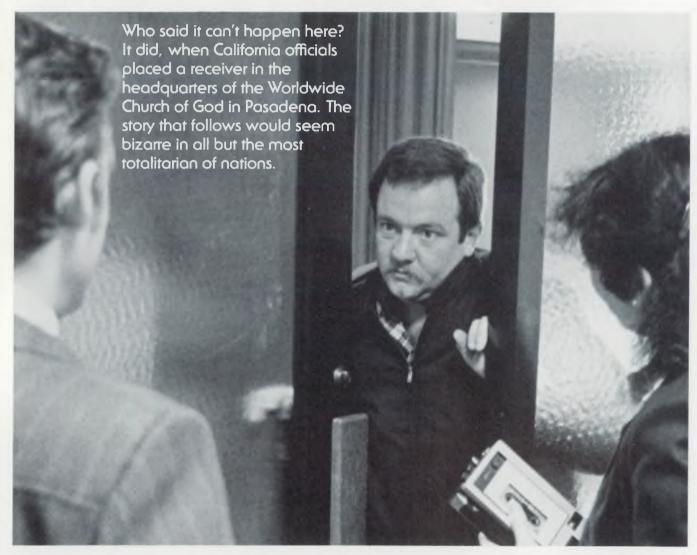
POST-GUYANA HYSTERIA

State of California Occupies Headquarters of the Worldwide Church of God



A CONSTITUTIONAL OUTRAGE



(Cover)

State officials on way to reoccupying Hall of Administration at the Pasadena head-quarters of the Worldwide Church of God after a sit-in by up to 4,000 church members had forced removal of the state-appointed receiver.

(Above

Security man for receiver denies Worldwide Church of God personnel admittance to executive suite.

magine that tomorrow morning the deputy attorney general of your state, accompanied by a platoon of officials, pulls up in front of the headquarters of your church. A few dissidents have alleged that money is being misused, and that church assets have been disposed of at below-market value, the cashbox pilfered, and documents shredded. Imagine that they burst in, push secretaries aside, rummage desks, safes, confidential membership lists, and computer tapes.

Imagine further that they maneuver replacement of your denomination's president with a dissident minister, place a receiver in the building at \$150 an hour—at the church's expense—and instruct members to continue sending tithes and offerings to the receiver for his disposition. Your deposed president protests and writes a letter to church members asking for funds to fight the takeover in the courts. His letters never reach their destination; they are impounded by the state in the local post office.

It couldn't happen here? Not in America, with our "high and impregnable wall" between church and state?

It did. It happened to the Pasadenabased 100,000-member Worldwide Church of God, headed by 86-year-old Herbert Armstrong. It happened on January 3, 1979, and during subsequent weeks. Here's the story.

At 9:00 A.M. on January 3 Retired Judge Steven Weisman arrived at the receptionist's desk of the administrative offices of the Worldwide Church of God in Pasadena. As a court-appointed receiver, he had come to take over the church. Accompanying him were attorneys for the dissident church members and representatives of the attorney general's office. The receivership came without warning to the church, though the court's own rules provided for a minimum of four hours' notification. As might be expected, church employees were surprised, and not surprisingly, they resisted what seemed an unfair and highhanded attempt to take over their operations. It was afternoon before Weisman effected entrance to the executive offices. His first act was to fire a trusted employee of the church, executive secretary Virginia Kineston.

As church attorneys scrambled to





Principals in church split: Herbert W. Armstrong, 86, and his son, Garner Ted Armstrong, 48. Dissident members who took legal action against the church are alleged to have been put up to it by Garner Ted, who has started his own denomination.

erect legal bulwarks, a story unfolded that would seem bizarre in all but the most totalitarian of nations. Investigation revealed that no case was filed before Superior Court Judge Jerry Pacht reviewed the unsubstantiated accusations of six ex-Worldwide Church of God members and agreed to issue a broad-reaching order for a receiver.

The six had come to deputy attorney general Lawrence Tapper with a claim of massive diversion of funds of a charitable organization (the Worldwide Church of God) to personal use. Perhaps the story really had its beginning, however, with expulsion from the church of Garner Ted Armstrong, Herbert Armstrong's son, who subsequently set up his own denomination, the Church of God, International. Even earlier a number of ministers had broken away from the parent organization. Increasingly, allegations were heard that the church's 48-year-old attorney and treasurer, Stanley Rader, dictated the decisions of the elderly Armstrong, who is still recovering from a heart attack suffered a year ago.

It was Rader and finances that figured prominently in the January 3 confronta-

tion. Specifically the six former members—alleged to have been put up to it by Garner Ted-accused Herbert Armstrong and Stanley Rader of (1) not accounting for church finances as required by state laws governing charitable organizations; (2) pilfering property and assets of the church "for their own use and benefit," and (3) shredding and destroying financial records. In their program to take the gospel to the world, it was said, church higher-ups had sponsored banquets for heads of state, presented them with gifts of Steuben crystal, and run up formidable expenses as they sped around the world in Armstrong's Grumman II jet.

Stanley Rader was alleged to be profiting in an unprophetlike way from his position near the heart of Patriarch Herbert Armstrong. His remuneration, it was said, topped \$200,000, and was in addition to an unlimited expense account and church-purchased homes in Beverly Hills, Pasadena, and Tucson, Arizona.

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Of course, it might be asked, What business is it of the state what a church pays its top officials or how lavishly it chooses to finance its ministry? Should it be of concern to the State of California that a Pentecostal storefront preacher makes \$8,000 a year, while a television pastor may make well over \$100,000; or that the princes of the Roman Catholic Church in the Los Angeles Archdiocese live in a mansion and are chauffered about in Mercedes?

Perhaps the Worldwide Church of God was just about the right size—big enough to be visible but not so big as to

"I think having so many of these things—Jonestown, Scientology's problems with the Federal government, the alleged snake attack on an opposing lawyer by Synanon members—has produced a syndrome that we have to stop crazy, kooky religions, religions out of the mainstream.

"There is an antireligious movement abroad in the land. It is made up of deprogrammers, mainline churches, and synagogues worried about crazy cults with wrong doctrines wooing away young people."—John Crossley, associate professor of religion, University of Southern California, and member of the American Civil Liberties Union's regional church-state committee.

decide elections—for a post-Guyana demonstration of the attorney general's commitment to preserving assets of the people of California from malfeasance of cults. Certainly what the deputy attorney general asked of the Superior Court demonstrated anything but underreaction. He asked the court to take over the charity—the Worldwide Church of God—and operate it while charges of the dissidents were investigated. Aside from the religious liberty issues, a receivership is a device rarely used even in business disputes, and only then in the most extraordinary of circumstances.





Workman hired by receiver searches for hidden records in air-conditioning room emergency exit; locksmith for receiver changes locks on executive suite doors.

Through the court-appointed receiver he hoped to find evidence to substantiate the charges made by his informants. And the church would not get the usual four-hour minimum notice, a rule of the court itself; the law's ideal of a "fair hearing" could come later—months later—at a trial. At any cost he would protect the citizens against the church's "misuse" of funds. So he argued before the court that money donated to the charitable organization was "held for the benefit of the public at large."

What deputy attorney general Tapper asked-and got-from the court is mind-boggling to the student of constitutional law: that the judge meet with him, the accusers, and their attorneys before he was required to file any action against the church or even notify the church that an action was filed, and that immediately upon filing the suit, the judge would order a receiver placed in control of all the church's local assets, and, moreover, forbid anyone in the church from managing and disposing of a church asset. The court also retained the power to decide whether what the church proposed to do was religious.

The deputy attorney general well knew that he was asking the court to commit itself to giving the state what it wanted against the church without the church's even having had opportunity to know that action was pending. Indeed, he was asking an advisory opinion from the court concerning the outcome of a case not yet filed, when the law in his jurisdiction did not provide for advisory opinions. He was asking the court to appoint someone to run the church on the unsubstantiated accusations of six dissident members—some say "excommunicated" members. He was asking the state's judicial branch to take over the church before a case was filed, and upon the uncorroborated accusations of the dissidents—all this in spite of state and federal constitutional provisions for strict separation of church and state!

When the judge's clerk was asked if it were possible for parties to have the judge discuss a case requesting a receiver without first filing the lawsuit, the clerk correctly replied, "No. The court would be without jurisdiction to consider the matter."

However, the court reporter's tran-

script proves that Judge Pacht did hear the accusing parties without their filing a case, and that he told them he would issue an order favorable to their position when they did so! All this occurred without anyone at the Worldwide Church of God knowing about it until Receiver Steven Weisman showed up at the door the next day, January 3.

Weisman came armed with a legal order (ex parte—without hearing from the accused) providing for the takeover of all assets, income, and operations of the church by a receiver not of its faith. The church has, or had, \$80 million in assets, \$70 million in annual income, and 100,000 members worldwide. If the court's first proceeding was Star Chamber in form, the order the court issued was even more inimical to the legal health of the church. The order stated, in part, that the court receiver was empowered to:

- (1) "take possession and control of the church, including all its assets. . . ;
- (2) "supervise and monitor all of the business and financial operations and activities of the church;
- (3) "take over the management and control [of the church] to the extent that

[he] deems it necessary in his sole discretion;

- (4) "hire and employ and retain his own counsel, accountants and any other personnel... which he deems necessary to assist him [and] to pay them reasonable compensation out of the funds and assets of the church;
- (5) "suspend or terminate any employee, officer or agent of the church in his sole discretion as he deems necessary;
- (6) "direct that any [suspended or terminated] officer or employee or agent not be permitted access to the grounds or facilities of the church;
- (7) "[take] possession and control of all the books and records of the church [and make] available [said books and records of the church] to the representatives of the [State Attorney General and to the relators, who are dissident members of the church];
- (8) "interfere [in the operations of the church] if he . . . determine[s] in his own discretion that it is necessary to interfere;
- (9) "take over any portion of the operation as he deems necessary in order to protect the church and its assets;
- (10) "file a petition with the [state] court [if the receiver deems it necessary



Receiver Steven Weisman (right) argues the state's position with church officials and newsmen.

at any time] to remove Mr. Armstrong the Pastor General—or Mr. Rader or both:

(11) "determine in his sole discretion Mr. Armstrong's and Mr. Rader's compensation for services and any expenses that are incurred by them during the course of [their employment by the church];

(12) "conduct a thorough audit of the financial and business dealings of the church:

(13) "review all allegations of malfeasance and neglect concerning the financial and business affairs of the church;

"There's no question that since Jonestown there's greater temptation for government to intervene in church affairs. There's an antireligious climate, and I think there's a tendency for government to overreact."—John V. Stevens, Sr., director of the Seventh-day Adventist Church's Western regional church-state council.

"We believe that 1979 will see the greatest activity in the courts against offbeat religions. In an attempt to prevent another Jonestown situation, we will see a ripping away of the protection of the First Amendment's religious clauses."—Lee Boothby, general counsel, Americans United for Separation of Church and State.

(14) "take possession and control of the funds of the church forthwith and deposit them in a special receiver's account [in his sole discretion]."

The court reserved to itself the resolution of "any dispute arising between the receiver and ecclesiastical authorities of the church over whether a particular matter is, in fact, ecclesiastical in nature," and the issue of whether Herbert W. Armstrong or Stanley Rader should or could be removed from office!

The Worldwide Church of God met the state's assault by trying to get the receivership lifted. Their first attempt



Rafael Chodos, attorney for the dissident ministers, searches for records in the financial affairs and executive suite.

was denied on January 10. The church's attorneys carried the battle to the state in the trial court, appellate court, and California Supreme Court, as well as the Federal District Court. The attorneys' fees must be staggering for the exhaustive papers in support of the church's position that the state could not put a receiver in the church upon unfounded accusations.

The response to the church's positions was frighteningly simplistic. His office, said the attorney general, is responsible by law for the overseeing of charitable organizations. Therefore accusations that the church was spending too much on expenses for its employees and guests, such as foreign dignitaries, and that assets might have been sold below market value justified the state's running the church until the accusations could be either proved or disproved. Evidence concerning the veracity of the unsubstantiated accusations, he argued. "might be destroyed by those in charge of the church.'

Ironically, the only evidence used to substantiate charges of impropriety on the part of the church's leaders, Herbert W. Armstrong and Stanley Rader, were details of expenditures that they themselves had included in an open annual report!

One of the dissidents' most incendiary charges was that the Texas branch of Ambassador College was being sold for \$10.6 million, when it was worth more than \$30 million. This transaction, said one plaintiff, was "the last straw," and Judge Pacht had characterized it as "one cruncher."

But the \$30 million figure proved to be not only highly incendiary but highly inflated. Receiver Weisman approved sale of the property for—yes—\$10.6 million, a fair value according to independent appraisers. But, because of the receivership, the buyer backed out, leaving the church deprived of the property's fairmarket sale and costing the church continued maintenance on property it is no longer using.

The most serious of the accusations were against Stanley Rader. He was said to be guilty of conflict of interest in that his accounting firm, law firm, and advertising agency supplied services to the church for compensation while he was

serving as a director of the governing board.

Mr. Rader was further accused of receiving too much compensation for his work for the church—a sum variously reported at \$100,000 to \$200,000 a year, plus expenses. In addition the church was alleged to have purchased a house or houses for him. (The receiver was to be paid \$150 an hour from church funds—a rate of compensation amounting to \$228,000 a year for 48 weeks of five eight-hour days. Before the receiver was removed on February 22—and a new one subsequently reinstated on March 12—he was spending money contributed by loyal church members for religious purposes at the incredible rate of \$25,000 a week, not including his own fee of \$6,000 a week—a rate of expenditure far higher than anything the dissident church members had accused even Mr. Rader of.)

Mr. Rader was further accused of criminal fraud of a nature unspecified, but presumably having to do with his not inconsiderable influence upon the programs of the church. Each charge of impropriety was denied in sworn documents presented to the court in mid-January, when the church and the accused officials were given opportunity to reply.

Were the state charges sustained? Had the fishing expedition through the church's files—and extending even to examination of its garbage—provided new evidence to sustain such a drastic action as had been taken against the church? Here is what Judge Julius Title had to say, in part, after the hearing:

"Now, I think I have already indicated in my comments to counsel during argument that I don't believe from the state of the evidence that the plaintiff [the accusing dissidents] has made any real showing of substance that properties have been sold below market value.

"The declarations which were filed by the plaintiff in this regard have indulged in sheer speculation, conclusion and hearsay regarding the sales, and those are contrary to the specific declarations of the defendants [church officials], and unless the appraisal of defendants . . . [is] shown to be unreliable or just completely untrue at the time of trial, I don't believe that the plaintiff will be able to establish that the sales heretofore made have been improper in any respect, at



Fearful that evidence was being destroyed, Receiver Weisman refused to allow trash to be removed.



Plaintiff's attorney Rafael Chodos (left), with records being removed from the executive suite by the receiver.

least solely on the basis that they were below market value. . . .

"There have been some serious inferences which have also been raised . . . possible conflicts of interest . . . questions raised . . . that there might conceivably be some problems."

Since when is it considered sufficient in American law to take management from any legal entity, much less a church, where the court concedes that to do so would be on the basis of "sheer speculation," "inferences," "possible conflicts of interest," "questions raised," and "conceivably . . . some problems"? Nevertheless, the court confirmed the prior order and the receiver remained in the church.

By stepping in and running the church's affairs for nearly two months, did the state really interfere with the church's carrying on its work? Emphatically, Yes! For example, in addition to firing a trusted employee, the receiver caused the United States Post Office to refuse to mail 60,000 letters from church leader Herbert Armstrong to the membership. The receiver hired a disfellowshiped member of the church to work at the headquarters, even though that was against the express beliefs of the church. and other church members are forbidden contact with disfellowshiped members. The United California Bank revoked the church's line of credit and called all demand notes because of the receiver's being installed. The receiver stopped payment on all outstanding checks, thus causing great hardship to many of the poor and widowed who receive assistance from the church. The same action harmed the suppliers of goods to the church and impaired its credit. Where the church had been given accountbilling courtesy-permitting it to pay for radio and television time after airing its religious programs-the media demanded cash in advance after the receiver was installed.

The court order created other problems, as it soon became obvious. Because the receiver and the accusing dissidents were to be allowed access to church records, letters between the church and its attorneys (privileged under the Constitution and Evidence Code), letters between ministers and penitents or other members (privileged), membership lists, and all correspondence were laid bare in violation of both statutes and constitutional protections at both the state and the federal level.

Not unreasonably, the church's offerings, based on a strong tithing membership, dropped off precipitously. Members were unwilling to have their money spent by the receiver. Their withholding of tithe threatened the life of the church even more drastically than the accusations of the dissidents. The very financial disaster the church's accusers purported to fear may have been furthered by the receivership.



Business of the church opened to state inspection.

But what alternative did the state have, when brought evidence, however flimsy, of financial mismanagement of a charitable trust? If Mr. Rader or any other church official is guilty of a crime, the attorney general has available the not inconsiderable power of the criminal law. In a similar situation, the United States Supreme Court stated that the appropriate remedy is to file criminal proceedings against the charged individuals, and not to put a receiver in the church (Cantwell v. Connecticut).



Robert Kuhn (gesturing), a disfellowshiped official of the church, disputes the case with Raymond McNair, deputy chancellor of Ambassador College.



Worldwide Church of God treasurer Stanley R. Rader—storm center of the pandemonium in Pasadena.

Further, the Superior Court of California and the state's attorney general should look to the law promulgated by the United States Supreme Court in *New York v. Cathedral Academy* (1977): "The prospect of church and state litigating in court about what does or does not have religious meaning touches the very core of the constitutional guarantee against religious establishment." Yet it is precisely this power that the California court reserved to itself in its action against the Worldwide Church of God.

The court's order makes a travesty of many of the freedoms we have taken for granted. In addition to interference with religious freedom, there is interference with free speech, interference with privacy, interference with the ministerpenitent privilege, interference with the attorney-client privilege, and denial of due process (of fairness in judicial proceedings).

The United States Supreme Court noted that the establishment clause of the First Amendment was to protect from the evils of "sponsorship, financial support, and active involvement of the sovereign in religious activity" (Lemon v. Kurtzman and Walz v. Tax Commissioner). Before the Worldwide Church of God case reaches the Supreme Court, the state will be well advised to get out of the business of religion entirely and to pursue remaining problems in a far less intrusive manner. The state is under constitutional obligation (1) to prove, clearly and convincingly, any violation of a compelling state interest by the church: and (2) to seek the least restrictive or intrusive means for achieving legitimate state objectives—if any.

No, it may not have been *your* church this time. But tomorrow it may be. For unless all who cherish freedom speak up on behalf of a church whose doctrines and practices they may not respect or hold, their church to some degree is more likely to be next.

Whatever is done now for the Worldwide Church of God, however successful it is in warding off the encroachment of the state, one is left with the sad conclusion that it has been irreparably damaged. Plaintiffs contend that they took action to save the church. They may have destroyed it.

What Is a Cult?





By Brooks Alexander

hat is a "cult"? Ten or twenty years ago, this would have been an easy question to answer; today the guidelines have become somewhat muddled.

The origin of the word is the Latin cultus, a term meaning a system of ritual, ceremony, or liturgy. Our English version carries this meaning. A secondary meaning designates a teaching, group, or movement that deviates from orthodoxy while claiming to represent the true faith. In this sense, a cult can be recognized by defining it in relation to some standard of orthodox belief. In the Western world, that standard has usually been one of orthodox Christianity. though in principle it could be a standard of orthodox Islam, Judaism, Zen, or witchcraft. In fact, there are cults within all these groups, and more. When the Christian church first appeared it was technically a cult of Judaism, insofar as it differed from the dominant orthodoxy of its day.

Within the past decade or so, sociologists, popular authors, and the secular press have begun to use the word cult in new and often poorly defined ways. Today controversy seethes in the academic world as to what (if anything) "cult" does mean. One school of sociological thought defines a cult as "a deviation from orthodoxy"; however, the concept of "orthodoxy" is changed by broadening it from a strictly religious standard to a social and cultural one. In this view, cults are groups that break off from the "conventional consensus and espouse very different views of the real, the possible and the moral."1

Other authorities put forward alternative definitions as the fruit of their own studies. A survey of the literature of sociology reveals that there is a great deal of disagreement among scholars.

The popular press has added to this conceptual turbulence by applying the label "cult" to almost any movement that is weird, sinister, authoritarian, or incomprehensible to the writer.

Such confusion is perhaps inevitable when a term that is essentially religious in derivation is appropriated by analysts who have no religious standard of their own. Under the circumstances, we are entitled to ask whether the word has lost its usefulness and usability altogether. Even if the expression had an agreedupon meaning, its usefulness would be limited, because dividing the religious and quasi-religious phenomena of the world into cult versus noncult categories does not greatly advance our understanding or aid our wise behavior. Even after such a label is applied, the toughest questions still hang around waiting to be answered. Nevertheless, it is still worth trying to get a handle on whatever descriptive quality or value the word may have, simply because it is so widely used.

Let's begin by eliminating some bogus definitions. We can at least identify and exclude uses of the terms that are plainly inaccurate, inadequate, or misleading.

In the first place the concept of "cult" should not be equated with intensity of commitment or involvement, characteristics of the so-called high-demand groups, religious and secular. Nor is aggressiveness of proselytizing cultish in itself. Both qualities—in one form or another—are basic to authentic Christianity. For example, Jesus' call to discipleship is nothing if not "high demand," and His command to "preach the gospel to every creature" (Mark 16:15) certainly proposes ambitious evangelism.

These two elements are worth singling out because they have apparently been the basis for mislabeling some groups as cults. Two groups occasionally the target for such mistaken identification are Jews for Jesus and Campus Crusade for Christ. A recent article in People magazine (Dec. 4, 1978) implied that Campus Crusade staffers were at least semicultish, because of their complete commitment to the goals and activities of the group. Jews for Jesus, on the other hand, tend to irritate many people because they evangelize intensely—though politely-in many of the same locations frequented by the Moonie and the Hare Krishna recruiters: street corners, airports, and college campuses. In a recent article on the "Peoples Temple" (Oakland Tribune, Nov. 23, 1978) Senator S. I. Hayakawa mentioned Jews for Jesus in tandem with Moonies, Scientologists, and Hare Krishnas as being among those who "give up their families, their homes, their entire previous background, even their moral standards-to follow a new messiah of dubious credentials." The fact is that none of the above accurately describes the policy of Jews for Jesus. Senator Havakawa has since graciously retracted his statement in a letter, which says, "It appears now that I was mistaken in naming the Jews for Jesus as a cult, and I apologize. The error was one of association.'

In dealing with characteristics that mark a group as cultish, the problem is that neither a definition based on a standard of Christian orthodoxy, nor one based on techniques of behavioral manipulation and conditioning, is comprehensive enough. As Christians, we are, of course, particularly concerned with those seductive false prophets who use the name of God and Jesus Christ to lead astray, "if it were possible, . . . the very elect" (Matthew 24:24). At the same time we need to cultivate insight into cultic groups that apparently have little





relationship to religion as commonly understood, and even less to Christianity per se. Perhaps the best approach is one that combines the two different standards without confusing them. (One

Know the Marks of Cults.)2

Qualities that can be recognized as cultic in terms of a *theological* definition (i.e., constituting deviations from orthodoxy) would include the following:

book that has successfully done this is

- 1. A false or inadequate basis of salvation. The apostle Paul drew a distinction basic to our understanding of truth when he said, "By grace are ye saved through faith; and that not of yourselves; it is the gift of God: not of works, lest any man should boast" (Ephesians 2:8, 9). Inasmuch as the central doctrine of Biblical Christianity is the sacrificial death of Christ for our sin, all cultic deviations tend to downplay the finished work of Christ and emphasize the importance of earning moral acceptance before Christ through our religious works as a basis of salvation.
- 2. A false basis of authority. Biblical Christianity by definition takes the Bible as its vardstick of the true, the false, the necessary, the permitted, the forbidden, and the irrelevant. Cults, on the other hand, commonly resort to extra-Biblical documents or contemporary "revelation" as the substantial basis of their theology (e.g., Mormons). While some cult groups go through the motions of accepting the authority of Scripture, they actually honor the group's or leader's novel interpretation of Scripture as normative (e.g., Jehovah's Witnesses, The Way International). Many groups use Biblical scriptures to validate their claims, but plainly jettison any concept of Biblical authority in favor of the pronouncements of a charismatic leader (e.g., Hare Krishna, Divine Light Mis-

sion, Peoples Temple). In authentic Christianity, at least, there is no prophet or guru who does not stand under the judgment of Scripture, as do the rest of us.

Nontheological standards will also be helpful in identifying cults. Most such guidelines concern techniques of acquiring and training converts, and include (among others) the following:

- a. Isolation or "involvement" of the recruit to the point that the group controls all incoming information. One of the most critical stages of cultic conditioning requires that the new member be insulated from any opinion, data, or interpretation that does not conform to the group's purposes and understanding. It is one thing to withdraw from the world's turmoil for a period of reflection or training. It is an insidiously different matter to create fortified boundaries against the outside world that confine members and attack or threaten those who would leave.
- b. Economic exploitation or an enslaving organizational structure. These factors are both obvious and self-explanatory. Ordinary gumption ought to steer one clear of a group in which the leaders live in luxury while the "lay" members toil to support the organization; likewise beware of arrangements that bind the convert to serve the group in return for "training" or other forms of advancement through the ranks.
- c. Esotericism. This quality may well be the most damning evidence of all; unfortunately, it is the most difficult to document. "Esoteric" refers to a deliberately created gap between the truth about the cult that is given to the "inner circle" and a misleading image that is projected to the public at large. In cult evangelism, recruiters usually conceal either the identity of the group or its real

purposes until the convert has become vulnerable or already has established a preliminary commitment. One legal scholar notes that "what is distinctive about this process is that, although the potential convert may be given a general idea of the activities and teachings that will be offered at the next stage, at no point early in the process is he given an opportunity to elect to embark on the entire journey." ³

To bring the discussion back to the theological question, the element of esotericism is perhaps the clearest distinction between Christianity and cultism. There is nothing in the beliefs and practices of authentic Christianity that is not—in principle—discoverable to a modestly diligent inquirer through any public library. In contrast, the central core of cultic belief is—as a matter of principle—commonly hidden from the eyes of outsiders.

It should be understood, of course, that the above discussion does not pretend to be either exhaustive or conclusive. At best it is a tentative and preliminary effort to define an amorphous and marginally useful term.

References

¹ John Lofland, *Doomsday Cult* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1966), p. 1.

² Dave Breese, *Know the Marks of Cults* (Wheaton, Illinois: Victor Books, 1975).

³ Richard Delgado, "Religious Totalism: Gentle and Ungentle Persuasion Under the First Amendment," *Southern California Law Review* 51, no. 1 (November, 1977), p. 55.

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CONGRESSMEN LOOK AT CULTS







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enator Bob Dole (R.-Kan.) made himself perfectly clear. The "informal," "informational meeting" on those controversial "cults," or, as the Senator described them, the "new religions," being held in a Senate caucus room on February 5 was "not a Congressional hearing," "not an investigation," "not a public speechmaking forum," "not a debate between opposing points of view," and above all "not a 'media event."

But flanking Senator Dole were another Senator and four Representatives who cosponsored the meeting. Three more Senators dropped in during the morning to testify, observe, or ask questions.

And at least a dozen witnesses used the meeting as a forum to attack what they call the "cults," religious organizations such as the Unification Church (Moonies), the Hare Krishnas, and Scientologists. Five civil libertarians and the president of the Unification Church of America, added at the last moment to balance the witness list, urged the Congressmen to uphold traditional American standards of church-state separation and free exercise of religion as guaranteed by the First Amendment to the Constitution.

Even though protesting farmers grabbed most of the page-one headlines as they paraded their John Deeres and International Harvesters around the nation's capital, Senator Dole's "nonmedia event" drew at least fifteen motion-picture cameras and a score or more radio, television, newspaper, and magazine reporters. On the Capitol steps members of the Unification Church sang "We Shall Overcome" and waved signs proclaiming "Repeal the First Amendment: Elect Sen. Dole President."

Inside the meeting room, the Congressmen reaffirmed their support of First Amendment freedoms. Chairman Dole said: "Nothing in this meeting should give the slightest comfort to those who would weaken our religious freedom. Those liberties remain absolute and inviolable." But witnesses urging government intervention into the "cults" painted pictures of crimes and suppression of individual rights requiring government control or investigation.

Typical of those attacking "cults" was Robert Boetcher, formerly staff director of the House subcommittee on international organizations, which investigated alleged links between the Reverend Sun Myung Moon, leader of the Unification Church, and the South Korean Government's influence buying in the United States.

Boetcher said Moon's goal is to set up a global theocracy that will rule through an army of brainwashed servants, who have amassed a multimillion-dollar fortune. He spoke of involuntary servitude, millions of smuggled dollars, an attempted bank takeover, smuggled aliens, lying solicitors, high overhead in certain fund-raising activities, even infiltration of Congress.

Jim Siegelman and Flo Conway, authors of *Snapping*, took a "scientific view" of the controversial groups and criticized such concepts as "singlemoment conversion" and "totally reorganized personalities" of those who accept new religions. Conway suggested that deprogramming should be recognized as a new and valued form of mental health therapy.

Controversial Ted Patrick, deprogrammer of 1,600 "cultists," said "cult" leaders are out "to destroy this country" by "destroying our ability to think" and by "making slaves." He urged the Congressmen to "do something to eliminate these cults."

Rabbi Maurice Davis, of White Plains, New York, described a cult this way: It is led by a dictatorial, often charismatic, leader. It consists of members who abdicate their right to say No. It teaches that "the end justifies the means, even theft and murder." It has unlimited funds. And it instills fear, hatred, and suspicion in its members.

Shouts of "Lies!" echoed through the Senate caucus room as Rabbi Davis, a longtime foe of the Unification Church, concluded his testimony. "How many Jonestowns must there be?" he asked. "I am here to protest against child molesters," he continued. "For as surely as there are those who lure children with lollipops in order to rape their bodies, so too do these lure children with candycoated lies in order to rape their minds."

From another vantage point, Dr.

James E. Wood, Jr., executive director of the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs, pointed out that in colonial times Baptists—then classified as a "cult" by other religions—were jailed in Virginia and Massachusetts. He said "cult" is a pejorative word that has no place in American law.

Wood said religion in America should be based on the concept of voluntarism. "Anyone who knowingly joins and seeks to adhere to a religious group should not be inhibited as long as no crime is being committed," he said. "Religion and religious acts should be circumscribed only if government can show a compelling public interest and there is no less intrusive way of protecting that public interest." He said government should be required to show "probable cause" to believe a crime has been committed before government begins investigation of a religious group. Wood said the "mounting crisis in church-state relations centers on recent and repeated acts of government intrusion into the affairs of religious groups.'

Herbert Richardson, professor of religious studies at the University of Toronto and a theological consultant to the Unification Church, told how as a boy he was warned about a certain "cult."

Richardson said his fundamentalist pastor in Ohio preached against a "cult" that based its teachings on superstitions and was headed by a man who wanted to rule the world. The "cult" supposedly engaged in illegal and subversive activities and taught its members that "the end justifies the means." The "cult" was said to have a huge financial empire. didn't believe in full financial disclosure. and even sought to infiltrate the government. It took teen-agers to secluded places for training in the "cult's" ministries. It even set up special schools so children would not contact the "enlightened" children in public schools. To top off the plot, said Richardson, a former priest of the "cult" told how good it was to have a free mind again-free from the teachings of Roman Catholicism.

The point of Richardson's story, of course, was that what appears to be cult to one person or religious group is true religion to another.

The testimony of many of the anti-"cultists" at Senator Dole's meeting should raise serious questions in the minds of every American who cherishes traditional concepts of free exercise of religion and separation of church and state.

Clearly, the call for elimination of the new religious groups is a call to do the constitutionally prohibited.

But more subtle were the attacks on "instant conversions" and "new personalities."

Is Christ Himself to be condemned? When Jesus saw Simon Peter and his brother Andrew fishing on the Sea of Galilee, He said, "Come ye after me, and I will make you to become fishers of men. And straightway they forsook their nets, and followed him" (Mark 1:17, 18).

And what about Saint Paul? Saul, the persecutor of early Christians, "made havock of the church" and had "men and women committed . . . to prison," perhaps for some first-century deprogramming (Acts 8:3). But the Lord appeared to Saul on the road to Damascus, and the anti-"cultist" Saul became Paul, a leader of the "cult" he once had persecuted—quite a change in personality and life style, and all instantaneously!

But what if crimes are committed in the name of religion? Fraud, theft, and murder are crimes, regardless of who commits them. And government should punish such crimes.

But government must always remember *first* the constitutional principles of church-state separation and free exercise of religion. Government intervention in religious affairs should be reluctant in the extreme—and then only as the least intrusive remedy to a particular problem.

And as for the new and controversial religions—the "cults"—perhaps Senator Edward Zorinsky (D-Neb.) put it best: "The right to hold unusual and unconventional religious beliefs in this country must be absolutely protected. It would, indeed, be ironic if, after fleeing Europe to escape religious persecution, our Founding Fathers gave birth to a new persecuting and intolerant nation."

Robert W. Nixon is an attorney and associate editor of LIBERTY magazine.

TM Again Ruled Religious

aharishi Mahesh Yogi turned his other cheek, but an appeals court said it had no trouble recognizing the same old Yogi.

On February 2 the United States Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit, sitting in Philadelphia, affirmed a lower court's ruling that had declared transcendental meditation (TM) to be religious in nature.

The original 1977 decision in Malnak v. Maharishi Mahesh Yogi had ruled that the teaching of TM and SCI (Science of Creative Intelligence, the TM philosophy) in public schools violated the establishment clause of the First Amendment. Taxpayers' money had been used to support the religious teachings and practices of the TM movement.

In his appeal Yogi argued that TM and SCI should be permitted in the public schools as "true science." But the presiding judge wanted to know what was scientific about the following, from TM's ceremony of initiation:

"Guru in the glory of Grahma, Guru in the glory of Vishnu,

"Guru in the glory of the great Lord Shiva, Guru in the glory of the personified transcendental fulness of Brahman, to Him, to Shri Guru Dev adorned with glory, I bow down."

In an evasive response, the maharishi's lawyer referred to an affidavit that stated that such ceremonies were sometimes used for secular occasions in India. The court later remarked that the effect of that affidavit was to "take a cow and put a sign on it that says 'horse'!"

If maharishi and the TM people decide to pursue the matter further, they will have to ask the United States Supreme Court for permission to bring an appeal there. The message from the courts, however, has been clear: TM is religious. Federal, state, and local officials can be expected to heed the courts' judgments and refuse any requests by the TM people to use taxpayers' dollars for TM programs.

Original plaintiffs in this action were a group of New Jersey parents and tax-payers, together with the Spiritual Counterfeits Project, an organization based in Berkeley, California. All were represented on the appeal. Additional defendants before the lower court included the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, the New Jersey Department of Education, and several local school boards. None of these governmental defendants joined with the maharishi in his appeal.

Inside the Fortress

By Mark Albrecht

Seelisberg is a nice little Swiss village, perched on a serene mountainside overlooking the Lake of the Four Forest Cantons. About a block up the road from the village itself sits the renovated Hotel Sonnenberg, which was purchased by the TM movement and now serves as the international head-quarters of Maharishi Mahesh Yogi's "World Government of the Age of Enlightenment."

The huge building, which has been nicely restored, houses the elite of the TM movement, three hundred or so governors* of the world government, including the maharishi himself. The main lobby is open to the public; once inside, there are plenty of smiling, well-dressed men with trimmed hair to tell you all about TM. On a recent visit I noticed that most of the American women were wearing brightly colored silk saris, the native garb of Indian women. I asked my

*In TM parlance, a governor is defined as an inner initiate who has taken the advanced *sidhi* training and has supposedly learned to levitate, et cetera.

guide if this was because the maharishi is a Hindu teacher from India. "Oh, no," he replied, "TM is no religion at all. The saris are just comfortable, and very pretty, don't you think?" "Well, yes," I agreed, biting my lip. I asked if the maharishi was in. After considerable evasion, the guide finally said that he "wasn't sure." In any event, the maharishi comes and goes in style. Outside were two Rolls Royces and a classic Vanden Plas limousine; the maharishi also keeps a private helicopter nearby.

Speaking of flying, we got on the subject of the TM *sidhi* program, which theoretically enables a human being to levitate, fly, become invisible, walk through walls, have the strength of an elephant, et cetera. My guide assured me that it was all quite real, but that the general public would not be permitted to observe these things. He insisted that in the advanced stages of flying, one could "fly all the way to Zurich, or wherever." Does all this really happen? Well, one big tip-off is that the maharishi himself still uses the helicopter . . .

The other big pitch that I got from the TM'ers at Seelisberg concerned "Maharishi's Supreme Offer to the World." This offer is based on the Maharishi Effect ("named in honor of His Holiness Maharishi Mahesh Yogi, who predicted it as early as 1960"), in which the consciousness of a given geopolitical area is spontaneously raised when one percent of the population practices TM. The effect is claimed to be powerful enough to make nations invincible! This is accomplished by "disallowing the birth of an enemy" through the good vibrations of TM, which create love, harmony, good weather, stable economies, perfect health, eliminate all personal problems. and otherwise ensure that all Utopian values become a reality within "days or weeks.'

All this may seem like so much self-deluded flimflam to the outside observer, but such is the governors' allegiance to the maharishi that if he says it is true, they accept it without further qualm or question. The movement has already demonstrated its willingness to put a certain amount of money on the line based on that assumption, as teams of advanced meditators have been sent out to soothe world trouble spots with their vibrations—part of a program to create world peace "by increasing the coherence and integrity of national consciousness in areas of the world experiencing dis-

order." Special teams of twenty-four governors have been sent to Iran, Israel, and Central America.

Such trouble-shooting teams, however, are only part of a larger, strategically coordinated program that is based on the same grandiose assumption. My guide said that the world government had undertaken pilot projects in 108 countries around the world to bring about this blissful coherence and harmony. In these projects the TM organization is attempting to achieve a one percent meditation rate, based on cur-

rent population figures. Once this is completed, world problems will be all but solved. The maharishi thus becomes the savior of the world and transcendental meditation becomes his sacrament.

The TM magazine World Government News puts it this way:

"Maharishi's teachings have brought on the Age of Enlightenment—optimism and generosity are inseparable parts of his behavior. In pointing at the crisis he is acting out of compassion to wake us up from our stupor of struggle and suffering so that we might take advantage of the formula that he has made available to us to eliminate every shadow of crisis from our personal lives, and in the same stroke create an ideal society and an invincible nation."

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The "Bell of Invincibility" in the main lobby at Seelisberg headquarters is believed to be "the vibrational harbinger of the Age of Enlightenment."

Maharishi's view from his headquarters. Despite his gift of levitation, he keeps a private helicopter nearby.



Who runs Jimmy Carter? Who is the REAL President? These and similar questions have been asked recently by articles in magazines known more for their centerspreads than their profundity. Their answers: "A powerful international study group [the Trilateral Commission] with only the most limited taste for democracy and the blessing and backing of David Rockefeller." "A private club of billionaires and their advisers [again the TC], dedicated to running the world."

Behind this front—and other conspiratorial groups—we ore told by many sources, is the elusive Illuminati, an organization blamed for such affairs as the French Revolution, the vice (and funding) of Communism, and even the crucifixion of Christ!

LIBERTY asked Dr. Walter
C. Utt, chairman of the
department of history at
Pacific Union College,
Angwin, California, to
unravel the myths and
legends surrounding this
shadowy organization.
We hope you will agree
it was a worthwhile task.

ustrated by Bobbi Tul

- Eds.

Illuminating the Illuminati

By Walter C. Utt

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Welshman with whom I lunched last summer was critical of the Welsh nationalists who deface roadside signs that have English spellings or who refuse to answer a question if asked in English. He said there was no case known where one of these purists had refused a British pound note, even though it is inscribed in the English language! Of the same breeding stock are the conspiracy buffs who inform us that the symbolism of the Great Seal of the United States (see reverse side of a dollar bill), a five-pointed star (see the United States flag), the serpent-entwined caduceus (see a physician's car in a noparking zone), or the letter "S" (see your local Safeway supermarket), are Masonic or, worse, demonic symbols. What one is supposed to do (except to vawn) is not clear. Refuse dollar bills? Refuse a doctor's treatment? Or what?

Our Founding Fathers, many of whom were Masons and rationalists, were influenced by Masonic imagery. The imagery of construction seemed appropriate for the Great Seal of a new nation and its hopeful political experiment. Symbols we live by. But symbols change meanings and often do not say the same thing to everyone everywhere. A symbol only represents reality; it is not the reality. But conspiracy buffs tie together a variety of symbols from several thousand years of world culture and claim evidence of a worldwide secret conspiracy. One of the most long-lived conspiratorial organizations, we are told, is the Illuminati, a group alleged to have been manipulating world affairs for some centuries.

In a time of distrust of established institutions it is not to be wondered that such a belief flourishes. When matters do not seem to be going well, many anxious folk are susceptible to bizarre "new light." Two powerful appeals enrich promoters of such fads: (1) "I am going to give you the inside dope, which

not even the regular members of Organization X know about!" and (2) "I am going to scare you spitless—which you will rather enjoy and which will confirm what you have suspected all along about the Establishment." Perhaps a conspiratorial world view comes from feelings of helplessness in a messy world with which leaders seem unable to cope. This world is an increasingly frightening place. To blame a conspiracy simplifies matters and also relieves one (or one's country or type of people) of responsibility for the predicament we are in.

Agreed, the borderline between fact and speculation is not easily determined. Fads, such as the occult, UFO's, or recurrent legends such as the Illuminati, may start from some point of fact, but the kernels of truth are so small and the chaff piled so deep, one risks discrediting himself entirely to espouse them. Let us look at how the Illuminati story originated.

A Time Not Unlike Our Own. The late eighteenth century was a time not unlike our own. Accepted political and religious values were being challenged. The Altar-and-Throne combination was being undermined, particularly in Catholic countries. The idle and restless, the "beautiful people," flocked to each fad, and the hitherto rational tone of the Enlightenment was weakened by a wave of romanticism and "sensibility"-Rousseau, so to speak, reacting against Voltaire.1 The spiritual void was filled by anti-intellectual excesses such as mesmerism and occultism. In no place did this kaleidoscopic coming and going of clubs, societies, and movements, with shifting in and out of one group to another, go further than in the German states. Secrecy, needed to reduce harassment by police and censors, strengthened a predilection for symbolism, mumbo jumbo, and the bizarre.

In the strongly clerical and conservative state of Bavaria, one of these radical societies flourished at the Jesuit university of Ingolstadt. Adam Weishaupt (1748-1830), a disgruntled professor of canon law, founded the Illuminati ("the enlightened ones") on May 1, 1776. By no means was this the first time this

immodest title had been used by a dissident group.² The Illuminati program was neither very different in aim nor membership from numerous other groups—long on naive and utopian talk about moral and social regeneration but short on concrete programs. Its most clear-cut concept was a fierce hatred of clericalism as a perversion of the pure principles taught by Christ.³

A Masonic dropout, Baron Adolf von Knigge (1752-1796), from Hanover, seems to have provided the organizing ability; and the Weishaupt society enjoyed notoriety as "radical chic" Germany at the turn of the 1780's. Borrowing ritual and pretentious nomenclature from the Masons, with whose rationalistic wing they momentarily affiliated, the Illuminati attracted mostly university students and junior officials exasperated against clerical regimes they saw as defending superstitution and oppression. Most drifted off shortly, finding little that was original or compelling in the windy and inchoate ruminations of their chiefs.

Weishaupt and Von Knigge soon quarreled, and the society began to disintegrate. Frightened by delations of exmembers, some indiscreet boasting, and prompted by the Jesuits, Elector Charles Theodore took fright and outlawed the society in 1785. The fame of the Illuminati therefore was mostly ex post facto. Both principals had to flee Bavaria, and from his obscure exile Weishaupt wrote long and tedious rebuttals to the attacks made on him and his defunct movement.

A Handy Scapegoat. As early as 1790, some French emigrés were asserting that the Revolution was caused by a Masonic plot. A well-developed taste for the marvelous existed, as it does today, and "romanesque and facile" explanations were much more palatable to losers than was factual analysis. War came in 1792. As French armies began to win, anxiety increased in neighboring lands, for successful armies export ideas more effec-

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tively than plotters.6 German counterrevolutionaries long had a campaign against freethinkers, Masons, and philosophers. Now, joined by refugee clergy and aristocrats from France, Lutheran and Catholic pietists, ex-Masons, and disbanded Jesuits collaborated to defend the emotional, mystical, and sentimental extremes of German political reaction.7 Rosicrucians, deep into symbolic and occult excesses, were particular foes of all rationalists. A noisy press and pamphlet campaign continued through the 1790's, aided by surviving German princes and even by secret funds from the British government.8

The Illuminati offered a handy scapegoat when the campaign gravitated toward conspiracy theories.9 Since many of the emigré aristocrats were themselves Masons, it was necessary to find a particular sect; and the idea that Bavarian Illuminati had seduced French Freemasonry was in print by 1795.10 With naval mutinies and a bloody rising in Ireland, British conservatives were susceptible to the hysteria of French refugees in their midst. The ex-Jesuit Abbé Barruel (1741-1820), already known as a polemicist against encyclopedists, philosophes, and the French revolutionary regime, reached London in 1792 and published his expose in 1797. German and American editions swiftly followed.11

In his classic treatise on conspiracy, Barruel denied the unforeseen. All was "premeditated, prearranged, resolved, and decided upon." For twenty years, three hundred thousand "adepts" had been at work. The present revolution was only the beginning of the universal dissolution the sect planned. He posited three stages: (1) a conspiracy against Christianity by the philosophes, (2) a conspiracy against thrones by Freemasons, (3) a conspiracy against property and social order by the Illuminati, "sophists of implety and anarchy." Therefore, encyclopedists + Masons + Illuminati = Jacobins, The Jacobins, he claimed, "threw off the mask" July 14. 1789—a notable distortion of fact!

Barruel did list some actual agitators, but overlooked so many in various countries that it is obvious he drew

mostly from readily available published sources. He correctly saw the attack on the Old Order as international. "The sect," he asserted, "first announced itself in America, with the first elements of its code of equality, liberty and sovereignty of the people." Significantly, in the English and American translations, the words "in America" were omitted! Palmer suggests that "even for conservative English-speaking persons, it was simply not believable that the American Revolution had been brought about by a sect of adepts, and they might conclude that Barruel's whole thesis was unsound." The ultimate aim of the conspiracy, said Barruel, was to replace God by man, but good government requires organized religion, specifically the pre-1789 combination of Altar and Throne.12

It was coincidence, said Barruel, that the Scot John Robison also published his weaker and less skillful treatise in 1797.13 He was a noted scientist but a political naif with "a total lack of critical intelligence." His laborious data scarcely supported his fevered conclusion that the Illuminati made and directed the French Revolution and were "one great and wicked project fermenting and working all over Europe." Mme. Tallien's inadequate public attire in 1793 ("bared limbs") he traced to Weishaupt's promotion of immorality. Though once a member of a British lodge, he identified the Illuminati with Masonry. Continental lodges he saw as different and more malignant, and heavily infiltrated by the Jesuits! An appeal to Britons to resist seductive doctrines of irreligion, corruption, sensuality, and the destruction of property rights occupied 150 pages. 14

Two Improbabilities. The attractiveness of the Barruel-Robison thesis rests on two improbabilities. The first was the alleged survival of the society after its dissolution. The fragments of data are hardly coercive either way, but more important, there is simply no indication that anyone associated with the group was affected in his later actions by anything specifically attributable to his contact with the Illuminati. 15 Opposing the

Catholic Church, or "superstitution," or autocratic or inefficient government was so general among European bourgeoisie that it passes belief that similar notions advocated by the Illuminati were that different or compelling.

The second improbability was that this German group—however gratifying the notion might be to Germans-could have set up and administered the French Revolution and so effectively coordinated hundreds of thousands of actors that they were all unaware that they were being manipulated. Few eras of history have been more relentlessly combed over by all parties in that contentious, literate, and prolix generation. Besides, a tidal wave of memoirs and histories, police and military records, are now open. Odd that no one suspected all this was going on except a few polemicists doing their writing in countries at war with France! Even if one accepts the idea that Masonic lodges somehow transmuted into Jacobin clubs, there remained many inharmonious varieties of Masonry. And certainly there was much more to the French Revolution than Jacobinism. It takes a very considerable leap of faith to think the Illuminati made much difference.

The Masonic lodges . . . provided a kind of international network of likeminded people. Their existence facilitated the circulation of ideas. But the lodges took no orders from any headquarters, their members never acted as a group, and their very taste for elaborate mystification made them innocuous if not ridiculous in real political life.

Nothing more conspiratorial than the Freemasons has ever been discovered. Belief in a secret, concerted, underground international revolutionary movement, as developed by the French Barruel and the Scotch Robison, and advanced in America by Jedidiah Morse, is an item not in the history of fact but in the history of counter-revolutionary polemics. 16

As Alice was told in *Through the Looking Glass*, one should try to believe at least one impossible thing each day before breakfast.

П

he Illuminati entered American political lore in 1798, during the XYZ* crisis with France. By happy chance, Robison's collection of non sequiturs came to the attention of Jedidiah Morse, a Boston pastor. The idea of a worldwide plot summed up so exactly his view of the parlous state of the nation and the danger to Christian America, that Morse launched his attack on the society in his Fast Day sermon of May 9, 1798, using as his text 2 Kings 19:3-4. The established church had been on the defensive against dissenters and deists for years, but especially since the American Revolution. Federalist New England feared the advent to power of Jefferson's pro-French Republican party in the elections of 1800. These Congregationalist pastors, mostly Federalists, could not imagine a world without a state church to support virtue. At first, Morse had approved of the French Revolution and even the Reign of Terror as bringing deserved woe on the papacy, but he shifted after 1795 and saw the Revolution as infidelity incarnate. America's situation was already almost beyond remedy. "Atheistical, licentious, disor-

* In 1798 by orders of the French Directory, one thousand American vessels had been stopped on the high seas for examination. President Adams sent three commissioners to negotiate a treaty which would do away with this annoyance. The commissioners were met in France by three agents, who demanded a large sum of money before the Directory would receive the commission, and also notified the commission that France would expect a loan from the United States if satisfaction of any other kind was to be given. The commissioners rejected this and were ordered out of France. Their report was published at once in the United States, and in it the French agents were labeled X, Y, and Z. The United States increased its army and navy, and hostilities were actually begun when Talleyrand disavowed any connection with the agents and agreed to receive any minister the United States might send.

ganizing principles" were everywhere. "God has a controversy with this nation." ¹⁷

The State of the Nation. One must remember the helpless position of the new American republic, buffeted in the struggle between France and Britain that was to go on with only brief interruption from 1792 to 1815. American public opinion yawed violently in the 1790's. The arrogance of Genêt, the French envoy in 1793, embarrassed the Jeffersonians; then the Jay Treaty, surely one of the most unpopular in American history, swung the public violently against the Federalists. The XYZ Affair and the bullying by the French reversed opinion again, and war was barely averted in 1798 by President Adams, though at some cost to his position in his own party. Then the Federalists overreached themselves by attempting to muzzle the press with the Alien and Sedition Acts.

Such was the state of the country during the presidency of John Adams—divided by interminable contention, bewildered by accusation and counter accusation, flooded by propaganda, with its citizens appealing to foreigners in their disputes with each other, beset by laws against sedition and their partisan enforcement, . . . carrying on actual hostilities with France at sea, and with important men clamoring for all-out war against that infidel republic, . . . and alliance solicited with Great Britain. 18

New England pulpits rang with charges of atheism and infidelity against the Republicans and their Jacobin friends, but, after all, the jeremiad was a long-established Puritan sermonic form.

Morse announced the terrifying plot in his sermon and elaborated details in a printed version. He noted that "reading societies" had indeed existed in some American towns. Robison's book stressed the Masonic connection, but Morse prudentially muted the sound of his trumpet on this point, showing he well knew what he was about, for most of the leaders of his own party were Masons—Washington, Hamilton, Jay, Revere, to mention a few. (Once

Morse's critics got hold of the Robison book and noted Morse's omissions, he too had to develop a distinction between better and worse Masons.) Other Federalist clergy joined in, notably Timothy Dwight, of Yale. Said Dwight:

"The sins of these enemies of Christ, and Christians, are of numbers and degrees which mock account and description. All the malice and atheism of the Dragon, the cruelty and rapacity of the Beast, and the fraud and deceit of the false Prophet, can generate, or accomplish, swell the list. . . . Shall we, my brethren, become partakers of these sins? Shall we introduce them into our government, our schools, our families? Shall our sons become the disciples of Voltaire, and the dragoons of Marat; or our daughters the concubines of the Illuminati?" 19

Tying the conspiracy in with the Whiskey Rebellion in Pennsylvania. Abiel Abbot, of Haverhill, said it was now "generally believed that the present day is unfolding a design the most flagitious, and diabolical, that human art and malice have ever invented. Its object is the total destruction of all religion and civil order." 20 Printed sermons and newspaper articles in this vein abound. but one admirer of Theodore Dwightbrother of Timothy—got to the heart of the matter when he wrote that Dwight convinced him that Jefferson "is the real Jacobin, the very child of modern illumination, the foe of man, and the enemy of his country." 21

The Counterattack. Peevish critics began to demand specifics and proof. Had anyone ever seen an Illuminatus in America? What evidence of their handiwork could anyone point to? Morse returned to the attack in his vehement sermon of November 29, 1798. Privately, he tried to get information on members of the Masonic lodges with French connections, but was disappointed to learn that they were all considered sound and respectable citizens.

Robison's book was soon reprinted in New York and elsewhere and enjoyed (Continued on page 26)

History Backstage

By O. J. Mills

no place in the Bible, or in history, are truth and error brought into closer proximity than in Revelation 13:11: "I beheld," said John, "another beast coming up out of the earth; and he had two horns like a lamb, and he spake as a dragon."

A lamb and a dragon? Could more paradoxical symbols be used? And yet no combination could more accurately focus man's attention upon the final phase of the cosmic warfare between tyranny and freedom.

"He had two horns like a lamb." Throughout the book of Revelation, Jesus is pictured as a lamb. John beholds Him first as "a Lamb as it had been slain," "in the midst of the throne." ¹ That is. He is in the very center of the universe, surrounded by "every creature which is in heaven, and on the earth, and under the earth, and such as are in the sea." ² John sees Him again as the returning Lamb coming in the clouds of heaven.

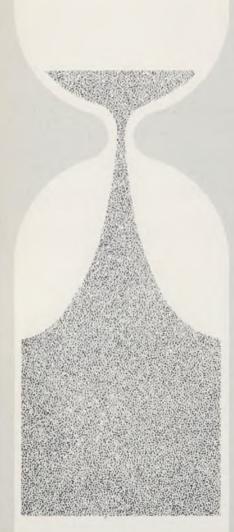
In one or the other of these roles Christ is pictured repeatedly in John's "Revelation of Jesus Christ." Thus John focuses our attention on a power that has characteristics similar to those of Christ. But the lamblike beast speaks "as a dragon." John identifies the dragon as "that old serpent, called the Devil, and Satan, which deceiveth the whole world." We find him lifting his ugly head time after time as the great conflict between truth and error is delineated by the revelator.

The dragon is discovered in some of the most deeply spiritual settings. John first glimpses him in heaven itself, perfect from the day of his creation,⁵ cherishing a covetousness that breaks into open rebellion.⁶ He is "cast out into the earth" with "his angels," who sided with him in the conflict.

Unless we acknowledge with the apostle Paul that "we are not contending against flesh and blood, but against the principalities, against the powers, against the world rulers of this present darkness, against the spiritual hosts of wickedness in the heavenly places," life is only a puzzle and man merely a shadow on the darkening landscape of time; and H. G. Wells was right when he said, "The stars in their courses have turned against man, and he has to give place to some other animal better adapted to face the fate that closes in ""

The wisdom of the Bible stands forth in sunny outline, bold and clear, when we study man's shallow records under the penetrating revelation that two great supernatural agencies are contending for the supremacy of the world. All history, religious and secular, takes on new significance, and all life new meaning, when we permit the Bible to draw aside the curtain, allowing us to observe two great spiritual kingdoms influencing the movements of earth, the growth of nations, the rise and fall of empires, the destinies of individuals. Only through perceiving events backstage can we make decisions decisive enough to align ourselves positively with the ultimately triumphant kingdom of light.

The dragon, "that old serpent, called the Devil, and Satan," is always pictured as an avowed foe of the Lamb, but not always as an open enemy of the truth. He whom Jesus saw "as lightning fall from heaven" ¹⁰ usually poses as an ambassador from heaven. He works his way into the highest places of worship, where he may more subtly pervert truth



Unless we view history from the vantage point of revelation, life is only a puzzle and man merely a shadow on the darkening landscape of time.

into error and then more authoritatively palm off the counterfeit for the genuine.

Paul categorically states, "Satan himself is transformed into an angel of light." ¹¹ Posing as an apostle of Christ, he chooses men to represent him in civil and religious offices who have been deceived into believing that they represent the Lord of heaven. Transforming unconverted men into "ministers of right-eousness," ¹² he has founded great systems of government and religion in the name of Christ, systems that have deceived multitudes into believing they were promoting freedom only to discover too late they had been used as instruments of tyranny.

The last book of the Bible, "The Revelation of Jesus Christ," has been given to unmask Satan by uncovering the underlying principles that have inspired dictatorships and authoritarianism through the ages.

Satan would lead us to believe that all worship is good; that all forms of religion are of God, shaded in various ways, to meet the varying temperaments of men. Even the most primitive forms of heathen worship, it is often taught, have their virtues.

Jesus acknowledged that there are various ways that men may worship Him, but notice His conclusion: "In vain they do worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men." ¹⁸

Revelation 13:4 reveals that multitudes, thinking they were worshiping. God, actually worshiped Satan at the false shrine of a counterfeit system of religion: "And they worshiped the dragon which gave power unto the beast."

A further evil of vain worship often is its intolerance and persecution of those

who would choose to worship differently from the established form. Early in history we observe the operation of this principle. Two religious men, both worshipers of God, present themselves at the altar, each with his offering. Cain worships according to his own view of how the offering should be presented. Abel follows the revelation given by God. Abel's humility and submission to the divine will found acceptance with the Lord, "but for Cain and his offering he had no regard." 14 Though Cain could find no justification for his adaptation of divine revelation, he persisted in his perversion of worship and established the pattern of history: "Cain said to Abel his brother, 'Let us go out to the field.' And when they were in the field, Cain rose up against his brother Abel, and killed him." 15

Jesus spoke of this principle of intolerance when He said, "They shall put you out of the synagogues: yea, the time cometh, that whosoever killeth you will think that he doeth God service." 16

The apostle Paul acknowledged of his religious experience before his conversion: "I verily thought with myself, that I ought to do many things contrary to the name of Jesus of Nazareth. Which thing I also did in Jerusalem: and many of the saints did I shut up in prison, having received authority from the chief priests; and when they were put to death, I gave my voice against them. And I punished them oft in every synagogue, and compelled them to blaspheme; and being exceedingly mad against them, I persecuted them even unto strange cities." ¹⁷

It is Satan's avowed purpose to get men to violate the eternal principles of righteousness. What he cannot accomplish otherwise, he seeks to achieve through force and tyranny. It is his strategy to gain control of leaders of church and state and through them to enforce his will upon the masses by threat, intimidation, and abuse.

Those who firmly stand true to principle stir the depths of the dragon's wrath, and he sets out to exterminate them. So has it been through the centuries. So shall it be in the remnant of time. Says John, presenting the church under the symbolism of a pure woman, as she is consistently portrayed in prophecy: "The dragon was wroth with the woman, and went to make war with the remnant of her seed, which keep the commandments of God." 18

References

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- 6 Isaiah 14:12-14.
- ⁷ Revelation 12:7-9; see also Luke 10:18.
- 8 Ephesians 6:12, R.S.V.
- ⁹ H. G. Wells, *Mind at the End of Its Tether*, as quoted in the Chicago *Sun*, Nov. 7, 1945, p. 3.
- 10 Luke 10:18.
- 11 2 Corinthians 11:14.
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- 13 Matthew 15:9.
- 14 Genesis 4:5, R.S.V.
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The Chosen People



Firm belief in the nation's divine mission was the conviction of many of our Founding Fathers.

By Maurice Ross

hen the first shot of the American Revolution was fired at Lexington, Samuel Adams exclaimed: "Oh, what a glorious morning!" Then he praised the Lord.

Adams, like the colonists who landed at Plymouth, sincerely believed that this new land was God's country and there was a divine mission to be accomplished. The early colonial settlers were told that they had been chosen to create a model community for all mankind.

They listened attentively to their ministers' words, and the flow of spoken words made up amply for the lack of published works. Thus the sermon became the perfect medium of the mind, much more direct and personal than the written word.

Shortly, the men of God developed what was called the plain style of preaching, stressing the practical consequence of dogma instead of the theoretical. A minister pointed out to his flock that Jesus did not beat around the bush. "He lets fly poynt blanck," the pastor explained

From several accounts, the early American sermon was more like a lawyer's brief than a work of art. It had a starting point—a Bible text—supported by reasons, and it applied the doctrine for instructional purposes.

Actually, the community and the church were one, and the sermon was the tie that bound them. It was the accepted expression and the self-criticism of the group, a constant declaration of independence. The most impressive feature of a public event was usually the sermon

By the time of the Revolution firm belief in the nation's divine mission became the political conviction of many Founding Fathers. From the pulpit came the words that American independence had been God's wish. At every critical stage He had sent valuable supplies and ammunition. Did not France and Spain get drawn into our fight and enable Washington to carry on?

But the loyalists, too, had their preachers, and their most effective medium was the sermon also. They were just as eager to rid the country of French troops as the patriots were to blast the English off our shores.

"We will never yield to the pimps or the armies of Louis," was the loyalist war cry. They referred to Louis XVI, the young king of France.

"How," they asked, "could Godfearing people who, not so long ago, had fought the effeminate, frog-eating gentry, explain an alliance with this natural enemy who would impose popery upon America?"

The revolutionary ministers answered emphatically in their sermons that God in His infinite wisdom had directed the French to come to our aid; and they, the patriotic preachers, wholeheartedly supported this heavenly dispensation.

Quite often could be heard resounding in the house of God these words: "Cursed he that keepeth back his sword from blood!"

A soldier wrote, "It was a most just and holy war... to secure ourselves and our posterity the inestimable blessings of liberty."

In the history of mankind, the American Revolution is unique. It was led 200 years ago by a small group of men on a divine mission. Daring and tenacious, they achieved their seemingly impossible goal because they firmly believed that God was on their side.

Maurice Ross was professor of French at Purdue University, West Lafayette, Indiana, at the time he wrote this article.



OF TARES AND HERETICS

A parable from the lips of Jesus has strongly influenced the growth of religious freedom.

By S. J. Schwantes

is a frosty morning of May in Coire, a Protestant village in the Grisons, Switzerland. The year is 1570. A bookseller under suspicion of heresy is brought before the Council.

"What is your name?" asks the presiding officer gruffly.

"George Frell, your grace."

"Mr. Frell, we are informed you haven't been to church lately."

"No, your grace."

"Why not?"

"Methinks I will go hear the preacher, if he preaches according to the Word of God."

"Mr. Frell, we understand your children have not been baptized."

"That's true, your grace."

"You know that is a serious offense."
(The air in the poorly lit chamber is tense.)

"I beg your pardon, your grace, to declare that in my opinion the baptism of children is not essential to salvation."

The counselors gasp in dismay. But none dare to pronounce the fateful word "Anabaptist."

"What books do you sell in your library?"

"Books that enlighten the spirit and lift the soul. Is anything wrong about selling books?"

"Wrong . . . well, no," mutters the president, "but . . . we are informed you have the damned books of Menno Simons and Schwenkfeld."

"Right, your grace. But such books can harm no one."

The Council knows its duty, but it hesitates. There is such a transparent sincerity about this Mr. Frell. Servetus had been burned to death in Geneva just

a few years before, accused of heresy. And in humanistic Basel, the body of David Joris had been exhumed from an aristocrat's tomb in the church of Saint-Leonard to be burned in a typical autodafe, after his identity as an Anabaptist had been established. But the consciences of Christian people are smarting at the incongruities of putting people to death in the name of religion.

Public sympathy is with Mr. Frell. The Council would grant him a delay, were it not for the vicious attack of the local preacher, Tobi Egli. If the Council refuses imprisonment, he will press for

Siegfried Schwantes is professor of Old Testament history, Department of Theology, Montemorelos University, Montemorelos, Mexico. banishment of the heretic. The eloquence of Egli carries the hesitant members of the Council.

"Mr. Frell, be it known to you, that since you refuse to abandon your error, this Council solemnly revokes your permit to live in Coire. You shall depart from this town by tomorrow, so that your pestilential heresy may not defile the religious honor of this most Christian community."

Happily for Frell, another preacher in Coire, Jean Gantner, who had imbibed the teachings of the great humanist Sebastien Castillion in the University of Basel, felt it his duty to defend Frell. The debate, which seemed to have ended with the departure of Frell, took a new turn in the annual synod of June, 1570. Because anti-Trinitarian doctrines were being propagated by Italian refugees, the zealous Egli convinced the synod and local authorities to publish a decree demanding that inhabitants of the three counties of the Grisons choose between the Catholic and the Reformed faith. Should they opt for the Reformed Church, they must submit to the confession of faith of the synod of Coire and renounce every opinion suspected of Anabaptism or Arianism.

Contrary to expectation, the decree provoked widespread protests in Coire and elsewhere. The challenge to religious freedom in his parish was courageously taken up by Gantner. On October 7, 1570 he preached a sermon based on the Parable of the Tares (Matthew 13), that he developed in a masterly way, arguing for absolute tolerance of religion. To the zealous servants indignant at the presence of tares among the wheat, Gantner pointed out, the householder replied: ""No, lest in gathering the weeds you root up the wheat along with them. Let both grow together until the harvest"" (Matthew 13:29, 30, R.S.V.).

The effect of this sermon and others, through the winter, was enormous. Even the inquisitorial Tobie Egli, whose testimony is suspect, had to admit: "Most of the listeners deceived by a false appearance of merciful charity, began to defend the Anabaptists as true saints." To this he bitterly adds: In a little time "he gained so well the spirit of the simple that in town nobody dared to speak

against the heretics." ² The debates were taken up repeatedly in the synod of Coire, but public opinion had so changed that Tobie Egli and the synod were unable to obtain either the revocation of Gantner or the expulsion of the bookseller Frell. Be it said to the honor of Egli that when the plague raged in Coire in 1574, he died rendering service to the sick and the dying.

The parable of the wheat and the tares, so ably expounded by the resourceful Gantner, became one of the classic texts in the controversies of the Reformation. In it the champions of religious toleration found a priceless arsenal. Its simple truths cut their way to the conscience of men everywhere until the principle of toleration gained recognition as one of man's innate rights.

John Gantner may have learned of the value of the parable from the writings of Sébastien Castellion, a French humanist, who had accepted the reformed teachings. After a brief stay in Geneva, where he was principal of the City College, he moved to the more congenial Basel, where he became professor of Greek at the university (1553).

Earlier, while eking out a miserable existence as a proofreader, Castellion published a translation of the Bible in Latin. In the preface, dedicated to the young king of England, Edward VI, Castellion expressed for the first time his ideas concerning toleration toward heretics. He too found profound arguments for his thesis in the Parable of the Tares:

"Shall we be bloodthirsty and murderers because of the zeal we have for Christ, who so that the blood of others be not shed, shed His own? Because of zeal for Christ, shall we root up the tares, when He, in order that the wheat be not rooted up, ordered that the tares be left till the harvest? Because of zeal for Christ, shall we persecute others, when He commanded that if someone smites our right cheek, we should offer to him the left?" 3

The spirit of persecution, says Castellion, is a foolish presumption on the part of man. Punishment belongs to God:

"Let us wait for the sentence of the just Judge and let us beware of condemning others... Let us obey the just Judge, and leave the tares until the harvest... The end of the world is not yet

come, and we are not angels, to whom this charge is committed."

The most important book of Castellion carries the title *Concerning Heretics*, and was published in Basel in 1554. Among his authorities Castellion quoted Conrad Pellican, professor of Hebrew in Zurich, who had written a commentary on the New Testament. In his exposition of Matthew 13 Pellican had written:

"The servants who want to gather the tares before time are those who esteem that the false apostles and heretical teachers should be punished by the sword and by death. The householder does not want that they be put to death, but he spares them in the hope they will mend and be converted from tares into wheat. If they do not mend, let them be reserved to their judge who will punish them." 4

Castellion's call for religious toleration didn't fail to draw thunderbolts from the two paragons of religious absolutism in Geneva: John Calvin and Theodore Beza. The same year, 1554, Beza composed his replica, Concerning the Authority of the Magistrate to Punish Heretics, published first in Latin and a few years later in French. In it he thunders:

"Beware, beware of this false charity . . . which to spare I don't know how many wolves risks to endanger the whole flock of Jesus Christ! Know, all ye faithful magistrates . . . in order to serve God well, who put the sword in your hand to keep the honor and glory of His majesty, strike valiantly with the sword for the safety of the flock against all these monsters disguised in men." 5

In Concerning Heretics, Castellion also quotes Martin Luther's comment on the parable of the tares found in his book Concerning the Authority of the Magistrate (1523). From the parable, the German reformer draws a lesson he himself forgot in the aftermath of the Peasant's Revolt:

"We see by this text the great and enormous folly which we have practiced till now, constraining the Turks to embrace the faith by means of war, burning heretics and hoping to convince the Jews by fear of death and other injuries. Doing this, we want with all our might to root up the tares as if we were the ones having power over the hearts and spirits of others to make men turn to justice and

goodness!"6

The seminal influence of the Parable of the Tares may be attributed to Erasmus himself, the prince of humanists (1466-1536). In his polemics with the reactionary Noel Beda, syndic of the faculty of theology of Paris, and with the Spanish monks who masterminded the Inquisition, Erasmus finds no better arguments than the ones the parable furnished him.⁷

Erasmus was acquainted with the medieval commentaries on this parable. Some authorities explained that it was necessary to tolerate the tares until the Church was well established, but then they might be destroyed. St. Thomas Aquinas believed that the tares might be rooted up if they were so distinct from the grain that there would be no mistake. Erasmus answered by saying that he didn't feel authorized to introduce into the sacred text such worldly explanations. To him the teaching of the parable indicted the Inquisition.

The influence of the parable spanned the whole century of the Reformation, and certainly inclined consciences toward respect for religious convictions. But many would still suffer imprisonment or exile, when not death itself, before divine light dissipated the miasma of religious absolutism.

One such victim was Bernardino Ochino, born in Sienna, Italy, in 1487. Appointed in 1538 General of the Order of the Capuchins, he became known as the greatest preacher in Italy. Soon after, he adhered to the Reformation and fled to Geneva in 1542. He married the following year, and later lived in Zurich as the pastor of the Protestant refugees from Locarno. There in 1563 he published his Dialogues, which won him the wrath of the magistrates. Without even giving him the benefit of a public audience, the Senate of Zurich ordered his banishment. He appealed, but the subsequent inquest only revealed more clearly his dogmatic errors.

In midwinter, Ochino was an expatriate. He went to Basel, but Basel refused asylum. After a stay in Germany, he tried Poland, soon to become the refuge of many Italian nonconformists. But Poland, too, closed the door. After seeing his five children die of the plague, he himself fell victim to it early in 1565, in the Anabaptist colony of Austerlitz in

Moravia.

Ochino's views on religious toleration were set forth in Dialogue 28. The imaginary dialogue takes place between Pius IV, the ruling pope, and Cardinal Morone, who is supposed to defend the case for toleration. He considers three cases of heresy in order of gravity. The first concerns error on a point of doctrine not essential to salvation. Such error doesn't deserve death in any way. The second case concerns the heretic who errs by imprudence on points essential to salvation. Such a man should be enlightened, not killed:

"Heresy is a spiritual thing, it cannot be extirpated from the soul neither by scalpels, nor by swords, not even by fire, but only by the Word of God. This dissipates all the darkness of error, once it has enlightened the spirit. That's why Saint Paul says: 'The weapons of our warfare are not worldly' (2 Corinthians 10:4, R.S.V.)."

The third case is of the heretic who knowingly denies a truth essential to salvation. He should not be burned either, since no one can read the heart.

Cardinal Morone: "What can we know about man's inner disposition?"

Pius IV: "We certainly can judge him by his dead fruits."

Cardinal Morone: "But which?"

Pius IV: "Blasphemy, idolatry. The law of Moses demands that such be put to death."

Cardinal Morone: "We are not obligated to follow all strictures of the laws of Moses. Many such laws pertained only to the theocracy."

Cardinal Morone, the spokesman for Ochino, reviews all Biblical texts that Castellion had so ably argued in his defense of heretics: the parable of the tares; the answer of Christ to the sons of Zebedee: "Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of" (Luke 9:55); the answer of Gamaliel to the Jews: "Keep away from these men and let them alone" (Acts 5:38, R.S.V.); Paul's answer to Titus concerning a heretic: "Have nothing more to do with him" (Titus 3:10, R.S.V.). May the magistrate reserve the sword, concludes Morone, for the crimes of common law.8

But such truths echoed faintly in most 16th-century hearts. A few more heretics had to die, a few more fires had to burn to illuminate the conscience. A generation later, in the New World, Roger Williams used the Parable of the Tares to make an eloquent appeal for freedom of conscience. He took the lesson of the parable beyond Castellion's application, and even beyond his contemporaries.

Whereas Williams' chief antagonist, John Cotton, the puritan minister of New England, saw in the tares the hypocrites that one should tolerate in the Church, Roger Williams saw in them the heretics and non-Christians which one should leave in peace in the world, even though they might be excluded from the Church. And whereas for John Cotton "the field" in the parable designates the Church, for Roger Williams this "field" designates the world. Cotton, a partisan of church-state union, wants hypocrites to be tolerated, but heretics he would leave to the State to punish. Roger Williams, on the contrary, advocates the excommunication of hypocrites and heretics to keep the church pure, but excommunication, he holds, does not touch the civil life.9

It was the viewpoint of Roger Williams that triumphed in America. Still to our ears ring the words of our Lord in the Parable of the Tares: "Let both grow together until the harvest"—good and bad, saints and heretics. This masterly statement contained the seed of religious toleration which, in the fertile soil of the New World, germinated and produced in due season the blessed harvest of religious freedom.

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- ⁴ F. Buisson, op. cit., p. 396.
- ⁵ Theodore Beza, *Traitee de l'autorite*, p. 31, quoted in F. Buisson, *op. cit.*, p. 331.
 - ⁶ F. Buisson, op. cit., p. 380.
- ⁷ R. Bainton, *Concerning Heretics*, pp. 169-183, quoted in J. Lecler, *op. cit.*, p. 328.
- ⁸ J. Lecler, op. cit., pp. 349, 350.
- ⁹ R. Williams, *The Bloody Tenent of Persecution*, pp. 97-118, especially the summary on p. 118, reprinted in *Complete Writings of Roger Williams*, vol. 3 (New York, 1963).

(Continued from page 19)

some success. Later, Barruel's work was also published in America, abridged, but because the furor was abating by then, it seems not to have sold well. By the end of 1798 the violent and sarcastic Republican counterattack was having its effect, and the accusation that Morse and friends were using the pulpit for political purposes was especially damaging. Furious, but unable to supply specifics, Morse saw his campaign fizzle out in early 1799.²²

The election of 1800 was fought with memorable bitterness, winding up in the House of Representatives where it took 35 ballots before Jefferson could be declared elected. Happily, religion and civil government both survived. Morse, Dwight, and their Congregationalist friends might have consoled themselves had they realized that the Massachusetts union of church and state still had 35 years to go, even with all the infidel conspiracies one might imagine. Freemasons, stung by the calumnies of Morse's group, hurried to demonstrate their patriotism by almost exaggerated visibility at Brother Washington's funeral in 1799. A Connecticut Jeffersonian said in 1800; "Robison and Barruel can deceive us no more. The 17 sophistical work-shops of Satan have never been found: not one illuminatus major or minor has been discovered in America. ** 23



eriodically, since 1800, the legend of a superconspiracy has been called into service in American politics. 24 The anti-Masonic movements after 1827 saw Robison and Barruel in use again. This time it was not a European revolutionary plot as much as egalitarianism protesting a secret fraternity of the wealthy and the elite. No doubt Masons did favor their lodge brothers in business or politics, as those with common interests have always done, but it was resented as undemocratic at a time when universal suffrage was coming in. (Phi Beta Kappa

was also attacked as a "secret" society.) Defeat of Sunday law forces in the 1835 effort to end Sunday mail service was charged to Masonic machinations. His enemies claimed that President Andrew Jackson, a Mason, was presumably both a deist and a sabbathbreaker. ²⁵ Anti-Masonism was but the first of numerous mutations of the Illuminati story. ²⁶

From then to the Civil War, Catholics and Mormons took the brunt of conspiracy accusations. Catholic immigration was becoming heavy (and Irish), and Mormon practices such as polygamy were resented too. Samuel F. B. Morse. son of Jedidiah and inventor of the telegraph, was active in these battles. With no intentional humor, he identified Hapsburg Austria as paymaster and manager of the Catholic conspiracy in the U.S.A. Both slave and antislavery groups, in the intensity of their feelings at this time, also tended to see the other as run by a conspiracy and each placed the headquarters of the other's plot in London.27

Nativism and conspiracy theories recurred at intervals after the Civil War, again the usual targets being Catholics, Masons, and Mormons. The Illuminati legend reappeared, once again as a revolutionary conspiracy, though this time the chief was identified as the Masonic leader in the U.S. "General" Albert Pike (1809-1891) in fact did reorganize the Scottish Rite in the Southern Jurisdiction after the Civil War. He was alleged to be plotting with socialist revolutionaries in Europe. 28

The Last Group Off the Boat. Radical theories gained a new element after 1870 with the increase of Jewish immigration to the United States. ²⁹ (The last racial or religious group off the boat always seems to have attracted the most intense suspicion from the nativists.) In complete disregard of the behavior of Jesuits and Masons in the church-state battles then raging in France, Germany, and Italy, they were lumped together as coconspirators.

By the 1890's, fears of anarchism and socialism mingled with anti-Semitism, endemic in Christian Europe and high just then in Russia, France, and Ro-

mania. American populists and radicals feared the money lords and monopolists and thus extremists of right and left could join in at least some of their suspicions. Conspiracy devotees in the anything-but-gay nineties had an infinite variety of combinations and permutations of new and old theories to work with. Catholics were targets of the American Protective Association in the United States, but were themselves equally credulous about conspiracy charges against Freemasons in Europe.

The Russian Revolution revived conspiracy theories after World War I. One could now bring together in one conspiracv model sinister wealth, Jews, and revolution-Rothschilds and Bolsheviks. Through the 1930's, connecting Jews and Revolution became a Fascist staple.30 The theme of plotting Jews was traced through medieval cabalistic "wisdom" and Masonic symbolism to the medieval Templars, alleged enemies of Altar and Throne. None of this was new, but it was perhaps "new light" to learn that the Illuminati arranged the crucifixion of Christ and they were the ones to whom He was referring when He said, "By their fruits ye shall know them." 31

Today's Conspiracy. The present publicity for the Illuminati dates from the 1950's, when the theme was revived and revised as part of the conspiracy model favored by the John Birch Society. Catholic, Masonic, and Jewish components have been dropped or muted and the combo of revolutionists and world financiers remains. Today's conspiracy is seen as a survival of the Illuminati and asserts a direct line of descent from Weishaupt through Marxism to the Western financiers, who orchestrate the entire world scene, including the internal and external affairs of both Eastern and Eastern bloc powers. Therefore, nations only appear to be opposing each other in the confrontations of the past thirty years. In recent writing, the term "Illuminati" is not much used; Insiders, Bilderbergers, Trilateral Commission, or the Council on Foreign Relations do the tasks that used to be credited to Illuminati, and are identified as the puppetmasters who lead the conspiracy today.

It is curious but probably should not be surprising that some conspiracy views from the left also pinpoint the same villains; and both right and left probably drink, in a sense, from the same populist well. Both assert that a concentration of intellect and finance on the Eastern seaboard, what the British would term the "old boy" network, dominates high-level government and finance.³²

In-circulation currently is at least one other Illuminati variant, dipping back into the anti-Masonic and anti-Catholic lore of the nineteenth century and tying it in with the occult fad. One meets in this particular set of taped lectures all the spooky garbage of yesteryear, and one sadly murmurs with Solomon (alleged inventor of the occult symbolism): "There is nothing new under the sun." Plus ça change, plus de même chose.

IV

we consider the durable Illuminati legend as a "case study," we can see that a major problem is in the use of historical materials. All assertions are not of equal weight. A mélange of truth and error, clothed in ostensibly scholarly apparatus of the footnote, may be swallowed without question for two reasons—it fits the presuppositions of the "researcher" and, second, the nature of historical investigation is not properly understood.

Footnotes may be ever so accurate in the sense they correctly quote a statement, but the statement itself may be worthless as proof. A quote must be checked; first, to see if it was ever said at all, and, if said, in what context. What else was said? Did the speaker or writer mean what he is now represented as meaning? Is his testimony credible? In other words, critical evaluation of sources is essential to come even close to historical verity. The flat assertions that "scholars have found," "everyone knows," or "I have in my hand a document," are beneath contempt as evidence. They rank with the mysterious book only the charlatan who is speaking has had access to and will now tell you about!

A characteristic that recurs in most expositions of conspiracy theories is the meticulous and plodding devotion to "facts," usually, today, in a plethora of footnotes, or the use in extenso of a document, real or imaginary. Then comes the leap of faith, the fantastic jump from specifics to a conclusion that shows little connection with the alleged supporting "facts." Relentless logic, heavy with citations, jumps to the breathtaking non sequitur. To reduce painful, complex developments to simple explanations, ignoring all the play and counterplay of human activity and the complexities of human social behavior, is an irresistible temptation to those frustrated by the direction in which history's currents seem to be running.

Of Myths and Legends. It is hard work to unravel some myths and legends. They have been around a long time; they overlap each other in the thickets of cultism; they have been wonderfully adapted to serve someone's special thesis. Historical research, properly so called, is not ransacking the historical grab bag. The a priori method often goes with tunnel vision, simply tuning out complexities or conflicting data. It is not research—a much abused and loosely used term—but a dangerous perversion of scholarship, doubly so because not only is the credulous audience taken in but probably the enthusiastic "researcher" himself.

Few historical phenomena are more complex than the building up of a revolutionary movement, whether political or religious. To blame it on a single group of conspirators, even if they had the longevity and cleverness claimed for them, would be an extreme case of reductionism-reducing a complicated situation to a single explanation or cause. The extreme of this view is that everything happening in the neighborhood, the nation, or the world is manipulated by "them" in a kind of puppet show. Those who see history as simply conspiracy ignore experience with real people and situations and see the world in apocalyptic-confrontation terms. Since their total good is never achievable, they see total evil as having its way and paranoia and frustration are necessarily heightened.

L. B. Namier once said that "the crowning attainment of historical study" is to achieve "an intuitive sense of how things do not happen." It is precisely this kind of awareness that the paranoid fails to develop. He has a special resistance of his own, of course, to such awareness, but circumstances often deprive him of exposure to events that might enlighten him. We are all sufferers from history, but the paranoid is a double sufferer, since he is afflicted not only by the real world with the rest of us but by his fantasies, as well.³³

Conspiracies are frequent and some are important. Christians, of course, would see the satanic rebellion against the divine order of the universe as the supreme conspiracy, but that is hardly the same as having a single human front organization to coordinate all the world's complexities. The wicked trouble the righteous, to be sure; but the wicked don't get on too well with one another either. (Sin is essentially confusion and cross-purposes, after all.) The belief that there is a human integrating cabal, lasting through centuries and with supernal skill and success, manipulating all movements, governments, and important individuals, leaves history behind and moves into fantasy. To assume that convergent purposes or momentary collaboration against a common foe proves central direction or identical goals, that accident and human choice are meaningless, ignores experience. We have a responsibility as citizens to think clearly, even in an age of increasing irrationality. With some understanding of human behavior, with a care for the quality of information we accept, we will not buy these farfetched concepts but will recognize them as recurrent expressions of pessimism reflecting the fears and needs of insecure people in troubled times.

(References on following page)

References and Notes

¹ An excellent discussion of the intellectual currents before and during the French Revolution is in R. R. Palmer. The Age of Democratic Revolution: A Political History of Europe and America, 1760-1820 (Princeton: 1959), 2 vols. Examples of the forms taken by some of the cults and anti-rational manifestations of this reaction against the Enlightenment are found in Clarke Garrett, Respectable Folly: Millenarians and the French Revolution in France and England (Baltimore: 1975). The Avignon Society (pp. 97-120), a Masonic offshoot with elaborate symbolism and liturgy, is one example which attracted the suspicions of French Revolutionary security police.

² In the period from the fifteenth to the nineteenth centuries, the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* finds six dissimilar groups calling themselves by that name. Some were mystics seeking direct contact with divinity; others were promoting "clarified and exalted" intelligence of a secular variety. Art. "Illumin-

ati," 11th ed. (1910), XIV:320.

³ The standard treatment of the topic in English remains Vernon Stauffer, *New England and the Bavarian Illuminati* (New York: 1918). The European origins are covered in pages 142-228.

⁴ Palmer, II:429, 430.

⁵ For a succinct account of the German counter-revolutionary attacks on the rationalists, see Jacques Droz, "La Legende du complot illuministe et les origines du romantisme politique en Allemagne," *Revue Historique*, vol. 226, (October-December, 1961), pp. 313-338.

⁶ Palmer notes that the rather helterskelter French revolutionary government lacked any international propaganda agency and was frequently nonplused when confronted with foreign sympathizers wishing to assist. Furthermore, Jacobins were every bit as paranoid as their opponents, suspecting plots engineered with "Pitt's gold."

⁷ Droz, op. cit., pp. 318-321, 329-333, 336. Both German Protestants and Catholics viewed the recent dissolution of the Jesuit Order as "a catastrophe for Europe," opening the way for Satan to corrupt mankind with "insensate" ideas such as liberty and equality and the "cancer of freedom of the press." The supreme need then was to preserve the Catholic church. Some pietists did, however, suspect Jesuits and Masons of working together, though the Jesuits had been assailing Masons for years for advocating religious toleration which would be a first step toward destroying religion altogether. Conservatives in both confessions came to feel they must

cooperate against liberal ideas.

⁸ Palmer, op. cit., vol. 2, pp. 53, 54. The literature is voluminous and almost none of it is in English. Counting the pamphlets, it runs to hundreds of titles. Bibliographies are found in Droz and Stauffer.

⁹ Droz, op. cit., pp. 316-319.

10 Ibid., pp. 313, 314.

¹¹ Augustin Barruel, Memoires pour servir a l'Histoire du Jacobisme, 4 vols. (The title varies slightly with each edition.) When the Society of Jesus was revived in 1814, Barruel rejoined. A more significant critic of revolutionary ideas was Joseph de Maistre, who pointed out that no society could exist with liberty for private persons to criticize or to exercise such aberrations as 'reason.' In consequence, Catholicism has to be the cement that holds society together (Palmer, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 251).

¹² Palmer, op. cit., vol. 2, pp. 251-255;

Droz, op. cit., p. 315.

13 John Robison, Proofs of a Conspiracy against all the Religions and Governments of Europe, carried on in the Secret Meetings of the Free Masons, Illuminati, and Reading Societies (London: 1797). (Reissued by Western Isles (publishers) in 1967 with new preface.) According to John Reeves (c. 1793) in his Thoughts on the English Government Addressed to the Quiet Good Sense of the People of England, the Protestant Reformation and the French Revolution were the twin sources of evil in modern times (Palmer, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 488).

¹⁴ Stauffer, op. cit., p. 208; Richard Hofstadter, The Paranoid Style in American Politics and Other Essays (New York: 1967), p.

¹⁵ Such names as Goethe, Herder, and Pestalozzi have been mentioned. Perhaps a closer tie would be Maximilian Montgelas (1759-1838), chief administrator of Bavaria through the Napoleonic era till his dismissal in 1817. He helped create the modern secular Bavarian kingdom and laid a notably heavy hand on the Roman church and its property. However, this would be the attitude of most German bureaucrats of the Enlightenment and it is hard to credit it exclusively to his membership in the Illuminati at the age of 25. "Montgelas," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed. (1910) XVIII:782-83.

¹⁶ Palmer, op. cit., vol. 2, pp. 53, 54.

¹⁷ Stauffer, *op. cit.*, pp. 99-101. The New England Illuminati episode is covered by Stauffer, pages 229-360. With growing Protestant sympathy for persecuted Roman Catholics, some expositors shifted the identity of the Beast in Revelation from the Papacy to the French revolutionary government. (See also Garrett, *op. cit.*, pp. 164-168 and 174 on

applications of the prophecies on 666 and the 1,260-day period.) Morse's enemies noted with malign glee how sympathetic Puritan clergy had become toward their one-time target, the Roman Church, now persecuted in France. Wrote one contemporary "poet":

Of late the pulpits roar'd like thunder To bring the Whore of Bab'lon under; But now she's down, the tone is turn'd, And the old Whore is sadly mourn'd. (Stauffer, op. cit., p. 282)

¹⁸ Palmer, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 543.

19 Stauffer, op. cit., p. 250.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 273.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 283.

²² Ibid., pp. 275ff.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 356.

²⁴ Hofstadter, op. cit., pp. 3-40. An excellent short survey of conspiratorial aspects of American political history is in Seymour M. Lipset and Earl Raab, *The Politics of Unreason: Right-wing Extremism in America*, 1790-1970 (New York: 1970), pp. 34-282.

²⁵ Lipset and Raab, op. cit., pp. 14, 35ff,

78.

²⁶ Hofstadter, op. cit., pp. 14-18.

²⁷ Ibid., pp. 19-23; David Brion Davis, The Slave Power Conspiracy and the Paranoid Style (Baton Rouge: 1969).

²⁸ Reputed a man of vast erudition, he developed his own version of rites for 33d degree Masons and died before he completed his massive Morals and Dogma. (Dictionnaire Universel de la Franc-Maçonnerie (Paris: 1974), II:1012.) French anti-Masonic legend identified him as head of a sect of satanism whose world headquarters was in Charleston, South Carolina. Why Charleston? It is close to the 33° parallel N. Latitude, of course! (Léon Meurin, S.J., Archbishop of Saint-Louis, La Franc-Maçonnerie, synogogue de Satan (Paris: 1893), pp. 456-59.) In fact, Pike resided in Washington, D.C.

²⁹ Lipset and Raab, op. cit., pp. 254-55,

281-83.

30 Ibid., pp. 161ff. Among those who could be mentioned were Gerald Winrod, Father Coughlin, and Guy Carr.

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 258ff. Along with the Jews, Masons were a special bugbear for the Nazis—both were accused of being unpatriotic internationalists.

³² Without wishing to equate the scholarship demonstrated on right or left, it is interesting that the left conspiracy view frequently finds the same type of target, the "malefactors of great wealth," which in recent years would be the multinational corporation with its maleficent control of world economies. See for example Ross Barnet, *Roots of War* (1973).

33 Hofstadter, op. cit., p. 40.

INFERNATIONAL

IRS Revises Tax Exemption Plan Involving Private Schools

WASHINGTON, D.C.—The Internal Revenue Service has proposed revised guidelines governing tax exemption of private and religion-related elementary and secondary schools on the basis of racial nondiscrimination.

But while a Roman Catholic official called it "a substantial improvement" over the initial proposal announced in August, a Baptist executive said it fails to "resolve a fundamental First Amendment issue."

The proposed revised Internal Revenue procedure, released on February 9 "after considering public comments" to the initial proposal, "gives greater weight to each school's particular circumstances than did the earlier proposal in determining whether a school is racially discriminatory" in student enrollment, an IRS spokesman said.

The revised procedure "sets forth standards to be applied to two categories of private elementary and secondary schools: those that have been held by a court or government agency to be racially discriminatory ('adjudicated schools'); and those whose formation or expansion is related to public school desegregation in the community served by the school, and [that] do not have signif-



LANCASTER COUNTY, Pa.—Amish youngsters watch the world go by from the back of their parents' horse-drawn carriage during a Sunday drive. In striking contrast is the more modern conveyance at left.

icant minority students enrollment ('reviewable schools'),'' the spokesman

"Under the new proposal," he said, "a school formed or substantially expanded at the time of public school desegregation will be classified as 'reviewable' if it has an insignificant minority enrollment and its formation or expansion is related in fact to public school desegregation in the community. . . .

"A school classified as 'reviewable' will be considered racially discriminatory unless it has undertaken actions and programs reasonably designed to attract minority students on a continuing basis."

"Unlike the earlier proposal," the IRS spokesman continued, "the new procedure does not require a minimum number of specified actions to be taken in every case. Rather, it provides greater flexibility for a school to show that it is operating on a racially nondiscriminatory basis."

George Reed, general counsel for the U.S. Catholic Conference, in asserting that the proposed revised procedure is "a substantial improvement" over the initial proposal, said it "demonstrates a degree of flexibility."

"The improvement reflects the input from the field," he said, "and suggests that whenever the Internal Revenue Service contemplates the issuance of a ruling adversely affecting the tax-exempt status of a 501 (c) (3) (private, nonprofit) organization, it should, as a matter of policy, provide the field with the opportunity for comment."

Dr. James Wood, executive director of the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs, said the proposed revision "does not resolve the fundamental issue we raised at the December hearing—conducted by the IRS on the initial proposal—namely, the jurisdiction of the IRS over student enrollment in schools operated by churches and synagogues for their own members."

"Does the government have the right to tell such schools that it should have any voice in the enrollment in schools established to serve their own religious community? Our answer is No," Dr. Wood said.

"The point here is not racial discrimination or racism," he said, because en-

rollment in religiously operated schools is generally based on the "membership pattern" of the supporting church, synagogue, or mosque.

Also, the Baptist official asserted, the IRS, in an effort to be conciliatory, proposes in the revised revenue procedures to give "preferential treatment to certain types of church schools, such as Catholic and Amish."

This amounts to "discrimination by the IRS" in favor of such schools, since they are singled out to the exclusion of others, Dr. Wood said. "The law must be nondiscriminatory in all groups, not just Catholic and Amish," he said.



ROCHESTER, N.Y.—Rochester and Buffalo school students march in support of constitutionally lawful use of the Bible in New York schools. The Baptist group, led by Home Missionary Byron Lutz, hopes to regain use of schoolrooms to conduct volunteer Bible classes after school hours.

INFERNATIONAL

Religious Meals on Wheels Held Threatened by Congress Bill

WASHINGTON, D.C.—The Meals on Wheels programs, most of which are operated by local churches and synagogues throughout the country, could be threatened by legislation recently passed by Congress, according to a public interest study group.

Two persons working in or with church-operated programs here agree there is reason for concern if the Carter Administration pushes for money to fund the legislation.

The American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, an independent, publicly supported educational and research organization based here, has released a study titled "Federalizing Meals-on-Wheels: Private Sector Loss or Gain?" written by Michael Balzano, former head of ACTION and currently an AEI resident fellow.

In the 41-page study, Mr. Balzano argues that existing local grassroots organizations already possess the capability for administering Meals on Wheels programs on a nonprofit, voluntary basis, without governmental involvement.

"The federal government's duplication of the Meals on Wheels program could constitute a threat to other nonprofit organizations, large or small, which might one day find a federal competition delivering social services they now perform."

Pastor Joseph Frazier, president of the District of Columbia Council of Meals on Wheels, says his organization can feed 25 people for a week for \$375. Taxpayers would have to pay \$1,500 for the government to feed the same 25 people for a week, he said.

Neil Scott, who has been active in church and synagogue-affiliated and other privately operated Meals on Wheels programs for eight years, said congressional legislation would "destroy the religious aspect of Meals on Wheels and weaken voluntarism in this country."

Specifically, the legislation amends the Older Americans Act to create a federal Meals on Wheels program to provide a hot, home-delivered meal for elderly persons who, because of ill health or

physical incapacity, are unable to prepare meals for themselves or attend neighborhood nutrition centers.

Noting that privately operated Meals on Wheels programs have been functioning in the United States for more than 25 years, Mr. Balzano says in the study that "hundreds, possibly thousands (of such programs) have sprung up

Script Has New Ending in East Germany

EAST GERMANY—A colonel of the National People's Army addresses a class of senior high school pupils on national defense. He makes defamatory remarks about religion in general and Christianity in particular. A student stands up, says she is a practicing Christian, and protests the remarks. They are, she says, derogatory to her faith and in conflict with government policy. Her comments are brushed aside.

The girl subsequently is dismissed from school and—but that's the way the script used to go. This time there's a change. On March 6, 1978, the East German government affirmed that Christians have a distinctive and not unimportant role to play in society. [See Liberty, November-December, 1978.] The East German government is living up to its word.

After the colonel disregarded her protests, the girl complained to the head of the school. When he was unresponsive, her father complained to the regional authorities. The matter was promptly investigated. The head of the school was reprimanded and the colonel was forced to return to the school and apologize to the girl in front of the class. The local Lutheran bishop, on hearing of this, wrote a conciliatory letter to the colonel, thanked him for apologizing, and expressed the hope that the incident would not jeopardize his career.—A carefully investigated report from Keston College, Keston, Kent, England.

in response to an ever-rising demand for service."

"Most of these private neighborhood Meals on Wheels programs have relied almost exclusively on volunteers to organize the program and deliver the meals to the homes of the elderly, and on charitable institutions—churches, civic organizations, the United Way—to subsidize recipients who are unable to pay for their meals," he states.

Mr. Scott, who organized the National Association of Meals on Wheels and currently is a volunteer worker in the Meals on Wheels program operated by Capitol Hill United Methodist church, said 80 percent of Meals on Wheels programs in the country are operated by local churches or synagogues.

"We estimate there are about 2,000 Meals on Wheels programs, each serving an average of 30 home-bound people, the majority elderly, with a total of 600,000 people served each day," he said.

"For religious groups operating Meals on Wheels programs, their action is a statement of their faith," said Mr. Scott, son of a retired Disciples of Christ pastor in Ohio.

"The religious element will have to go under the government program," he said. "There is a real need for federal funding of Meals on Wheels programs," he added.

Bob Jones University Scores Significant Victory Over IRS

GREENVILLE, S.C.—In a little-noticed court ruling late last year, a fundamentalist Christian university has won a significant victory over the Internal Revenue Service (IRS).

U.S. District Judge Robert F. Chapman ruled late in December that the IRS did not have authority to revoke the tax exemption of Bob Jones University in April of 1975.

When the IRS took that action, it made the revocation retroactive to December 1, 1970. The university paid \$21 under the Federal Unemployment Tax act for one employee during calendar year 1975 and then asked for the money back. When the IRS refused, the university filed a lawsuit.

The IRS justified its action by noting that the university forbids interracial

INFERNATIONAL

Creationist Scientists Discount "Giant Men" Stories

LOMA LINDA, Calif.—"The Glen Rose region of the Paluxy River does not provide good evidence for the past existence of giant men."

This is the conclusion of scientists of Loma Linda University, assisted by faculty members of Columbia Union College, Takoma Park, Maryland, and Southwestern Adventist College, Keene, Texas, after an on-site investigation of the Texas area. Reports of human footprints in the same rock strata as those of dinosaurs have circulated for some years. A motion picture, Footprints in Stone, produced by a fundamentalist film studio, implies that man and the giant reptiles coexisted in the Paluxy area.

The Loma Linda report, written by Dr. Berney Neufeld, was published in the magazine *Origins*. The article cites evidence that the prints were produced by carving, not by natural processes. Residents in the Paluxy area recall that tracks were artificially made as a source of income during the depression years, according to Dr. Neufeld, now professor of biology, Southwestern Adventist College, Keene, Texas.

"The Glen Rose region," he says, "does not provide evidence of the coexistence of such giant men or other large mammals and the giant dinosaurs.

"Does this mean the concept of antediluvian man and the Flood story is incorrect? No. It may be evidence only that antediluvians did not cohabitate with dinosaurs. To ignore such reports because they may be inaccurate would be like refusing to listen to the weather forecast because some of the predictions fail to materialize. On the other hand, to accept all such reports as factual would be like believing without verification all the claims made by an automobile dealer or a real estate salesman. In any kind of investigation-but especially when investigating the past, where data are more equivocal-caution and thoroughness should characterize the work done, and conclusions should not be drawn prematurely."

districts' reliance on the Rhode Island and Iowa decisions was "misplaced." He said the districts failed to provide the "identical" busing called for by State Act 372 of 1972.

"Although students attending churchrelated schools are the predominant nonpublic beneficiaries of the Act," Justice Nix said, "the transportation provided by the Act is totally unrelated to the religious mission of these schools."

He said "the primary beneficiaries in fact are the students, and any remote benefit received by the nonpublic schools is too indirect and incidental to render the Act constitutionally infirm. . . . The Act does not require excessive governmental entanglement with the affairs of the religious schools involved." The Supreme Court's decision was made in a 3-2 vote.



MIAMI—Jerry Hochfelsen created this picture of Christ by printing the Gospel according to Matthew from start to finish—more than 35,000 hand-lettered words. He performed the task by starting at the top and ending the scripture precisely where the picture ends.

dating and marriage. It charged that this was a form of racial discrimination in violation of Section 501 (c) (3) of the Internal Revenue Code. Bob Jones University maintained that the policy was in accordance with its religious beliefs.

Judge Chapman stated that the denial of the university's tax exemption "because of its rules regarding interracial dating and marriage, penalized the plaintiff for the exercise of its religious beliefs." He added that "there has yet to be expressed any compelling public policy prohibiting racial discrimination by religious organizations."

According to Judge Chapman, the effect of the IRS' arguments against granting tax exemption to the university 'is to strengthen those religious organizations whose religious practices do not conflict with federal public policy and to discriminate against those religious

groups whose convictions violate these secular principles. The unavoidable effect is the law's tending toward the establishment of the approved religions,"

Busing of Nonpublic Students Upheld by Pennsylvania Court

HARRISBURG, Pennsylvania—The Pennsylvania Supreme Court has upheld a 1972 state law that provides for the busing of private or church-related school students up to 10 miles beyond public school district boundary lines.

Five Pennsylvania school districts had challenged the law, citing decisions by federal courts in Iowa and Rhode Island outlawing similar provisions as constituting a "religious preference" to non-public school students.

Pennsylvania Supreme Court Justice Robert N. C. Nix said the five school

LETTERS

Army Chaplains

As a retired USAF chaplain who served four years in the Army as a GI, I found your article "Wanted: Army Chaplains, Christians Only Need Apply" (January-February, 1979) of great interest. What with a total of fourteen years active duty and eight years of Reserve duty I think it is fair to say that the military chaplaincy of today would never draw a remark like Lincoln's from the White House. One of the most effective men I knew in the Air Force chaplaincy was one of your Seventh-day Adventist men by the name of Hill.

WILLARD L. CONRADSON

Pastor

Trinity Lutheran Church

Anaheim, California

[Lt. Col. Wayne C. Hill served at Lackland Air Force Base, San Antonio, Texas. He is now retired and living in Walla Walla, Washington.—Eds.]

On your January-February cover, you quote Mr. Lincoln's reference to Army chaplains as the war began as "the worst men in the service" below a photograph of soldiers and a Catholic priest.

I do not mind it when you put down Catholics; we are a self-satisfied and hearty lot. But Mr. Lincoln was referring to "incompetent preachers who, for the most part, were unable to find positions in respectable churches," according to your lead paragraph on page 2. As it was not until 1861 that Catholic priests were allowed to serve as chaplains, and virtually all priests found positions in parishes throughout America, I think your cover was out of order.

ROBERT A. BOLTON

Attorney

North Hollywood, California

[Would you believe we didn't even notice the minister was a Catholic priest? All we were concerned about was getting a picture of a Civil War religious service. So absolve us, please, of anti-Catholic bias, while indicting us for carelessness in our choice of pictures!—Eds.]

Your article on Army chaplains might have mentioned that during World War II there were no black chaplains in the United States Navy. Blacks were excluded, whether Christian or not, solely because of their color. The Navy might explain this by saying that chaplains were officers, and since blacks were excluded from the ranks of officers, they thereby were excluded from the ranks of chaplains. Query: Was this racial or religious discrimination, or both?

E. A. DAWLEY Attorney

Oakland, California

Second Law of Thermodynamics

William Watts shared a lot of truth in his dissecting of creationists who don't play fair (ethically) with evolutionists ("Ten Reasons Many Scientists Reject Creationism," March-April, 1979). I do wonder, however, whether your science editor is in agreement with Dr. Watts's position with respect to the second law of thermodynamics.

KEITH ROGERS

Takoma Park, Maryland

["William Watts, in the March-April issue of LIBERTY, presents a number of suggestions that deserve intensive consideration by proponents of Biblical creationism. Dr. Watts is correct if the second law of thermodynamics is restricted to its historical development in relation to heat engines and the transfer of thermal energy. But the philosophical generalizations regarding energy transfer, probability, information exchange, and common sense that include the earlier statements of the second law and that are now commonly referred to by the designation second law of thermodynamics do, in our opinion, provide one of the strongest models for the origin of life and the development of major kinds of organisms from simpler ancestors."-Robert H. Brown, science editor, LIBERTY.

Ten Reasons

William Watts is to be commended for "Ten Reasons Many Scientists Reject Creationism."

Personally believing in the Biblical account of Creation, I also believe that the case made for its defense should be presented in the spirit of love, built upon a solid foundation of accurate and documented research, refined through the channels of competent peer review, and articulated in honesty.

However, let it also be known that the "ten tactics" used by some creationists

are likewise the literary tools of some evolutionists. Having been fed the evolutionary diet through my junior year of college in the public school system, I have had plenty of opportunity to taste the tantalizing ten from the tables of the unscientific counterparts mentioned by Dr. Watts.

Perhaps Dr. Watts could follow up on his article with another entitled "Ten Reasons Many Christians Reject Evolution." You don't have to be a creationist to be "unscientific." You can even be a scientist!

HANS VARMER

Pastor and former evolutionist

Petersburg Seventh-day Adventist

Petersburg, Virginia

Creation Debate

A correspondent in your September-October, 1978, issue, a schoolteacher, makes an impressive case that the schools are indeed neutral and do not teach a "religion."

While it is clear that there is not one carefully formulated set of "secular" doctrines advocated and operative in the schools, and the assumptions and opinions of the teachers and administrators are pluralistic, there is a deeper consideration. As Prof. David Little points out, "It is simply the case that the organization and operation of public education presupposes commitments and convictions that sometimes exclude and contradict competing commitments and convictions."

The magical words objective and neutral are scant comfort to a family when it feels the schools are contradicting and competing with values they hold sacred.

The Supreme Court has had the greatest difficulty drawing hard and fast lines among different sets of lofty convictions, calling some "religious" and some not. It is significant that none of the value conflicts cited by the Court in the Yoder decision—competitiveness versus cooperation, intellect versus wisdom, or disagreement over the status of manual work, for example—is necessarily religious.

Many of the great issues of conscience and belief are no longer fought under religious banners. The concern with racial and sexual equality, the allocation of

LETTERS

power, institutional alienation, and basic concepts of human worth underlying different economic systems are heavily value laden.

It is concern with the school as a social environment, where a child will learn much more than what is in the formal curriculum, that has not been addressed. To say that the schools reflect the wishes of the community is a dog in the manger. The majority does not determine what church my child shall attend, what clothes he shall wear, what food he shall eat, nor what literature he reads. Neither should the majority determine what philosophy prevails in education. It is the family and not the political majority that the Constitution empowers to make schooling decisions.

The present system of state-run education presents "free" schooling to those who desire it. Affluent parents have a choice if they do not like what the state offers. Less affluent and the poor have little or no choice. Denying a citizen fundamental rights because of his economic status has been held unconstitutional by the Court in numerous instances.

Incidentally, Creation would not be an issue if schools were institutions of choice. Such questions should fall into the free cultural sphere without government preference.

We suggest that education is too important to be left in the hands of government. Schools are the source from which art, science, and morality—the whole substance of culture—ultimately flow.

ROBERT S. MARLOWE Council for Educational Freedom in America, Inc. Washington, D.C.

Washington a Viking?

Your readers may be interested in a few sidelights to John Kent's "Was Washington a Viking?" (January-February, 1979). The Library of Congress has on its wall a chart of Washington's ancestry, from Ragnvald Øysteinson (born c. 810), Earl of Møre and Romsdal in southwestern Norway (not far north of Voss), through William the Conqueror to Washington's mother. Another historian has traced the ancestry of his father to the same earl. One historian wrote me

some years ago that 19 of our first 20 Presidents had Norse blood, the exception being Van Buren, of Dutch descent. But in the early 1600's there were 8,000 Norsemen in the Dutch Merchant Marine. Many settled in New York—the purchase of Manhattan Island from the Indians was facilitated by a Norwegian acting as interpreter.

William the Conqueror brought to England the basis of our common law. Norway has given us many leaders, as well as plain citizens—more in proportion than any country except Ireland. And a large proportion of immigrants from that country came from the eastern part, where such cities as Dublin, Limerick, Waterford, Wexford, and Cork were Viking colonies. Quite a contribution from a country—the size of New Mexico—whose population reached four million only a couple of years ago.

The possibility that the name Washington was previously "Vossingson" is pure conjecture. Another theory is that it was "Wassyngton," but the letter "W" is extremely rare in Norway. If anyone has a better answer, I'd be anxious to hear it. Our motto is "Veritas Ex Tumultu"—the truth out of agitation. We have a lot of fun with the "tumultu" but are dead serious about the "veritas."

W. R. ANDERSON President Leif Ericson Society P.O. Box 301 Chicago, Illinois

Enjoys LIBERTY

LIBERTY magazine, in its format and thrust, is a heartening bulwark for us who have a strong conviction about the maintenance of separation of church and state and about religious freedom. There is such a difference between esteem of such safeguards and undergirding them.

Thank you for mediating well the difficult pros and cons of constitutional as well as doctrinal concerns.

ROBERT C. HARDER Portland, Oregon

My congratulations for your brilliant and interesting magazine. Since this magazine was introduced to me by a friend I have never missed a copy. HENRY ROLAND ACQUAH Akim Oda, Ghana, Africa With too much to read and my back issues of *U.S. News & World Report* and *Newsweek* piling up unread, I sat down and read your September-October, 1978, LIBERTY kiver-to-kiver. Wow! And not even any ads! How do you do it?

People whose views are contrary to mine always puzzle me, especially if they are earnestly trying to be Christians. Now I can read the best of each side from people whose values are the same as mine. And no need to run into any hard feelings, either!

MARION RAUGUST Oakland, California

Factual and Analytical

LIBERTY magazine deals with current issues in a factual and analytical manner. As a lawyer I am particularly impressed with your church-state articles, which are oriented to American jurisprudence and frequently cite court decisions in point.

ROBERT A. BECKERLE Attorney Mobile, Alabama

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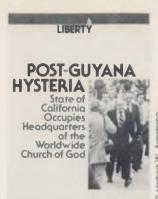
Illuminating the Issues

There's little doubt which article in this issue will bring the most mail. Walter Utt's "Illuminating the Illuminati" will be a pens-down winner. Conspiracies featuring mysterious international figures turn otherwise reasonable citizens into first-order conspiracy buffs. And you can bet that the qualified and documented perspective of Dr. Utt will be overlooked by many who will winnow the chaff for sensational fluff, and likely find "evidence" that Liberty, too, has been infiltrated by—who else?—the Illuminati.

The article that should bring the most outraged mail is Jerry Wiley's "A Constitutional Outrage." What has happened to the Worldwide Church of God is unbelievable. On the flimsiest of allegations by a thimbleful of dissident members, the headquarters of the 100,000-member Pasadena-based church was invaded by California state officials, a receiver installed, files rummaged, and irreparable damage done to the church. Put the case down as a classic of post-Guyana overkill.

Time may demonstrate that the allegations have substance; church officials, who certainly lived extravagantly, may be proved to be scoundrels. But church members and the state had other legal avenues—through criminal law, for example—for dealing with the issues. By acting as they did, California officials ensured that the church, however innocent *or* guilty its officials may prove to be, has suffered irreparable damage.

And let this be noted: The Worldwide Church of God has no connection with the Seventh-day Adventist Church, though both are Sabbathkeeping organizations. To my thinking, the Worldwide Church of God qualifies in several respects as a cult. (For the definition of a cult, see page 8.) But in New Testament terms, so does the Roman Catholic Church. And there are some who would charge the Seventh-day Adventist Church similarly. The point is that most any religion is a cult to somebody. And unless we are willing to defend that somebody's right to be wrong, we do not deserve the freedoms bequeathed us, and will not long retain them.—R.R.H.



A highhanded attempt by the state to intrude on church prerogatives? Or prudent action by the state to protect public interest? See "A Constitutional Outrage," page 2.

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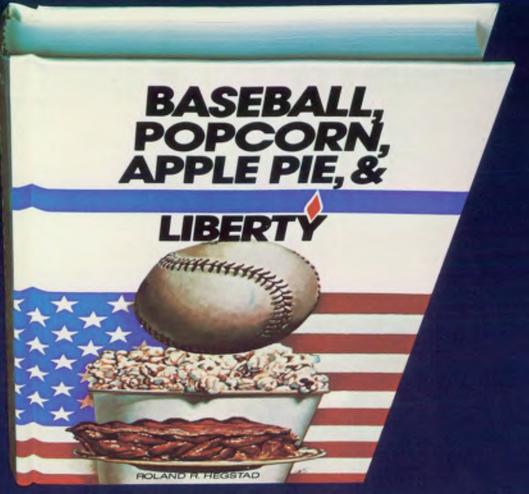
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