

LIBERTY

A MAGAZINE OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM



S. M. Harlan
AFTER
SAINT GAUDENS' "PURITAN"

TWENTY CENTS A COPY

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Religious Liberty Association

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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

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

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CHARLES S. LONGACRE, Editor

CALVIN P. BOLLMAN, Managing Editor

WILLIAM F. MARTIN, Associate Editor

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Photo, U. & U., N. Y.

Sighting Land from the Replica of the Original "Mayflower," Just Before the Actual Landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth Rock, in the Tercentenary, 1921

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Did the Pilgrims Persecute?

Pilgrims as Distinguished from Puritans

By

Lee S. Wheeler

THE Pilgrim tercentenary has been marked by an attempt to revive the Puritan Sunday with all its rigors, by certain religious organizations.

It is a grave injustice to the Pilgrims that they still have to be the scapegoat of Puritanism and bear the aspersion of hanging innocent persons for witchcraft, cutting off the ears of Quakers, whipping and banishing Baptists, and similar outrages which besmirch the annals of their haughty neighbors of Massachusetts Bay, who by superior numbers, wealth, and influence attempted to lord it over the little plantation at Plymouth and make the Pilgrims their allies in war, oppression, and persecution.

Let the odium rest where it belongs, however, with the Puritans of Massachusetts Bay and Connecticut, but not upon the character of the Pilgrim people of Plymouth Colony, who sought to keep



The "Mayflower" by Moonlight

free from such proceedings, to live at peace with all men, and of whom it has been said,

"They left unstained what there they found,
Freedom to worship God."

Pilgrims Distinguished from Puritans

I know it is a current saying that "our Pilgrim Fathers fled from . . . the Old World to the bleak shores of New England to escape religious persecution, yet they were here but a short space of time before they began a persecution equally

cruel."—*Hon. William H. Murray, Congressional Record, Oct. 6, 1914.*

The prevalence of this opinion is doubtless due to the popular confusion of thought in which the Pilgrims are not clearly distinguished from the Puritans. When even a President of the United States in an address upon the Pilgrim Fathers discoursed eloquently about the Puritans, an educated English official may be excused for saying on a public

occasion that he always had thought George Washington came over in the "Mayflower." It is not so strange, therefore, that such errors get into printer's ink, but the light which floods the tercentenary day ought to clear away some of the mist which still hangs about the "Mayflower" and the history of Plymouth Rock.

The Pilgrims came to this country from Holland; the Puritans direct from England. There were only about a hundred of the Pilgrims on the "Mayflower;" it took nine ships to bring the Puritans, who came a thousand strong. The Pilgrims came in 1620; the Puritans ten years later. The Pilgrims settled about Plymouth Bay; the Puritans about Massachusetts Bay. The Pilgrims had separated from the Anglican Church before they left England for Holland; the Puritans had not separated from the English Church when they arrived in this country. The Pilgrims were democratic in their policy; the Puritans aristocratic. The Pilgrims set up a republic; the Puritans a theocracy, or union of church and state. The Pilgrims were mild and tolerant; the Puritans were dogmatic and persecuting. That is the difference. Like Roger Williams, the Pilgrims had to suffer more or less at the hands of the Puritans, because they were separatists and could not participate with them in the ceremonialism of their ritual nor the enforcement of their dogmas. It is therefore most incongruous in those who advocate a return to Puritanic ideals, to pretend at the same time to honor the Pilgrims.

The Witness of History

Fortunately, the earliest laws and court records of the Plymouth Colony have been preserved and they speak for themselves. I quote from a work published

The Pilgrims

The Pilgrims came to Massachusetts from Holland via Hull, England.

The Pilgrims came over in 1620.

The Pilgrims who came in the "Mayflower" numbered one hundred souls.

The Pilgrims settled about Plymouth Bay.

The Pilgrims were separatists, that is, they withdrew from the Church of England and established their own worship while still in England. For this reason they found it necessary to seek refuge in Holland, which they did in 1608.

The Pilgrims, having themselves tasted persecution, and having fled from it to Holland, where they enjoyed a very large degree of religious liberty, did not themselves persecute others, nor did they attempt to establish a theocracy or unite church and state in this country.

at Plymouth by some of its citizens:

"The curious searcher will look in vain for the evidence of their unjustly alleged bigotry or narrow-mindedness. The Pilgrims of Plymouth Colony have had to bear for years the stigma and opprobrium of deeds done by the younger, more aristocratic, and bigoted colony of Massachusetts Puritans of Salem and Boston. Within a few years the truth is being learned, proper distinctions made, and the memory of the men of Plymouth justified. It is now generally known that the Pilgrims as distinguished from the Puritans of Massachusetts were broader and more liberal in their ideas than the men of the latter colony, and for which at the time they were bullied and reprimanded by the richer and more influential men of the Bay. . . . It was at Plymouth Roger Williams found a temporary asylum when driven out of Boston." — *Guide to Old Plymouth*, pp. 30, 31.

The Pilgrims were not politicians like the Puritan leaders, but were practical men of toil. They had little leisure for framing superfluous legislation and spying out offenders. They spent their time in useful employment so that in seven

The Puritans

The Puritans came to Massachusetts direct from England.

The Puritans came in 1630.

The Puritans coming in different vessels numbered one thousand.

The Puritans settled about Massachusetts Bay.

The Puritans, though protesting against the forms and abuses of the Established Church, remained in that communion until after they left England in 1630.

The Puritans, though having experienced some of the evils of church-and-state union in England, clung nevertheless to the evil principle, and, erecting on these shores a theocratic state, persecuted to the death all dissenters.

years they had not only made homes for themselves and a living for their families, but had liquidated all their heavy indebtedness to the London financiers for the cost of their "Mayflower" expedition.

Suggestions of Intolerance

It is not claimed that the Pilgrims, however, had advanced to our plane of thinking on the subject of religious liberty. Their original pastor, John Robinson, liberal, progressive, and generous though he was, never saw clearly, as did Roger Williams, that the magistrate had no authority in matters spiritual. Roger Williams preached and wrote against the Puritan Sunday laws, saying: "The magistrate might not punish the breach of the Sabbath or any other [religious] offense," because the duties set forth on the first table of the decalogue are spiritual duties which we owe to God exclusively. He evidently obtained his

clear ideas of religious liberty from William, Prince of Orange, who said in 1574: "You have no right to interfere with the conscience of any one, so long as he does not work a public scandal, or an injury to his neighbor." Under his flag the Pilgrim refugees first found rest and protection and learned how "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" is made beautiful. This explains why the Pilgrims in America were more tolerant than their neighbors; while the somewhat conservative attitude of their Old World pastor explains why their customs and laws still retained a suggestion of the former order of things, and they needed the contact of Roger Williams to further expand their views.

Most Important Facts

Pilgrim laws appear to have been adopted and administered with reference to safeguarding the security of the colony as "emergency rules" rather than to coerce the citizens in matters of religion. We have never discovered an instance in which the Pilgrims inflicted corporal injury upon any one on account of religion, or attempted to coerce any in matters of conscience. They are not known to have inflicted any physical suffering upon Quakers. In 1649 the first Baptist Church was organized within the territory of the Plymouth Colony, and within a short time four petitions were sent by the Massachusetts Bay authorities to the Plymouth court not to grant them land upon which to build a meeting house. The Plymouth court cited Mr. Holmes, who had organized the church, and after examination allowed him to proceed unmolested. This "lenitie" did not please the Puritan court of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, so they sent the Plymouth court a warning, as follows:



Photo, U. & U., N. Y.

Elder Brewster, Impersonated by Charles P. Marshall, Leading the "Pilgrims" in Prayer as They Entered Plymouth Harbor

"We have heard heretofore of divers Anabaptists arisen up in your jurisdiction, and connived at, the infection of such diseases, being so near us, are likely to spread into our jurisdiction, but being so few, we well hoped that it might please God, by the endeavors of yourselves and the faithful elders with you, to have reduced such erring men again into the right way. But now to our great grief we are credibly informed that your patient bearing with such men hath produced another effect, namely, the multiplying and increasing of the same errors. . . . Particularly we understand that within this few weeks there have been at Sea Cuneke thirteen or fourteen persons re-baptized (a swift progress in one towne); yet we hear not of any effectual restriction."

Still even after all this pressure the Plymouth court not only did not restrict these Baptists from multiplying, but did give them land upon which to build their church. So incensed were the Bay authorities at such "lenitie" that when they caught Mr. Holmes within their limits visiting one of his members who was too aged to get to church, he was arrested, tried, taken to the public whipping post in Boston, and whipped by a strong man with thirty strokes upon his bare back so that for weeks he could only get rest upon his knees and elbows. This

illustrates the difference between the Pilgrims and the Puritans.

About this time, notwithstanding Roger Williams had at the risk of his own life saved the Massachusetts Puritans from an Indian massacre, they schemed to wrest some of his territory from him and sent commissioners to Plymouth to get the co-operation of the authorities there, but the Plymouth people refused aid and the meeting, says the historian, "broke up in what is sometimes called a row." For a time it looked as if the Massachusetts Bay people would make war against Plymouth and Rhode Island, but Roger Williams went to England, secured a new charter, published his book, "The Bloody Tenent of Persecution," and so won the favor of the English government that they immediately took measures to insure toleration and justice in Massachusetts for all except "papists," and the Puritan theocracy began to crumble from that time.

All this shows that the Pilgrims sought to be tolerant and just, but had continually to resist the Puritan pressure. There were never any witchcraft persecutions in Plymouth.

"One of the Wonders of History"

I will close this article with a quotation from William E. Griffis in the *North American Review*, January, 1921:

"The spirit of tolerance which the Pilgrims exhibited throughout their history, nursed and stimulated to greater breadth in the Dutch Republic, is one of the wonders of history. Not only did they pass the point which Luther and Calvin had reached, and at which these Reformers stopped, but they pressed on. Robinson, their leader, the teaching member of their church, who grieved at the reactionary attitude of these leaders, urged his own people to look for more light to break out from the divine word. . . . As a matter of fact, the Plymouth men developed rather than limited their pastor's urgent appeal. In Leyden they had welcomed one and all adherents to, or members of, any reformed churches to their communion. . . .

"It may be truly said that the people of the United States of America, dropping much of the Puritan and Puritanical dogmas and practices, have entered more fully into the ideals and ways of the Pilgrims. . . .

"Why do people of all creeds, cultures, and nationalities in America now admire and claim inheritance from these separatists, the Pilgrim Fathers? Is it not because they see in their story the successful attempt to realize the hopes of the ages, which have found fruition in the American Federal system of States, so grandly united under the Constitution? The Pilgrim spirit has animated a nation, and its example leavened all our national history."

THE church that seeks to make Jesus Christ a civil ruler is seeking the throne of civil domination for herself. "My kingdom is not of this world," said Christ.

Persecution of Quakers

THE following clipping is taken from the *Chicago Tribune*:

"The Rev. Cotton Mather, it has been disclosed, in an effort to prevent the landing of 'W. Penn,' whom he characterized as a 'Quaker scamp,' described a plot to waylay Penn's ship 'slyly' and to sell Penn and his crew into slavery in the Barbados. The revelations are made in a historic letter recently unearthed and read last night at a banquet in honor of Herbert Hoover, Food Administrator, who is a Quaker, by Judge E. C. Lindley.

"The letter has created considerable amusement in Administration quarters, where it was circulated today.

"It is as follows:

"SEPTEMBER YE 15, 1682.

"TO YE AGED AND BELOVED MR. JOHN HIGGINSON: There is now at sea a ship called the "Welcome," which has on board an hundred or more of the heretics and malignants called Quakers, with W. Penn, who is the chief scamp, at the head of them.

"The general court has accordingly given secret orders to Master Malachi Huscott of the brig "Porpoise" to waylay the said "Welcome" slyly, as near the Cape of Cod as may be, and make captive the said Penn and his ungodly crew, so that the Lord may be glorified and not mocked on the soil of this new country with the heathen worship of these people. Much spoil can be made by selling the whole lot to Barbados, where slaves fetch good prices in rum and sugar, and we shall not only do the Lord great service by punishing the wicked, but we shall make great good for His minister and people.

"Master Huscott feels hopeful, and I will set down the news when the ship comes back.

"Yours in ye bowels of Christ,

"COTTON MATHER."



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Plymouth in 1622

Puritan Blue Laws in the Good Old Times

By
C. S. Longacre

WERE the so-called "blue laws" ever really in force, or are they only a myth? If such laws really at one time were on the statute books, where were they to be found? what was their effect? and what happened to them finally?

It is such questions as these that Gustavus Myers, a well-known historical writer, has endeavored to answer in a volume called, "Ye Olden Blue Laws" (The Century Company). Mr. Myers has taken his facts from official or other authentic documents — laws, court records, and other annals of the American colonies and States. He considers laws of different kinds — those relating to tobacco, to dress, to personal freedom, to the theater and the arts, to amusement generally. The result is a very interesting volume.

Mr. Myers makes it very plain that there once were blue laws — hordes of them. Most people, if asked where the blue laws had their chief habitation, would probably reply that Connecticut ought to be given an azure hue on the maps. Mr. Myers shows, however, that Massachusetts was the principal source of such regulations, and that the State on the Sound merely followed meekly in its wake. Some of the worst laws, however, originated in Virginia, and New Jersey produced one law — "An Act for Sup-



Quakers on Trial Before Puritan Judges for Exercising the Rights of Conscience

pressing Vice and Immorality," of April 15, 1846 — which prohibited nearly every human activity on Sunday except breathing, dressing, eating, and church-going. Driving, sledding, singing, "fiddling or other music for the sake of merriment," games and sports of all kinds, and fishing were among the amusements that were prohibited by this Jersey statute. Mr. Myers adds as to this law that "policemen took a lenient view of the situation."

Certainly the Puritan colonies of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries offered what appeared to be an ideal society for producing a perfect morality.

The colonists were homogeneous in race, they carefully drove out all who were antagonistic in religion; the communities were small and everybody knew everybody else's business. What puzzles the casual investigator is this: Why were blue laws needed in such communities? Yet, as Mr. Myers demonstrates in the amplest detail, not only was stringent sumptuary and moral legislation passed from the very beginning, but the court records show constantly increasing violations, and the laws became ever stricter and stricter, seemingly without producing the desired effect. This must have been a sad trial to the heart of these zealous legislators, who found imprisonment, whipping, the stocks, fines, ostracism, and even the threat of death alike unavailing — but who, nevertheless, kept on passing more laws.

One point on which the clergy everywhere in the American colonies were exceedingly sensitive was the criticism to which they were subjected, and from Virginia issued stern decrees protecting those who occupied pulpits. The other colonies soon followed. Of course, with such decrees were joined laws prohibiting any divergence in dogma from the faith accepted in any particular colony. In order to make certain that nothing of an offensive nature was said in any publication, a law was passed in Massachusetts placing all publications under the censorship of two ministerial "overseers of the press." But the result was a spirit of deep-seated opposition that found vent in the overthrow of the rule of the clergy during the American Revolution, as described by Mr. Myers. Moreover, even during the life of the censorship, clergymen found that they could not control matters. Broad-sides and pamphlets lampooning them and their practices suddenly appeared from mysterious sources, and in Pennsylvania, where there was likewise a board of censors, juries failed to convict. Finally came the classic Zenger case in New York, the result of which was the establishment of freedom of the press in America.

In Virginia and in many other States church attendance was compulsory, and in New England Sunday began on Saturday. At three o'clock of the latter day all labor was suspended, in order that everybody might spend the rest of the day "in catechizing and preparation for the Sabbath as the minister may direct." Preachers, it was further enacted, were not to be interrupted in their sermons. No one was to leave a church till the services were ended. Spies were appointed to hale Sabbath offenders to court.

Children were subject to endless restrictions, and the idea that play was healthy would have horrified the Puritans. Playing, sauntering, or "sporting" on Sunday was forbidden. Swimming on that day was prohibited, as was also "all unnecessary and unseasonable walking in the streets and fields." In 1659 Massachusetts made the observance of Christmas a punishable offense. Social parties were forbidden on Sunday evenings, fast days, and Thursday lecture days.

In 1669 smoking on the Sabbath was prohibited.

Mr. Myers makes it clear that the only justification for such laws would be an increase in morality and a decrease in crime. The passing of the laws should in the course of a few years have made them unnecessary, as a consequence of the improved conditions they brought. But, as he shows, the contrary was the case. The laws in general had to be followed up by others, more and more severe in terms. Crime, immorality, and ethical disintegration increased, as the preambles to the later laws frequently testify. There was sometimes outward conformity for a while, but often the laws were contemptuously disregarded or means were found of evading them through legal technicalities.

We do not condemn the Puritan for his strict adherence to religious principles and religious obligations, but for his disposition to employ the civil magistrate to use force and law in religion

when gospel methods failed. He made Christianity legalistic instead of inspirational. He made the church a thing to be despised instead of loved. He sought to drive men into the kingdom of God with his big stick instead of winning

them by love and entreaty. He held the Bible in one hand and his "big stick" in the other to enforce its doctrines, as Saint-Gaudens' famous statue of the Puritan indicates on the front cover of our magazine.

The Truth Concerning the Blue Laws

UPON a number of occasions we have made reference in these columns to the blue laws of New England, assuming that they actually existed. These laws are now denied by a large number of people, especially by the protagonists of Sunday laws. It is boldly and confidently asserted that the so-called blue laws were the mental creation of a Rev. Samuel Peters, a loyalist, who fleeing from the wrath of the colonists in early Revolutionary days, returned to England, where he sought to stir up feeling against the colonists by an exaggerated account of their administration of civil affairs.

But careful research reveals the fact that practically every one of the prohibitions mentioned by Mr. Peters, while not worded exactly as he gave them from memory, has been found in the court records or on the statute books of the Massachusetts and Connecticut colonies. Even Rev. J. Hammond Trumbull, an

apologist for the blue laws, admits the facts substantially as here set forth.

It is true that the Puritans never enacted a law which said in so many words that a man must not kiss his wife on Sunday, but they did enact a law forbidding "all lewd and lascivious and unseemly conduct" on Sunday, and this law was construed to forbid kissing in public on the first day of the week. The courts having so interpreted and administered the Sunday statute, it would seem that Mr. Peters was warranted in saying that such was the law.

The March, 1921, number of *Current History*, a reputable magazine published by the New York Times Company, gives from the pen of Frank Parker Stockbridge an interesting historical account of this much-discussed subject, "Blue Laws in America." A portion of this article we quote as follows:

"Most famous among these earlier codes, if not the most important, were the blue laws



Washington Herald

Hoodwinking Congress

of Connecticut, first given public prominence by the Rev. Samuel Peters in his 'General History of Connecticut,' originally published in London in 1781.

"The Rev. Mr. Peters was a clergyman of the Church of England who went out to the Connecticut colony in the middle of the eighteenth century. As a loyalist he found himself unpopular in the troublous times preceding the American Revolution, and in 1774 he fled the colony and returned to England. When his book appeared seven years later, it was greeted with a storm of denunciation in America. Patriotism and State pride have led so many commentators to deny the existence of the blue laws cited by Mr. Peters that it has become the current belief that his catalogue of statutory offenses alleged to prevail in the colony of Connecticut was a satirical fabrication out of whole cloth. But while it is literally true that none of the blue laws ever stood on the Connecticut statute books in the precise form in which the reverend historian quotes them,—he acknowledged that he had never seen them in print and was setting them down from memory,—extensive research by Walter F. Prince and other historians bears out the statement that laws substantially to the same effect were in existence and enforced, either in Connecticut or in the neighboring theistic commonwealth of Massachusetts. Hearing of the punishment meted out under these laws, and so having them fixed in his memory, it does not discredit Mr. Peters to point out that some of the laws he attributes to Connecticut were actually the laws of Massachusetts.

"Typical Blue Laws

"Such of the forty-eight blue laws cited by Mr. Peters as relate to Sunday observance he set down thus:

"No one shall run on the Sabbath day, or walk in his garden or elsewhere, except reverently to and fro from meeting.

"No one shall travel, cook victuals, make beds, sweep house, cut hair, or shave on the Sabbath day.

"No woman shall kiss her child on the Sabbath or fasting day."

"This last was deduced by Mr. Peters, apparently, from the record of the imposition of a fine of ten shillings by the Colony of

Massachusetts upon a certain seafaring man and his wife when, his ship arriving in port on a Sunday, she met him . . . and, forgetful for the moment of the reverence due the day, greeted him with a kiss, to the desecration of the Sabbath.

"The two other blue laws quoted were typical of the Sunday-observance statutes that prevailed in nearly all the American colonies in the eighteenth century, and continued in several States for a long time after the Revolution."

This tells only part of the real truth. With the exception of California and Oregon, all our American States have modified rather than repudiated the old Puritanical laws. This is especially true of our Sunday legislation.

The older States, with the exception of Louisiana, modeled their Sunday laws more or less closely after the English law of 29 Charles II. Some years ago, in obedience to a mandate from the people, the California Legislature repealed the Sunday law. Five years ago the people of Oregon did the same. Clearly the people are against civilly enforced religion.

They admire and honor the early colonists for what they were, but they will not follow their example in enforcing religious opinions and practices by civil law.



Los Angeles Times

Putting on the Last Straw



U. S. Army Air Service — International

Aerial View of the Capitol, Washington, D. C., Storm Center in the Battle Between the Protagonists and the Antagonists of Religious Liberty

What Is the Purpose of Sunday Laws?

By W. F. Martin

IN the *Christian Statesman* dated June, 1921, there appears an item which leads one to question very seriously just the purpose of the so-called blue law agitation and how its promoters expect to attain their ends. Here is the quotation:

"These antiblue fellows are having a great time. They would like to appear martyrs and defenders of the faith. They must be afraid some one will bind them hand and foot and cast them into jail. There is no danger of any one's real personal liberty being trampled upon by legislation concerning temperance, the Sabbath, or any other question of reform."

This undoubtedly is true so far as temperance reform is concerned, for prohibition is justified by purely civil reasons; and it might apply to any other true "reform." But any so-called reform that will take an honest man and cast him into prison for doing an honest deed on time considered holy by his neighbor, is not real reform. It is tyrannical.

Nor is the danger of fines and imprisonment imaginary. The writer of these lines has now lying on the desk before him a copy of one of the latest Sunday

bills to be considered by a legislative body; it was introduced into the California Legislature, Jan. 21, 1921, and proposes to prohibit the keeping open of stores, workshops, and places of business on Sunday. Section 5 of this bill is as follows:

"Every person, firm, corporation or association violating any of the provisions of this law shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction shall be punished by a fine not exceeding \$500 or by imprisonment in the county jail for a period not exceeding six months, or by both such fine and imprisonment."

Does not this give some reason for the "antiblue fellows" to fear that "some one will bind them hand and foot and cast them into jail"? The violators of this law might not be bound hand and foot, but they certainly would be cast into jail if their fines were not paid. That is the avowed purpose of all such legislation, and if the legislatures or the people of the different States yield to the demand of the Lord's Day Alliance and the National Reform Association and enact the measures demanded by them, those who will not obey their mandates will be fined and imprisoned.

We sometimes wonder if the good people of our nation are ready to see their fellow citizens fined or cast into prison for selling bread on Sunday, or the ice-man for selling ice on that day. To take from a man his time or his honest money which he has honestly earned because of doing an honest deed on any day of the week, is tyranny, it is un-American and unjust. No one who has a right conception of the golden rule, or of inalienable rights, will demand such power and treat his fellow man in any such way.

Those who desire to keep Sunday or any other day sacred, can do so without a civil law. That is well demonstrated by a respectable minority who observe Saturday. These people, because of their religious convictions, surrender the busiest day of the week and devote it to the service of God. They ask no law compelling others to conform to their ideas of religion. The commandments of God are enough for them, and in their desire

to please their Maker they observe this commandment, granting to others the heaven-born right of dissent. The Christian has all the power of heaven to enable him to live his religion. He does not need the power of civil government to enforce his religion upon either himself or his fellow men. No religious controversy can be settled by the civil government. No church which has the power of God back of it will ever ask the civil government to enforce its dogmas, and no church which expects to maintain the right relationship with God will seek the civil government for support. The Master Himself 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."

The Man of Brains in the Pulpit

THE Santa Cruz (Calif.) *News* of April 14, 1921, gives the following account:

"In the course of a Sunday evening sermon Dr. R. S. Eastman, pastor of the Presbyterian church at Chico, Butte County, took occasion to speak of the efforts being made in certain quarters to 'take the sun out of Sunday.' He declared that churchgoers needed no such restrictive laws as those proposed to keep them from choosing amusements in preference to the worship of God, and that non-churchgoers would hardly have their views changed by the enactment of such laws. . . . But it is not to give labor a day of rest that clergymen are campaigning for Sunday laws, for labor has its day of rest now. It is to bring people into churches that cannot be brought in otherwise, and the clergyman who is frank will admit it. You will always find the less successful among the ministry making the most fuss about Sunday amusements. The man of brains in the pulpit is willing to match those brains as a drawing card against any movie show or baseball game."

THE W. C. T. U. of Milwaukee, Wis., requested the district attorney of that city to enforce all the Sunday laws. District Attorney Winfred C. Zabel replied: "Milwaukee would be a graveyard on Sunday if the demands of the W. C. T. U. were granted. There would be no need for new legislation."

Sunday Laws Anti-Christian

By H. A. Weaver

THE espousal of Sunday laws by ministers of the gospel is repudiation of the teachings of the Son of God, who, when among men, defined the limits of civil government and the legitimate operation of law in earthly governments as pertaining only to things purely civil. He thus placed all religious obligation on the basis of individual responsibility to God. The Great Teacher said: "Render therefore unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's; and unto God the things that are God's." Matt. 22: 21.

Sabbath keeping rests, not on the ground of civil obligation, but upon religious convictions and conscience. "The seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God," says the divine commandment. The sabbatic institution, whether it is held to be Saturday or Sunday, involves worship. Its violation is not a crime *per se*, but a sin. And civil government is not equipped with machinery delicate enough to deal with sin. God will attend to that in the last great judgment.

Citizens of all governments, in virtue of being human beings, are bound by the sabbatic command to render the Sabbath, not to Cæsar, but to God. The breaking of the Sabbath law is not a crime *per se*. It does not rest upon the same basis as robbery, murder, bigamy, slander, or tax dodging. When Christ was asked to classify the commandments, He defined them in such a way as to make it clear that the first four grow out of the spiritual relationship and obligation of man to God; while the last six clearly proceed from the natural relationship of man to man, all children of the same Father. With the latter requirements the state can deal on the ground of conserving civil rights, but it is limited even then to dealing with criminal acts and not with sinful thoughts. But with the first four of God's precepts, including

the fourth or Sabbath commandment, the state must not interfere. This is what man owes to God. And here is where the sabbatic institution rests till God is through with civil governments and sets up a government of His own. Any man-made government, therefore, which makes and enforces a Sabbath law overreaches its divinely appointed limits, and sooner or later will persecute. All history teaches this.

It is the sacred duty of both churchman and statesman to learn from God and history the limitations placed on church and state and then to see that each operates within its own sphere.

Because an idea is enacted into law, it does not follow that the law is right and the dissenter wrong. It is well said by some one that laws do not create principles, but principles laws. The law itself may be wrong and the dissenter right. Perhaps the law ought to be repealed instead of enforced. It all depends on the principles involved. Concerning the death of Christ the multitude cried, "We have a law, and by our law He ought to die." John 19: 7. And because of their malice He did die. Were the Jews and the Romans right and Christ wrong? Let Christendom answer. A law enacted by the Chaldean government infringing on the rights of conscience, was enforced and three of the Hebrew nobility were cast into the "burning fiery furnace." Was the law right and were these young men wrong in their disregard of its claims? Let the Son of God, who rescued them (Dan. 3: 25, 26), and Nebuchadnezzar, who bore witness, answer. The answer has been given. The young men were right, and the law was wrong.

Again, a small group of bigoted religionists, devoid of a knowledge of the sacred principles of the rights of conscience, succeeded by questionable methods in getting a religious idea, or more

strictly speaking, bias, made into law and recorded on the unchanging statutes of the Medes and Persians. And the great and good man Daniel, highly respected even by the king, was made the victim. The official who himself stood for the enforcement of civil law — Daniel, next to the king in authority in the empire, as secretary of state — ignored the law thus improperly functioning. (See Daniel 6.) Was the law right? Pointedly now, was it? The very wild beasts, whose hungry jaws were in this named as executors of the law's penalties, were made, under the influence of a just and mighty God, to utter a dumb answer that has been widely heard: The law was unjust. Silence and fear spoke elo-



*Charles H. Spurgeon, the Eminent
English Baptist Preacher Who
Opposed Sunday Laws*

quently in the presence of innocence and intelligence. Truly it was the law and not Daniel that was wrong.

Where is the Christian who will not admit that the law of Rome which beheaded Paul and crucified Peter and attempted to boil John and made torches of scores of Christians and banished the teachers of truth, was emphatically wrong from the standpoint of Christ's teaching and from the modern American conception of human rights?

What fair-minded person, preacher or layman, will not protest against the ungodly laws that created the Spanish Inquisition, burned Reformers, tortured so-called witches, burned holes in the tongues of Quakers, whipped Puritan Sabbath breakers, banished honest Roger Williams, the first truly great Ameri-

can, to the wilderness in the midst of an inhospitable winter, at the mercy of savages, and that perpetrated numerous other outrages on civilization?

Americans, Christians, and all well-balanced, clear-thinking men unite in deprecating Sunday laws because of their history written in characters of blood. They have been tried and found wanting. When states and nations commit themselves to such laws and their enforcement, only to find them largely inoperative, it is not the people who disregard such laws who are to blame, but the vicious laws themselves.

The Sunday law reformers say, "Give us good Sunday laws, well enforced by men in local authority, and our churches will

be full of worshipers, and our young men and women will be attracted to the divine service." What an admission it is on the part of the Christian ministry to say that the only way in which young men and women can be "attracted" to the church on Sunday is by means of sheriffs, policemen, constables, etc. Has the gospel minister lost his hold on that "all power . . . in heaven and in earth," which the Saviour promised to give to His ministers as a means of "attracting" men and women to the gospel? Must he now turn to the power of civil law to get people to the place of worship? If so, no wonder that the masses choose the theater and ball park and Sunday concert in preference to going to church.

An eminent jurist some years ago expressed the right idea in these words:

"When Christianity asks the aid of government beyond mere impartial protection, it denies itself. Its laws are divine, and not human. Its essential interests lie beyond the reach and range of human governments. United with government, religion never rises above the merest superstition; united with religion, government never rises above the merest despotism; and all history shows us that the more widely and completely they are separated, the better it is for both."—*Judge Welch, Ohio Supreme Court, December term, 1872.*

Christian preachers who are urging the enactment and rigid enforcement of Sunday laws ought to take a page out of the book of one of the greatest of modern successful evangelists and adopt his policy. Truly it will operate to better advantage. We refer to the late C. H. Spurgeon, the eminent English Baptist clergyman. He said:

"I am ashamed of some Christians because they have so much dependence on Parliament and the law of the land. Much good may Parliament do to true religion, except by mistake. As to getting the law of the land to touch our religion, we earnestly cry, Hands off! leave us alone! Your Sunday bills and all other forms of act-of-Parliament religion seem to me to be all wrong. Give us a fair field and no favor, and our faith has no cause to fear. Christ wants no help from Cæsar. I should be afraid to borrow help from government; it would look to me as if I rested on an arm of flesh, instead of depending on the living God. Let the Lord's day be respected by all means, and may the day soon come when every shop will be closed on the Sabbath, but let it be by the force of conviction and not by the force of the policeman; let true religion triumph by the power of God in men's hearts, and not by the power of fines and imprisonments."

And let all Christians say, Amen!

"THE preaching of the cross is to them that perish foolishness; but unto us which are saved it is the power of God."

President H Religious I



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President Harding Speaking to a Crowd of Pilgrim Ter

THE following paragraphs from President Harding's speech at Plymouth, Mass., August 1, set forth facts and principles which are well worth remembering:

"If the idea of religious freedom had little to hope for from the effort of the stern old fathers to set up a theocracy in New England, the ideal of political freedom found here a particularly fertile soil in which to germinate. If we candidly will examine the period of the Stuart Restoration, we will find more than one of England's political tyrants

ing on edom



30,000 People on the Occasion of the
Plymouth, Mass.

insisting on a wider measure of religious tolerance in these colonies. Ultimately, under the Crown's insistence, the franchise was widened by placing it on a property-holding basis rather than on that of church communion. It was a distinct liberalization, a significant broadening of the civic foundation. If a Stuart king took from these colonies the right to choose their own governors, he also undertook to forbid those excesses of religious zeal which led to persecutions for conscience' sake.

"In short, there is some justification

for the generalization that the political tyrants of the Restoration forced a religious freedom on a colonial community whose dominating minority did not want it, while the colonies wrested political freedom from the Crown. The clash between a theocratic tyranny on this side and a political tyranny on the other resulted in the destruction of both, to the vast betterment of every human interest involved.

It was a long, stubborn, determined struggle between forces, neither of which had much capacity for yielding or compromise. In one way or another, sometimes consciously and sometimes unconsciously, it was going on practically throughout the entire period from the beginning of the colony at Plymouth to the end of the Revolutionary War and the recognition of independence. Looking back upon it we may say that it was inevitable, and that the end which came to it was an inevitable conclusion. But things which look inevitable in the retrospect, conclusions which seem inescapable when

the long scroll of developing events can be unrolled before the mind's eye, are never so apparent during the process of their evolution.

That manifest destiny whose directing hand we descry when we survey the long processes of history, would doubtless have brought at last the happy state of both political and religious freedom. But without that co-operation of forces, that reaction of influence between the old England and the new, we may well doubt whether the light of the new day would have broken through to shine upon the better fortunes of an emancipated race without a struggle longer, by generations,



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*President Harding and Party in Reviewing Stand, Plymouth, Mass.
Left to right: Governor Cox, of Massachusetts; Mrs. Cox; President and Mrs. Harding;
Vice-President Coolidge; and William S. Kyle.*



Photo, U. & U. N. Y.

*President and Mrs. Harding and Secretary of State Hughes Passing Through Plymouth En Route to the
Pageant Grounds, on the Occasion of the Pilgrim Tercentenary*

perhaps by centuries, than that which history records. . . .

"There has never lived a generation of men possessing such wealth of historic materials, such capacity for candid analysis, such broad experience to guide them in right determination, as the generation to which we belong. Likewise there has been none which confronted more complex and difficult problems. Therefore I like to commend study of the history which began here at Plymouth in its relations to the sweep of modern affairs. It teaches us that sometimes schism may lead to true solidarity; that division may mean multiplication. . . .

"We stand today before the unknown, but we look to the future with confidence unshaken. There is no retracing; we

must forever go on. We welcome the theories wrought out in new hope, but we cling to the assurance founded on experience. All that is, is not bad; all that is to be, will not be ideal. We cannot lift the veil to the future, but we can analyze and understand what has gone before. It is good to keep our feet firmly on the earth, though we gaze in high hope for human brotherhood and high attainments.

"Just as the Pilgrims had a practical mind for material things amid effective pursuit of their higher ideals, so must we with our inheritance. God never intended an achievement without great effort; there is no reward without great labor. Freedom is the field of endeavor, not the fancied abode of idleness."

Must Elect New Congress, Says "Reformer"

NOAH W. COOPER and his committee of twenty-five, representing the Southern Methodist Conferences, waited upon Congress on July 13 and 14, and presented their bill for a drastic national Sunday law, together with a lengthy petition which was printed in the *Congressional Record* of July 13. Their proposed national Sunday law was so "blue" that it would almost make indigo look white by contrast. Consequently they could not find a Congressman who would champion their measure. Being beaten and defeated in their efforts to engraft their religious notions upon the nation through a Federal law, Mr. Cooper and his committee went to New York City to reform that "wicked city," as a New York paper puts it, but received a very "cold reception," and according to the *Evening World*, Mr. Cooper, in the course of a farewell statement referring to his proposed national Sunday law, said:

"Our Southern folks are for it. We hope the North and West are too. Congressmen have all to gain and nothing to lose from this law. If this Congress does not pass the law, we must elect a Congress that will."

The proposed national Sunday law as printed in the *Congressional Record* reads as follows:

"Be it enacted, etc.:

"1. Hereafter it shall be unlawful for any person in the employment of the United States to work or carry on his ordinary vocation on Sunday.

"2. It shall be unlawful for any person or corporation to operate on Sunday any freight or passenger train, or mail train, or any other train or part of a train, on Sunday, in the carrying on of interstate commerce, trade, or traffic of any kind.

"3. It shall be unlawful for any post office to be open on Sunday or to deliver mail on Sunday; it shall be unlawful for any mail to be carried or delivered on Sunday by any employee of the United States, whether in city or country.

"4. It shall be unlawful for any newspaper or other paper or publication published or purporting to be published on Sunday to be



Photo, U. & U., N. Y.

Supreme Court Justice Frank S. Gannon, Second District of New York, Swearing in a Group of Men and Women as Citizens of the United States

received, carried, or delivered as mail by any agency of the United States, in any post office, or over any route under the jurisdiction of the United States.

"5. It shall be unlawful for any person or corporation engaged in interstate commerce or carrying on any business or vocation under the laws of or with the permission or license from the United States, or any of its agencies, to do or carry on ordinary vocation or business on Sunday, the purpose of this act being to express our national determination to honor the Sabbath day and keep it holy as God commands, thereby securing for all that opportunity for spiritual and bodily refreshment decreed by our Lord for the happiness of all men and the safety of all nations.

"6. Any person who does any of the things above declared unlawful, or who procures or aids another in doing any of the things above declared unlawful, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor and punished upon conviction by due process of law by a fine of not under \$100 nor over \$10,000 for each offense and by imprisonment for not over six months, in the discretion of the court.

"7. And any corporation that does or aids in doing these forbidden things shall, upon conviction, be fined not less than \$1,000 nor over \$100,000 for each offense, and, upon conviction a second time for like offense, shall forfeit its charter and franchise and be enjoined from operating in interstate commerce: *Pro-*

vided, however, That emergency instances of charity and necessity are not included nor punishable under the provisions of this act." — *Congressional Record, July 13, 1921.*

Mr. Cooper says that nineteen Methodist conferences of the Southern States are backing up this proposed bill. It is purely a church measure seeking to enforce the church discipline concerning Sunday observance upon all the citizens of the United States, and this for purely religious reasons.

Mr. Cooper further charges in his petition, which was printed in the *Congressional Record*, supporting this religious measure, that all the wars, calamities, accidents, sins, and crimes which have formed a part of our past history are due to a disregard of proper Sunday observance, and if his proposed national Sunday law is enacted, all these disturbances will disappear. This is the same old argument that the persecutors of medieval times advanced against those who did not agree with their church-and-state régime of compulsory religion. All the ills of life

were charged up against dissenters and nonconformists, and the most cruel punishments were justified on this basis. Even the earthquakes and storms were charged up against so-called heretics, and many innocent people were legally executed, while others were slain by mobs whenever these natural disturbances took place.

And this is what Mr. Cooper advocates. Listen to this statement in the petition: "Murdering the Sabbath is worse than murdering men." Again he says that the man who does not observe Sunday is "stabbing" God and "digging the grave of his . . . nation." Thus he lays both the charges of "murder" and of "treason" against the man who refuses to observe Sunday in harmony with his notions. If refusal to observe Sunday is worse than murder, then, according to the philosophy of these reformers, no punishment is too severe and cruel, even hanging and the electric chair being proper penalties for all who for any reason refuse or even neglect to keep Sunday.

Mr. Cooper claims that if Congress refuses to enact his bill into law, the nation and government will go to destruction, and even Christianity will come to naught and the Christian church be blotted out of existence, and anarchy, tyranny, and bankruptcy reign supreme everywhere. In his closing appeal in his petition to Congress, he says:

"God calls our nation as He called Israel to be a light to all the world, to carry His salvation to the ends of the earth. If we fail to save the Sabbath [Sunday], we lose all. If our nation fails to honor it and teach it to all people, soon our boasted treasures and liberties will be torn away like Solomon's temple. And in the Babylon of ruin our enslaved posterity will weep over the folly of their God-defying, Sabbath-breaking forefathers. Oh, we beg you to help us turn back! Now is the accepted time; now is the day of salvation."

This is a striking illustration of the length to which even good men will go, impelled by a false zeal for their moral ideals and religious dogmas. As in the case of the Jewish leaders of Christ's day, these modern pseudo-reformers

would even take life to enforce upon their fellow men their views of proper Sabbath keeping.

The Jews sought to kill Christ because He would not observe the Sabbath in harmony with their notions. They put their loyalty to the Sabbath above the value of human life. They worshiped the Sabbath instead of "the Lord of the Sabbath." They were so jealous about their religious creed and traditions that they sought every opportunity to have them enforced upon unwilling subjects under the severest penalties.

When the tower of Siloam fell and killed eighteen persons, these self-righteous Jews charged them with being "sinners above all men that dwell in Jerusalem." But the Saviour denied this puerile charge, and placed the providences of God above the petty notions and whims of superstitious men, who assumed the air and spirit of "I am holier than thou." It is very evident that the sect of the Pharisees did not all die in the days of Christ.

This modern champion of enforced religion is anxious to establish a second theocracy upon the earth, with his own church as the mouthpiece and representative of Jehovah. He would like, perhaps, to occupy the place of Phinehas, clothed with an armor and sword to hew the Midianites and Benjamites to pieces. But he has evidently forgotten that God Himself abolished the theocracy of Israel and said it was to exist no more until He shall come whose right it is to take the scepter and to reign forever and forever. But observe that this scripture refers to the second coming of Christ and not His first advent.

It is not the business of the civil government to teach the Sabbath and to carry the salvation of God to all the ends of the earth. The commission of teaching the gospel of salvation from sin has been intrusted to the church and not to the state, to the chosen ambassadors of Jesus Christ and not to the civil ambassadors of the nations.

Mr. Cooper and his coreligionists fail to draw a distinction between divine and human government, between the specific functions of the church and the proper functions of the state, between religious obligations and civil duties, and between man's relationship to God and his secular relationship with civil society. They confuse and confound the duties set forth on the first table of the decalogue with those of the second table. The first four commandments, written on the first table, are duties we owe exclusively to God, and with these the civil government has absolutely nothing to do so far as their enforcement or punishment of their violation is concerned. The civil magistrate can deal only with men relative to the last six commandments of the second table, which regulate a man's proper relationship with his fellow man, and then only with overt acts. When man invades the rights of his fellows, then the civil magistrate has not only a right but a duty to step in and protect the rights of that man, but the civil authorities cannot of right control a man's conduct toward God so long as in exercising his religion he does not invade the equal rights of others.

A failure to recognize this distinction in the past has led to a union of church and state and to all the cruel religious persecutions of the past. Let us keep the church out of politics. It is high time to voice a very earnest protest against this proposed national Sunday law, and

against these drastic proposals to encroach upon the rights of honest and upright dissenters and citizens. When the Constitutional guaranties of civil and religious liberty are so boldly assailed, we deem it our patriotic and Christian duty to warn the people of the dangers which threaten the Constitutional provisions which were enacted in defense of human rights.

The danger is not so much that this proposed bill will pass in this session of Congress, but that a compromise Sunday observance measure of a milder character will be enacted as an entering wedge for more drastic legislation along this line a little later. This is the scheme of the "professional reformer" who is lobbying Congress in behalf of Sunday legislation. Herein lies our real danger. The "reformers" are working now for a Sunday law for the District of Columbia, which is to be followed with a national Sunday law for the whole nation. Therefore we ask every lover of religious liberty to send in his protest against the two compulsory Sunday observance bills now pending in Congress for the District of Columbia, namely, S. 1948 and H. R. 4388. If any desire petition blanks to secure signatures against these Sunday bills, we shall be glad to forward the same upon application. Let us defend and guard our glorious democracy and our Constitutional freedom, for now as never before "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty."

Plea to Bring Back "Blue" Sunday

A dispatch of the Associated Press at the last General Assembly meeting of the Presbyterians at Winona Lake, Ind., says:

"The Sunday law question was thrown before the Presbyterian General Assembly by H. L. Bowlby, secretary of the Lord's Day Alliance, also the chairman of the Presbyterian Committee on Sabbath [Sunday] Observance,

and in his report he said: 'The battleground of the church is on the field of the Christian Sabbath. . . . We have already warned the leading ministers of the country that the most dangerous movement against the American Sunday in fifty years is now in progress. This should stir the blood of every American patriot, and certainly every American Christian.

"Close up the movie theater, shut the gates of the ball parks, lock the doors of many places

of business, and this paramount problem of the churches will be well on its way to solution."

Dr. Bowlby evidently agrees with the sentiment expressed by Rev. S. V. Leech, D. D., in the *Homiletic Review*, when he gave the reason why Sunday laws were wanted, as follows:

"Give us good Sunday laws, well enforced by men in local authority, and our churches will be full of worshipers, and our young men and women will be attracted to the divine service. A mighty combination of the churches of the United States could win from Congress, the State legislatures, and municipal councils, all legislation essential to this splendid result."

This shows clearly that these professional reformers are seeking legislation to fill the church pews on Sunday. But how much good will the people get out of the sermon when they have been literally chained and shackled through the preacher's request by a Sunday law which made

attendance at divine services compulsory in an indirect way? They would get about as much good out of a religion of this sort, as the boys did whose father knocked them down on their knees for prayers with a club every time they refused to bow the knee when they had worship. After they left the parental roof, the boys refused to take to religion and the father said: "I can't understand why my boys don't take to religion. I tried to bring them up right. When they refused to bow in worship, I would knock them down on their knees."

Force never made any one religious, but it does make hypocrites for the time out of those who are willing to sell their soul to save their skin. We do not question the sincerity of the men who are in this Sunday movement, but we do discount their judgment. C. S. L.

An American Theocracy

By Mrs. M. E. Steward

THE Puritan theocracy of Massachusetts had its start in connection with the Reformation of the sixteenth century. John Calvin, who lived at that time, was a French Roman Catholic. He studied civil law and the Bible, and became a Reformer, with headquarters at Geneva.

While Catholicism paid no attention to heart work, proselyting by cities and countries *en masse*, Calvin held strongly to personal religion. But when he left the Catholics, he took with him their belief in a union of church and state. He was himself both persecuted and a persecutor. He showed no mercy to the Zwinglians, and secured the condemnation of Michael Servetus, burned at the stake, Oct. 27, 1553.

When persecution of the Protestants broke out in Scotland, John Knox fled to Geneva, where he studied five years with Calvin. When he returned to Scot-

land, he was thoroughly indoctrinated in Calvin's theology. Here he founded the sect of Presbyterians, a part of whose members went to the north of Ireland. From these two bodies in Scotland and Ireland, many emigrated to America, and settled in Pennsylvania, Maryland, Delaware, New Jersey, and Virginia. Some of these crossed the mountains into Kentucky and Tennessee. These all still hold in varying degrees to a union of civil authority with the ecclesiastical, and from them have sprung the men who today are leading this country toward a union of church and state.

Under the English persecution, hundreds left their native country. Many went to Geneva. Among them was Cartwright, their leader. He received from Calvin his religious tenets. On Cartwright's return to England, he became the founder of the Congregationalists, who, like the Presbyterians, believe in

giving civil power to the church. From this class in England, the Puritans emigrated to America from 1630 to 1640.

"The object of the Puritans in coming to America," says Fiske, in "Beginnings of New England," "was not at all religious liberty for all, though they had a great deal to say about it. They came resolved to have a theocracy, like that of Moses, determined that no one should live with them who did not believe just as they did."

Protestantism, the leading idea of which is religious liberty, began its work, not in Germany, but in England; not in the sixteenth, but in the fourteenth century, when parts of the Scriptures were copied and taken to all classes of people. Wycliffe gave the whole Old and New Testaments to the English in 1380, before there was any other literature popular in England. Such were the fruits, that when Henry VIII renounced popery two hundred years later, he found more than half his subjects Protestants.

But the English did not retain their primitive Protestantism, and in the theocracy of New England, their custom of using the civil law to enforce religious belief and practices became a most cruel tyranny.

The Puritan leaders in Massachusetts resolved not only to be holy themselves, but to keep sin out of the colony. The Quakers were specially obnoxious to them because of their more liberal views. "Benedict's History of the Baptists," "Goodrich's Church History," and others record numerous cases of cruel persecution of dissenters. As soon as the Quakers came to Boston, in 1636, laws were enacted against them. They were to be banished; in case of return, they were to lose first one ear, then the other. They were to be imprisoned; have their tongues bored through with a hot iron; be stripped to the middle, tied to a cart's tail, and flogged from one town to another. The whip was "a two-handled implement, armed with lashes made of twisted and knotted cord or catgut."

One might reasonably ask, What kind

of flesh and blood had these cruel bigots? They were human beings, with the same kind of flesh as our own. As for their blood, it came of the best the English nation produced. They believed the Quakers had "a diabolical disease, and that they must use extreme measures to drive it out."

A part of the colonists became indignant at the treatment of the Quakers, and in 1659 they said there should be no more innocent blood shed. But not till after the hanging of the witches in 1692 was there a complete reform.

There was an element in the theocracy that, sooner or later, was sure to lead to emancipation,—the Puritans valued education. Most of their clergy were highly learned men. Their sermons were usually "elaborate arguments on doctrinal points, bristling with quotations from the Bible. And these sermons were talked over at the home fireside."

These sermons were three and a half hours' long, during the delivery of which it was a sin for even children to show any signs of weariness. Small children were taught to read and understand the Scriptures; the Puritans had no fanciful interpretations, making the Bible mean anything except what it says. Since the Bible is the exponent of religious liberty, the principles of which were clearly given by Christ when on earth; and since the Puritans made it their express counselor, they must have some time seen and mentally rejected their union of church and state, even before they repudiated it in practice.

One hundred Pilgrims came over in the "Mayflower;" in twenty years they had become twenty thousand. Their descendants, and the descendants of the Puritans who came ten years later, now number millions, many of whom, while saying, "If we had been in the days of our fathers we would not have been partakers of their deeds," still cling to the false theocratic theory that made the Puritans the persecutors they were.

(The above facts were largely culled from Fiske's "Beginnings of New England.")

Intellectual Enlightenment No Safeguard Against Intolerance

By C. P. Bollman

IT should be remembered that intellectual enlightenment is no safeguard against bigotry, intolerance, and persecution.

The Greeks were a very intellectual people, but they were persecutors. The Athenians tolerated babblers and sophists, but exiled Anaxagoras for contravening the established dogmas of religion, and condemned Socrates to drink the poison hemlock on a charge of atheism. Their religion and their state, the Greeks believed, would stand or fall together. The maintenance of the former was, in their view, essential to the stability of the latter. In like manner the Jews, a few centuries later, justified their condemnation of Christ, saying, "If we let Him thus alone, all men will believe on Him; and the Romans shall come and take away both our place and nation."

It was for political reasons that Constantine favored the Christians, while at the first not offending the pagans; and in every age, state patronage of religion has been defended as essential to the stability of civil authority. After the abolition of Christianity in France, Robespierre declared that France must have a religion; that if there were no God, they must make one. The people must have an object of worship.

This was Constantine's theory. When he saw the failure of paganism, the stability of his throne threatened, and the empire itself apparently about to fall to pieces, he seized upon the then new religion, Christianity, as the most promising stabilizer of civil society, and throughout his life made the most of it in a political way.

It is sometimes said that it was in this way that the Christianity of the fourth century was so greatly corrupted; but, as one writer has remarked, "Un-

less it had already been corrupted, it could not have been adopted by Constantine at all."

But plausible and well-nigh universal as is the plea of political expediency, or even of necessity, it can never justify any government in overriding the rights of conscience. When Jesus said to the crafty Pharisees and the scheming Herodians, "Render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's; and unto God the things that are God's," He not only drew a distinct line of demarcation between things civil and things spiritual, but He announced a principle that must be recognized by every man who is not a fanatic or a tyrant.

Our national Declaration of Independence sets forth as a self-evident truth that every man is by his Creator endowed with certain inalienable rights. While not specifically mentioned, this generalization must certainly include the rights of conscience. March 5, 1829, the national House of Representatives adopted a report from the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, declaring that the framers of the Constitution recognized the eternal principle that "man's relation with his God is above human legislation, and his rights of conscience inalienable."

This is not an open question in the United States of America today, and ought not to be thought of as such. It was settled when our forefathers made the defense of inalienable rights the basis of their right to resist by force of arms the authority of King George III. It was reaffirmed in the First Amendment to our national Constitution, and has been consecrated by every drop of blood spilled in defense of American principles and American freedom from that day to this.

Dr. Crafts and His "Horned Hog" Again

By *W. F. Martin*

NOT long since, the head of the International Reform Bureau, Dr. W. F. Crafts, was in California, and spoke in a number of places on his ideas of reform. One of his sermons or lectures was given in the Emmanuel Presbyterian Church, Los Angeles.

The pastor of this church has been delivering a series of sermons covering the different phases of the Sunday blue law crusade which is now on in the land. Mr. Smith is a Christian gentleman, and did not make a violent attack on those who disagree with him.

It is well known that one of the chief opponents of Sunday legislation is the Seventh-day Adventist denomination. These freely concede to all the right to observe any day they may choose. It is a man's right to keep a day if he so desires, but he is not a criminal if he regards no day as sacred. Sabbath keeping is a religious and not a civil duty. The pastor of Emmanuel church regretted that Seventh-day Adventists fight against the passing of Sunday laws, but also recognized the fact that as a class Adventists are godly people and are devoted to their religion.

Then came Dr. Crafts, and in his discourse made a vicious attack on this people. One of his declarations was that Seventh-day Adventists claim that the United States is symbolized in Scripture by a "horned hog." This, to be sure, was made in order to create prejudice against this people. Dr. Crafts has often made this assertion, and his attention has been called to its falsity. He knows it is untrue; still he persists in making the assertion. He should reform himself, at least to the point where he will tell the truth. The ninth commandment is still of moral obligation.

The prophetic word does symbolize nations by different beasts. Babylon was represented in Daniel's prophecy by a lion, and Greece by a leopard. Modern writers symbolize Britain by a lion and Russia by a bear. The Sacred Writings represent this country by a certain lamb-like beast, having two horns. In no book or periodical published by Seventh-day Adventists has one of their accredited writers ever intimated that the United States government is symbolized by a horned hog.

This country has long been the home of the oppressed from other lands, and it was here that full civil and religious freedom was first governmentally guaranteed. Seventh-day Adventists recognize this, and vigorously oppose the efforts of those who try to overthrow these principles.

Dr. Crafts and his fellows are trying to secure a repudiation of these principles, and are endeavoring to secure the enactment of civil laws which will enforce the observance of religious dogmas. So surely as they succeed, persecution will follow. We see along the stream of time, many places where the very best men of the age in which they lived, have been made to suffer from just such laws as Dr. Crafts now demands in the name of reform! Even though it were granted that Sunday is holy time, a law compelling its observance universally would not benefit humanity. Such a law would result in sending men to prison and otherwise punishing them for performing meritorious labor.

Let Mr. Crafts learn to stick to the truth, and attend to his own affairs; let him learn charity for those who do not agree with him, and somehow the world will move on and God will take care of things.

Quo Warranto?

E. F. JOHNSTONE

Attorney, of North Orwell, Vt.

YE advocates of church and state
 And Sunday legislation:
 Show us one text where God declares
 To any tribe or nation,
 That Sunday is His holy day
 For rest and meditation.

Has God not named the seventh day,
 And can it be disputed?
 Then where and when, by whom and how,
 Was Sunday substituted?
 Was it by the command of God
 This thing was executed?

Has God repealed His holy day?
 If so, where was it spoken?
 Where is the written record found?
 Produce the smallest token!
 Who works the first day of the week
 Has what commandment broken?

"Thus saith the Lord" is nowhere found
 Supporting your contention.
 The "Sunday" Sabbath, be it known,
 Is mortal man's invention,
 And "custom" in support of it
 Is all that you can mention.

Keep any day or none at all,
 Sing, dance, or pray, or labor;
 But never try by law to force
 Your views upon your neighbor.
 Persuade your brother if you can,
 But never use the saber.

And when he asks you for a text
 Don't answer him with railing.
 Remember with a civil law
 His rights you are assailing,
 While he, with the eternal word
 Against you is prevailing.

— *Rutland (Vt.) Herald.*

Sunday Law Declared Unconstitutional

A SUPERIOR court in California, July 15, declared the Sunday law ordinance of Pomona, prohibiting Sunday amusements for which admission was charged, unconstitutional. The court declared that the Sunday ordinance which allowed amusements but merely prohibited the commercialization of the amusement, was class legislation because, while prohibiting theaters and similar enterprises from operating on a

commercial basis on Sunday, churches were allowed to take up a collection, which was virtually an indirect admission fee. This constituted a discrimination in favor of one organization to the exclusion of another. And the court might have added that the law was also religious instead of civil, because it is not civilly wrong to commercialize any legitimate enterprise on Sunday, and the only reason that can possibly be given to show why amusements and enterprises otherwise lawful are sinful on Sunday is because of the restrictions which have been placed upon that day as a religious institution. Consequently, it is not only class legislation, but religious legislation, and therefore unconstitutional, as the court has declared it to be.

Disingenuous Denials

IT is most strenuously denied by many Sunday law agitators that they are demanding religious legislation. But everything goes to show that notwithstanding their denial, their object is distinctly religious, not civil.

In his recent visit to Washington to get his petition and proposed Sunday bill before Congress and the President, Mr. Noah W. Cooper, of Tennessee, made this very plain, for his first and great reason for his proposed law was, "God demands it;" and in support of that statement he quoted the fourth commandment of the decalogue, which, by the way, says never a word about Sunday, the first day of the week, but does very strongly emphasize the seventh day.

This same was true of the demand for the closing of the World's Fair in Chicago in 1893. In the debate in Congress one of the proponents of Sunday closing sent a Bible to the clerk's desk for the purpose of having that functionary read the fourth commandment in support of the bill.

Nor are these exceptional cases. The "New Schaff-Herzog Religious Encyclopedia," art. "Sunday," says:

"Three main tendencies developed regarding the observance of Sunday: the Puritanical, the extreme anti-Sabbatarian, and the moderate Lutheran. The first of these positions is represented best in the strict Sunday laws of Scotland and of the New England colonies. That Sunday should be most carefully observed as a day of rest and that the state should support them in securing such an observance, was held as a fundamental right."

That tells the whole story and tells it truly. What practically all the Sunday law agitators want is a religious Sunday enforced by civil law. All their denials are technical and disingenuous. They have themselves confessed the religious motive too often to make convincing denial of it now.

C. P. B.

Crucifying Liberty on the Cross of Sunday Sabbatarianism

THE following is an editorial from the Crothersville (Ind.) *Herald*, of May 27, 1921:

"The attempt of Rev. Harry L. Bowlby, national secretary of the Lord's Day Alliance, to crucify liberty on the cross of Sabbatarianism, should not be dismissed lightly or flippantly. He is commander in chief of the tatterdemalion army of professional reformers, and his scheme to insure compulsory saintliness is to organize in every church in every community a squad of moral police, whose specialty shall be to spy upon their neighbors. If a weak brother shall be so sinful as to fall from grace, the duly delegated character constable would be in duty bound to report him instantler to the authorities. Listen for a moment to the vaporings of one of his subordinate generals, Mr. Noah Cooper, of Nashville, Tenn.:

"Too long have the people of the earth clung to the fleshpots, and their doom is as certain as that of Tyre and Sodom. Europe is the Sodom and America the Gomorrah, and only the immediate return to the Puritanical religious precepts of the witch-burning days can save the earth from destruction."

"What they mean by 'the immediate return to the Puritanical religious precepts of the witch-burning days' is a re-

turn to the blue laws of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Virginia, which in their ill-balanced minds is the only thing that will save the earth from destruction. . . .

"Dr. Bowlby is intelligent enough to know better, but in his maniacal onslaught on liberty, he views liberty through the narrow lenses of a fool's spectacles instead of viewing it by the sunlight of common sense. He says there is no such thing in America as personal freedom; that liberty is only bedlam, and he thinks that God made an awful mistake when He endowed man with the inalienable rights of liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

"Let none misunderstand the great issue that is upon us. It is proposed to legislate religion and its tenets into the human heart, and Christ Himself, least of all, sought to do so; to make Sunday a day of privation, of gloom, of penance, and of physical and mental stagnation instead of a day of thanksgiving and jubilation, and to bring the church back into power as a dominating factor in politics. Religious liberty means liberty for every man of every faith or of no faith, but the Lord's Day Alliance people think that religious liberty means to compel everybody to worship God according to their conscience, and not according to one's own. And when one protests against such religious dogma and raises his arms to tear the clutch of the Lord's Day Alliance from his throat, he is a sordid, soulless, godless worldling. The Lord's Day Alliance is very considerate for the poor laboring man's day of rest, claiming that he has been robbed of it, and they want to give it back to him by depriving him on Sunday afternoons of going to a park, a picture show, a sacred concert, or taking a ride in an automobile. Their idea of rest is not the diversion of the brain from its ordinary path, but refraining from all innocent amusements and engaging in pious conversation. . . . Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty, and any one who values it, any one who would be free to

worship or not to worship, cannot afford to be indifferent in this matter. . . .

"If the people could ever have a say-so on these proposed Sunday blue laws they would thunder back, No! to your devilish attempt to inoculate the body politic with this religious pellagra; No! to your relics of medieval bigotry and Puritan repression to crimson the streams of America with the blood of martyrs; No! to your seething, sizzling, ecclesiastical hell by which you want to burn us; No! to your insane endeavor to supersede God's method of persuasion and shackle the soul with another Spanish Inquisition; No! to the pernicious design of the Lord's Day Alliance establishing a hierarchy in this country and setting itself up as a great pontiff with despotic control over everything relating to law, morals, and religion; No! to your unconscionable plot to crucify liberty on the cross of Sabbatarianism."



Church Attendance Compulsory or Voluntary

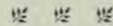
THE question of "Religion in Summertime" received attention in *Our Sunday Visitor*, July 10. It declares, "The closed season for the churches is the open season for Satan." The *Visitor* states that the Catholic churches do not close shop at any time, but after the congregation has gone to worship in the morning, this "duty done, it is free to spend the remainder of the day in harmless recreation. Non-Catholics, at least those of the old-fashioned stripe, are not so free to use the Lord's day, and some of them are objecting strenuously to any one's so using it. Yet, oddly enough, it is the non-Catholic congregation that shows the most notable falling off in the matter of church attendance during the summer."

When the drawing power of the pulpit fails to fill the church pews, there are certain political preachers who are tempted to substitute the policeman's club in place of the cross of Christ to

compel church attendance on Sunday.

Since the Catholic Church is the author of Sunday sacredness and Sunday observance, why should the Protestant churches which have accepted this Catholic institution, dictate to the members of the Catholic Church how they shall observe Sunday? Or why should they dictate to nonchurch members? And especially, why should they compel those who still observe the original Sabbath of divine appointment, to observe also a Catholic institution, in which these people have no faith, and which they believe is a denial of their faith and the word of God? Why not let the Catholics observe the day in harmony with their own ideals, and let every other person do the same, so long as they do not violate the provision of our civil regulations which are equally applicable on every day of the week? This, and this only, is religious liberty. Church attendance and religious observances have no value unless the action is voluntary and the motive emanates from the heart. The church will succeed much faster in filling the church pews by preaching the power of the love of Christ and the grace of God, than by appealing to the civil magistrate to use the force of law to compel people to conform to the outward show of religion. Such a course makes enemies and hypocrites instead of friends and Christians.

C. S. L.



The Right to Work

AS is well known, the *Christian Statesman* is the official organ of the National Reform Association. When it speaks, it is supposed to voice the official opinion of that association. As any other paper or magazine, it sometimes goes outside of its regular contributors for articles, but these must voice the ideas of the organization it represents. At times such publications incorporate certain actions of certain bodies and indorse them as sound.

The March issue of the *Statesman* prints a resolution recently adopted by

the National Grange. No comment is made for or against the resolution; so it is natural to conclude its sentiments are, to say the least, approved by the editor of the *Statesman*. This means, if left undisputed, the sentiments of the National Reform Association. Here is the item, as a whole, just as it appeared in the above-named journal:

"The National Grange does hereby express its disapproval of any system which denies to any individual the right to work in any place where his industry is needed at any time and at any wage which is satisfactory to him, or to quit his employment whenever and for whatever reason may be to him controlling, subject only to such contract obligation as he may willingly enter into and as may be enforceable in an American court of justice."

With these sentiments, the writer of this article is in full accord. The right to work is inalienable. No man should divest himself of it; on the other hand, no one has rightfully the power to deprive another of the privilege of working "at any time . . . which is satisfactory to him." Doubtless the Grange in adopting this resolution and the *Statesman* in indorsing it, had in mind the controversy between the advocates of the open and the closed shop. This does not matter, the principle is the same. "Disapproval" should ever and always be expressed of any system which denies to any individual the right to work in any place or at any time where his industry is needed. Let us apply this to Sunday laws. What right has any one to deny to another the privilege of honest work on any day of the week?

The Sunday law proponents are doing all in their power to take this right away from all men. Why does the National Reform Association array itself on one side of this question of rights regarding the open shop, and on the other side when it comes to Sunday laws? It is hard to be on both sides of the fence and still be consistent. No fault can be found with the declaration of the National Grange and no censure is due the *Statesman* for indorsing it, but to be consistent, the magazine should take the

same stand as regards Sunday legislation. It is a species of tyranny to forbid an honest man's doing honest work on any day of the week. Such laws breed contempt for law. Christians, whether statesmen or not, should learn this lesson and heed it. Such measures are not born of real statesmanship, and are far removed from the teachings of the Author of the golden rule, our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. They are indefensible from the standpoint of either church or state.

W. F. M.

Good Reasons Why Congress Has Tabooed Sunday Laws

BY LEON A. SMITH

EXAMINED from any possible point of view, Sunday laws are seen to be without justification.

They promote idleness, at a time when there is far too much idleness in the country, and when constructive work was never so urgently in demand.

They stir up religious animosity, at a time when there is the greatest need of more peace and good will among all classes of the people.

They put a weapon in the hands of men actuated by spite against people because they practise a different kind of religion.

Representing compulsion only, they have no place in the religious controversy which exists over the question of Sabbath observance.

They have never conferred any visible benefit upon a community or upon a state.

They have long remained as dead-letter legislation upon the statute books of nearly all the States, being inconsistent, impractical, and unenforceable, because out of harmony with American principles, ideals, and institutions.

Being wrong in principle, they can never be right in fact, however mild in their demands and however innocent in appearance.

Need of Vigilance

THE political, social, industrial, and commercial worlds are in a highly feverish state. Revolution is in the very air. Roman Catholics claim that this state of affairs is the result of the Reformation of the sixteenth century and the doctrines of Protestantism, which, they maintain, undermine respect for authority. The remedy they propose is the restoration of the temporal power of the Pope and a general return to the bosom of the Catholic Church.

Protestants, on the other hand, while deploring the situation, dissent from the proposed remedy, and in effect, suggest that relief can be found only by acknowledging God's right to rule, and by making His law the supreme political law, to be enforced by legislative, judicial, and executive action.

The only practical difference, therefore, between the Roman Catholic and the Protestant position is as to who shall decide what the law of God is. In the first instance, the Pope would, of course, be arbiter of all such questions. In the other, the consensus of Protestant opinion would be the supreme law, unless indeed the Pope and the preachers might agree on certain fundamental doctrines, such, for example, as the utility of state-enforced Sunday rest. Indeed, it looks as if something of this kind might easily grow out of the present situation, in which case the dissenter would receive scant consideration. Notwithstanding our boasted twentieth century civilization, there is still need of that eternal vigilance which is, as it always has been, the price of liberty. B.

Blue Law Traps Boys

"LINCOLN, NEBR., August 17.—Eight boys caught pitching horseshoes on a vacant lot at University Place, a Lincoln suburb, last Sunday, were found guilty of violating the law and fined \$5 and costs each in justice court of the town

last night. University Place is the seat of Nebraska Wesleyan University."—*Washington Evening Star, Aug 17, 1921.*

And yet we are told that Sunday laws are purely civil regulations, designed to insure the workingman a day of rest, and to prevent the commercialization of the day!

MARTIN RYAN and Eldridge Trippe, of Baltimore, Md., were both arrested for "working on Sunday." They were brought before the magistrate's court at Central Police Station. Martin Ryan, an employee of the Independent Ice Company, testified that he received a telephone call from a woman who said she was sick and wanted a small piece of ice, and that he asked Eldridge Trippe to take the piece of ice to the home of this sick woman in his small express wagon as he was running along the street. The magistrate at the central station told Trippe that he sympathized with him, but that he could not do anything,—the law would have to take its course. This shows that the "blueness" has not yet been taken out of the Maryland Sunday blue law. All this happened during the extremely hot weather of last June, and yet our professional reformers dare tell us that there never were any "blue" laws.

THE Miami (Fla.) *Herald* of July 1, discussing at length the bold attempts of the Sunday blue law advocates to force "a dismal and miserable and most unhallowed sabbath" upon all people, says in conclusion that "the present statutes ought to be wiped off the books," and the Tampa *Union* adds that "freedom in choice of plan for observance of the first day of the week should be accorded every man. An attempt to force people into the churches by prohibiting anything else on Sunday, will result in the destruction of the church and all that it means to civilization."

Worshiping Sunday Instead of God

IF the Congress of the United States passes the blue laws, forcing the people to cease to breathe on Sunday, we would leave this country and go where liberty has not been destroyed. If a member of the Florida delegation votes for the bill, we will fight him to a finish whenever he stands for office. Most people worship Sunday instead of God. The sooner they learn that in this twentieth century they cannot take from the human race inherent rights, the better. We helped them vote this country dry, but we are through fighting the people in the ruling of their own lives, so long as they do not invade the rights of others. We say, Give man freedom and permit him to worship God in his own way. Does grass grow on Sunday? will seed sprout? do fish sleep through Sunday? do we get hungry? Then we will do well to follow the laws of nature, and be happy in our own way. We cannot believe that a majority in Congress are fools and will be induced to vote for the blue laws that existed in New England when they burned witches. — *Editorial, Ft. Lauderdale (Fla.) Sentinel, July 22, 1921.*

Wrong Way of Doing Things

ACCORDING to the Associated Press reports of the proceedings of the Christian Endeavor Convention held in New York City, in July, this convention declared for "A warless world by 1923," and went on record as favoring the enactment and enforcement of Sunday blue laws, and also declared all opposition to national prohibition to be "essential bolshevism and treason." The greatest enemies of national prohibition are those extremists who are favoring the death penalty for its violators, and who resort to unconstitutional methods for its enforcement. As long as such a spirit exists in the hearts of those who claim to be Christians, "a warless world" must remain an impossibility.

Blue law methods do not make for peace, but hatred. War exists in the hearts of men before it

is visualized on the field of battle. For this reason the war spirit must be taken out of human hearts before it can be banished from the earth. "The words of his mouth were smoother than butter, but war was in his heart: his words were softer than oil, yet were they drawn swords." Ps. 55:21.

The Blue Law Movement

There is apparently on foot a well-laid and concerted plan for the enactment of Sunday blue laws during the coming fall and winter. In four Southern States,—Alabama, Florida, Louisiana, and Tennessee,—rigid Sunday closing bills are awaiting the reconvening of the legislatures for discussion and action. The Florida measure, which is reported to have the indorsement of an important new citizen of that State in the person of William Jennings Bryan, proposes to prohibit the use of electricity and music on Sunday except for church and Sunday school services, for the private home, and for the public streets, and to close every place of amusement and all establishments where soft drinks are sold. Under the terms of the Tennessee bill, drafted by Noah W. Cooper, who favors a national blue law, all Sunday trains would be stopped and the publication of Sunday newspapers prevented.

The first point of attack, as was the case with prohibition, is evidently to be the South, and when the South is solid, or nearly so, the venue will be changed to the District of Columbia, to Army and Navy reservations, and to other territory controlled by the Federal Government. Extension to the rest of the country will be the next logical step.

There is no doubt that the movement is making headway. Earnest and able men and women, some of them not overburdened with scruples as to the personal liberty, the property rights, or the vested interests of others, are behind it and pushing it with might and main. In opposition is the Anti-blue Law League of America, which appears to be a determined and wide-awake organization that senses the ultimate national aims of the Sunday closers. Between the two contending forces the fight gives promise of being a stiff one. At all events, the issue is fairly knit, and the country will not be taken unawares, as it was in great part in the wet-and-dry campaign. If it adopts Sunday blue laws, it will do so with its eyes open.—*Washington Post, Sept. 2, 1921.*

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