



# LIBERTY

A Magazine of Religious Freedom

PUBLISHED

QUARTERLY

Ten Cents a Copy, Thirty-five Cents a Year

WASHINGTON, D.C.

PHOTO, UNDERWOOD & UNDERWOOD, N.Y.



# Religious Liberty Association

## DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

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

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

## AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS

**Atlantic Religious Liberty Association** (affiliated organizations in Maine, Vermont, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New York, Connecticut, and Rhode Island): Office, South Lancaster, Mass.; secretary, K. C. Russell.

**Canadian Religious Liberty Association** (affiliated organizations in New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Quebec, Ontario, and Newfoundland): Office, Port Hope, Ontario; secretary, M. N. Campbell.

**Central States Religious Liberty Association** (affiliated organizations in Kansas, Nebraska, Missouri, Colorado, and Wyoming): Office, College View, Nebr.; secretary, R. A. Underwood.

**Columbia Religious Liberty Association** (affiliated organizations in Pennsylvania, Ohio, New Jersey, Virginia, West Virginia, Delaware, and Maryland): Office, Takoma Park, D. C.; secretary, S. B. Horton.

**Lake Religious Liberty Association** (affiliated organizations in Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, and Wisconsin): Office, 213-215 Dean Building, 113 S. Lafayette St., South Bend, Ind.; secretary, L. H. Christian.

**Northern Religious Liberty Association** (affiliated organizations in Minnesota, Iowa, North Dakota, and South Dakota): Office, 2713 Third Ave. South, Minneapolis, Minn.; secretary, Chas. Thompson.

**North Pacific Religious Liberty Association** (affiliated organizations in Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Montana, and Alaska): Office, College Place, Wash.; secretary, W. F. Martin.

**Pacific Religious Liberty Association** (affiliated organizations in California, Nevada, Utah, and Arizona): Office, Mountain View, Cal.; secretary, J. O. Corliss.

**Southeastern Religious Liberty Association** (affiliated organizations in Florida, Georgia, North Carolina, and South Carolina): Office, 169 Bryan St., Atlanta, Ga.; secretary, Carlyle B. Haynes.

**Southern Religious Liberty Association** (affiliated organizations in Alabama, Kentucky, Tennessee, Louisiana, and Mississippi): Office, 2123 24th Ave., N., Nashville, Tenn.; secretary, C. P. Bollman.

**Southwestern Religious Liberty Association** (affiliated organizations in Arkansas, Oklahoma, Texas, and New Mexico): Office, Keene, Tex.; secretary, G. F. Watson.

## FOREIGN OFFICES

**Australia:** Office, Mizpah, Wahroonga, N. S. W., Australia; secretary, G. Teasdale.

**Great Britain:** Office, Stanborough Park, Watford, Herts, England; secretary, W. T. Bartlett.



# "EASTERN QUESTION" AND "FREE PRESS HEARING" NUMBER

*The World War and the Final Destiny of the Nations in the Light of the Scriptures. Thrilling War Pictures. Do Not Fail to Read the Articles on Religious Legislation, Government Appropriations to Sectarian Schools, and the Prohibition Movement.*

**D**O YOU KNOW that the final disposition of the Turkish Empire at Armageddon closes the great drama of earth's history? Read what the editor says on this great issue. Also the twelve speeches by Roman Catholics and Protestants at the wonderful Congressional hearing on freedom of the press before the United States House of Representatives Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads. Note also the article: "Worse Than the Gallivan Bill," telling of a Roman Catholic attempt to muzzle the press of Illinois.

The demand for our "War" number was so great that we were obliged to print FOUR EDITIONS from Jan. 3 to March 24, 1915!

## President White Says: "It Has a Good Ring"

"I always read the 'Liberty Magazine' through from cover to cover. I congratulate you editors on the work you are doing. I certainly feel it has a good ring, and will do good wherever it is read."—Pastor W. B. White, President South African Union Conference, Cape Town..

## "Doing a Great Educational Work," Says Judge

"The 'Liberty Magazine' has shown itself to be a strong factor in the advocacy and support of the principles of religious liberty. It is doing a great educational work, and thereby helping to avoid a national crisis, by vigorously opposing all proposed legislation which would be destructive to the liberty of conscience guaranteed by the organic laws of the land."—Judge Cyrus Simmons, Knoxville, Tenn.

## Clergyman Orders This Number Sent to Editors

"We wish to have that 'Eastern Question' and 'Free Press Hearing' number of 'Liberty Magazine' sent to every editor in our State. The editors of our land influence public opinion as much as the ministers. As I travel from place to place I shall call upon the editors and talk with them about these matters."—Pastor J. A. Leland, President South Texas Conference, San Antonio, Texas.

JOIN THE CONGRESSMEN, JUDGES, STATE LEGISLATORS, AND OTHER TRUE AMERICANS WHO ARE ADVOCATING "LIBERTY" PRINCIPLES AND CIRCULATING THIS MAGAZINE. IT IS THE BEST KNOWN ANTIDOTE FOR THE POISON OF CHURCH-AND-STATE UNIONISM.

INVEST \$2.00 in TEN, or \$1.00 in FIVE, YEARLY SUBSCRIPTIONS. Legislators, mayors, public-school teachers, attorneys, clergymen, councilmen, and others of influence ought to read this magazine. We can furnish addresses. Would prefer for YOU to do so, however. YOUR NAME may be ONE of the TEN or the FIVE.

ACT AS OUR REPRESENTATIVE.—Send \$1.00 for 20 or \$2.00 for 50 copies. Sell 10 or 20 to get your money back. Sell or give away the rest. Apply to our nearest General Agency for particulars.

LIBERTY MAGAZINE

::

WASHINGTON, D. C.



# One or More Years, Which?

GENTLEMEN: Inclosed find \$ .35 (\$ .90) (\$1.00) (\$2.00) for which kindly send me *Liberty Magazine* for one year (3 yrs.) (5 yrs.) (10 yrs.), beginning with issue for \_\_\_\_\_ Quarter, 191 \_\_\_\_\_

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

---

---

## SPECIAL ORDER BLANK

GENTLEMEN: Inclosed find \$1.00 (\$2.00) (\$4.00), for which please mail 5 (10) (20) copies of *Liberty Magazine* for one year to my address or to the addresses found below. I understand you will mail these magazines to one or more addresses, as desired.

### NAMES AND ADDRESSES

- 1 \_\_\_\_\_
  - 2 \_\_\_\_\_
  - 3 \_\_\_\_\_
  - 4 \_\_\_\_\_
  - 5 \_\_\_\_\_
  - 6 \_\_\_\_\_
  - 7 \_\_\_\_\_
  - 8 \_\_\_\_\_
  - 9 \_\_\_\_\_
  - 10 \_\_\_\_\_
- 
- 

## APPLICATION FOR AGENCY

GENTLEMEN: I hereby apply for agency for *Liberty Magazine*. I desire to solicit subscriptions, and also to sell a supply regularly each quarter. Kindly send me your rates, "Subscription Receipt Book," etc. Find inclosed recommendation vouching for my character and ability properly to represent your magazine.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

# LIBERTY

A MAGAZINE OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

EDITOR, CHARLES S. LONGACRE

ASSOCIATE EDITORS, CHARLES M. SNOW, CALVIN P. BOLLMAN

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS, K. C. Russell, S. B. Horton, J. O. Corliss, W. F. Martin, C. B. Haynes

TAKOMA PARK, WASHINGTON, D. C.

---

---

## CONTENTS

### EDITORIAL ARTICLES

	PAGE
The Destiny of the Nations; a Prophetic Outlook on the Extinction of Turkey ...	53
Freedom of the Press Attacked; a Most Important Congressional Hearing .....	57
Governmental Appropriations to Sectarian Schools .....	73
Denounces Arrests for Sunday Selling .....	75
More Legislation for the Church .....	77
Mixes Religion With Politics .....	78
Attempted Religious Legislation Defeated .....	79
The Inalienable Rights of Man .....	80
An Evil Threatening Our Times .....	82
"The Pro-Papal Program" .....	84
Legislator Condemns Action of Churchmen—"Go Home and Preach" .....	85
Adventists Oppose Laws on Religion .....	85
Clergyman Opposes Sunday Bill .....	86
Congressional Discussion on the Establishment of Religious Freedom for the Philip- pine Government .....	87
Worse Than the Gallivan Bill .....	88
Maryland Citizens Highly Indignant .....	90

### GENERAL ARTICLES

The Sunday Law Agitation in America; California Refuses to Revive the Blue Laws	91
Mr. Gallivan's Bill Would Bar the "Congressional Record" From the Mails .....	92

### TEMPERANCE

The Liquor Business a Fugitive From Justice .....	94
---	----

---

---

Entered as second-class matter May 1, 1906, at the post office at Washington, D. C., under the Act of Congress of March 3, 1879. Published quarterly by Review and Herald Publishing Association, Washington, D. C.

### PRICES, POSTPAID

Yearly subscription .....	\$ .35	Five years (or 5 subscriptions, 1 year) ....	\$1.00
Three years (or 3 subscriptions, 1 year) ..	.90	Eight years (or 8 subscriptions, 1 year) ...	1.60
No subscriptions for less than one year		Ten years (or 10 subscriptions, 1 year) ...	2.00
Five or more copies, mailed by publishers to five addresses or to one address, postpaid, each			.05

### NO EXTRA CHARGE ON FOREIGN SUBSCRIPTIONS

**HOW TO REMIT.**—Remittances should be made by Post-office Money Order (payable at Washington, D. C., post office), Express Order, or Draft on New York. Cash should be sent in Registered Letter.

**DATE OF EXPIRATION.**—Your address on the wrapper shows the date of expiration of your subscription. To avoid missing any numbers, please **renew early**, for we **stop** all subscriptions promptly upon expiration.

**CHANGE OF ADDRESS.**—When a change of address is desired, both the **old** and the **new address** must be given. The publishers should be notified six weeks in advance of the desired date of change.

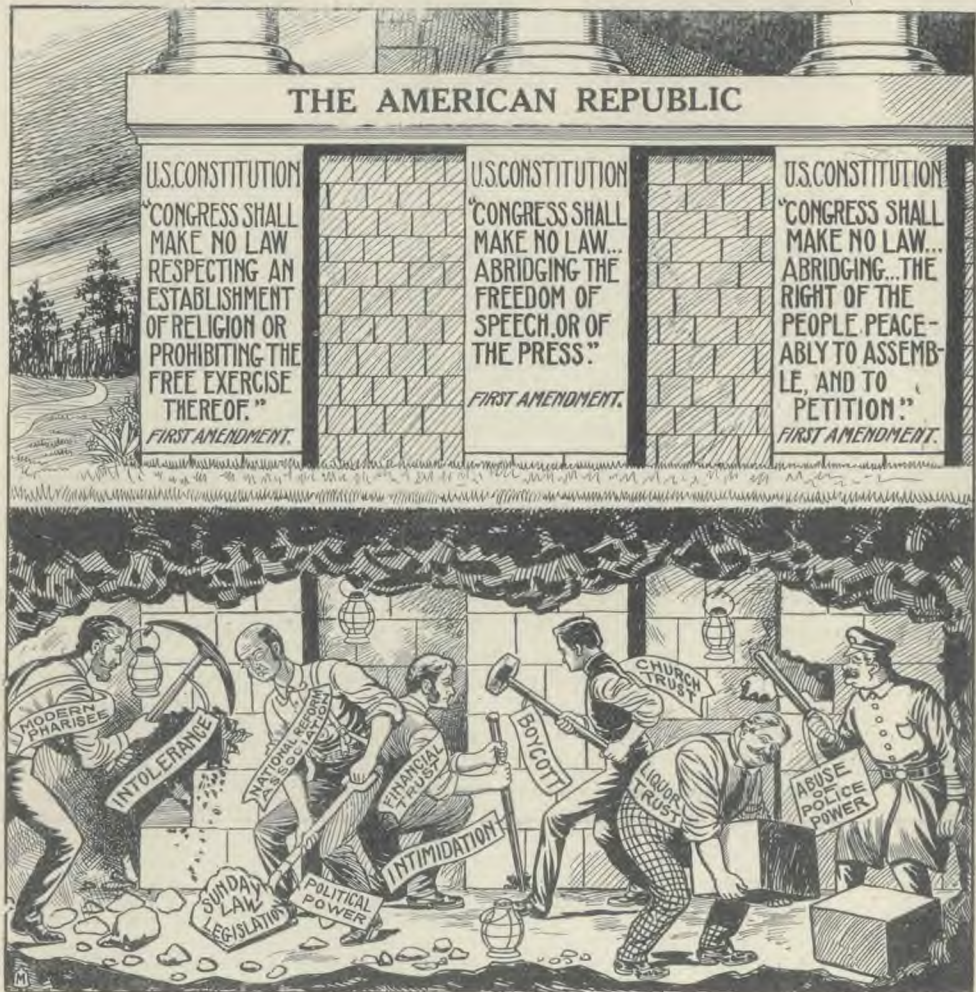
**SUBSCRIPTIONS GUARANTEED.**—Our authorized agent will present signed **credentials** from our agency nearest you, also receipt for subscription money. If requested, he will also deliver the first copy to commence your subscription.

**YOU WILL NOT BE ASKED TO PAY** for this magazine unless you have subscribed for it. Some friend may have subscribed for you. The receipt of a sample copy is merely an invitation to subscribe. So please do not refuse the magazine at your post office for **financial reasons**.

A. J. S. BOURDEAU, Circulation Manager



# Undermining Foundations



## MINERS AND SAPPERS AT WORK

The right to think, to know, and to utter is the dearest of all liberties. Without this right, there can be no liberty to any people; with it there can be no slavery.—*Wendell Phillips.*

Where the press is free, and every man able to read, all is safe. . . . Our liberty depends on the freedom of the press, and that cannot be limited without being lost.—*Thomas Jefferson.*

To limit the press is to insult the nation; to prohibit the reading of certain books is to declare the inhabitants to be either fools or slaves.—*Helvetius.*



# LIBERTY

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

VOL. X

SECOND QUARTER, 1915

No. 2

## The Destiny of the Nations A Prophetic Outlook on the Extinction of Turkey

THE EDITOR

IF there is one lesson which the history of this world teaches, it is that a divine Providence is behind every scene in every act, overruling events in harmony with "the eternal purpose which he purposed in Christ Jesus our Lord." According to the prophecies "in the volume of the Book," this sin-cursed earth is "stored up for fire, being reserved against the day of judgment and destruction of ungodly men. . . . The day of the Lord will come as a thief; in the which the heavens shall pass away with a great noise, and the elements shall be dissolved with fervent heat, and the earth and the works that are therein shall be burned up. Seeing that these things are thus all to be dissolved, what manner of persons ought ye to be in all holy living and godliness, looking for and earnestly desiring the coming of the day of God, by reason of which the heavens being on fire shall be dissolved, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat? But, according to his promise, we look for new heavens and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness." 2 Peter 3:7-13, A. R. V.

This scripture clearly shows that a deluge of fire will be the last act in the great drama of this world's history. Just

as a flood of waters destroyed the inhabitants of this earth in the days of Noah for their wickedness, so the devil and all the wicked are to be destroyed by fire in the last great day. The Master and Lord of heaven said: "The same day that Lot went out of Sodom it rained fire and brimstone from heaven, and destroyed them all. Even thus shall it be in the day when the Son of man is revealed." Luke 17:29, 30. Again, Peter says: "If God spared not the angels that sinned, but cast them down, . . . to be reserved unto judgment; and spared not the old world, but saved Noah the eighth person, a preacher of righteousness, bringing in the flood upon the world of the ungodly; and turning the cities of Sodom and Gomorrhah into ashes condemned them with an overthrow, making them an ensample unto those that after should live ungodly; . . . the Lord knoweth how . . . to reserve the unjust unto the day of judgment to be punished." 2 Peter 2:4-9.

### Nations Arrayed Against Christ

All these scriptures annihilate the false hope of man's being his own Saviour and being able of his own efforts to establish a reign of peace and righteousness



upon earth. When the Lord comes to establish his kingdom on earth, he will not find peace among the nations, but they will be engaged in fighting the battle of Armageddon in the valley of Jehoshaphat in the Turkish Empire in Asia. The nations will not be prepared to receive him as King of kings and Lord of lords, but, on the contrary, we are told in Sacred Writ that "the nations were angry." "And I saw the beast, and the

of God by the force of civil statutes, and to usher the kingdom of God into this world through the gateway of politics, are working on a plan that can only raise false hopes. This present world, with all its plans, is doomed, and all the nations of the earth are to be "broken to pieces together, and become like the chaff of the summer threshing floors."

The Saviour told his disciples that there would be signs in the heavens



SULTAN'S PALACE, AND MOSQUE WHERE HE WORSHIPS

kings of the earth, and their armies, gathered together to make war against him." "And out of his mouth goeth a sharp sword, that with it he should smite the nations: and he shall rule them with a rod of iron: and he treadeth the winepress of the fierceness and wrath of Almighty God." Rev. 11: 18; 19: 19, 15.

Paul tells us that just before the Lord comes the second time to deliver his own, the world is being deceived by the false doctrines of "peace and safety." 1 Thess. 5: 3. *The nations of this world will never crown Christ as their king.* Some of our so-called reformers who are trying to induct people into the kingdom

above and in the earth beneath whereby his followers were to know that his coming was "near, even at the doors." Matt. 24: 33.

#### Extinction of Turkey a Bible Prediction

The driving of the Turk out of Europe was just to precede the battle of Armageddon, and at the termination of this battle the Lord was to smite the nations, dashing them "in pieces like a potter's vessel." Ps. 2: 9. It seems, according to human foresight, as if the European war was the prelude to the extinction of the Turkish Empire in Europe. But according to the prophecy in



Daniel 11 and 12 and Revelation 16, the Turkish Empire was not only to come to its "end" in Europe, but also in Asia. According to the Bible, the battle of Armageddon is to be fought immediately after the Turkish Empire is "dried up."

In the preceding issue of this magazine we went quite fully into the Biblical and historical exposition of this question.

Since then our position as based upon the prophetic interpretation has been verified by the recent war developments. Before this magazine reaches its readers, the Allies may have succeeded in driving the Turk out of Europe. For the prophecy declares: "And he [the king of the north, or the Turk] shall plant the tabernacles of his palace between the seas in the glorious holy mountain [in Jerusalem]; yet he

shall come to his end, and none shall help him. And at that time shall Michael [Christ] stand up, the great prince which standeth for the children of thy people: and there shall be a time of trouble, such as never was since there was a nation even to that same time: and at that time thy people shall be delivered, every one that shall be found written in the book. And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some

to shame and everlasting contempt." Dan. 11:45; 12:1, 2.

### Turkey's Fate Closes the Great Drama of Earthly History

This is the conclusion of a long prophecy that begins with the first kings of the Medo-Persian kingdom and closes with the last sultan who was to rule in

the territory of the Turkish Empire, at the termination of which the Lord's servants "shall be delivered," and the sleeping saints resurrected out of "the dust of the earth" and "the mossy old graves."

Luther and his collaborators understood the fulfillment of this prophecy to constitute a sign of the end of the world. In speaking of this prophecy, the great Reformer said, "If we beat back the Turk, the prophecy of Daniel will be fulfilled and

the end will be at hand. Then the day of judgment is surely at our doors."—*"Martin Luther," by Gustav Freytag, page 11.*

Hitherto England has helped Turkey to resist Russia's efforts to obtain possession of Constantinople and the Dardanelles, but today she helps Russia to drive out the Turk. In a remarkable speech delivered at the guildhall in the city of London, Nov. 9, 1914, the prime minister, Mr. Asquith, in response to a



MEHMED V, SULTAN OF TURKEY





Copyright Underwood & Underwood, New York

FRENCH SOLDIERS BRINGING IN THEIR WOUNDED CORPORAL

toast of His Majesty's ministers, said: "I wish to make it clear, not only to my fellow countrymen, but to the world outside, that this is not our doing. It is in spite of our hopes and efforts — it is the Ottoman government that has drawn the

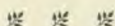
sword, and which, I venture to predict, will perish by the sword. It is they and not we who have rung the death knell of Ottoman dominion, not only in Europe, but in Asia. . . . The Turkish Empire has committed suicide, and dug with its



own hand its grave."—*The Times* (weekly edition), London, England, Nov. 13, 1914.

But let it be remembered that divine revelation has decreed the doom of the world when Turkey falls in Asia. The downfall of Turkey in Asia is the last trumpet blast announcing the death knell of all the nations at the battle of Arma-

geddon. This is no time to put our trust in princes nor in riches. Our only hope is in God and his Son, through whose blood we have redemption from our sins by faith. The day of God is drawing nigh and hasteth greatly. Every one will then have to meet God at the judgment bar to give an account of himself. "Prepare to meet thy God."



## Freedom of the Press Attacked

### A Most Important Congressional Hearing

ONE of those liberties which the Constitution of the United States declares shall never be abridged is the freedom of the press. That inhibition is found in the very First Amendment to the Constitution, which reads:—

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

No one principle of our national government has done more to make the nation great and prosperous and enlightened and progressive, and its people contented and tolerant of each other's ideas, than the principle of equal and exact justice bound up in that First Amendment. Where men are free to believe what seems to them worthy of belief, to advocate what seems to them worthy of being advocated, and to publish what seems to them worthy of being published, the peace and progress and stability of the nation are assured. But where these privileges are denied, discontent breeds strife, hatred, and revolution. For its own safety, therefore, as well as for the good of the people, a wise government unshackles the press and makes the press itself personally responsible for the abuse of its privileges, just as she unshackles her slaves and makes them personally responsible for any abuse of their liberties.

Because the freedom of the press is a fundamental principle of the American government, and because its denial would be fraught with consequences far-reaching and disastrous, the deepest interest has been manifested in the recent introduction into Congress of three bills whose avowed object is to curtail the freedom of the press. These bills were introduced by Congressmen John J. Fitzgerald of New York State and James A. Gullivan of the State of Massachusetts. Mr. Fitzgerald's bill (H. R. 20644), introduced Jan. 7, 1915, reads as follows:—

#### A BILL

##### To Amend the Postal Laws

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That whenever it shall be established to the satisfaction of the Postmaster-General that any person is engaged, or represents himself as engaged, in the business of publishing any obscene or immoral books, pamphlets, pictures, prints, engravings, lithographs, photographs, or other publications, matter, or thing of an indecent, immoral, scurrilous, or libelous character, and if such person shall, in the opinion of the Postmaster-General, endeavor to use the post office for the promotion of such business, it is hereby declared that no letter, packet, parcel, newspaper, book, or other thing sent or sought to be sent through the post office by or on behalf of such person shall be deemed mailable matter, and the Postmaster-General shall make the necessary rules and regulations to exclude such nonmailable matter from the mails.

Mr. Gullivan, on January 11, intro-



duced the following bill (H. R. 20780):—

**A BILL**

To Amend the Postal Laws

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That whenever it shall be established to the satisfaction of the Postmaster-General that any person is engaged in the business of publishing any scandalous, scurrilous, indecent, or immoral books, pamphlets, pictures, prints, engravings, litho-*

*graphs, or other publications which are, or are represented to be, a reflection on any form of religious worship practiced or held sacred by any citizens of the United States, it is hereby declared that the Postmaster-General shall make the necessary rules and regulations to exclude such matter from the mails.*

mittee on the Post Office and Post Roads. Both the advocates and the opponents of the proposed measures requested a hearing before this committee, and the hearing was granted on February 1. On the morning of the hearing Mr. Gallivan brought before the committee the following bill (H. R. 21183), which he proposed as a substitute for No. 20780, above quoted; but during the hearing reintroduced No. 20780 and stated he



HON. JOHN J. FITZGERALD OF NEW YORK, WHO INTRODUCED ONE OF THE POSTAL BILLS



HON. JAS. A. GALLIVAN OF BOSTON, MASS., WHO INTRODUCED TWO OF THE POSTAL BILLS

graphs, or other publications which are, or are represented to be, a reflection on any form of religious worship practiced or held sacred by any citizens of the United States, it is hereby declared that the Postmaster-General shall make the necessary rules and regulations to exclude such matter from the mails.

As soon as it was learned that such bills had been introduced into Congress, the advocates of religious freedom, of freedom of speech, and of freedom of the press began to petition Congress to prevent the enactment of such legislation. The bills had been referred to the Com-

would like either or both enacted into law:—

**A BILL**

To Amend Section Two Hundred and Twelve of the Penal Code

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section two hundred and twelve of the Penal Code of the United States be, and the same hereby is, amended by striking out said section and inserting in lieu thereof a new section, as follows:—*

"Sec. 212. That all matters otherwise mailable by law, upon the envelope, outside cover,



or wrapper of which, or any postal card upon which any nonmailable matter described in the foregoing section is written, printed, or otherwise impressed or apparent, is hereby declared unmailable matter and subject to the provisions and penalties set forth in said foregoing section regarding nonmailable matter."

Mr. Fitzgerald was the first to speak in behalf of this proposed legislation. He declared that the reason for the introduction of his bill lay in a declaration of the Postmaster-General to the effect that, under the present law, he was not authorized to exclude from the mails certain publications which were objectionable to a certain portion of the American people. He said in part:—

It is very apparent that the Congress and, I think, the people of the United States, do not desire that the postal facilities shall be used for the purpose of disseminating lewd, obscene, immoral, or filthy literature. The circulation of such material through the mails is bound to more or less result in the debasement of the morals of the people of the country, and the mail facilities have not been established for any such purpose.

The Postmaster-General points out in his report that there is a very considerable class of literature that does not, according to his construction of the law, come within his power to exclude, although it is of a very objectionable character. I believe there should be no misunderstanding of what the law is, that if this power does not now exist in some official in the conduct of the postal facilities of the government, it should be lodged in some one; that the mails of the United States should not be used to transmit all the foul, filthy, indecent, and objectionable literature that evil-minded persons may create and desire to circulate. I think that has been the intention of the Congress.

### What the Fitzgerald Bill Requires

Now, this bill requires more to be done in order to exclude literature than any law proposed. It requires first, that it shall be established to the satisfaction of the Postmaster-General that a person is engaged in the business of publishing scandalous, indecent, immoral, or scurrilous books, pamphlets, prints, pictures, engravings, lithographs, photographs, or other publications, matter, or thing of indecent, immoral, scurrilous, or libelous character, and that if it is so established, such persons shall be deemed to be publishing unmailable matter; and in addition, it must be established that an attempt is being made to use the mails of the United States to further that business, and only in that case can authority be exercised under this bill. . . . In order to anticipate what I have reason to believe may be suggested, I wish to call the attention of the committee to the law as it is, because I intend to ask that if the committee, upon consideration of this bill, does not believe that it is a bill that should be reported with a favorable recommendation, to report it with an unfavorable recommendation. If this committee is convinced that the law is now sufficient to exclude

this vile literature from the mails, I hope it will express its opinion in a report on this bill so that responsibility for the cramming of the mails with such material may be fixed and in order that proper and orderly steps may be taken to eliminate matter of such character from the mails. . . .

The difficulty in anticipating the issuance of a publication that would be filthy was what led me very largely to propose this additional power in case it can be established that some person or corporation is making a business of issuing filthy literature. Its purpose is to exclude such material from the mails if an attempt is made to use the mails to further that stuff. Because I cannot conceive that it would



HON. JOHN A. MOON OF TENNESSEE  
CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE  
ON THE POST OFFICE AND  
POST ROADS



be desirable to permit a situation to exist where a large quantity of nonmailable matter is being transmitted through the mails—although it is a violation of the statute and prohibited by the statute—because of the difficulties of administration.

Mr. Finley, a member of the committee, sought persistently to ascertain what was the influence back of this attack upon the freedom of the press. Mr. Fitzgerald as persistently refused to disclose that influence; and yet all present knew what force was pressing the Congressmen to enact such measures. The discussion was intensely interesting:—

Mr. Finley: Now every proposed law and every law which is enacted is supposed to rest on some necessity or some duty that the legislature has to perform for the public, and there must necessarily be in your mind some necessity for this.

Mr. Fitzgerald: There is. I called attention to what the Postmaster-General said.

Mr. Finley: I understand that. But everything that has been said up to this time, substantially speaking, is in a general way and without reference to facts. The gentleman must have in his mind some particular basis which he wishes to correct by the passage of his bill. . . .

Mr. Fitzgerald: I would suggest that if the committee desires that particular information so that no injustice might be done anybody, and so that they would know exactly the character of the matter aimed at, they invite the Post-office Department to submit to this committee the offensive and objectionable matter which has been specifically pointed out to that department, and upon which it refuses to act. . . .

Mr. Fitzgerald: If you wish me to make a statement in which I shall name some particular individual or some particular publication—

Mr. Finley: (Interposing) That the law does not now cover.

Mr. Fitzgerald: I do not think it is desirable for me to do so, because I do not believe that the question whether we should exclude this particular class of material from the mails should resolve itself into an issue as to whether any particular publication should be permitted to continue or not. . . .

Mr. Finley: Leaving that aside, does not the gentleman think that before a publication is barred from the mails there should be some appeal to the courts, and the courts should be allowed to settle and decide that issue? Why should the gentleman leave it to the discretion of the Postmaster-General?

Mr. Fitzgerald: There is no appeal to the courts now as to any publication that is excluded; there is no provision for that. . . .

Mr. Steenerson: Mr. Finley's suggestion would be to provide for the determination beforehand as to whether a man was engaged in that business so as to be outlawed so far as the mail service was concerned.

Mr. Fitzgerald: I have no objection to that, but I think there should be a universal rule of action fixed as to all classes of mail to be excluded. . . .

The Congressmen who followed Mr. Fitzgerald revealed very plainly

the influence that was pressing for these measures. Their speeches and their answers showed that the purpose of the bills under discussion was to protect the Catholic Church from the attacks of anti-Catholic journals.

The second speaker was Mr. Jas. A. Gallivan, the author of two of the bills referred to. He said, in part:—

I want to say to the committee that I do not believe there is any reasonable man in this country who believes that our mails should be used for the circulation of "scandalous, scurrilous, indecent, or immoral books, pamphlets, pictures, prints, engravings, lithographs, photographs, or other publications which are, or are represented to be, a reflection on any



HON. JAS. P. MAHER OF NEW YORK



form of religious worship practiced or held sacred by any citizens of the United States." Mark you, I said any reasonable man.

#### Mr. Gallivan Gives His Reason

Now according to the report of the Postmaster-General, "many thousand petitions and complaints have been received during the year against certain newspapers which deal with religious and other questions, in a manifestly coarse, defamatory, and scurrilous manner." That is why my bill is here, and if there is not law enough in the land to permit the Postmaster-General to bar that sort of stuff from the mails, I come here before a committee of reasonable men and ask the committee to see that a law is enacted or at least reported to Congress, which will give the Postmaster-General the power to debar such scandalous, scurrilous, indecent, and immoral literature from the mails. . . .

I am informed, Mr. Chairman, that during the campaign a few months ago literature of that very kind was widely circulated throughout Congressional districts of this country, and it may be interesting to certain members of this committee to know that as a consequence of the circulation of that kind of literature, forty-eight Democratic Congressmen were defeated, either at the primaries or on election day. Now I believe it is time that either the Post-office Department or the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads do something. What I do here today I do on my own initiative. If any gentleman of the committee desires what Judge Finley asked my predecessor to produce, it is within the power of the committee to summon the Postmaster-General before the committee, and have him produce the character of the literature which he described under the heading "obscene and scurrilous matter." We are not here to parade any vaudeville show or to afford entertainment for a multitude who may have come expecting to see some excitement. . . .

Mr. Finley: I observe that in your bill 20780 you use the words "or are represented to be a reflection on any form of religious worship practiced or held sacred by any citizens of the United States." May I ask how far the gentleman would extend that language under its application if enacted into law?

Mr. Gallivan: As far as I have extended it in the language in the bill.

Mr. Finley: Well of course the gentleman had in his mind the proper limitation when he drew his bill?

Mr. Gallivan: I would be willing to leave that to the committee. . . .

Mr. Finley well understood the dangerous features of the bills under consideration, and emphasized one of them in the above questions. To enact a law

which would authorize the Postmaster-General to exclude every publication from the mail which might be represented as publishing a reflection upon any form of religion, would be a staggering blow to the press of America, both secular and religious; and it would be a blow from which there would be practically no recourse. When a publication has been denied the use of the mails, it is practically impossible to recover that right, even when its denial was an unjust one. Another dangerous and unjust feature of the bill was brought out in the following dialogue:—

#### Religious Controversies to Be Settled by a Government Official

Mr. Finley: Your bill 20780 would necessarily make the Postmaster-General the judge as to what was or was not a religious question?

Mr. Gallivan: Yes, sir.

Mr. Finley: Does not the gentleman think that would be a very serious burden to place on the Postmaster-General?

Mr. Gallivan: I do not know much about the average Postmaster-General. I have only been a member of Congress a few months.

Mr. Finley: Well, on any one man in the world?

Mr. Gallivan: The brains of a man who runs the Post-office Department of this country ought to be heavy enough to answer the question.

Mr. Finley: So it will be left to him in your bill 20780 to decide what was or was not a religious body, or something held sacred by any citizen of the United States?

Mr. Gallivan: I would be perfectly willing to leave it to him; yes, sir. I am not finicky over those things.

The Chairman: As I understand it, the purpose of the bill is to enable the government to intervene in controversies of a political, religious, or other character, and vest power in a government official to determine what matter relating to such questions shall be mailable or not mailable.

Mr. Gallivan: No, sir. I do not want the government to interfere in any religious or political quarrels. I did not say so. I am not asking the government to interfere anywhere. I am calling the committee's attention to the Postmaster-General's report, a part of which I have read here.

The Chairman: Then what is the purpose of your bill? We know what his report is.

Mr. Gallivan: Then you know what my bill is.

The Chairman: I want to get at the facts.



You want the government, and by the government I mean the Post-office Department, to have authority to intervene and stop publications that contain language of a character referred to in your bill.

Mr. Gallivan: Exactly.

The Chairman: Then you want to make the Postmaster-General the sole arbiter in determining that question.

Mr. Gallivan: That is what I started out to do.

The Chairman: Now that may be a religious question, a political question, or a social or scientific proposition of any kind where this language may be used. May it not?

Mr. Gallivan: Yes, sir.

The Chairman: Now what is your purpose in it? Is it to protect the individual or an association against whom such language is directed?

Mr. Gallivan: What other purpose would the gentleman think I might have in mind?

The Chairman: I do not know. I asked you if that is your purpose, and you say yes?

Mr. Gallivan: Yes, sir.

#### Recourse to the Courts

The Chairman: If that is true, are not the courts of this country open for that purpose, and cannot they all be protected? When a man oversteps the bounds of legitimate free speech, cannot the courts handle him without the intervention of Congress by an act of this sort?

Mr. Gallivan: Apparently there seem weaknesses in the law or the Postmaster-General would not refer to the matter in his report.

The Chairman: Is it not better if there be any wrong or injury done by publication or otherwise to any sort of an organization or individual, that that individual or organization should be permitted, as they now have the right to do, to step into the courts for protection and vindication, rather than to invoke the arbitrary action of a government official, and especially when that action is confined to the judgment of a single individual?

Mr. Gallivan: May I answer that by asking the chairman of this committee if he believes that the United States mails should be permitted to circulate any scandalous, scurrilous, indecent, or immoral books, etc.?

The Chairman: No.

Mr. Gallivan: Should a man be forced to go to law, and should the government be used as an agency for distributing such things?

The Chairman: The trouble about it is that, while technically you are correct in the fact that the government ought not to permit such things, yet you cannot stop that by the judgment of a single man being pronounced in defining a publication, and determining what is scandalous, scurrilous, and so on. He

would have to know about each issue to determine that fact, and that could not be done until after the issue was made. Therefore, a citizen can be more properly remanded to his rights in the courts, as it seems to me.

A careful reading of the discussion between Mr. Gallivan, Mr. Finley, and the chairman of the committee reveals very plainly that the purpose of the proposed legislation was to protect a certain religious organization from the attacks of its antagonists by denying them the right to circulate their publications. Both these gentlemen seemed to forget that the weapon which they wished to put into the hands of the Postmaster-General could be used against the publications of their own organization as effectively as against those of their enemies. No publications speak more freely than the Catholic in denunciation of the religion of other denominations. Therefore, an impartial Postmaster-General would soon have to issue orders to deny the use of the mails to every Catholic as well as every Protestant journal in the country. This would be worse than a mere censorship of the press. It would be a virtual annihilation of the religious press of the country, of all the "free thought" press, and so much of the secular press as saw fit to criticize any church or any religion.

The third and last advocate of these measures was Congressman James P. Maher of New York State, and his answers to the questions of the committee-men set forth very frankly the real reason for the proposed legislation.

#### Mr. Maher's Statement

Mr. Maher: I have been in receipt of hundreds of letters from constituents of mine protesting against these publications.

The Chairman: What publications do you speak of?

Mr. Maher: Well, there are about six of them. I do not really know the names of them.

The Chairman: Do you know the names of any of them?

Mr. Maher: One is called the *Yellow Jacket*.

Mr. Smith: Where is it published?

Mr. Maher: And the *Menace*. I do not



know where they are published, but there are six of them.

The Chairman: This bill is directed against them?

#### Admits the Real Purpose of the Bills

Mr. Maher: It is the practice to use the mails to circulate scandalous and libelous articles, and I believe, from letters which I have received and from personal investigation of it, that it is a direct attack upon one particular religion, upon the Catholic Church. That in my judgment is the intent of these publications. There are, I understand, 16,000,000 Catholics in this country, and there are approximately 20,000 priests. I believe I voice their sentiment when I say they want protection against the slanderous and scurrilous articles that are circulated through the mails. . . .

As a citizen and a member of that religion that is attacked by these articles, I simply desire the right to live in peace and good will with my neighbors. I do not wish to go through life with religious prejudices. I have none. I care not in what way a man worships God; he has that right in this country to worship God in accordance with his own ideas. It is my particular religion that is attacked and I feel it. We are told that this is not a fight.

The Chairman: I want to say that these bills on their face do not disclose anything of that sort.

Mr. Maher: I know they do not.

The Chairman: That is the reason we are asking these questions in order to see what really underlies the legislation.

Mr. Maher: Well, I believe the bills on the face of them show what they intend to do, and if I were a member of the committee I think I could act in accordance with the intent of the bills as they were drawn, but I am stating some of the —

The Chairman: (Interposing) I think you are right about that. The committee wants to know the facts.

Mr. Maher: Well, I am giving them to you according to my knowledge of them.

#### No Need of Such Legislation

Mr. Finley: There is one question which I would like to ask you in regard to legislation of this character. Legislation as is proposed here would lodge with the Postmaster-General the final decision as to what was or was not a religion, and of course following that, what was or was not a slander or a libel on that religion?

Mr. Maher: I do not think that would be the question. I think the simple question would be as to what was or was not a slander or a libel.

Mr. Finley: You would lodge the power to decide that in the Postmaster-General?

Mr. Maher: Yes. And I think the party affected should have the right to appeal over the decision of the Postmaster-General.

Mr. Finley: Why not let him have the right to go into the courts in the first instance?

Mr. Maher: Not being a lawyer, I would not be able to answer that.

The remarks of Mr. Gallivan and Mr. Maher left no doubt as to who was urging this class of legislation. A church, smarting under the attacks of its adversaries, was seeking to have the government declare a literary embargo upon all publications that oppose the doctrines and the purposes of that particular organization. In doing so, it sought to shield itself from opposition and criticism by making the terms of that embargo general and depending upon friendly or intimidated officials later to interpret those terms as they wished them to be interpreted.

There being no others to speak in behalf of the bills, opportunity was given for those to be heard who opposed the measures. The first speaker for the opposition was Rev. R. H. McKim, who spoke in part as follows: —

#### Argument of Dr. McKim

I am here this morning representing the Federation of Pastors, a federation of Protestant ministers of the city of Washington, with a membership of approximately three hundred, and representing nearly every branch of the Protestant faith in this city. The members of that organization have asked me to come here and voice their protest against these bills. I am not here, however, as a Protestant; I am not here as a Christian; I am here simply as an American citizen to protest against bills which seem to us to be inconsistent with the principles upon which this great republic of ours rests.

We are opposed to these bills in the first place because we believe them to be un-American. We believe it to be contrary to the mind and to the heart of the people of this country, and contrary to the history of this country, that a law like this proposed law should be enacted, which is, in effect, an attack upon the liberty of the press.

Now, sir, do not misunderstand me. We have no desire to protect or apologize for any publications that are scurrilous, or libelous, or defamatory, or filthy in their character. We would to God that there were not pub-



lications of that kind, or any other publication of that character. But, sir, we would not be willing to secure that result by legislation that would strike at the root of one of the greatest and most important principles in our country; namely, the liberty of speech and liberty of the press. It would be too great a price to pay for such a result. I remember that a very illustrious member of the British Parliament, in discussing a certain bill in favor of temperance in some shape—I do not know exactly what—uttered this sentence: "I would rather see England free than England sober." And so we would rather see

of the United States declares that Congress can pass no law in limitation of the freedom of speech or of the press. Both these bills that are now under consideration are of that character. That cannot be denied; it has not been denied by the gentlemen who have defended those bills here this morning. . . .

#### Dangerous Legislation

Now, sir, we are opposed to these bills also because they are really revolutionary in their character. They are contrary to the spirit of our institutions in that they propose to put into the hands of one man, a government of-



REV. RANDOLPH H. MCKIM,  
WASHINGTON, D. C.



REV. GILBERT F. WILLIAMS,  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

the press of the United States free than to see it clean, if we had to make it clean by assaulting the liberty of the press, which is one of the fundamental principles of our land, and one of the most important of all the things to guard our liberties.

Then, sir, we are opposed to this bill because it is unnecessary. It has already been said in conversations that have taken place around this table that there is already legislation on the statute books under which an individual or an association which feels itself aggrieved or libeled can appeal to the courts and obtain redress. Therefore, we hold that this legislation is unnecessary.

Then we are opposed to the bill further because it is unconstitutional. The Constitution

official, and that official not elected by the people of the United States, and not responsible to them directly, to put into his hands the absolute power of deciding whether or not a particular individual or a particular organization or association is publishing anything as a libel under this law. We feel that such a power as that is a tyrannical power and that it has the tendency to make of the Postmaster-General a czar. It is a power that not even the President of the United States ought to be intrusted with. We are opposed to this proposed legislation on that ground. We regard that as a very serious matter indeed. One of these bills goes so far as to say that if such a publication is or is represented to be casting a reflection upon any form of re-



ligion or church, the Postmaster-General not only has the power, but he is directed, commanded in that case, to exclude from the mails that particular publication. Was there ever such a proposition brought forward in the history of all this country that some individuals should be given the power if something is represented to be of a certain character, that then he is directed and commanded to practically exclude that person from his rights as an American citizen? What would you, gentlemen, think of legislation providing that if a judge has before him a man who is represented to be a thief, that that judge shall have the power to send such a man to jail without investigation and without trial? This is exactly an analogous case to that.

I have here a brief extract from a publication called the *Chronicle*, which is published under the name of the Protestant Episcopal Church of this country. That publication recently had in it the following editorial:—

"It is quite evident that if matter is published which is defamatory, false, and libelous, the sufferers have their recourse, as is perfectly just, through common lawsuits and jury trials. More than this protection cannot be given the citizens, without subjecting the press to an arbitrary administrative interference which gravely interferes with the freedom of the press."

That is exactly our position. The editorial goes on to say:—

"To seek to wrest a law directed against obscene literature so as to suppress libelous literature is not only dishonest but lawless. To pick out for this attack that kind of libelous literature which attacks a religious denomination as such is in the nature of religious persecution. Such a proceeding would not only be very dangerous to our free institutions, but, by the reaction it would provoke, injurious to the religious denomination concerned. In fact, it would be far more injurious than the scurrilous attacks referred to. . . ."

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I do not desire to say any more. I have mentioned the principal objections in our minds and I think I have said sufficient to convince any open-minded gentleman present here this morning of the fact that this proposed legislation is dangerous, that it involves an attack upon the freedom of the press, and an attack upon the freedom of speech. And the day when that is done will mark the beginning of the destruction of American liberty.

Mr. Steenerson: It strikes me that Mr. Fitzgerald's bill does not require that a newspaper or periodical shall be mailed at all. It says that the Postmaster-General is required only to ask if such a person is engaged in that kind of business, and if so, that he shall not be allowed to use the mails. You condemn

that man because he is engaged in that business.

Mr. Buchanan: It does not need to appear that he has used the mails; it would be like condemning a man for murder before it had been proved that he had committed the crime.

Rev. G. F. Williams followed Dr. McKim in opposition to the bills, and pointedly illustrated his contention that the laws and the courts are sufficient protection to individuals and organizations who may be attacked by any portion of the press without the passage of a law that would infringe upon the legitimate activities of the press of the whole country.

#### Dr. Collins's Statement

Rev. W. Russell Collins, editor of the *Converted Catholic*, who represented also the *Episcopal Recorder*, made a very spirited address in opposition to these bills. We give the following interesting excerpts from his remarks:—

It has already been demonstrated that the attempt here is to divert the power of the courts to one man, and to give one man the jurisdiction which the courts now enjoy. I do not know the animus of it, except that it may be based upon the belief that it is possible sometimes to more easily influence one man than it might be to influence a court.

It has been brought out here, through questioning, and reluctantly admitted, that behind this bill is a religious issue. It is the Roman Catholic Church making an attempt to defend itself against something, we do not know what. But I notice that the Roman Catholic Church does not adopt nor accept means of defense that are put within its reach. There is a certain book published in this country which these gentlemen, the authors of these bills, would no doubt include in their definition of the terms obscene, libelous, and scurrilous, in which the author brings tremendous charges against individuals of the church which has been brought into question here, in the preface to which he makes an offer of \$10,000 to be given to any man or to any organization that will disprove any one of his charges, and offers to deliver up to such man or organization the plates of his book for destruction; but not a single member of the organization which is now appealing for redress here, has ever come forward to make any attempt to claim that \$10,000; yet under this proposed law undoubtedly an attempt would be made to exclude that book from the mails as being scurrilous.

Mr. Reilly: Do you think it is scurrilous?



Dr. Collins: I am not going to offer any opinion as to whether it is scurrilous or not.

Mr. Reilly: What is the name of the book?

Dr. Collins: If the views expressed in the book are true, then it is no more scurrilous than —

Mr. Fitzgerald: (Interposing) What is the title of that book?

Dr. Collins: It is called "Romanism a Menace to the Nation," by the Rev. Jeremiah J. Crowley, a former Roman priest. It has had a circulation of many hundreds of thousands. I am not giving the book my indorsement. My work is religious, not political. It is purely religious, and I am not defending any particular denomination. I am only citing that case as an act of negligence on the part of this church to embrace the opportunity to secure redress by this means, freely offered and within its grasp. . . .

#### How Such a Law Would Operate

Let me tell you how the operation of this law might affect some people. Say I am engaged in a controversial question with a church which has different views from mine. I declare that its theological teachings are a lie. They might bring me up as giving expression to a libelous utterance. One man has to determine whether I have committed a libel or not, and I have no benefit of court.

There is a certain standard theology of the Roman Catholic Church, known as the Moral Theology of Liguori,—*Saint Liguori*,—published in Latin, in three volumes, by the firm of Benziger Brothers, publishers of Roman Catholic publications in New York City, which deals with the questions of sex that have been repeatedly referred to here by the advocates of these bills, and this and similar publications have been declared, by those who are not of that belief, to be the most indecent, obscene, and immoral publications in the world. They are permitted to be mailed through the United States mail. If my memory serves me correctly, about three years ago an attempt was made in this country to suppress a publication for publishing in the original Latin, a part of the Liguorian Moral Theology, and the publisher was tried in the courts for publishing and transmitting through the mail obscene literature; and this became a notable case throughout the country.

In other words, the standard theology of the Roman Catholic Church is presented to us in this country, in the courts, as indecent, immoral, and obscene literature. . . .

Now I want to take up a hypothetical case. I do not know whether it would be covered by this bill or not. I think if this bill were to be adopted, that the word seditious should be included in its terms.

Suppose that a certain editor should declare, in his paper, that if there were to come,

at any time, a clash between the government of the United States and another sovereign power, which sovereign power this editor recognizes as greater and of higher authority than that of the government of the United States,—suppose he should declare that in such a case he and the people whom he represents would say, "To hell with the government of the United States,"—is there any law which would prevent that seditious publication from going through the mails?—No; I would not vote for a bill to prevent it. I would rather that a man, the editor, for instance, of the *Western Watchman*, a Roman Catholic newspaper, should say that than to limit his freedom of speech. I am glad to hear him express his opinion. I am glad to know that he is not a loyal citizen of the United States, but that he recognizes the sovereignty of the papal state.

One of the gentlemen here (Mr. Gallivan) put up the cry that certain literature published in the last campaign had the result of defeating forty-eight Democratic candidates for Congress. I do not know what his argument is, exactly, unless it be that these papers were opposed to the election of those men. I must assume that, as the gentleman declares himself to be a Roman Catholic, they were Roman Catholics also. . . .

These papers in the last campaign were opposed to the men who were defeated, because those men, by their religious profession, acknowledge that a certain man, who is sovereign of the papal states, is sovereign of the world, and that his sovereignty is greater than that of the United States; and there is a fear that their loyalty as representatives of the government of the United States cannot be trusted.

At this point Mr. Gallivan interrupted the speaker, and a heated controversy ensued over the question of whether Roman Catholics acknowledge the political sovereignty of the Pope as above that of the United States. At the conclusion of the discussion upon that point, Mr. Maher asked this question:—

The gentleman stated in his early remarks that the three gentlemen in favor of the Fitzgerald bill want to place the power of restriction in case of articles of this kind in the hands of one man. Did he or not hear the three men express themselves in favor of giving every man his day in court?

Mr. Collins replied:—

Yes. *After this one man* ha' excluded him from the mails. If he is allowed, as under the present law, to go to the court first, I will agree to all that is in the bill. I wish to say



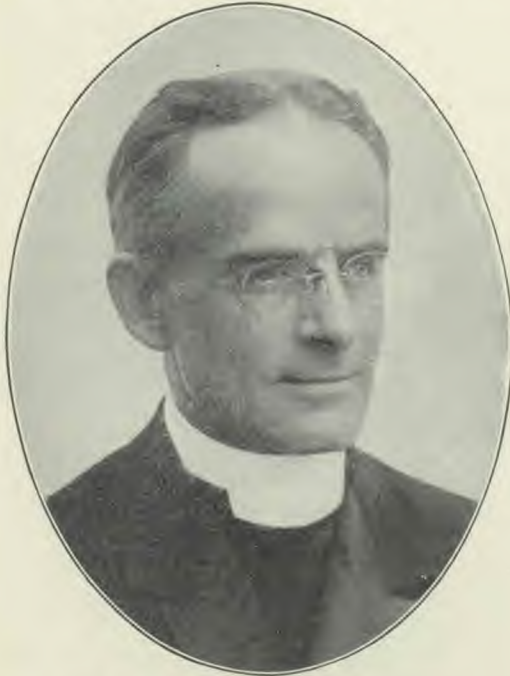
to these gentlemen, that personally I have no animus against any member of the Roman Catholic Church. Many of my dearest friends are members of that religious body. I am simply trying to state a situation in regard to which these political papers have been misrepresented. They have dealt with political issues only.

I honor the Roman Catholic who believes in his religion, and I love him. There is no antagonism there at all.

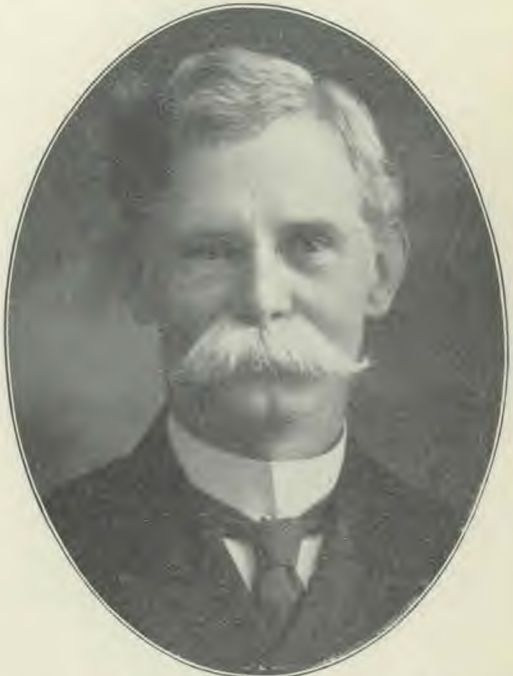
In my answer to this gentleman's question, I simply state what is the theology of that

claims to be a prisoner there, and because, if he should do so, the moment he makes his egress from the Vatican grounds, his feet tread upon soil over which he should be sovereign, and of his sovereignty over which he has been deprived.

No other church claims what the papal church claims, and without any bitterness at all, many American citizens feel that, with that church professing that doctrine, it is not wise to put the government of this country into the hands of those representatives who profess allegiance to that church.



DR. W. RUSSELL COLLINS, OF NEW YORK CITY



SANFORD B. HORTON, WASHINGTON, D. C., SECRETARY OF THE COLUMBIA RELIGIOUS LIBERTY ASSN.

religion, which any Roman Catholic priest will testify is the theology of that church.

#### The Church Above the State

No other church in Christendom claims jurisdiction over the civil authority, except that church. The Protestant church is not in the same position. It claims no jurisdiction over the state. It does not claim to have the right of jurisdiction over the state. The Roman Catholic Church does claim the right of jurisdiction over the state, and the cry of the Pope today is that he is deprived of his right in many countries because he is no longer allowed to exercise the jurisdiction in those countries which he once exercised. He will not come out of the Vatican, because he

Following Mr. Collins, Prof. C. S. Longacre, editor of this magazine, spoke in opposition to the bills.

#### Professor Longacre's Statement

Mr. Chairman, I represent the Religious Liberty Association of Seventh-day Adventists of North America, which has a constituency of nearly 100,000.

First of all, I wish to present a long list of protests in addition to protests which I have already sent to the committee, in opposition to these bills which are now under consideration. I also have with me a paper prepared by Prof. W. W. Prescott, which he requested to be put into the record, as he could not be



here himself to speak in opposition to these bills. . . .

America, a little more than a century ago, was the first nation that gained a glorious victory for free speech, a free press, and freedom in exercising the functions of religion according to the dictates of the individual conscience. Since then free speech and free press have remained the impregnable bulwarks of civil and religious liberty in America, and may God grant that this benign blessing shall never be taken away from the American people.

This proposed legislation to restrict the freedom of the press in its operation in the open forum, is a trumpet blast from the reactionary forces for a renewal and revival of the old struggle. Every American patriot will raise his voice in protest against any movement whose object it is to muzzle the press so it cannot utter the truth freely and publicly and send it forth on the wings of the wind at its own charges to every dark corner of this republic. . . .

No one questions the fact that the liberties granted to the press have been abused at times, but the public when grievously wronged has had recourse to our courts, and has had redress for the injury done after the fact was established. Our existing statutes do prohibit obscene, lewd, lascivious books, pamphlets, pictures, prints, papers, or other publications of an indecent character from passing through the mails, and make libelous and slanderous reports which are an injury to reputation or pecuniary interests a subject for court action. But the United States Supreme Court and the State supreme courts have universally held "that the fact of libel or slander must first be found by a jury" and that then an injunction may be granted to restrain any further publication of the libel or scandal, and redress may be obtained according to the judgment of the jury. But this proposed legislation aims to take this matter out of the hands of a jury to determine the fact of guilt and places it in the hands of an autocratic censor of the press according to the system that has been in vogue in Russia and Turkey. . . .

#### An Absolute Censor

The bill introduced by Mr. Fitzgerald does not prohibit anything that is not already prohibited by civil statute, but it seeks to make the Postmaster-General not only an absolute censor of the press, but the judge, jury, prosecuting attorney, and sole witness without giving the defendant a chance of trial to disprove the charges of libel or slander. It establishes an autocratic system of government instead of a democratic. . . .

The word scurrilous as applied in the pres-

ent statutes is used in an accommodated sense, and cannot be applied in a general way to what might be considered a political or religious insult. Both these bills apply the term scurrilous in a general sense, and consequently would debar every newspaper or periodical from the mails which cast any reflection upon the policies of any political party as well as a reflection upon any form of religious worship, provided "any citizen of the United States" represented such publications to be an insult to his political or religious faith and practice.

Mr. Finley: Will you permit a question right here?

Mr. Longacre: Certainly.

Mr. Finley: Under these bills, suppose the Postmaster-General himself was slandered or libeled. It does not look as if it would be proper for him to sit on his own case?

Mr. Longacre: It does not look that way. This bill would permit him to do that. . . .

The freedom of the press as provided in the First Amendment of the federal Constitution has stood the test of reason and of time. The benign blessings which have accrued therefrom have made our government and nation the most progressive, enlightened, and peaceful between the two poles on the six continents. . . .

#### A Court Decision

According to the decision of the United States Supreme Court the same liberties granted to the press in publishing books, papers, and pamphlets must be granted to the circulation and transportation of the same, otherwise the freedom of the press or of speech would be of no value. Congress is only empowered to protect these rights but not to prohibit them. But this proposed legislation is so revolutionary in its restrictions of the freedom of the press that it would enable a fanatical Protestant upon mere representation to cause the Postmaster-General to exclude all Catholic literature from the mails which would be antagonistic to his faith; and likewise it would enable a fanatical Catholic to exclude all Protestant literature which he might represent to be offensive to his belief. In fact, it would enable the American idolater and self-righteous Pharisee to exclude the Bible itself from the mails, because it contains many statements which are very caustic and reflect seriously upon idolatry and Pharisaism.

#### Jefferson's View

Thomas Jefferson used to say that the same freedom which was granted to religion should be granted to the press. Certainly no man in America who lived before the days of Andrew Jackson, had more legitimate reasons than Jefferson to find fault with the untrue utterances of the press. Yet his faith was so strong in



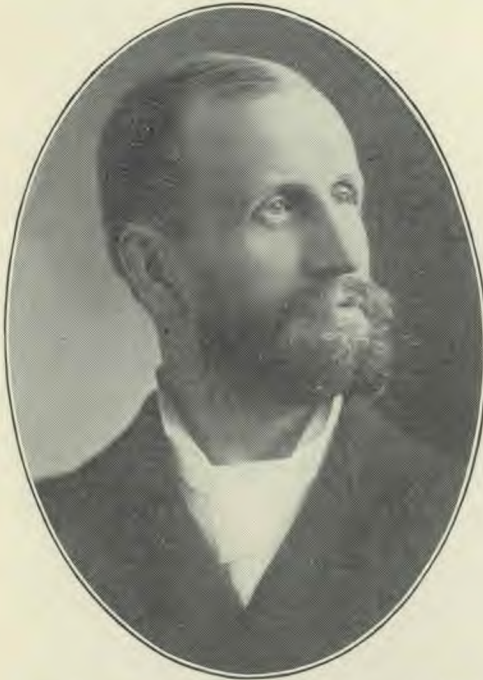
the ultimate triumph of truth, that he was perfectly willing to have the press present error without constitutional interference, if truth could only be left free to combat it. He was unalterably opposed to the establishment of a censorship of the press. No doubt, the strongest eulogy on the press which was ever pronounced by any statesman, was uttered by Thomas Jefferson, when he said that if he must choose between a government without newspapers, and newspapers without a government, he would prefer to risk the newspapers or the press without a government. By

law as it is, is a sufficient remedy for a dirty press or a slanderous press.

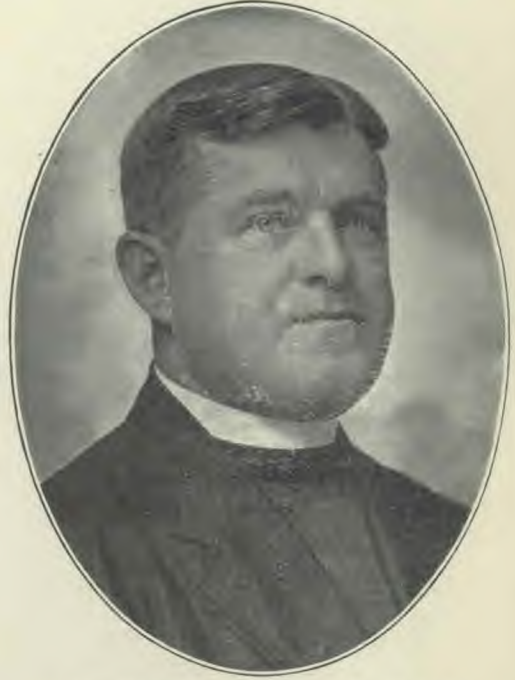
#### Argument of Mr. S. B. Horton

Mr. S. B. Horton, secretary of the Columbia Religious Liberty Association, addressed the committee as follows:—

With all due respect to the authors of the two bills before this committee at the present time, I submit that there is wrapped up in the legislation proposed a menace to the free-



PROF. W. W. PRESCOTT, WASHINGTON,  
D. C., EDITOR "THE PROTESTANT  
MAGAZINE"



REV. HOWARD G. ENGLAND, WASH-  
INGTON, D. C.

that he meant that public opinion would measurably correct things if public opinion was left free to express itself through a free medium, and that a government without free expression and discussion of public opinion would soon become a despotism. . . .

Mr. Reilly, a Catholic member of the committee, sought by persistent questioning to cause Professor Longacre to admit that he was in favor of a dirty press. Professor Longacre's contention was that he would prefer to see a free press and a clean press rather than either a dirty press or a muzzled press; that the

dom of the press as well as to religious liberty.

These measures propose to amend the postal laws so as to give to the Postmaster-General absolute power to exclude from the mails "pamphlets, pictures, prints, engravings, lithographs, photographs, or other publications" which in his judgment "are, or are represented to be, a reflection on any form of religious worship practiced or held sacred by any citizens of the United States."

We do not for a moment stand for the publishing and distribution of literature of "scandalous, scurrilous, indecent, immoral, or libelous" character. But we submit that the terms of either bill are so sweeping in character as to prohibit legitimate criticism of any "reli-



gious worship practiced or held sacred by any citizens of the United States."

In a letter from Thomas Jefferson to Dr. Jas. Currie, dated Paris, Jan. 18, 1786, the father of the Declaration of Independence, referring to press altercations against Mr. Jay, regretted that he should have permitted himself "to have his peace of mind so much disturbed by any individual who shall think proper to arraign him in a newspaper. It is, however, an evil for which there is no remedy; our liberty depends on the freedom of the press, and that cannot be limited without being lost." And in a letter to Thomas Seymour, 1807, Jefferson held the same views.

Of course we well know that there is a difference between liberty and license, and I have no doubt that there is cause for offense on the part of some periodicals in the minds of those who stand for the character of legislation proposed in the Fitzgerald and Gallivan bills. But I submit, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, are there not laws upon our American statute books which protect men and women from libelous and defamatory statements? I believe there is ample facility afforded by our laws to protect every individual from libelous and untruthful reports, whether they be printed in a daily paper or magazine. A recent decision handed down by the federal court at Joplin, Mo., in which a Wheeling, W. Va., Catholic priest (Rossman) was awarded a verdict for \$1,500 against a certain publication (the *Menace*) for having published a defamatory untruth against the priest, sustains this contention. . . .

Now, I am not in favor of scurrilous or obscene matter going through the mails. I am opposed to it, but I think when we legislate here for all the people of this country each and every individual should have redress somewhere, some place of appeal. Under that amendment an *ipse dixit* of whoever happens to be Postmaster-General at the time is absolutely conclusive of what is and what is not objectionable under the proposed amendment. So in my view there is law enough at present, and if the Postmaster-General will exercise to the full his discretion in the premises as to what matter is scurrilous and libelous and tends to incite or create a disturbance of the peace or good order, the law is ample.

I trust that this committee will not recommend the placing in the hands of any one man such a censorship of the press as is contemplated by the legislation under consideration.

#### Statement of Prof. W. W. Prescott

The paper by Prof. W. W. Prescott, editor of the *Protestant Magazine*, which was inserted in the report of the hearing, reads (in part) as follows:—

We are agreed that liberty does not mean license, and that freedom of the press does not mean the privilege of printing and circulating whatever one pleases without being responsible to any one for it. Our disagreement would probably appear when we attempt to define the legitimate restraint which should be placed upon publishers. . . .

I strongly maintain that publishers should be allowed the greatest freedom to print whatever they please without any governmental censorship, and that they should then be held strictly accountable under those laws which define libelous or defamatory matter, and those which are designed to protect business interests by punishing those who print and circulate untrue statements damaging to one's financial affairs. I am, therefore, constrained to oppose the bills H. R. 20644, introduced by Mr. Fitzgerald of New York, and 20780, introduced by Mr. Gallivan of Massachusetts, and for the following reasons:—

#### Too Much Power in One Man's Hands

Mr. Fitzgerald's bill would invest one man who is himself not elected by the people, but appointed to his position, with the power to destroy the business of a publisher without affording any opportunity for trial by jury according to regular court practice. The punishment which may be inflicted upon a publisher by the Postmaster-General under the provision of this bill is most severe, absolutely depriving him of the privilege of using the United States mails even for legitimate purposes. I submit that the giving of such power into the hands of one man who is himself not responsible to the people, is a long step toward tyrannical power over the press, and that it could bring only unmitigated evil to the country. . . .

The bill introduced by Mr. Gallivan, if strictly construed, would absolutely prohibit the expression of any adverse criticism upon any religious tenet whatsoever. Certainly no court in the country would hold such a law as constitutional in view of the First Amendment to the Constitution, which provides that "Congress shall make no law . . . abridging the freedom of speech or of the press."

#### Unconstitutional and Indefensible

Chancellor Kent, a recognized authority on American law, has given a broad interpretation to this amendment:—

"It has, accordingly, become a constitutional principle in this country, that 'every citizen may freely speak, write, and publish his sentiments, on all subjects, being responsible for the abuse of that right, and that no law can rightfully be passed to restrain or abridge the freedom of speech, or of the press.'"—*Commentaries on American Law*, James Kent, New York, 1848, Vol. II, sixth edition, page 17.

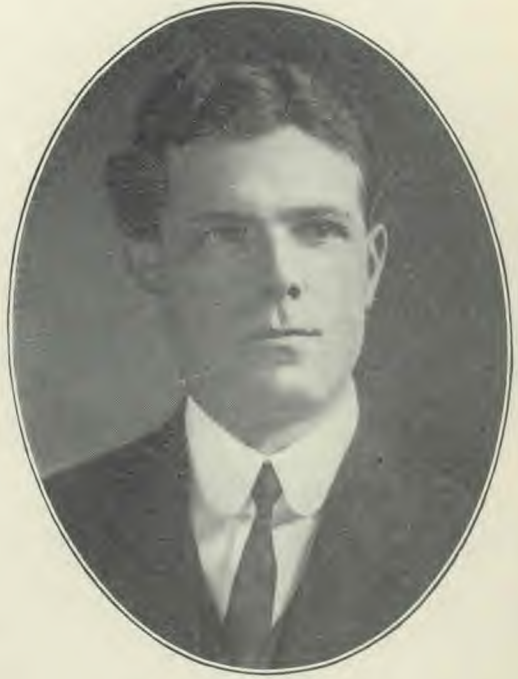


This proposed legislation is entirely indefensible, inasmuch as it enables Congress to exercise indirectly a power which was not conferred upon it either directly or indirectly by the Constitution; namely, the power to control the press in favor of religion. I maintain that Congress has no right of control over religion of any kind as such, and can properly deal only with men as citizens of this world, protecting them in the exercise of their rights as citizens, and merely preventing them from interfering with the equal rights of other citizens. The truth of the matter was set forth

signed to secure the exclusion from the United States mails of certain publications which are especially offensive to Roman Catholics. I do not believe in the use of indecent or scurrilous language in the discussion of any subject, and I heartily wish that all writers would use such language as could not properly give offense to any one; but if these evils exist to such an extent that they need to be repressed, the parties, when proved guilty by a fair trial, should be duly punished, and the whole press of the country should not be subjected to an arbitrary censorship



REV. CLARENCE A. VINCENT, WASHINGTON, D. C.



JOHN D. BRADLEY, WASHINGTON, D. C.

by Hon. Frank H. Hitchcock in a letter dated March 22, 1912:—

"It is not probable that under our federal Constitution which prohibits interference with religious opinion in any way, a law could be passed restraining criticism of religious faiths."  
—Hon. Frank H. Hitchcock, *Postmaster-General*, March 22, 1912.

#### Governmental Censorship

These bills would establish a government censorship of the press which would be fatal to free discussion, and would prevent that untrammelled expression of opinion which is vitally essential to the life of the republic.

While these bills are clothed in general terms, it is yet well known that they are de-

signed in order to punish a few alleged offenders.

Rev. Howard G. England, president of the Washington Court of the Guardians of Liberty, a clergyman of the Episcopal Church, addressed the committee in opposition to the bills. He said:—

Mr. Chairman, as a priest of the Catholic Church [Anglican] and an officer of a patriotic society which has nearly a million members in the United States, I protest against the passage of these bills as un-American and unnecessary. There is no demand from any but Roman Catholics for such laws. Considerable has been said about the *Menace* and other papers. . . . I would not be in favor



of any really indecent papers or magazines going through the mail, and the Postmaster-General has sufficient power at the present time to deal with indecent papers. . . . Why is not the issue met fairly and squarely? If the *Menace* is printing the truth, which many papers are afraid to publish, the Roman Catholic Church should clean up, and not plead the baby act. This country is no place for ecclesiastical jails; every institution should be open to the light of day, and if any inmate wishes to leave, unless sentenced by a court of law, he should be permitted to do so. . . . I sincerely hope, Mr. Chairman, that this honorable committee will never report favorably to the Congress of the United States such laws as these which infringe upon freedom of speech and freedom of the press. I do not believe in unbridled license, Mr. Chairman, but would protect the freedom of the press and freedom of speech.

Rev. Clarence A. Vincent, who claimed to represent 800,000 Congregationalists in the United States, as well as the Protestant Federation of Massachusetts, opposed the measures because they "would turn the wheels of progress back centuries; would destroy our liberties; would curse Protestants, Jews, and Catholics alike." Dr. Vincent continued:—

We do not propose to be put in a position where we have to choose between filthy and indecent publications and political or religious attacks. There is no such question up. Let all decent people stand together to destroy all obscene literature and pictures. But what we want to do is to avoid a situation where any church, political party, or industrial power can practically destroy the paper or declaration of principles of any opposing church, party, or group. It is, indeed, a radical and dangerous change that is hinted at in these laws.

We are also opposed to taking papers out of the mails before they are tried in the courts. These laws would, by keeping them out of the mails, destroy the paper, or book, or declaration of principles before any court would reach a decision. But these laws go still farther, they leave entire power in the hands of the Postmaster-General. The aggrieved party has no recourse to the courts. Think of it, the law puts the supreme power in the hands of one officer who is appointed, and the American people could have no hand in choosing such a literary czar. The freedom of the press would be gone, and with it the liberties of the United States would be destroyed. Eighty-five millions of people would be aroused by the passing of such a law, and if there were no way of protecting

their liberties, they would resort to arms. Many Roman Catholics are as anxious for the freedom of the press to remain as are the Protestants and the Jews. They are frank to say that they do not want the freedom of the press to be limited in any other way than by appeal to the courts.

The Secular League and various secularist organizations were represented at the hearing by Mr. John D. Bradley, of Washington, D. C. He presented a strong resolution from these organizations, protesting against the enactment of any such legislation, denominating the proposed measures as "an indefensible and astounding attack on the rightful and essential liberty of American citizens and on vital and fundamental principles of our republic and of modern civilization." He contended that the proposed measures would—

exclude from the mails of the United States some of the productions of one of the most eminent citizens of this country, a gentleman resident in his own city, Boston, Dr. Charles W. Eliot, president emeritus of Harvard University, who within the past few years has delivered some notable addresses, particularly two on "The Religion of the Future" and "Twentieth Century Christianity," which were the objects of criticism and attack by the press and representatives of both Roman Catholicism and orthodox Protestantism, on the ground that they were reflections upon and inimical to these forms of religious faith. And unquestionably they were. Under the gentleman's measure these and other productions of this eminent scholar and cultivated gentleman would not be permitted to circulate through the mails. . . .

Under this measure anything that chose to draw about itself the robes of religion would be removed from the realm of free discussion and elevated to a position of exemption from criticism.

The passage of such a measure, Mr. Bradley declared, would put the liberty of the press "at the mercy not alone of the Postmaster-General, but of anybody and any interest which chooses to represent to the Postmaster-General that a publication is 'a reflection on any form of religious worship.' A more outrageous and astounding proposition could not be conceived."

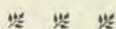
The last to address the committee was



Mr. F. W. Stray, secretary of the New England Religious Liberty Association, who declared that the controversy between those advocating and opposing these bills and the religious prejudices involved ought to be "sufficient evidence that such legislation as that proposed would be very dangerous to our free institutions."

The attempt to pass such legislation as that contained in the bills under consideration is one of the most direct attacks ever made upon the constitutionally guaranteed freedom of the American people. Its dangers were well emphasized by

those who opposed the measures, but none too strongly emphasized. The fact that it was made by the members of one particular church and in the interests of that church, makes it the more easy to rally the friends of freedom against it. Would that these defenders of the freedom of the press and of the liberties endangered by such legislation might be just as active and consistent to defend freedom of religion when that is threatened by the enactment of laws enforcing a religious ordinance such as the compulsory Sunday sabbath, Good Friday, and other church obligations. C. M. S.



## Governmental Appropriations to Sectarian Schools

It will doubtless surprise the readers of this magazine to learn that, notwithstanding the agitation of nineteen years ago, and the decision then reached by

invitation was accepted by practically all the leading denominations, and presently quite a number of schools were in successful operation, supported from church



*Copyright Underwood & Underwood, New York*

### HUNTERS OF MEN IN THE EUROPEAN WAR

Congress to discontinue at once and forever the un-American practice of making appropriations for the support of sectarian institutions, certain Roman Catholic Indian mission schools have all these years been receiving large sums from the government.

In 1869, President Grant invited the churches of this country to establish mission schools among the Indians. This

funds the same as other missions are supported.

It was not long, however, until the churches in turn invited the government to assist in financing these schools, with the result that by 1896 the several sums paid out annually by the government for the support of sectarian Indian education, aggregated more than half a million dollars, of which the Roman Cath-



olics received nearly three hundred and fifty thousand dollars each year.

When all the facts were brought out about nineteen years ago, there was created such a sentiment in opposition to the practice of making grants for sectarian education, that Congress decided to discontinue such appropriations, formally declaring it "to be the settled policy of the government to hereafter make no appropriations whatever for education in any sectarian school."

This decision was acquiesced in by all the Protestants interested, but the Roman Catholics took exception to the act and set about to defeat it as far and as fully as possible. So successful have been their efforts that during all these years, from 1896 to the present year, 1915, they have continued to receive from the government for their mission schools, sums varying somewhat from

year to year, but averaging about one half their former annual allowance. For the present fiscal year ending June 30, according to figures furnished by the Indian Rights Association of Philadelphia, the government has paid to these schools a total of \$128,391.

The reader may ask how this could be done in the face of Congressional action before referred to. It was not done by direct legislation but under color of a twenty-year contract which expired on Feb. 10, 1910, or five years ago. But the expiration of the contract has not, up to the present time, put an end to these appropriations to Catholic Indian schools. Each Congress there has been an item

in the Indian Appropriation Bill something like the following, which was urged for passage through the Congress which adjourned March 4:—

For the support and maintenance of day and industrial schools among the Sioux Indians, including the erection and repairs of school buildings, \$200,000, to be expended under the agreement with said Indians in section seventeen of the Act of March second, eighteen hundred and eighty-nine, which agreement is hereby extended to and including June thirtieth, nineteen hundred and sixteen.

It is in this way the law and the declared intention of Congress, voicing the expressed will of the American people, have been violated and thwarted in the interests of sectarian education all these years.

True, the sum involved is not large, but the principle is an important one, and the facts given ought to serve to illustrate the necessity of eternal vigilance

on the part of every loyal American citizen—every citizen loyal to the principles of our government and of religious liberty. It was only by careful watching, and by most strenuous opposition on the part of a few Senators and Representatives that the same tactics did not succeed this year in extending a treaty that expired in 1890, so as to make it effective up to and including June 30, 1916.

We have no wish to censure the individual members of either the House or Senate who have from year to year voted for these appropriations. The fact is that many did this under protest (so to speak) of their own convictions; but a situation had been purposely created

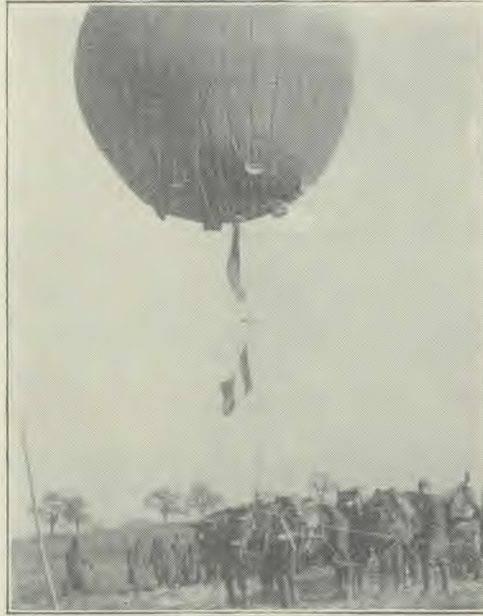


Photo by Underwood & Underwood, New York

#### DIRECTING ARTILLERY FIRE BY CAPTIVE BALLOON



that was, to say the least, very perplexing, and members of Congress felt that they must choose between the two evils. They doubtless acted conscientiously, and we attach no blame to them; but the whole thing argues strongly for the exercise of greater vigilance in preserving not only the letter but the spirit of our free institutions. Better some temporary hardship than that the safeguards of our liberties should be broken down.

It is only fair, however, to those who have opposed these appropriations to sectarian schools to say that it is positively denied by the Indian Rights Association that if such appropriations were held up, as one Senator expressed it, "it would leave the Sioux nation without any means of educating the rising generation." It

is positively stated by those who are in a position to know whereof they affirm, that "there is an abundance of day schools and boarding schools on the Sioux reservation" to meet all probable demands for nonsectarian education. It is to be hoped that since this question is again before the American people, it will be settled finally and settled right. Our government ought to be done at once and forever with such appropriations.

Because of the failure of the entire Indian Appropriation bill, the appropriations of last year are to be duplicated for the present year, and thus \$128,391 of government funds will be turned over to the Catholics for the support of their sectarian schools among the Indians.

C. P. B.

\*\*\*

## Denounces Arrests for Sunday Selling

### More Christian to Persuade Men Than Resort to Police Power

UNDER the above caption the Allentown (Pa.) *Morning Call*, of February 5, published the following article, written by Mr. A. R. Bell. It hits the nail squarely on the head, and we take pleasure in giving these principles a more extended publicity.

Editor *Morning Call*.

DEAR SIR: I noticed in your issue of yesterday an item of news from Emaus, stating that several business men of that place had been arrested for Sunday selling. I noticed, too, that the warrant under which these men were arrested was sworn out by an officer of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union.

Now the thing that seems out of place is the fact that all these prosecutions for Sunday selling, no matter where you find them, are brought about by organizations that should be the very last in all the world to do anything of this kind.

And then, too, consider the way they do it. The persons responsible for the arrests think it is a downright sin to sell goods on Sunday. But how did they accomplish the arrest of these men? I have been over to Emaus and interviewed the men involved, and I find that the same deceptive and contemptible plan was followed there that has been practiced in other places. They had one of their good Christian church members go from store to store, and

when nobody else was there buying, trap the storekeeper into what they consider sin by buying himself—in one place a can of corn, in another place some candy, in another place a cigar. In the last place he lighted the cigar and stood chatting with the storekeeper as with an old friend, and then, flushed with success at getting the man to sin, as they esteem it, he immediately uses this as evidence upon which the W. C. T. U. obtains a warrant for the storekeeper's arrest.

Just imagine the lowly Nazarene, whom these people profess to emulate, sending his disciples around among the stores in Jerusalem to tempt men to break the Sabbath so that he might have them arrested for Sabbath breaking. The very idea of the thing is repugnant to every sense of Christianity and justice.

Christians are in this world to persuade men. The gospel that they profess to minister to men has no other legitimate power than the power of love.

The power these Christians are using is the power of the police—the power of force.

Jesus 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."

Have these Christians used the power of persuasion on these men? And if they have, and failed, what then? Should an organization which professes to be Christian seek the help of the police to force men when per-



suasion fails? They ought to hide their heads in shame for doing such a decidedly carnal thing.

Again, Mr. Editor, this matter starts another train of thought that is pertinent right here. A Sunday law is a religious law. There never was a Sunday law enacted in all the history of the world but by religious influence. Take religion away from Sunday laws, and there would be no Sunday laws. Sunday is an institution of the church—a religious institution. But this government under which we live guarantees by the Constitution the absolute separation of church and state. The First Amendment to the Con-

stitution, when some one church is able to control more political power than the others, it would be consistent for it to seek the help of the state to enforce its own particular form of baptism, and by law compel men to be immersed instead of being sprinkled.

No, Mr. Editor, these very church people who are back of these prosecutions (and the church is back of it) would not for a moment agree to any such legislation. But one is just as consistent as the other. The state has no more right to force men to observe Sunday than it has to force them to pray.

This whole matter is decidedly unchristian.



Photo by Underwood & Underwood, New York

#### EMPERESS OF GERMANY REVIEWING THE RED CROSS

stitution, Article I, declares: "Congress shall make no law respecting the establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

Sunday being a religious institution, a church institution, the state has of right nothing whatever to do with it. And when the state compels men to observe Sunday, it joins hands with the church to enforce upon men a religious institution, which union is a wicked thing, both unchristian and unconstitutional.

If it is right and proper for the church to seek the help of the state to enforce the observance of Sunday, it would be right and proper for the church to seek the same help to enforce obedience to every other institution of the church.

Think of the state passing laws to compel men to celebrate the Lord's Supper, and to be baptized. And, again, following this to its

It is more, it is un-American and unconstitutional. It is subversive of good government. It is not in the interests of the church, for it would never make a Christian while the world stands. It is not in the interests of peace nor prosperity, and every lover of liberty ought to register his remonstrance against it.

And so say the editors of LIBERTY. The Christian church<sup>8</sup> was never in such danger as when Constantine began to make Christian practices compulsory; and that principle has put the stain of persecution upon every nation in the world. In our own country are being fashioned today the instruments of the same disastrous and unrighteous campaign. The combination of religious or-



ganizations to secure the enactment of laws that make religious practices compulsory is the most astonishing paradox of this wonderful century. In this century, when men had broken loose from ecclesiastical tyranny, such wonders have been achieved as would have seemed to our ancestors superhuman. This has been accomplished because men in this century have been free to think, to worship, to write, and to speak. In the Dark Ages, the midnight of the world, such liberties were unknown, and consequently such achievements were unknown. It is, therefore, with the utmost

apprehension that we look upon such propositions as that of the Federal Council of the Churches to secure such legislation as it demands through the compelling power of its united influence; or upon the demands of the Catholic Church for legislation subversive of the freedom of the press; or upon the demands of the National Reformers for such an alteration of the national Constitution as will place Christian rites and ordinances on "an undeniably legal basis in the fundamental law of the land." Against this we protest in the name of justice and Christianity. C. M. S.

\*\*\*

## More Legislation for the Church

ACCORDING to a report in the Wilmington (Del.) *Morning News*, of March 12, the lower house of the Delaware Legislature passed a bill on March 11, which had previously passed the senate, making Good Friday a legal holiday.

Representative Hall stated, as his reason for calling up the bill, that Good Friday was "one of the most solemn days of the year," and he was "sorry that the bill did not go further and include Easter Monday as a holiday also."

Representative Bendler said the holiday proposed was "not a holiday for getting drunk, as some persons do on holidays, but a day of devotion to the divine Saviour who gave his life for us."

Representative Downard said he had received a protest from the Second Baptist Church against the bill because of a fear that it would bring church and state too close together. "But," said Representative Downard, "I don't see any great danger in that becoming as it was in years long ago." That is certainly a "downward" tendency; and the most regrettable part of it is that, through such campaigns as that carried on by the National Reform Association and the Lord's Day Alliance, the percentage of Downards is increasing in our legislatures, both State and national. We honor the

Baptists for their protests against such a measure. The tendency of such legislation is seen in the expressed wish of one of the legislators that the bill had gone further into religious things. First, Sunday is made a compulsory sabbath. Then Good Friday is made a legal holiday, which is to be "a day of devotion to the divine Saviour who gave his life for us;" and then the legislator "is sorry the bill did not go further and include Easter Monday." The next step will be to make Easter Monday a legal holiday, and express a wish that infant baptism be made compulsory, and so on and so on.

It is worthy of note that this Mr. Downard who urged the passage of this bill did not see any danger in a return to the conditions of "long ago"—a union of church and state. This remark is a plain indication that Mr. Downard saw the trend of such legislation. His further remark that he would "not allow any man to outvie" him "in honoring Jesus Christ" shows that he understood the legislation to be religious in its nature—done for the honor of Jesus Christ. When the legislation of the country is in the hands of men who see no danger in a union of church and state; when they knowingly legislate upon religious



things; when they put the ordinances and practices of the church into the code of the state for enforcement upon all—it is time for the people to enter earnest protest against the repudiation of American principles by the people's lawmakers. There may be those in this country who would welcome a return to the intolerant principles and practices of long ago; but it will be a sad day for America when those principles of medieval tyr-

other law be passed making it a criminal offense not to attend church on that new religious holiday? When we have entered upon this "downward" path, there is no logical terminal this side compulsory church attendance and a national Inquisition. It is time the American people were arousing to the danger that is threatening the country from the activities of such organizations as we have named and from the church and state



Copyright Underwood & Underwood, New York

#### GERMAN MACHINE GUN DETACHMENT GETTING INTO ACTION

anny are carried to their logical conclusion in this country.

Representative Bendler did not call this legislation for Good Friday what the National Reformers and Lord's Day Alliance leaders call the laws for an enforced Sunday,—a "mere police regulation,"—but honestly admitted that it was to be "a day of devotion to the divine Saviour." Let the organizations named admit now with equal honesty the religious nature of the laws they are demanding for Sunday.

Mr. Bendler's declaration that the Good Friday holiday was "not a holiday for getting drunk, as some persons do on holidays, but a day of devotion," etc., raises the query at once as to how he will enforce that feature of it. Will an-

propensities of a class of legislators who have never learned, or have forgotten, the heaven-given principles upon which the nation was founded. C. M. S.

\*\*\*

#### "Mixes Religion and Politics"

UNDER this heading the Washington *Star*, of March 10, had the following:—

A plea for more active participation in civic work by men's organizations of churches was voiced by District Commissioner Louis Brownlow in an address last night before the Men's Society of Mount Vernon Place Methodist Episcopal Church.

Pointing out that citizens' associations are concerned principally with promoting the interests of the sections which they represent, the commissioner stated that there is a big opportunity for men's church bodies to gen-



eralize, as it were, in city politics with the object of bringing about a general improvement in sociological conditions. He urged that it is the duty of church people to fight for better civic conditions, not alone within the church one day in the week, but out in the city seven days in the week.

Commissioner Brownlow said that, although there is sometimes criticism of the mixture of religion and politics, he is one of those who believes that politics does not hurt religion and that religion never fails to improve politics.

The only criticism likely to arise over "the mixture of religion and politics" is when it is sought to accomplish religious

ends by political methods. Religion that is worth having will make him who has it conscientious in all the affairs of life. The true Christian will be honest alike in his private business and civic and political rights and duties. But it is equally true that the Christian who realizes the purely spiritual nature of Christianity will not seek to use the power of the state to enforce Christian duties. The church as such has no place in politics. The weapons of her "warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds." C. P. B.

\*\*\*

## Attempted Religious Legislation Defeated

THE attempt of one great religious organization to vitiate the federal constitutional guaranties by restricting the freedom of speech and of the press, is not the only attack that has been made upon the immunities guaranteed in the First Amendment of the federal Constitution. Six religious bills were introduced into the last session of Congress which aimed to compel the inhabitants of the District of Columbia, under heavy penalties, to observe Sunday. These bills were prepared and fostered by religious organizations, and introduced, some directly and others indirectly, at their request and instigation. We are glad that we are able to report at the close of this session of Congress that not one of these bills was even reported out of committee, and all died a natural death on the fourth day of March. Tens of thousands of petitions were sent to Congress, from Maine to California, against these bills for compulsory Sunday observance. This was accomplished largely through the activities of the many branch organizations of the Religious Liberty Association, whose object is to prevent all kinds of religious legislation, whether promoted by Catholic or Protestant churches. We are glad also to be able to report the defeat in both houses of Congress of an amendment to the Indian Appropriation Bill,

which was introduced and most strenuously defended by Catholic Congressmen. This amendment provided for a government appropriation of \$200,000 for Catholic schools. The matter is quite fully set forth in another article in this issue. This is the first year since the days of President Grant that Congress has actually refused to pass a measure directly appropriating public funds for sectarian school purposes. The failure of the amendment, and later the failure of the whole Indian Appropriation Bill in the last hours of Congress, made it necessary to extend the appropriations of last year over the present year. Thus these sectarian schools receive for another year their support out of the public treasury, but only because of the failure of the entire Indian Appropriation Bill. It is an indication of progress along right lines that both houses of Congress refused to pass the amendment demanded by the Roman Church for the support of its Indian schools.

We are also able to report the defeat of scores of drastic Sunday bills in the various State legislatures, principally through the efforts of the Religious Liberty Association. Practically all these bills were prepared by religious organizations and defended before the legislative committees by clergymen, and we are very sorry to say in most cases by



Protestant clergymen. There is hardly a State legislature which has not had two or three of these Sunday bills introduced this session. In California, where they have no Sunday law at all, a Sunday law constitutional amendment was referred to the people for acceptance or rejection. The people of California expressed their opposition to this kind of medieval church legislation by casting

457,890 votes against the amendment. The measure went down in defeat with a majority of 167,211 votes against it. Reports have come in from Oklahoma, Missouri, North Carolina, Oregon, Texas, Indiana, Ohio, California, Utah, and Colorado, stating that Sunday bills have been defeated before these legislatures. "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty."

C. S. L.



*Photo by Underwood & Underwood, New York*

THE MISSION OF MERCY AMONG THE CONTENDING NATIONS  
American hospital and American ambulances at Neuilly, France.

## The Inalienable Rights of Man

THERE are human rights which no king or government can lawfully dissipate or successfully deny. God has endowed all men with certain inalienable rights. No king, emperor, president, or prince bestows these rights; they are the gifts of God to all mankind alike. Despotism may invade these rights, but justice still maintains them. The United States Government has the power, if it had the disposition, to deprive its citizens of even those rights specifically mentioned in the Declaration of Independence,—the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Yet the fact

that the government has the power, if it should wish to be despotic in its disposition, to deprive its citizens of those rights, does not prove that it is justified in doing so.

Governments were ordained to protect the natural rights of all men and not to deprive any man of his rights. It is not true, as it is often asserted, that all men have to give up and surrender some of their natural rights when they enter the social compact. No government has a right to ask any man to surrender any rights which are his own by nature, without his consent or without offering



an equivalent in compensation, excepting, of course, penal punishments for convictions of criminal acts. An upright, honest citizen should enjoy equal rights with every other citizen, irrespective of numbers, creed, or color, before the law of the land. Equality of rights is the first of rights, and in the sight of the law there should be no respect of persons, whether they be king or pope, nobleman or peasant, rich or poor, Chris-

ment upon the most sacred rights of every citizen. No citizen's rights are secure so long as a government dares to trample underfoot a single right of any man. The rights of all are secure only as we make secure the rights of each.

In a republic each and every citizen is a sovereign. He rules his own spirit and shapes his own destiny. He is the architect of his own fate or fortune. His course through life is in harmony with

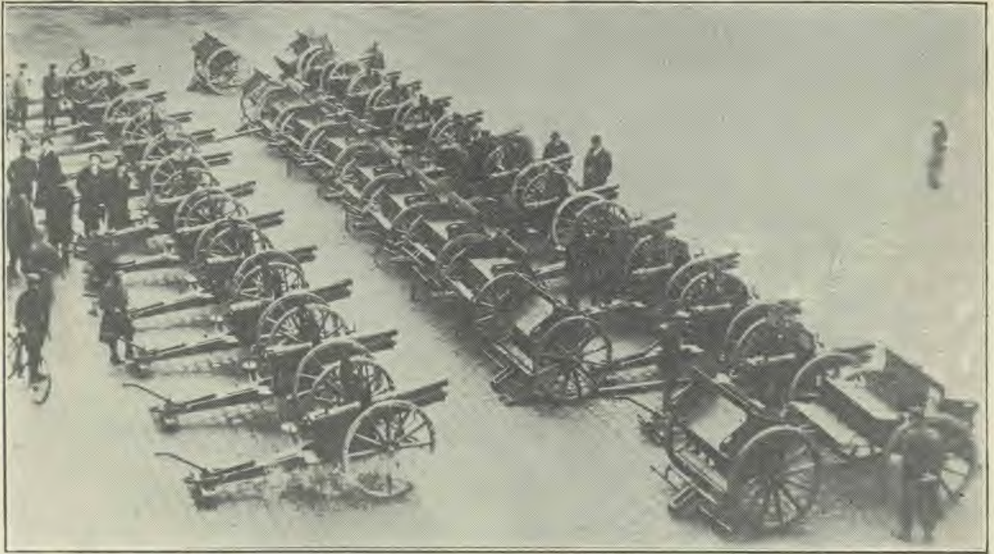


Photo by Underwood & Underwood, New York

#### A PARK OF MODERN QUICK-FIRING ARTILLERY

tian, Jew, or infidel, red, white, or black.

The right of choice is divine, and every man should be protected in its free exercise so long as the exercise of his choice does not interfere with the equal rights of his neighbor. The right to choose a religion and to practice its tenets and functions so long as the equal rights of others are not invaded, is the most important of all man's natural and divine rights, and without this right all other rights are insecure.

Every attempt on the part of religious organizations to secure to themselves special favors from the government by combined influence and pressure, which could not be granted to all alike, no matter how few in number, should be instantly detected as an unlawful encroach-

ment upon his own choosing. His conscience is his monitor, and absolute in its own sphere of operation. It is the duty of the state to see that he conducts himself as a good, virtuous citizen in civil matters, and that he is protected in the unmolested enjoyment of all his constitutional immunities and God-given privileges, whether he is religious or nonreligious. Governments, as conceived in harmony with the divine economy, are not religious, but purely civil organizations, and should deal only with man's relation to man. The civil government has no Scriptural or civil right to compel any citizen to worship the true God in harmony with the first commandment; it has no right to prohibit any man from making images and worshipping them in violation of the second



commandment; it has no right to legislate on blasphemy against God and compel men to observe the letter and spirit of the third commandment; and it has no right to compel people to observe the Sabbath of the Lord. This is the Lord's day, and purely a religious institution. It would be just as proper to compel

people to observe the Lord's Supper, the Lord's baptism, and the Lord's Prayer by civil statute as the Lord's Day. All these are duties Christians owe to God, but not to Cæsar, and should be found only in the church ritual, not on the statute books of the state. Christ is the author of inalienable rights. C. S. L.



## An Evil Threatening Our Times

ONE of the most dangerous evils threatening our times is the growing demand for religious legislation. This demand is being urged more and more, and in some instances governments are beginning to yield to it.

Many are led to believe that the remedy for the present widespread irreligion lies through human legislation, and fail to realize that the use of force in religion is inconsistent with the gospel of Christ, and that in the end religious legislation means religious persecution.

There needs to be a better and more general understanding of the great principles underlying human rights and liberties. These principles, which would insure peace on earth and good will among men, ought not to be ignored nor forgotten.

The principles of liberty are living, ennobling principles. The people of all nations either enjoy the blessings of freedom, or they feel the oppressive hand of intolerance and persecution.

To keep these principles fresh in the minds of the people is the only sure way of securing the blessing accruing from them, and perpetuating these blessings to the race. It has not yet ceased to be true that "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty."

Religious liberty is safe only while a knowledge of its principles is familiar to the people. To this fact alone is due the existence of laws guaranteeing religious freedom in many of the modern governments of Europe, America, and elsewhere. Through the great struggles of the past for freedom, the people of

these lands became familiar with the principles, and public sentiment demanded their recognition and expression in the laws of the land.

Again demands are being made in different lands for legislation in religious things. Organizations have been formed, and dangerous movements are on foot, calling for the enactment and enforcement of laws which will make religious observance compulsory, and failure to comply a crime punishable by the state.

We hear of such organizations as the National Reform Association, the Christian Electors' Association, the International Reform Bureau, the American Sabbath Union, the Lord's Day Alliance, the Sunday Rest League, and the like, all church organizations, and all having one object, that of establishing and enforcing religion by human law.

Although aware that there is not perfect agreement concerning religious beliefs and practices even among those who profess religion, the majority, they say, should rule in religion,—rule not by the power of argument and persuasion, but by the power of law and compulsion. The state, they hold, should "protect" religious institutions, particularly the Sunday sabbath, by requiring all to observe such institutions. They desire that the State shall become the subservient instrument of the church, and do its bidding.

In asking that religious observances shall be made compulsory, they do not see that they are working upon wrong principles. Neither Christ nor his apostles ever appealed to the state to enforce



their teachings. When any religion becomes a religion of civil law, it ceases to be a religion of love. True religious reforms are accomplished, "not by might, nor by power, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord of hosts." Zech. 4:6.

The success of the present movement for religious legislation means the uniting of church and state, the subversion of civil government, the decline of piety, faith, and genuine religion, and the end of civil and religious freedom. If it succeeds, the rights of conscience will be invaded, religious persecution will be re-

and his companions, will not sacrifice conscience and the truth in deference to popular errors. History will be repeated. It is hard for men to learn that the same rights which they claim for themselves they are in duty bound to extend to others, however widely they may differ from them.

No man himself desires to be coerced by others as to what he shall believe and practice, and no one ought therefore to assume or claim the right to coerce another in this respect. The liberty which each desires for himself he should freely



Photo by Underwood & Underwood, New York

EVEN THE CHURCHES DO NOT ESCAPE THE RUINOUS BLASTS OF WAR

vived, and, in the face of oppression, men will again have to choose whether they will obey God or men.

Any movement, however mild and Christian at first in appearance, which seeks to advance religion by religious legislation, will, when fully developed, manifest the same intolerance and oppression that have prevailed in past ages. Human councils then assumed the prerogatives of Deity, crushing under their despotic power liberty of conscience and freedom of speech and action. Imprisonment, exile, and death followed for those who opposed their dictates. If this principle shall again be legislated into power, the fires of persecution will be rekindled against those who, like Daniel

grant to others. For each to demand his own rights is not the basis of true liberty. Each must recognize and respect the equal rights of others, before freedom is insured. This is the golden rule of life,—“Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them.” This is the true panacea for bigotry, intolerance, and persecution.

C. M. S.

\*\*\*

No free people can lose their liberties while they are jealous of liberty. But the liberties of the freest people are in danger when they set up symbols of liberty as fetishes, worshiping the symbol instead of the principle it represents.—*Louis F. Post.*



# EDITORIAL BRIEFS

THE religion from heaven was founded upon mercy; its precepts were based on love; its emissaries were to employ only the powers of persuasion; their work was to set all men free, and their message was to be an announcement of glad tidings of great joy to all people. But men have made "void the word of God by their traditions."

\*\*\*

SOME seem to be perfectly happy when they can lord it over others; they are satisfied and contented so long as they are free and unmolested; they are willing that religion should be established by law, so long as it is their religion; they are in favor of free speech and a free press, so long as it is their speech and press; but they are decidedly opposed to granting similar immunities to their opponents or their less fortunate brothers.

\*\*\*

WHEN a man does not want to change his evil ways nor give up his secret devisings, he will hail with delight any movement whose object it is to prevent public exposure, free discussion, and the promiscuous circulation of the product of the press. It seems strikingly significant that the emissaries of the Catholic Church should have been the only ones who sent petitions to Congress and the Postmaster-General favoring the three bills which two Catholic Congressmen introduced into Congress to restrict the freedom of the press. The Catholic Church is not the only organization which suffers from the abuses of the free press; many others are suffering equally from the abuses of a Catholic free press; yet the Catholic Church seems to be the only organization that is dissatisfied with the American system of government, that requires an investigation into the charges and a public trial

by jury to prove or disprove the guilt before redress can be obtained. All other religions as well as secular organizations are satisfied with an appeal to our courts in order to obtain redress. But the Catholic Church desires to place the whole matter in the hands of one man, from whose decisions there can be no appeal, and clothe him with absolute power over the press. American citizens registered a vigorous protest against this one-man-power absolutism, and we are glad to give considerable space in this issue of the magazine to the Congressional report of the hearing upon this important question.

C. S. L.

\*\*\*

## "The Pro-Papal Program"

"A MAN who cannot discuss his religion has none; a man who is afraid to discuss it has none," said the Hon. W. B. Heyburn, in a speech in the United States Senate, May 26, 1911. The object of this magazine is to stand for the defense of the civil and religious rights of each individual and of every religious organization, irrespective of creed, color, or nationality. But when any religious organization seeks to deprive other organizations of the same rights that it claims for itself, we are bound in justice to raise our voice in protest against such unfair encroachments. It is very evident from the reports published in Catholic periodicals, from the facts developed at the Congressional hearing before the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, and from the petitions which Catholics have been sending to the Post-office Department and to Representatives in Congress favoring the three bills which aim to establish a one-man censorship of the press, that the Catholic societies are waging a concerted warfare upon the freedom of the press. The Catholic press calls this effort to restrict



the freedom of the press "the Pro-papal Program." None but Catholics have thus far thrown their influence in favor of the three "Pro-papal" bills introduced into Congress. All Protestants and nonreli-

gionists are working in opposition to these bills. In this matter the Catholics have raised a national issue over a religious controversy, and have been the first to introduce it into Congress. C. S. L.



## Legislator Condemns Action of Churchmen — "Go Home and Preach"

THE *Daily Oklahoman*, Feb. 23, 1915, gave an interesting account of a hearing on a Sunday bill before a legislative committee of the Oklahoma Legislature. This Sunday bill was prepared by the Ministerial Alliance, introduced at their request, and defended by them. We only wish we had more legislators of the Oklahoma type who are not afraid to administer a fitting rebuke to churchmen when they clamor for civil aid and power in our legislative halls. By this we do not mean that we are standing as the advocates of the theaters or the moving picture shows operating on Sunday or any other day, but what we oppose is the wrong way of doing the right thing. It seems strange that some of the ambassadors of Jesus Christ should depart so far from their divine mission that a state official is compelled to repeat, by way of remembrance, the great commission to them.

The *Oklahoman* gives the following account of the hearing:—

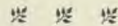
"Don't come to this legislature, asking for legislation that will put the moving picture shows out of business. Go home and preach the living gospel of Jesus Christ, which is stronger than hell." So declared Representative Thomas F. McLemore, of Beckham County, to a large delegation of local preachers who appeared before a senate committee Monday night in advocacy of the enactment of the law proposing the closing of moving picture theaters on Sunday. For four years Mr. McLemore was a minister in the Christian Church.

"Jesus Christ has said, 'Upon this rock I will build my church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.' You have the church and the great God of the universe on your side. Make use of them, and you will not have to ask the picture shows to be closed," continued Mr. McLemore.

It was after several ministers and others interested in the passage of the bill had addressed the committee, giving their views of why the bill should become a law, that Mr. McLemore spoke. The weight of their argument was that the running of picture shows on Sunday was a moral wrong, and that it was no more right that a picture show should be run on Sunday than any other business enterprise.

The bill provides that picture shows, however, may be conducted in churches on Sunday. "It is purely an economic proposition" said Mr. McLemore. "The preacher wants the people to come to his church on Sunday, because the larger the congregation the larger the collection. The moving picture man wants the people to come to his moving picture show on Sunday, so that his receipts will be larger."

Representatives of organized labor and the moving picture interests urged the defeat of the bill. . . . It was stated that the bill was prepared and introduced at the request of the Ministerial Alliance. Not a word was spoken during the discussion of the bill that tended to reflect on the class of pictures that are usually shown.



### "Adventists Oppose Laws on Religion"

UNDER the above heading, the *Daily Oklahoman*, of Feb. 25, 1915, published the following memorial drawn up by the Seventh-day Adventist Conference of the State of Oklahoma and presented to the Oklahoma Legislature:—

To the Honorable Members of the Oklahoma Legislature.

HONORED SIRS: The Seventh-day Adventist Conference of the State of Oklahoma herewith presents its solemn protest against senate bill No. 402, or any other bill which seeks to recognize the observance of one day above another. Our reasons for making this protest are as follows:—

1. We wish to emphasize that we do not



make this protest out of any sympathy toward the shows, theaters, etc., mentioned in the bill. As a people we do not patronize such places, and were they to receive no more support from other people proportionately than from us, all such places would fall into disuse.

2. We do contend, however, that there can be no sound reason given for the prohibition of any business upon one day in the week while admitting its lawfulness on every other day, except it be the religious nature of the day. It is solely the religious regard for the day which calls forth this bill. It was born in religion; it is supported by the church and churchmen. We say emphatically if the things prohibited by this bill be evil, they should be prohibited not on Sunday, but on all days. The law has no more right to prohibit legitimate business on Sunday because the church demands it than it has to prohibit church services on show day, were the shows to demand this.

#### Foundation of Bill

3. Religion being the sole foundation of this bill, we protest against it as an entering wedge, opening the way for more drastic legislation, such as changing majorities in the future may demand. Any such law must be a dangerous infringement on the Protestant and American principle of religious liberty. We plead for a strict adherence to the United States Constitution, which says, "Congress shall make no laws respecting the establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." Our own State constitution declares that the United States Constitution is the supreme law of the land. It also provides that "no inhabitant of this State shall ever be molested in regard to his or her mode of religious worship."

4. We believe all such laws, and the demand for such, to be a marked evidence of apostasy from the Protestant principle of absolute freedom in matters of religion. True Protestantism with the gospel warns of the results of sin, and entreats sinners to repent. Rome, on the contrary, threatened and persecuted to death those who dissented from her decrees.

5. Sunday laws are not only un-American, but unchristian. Nowhere did Christ or the apostles seek to enforce their teaching by civil penalties.

6. Sunday laws are unscriptural. Sunday is not the Sabbath nor Lord's day. The Bible nowhere commands nor teaches its observance. It commands the observance of Satur-

day, the seventh day. Sunday was anciently dedicated to false worship, and was adopted during the days of apostasy, despite its heathen origin and unscriptural foundation. Chafe as he may under this declaration of truth, yet no Sunday keeper can extricate himself from this unwelcome fact.

7. We protest against this bill because we understand this nation-wide effort for the enforcement of Sunday (an unscriptural Catholic institution) would result sooner or later in another general council and an image in America to despotic Rome. Rome was wounded by the application of true Protestant principles. Would not the forsaking of Protestant principles be her healing? Seeing these dangers and believing the Word which

predicts them, we therefore most solemnly urge the members of the legislature to repudiate this, another attack upon the liberty of conscience in America.

Seventh-day Adventists have felt the effect of Sunday laws in various States. A resident of this city spent six days and nights in a Pennsylvania jail for planting 100 hills of corn on Sunday. In 1895 eight members of this faith were worked

in a chain gang along with criminals for no other crime than keeping the ten commandments as they read. Whether the right to legislate on the Sabbath or any other religious question is admitted, such a law would open the way for religious bigotry to stir the smoldering embers of persecution, and it is impossible to set a bound beyond which it may not go.

JOHN ISAACS, *President*;

WILLIAM VOTH, *Secretary*;

I. A. CRANE, *Rel. Lib. Sec.*

\*\*\*

### Clergyman Opposes Sunday Bill

On February 21, the Rev. Clarence J. Harris, pastor of the Unitarian church of Oklahoma City, preached a sermon on the Oklahoma Sunday Bill, from which we take the following, and commend it to the attention of our readers:—

I am opposed to this law because no one sect has a right to compel a law which infringes on the rights of another. Jews and many Christians observe Saturday, but not once have they tried to force legislation to stop the amusement and business of others



DOOR OF THE PALACE OF THE SULTAN,  
CONSTANTINOPLE, TURKEY



on Saturday. Other church people in this city observe Sunday in their own way, while many people use it purely for rest and not worship at all.

I am opposed to the law, as it is a confession on the part of the churches demanding it that unless they have legislative help their work will go down. However, closing up all avenues of pleasure does not mean that all these people will go to church. It does mean, however, that a gulf wider than that which separated Dives and Lazarus will be made, to the lasting injury of the church.

I am opposed to it again, as it looks like a legislative sanction of Sunday religion, the shame of all religion. One day a week for worship will never overcome six days of wrongdoing or inhumanity.

I am opposed to this law again, for there is no authority whatever in the Bible for the Christian's Sunday. If we are going to resort to the real, legally instituted day of rest,

it is Saturday, and every individual working on Saturday breaks the Bible day of rest and worship. One of the most prominent Catholic bishops of New York offered a reward of \$1,000 to any one who would by the Bible prove he must keep Sunday holy. He still has his money. . . .

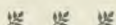
#### Cannot Make People Take Religion

You can drive people to church, perhaps, but you cannot make them take religion. A chaplain at a penitentiary has a faithful audience, and often a growing one, but there is much about it unsatisfactory. It is little pleasure and profit to preach love to a gagged mortal.

What is bad on Sunday is just as bad any other day, and what is fit for a week day is fit for Sunday. . . . The church can stand without legislative support; if it cannot, the divineness of its mission is doubtful.

So says LIBERTY.

C. S. L.



## Congressional Discussion on the Establishment of Religious Freedom for the Philippine Government

HON. WM. H. MURRAY, a Representative in Congress from the State of Oklahoma, and formerly president of the Oklahoma Constitutional Convention and speaker of the first legislature, offered the following amendment to the house bill which provided for the establishment of religious freedom in the Philippine constitution:—

That H. R. 18459 be amended as follows:—

On page 5, line 9, strike out the period, insert a semicolon, and add the following: "and no religious test shall be required for the exercise of civil or political rights. No public money or property shall ever be appropriated, applied, donated, or used, directly or indirectly, for the use, benefit, or support of any sect, church, denomination, or system of religion, or for the use, benefit, or support of any priest, preacher, minister, or other religious teacher or dignitary or sectarian institution as such. Polygamous or plural marriages are forever prohibited."

We have taken the following remarks of the Hon. Wm. H. Murray upon his amendment from the *Congressional Record* of Oct. 6, 1914:—

This amendment, varying just a bit from the old original statute written by Thomas Jefferson, and found in the constitution of Virginia of 1830, and which has trickled down since in all the Virginia constitutions, should find lodgment wherever a government of liberty is to be found. . . . Freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of religion—all these are essential to every government of liberty, whatever may be its form. Yet in the grant of the freedom of speech there is danger of an abuse of that right, but the abuse must be accepted in order to get the larger and the superior right. So also in the grant of the freedom of the press. The press may abuse and slander the most patriotic and honorable public servant, and no doubt every member here has felt the sting of that abuse. And yet the larger liberty is so essential that we accept the evil consequences flowing therefrom.

Religious liberty may, as it has been sometimes argued, encourage heresy, but we must accept the heresy in order to get that larger liberty. Without that liberty there can be no intelligent solution of the great problem of the beyond. Whatever your view may be or mine, we certainly have the right in all government unrestrained to exercise that view.

Pardon my saying that I hold to that philosophy of creed that would comprehend "living the life," and that no function, individual,



or organization can step in and take the place of personal responsibility and personal guilt—a complete free moral agency.

I believe with Sir William Hamilton, the great Scotch mental philosopher, that unless you recognize "free moral agency" and the responsibility of personal guilt, you have no basis from which to reason that there is an all-wise Creator at all. However, others believe differently. There are those that believe that an appointed official of the church, and still others that the organization of the church itself, may be the mediator between the guilty individual sinner and the all-wise God whom he is commanded to serve; and each of those views is entitled to the same consideration of the state as I am to mine, and liberty each to follow his own course is the only safe and sane way by which the institutions of men may leave every individual with good conscience to commune with God in his own way.

Scarcely any church or creed now extant but what has undergone persecution—persecution by one another. So we cannot determine in a legal way which is right and which should become the church of the state. Our Pilgrim Fathers fled from persecution of 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; and the burning of witches at Salem is one of the dark and unpardonable episodes in all our career. Roger Williams, fleeing from another sect, who themselves had been persecuted, went into Rhode Island to found a new commonwealth; and we are familiar with the early history of Maryland, when the tide in numerical numbers changed and shifted between different creeds, both of whom had been persecuted in Europe. So the separation of church and state is just as essential as the freedom of worship, in order that no partiality shall be shown and that each may flourish or fade in popular opinion before the court of an enlightened popular judgment. This makes all free and guarantees the continuance of each and all.

The liberty of every man to exercise his own views, without partiality shown to either by the state, tends to eradicate the weeds of fanaticism and of prejudice and raises the human race to a higher standard. I had rather believe, Mr. Chairman, in the larger view of the exercise of the right of every individual to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience.

If there be those who contend that a Catholic or Protestant, a Jew or Gentile, or a follower of Confucius or Zoroaster, should not have political as well as civil rights, I do not agree with them. If there be those who claim

that because of membership in either of these creeds such membership best entitles them to political rights, I do not agree with them. In other words, Mr. Chairman, we must hold to the doctrine of freedom in forms of worship, freedom of worship, and freedom from worship, together with the corollary that every individual shall have the right to contribute his mite to any creed of his choosing; and, on the other hand, that he shall be relieved from compulsory contribution, either by tithes or taxes, to any creed whatsoever. This, Mr. Chairman, is my view of a nobler liberty that must be adhered to rigidly in every well-regulated government; and this

C. S. L.



Photo by Clinedinst, Washington, D. C.

HON. WM. H. MURRAY, OF OKLAHOMA

is the first step in all political, civil, and religious liberty.

\*\*\*

## Worse Than the Gallivan Bill

MR. F. J. RYAN, a member of the House of Representatives of the Illinois State Legislature, on March 3 introduced House Bill No. 56, which makes a fiercer and more drastic attack on the free press than even the Gallivan bill contemplated to accomplish through Congress. We have no doubt that the Ryan bill will suffer, at the hands of the good people of the State of Illinois, a fate similar



to that of the three Congressional bills which aimed to muzzle the freedom of the press.

The Ryan bill would prohibit the manufacture, sale, exhibition, or giving away of "any obscene and indecent, scurrilous or defamatory book, pamphlet, paper, drawing, lithograph," etc., or "any article of indecent or immoral use, or of a defamatory character . . . tending to blacken the memory of the dead or to impeach the honesty, integrity, virtue, or reputation of any living person, class

company, or person connected therewith, or of any common carrier, or other person," nor is he allowed to give "written or oral information stating where, how, or of whom such . . . defamatory articles or things can be purchased or otherwise obtained in any manner with the intent of having the same conveyed by mail or express or in any other manner; or if any person shall knowingly or willfully receive the same" for that purpose, "he shall be confined in the county jail not more than six months, or be fined not



MAIN BRIDGE ACROSS THE GOLDEN HORN, CONSTANTINOPLE

or body of persons, or of any sect, creed, or nationality, not existing in violation of the constitution or laws, thereby tending to expose him or them to public hatred, contempt, ridicule, or financial injury;" nor can any publishing house or private party print "any circular, handbill, card, book, pamphlet, advertisement, or notice of any kind, nor shall give information orally stating when, how, or of whom or by what means any of the said . . . defamatory articles and things hereinbefore mentioned can be purchased or otherwise obtained."

No person is allowed to deposit any of the above-prohibited articles or publications "in any post office within this State, or place in charge of any express

less than one hundred dollars nor more than one thousand dollars for each offense — one half of said fine to be paid to the informer upon whose evidence the person offending shall be convicted and one half to the school fund of the county in which the said conviction is obtained."

This bill needs no comments other than that it carries its own condemnation upon the face of it. The same organizations that supported the Fitzgerald and Gallivan bills are fostering the Ryan bill, and yet these same organizations are raising the query, "Why all this present agitation about Catholic organizations dominating politics?" The investigating committee to find the reason ought not to have much difficulty in this matter.



The Ryan bill is, if possible, more drastic and comprehensive than the Gallivan bill. The same arguments which were made against the three Congressional bills as reported in this issue, should be repeated at the hearing of the Ryan bill before the Illinois Legislature, because of the un-American, unpatriotic, and unchristian principles and methods involved in such legislation.

C. S. L.

\*\*\*

### Maryland Citizens Highly Indignant

THE citizens of Prince Georges County, Maryland, are highly indignant because of the Puritanical Sunday blue law crusade which Sheriff Hardy has been carrying on for the past six months. The sheriff has been enforcing the Sunday blue laws, enacted in 1723 under Lord Baltimore's proprietary government, which have never been repealed. The penalty is the only thing that has been amended since 1723. The fines used to be, for the first violation, "200 pounds of tobacco," for the second violation, "imprisonment in the stocks," or the boring of a hole through the tongue with a hot iron; and for the third violation, death. But now the penalty is a money fine or imprisonment in jail.

All manner of labor and recreation is now prohibited on Sunday. You cannot take a drive, ride a horse, or take a walk, unless it is to church, on that day. The law does not permit the running of trains, street cars, liveries, boats, or the currying of horses and cleaning of sidewalks on Sunday. You cannot sell any of the necessaries of life except milk and ice, which may be delivered only "to regular customers" without pay. Nothing can be given away free on Sunday that has any commercial value, not even "candy or mineral water." A person cannot get any medicine from a drug store without "a *bona fide* prescription from a physician." The Sunday newspapers are also put under the ban. The sheriff, at the instigation of certain cler-

gymen, has enforced most of the provisions of this old blue law.

Some of the exasperated citizens of Prince Georges County have held several indignation meetings, and have organized an Anti-Blue-Law Association, whose object it is to launch a campaign for the repeal of these drastic Sunday laws of 1723. They are planning to nominate and elect men to the Maryland Legislature who are pledged to the repeal of these laws. They are now conducting an extensive system of education upon this subject, and fully expect to turn public sentiment in favor of their campaign. Many prominent citizens have pledged their support to the movement.

C. S. L.

\*\*\*

CONGRESSMAN R. P. HOBSON, whose great speech in Congress on temperance has won many to the temperance cause, is planning to send that masterly address into practically every home in the nation. The expense involved in an undertaking of this kind will amount to about \$150,000. How many of our readers would be glad to see that splendid speech in the homes of the American people, educating old and young upon the questions involved in the temperance issue? You can insure its entrance into a hundred homes by sending one dollar to the editor of LIBERTY. All money received for this purpose will be receipted for, and turned over at once to, Mr. Hobson. We urge our readers to contribute what they can, and thus help to free our country from the blighting curse of the liquor traffic.

\*\*\*

THE next meeting of the National Federation of Patriotic Societies will be held next October in San Francisco. The authorities of the Panama Exposition have offered the use of their main auditorium for this gathering, and it is planned to run special trains across the continent for the benefit of those who will attend. An immense delegation is expected at this patriotic convention. Send five cents postage for booklet and letter of particulars to the National President, D. J. Reynolds, 424 Plymouth Building, Minneapolis, Minn.



# The Sunday Law Agitation in America

## California Refuses to Revive the Blue Laws

FRANK A. COFFIN

AMERICA'S first Sunday law, one of the original blue laws of Virginia, enacted in 1610, is of special interest just now because of the persistent nationwide agitation favoring such laws. As found in the musty records of those early colonial times, the ancient law reads:—

"Every man and woman shall repair in the morning to the divine service and sermons preached upon the Sabbath day, and in the afternoon to divine service, and catechizing, upon pain for the first fault to lose their provision and the allowance for the whole week following; for the second, to lose the same allowance, and also be whipped; and for the third, to suffer death."

This law of Puritan times shows the real object of all Sunday legislation,—compulsory church attendance and the coercing of the conscience by the police power. It shows also the lengths to which religious bigotry will go in forcing its tenets upon all with the aid of sheriffs and constables, when it has the power.

The blue laws of Virginia were passed at the time when the plantations of the colonists held all things in common, so that it was easy to cut off all supplies in case of disobedience to the religio-civil statutes. Nonattendance at church was not the only crime of those early days. All must attentively listen to the sermon, and a smart blow upon the head from the tithingman's stick served to remind the sleepy pewholder that duty demanded wide-open eyes and a form erect, even if the sermon was tedious. Nor was this all. Blasphemy was forbidden in 1610, a bodkin being thrust through the tongue upon the second offense. Should the recalcitrant blaspheme a third time, he was to "be brought to a martial court, and there receive censure of death."

Between 1659 and 1693 the Virginia Assembly passed acts compelling parents to have their children baptized, declaring

the meetings of Quakers unlawful, and providing punishment for the master of any vessel who brought Quakers into the community. Indeed, Quakers already there were legislated against, provision being made for their imprisonment until they should leave the country. To return was a breach of the law. The penalty for the first or second offense of this kind was mild, but death was the sentence meted out to those who returned a third time. Yet the Quakers were neither brawlers, nor thieves, nor anarchists, nor murderers. And what was their terrible offense? They dared to worship God as their consciences dictated, refusing to be cajoled or coerced by the religious party in power, at the same time yielding obedience to every purely civil statute of the colonies.

That present-day advocates of Sunday laws have lost none of this stern intolerance, which in medieval times manipulated and wheedled the state into murdering millions of heretics, is shown by the constitution of a national association, whose avowed aim is "to secure such an amendment to the Constitution of the United States as will declare the nation's allegiance to Jesus Christ and its acceptance of the moral laws of the Christian religion, and to indicate that this is a Christian nation, and place all the Christian laws, institutions, and usages of our government on an undeniably legal basis in the fundamental law of the land."

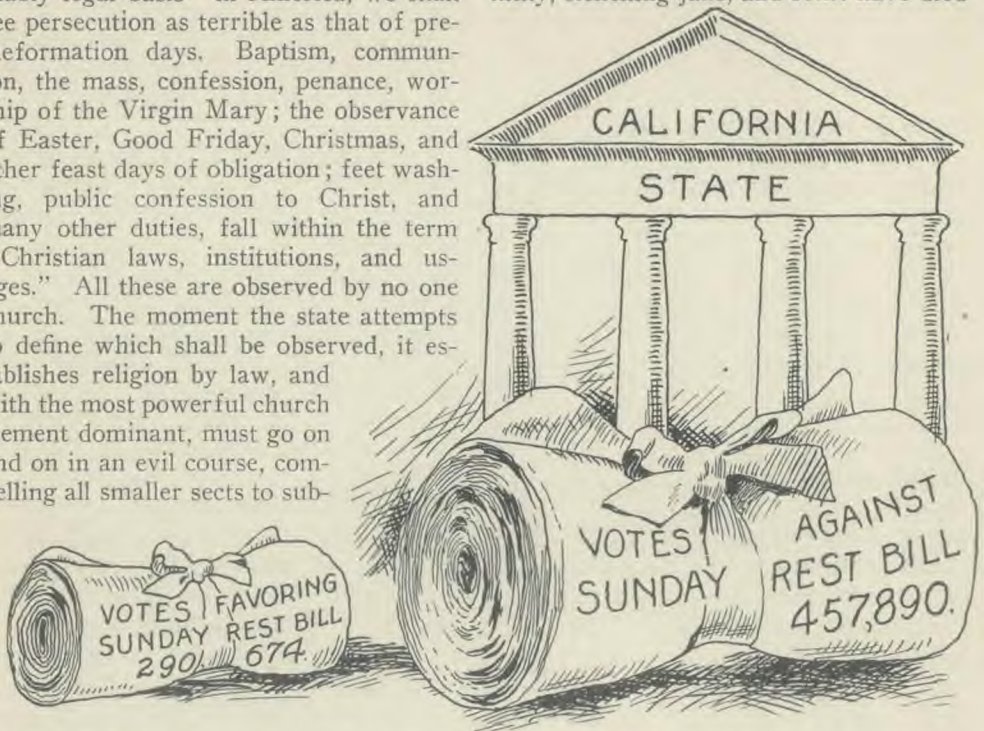
The Puritan colonies and the great religious power which ruled governments during the Dark Ages, enforced through the state the "moral laws of the Christian religion," and thus brought woe to great hosts of honest-hearted folk, who found it impossible to accept the religious dogmas imposed by the state, and who preferred heresy to hypocrisy. The great underlying principles of religion and politics have not changed with the centuries.



Twentieth century civilization has merely added to their importance.

When "all Christian laws, institutions, and usages" are placed on an "undeniably legal basis" in America, we shall see persecution as terrible as that of pre-Reformation days. Baptism, communion, the mass, confession, penance, worship of the Virgin Mary; the observance of Easter, Good Friday, Christmas, and other feast days of obligation; feet washing, public confession to Christ, and many other duties, fall within the term "Christian laws, institutions, and usages." All these are observed by no one church. The moment the state attempts to define which shall be observed, it establishes religion by law, and with the most powerful church element dominant, must go on and on in an evil course, compelling all smaller sects to sub-

stant citizens, whose only offense was Sunday labor. Some of these persons have been worked in chain gangs with common criminals, some have languished in filthy, sickening jails, and some have died



## PEOPLE AGAINST SUNDAY LEGISLATION

mit to their dictates or leave the country.

That advocates of religious laws are not satisfied with measures compelling rest upon one day in seven, but intend to designate Sunday specifically as that one day, is shown by the fact that California has had a one-day-rest-in-seven law for twenty-one years. Yet Sunday law advocates worked untiringly for the enactment of a measure designating the first day, this being defeated by a large majority at the election on November 3, 1914.

California has had Sunday laws, but having found them to result in religious persecution, repealed them. It may be argued that other States have them. But they are giving the rein to religious bigotry, and have already resulted in the persecution of many well-behaved Chris-

of sickness contracted in these cells. Sunday laws cause needless expense to the state, class hatred, religious strife, unjust discrimination, and are a step toward the horrors of the Spanish Inquisition and the Dark Ages.

*Glendale, Cal.*

\*\*\*

### Mr. Gallivan's Bill Would Bar the "Congressional Record" From the Mails

CLAUDE E. HOLMES

ELSEWHERE in this magazine will be found a copy of a bill (H. R. 20780) introduced in the House of Representatives by Mr. James A. Gallivan of Massachusetts. One provision of his meas-



ure would exclude from the mails any "publications which are, or are represented to be, a reflection on any form of religious worship practiced or held sacred by any citizens of the United States."

About two weeks after Mr. Gallivan introduced his bill, the *Congressional Record* printed some statements regarding Catholic priests in the Philippines that would have barred the *Record* from the mails if there had been a law on the statute books similar to Mr. Gallivan's bill.

The *Congressional Record* is the daily journal of our national Congress, and is published by the government. The quotations herewith given are found in the extension of remarks of Hon. Bird S. McGuire of Oklahoma, in the issue of that journal of January 27, and read as follows:—

Although an exponent of a Christian religion, it is a regrettable fact that the example and influence of these priests is not very elevating. Nearly all of them drink more or less, and some to a very aggravated excess. Many of them, though not married, have children and several mistresses, and they are not generally friendly to the American administration and to the extension of learning and intelligence generally, because of the fact that the more intelligent the people become the more difficult it is for them to enjoy the numerous privileges and prerogatives which they now enjoy. It is not a very uncommon thing for a priest to be sent to Bilibid prison for complicity in some crime or an attempted revolution or insurrection.—Page 2627.

Referring directly to one priest sent to prison, the statement continues:—

The court scathingly rebuked the priest, who, according to the decision, conspired to convict two innocent men of murder to satisfy a personal grudge. . . .

In its finding the court further says that it appears extraordinary and incomprehensible that the sacred office of priest was an important factor in overcoming any scruples which

the suborned persons might have had in giving their services as perjured witnesses. Nevertheless the fact that the order to put in jeopardy by perjured declarations the life and liberty of innocent men emanated from the lips of a minister of God, did not fill them with horror, but on the contrary, the principal motive to them was obedience.

This is a plain reflection upon the priests of the Catholic Church in the Philippines. But the publishing of these facts is not sufficient reason for the Postmaster-General's shutting the *Record* out



VIEW OF CONSTANTINOPLE

of the mails. Yet Mr. Gallivan's bill would do that.

If the Catholic Church feels aggrieved at statements of this character, why should it not appeal to the courts for redress? Satisfaction would no doubt be granted the church if the court decided that its cause was just.

But if the accusations set forth in the *Record* are true, it would appear much more appropriate for the church to correct the immoralities of the priests rather than to cover up their deeds by protecting them from exposure and criticism from the public press.

These principles apply equally well to any other church or any other periodical.

The liberty of the press which this nation has enjoyed all the years of its wonderful advancement and prosperity we believe to be necessary for its future safety and progress. May every design upon this liberty be nipped in the bud.

Washington, D. C.



# TEMPERANCE

## "The Liquor Business a Fugitive From Justice"

MORE than fifty years ago the liquor business was outlawed in the State of Maine. Since then eighteen States have declared the liquor business an outlaw. Nearly a score of other State legislatures have bills before them which aim to submit the question to the decision of the people. The American people served notice upon the liquor business, through its representatives in Congress, when a majority of eight in the House of Representatives voted to submit the question of national prohibition to the people, that the liquor traffic will soon be declared a national outlaw. The men who enter the business from henceforth do it at their own risk of becoming national outlaws, and that in the near future.

William Jennings Bryan, in the *Commoner*, of January, 1915, very aptly states what the double-faced politician may expect, as follows: —

While the brewers and distillers are congratulating themselves that the prohibition forces could not secure a two-thirds majority, they are looking with blanched faces and trembling hearts upon the declaration, solemnly made on roll call, that a clear majority of the people's representatives in Congress are arrayed against rum selling.

As it only requires a majority to pass laws, the liquor interests see in the vote on the amendment the beginning of the end of their supremacy. The death knell of the saloon has been sounded, and it is only a question

of a few years when the business, now made an outlaw, will be driven from the highways and forced into the secret places, where, after a few years more of fugitive life, it will meet its death. From now on the liquor business can consider itself a fugitive from justice, living in constant fear of arrest and punishment.

Many who voted for the prohibition amendment were opposed to its submission at this time, but, when compelled to vote yes or no, they preferred to ally themselves with the temperance forces rather than run the risk of being counted on the side of the saloon. Others, who have fought the liquor interests in their several States, voted against the submission of the amendment at this time because they preferred to center the fight on the States where it is at issue rather than to have the attack scattered over the entire country. These will favor a national amendment whenever they think the time is ripe for such action,

and in the meantime they will redouble their energies, and enter with still more earnestness into the State contests against the liquor interests. The temperance element will not deal harshly with the man who voted, No, provided he is in the forefront of the battle in his State, but woe unto the man who pleads "State rights" against national prohibition and then allies himself with the liquor interests in his State! He will find it difficult to convince his constituents that his arguments against the exercise of national authority on the subject expressed his real reason for voting No.

The liquor traffic rests on the same basis as did the slave traffic. The arguments which the liquor traffickers ad-



THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC BESIEGING  
OUR CITIES



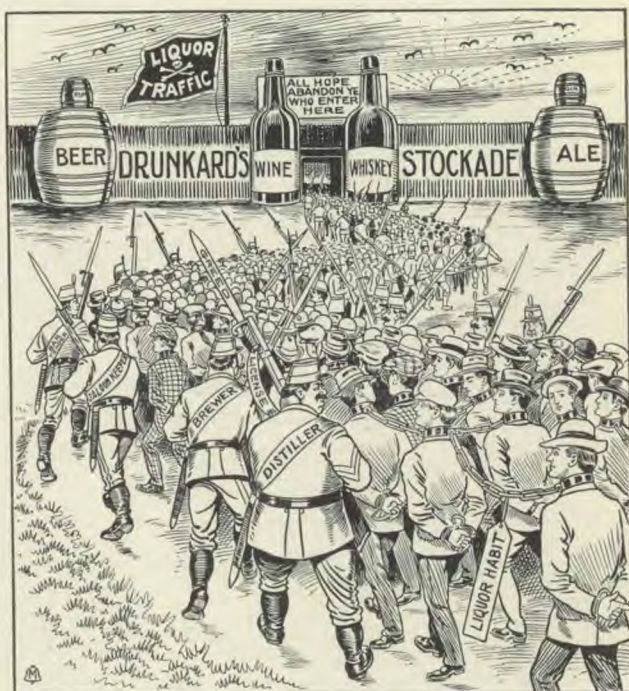
vance in opposition to prohibition are the same as those which were set forth by the slave traffickers before the days of the Civil War in opposition to abolition of slavery. Slavery cannot be abolished in itself as long as men are selfish. They will make slaves of themselves, their wives, children, and employees; but there is one feature that can be abolished, and has been abolished, and that is the legality of the slave traffic. Just so we are asking the national and State governments to remove the strong legal arm of protection, and to allow the people to put the ban on the liquor traffic. The greatest enemy, which destroys the peace of the home, breaks down the bulwarks of the family, debauches American citizenship, threatens the very life of the republic, and ruthlessly assails the most sacred inheritance of every man, woman, and child,—the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness,—is the liquor demon.

The liquor traffic, in this country alone, leaves in its slimy trail more than one hundred thousand ruined homes annually, blasts the future prospects of their inmates, and robs the nation of the product of their intellect.

An army of men, women, and children four times the number of the whole American army go down to premature death and hopeless graves every year through the baneful results of the American saloon. Over three thousand wives are murdered every year in this country by drunken husbands; over two thousand five hundred innocent children are murdered every year in this country by drunken fathers; over sixteen thousand helpless children are forsaken every year

in this country by drunken parents, and thrown upon public charity; and seventy-five per cent of all the crime committed every year in this country is traceable either directly or indirectly to the liquor traffic. King Alcohol is the great enemy of life, liberty, justice, and happiness, and his death knell has been sounded in America.

C. S. L.



PRISONERS OF THE LIQUOR WAR. OVER ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND AMERICAN YOUTH TAKEN CAPTIVE ANNUALLY

A MIGHTY prohibition wave is sweeping the whole country. The States which had declared for prohibition up to Sept. 1, 1914, were Maine, Kansas, Georgia, Mississippi, North Carolina, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Tennessee, and West Virginia, but since then during the last six months, the following nine States have been added to this grand galaxy: Virginia, Colorado, Arizona, Oregon, Washington, Alabama, Arkansas, Iowa, and Idaho. Seven other State legislatures have voted to submit this question to popular vote in the near future, which will mean more dry States.

C. S. L.



JUST A HINT OF THE CONTENTS OF THE  
**MAY WATCHMAN**

- "THE DRIVE ON THE DARDANELLES"
- "WHEN CONSTANTINOPLE FALLS"
- "NEVER AGAIN"
- "WHY TURKEY WANTED TO FIGHT"
- "SHADOWS OF A COMING EVENT"
- "THE BEGINNING OF THE END"
- "WILL THERE BE PEACE?"
- "WHAT A MODERN NAVAL BATTLE IS LIKE"

The above list of articles is just a hint of the many good things in the MAY WATCHMAN, all dealing with the significance of passing events from a prophetic viewpoint.

Ten cents will bring you a copy. Give us a twelve months' trial subscription for only a dollar.

**THE WATCHMAN**  
2123 24th Ave. North - Nashville, Tennessee

**They Have Failed** Not financially; not in their business of publishing the news; but the newspapers and periodicals fail to tell the meaning of the significant news that they serve to the public.

They don't know the meaning of wars; they don't know why earthquakes are increasing in number and severity; they don't understand the world's complex social and political questions.

**Signs of the Times Magazine**

**Supplies the Need**

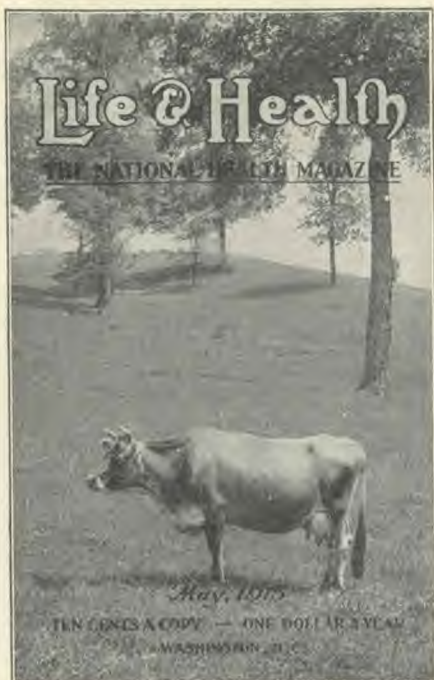
A large part of every issue of this monthly magazine is devoted to the Bible prophecies that describe exactly present world conditions.

\$1.00 a year; five or more to one or separate addresses, 60 cents each.

Agents wanted. Those at work are doing real well.

**Signs of the Times Magazine Mountain View, California**





## When and How to Rest

### *How Women May Prevent Nervous Collapse*

THIS is but one of the many vital features of the May number of *Life and Health*. We have called it our "Rest," "Hysteria," and "Anti-Fly" number.

Dr. A. B. Olsen, superintendent of the Caterham Sanitarium in England, contributes an article on "Hysteria, Its Causes, Symptoms, and Treatment."

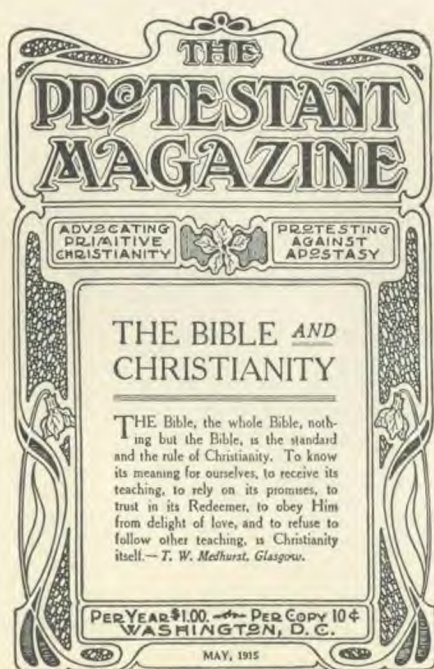
James Frederick Rogers's "Fighting Disease With Its Own Weapons" is a fascinating story of the body's resistance to disease.

"The Pioneer Escapes" shows the importance of caring for the early flies.

Besides these features, the May number contains the usual departments so much appreciated by subscribers and purchasers.

Send this magazine to five friends for six months, for only \$1.50. The regular price is \$2.50. Send \$1.00 for a bundle of 20, or \$2.00 for 50 copies. Send 10 cents in stamps for a sample copy.

LIFE AND HEALTH :: Washington, D. C.



## Current Events of Significance

in Protestant and Roman Catholic Spheres

Are ably discussed in this May number, in the light of the Scriptures and history.

The calm, dignified, and respectful treatment of Romanism is a distinguishing characteristic of the *Protestant Magazine*. Thoughtful people everywhere recognize the strength and justice of its claims.

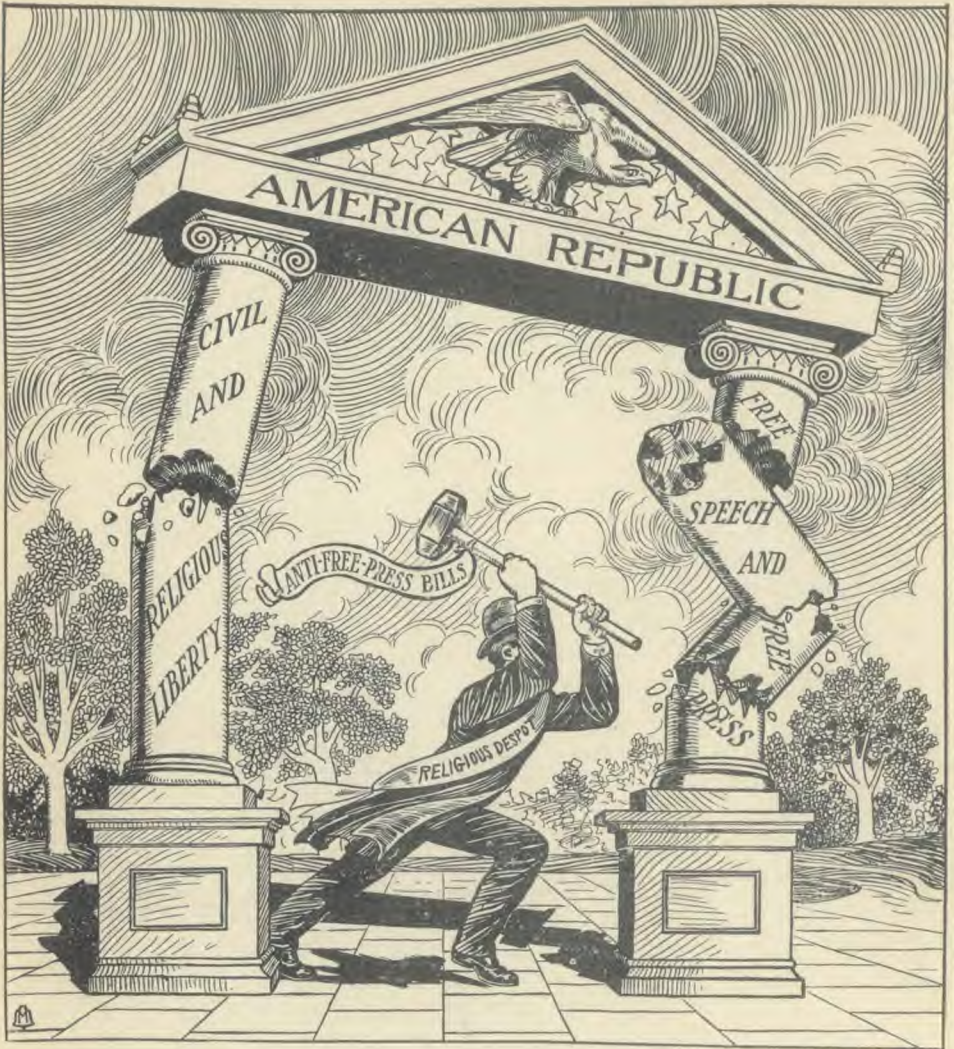
### While They Last

The January, February (Free Speech), March (Free Press Hearing), and April numbers, and the Free Press Extra will be mailed to you or to some friend at 25 cents for the set of five. Regular price, 45 cents.

For only \$1.50 we will send this magazine to five friends for six months. The regular price is \$2.50. Send \$1.00 for 20 or \$2.00 for 50 copies. For 10 cents in stamps we will mail you a sample copy.

PROTESTANT MAGAZINE :: Washington, D. C.





“It is very hard for a robber to convince his victims that he is acting in their behalf or for their good. *Is there no parallel between the gag of the burglar and the gag of the law?* Why does the burglar use a gag? It is because he wants to get away with your goods, and he does not want you to make an outcry and call the neighbors. He knows he cannot convince you by argument that he is entitled to the goods, and that it is really to your best interest to pass them over to him.”—Jay Fox, in “*Liberty and the Great Libertarians,*” pages 534, 535.