not now answerable to the state for alleged heresies, nor for refusing to bow to images.

How about the Sabbath?

The Sabbath belongs to God and not to the state, for he calls it "my holy day." Therefore, keeping the Sabbath holy is a Christian, not a civil, duty. All Sunday laws are directly or indirectly religious legislation, and they therefore make a union of church and state. They are repugnant to the principles of reli-

gious freedom guaranteed to the citizen by the Federal Constitution. They violate every bill of right of every State of the Union. They invite persecution, and have been the means of fining, imprisoning, and making martyrs of God-fearing Christians. They are a black mark against the fundamental principles of Americanism. How can they survive the enlightenment of the twentieth century? They do not, they can not, make better citizens. In Rome the union of paganism and state made it possible for Nero to feed Christians to the hungry lions, and transfix their burning forms, that had been dipped in pitch, to light his pleasure gardens.

Divorce the church from the state. Emancipate the mind as well as the body. "Render therefore unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's; and unto God the things that are God's."

EDITORIAL BREVITIES

"I SHALL pass through this world but once. Any good therefore that I can do or any kindness that I can show to any human being, let me do it now. Let me not defer or neglect it, for I shall not pass this way again." This doctrine is the essence of true religion. L.

LIBERTY and democracy are represented by the statue on the front cover of the LIBERTY magazine. Gross darkness is shrouding the world with its black mantle, but the streaming light from the torch of freedom is piercing the gloom of night. Let us keep the torch burning to make the world safe for liberty and democracy. L.

Two drastic Sunday bills (S. 2260 and H. R. 128) are now pending before Congress. Do not fail to read the article entitled, "Congress and Pending Sunday Legislation," in order to get the real gist of the measures; nor fail to read the article on "Present Persecutions in Ver-

mont and Maryland," for the purpose of learning how Sunday laws operate. These two articles ought to stir every liberty-loving citizen to send a protest against the passage of these bills to his Senators and Representative. L.

THE recent Sunday law crusades carried on in certain localities of North Dakota and Iowa are now past history. Just like all Sunday law crusades in the past, they came suddenly and unexpectedly, like the swift-fleeing meteors of the night, produced a startling flash, and then sank into utter oblivion. What fools we mortals be! When shall we learn sense, and realize that Americans are free men, and not slaves? True Americans will not permit any ecclesiastical or political autocracy to juggle with religious freedom and civil democracy. L.

THE only punishment which the Scriptural Christian church imposed upon an unbeliever or a wrong-doer, was a re-

fusal to fellowship him. Christ 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." If the followers of Jesus Christ had always imitated the example of their divine Pattern in their attitude toward sinners and unbelievers, such a thing as Christians' persecuting one another could never have been possible. But the history of the church is far different. In her golden censer she holds the precious lifeblood of millions of martyrs slain by her hands. Truth and conscience still have their Gethsemane and Calvary. L.



THE *Christian Statesman*, in its November issue, in commenting upon political conditions in one of our great American cities, says:

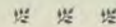
"Whatever the outcome, the situation calls attention to the deplorable condition of our city politics, and recalls the drastic remark of Dr. Josiah Strong in one of his books, that holding a municipal office in a large city almost impeaches a man's character."

Then follows in due course this suggestion by the *Statesman*:

"When civil government, national, State, and municipal, is founded on the Word of God, and candidates are required to square with righteous public sentiment, then, and only then, will we have proper government."

Does not the editor of the *Statesman* know, or knowing, does he ignore the fact, that some of the most corrupt governments and corrupt eras that have ever cursed the world and disgraced Christianity have been governments and eras wherein civil rulers made the highest profession of serving God, and wherein the church and the state were the most closely united? If he does not know, let him read the records of the past, not forgetting the terrible abuses that incited the people of France to revolt against both church and state in the latter part of the eighteenth century, and let him give special study to the private lives and crimes and vices of that illustrious pair of "Christian" emperors, Constantine and Charlemagne.

If it should be discovered that anything is lacking to make conditions utterly bad and utterly rotten in the particular city referred to by the *Statesman*, that lack would doubtless be supplied in short order by establishing a religious qualification for public office, for surely the sum of all villainies is found in a combination of the political rascal with the religious hypocrite. Human experience has demonstrated the truth of this proposition, and history records the evidence in language that cannot be misunderstood, and in letters large and clear enough so that even he who runs may read. B.



After the War

THE Sunday schools of all nations are planning to join forces after the war in order to give the world a moral and religious reconstruction. The World Sunday School Association has a membership of 35,000,000. A special committee, comprising representatives from all Christian countries, is "to prepare a world message and program for the moral and religious reconstruction of the world following the war." The object is to formulate a religious program that will unify religious belief and morals, and then to advocate legislation which will adequately "carry these plans into full effect."

The National Federation of Religious Liberals held its eighth congress in Boston, on November 25 and 26. It is affiliated with eleven different religious bodies. Many of the leading clergymen and thinkers of the country are connected with this organization in an official capacity. The object of this organization is just the reverse of those who are striving to unify religious belief and urging a formulated program of religion upon the world. Its purpose is stated as follows:

"The central purpose of the National Federation of Religious Liberals is to promote in the public—and especially the religious—mind the conviction that true and enduring religious fellowship cannot be brought about

by uniformity of belief and worship. It can only be attained by oneness of moral sympathy and purpose, by mutual respect for differences of opinion and custom, by that unity of the spirit which makes possible interdenominational and interreligious co-operation for human and social service beyond the lines of sect and creed. For while intellectual sympathies are limited, moral sympathies are universal."

It is a good thing to have large religious organizations that entertain opposite views upon such vital issues. It has the tendency to equalize matters, and to give the people a freedom which otherwise would be well-nigh impossible.

L.

THE Anti-Saloon League, which assembled in this city December 10, is to be transformed shortly into a general "reform" organization, if certain sinister influences now at work succeed. This is definitely understood and agreed to, even by some of the leaders. These men believe that a few years will see the whole country "bone dry," so far as law statutory and constitutional can make it. The work to be done then will not be to mold and direct public opinion against the saloon, but to enforce the law. A large number of ministers and others who have been employed for years in creating anti-saloon sentiment and crystallizing it into law, will then be without occupation, unless some provision is made in the meantime for the promotion of other "reforms." It is understood, therefore, by the inner circle, that the constitution of the league will be so amended as to broaden the sphere of its operations, and it will at once put its mighty force behind a multitude of so-called moral reforms, among which strict Sunday enforcement, state and national, is to take first place.

The only reason this was not more publicly advocated in the Washington meeting was the fear that it might alienate from the league the sympathy and co-operation hitherto given it by many who are opposed to the liquor traffic, but who oppose also anything savoring of union of church and state, or the enforcement of religion or religious observances

and institutions by civil law. But unless wiser and more just counsels prevail, the change will come ere long, and the Anti-Saloon League will stand forth under an amended constitution and a new name as one of the most mighty church-and-state forces the world has ever seen. B.

Connecticut Blue Law Repeal

BLUE laws were brushed aside, August 5, throughout the State, and Connecticut celebrated its first open Sunday in three hundred years.

For three centuries only drug stores could be open on Sunday. But now bakeries, ice-cream parlors, milk stations, fruit stands, tobacco stores, news stands, and automobile shops were all open and did a thriving business. The motion picture theaters were stormed in many places by the big crowds who were out for a good time. One section of the new act allows amateur baseball and other sporting events to take place on Sunday, provided no admission fee is asked. Rifle ranges may also be opened.

The reaction from the old blue laws of New England to the liberalized Sunday laws, in imitation of the Continental sabbath, is a mistake and a grave moral danger. God's law, giving one day in seven for rest for man, and a day of peaceful and orderly worship for those who desire it, is recognized in the Sunday laws of the Christian nations of the world. To weaken these laws and give the day over to pleasure, mirth, or dissipation, is not only a sin before God, but a serious menace to the perpetuity of our free institutions. The principle underneath the stated period for rest and worship is so deep that the Almighty incorporated it thus in the ten commandments: "Remember the Sabbath day, to keep it holy." Ex. 20:8.—*The Christian Herald*, Aug. 22, 1917.

The editor of the *Christian Herald* very naively assumes (a) that Sunday is the Sabbath by divine appointment; and (b) that it is the duty of the state

to safeguard the institution and enforce its observance. There is absolutely no Bible evidence in support of either of these propositions. n.

Blue Laws in District are Proposed in Bill

A BILL which would virtually establish Sunday blue laws in the District of Columbia was introduced today by Senator Jones of Washington and referred to the District committee.

The measure would prohibit the performance of all unnecessary work in Washington on Sunday. Newspaper workers and employees of public service corporations, however, would be exempted under its provisions.

All other kinds of work except domestic servants' work is prohibited on Sunday. Fines ranging from \$10 to \$50 for the first offense, and from \$25 to \$100 for the second offense, with jail imprisonment from one to three months, are provided as penalties.—*The Evening Star, Washington, Dec. 11, 1917.*

MEN of national reputation, standing high in governmental positions, have told us that the LIBERTY magazine is the best of its kind in the field, and that its style, make-up, and contents are improving with each issue. A Congressman recently informed us that he felt that this magazine ought to be placed in every reading home in America. If you read this magazine through, you will doubtless receive the same impression. Will you not help us to extend its circulation? Organize a club of subscribers. Help us to place it in all public and school libraries. By ordering fifty or more copies at one time, you can obtain them at four cents each. See special rates on the first page. L.

MONDAY, Dec. 17, 1917, the national House of Representatives passed, by a vote of 282 to 128,—eight more than a

two-thirds majority,—the joint resolution proposing to the States a national prohibition amendment to the Federal Constitution.

The resolution had previously passed the Senate, which body the next day, namely, the 18th, concurred in the only amendment offered by the House, making the time limit for the approval by the States seven instead of six years.

This question now goes to the State legislatures to be fought out. As amendments to the Constitution must have the approval of three fourths of the States, thirteen can defeat the measure. It is not believed, however, that the liquor interests can hold that number of States in line for seven years, and the friends of national prohibition, including LIBERTY magazine and a host of its readers, are jubilant over prospective victory for the amendment. B.

A PACIFIST orator, speaking in Cincinnati a few weeks ago, was taken out of the city, carried across the river into Kentucky, and cruelly whipped. Referring to this fact, the *Catholic Columbian* (Columbus, Ohio), in its issue of November 9, said:

"Every law-abiding citizen must condemn the beating given to the Rev. Herbert S. Bigelow, of the People's Church in Cincinnati, by a mob, in punishment for his opinions on the war. There is a law for all crime, and there are authorized officials to enforce it. No mob violence should be tolerated."

This is good sentiment. However mistaken their ideas may be, the pacifists are not the most dangerous enemies of the nation; its worst enemies are those who would by mob violence or by over-riding Constitutional guaranties, deny freedom of speech and fetter and enslave the press. Here is our greatest national danger. B.

THE truths of the gospel are not to be safeguarded by civil law. The state has no shadow of right to define or in any way to punish sin, or offenses against the divine Being.

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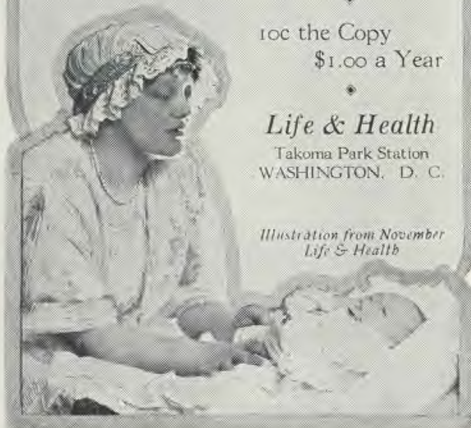
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