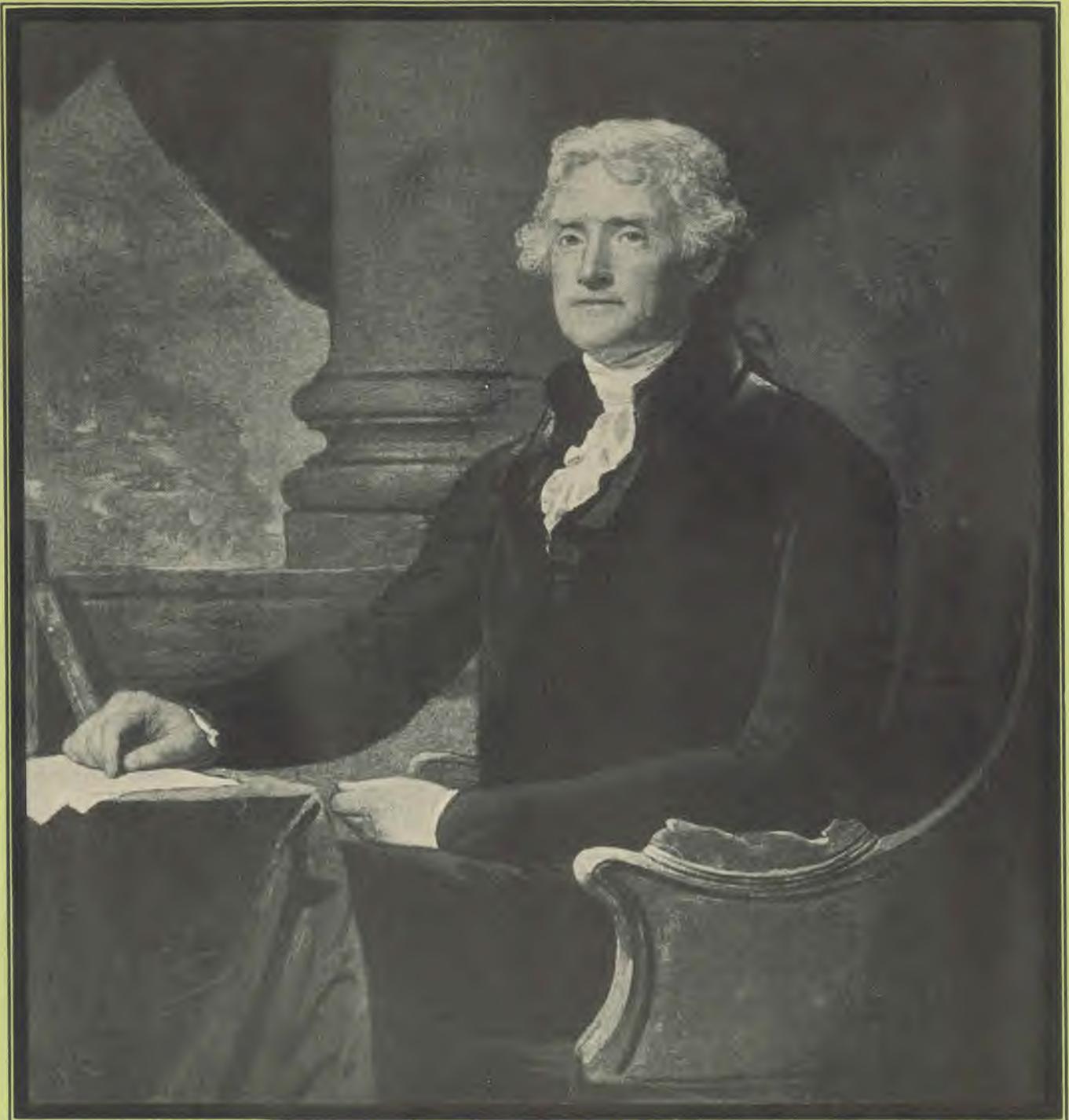




LIBERTY

Founded 1886

A MAGAZINE OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM



THOMAS JEFFERSON—CHAMPION OF FREEDOM

PAINTED BY GILBERT STUART

Feature Article by Doctor David S. Muzzey of Columbia University on Thomas Jefferson and Religious Liberty

15 CENTS A COPY

WASHINGTON, D.C.

DECLARATION *of* PRINCIPLES

Religious Liberty Association

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

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CONTENTS

Thomas Jefferson and Religious Liberty	5
Our Hard-Won Liberties, Whither Away?	10
The United States of America a Republic, Not a Democracy	14
The People Are the Anchor of the Constitution	18
A State Church Unjust and Detrimental	20
Intolerance—Its Danger to American Life	21
The Fall of the Bastille	22
The Camel's Nose	24
Christianity and Republican Form of Government	26
Some Things the Law Cannot Do	26
Be Vigilant	27
New Ruling on Flag Salute	28
Power of Christ Stronger Than Law	28
Delaware Legislators Face Revision of Sunday Laws	29
News and Comment	30
Sparks From the Editor's Anvil	31

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COURTESY OF JEFFERSON MEMORIAL COMMISSION

EGGERS AND HIGGINS, ARCHITECTS

As the Thomas Jefferson Memorial on the Tidal Basin in Washington, D.C., Will Look When Completed

Excerpts From the Address of President
Roosevelt at the Laying of the Corner-
stone of the Thomas Jefferson Memorial

IT was in the field of political philosophy that Jefferson's significance is transcendent. He lived, as we live, in the midst of a struggle between rule by the self-chosen individual or the self-appointed few and rule by franchise and approval of the many. He believed, as we do, that the average opinion of mankind is in the long run superior to the dictates of the self-chosen. . . . It may be that the conflict between the two forms of philosophy will continue, . . . but we in the United States are more than ever satisfied with the republican form of government based on regularly recurring opportunities to our citizens to choose the leaders for themselves."



Thomas Jefferson and Religious Liberty

by **DAVID S. MUZZEY, Ph.D.**
Department of History, Columbia University

IN THE SIMPLE SHAFT above Thomas Jefferson's grave in the family burial plot at Monticello is engraved the epitaph which Jefferson himself composed: "Here was buried Thomas Jefferson, Author of the Declaration of American Independence, the Statute of Virginia for Religious Freedom, and the Father of the University of Virginia."

Note that there is no mention of the high political offices which he had held: the secretaryship of state, the Vice-Presidency, and the Presidency; no reminder of the fact that he was the founder of the Democratic (then called Republican) party; no record of his successful diplomacy as minister to France, his doubling the area of the United States by the Louisiana Purchase, or his dispatch of the Lewis and Clark expedition to explore the great Northwest to the mouth of the Columbia River.

Jefferson wished to be remembered for a threefold contribution to liberty: the freedom of the American colonies from the oppression of a corrupt British ministry and Parliament, the freedom of every man to hold and proclaim such religious beliefs as his conscience dictated, and the freedom of an educational institution to choose its faculty, its curriculum, and its rules of government, without servile conformity to the canons of orthodoxy that had prevailed in the universities and colleges since the foundation of Harvard nearly two centuries before. Jefferson was ever the consistent protagonist of freedom.

Religious Prejudice in Jefferson's Day

In no field was his devotion to that cause more ardent or fruitful than in his lifelong championship of religious liberty. For us who live in a land where the separation of church and state is axiomatic, under constitutions, both Federal and State, which forbid the exaction of any religious test for the enjoyment of political rights, where official religious persecution has been unknown since colonial days, and where only on the rarest occasions (and then under general condemnation) has the religious issue been inter-



Grave of Jefferson at
Monticello

jected into our politics, it is difficult to realize the extent and influence of religious prejudice in Jefferson's day.

Rhode Island and Pennsylvania were the only States of the new political freedom of 1776 in which there was complete religious freedom. In most of the States there was an established church which the people were compelled to support and, in some cases, to attend. Even where full political rights were not conditioned on church membership, popular opinion quite generally condemned the unchurched as "undesirable citizens," and looked upon their opposition to paying for the support of a creed in which they did not believe, as an encouragement of bad morals, if not of the subversion of ordered society. George Washington, surely no bigot, though a rather indifferent warden in the Episcopal Church, saw no reason why "the people of Virginia should not be made by law to contribute to an establishment" whose benefits they enjoyed. In various parts of the country Jews, Quakers, Socinians (Unitarians), Baptists, and other non-conformists were persecuted or denied the rights of citizenship or loaded with social opprobrium. Such religious mavericks could not be one hundred per cent Americans.

Reforming Virginia Law Code

When Thomas Jefferson, leaving the Continental Congress, set himself in 1776 to the arduous task of reforming the Virginia law code, he entered upon what was perhaps the most difficult enterprise of his whole career. He was the "laboring oar" in the committee composed of Pendleton, Wythe, Mason, and F. L. Lee. His object, as he states in his "Memoirs," was to correct the code "in all its parts, with a single eye to reason and the good of those for whose government it was framed." Among the many reforms which occupied the committee for three long years (the abolition of primogeniture and entail, the regulation of the currency, the reorganization of the courts, the mitigation of severe punishments, the defi-



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Monticello, Thomas Jefferson's Home in Virginia, Where He Entertained His Host of Friends

nition of treason, the improvement of navigation, to mention only a few), none was so important in Jefferson's eyes as the liberation of the human mind from the shackles fastened upon it by ecclesiastical domination. His inspiration was the conviction that religious liberty was one of the "inalienable" rights bestowed on man by the Creator. "He that gave us life, gave us liberty," was his simple but comprehensive creed. Or, as he wrote to Benjamin Rush in 1800, "I have sworn upon the altar of God eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man."

Religion was in a parlous state in the Virginia of 1776. The Anglican church was established by law. It possessed extensive church lands (glebes) and was supported by church taxes (tithes). The clergy generally performed their routine Sunday duties in a perfunctory manner, and many of them were more interested in fox hunting than in saving souls. They were facetiously called "a gentlemen's club." They clung to their privileges and forgot their responsibilities. In Milton's phrase, "The hungry sheep looked up to them and were not fed." Moreover, by 1776 the majority of the inhabitants of the State were dissenters, but they were still obliged to pay their taxes for the support of the establishment.

"The clergy," wrote Jefferson, "by getting themselves established by law and *ingrafted into the*

machine of government [italics ours], have been a very formidable engine against the civil and religious rights of man." Jefferson's aim was to eliminate this "formidable engine" from the government of Virginia and thus effect the complete separation of church and state. His battle against the conservatives entrenched in the legislature was a bitter one, and it was not finally won until a decade had passed. All that he could obtain during his labors on the committee for the reform of the law code was the repeal of the law which made heresy or absence from worship a political offense, and the exemption of dissenters from paying tithes. His mantle fell on James Madison in the Virginia Legislature; and in 1786, when Jefferson was serving as minister to France, the Virginia Statute for Religious Liberty, as drafted by Jefferson seven years before, was passed—the first formal proclamation in the laws of a sovereign state of the complete religious freedom of every one of its citizens.

Virginia Statute for Religious Liberty

This noble statute, the authorship of which Jefferson rightly regarded as one of his three claims to the gratitude of posterity, deserves quotation in full—which, unfortunately, our lack of space forbids. It must stand here, somewhat abbreviated, but explicit in its main purport:

"Whereas, that Almighty God hath created the mind free; that all attempts to influence it by temporal punishments or burthens, or by civil incorporations, tend only to beget habits of hypocrisy and meanness; . . . that to compel a man to furnish contributions of money for the propagation of opinions which he disbelieves is sinful and tyrannical; . . . that our civil rights have no dependence on our religious opinions any more than on our opinions in physics and geometry; . . . that it is time enough for the rightful purposes of civil government for its officers to interfere when principles break out into overt acts against peace and good order; and, finally, that truth is great, and will prevail, if left to herself, that she is the proper and sufficient antagonist to error, and has nothing to fear from the conflict, unless by human interposition disarmed of her natural weapons, free argument and debate, error ceasing to be dangerous when it is permitted freely to contradict them.

"Be it enacted by the General Assembly that no man shall be compelled to frequent or support any religious worship, place or ministry whatsoever, nor shall be enforced, restrained, molested, or otherwise burthened in his body or goods, nor shall otherwise suffer on account of his religious opinions or beliefs; but that all men shall be free to profess, and, by arguments maintain their opinion in matters of religion, and that the same shall in no wise diminish, enlarge or affect the civil capacities."

Influence on Federal and State Constitutions

Five years after the adoption of this statute by the Virginia Legislature, its principle was written into the Federal Constitution in the First Amendment, which declares that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

Little by little, under the inspiration of this Jeffersonian doctrine, progressive men in the various States eliminated discriminating religious tests from their statutes and constitutions, until the separation of church and state became fundamental law in all the commonwealths of the nation.

It is often true that we requite with little gratitude our most precious blessings, just because we have become so accustomed to them that we cannot realize what it would be not to have them. In our day we take it for granted that no one should have the keeping of the conscience of another in his power. Religious liberty is accepted (except for a few benighted bigots) as a fundamental human right. But it was not so in Jefferson's time. We have already noted

the opinion of Washington, written to George Mason in 1785: "I confess that I am not among the number of those who are so much alarmed at making men pay toward the support of what they profess"—when the majority of Virginians had already ceased to "profess" the creed of the established church. Richard Henry Lee was more positive in his opposition to disestablishment, asserting that religion would be destroyed "without a legal obligation to contribute something to its support."

Jefferson Denounced as an Atheist

The storm of abuse which greeted Jefferson for his insistence on the freedom of religion from the interference of the civil power is a witness to what he called the "loathsome combination" of civil and religious authority. He was denounced as an atheist. The president of Yale College, the Reverend Timothy Dwight, who was "related by blood or marriage to nearly the whole of the little politico-economic oligarchy that had controlled Connecticut from its colonial beginnings," delivered a Fourth of July oration in 1800, in which he prophesied that the election of Jefferson to the Presidency would mean changing "our holy worship into a dance of Jacobin frenzy," having "the Bible cast into a bonfire," and seeing "our wives and daughters the victims of legal prostitution, soberly dishonored, speciously polluted, the outcasts of delicacy and virtue, the loathing of God and man." It was said that pious ladies in New England hid their Bibles under the mattress or buried them in the garden, believing that Jefferson would order his agents to confiscate and destroy all copies of the Scriptures which they could obtain.

All this balderdash, and much more like it, was loosed against a man who knew and prized the Bible (at least parts of it) far more than most of the pious New England ladies, who had made himself a "harmony" of the Gospels, who declared that the teaching of Jesus was the highest and purest "of all the systems of morality, ancient or modern," that had come under his observation, and who, as Gilbert Chinard brought out (in a theretofore unpublished manuscript of Jefferson's), headed with six pounds a subscription for the support of the Reverend Charles Clay of Williamsburg, who had "early rejected the tyranny of Britain and proved his religion genuine by its harmony with the liberties of mankind." A condition of the subscription was that "the said Charles Clay shall perform divine service and preach a sermon in the town of Charlottesville on every fourth Sunday!" So much for Jefferson the "atheist."

"I have sworn upon the altar of God eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man"



PAINTING BY A. KRELING

Men and Women Have Willingly Gone to Prison Because They Would Not Yield Their Right to Religious Freedom. Though the Body Is Bound, the Soul May Still Be Free

Underlying Motives of Jefferson

What were the motives underlying Jefferson's unwearyed battle for religious liberty? First of all, his unshakable conviction that freedom of conscience was the indispensable condition of every other kind of freedom, political, economic, educational, cultural. Spiritual integrity could brook no interference or dictation from an outside source, no matter what its claim to divine inspiration, ecclesiastical authority, or social respectability.

In his "Notes on Religion" (1776), Jefferson wrote: "The care of every man's soul belongs to himself. . . . I cannot give up my guidance to the magistrate, because he knows no more the way to heaven than I do, and is less concerned to direct me right than I am to go right." And, as the magistrate should eschew any pretended authority over men's belief, so the clergy, whose ministrations Jefferson respected when they were sincere and tolerant, could claim no supernatural expertness in interpreting the will of God. Martin Luther had written a famous tract during his controversy with the Roman hierarchy, on "The Freedom of a Christian Man." Jefferson extended this spiritual freedom to *all* men, Christian, Jew, or infidel. It was enough for the state to take notice of religious or irreligious opinions

when they "broke out" into disturbances of peace and good order. It was enough for the clergy to seek by persuasion to show that the doctrines which they preached accorded with the sublime moral teachings of Jesus. No one could be compelled to enter the kingdom. Responsibility for a man's religious attitude was his own alone. And it was his most solemn responsibility.

Disapproved Theological Controversy

Again, Jefferson insisted that the theological controversy which occupied so large a place in the religion of his day, so far from clarifying a man's mind, only confused the main purpose of all religion, which was to improve moral character and infuse with tolerance, honesty, and mutual sympathy the manifold human relationships which make up the web of life. He had no interest in theological disputation. He would have agreed with Huxley that "theology reminded him of quack medicine." Unintelligible dogmas, which had been engrafted on the simple religion of Jesus from "the jargon of Plato and other mystics," only served to confuse the mind, which must have clear ideas before reason can act on them. "The sum of all religion as expressed by its best preacher, 'Fear God and love thy neighbor,' contains no mystery, needs no explanation," he wrote to Logan in 1816. It was his simple creed.

In the third place, Jefferson was convinced that the religious freedom which he advocated was not a social menace, but on the contrary, a stimulus to social health. "It does me no injury," he wrote in his "Notes on Virginia" in 1781, "for my neighbor to say there are twenty gods or no God. It neither picks my pocket nor breaks my leg." Every church, he said in another place, was to itself orthodox, to the others erroneous or heretical. The relativity of dogma was but a proof of its inconclusiveness.

Metaphysical theological problems, he thought, were unsolvable, and even if they could be solved, they would have little or no value for man's guidance. Thus he rarely permitted himself to speak of such problems, holding with Jeremy Taylor that "it is keeping the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace, and not identity of opinion" that is required of us. As he told Dr. Ezra Stiles, he was content to be of a sect by himself, since "each person's particular convictions or principles are a subject of accountability to our God alone." The very worst detriment to religion was quarreling over the dogmatic excrecences which the clergy had fastened upon it. From these had come bitterness, persecution, and bloody wars.

Futility of Attempt to Enforce Conformity

Finally, Jefferson's zeal for religious liberty was inspired by his historical knowledge of the futility

of every attempt to enforce conformity. "Millions of innocent men, women, and children," he says in his "Notes on Virginia," "since the introduction of Christianity, have been burned, tortured, fined, imprisoned; yet we have not advanced one inch towards uniformity." Nor would conformity in religion, even if it could be enforced, be of advantage, any more than uniformity in face or stature. And who shall be made the custodians, arbiters, and inquisitors of the orthodox doctrine which a church father of the seventh century, with more zeal than knowledge, boasted was the faith held "*semper, ubique et ab omnibus*"? Who but fallible human beings like ourselves? And what has been the effect of their attempts to coerce men into uniformity of belief or profession? "To make one half the world fools and the other half hypocrites," answers Jefferson.

And, again, what was the inevitable corollary of entrusting to an established civil or ecclesiastical power the right to attempt the enforcement of religious uniformity? Obviously, the identification of dissent with social subversiveness and moral turpitude. Our very word "miscreant" (literally a non-believer) shows how readily the idea of nonconformity passes over into that of criminality. Consider the abuse heaped on Jefferson by men like "Pop" Dwight of Yale and his brother, Theodore, as an enemy of society; not because he was a grafter or a defaulter, a racketeer or a two-gun man, a thief or a murderer;

not that he had broken any civil law or personal obligation; but because he denied and resisted the compulsion of a bigoted logic which deduced from religious dissent a social revolution that, in the words of Theodore Dwight, would "destroy every trace of civilization in the world and force mankind back into a savage state. . . . Can the imagination paint anything more dreadful on this side of hell?"

One could pardon a man thus maligned some acerbity of spirit. Yet Jefferson was singularly free from the temptation to intolerant counterattack on his intolerant foes. "I tolerate with the utmost latitude," he wrote to Abigail Adams in 1804, "the rights of others to differ with me in opinions, without imputing to them criminality." And later, "I have ever judged of the religion of others by their lives. . . . For it is in our lives, not from our words, that our religion must be read. . . . My opinion is that there would never had been an infidel, if there had never been a commentator."

Thomas Jefferson's "foursquare" temple of religious liberty was founded, then, upon these principles: spiritual integrity, intellectual honesty, the supremacy of ethics, and the inevitability of a diversity of theological opinion which was not incompatible with a common effort for the advancement of mankind in tolerance, brotherliness, and peace. Is there a structure of the mind of man more worthy of veneration and preservation?



PAINTING BY S. H. WAINWRIGHT

Many, Like Nero, Have Sought to Bring About Uniformity of Belief by Force. All Such Attempts Are Futile



PHOTO BY N. FALCO, TRIANGLE PHOTO SERVICE

Those Nations Are Most Truly Happy and Prosperous in Which the Mind and the Heart Are Free

Our Hard-Won Liberties— Whither Away?

by **CARLYLE B. HAYNES**

WHERE HAVE HUMAN LIBERTIES GONE? No reader of history can fail to be impressed that the dearly bought liberties of yesteryear are disappearing in the developments and changes of these times. Fundamental human rights find these to be dark and troublesome days. Throughout all nations there is growing intolerance, deepening hatred, a rising spirit of cruelty and malice.

We had come to believe that the Dark Ages were behind us, that the world had advanced too far to ever again be plagued by the ugly and oppressive measures of past times. We had come to think of civilization as making the lands and the people which it touched charitable, lovable, and kind.

The World Moving Backward

But today, throughout all lands, forces of darkness have issued forth again from the fearsome haunts into which civilization had sent them skulking, and are sweeping away the hard-fought gains of many a war for liberty. Everywhere the world is moving back over its centuries-old course of progress and bringing into use once more weapons and laws and oppressions that are scarcely conceivable in our civilized day.

Men seem to have abandoned their reason and given themselves over to the possession of beastlike cruelty. Nations appear eager to war against nations. And within nations class is pitted against class, group against group, race against race, party against party, and church against church.

The world has only recently emerged from a nightmare of horror during which, for long centuries, it was the established and universal practice to hound and oppress and persecute minorities, both of race and of religion.

These same evil forces have again entered the life of civilized nations. There are minorities in many lands today who live in constant dread of prison, detention camps, forced labor, pogroms, "purges," and "blood baths." And this fear comes solely because of their race or religion, or both, or because they have merely exercised their divine right to think and to express their opinions and convictions.

The prejudices and bigotries and oppressions and inhuman injustices of the Dark Ages are being renewed all about us. Hatreds which resemble those of the early barbarian hordes are blazing out again. The spirit of Nero and the sin of Cain are not out-

moded. They are being repeated. The onward march of civilization has been not merely retarded, but stopped dead in its tracks. Indeed, we are on the backward path to the Dark Ages.

There are those even in America who partake of the spirit of intolerance and who would not hesitate to overthrow the ideals of our Constitution and the spirit of the Declaration of Independence. This nation has stood from the beginning as a beacon light of liberty, democracy, and social justice. There are those within its borders who seek to rule out the traditional principles and bring back the oppressions, the intolerance, and the cruelties of former ages. Their vengeful activities tend to arouse racial and religious passions as they seek to suppress all opinion and all worship but their own.

Startling Changes Taking Place

Examples of the swift and sudden destruction of human liberties on a vast scale are placed before us almost daily in our newspapers. It is altogether amazing how speedily the achievements and the advancements made in human progress over a period of decades and centuries can be made to disappear as though by the waving of a magician's hand. We are living in a time of rapid changes, when the laborious and careful building of long years of struggle and costly expenditure of blood and life is ruthlessly destroyed overnight.

A national crisis develops, confusion and turmoil follow. A spectacular leader appears almost by magic, makes impossible promises, and gains followers by millions. These place him in power; they consolidate his position; they support him in canceling and removing all obstacles that stand in the way of dictatorial power; they make loyalty to him a fetish, and disloyalty to him treason. They shout with satisfaction when he proceeds to put down all opposition and to destroy all the safeguards of constitutional and well-ordered civilized society, and gathers to himself the power of absolute despotism.

It is an unbelievable picture. After centuries of heartbreaking struggle and sacrifice, civilization, at the beginning of the twentieth century, was emerging into a condition of stability. The liberties for which men had fought during long years of hardship were being consolidated everywhere. Liberty of speech, of the press, of opinion, of assembly, of conscience, and of religion, were coming to be everywhere recognized and established.

And now, almost overnight, we see these securities tumbling like a house of cards, and all the gains of centuries being lost. It is almost as if some super-human despot, angered to the point of fury by the enlightenment and progress which human beings had made, had issued the order to bring it all to nothing,

and lesser human despots leap to carry out his orders.

And these destructive movements take place with a swiftness that takes one's breath. The stupendous changes now taking place before our eyes have never been equaled either in their speed or in their vast importance.

A decree—and great parties of opposition, representing millions of votes, are suppressed or driven out of existence. An order—and a million citizens whose only misdemeanor is to be of a hated race, are disfranchised. A pronouncement—and the autonomy of universities, the liberty of the press, the right of free speech and debate, and the freedom of assembly, are wiped out. An executive ukase—and millions of youth and children are militarized and placed under army training. An ordinance—and business and industry and commerce are regimented and brought under unconstitutional codes. An edict—and every activity of the state is brought under automatic control. A law—and the churches and religion are reorganized and regimented as aids and activities of the state.

A World in Turmoil

More and more the sense of balance has been lost. Everything moves with desperate haste. Stupendous projects, involving not millions of dollars, but billions, are rushed through without thought or plan. Turmoil reigns over wide areas. The world is drunk or mad, or both.

Nothing so fitly describes the days in which we live as do the words of an old, old prophecy which deals with this very time. Looking forward to the nations of today, and declaring that God would send among them the cup of war and of His wrath, an ancient prophet wrote, "They shall drink, and reel to and fro, and be mad." Jer. 25:16.

Drunk and mad. Yes, that is an accurate description. Nothing else will explain the situation. Commotions rock the world. Multitudes live in fear. Black clouds of evil hang on all earth's political horizons.

Mutual hatred embitters the relations of nations. Self-destructive infatuation pervades the councils of the mighty. Feverish restlessness permeates the whole world. Men's fairest schemes result in failure. There certainly is distress of nations with perplexity. Men's hearts are failing them for fear and for looking after those things that are coming on the earth. The nations are heaving in a restless fury, like the roaring of the sea in a great storm. The machinery of civilization has suffered a shattering shock, and is dislocated. It cannot be reduced to order. The world is drunk—and mad.

We do well in these menacing times to study anew the principles of religious and civil liberty which in



PHOTO BY H. M. LAMBERT

Bountiful Harvests Are Not Sufficient to Make a Nation Great When Man's Conscience Is Enslaved

the providence of God were put into the basic law of our land by the largehearted and liberal-minded men who founded this nation.

Commendable Words of Washington

It is like a breath of refreshing and invigorating air to read the words of General George Washington in a letter of instruction to General Benedict Arnold, who had been commissioned to lead an army into Canada against Quebec. This letter, dated September 14, 1775, said:

"As the contempt of the religion of a country by ridiculing any of its ceremonies, or affronting its ministers or votaries, has ever been deeply resented, you are to be particularly careful to restrain every officer and soldier from such imprudence and folly, and to punish every instance of it.

"On the other hand, as far as it lies in your power, you are to protect and support the free exercise of the religion of the country, and the undisturbed enjoyment of the rights of conscience in religious matters, with your utmost influence and authority."—*Writings of Washington*, edited by Sparks, New York, 1847, Vol. 3, p. 89.

Four times in as many years Washington took occasion to repeat these mighty principles, not of religious tolerance merely, but of outright religious liberty and equality. In May, 1779, Washington responded to the good wishes of the general committee

representing the United Baptist Churches of Virginia, by saying:

"I have often expressed my sentiments, that every man, conducting himself as a good citizen, and being accountable to God alone for his religious opinions, ought to be protected in worshiping the Deity according to the dictates of his own conscience."—*Id.*, Vol. 12, p. 155.

In 1790 Washington, writing to the Jewish Synagogue at Newport, Rhode Island, said:

"May the same wonder-working Deity, who long since delivered the Hebrews from their Egyptian oppressors and planted them in the 'Promised Land;'

whose providential agency has lately been conspicuous in establishing these United States as an independent nation, still continue to water them with the dews of heaven, and to make the inhabitants of every denomination participate in the temporal and spiritual blessings of that people whose God is Jehovah."—*Maxims of Washington*, p. 373.

In October, 1789, Washington, writing to the Quakers in response to their good wishes, said:

"The liberty enjoyed by the people of these States, of worshiping Almighty God agreeably to their consciences, is not only among the choicest of their blessings, but also of their rights. While men perform their social duties faithfully, they do all that society or the state can with propriety demand or expect, and remain responsible only to their Maker for the religion



Washington Supported the Great Cause of Religious Liberty

or mode of faith, which they may prefer or profess.”
—“*Writings of Washington*,” Vol. 12, p. 168.

In January, 1793, replying to the good wishes of the members of the New Church in Baltimore, Washington said:

“In this enlightened age and in this land of equal liberty it is our boast that a man’s religious tenets will not forfeit the protection of the laws nor deprive him of the right of attaining and holding the highest offices that are known to the United States.”—*Id.*, Vol. 12, p. 202.

Jefferson and Lincoln Laud Religious Liberty

In Thomas Jefferson’s second inaugural address, he said:

“In matters of religion I have considered that its free exercise is placed by the Constitution independent of the powers of the general government. I have, therefore, undertaken on no occasion to prescribe the religious exercises suited to it; but have left them, as the Constitution found them, under the direction and discipline of state or church authorities acknowledged by the several religious societies.”—“*Ford’s edition of Jefferson’s writings*,” Vol. 8, p. 344.

And writing to the Reverend Samuel Miller in 1808, Jefferson said:

“I do not believe it is for the interest of religion to invite the civil magistrate to direct its exercises, its discipline, or its doctrines; nor of the religious societies, that the general Government should be invested with the power of effecting any uniformity of time or matter among them.”—*Id.*, Vol. 9, p. 175.

On June 16, 1817, Jefferson wrote to Albert Gallatin, and said:

“Three of our papers have presented us the copy of an act of the Legislature of New York, which, if it is really passed, will carry us back to the times of the darkest bigotry and barbarism to find a parallel.

Its purport is that all who shall hereafter join in communion with the religious sect of Shaking Quakers shall be deemed civilly dead, their marriages dissolved, and all their children and property taken out of their hands. . . . It contrasts singularly with a contemporary vote of the Pennsylvania Legislature, who on a proposition to make belief in God a necessary qualification for office, rejected it by a great majority, although assuredly there was not a single atheist in the body.”—*Id.*, Vol. 10, p. 91.

And the Great Emancipator, the most ardent lover and champion of liberty which America has known, Abraham Lincoln, wrote a “Memorandum About Churches,” on March 4, 1864, in which he said:

“I have written before, and now repeat, the United States Government must not undertake to run the churches. When an individual in a church or out of it becomes dangerous to the public interest, he must be checked; but let the churches, as such, take care of themselves. It will not do for the United States to appoint trustees, supervisors, or other agents for the churches.”—“*Lincoln’s Complete Works*,” edited by Nicolay and Hay, Vol. 2, p. 491.

Lincoln Opposed Any Union Between Church and State

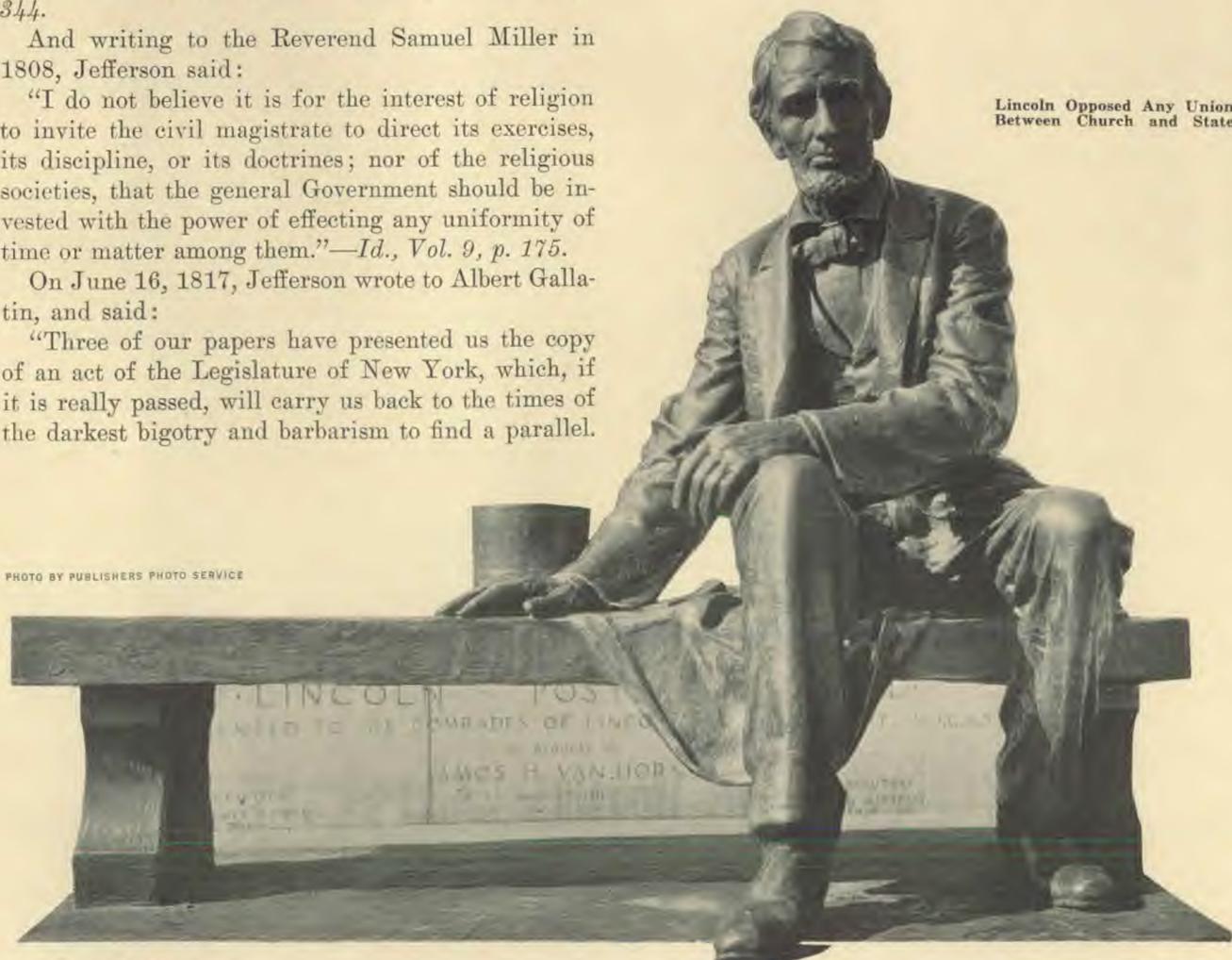


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The United States of America

A Republic, Not a Democracy

by C. S. LONGACRE

A GREAT DEAL has been said and written of late by men and women of renown and much learning, about the dangers which face our American democracy. The University of Virginia, in making up its program for the Institute of Public Affairs which it conducts each summer, lists the following topics to be discussed: "Religion and Our American Democracy;" "Religion, the Indispensable Basis of Democracy;" "Comparison of the Individual in Germany and in the Democracies;" "How Can Religion Defend Itself and Save Democracy?" and "Religion in a Democracy."

But the University of Virginia is not alone in making a wrong use of the word "democracy" as applied to the American system and form of government. Many statesmen and modern writers have been equally guilty of making the wrong use of the word. When we entered the World War some twenty years ago, we adopted the slogan, "Save the World for Democracy." The writer himself confesses that inadvertently he has on several occasions fallen into the same error by force of habit and wrong example. This wrong habit is very contagious and is spreading rapidly.

When we studied American history in our youth, we learned that it was improper to call our American Republic a democracy. Such terminology as "our democracy" or "our democratic form of government" was considered by our teachers and elders as being not only misleading, but mischievous and dangerous as well.

Two Different Forms of Government

The founders of the American Republic and the framers of the Constitution of the United States were unanimous in their understanding of the difference between a republic and a democracy. There were some who advocated at the conclusion of the American Revolutionary War that a democracy should be established in America in which all the people might have a direct hand in the making of the laws and the administering of the government. But James Madison, in the "Federalist," under the title, "Democracy the



Bait of Theoretic Politicians Who Err," denounced them as "schemers." He said:

"Democracies have ever been spectacles of turbulence and contention; have ever been found incompatible with personal security or the right of property, and have in general been as short in their lives as they have been violent in their deaths. Theoretic

politicians who have patronized this species of government have erroneously supposed that by reducing mankind to a perfect equality in their political rights, they would at the same time be perfectly equalized and assimilated in their professions, their opinions, and their passions. . . . A republic, by which I mean a government in which the scheme of representation takes place, opens a different prospect, and promises the cure for which we are seeking. . . . The true distinction between these forms is that in a democracy the people meet and exercise the government in person. In a republic they assemble and administer it by their representative agents. . . . The first question that offers itself is whether the general form and aspect of the government be strictly republican. It is evident that no other form would be reconcilable with the genius of the American people."

Democracy Studiously Avoided

James Madison was secretary of the Constitutional Convention, and he was chairman of the committee which drafted the Constitution, and is said to have drafted it in its original form with his own pen. Article IV, Section 4, of the Constitution provides: "The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government." The phrase "democratic form of government" was studiously avoided by the framers of the Constitution. Washington, Jefferson, Hamilton, and other notable ones in that convention joined Madison in his contention that a "republican form of government" should be adopted and guaranteed instead of a "democratic form of government."

During the convention, Hamilton said: "The members most tenacious of republicanism were as loud as any in disclaiming against the vices of democracy.

We are now to decide forever the fate of republican government."

After the convention in 1803, Hamilton wrote to Pickering: "The plan of a constitution which I drew up while the convention was sitting and which I communicated to Madison was predicated on these bases:

"1. That the political principles of the people of this country would endure nothing but republican government.

"2. That in the actual situation of the country it was in itself right and proper that the republican theory should have a full and fair trial.

"3. That to such a trial it was essential that the government should be so constructed as to give all energy and stability reconcilable with the principles of that theory."

Thomas Jefferson was one of the most ardent advocates of a republican form of government instead of a democratic. He became the leader of the young Republican party as opposed to a democratic or an exclusive federal government.

In defending the republican form of government, he said:

"To preserve the republican form and principles of our Constitution and cleave to the salutary distribu-

tion of powers which that has established are the two sheet anchors of our Union. If driven from either, we shall be in danger of foundering. . . . A just and solid republican government maintained here will be a standing monument and example for the aim and imitation of the people of other countries. . . . The station which we occupy among the nations of the earth is honorable, but awful. Trusted with the destinies of this solitary Republic of the world, the only monument of human rights, and the sole depository of the sacred fire of freedom and self-government, whence it is to be lighted up in other regions of the earth, if other regions of the earth shall ever become susceptible of its benign influence. All mankind ought, then, with us, to rejoice in its prosperous, and sympathize in its adverse, fortunes, as involving everything dear to man."

George Washington in his farewell address to his countrymen warned against the dangers which threatened our country's "republican liberty" and "republican government." In his messages to Congress, he always calls the United States a "republic" and never a "democracy."

A pure democracy is a form of government "in which the supreme power is retained by the people" as "distinguished from aristocracy," says Webster. Webster further defines "a republic" as "a state in which the sovereign power resides in a certain body of the people, and is exercised by representatives elected by, and responsible to, them."

Form of Government Earnestly Debated

The founding fathers who framed our form of government in the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia in 1787 earnestly debated which form of government they should establish—a republican or a democratic—a government in which the chosen representatives of the people enacted the laws, or in which the people themselves directly made and administered them. Some were in favor of a democracy and some in favor of a republic. Hamilton opposed the establishment of a democracy. He said: "Give all power to the many, they will oppress the few. Give all power to the few, they will oppress the many. Both, therefore, ought to have the power, that each may defend itself against the other."

In speaking of the irresistible passions and furies which control the multitudes in a democratic form of government, he chided those who were advocating the establishment of a democracy as "not duly considering the amazing violence and turbulence of the democratic spirit. When a great object of government is pursued, which seizes the popular passions, they spread like wildfire and become irresistible." It appeared that some of the delegates from the New England States argued that "no good executive" "could be established



PAINTING BY SIDNEY M. CHASE

The Constitutional Convention Deliberately Chose the Republican Instead of the Democratic Form of Government



PHOTO BY KAUFMANN & FABRY CO. FROM HARRIS AND EWING

As Clouds Hang Low Over the Earth, Let Us Guard Well Our Hard-Won Liberties

on republican principles." But Hamilton answered that it first was essential to have a good government in order to establish a good executive. Hamilton said he saw "the Union dissolving, or already dissolved" under the democratic principles of government as manifested under the Confederation which preceded our Union, and that he saw "evils operating in the States which must soon cure the people of their fondness for democracies."

The distinction between a "democracy" and a "republic" was clearly understood by the founders of the American Republic as well as by our forefathers who succeeded them in the administration of the government. Even the "Democratic party," which is merely a political name, clearly understood the distinction between a "democratic form of government" and a "republican form of government." In that party's platform of 1856 we find these expressions: "Dangerous to our republican institutions;" and, "every future American State that may be constituted or annexed with a republican form of government." In the platform of 1864: "Brave soldiers and sailors of the Republic." In the platform of 1876: "Do here record our steadfast confidence in the perpetuity of republican self-government;" and "now reunited in one indivisible Republic and a common destiny." In the platform of 1892: "Under the Constitution as framed by the fathers of the Republic;" and, "believing that the preservation of republican government in the United States." In the platform of 1896: "The dual system of government established by the founders of this Republic of republics." In the platform of 1900: "We assert that no nation can long endure half republic and half empire;" "We are not willing to surren-

der our civilization nor to convert the Republic into an empire;" and, "This Republic has no place for a vast military service and conscription." In the platform of 1904: "The structure of our free Republic." In the platform of 1908: "Believing with Jefferson in 'the support of the State governments in all their rights as the most competent administrations for our domestic concerns, and the surest bulwarks against antirepublican tendencies.'"

Thomas Jefferson said: "To preserve the republican form, . . . a just and solid republican government maintained here will be a standing monument."

The Honorable James L. Beck, LL.D., in his book entitled, "Constitution of the U.S.A.," says: "The framers believed in representative government to which they gave the name 'republicanism' as the antithesis of 'democracy.'" Von Holst, in his work on "Constitutional Law," says: "It [the Constitution] not only promises that the Union will interpose with all its might on their behalf if internal or external causes threaten to overthrow their republican form of government, but it absolutely forbids them to adopt any other form under any condition or for any reason whatsoever."

The "Journal of the Proceedings of the Constitutional Convention," the book "Federalist," and the Constitutional authorities, as well as the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States, declare that the United States Government is a "republic," based on "republican principles," "republican ideals," "republican doctrine," having "republican institutions" and "a republican form of government." The label "democracy" as applied to America is an un-American malapropism.

The Mob Held in Leash

A purely democratic form of government is subject to the passions and emotions of the multitude, and frequently resorts to mob rule. Communists boast of being democratic and of favoring a democracy instead of a republic. Under a purely democratic form of government there are no property rights, and no class distinctions; all things are held in common. If the multitude decides to abolish churches and clergymen, or freedom of religion, of speech, of the press, and the natural, God-given rights of the individual for the benefit of the whole, it is done under a democratic rule of government. Under a republican form of government it cannot be done so easily, for the multitude is not in control, nor does it make and execute the laws. A republic is not ruled by men, but by law. The lawmakers and the administrators are subject to the fundamental law of the land

democracy in critical times everything is controlled by the impulses and the immediate will of the people as a whole, while in a republic everything is subjected to the supreme authority of the constitution, and the people choose many peers as their representatives to speak and act in harmony with the will of the people as set forth in the constitution as the fundamental law of the land.

All Rights Guarded

Under the American Constitution the minority and the individual have certain natural and God-given rights which no legislative or judicial power can rightfully abridge or deny, but in a pure democracy the whim of the majority controls and may nullify and override every inalienable right of the minority. The creators of our Republic and the makers of our Constitution were convinced that a democracy would not succeed, and that a republic was the only kind of government under which the powers of the mob could be limited and the rights of the minority protected, operating under a written Constitution.

Not only the civil, but the religious, rights of the individual which are safeguarded under our Constitution are placed in jeopardy under the dominant and arbitrary rule of a pure democracy. A written constitution which cannot be amended without careful deliberation and a fitting lapse of time to prevent quick action inspired by hasty passion on the part of the multitude, is the only security of civil and religious liberty, so far as the welfare of minorities is concerned.

A Real Danger

We are not dealing here with an imaginary contingency which is foreign to America, but with a real danger that is facing our free republican institutions and our constitutional guaranties of human rights in these United States of America. In recent years our drift has been away from a republic toward a democracy. Many of the civil rights guaranteed to the individual under our written Constitution have already been undermined and overridden by the delegation of legislative and judicial powers to the Chief Executive and his appointive bureaus. All history testifies to the unflinching truth that after the civil rights of minority groups have been undermined, very little time lapses before the religious rights of minority groups are likewise destroyed. It is this tendency under the arbitrary rule of a pure democracy that concerns this magazine. For this reason we point out the danger couched in the wrong use of the phrase, "Our American democracy." The wrong use may lead to the wrong application of laws and principles. May God save our Republic from being changed into a pure democracy.



PHOTO BY PHILIP GENDREAU, N.Y.

Let the Citizen Worship Where He Will

and, as the supreme authority, can exercise only such powers as are consistent with the constitution. The passions of the multitude and the mob are held in leash by the constitution in a republic. In a pure

The People Are the Anchor of the Constitution

by C. E. HOLMES

IT WAS IN 1857 that Thomas B. Macaulay, of England, made his famous prediction regarding our government. Capital and labor troubles, with the pinch of poverty, would bring this country to a crisis. "Your Constitution is all sail and no anchor," he wrote. "Either some Caesar or Napoleon will seize the reins of government with a strong hand, or your Republic will be as fearfully plundered and laid waste by barbarians in the twentieth century, as the Roman Empire was in the fifth—with this difference, that the Huns and the Vandals who ravaged the Roman Empire came from without, and your Huns and Vandals will have been engendered within your own country by your own institutions."

"The people made the Constitution, and the people can unmake it. It is the creature of their will, and lives only by their will," wrote the eminent John Marshall, Chief Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court, in the early days. (6 Wharton, 389.) President William Henry Harrison, in his inaugural address, expressed a similar thought: "The broad foundation upon which the Constitution rests, being the people, a breath of theirs having made, a breath can unmake, change, or modify it."

Early Patriots Understood Dangers

Macaulay's pronouncement would not have been news to the patriots living in the days when the Constitution was framed and adopted. They understood the dangers to the safety of our nation to a remarkable degree. They had diligently studied the causes of the rise and fall of other nations. They noted that whenever the people ruled, they eventually became careless and indifferent. Then dictators arose and took over the reins of government.

Before the Constitution was adopted, a Doctor Elmer pointed out that unless the people "make the welfare of our country the sole aim of all our actions, . . . carefully guard against corruption and undue influence in the several departments of government, . . . and be steady and zealous in putting the laws in strict execution," "a Julius Caesar or an Oliver Cromwell will spring up among ourselves . . . and sacrifice the liberties of his country to his own ambitions and domineering humor." (Quoted in "The Essential American Tradition," p. 171.)

In his appeal to the delegates to adopt the Constitution, the wise old Benjamin Franklin declared that

at the best any form of government "can only end in despotism, as other forms have before it, when the people shall become so corrupted as to need despotic government, being incapable of any other." —"*Story of the Constitution*," Thorpe, p. 140.

"If the liberties of America are ever completely ruined," warned Samuel Adams, "it will in all probability be the consequence of a mistaken notion of prudence, which leads men to acquiesce in measures of the most destructive tendency for the sake of present ease."

Some of the dangers were pointed out in a more specific manner. The labor of inscribing the words of the Constitution upon parchment was delegated to Governor Morris. In a letter to Timothy Pickering he recorded his concern for the future of that document of liberty:

"After all, what does it signify that men should have a written Constitution, containing unequivocal provisions and limitations? The legislative lion will not be entangled in the meshes of a logical net. The legislature will always make the power that it wishes to exercise, unless it be so organized as to contain within itself the sufficient check." —"*Debates on the Constitution*," Elliot, Vol. I, p. 505.

Jefferson spoke very pointedly when he declared:

"If once the people become indifferent to the public affairs, you and I, Congress and assemblies, judges and governors, shall all become wolves. It seems to be a law of our general nature in spite of individual exceptions."

In a Fourth of July oration in 1808, Ebenezer Moseley called attention to another danger:

"Another evil to which republics are exposed, arises from a blind attachment and confidence in the supreme magistrate. Power, wherever it can be found, is the idol of man; and wherever placed, unless enclosed by an impenetrable wall, will be abused. To make a tyrant, it is not necessary to encircle his brow with a diadem, nor to place a scepter in his hand; but let the gale of popularity blow upon him, and whether he be emperor or president, he can be equally a tyrant. . . . But the danger lies in another quarter. It is that this confidence will enter the other branches of the legislature. The moment this happens, and laws are made merely because recommended by the executive, all those checks and balances which were designed to

prevent overreachments of power, are lost. Then commences a tyranny which no art can elude, no force resist."—*Oration, July 4, 1808, by Ebenezer Moseley, Esq., Newburyport, p. 9.*

An experience came later which confirmed Mr. Moseley's fears. It involved the freedom of the press, and would no doubt have proved disastrous to our liberties had not patriotic Senators stood firmly for the Constitution.

Human Rights Threatened

Publications against slavery were being circulated in the South. The result, of course, was a great outcry on the part of slave owners and sympathizers. Suppression of the inflammatory literature was demanded. President Andrew Jackson, in his annual message to Congress in 1835, stated that "there is doubtless no respectable portion of our countrymen who can be so far misled as to feel any other sentiment than that of indignant regret at conduct so destructive of the harmony and peace of the country, and so repugnant to the principles of our national

compact and the dictates of humanity and religion. Our happiness and prosperity essentially depend upon peace within our borders."

This is false reasoning. The question is not human rights versus peace, harmony, prosperity, religion, and the dictates of humanity. Human rights always come first. Peace and prosperity are founded upon the liberties of men and can never be secured by overthrowing them.

Strenuous efforts were made to force a measure through Congress which would suppress literature that demanded freedom for the slaves. Appeals were made to members of the Senate to stand by the President and his bill. They were urged to pass it merely because the Chief Executive desired it. But this un-American scheme of sacrificing principle to policy was repudiated with disdain by many of them.

"I follow party where the Constitution and principle lead," said Mr. Morris of Ohio. "When men attempt to take their place, I halt."—*Congressional Globe, April 14, 1836.* John Calhoun declared that the question of a free press was of greater importance than the "Presidential or any party question."

The people and their representatives must continually watch the rights; they must not be caught off guard a moment. Vigilance is still the price of liberty. When debating the ratification of the Constitution in the Massachusetts Legislature, Mr. Stillman pointed out that "if the Constitution was as perfect as the Sacred Volume is, it would not secure the liberties of the people unless they watch their own liberties. Nothing on paper will do this." And James Madison counseled, "The people who are the authors of this blessing must ever be its guardians."

Need of Understanding Rights

If the people are the guardians of our liberties, they must understand their rights and duties as citizens. How can one respect and protect the Constitution of which he knows little or nothing? How can he differentiate between good and evil policies in government? How can he know when fundamental laws are being undermined? Multitudes of laws are flooding our statute books. Subversive doctrines are flying everywhere by word and by print.

Speaking of those who lived in the days when our nation was established, Mr. Macon of North Carolina, in an address in Congress in 1798, said: "The people of this country, almost to a man, understood the nature both of the State and Federal Governments."

Within the confines of our nation today are many potential dictators. They are found in the ranks of



FIRST QUARTER

PHOTO BY H. A. ROBERTS

The Youth of Today Would Do Well to Contemplate the Principles Held by the Founders of This Nation

labor, finance, religion, crime, racketeers, politics, etc. They make their own laws, and so far as they are able, they put them into effect. They have no respect for the life and property of others. By means both fair and foul they impose their edicts upon others. Rule or ruin is their policy.

What is going to happen to the people at large? Many of the younger generations are not being fully taught what their rights and privileges are. They do not know what our liberties cost and what the price will be to get them back once they have fled.

The seriousness of the times has been noted by the United States Department of Education. Fewer than a million of our 75,000,000 adults are engaged in any special study. "Anyone who has studied the development of dictatorships must be impressed with the tactics which are employed with respect to education," says J. W. Studebaker, commissioner of education. "As issues become sharper, as it becomes more divided, and as minorities become more fanatical, every sort of pressure is exerted to control the learning process, to intimidate teachers, and to stop discussion. *This thing must not happen in America.* If we are to prevent it, we must act now in practical ways to revitalize our educational system. The way to do this is to *promote* free speech and free assemblage as an *educational* process." Continuing, the commissioner says: "If we believe in democracy, if we believe in the truly American way, then we believe that *the solution of our great social and economic problems rests with the people.*" (Italics his.)

Citizens to Be Examples of Integrity

While a grave responsibility rests upon the people to understand the principles of their government and to watch their rulers and check up on their political activities, a graver one requires them to properly rule their own lives. Though they may understand civil government perfectly, perhaps repeat the Constitution by heart, unless their individual lives reveal the principles of truth and justice incorporated in that document, their power for good in protecting that Magna Charta of liberty will be valueless.

One who defrauds his fellow men cannot be expected to take an interest in putting down political hypocrisy. If he overrides his neighbors' rights, he will not be much concerned when lawmakers do the same thing for the State or the nation. If he breaks both moral and civil laws whenever he thinks he can do so without being detected, the principles of the Constitution will mean little to him except to help protect his own ill-gotten gains.

"The true life of a nation is in its personal morality, and no excellence of constitution and laws can avail much if the people lack purity and integrity," rightly declares the poet, John G. Whittier.

The gold and silver certificates issued by the U.S.

Government would be worthless unless backed by a reserve of precious metal in the treasury. The Constitution will be but a jumble of words on a faded parchment unless it is revered and upheld by a citizenry that is moral, honest, just, temperate, and industrious.

A State Church Unjust and Detrimental

A STATE CHURCH is not only unjust to those who do not accept its dogmas, but detrimental to religion, for it places the policy of the church at the mercy of politicians. Nevertheless, for centuries our ancestors could not understand how church edifices could be built and the clergy supported unless the state levied a tax for that purpose.

The first sentence in the First Amendment reads: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." When we remember that almost every nation in Europe and no less than nine of the States had an established church, this amendment is a remarkable achievement.

Virginia led the way. There the Church of England had been the state church for a century and a half, but during the Revolutionary War a contest had begun for its disestablishment. The Presbyterians and the Baptists, who had settled in the western counties, did not believe in a state church. Jefferson and Madison led the fight for religious freedom, and after years of bitter struggle, the victory was won in the passage of the religious-freedom act of 1785, by which the Church of England was disestablished, all taxes for its support were abolished, and no religious test was required for office holding.

Other States followed suit, but it was not until the beginning of the nineteenth century that the New England commonwealths (except Rhode Island) disestablished their state church, the Congregational. Massachusetts was the last to do so, in 1834, fifty years after religious liberty had been attained in Virginia.

Our Federal Government is wholly secular. The eleventh article of the treaty with Tripoli, 1796, which passed under the eyes of Washington, Adams, and Jefferson, and was ratified by the Senate, states that "the government of the United States is not in any sense founded upon the Christian religion." We, therefore, have no quarrel with any nation because of its religious beliefs. Nor do we make any distinction among our own citizens. Mohammedans, Jews, atheists, have equal rights with Christians in our courts and in our state schools and colleges as well as in the privileges of holding public office.

Religious liberty is one of our great achievements. —*Editorial in Denver Post, July 23, 1939.*

Intolerance

Its Danger to American Life

by **RUSSELL QUINN**

THE CASE AGAINST INTOLERANCE in America is very practical. All Americans are members of some minority group, either religious, racial, cultural, or economic. While the melting pot may not be at white heat, it is still boiling. America is still composed of the best and the worse elements of the Old World. The catalyst that livens this mixture to melt out real Americans is tolerance. This is the distinguishing feature of the American. One might go so far as to say that it is the only distinguishing feature of the American.

The American Outlook

An American is a Frenchman living in peace and harmony among Germans; a Catholic living in peace and harmony among Jews; an atheist living in peace and harmony among Seventh-day Adventists; a socialist living in peace and harmony among republicans; and vice versa—

“For there is neither East nor West,
Border, creed, nor birth,
When two strong men stand face to face,
Though they come from the ends of the earth.”

These lines from Kipling may well be taken as a portrait of an ideal American. A Methodist may regard the Pope as the antichrist, but when he considers his Catholic neighbors, under the American ideal, he regards them first as individuals, and only secondarily as Catholics. He may attack their religion, but never their person. He grants them the same rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness that he holds for himself.

Aside from being morally indefensible, intolerance in America would mean the breaking down of the Union into the tyrannies of Europe. Had America been divided into forty-eight different countries rather than States, the European situation would have been brought to this country. But intolerance is not confined to geographical boundaries. In America today there are eight hundred organizations carrying on propaganda campaigns against the Jews. For years great Protestant bodies have been carrying on campaigns against Saturday-Sabbath denominations by lobbying for Sunday-observance laws. Powerful church groups want to disenfranchise the communist on religious grounds. Where will all this lead?

Many Minorities in America

Intolerance usually resolves into a struggle for power. One group wants to dominate another. But America is so large and the minorities are so many, that where could be found a clear-cut majority? Certainly not in the field of religion. America has thirty-four million Protestants, eighteen million Catholics, and four million Jews. There is clearly a Protestant majority, but the Protestant churches are by no means united. Nearly a million of their members disagree over such an important point as the proper day for Sabbath observance. Dissension was the mother of Protestantism. The Catholic Church, outnumbered in membership by more than two to one, has lived in comparative liberty and has prospered under American democracy. It would gain nothing in spiritual power by trying to dominate the American scene, and despite the notable exception

INDIANS	NEGROES
FOREIGN BORN	
BORN OF FOREIGN PARENTS	
BORN OF PARENTS ONE OF WHOM IS FOREIGN BORN	
BORN OF AMERICAN PARENTS	

The United States Is a Nation Made Up of Many Racial Groups, Each of Which Has the Status of a Minority. Intolerance Here Would Prove Disastrous

FIRST QUARTER

JEWES	CATHOLICS
PROTESTANTS	
MISCELLANEOUS RELIGIONS AND NONPROFESSORS OF RELIGION	

This Nation Is Composed of People of Many Religions and Sects, Together With Millions Who Profess No Religion. The Constitution Guarantees the Rights of Each Group

of an outstanding priest, most of its members have no desire to stir up religious strife in America. Memories of the Ku-Klux Klan are too recent. And the Jew, hounded through Europe, knows only too well the results of intolerance. The rising tide of religious intolerance in this country bears no good omen for American democracy. And no church can hope to gain anything by it.

What about racial intolerance? Let us see what that would mean in America. Of the country's nearly one hundred thirty million people, only seventy million, or a little more than half, were born of American parents. Seven and a half million were born of parents one of whom was foreign born; seventeen and a half million were born of foreign parents; and twenty million were, themselves, foreign born. Twelve million are Negro, and not quite a half a million belong to the only real American race in the country, the Indian race.

Many Foreign-Born Peoples

Of the foreign born two million are Germans, one million eight hundred thousand are Italians, one million four hundred thousand are from the United Kingdom, one million three hundred thousand are from Canada, two million five hundred thousand are from Russia and Poland, one million one hundred thousand are from the Scandinavian countries, and seven hundred thousand are from Ireland. How can all these elements live in peace except under the American ideal of tolerance?

Before 1930 the largest number of immigrants came from Ireland. Since 1930 the greatest foreign-born elements are the Russians and Poles (classed as one), with the Germans in second place and the Italians in third. Some in these elements have been making dictatorial noises in America lately, and while they may represent a majority of the foreign-born elements in this country, still they comprise only a small minority of the nation's people as a whole. Over half of the country is native born with native-born parents, the main stock being Anglo-Saxon. Many little dictators are bouncing up and down on the great Anglo-Saxon cushion of tolerance and having great fun in America. They hope to become big dictators by breaking that cushion. But what groups in America are going to allow themselves to be dictated to by another? Not many without a fight. And that means America in a turmoil with nobody winning.

The great cushion of tolerance must not be allowed to burst in America. Let the little dictators jump up and down on it until they are exhausted. Let America remain tolerant, for as famed Biologist Edwin G. Conklin says, "The present world crisis is due to bad education in cultivating habits of fear, intolerance, and hate of alien individuals and races, of foreign religions, nations, and ideologies." Let America remain true to the principle of "live and let live," else we shall all die. Never should the spirit of intolerance be permitted to get a strong hold upon the minds of any group. If intolerance prevails the nation may perish.

The Fall of the Bastille

by **THE EDITOR**

THE FALL OF THE BASTILLE on July 14, 1789, is to France what the signing of the Declaration of Independence on July 4, 1776, is to the United States. The fall of the Bastille marked the beginning of a struggle which was to lead to the overthrow of the old order of things, not only in France, but in other parts of Europe, while the Declaration of Independence marked the beginning of a struggle which was to lead to the establishment of a new order of things, not only in the thirteen original colonies, but in the New World. These two events were the most significant happenings in the history of nations. The French and the American people celebrate these respective events as the most revered memorials in the history of their nations, known as independence days, to signify the liberation of mankind from the long reign of oppression and tyranny which had become unendurable.

End of One-Man Rule

Oppression and tyranny under one-man rule in the western nations of Europe had reached the point with the people where endurance was no longer a virtue, and the fall and demolition of the Bastille accomplished by the uprising of the people in defense of their own rights was the trumpet blast announcing that the "judgment day" had arrived for one-man rule in France.

The French Revolution which followed was the natural fruitage of centuries of oppressive rule by the privileged few over the majority. The people may endure civil oppression and religious intolerance for centuries, but when restraint becomes unbearable, they will take public affairs into their own hands and seek to work out the drama of life, liberty, and happiness in their own way and according to their own



The Fall of Bastille Was an Important Event in the Struggle of Man Toward Freedom

ideals. This lesson history teaches with unerring accuracy.

For many centuries the people accepted the dogma without questioning that kings and popes reigned "by divine right," that kings were born to rule, and that the right of sovereignty was inherent in their blood. The state churches of paganism and Christianity instilled that dogma into the people until none but a few dared to challenge the old theory. The dogma originally came from the ancient Oriental rulers who claimed to be the offspring of the gods and who set themselves up as gods. The subordinated rulers set themselves up as semigods. Not until July, 1776, in America, and July, 1789, in France, was this doctrine officially challenged by the people. The Declaration of Independence and the fall of the Bastille marked a new order of things which was to profoundly affect the future history of the entire world. The last 150 years of human history testify to the fact that the establishment of the sovereignty of the people as supreme in government has decidedly influenced the destinies of nations in all the world. The old system of one-man absolute rule over the people in all the activities of life had caused the streams of Europe to flow crimson with human blood, and in its overthrow led to the most horrible holocaust in history—the French Revolution.

Days of Poverty and Oppression

Under the doctrine of the divine right of kings to rule in both the temporal and spiritual affairs of all men and all faiths, the common people were kept not only reduced to dire poverty, but in gross ignorance, so that they could be the better held in subjection to the dominating powers. Under a union of church and state in France for many centuries, the crown and the clergy had succeeded in getting possession of two thirds of all the land and property in France. The great masses of the people were clothed in rags, lived in rented tenements, without employment, and had to beg for their daily food. The court of the king was dazzled with brilliance, and

his nobles feasted on the fat of the land. The churches and the palaces of the archbishops glittered with precious stones and images of gold, and the repositories of the state churches were bulging with gold and silver. The established church at the time of the French Revolution owned and controlled the banks and money-lending institutions of France. All that the church owned and possessed was free from taxation, and yet was supported by the taxation of all the people.

The people who clamored for food, clothing, and shelter at the gates of the palace and at the doors of the convents and churches, shared the fate of Lazarus, the beggar, in Christ's parable. The pantries of the nobility and the crown were overflowing with all kinds of edibles and delicacies, while "the cellars of clerics housed the choicest wines and champagnes." The common people lacked all these and had no money with which to buy the necessities of life. Such were the intolerable conditions in France at the time of the fall of the Bastille, which housed the leaders of the people who had dared to raise their voices in protest against the misrule and oppression of the tyrants.

Oppression in America

While the people in America were not reduced to penury as were the people in France, yet they suffered oppression and injustices under kingly rule which would in time have reduced them to a like servitude. Petitions of the people for relief were utterly ignored. Protests against abuses of arbitrary exercise of power resulted in the apprehension and imprisonment of those who offered the protests. The oppressed and impoverished populace, after exhausting all peaceable means to obtain redress of their grievances and being denied, had no other recourse and means at their disposal but a resort to revolution.

The people of America achieved their objective and set up a constitutional government of the people, by the people, and for the people. They separated the church and the state completely, so far as the Federal Government was concerned, and granted the free exercise of the conscience to the individual in all religious matters. They put limitations upon the highest lawmaking body, upon the Chief Executive, and upon the judiciary, beyond which they could not go in legislation, in the exercise of authority, and in the rendering of court decisions. It was the first time in history that the inalienable rights of the individual were recognized as being superior to all the claims of the government upon the individual. The right to life, liberty, happiness, and the possession of property as his own, were ordained as constitutional prerogatives for the individual.

In France the Revolution achieved the setting aside of the dogma of "the divine right of kings to rule" without the consent of the people, and the destruction of the cursed feudal system which placed property rights in possession of the nobility and the clergy; and lastly, the Revolution put an end to the usurpations of authority and the unscrupulous graspings of the nationalized clergy. The people of France through their Constitutional Congress declared to the world, "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity" for all men. The establishment of a republic after the Revolution won for the people their emancipation from slavery and serfdom. The chains of civil and religious despotism and tyranny which had fettered and bound the people for centuries were broken. One-man rule was doomed, both in the state and in religion.

An Era of Freedom

For 150 years the people in France and in America have dedicated their free republican institutions to freedom, the freedom to speak and write what they think, the freedom to follow their own convictions

in religious matters without molestation from civil or ecclesiastical authorities, the freedom to acquire property without being taxed to penury, and the freedom to choose their own rulers and lawmakers to serve only as long as the sovereignty of the people shall determine. For 150 years the people of these two great Republics have enjoyed the blessings of liberty in their own right. This precious boon is now the gift to all the people in America and in France.

The arbitrary exercise of authority in all things both civil and religious by one man is abhorrent to these free people.

Let those who desire to turn the wheels of progress and civilization back to the ancient times of one-man rule learn the lesson of what befell King George III and Louis XVI. As Patrick Henry said in the Virginia Convention of 1765, eleven years before the Declaration of Independence: "Caesar had his Brutus; Charles the First, his Cromwell; and George the Third ["Treason!" cried the speaker of the Virginia Convention] may profit by their example. If this be treason, make the most of it."

The Camel's Nose

by **WALTER R. REED**

*Secretary-General, Supreme Council 33° Scottish
Rite of Freemasonry, Southern Jurisdiction*

EVERYONE REMEMBERS THE STORY of the Arab who took pity on his camel, and yielding to its entreaties allowed the animal to put its nose inside the tent which protected its master from the weather. But the camel's nose proved to be a sort of entering wedge, and it was not long before the Arab found himself crowded out in the cold, and his camel in full possession of the tent.

An Effective Story

One is forcibly reminded of this old and well-known fable by some recent developments in the State of New York. Last year at the State Constitutional Convention a doleful tale was related of a little girl, chilled and shivering in the cold rain as she plodded her dreary way toward school, pausing to watch the school bus go by, half filled with children, warm and dry, being carried to school at public expense. But the bus did not stop to pick her up, though it was going her way and there was plenty of room. Because her parents' religious principles had led them to send her to a parochial school instead of to a public school, she was denied a ride. Was there any

good reason, it was asked, why the school bus should not pick up that little girl and drop her off at the parochial school?

So the convention approved a seemingly innocuous change in the State constitution, which provided that transportation of pupils attending nonpublic schools shall not be construed as a violation of the clause which forbids the appropriation of public funds in aid of private or sectarian institutions.



The Story of the Camel Is Now Being Repeated in American Schools



PHOTO BY H. M. LAMBERT

Let Us Beware of the Tendency Today to Let Down the Barrier That Properly Separates Between the Duties of the Church and Those of the State

Submitted to the electorate of the State in a group with a large number of other proposals, some of which had strong popular appeal, and all of which must be voted for or against as a unit, this "school bus amendment" was adopted and became a part of the revised constitution to the State.

At the session of the legislature last winter a bill was introduced to make effective this "mandate of the people," and was passed without much opposition. This measure was supposed to make it optional with each school district which operates a bus system for its public schools, to extend the service to children attending private or parochial schools.

Department Mandate to School District

But somehow there appears to have been a joker slipped into this bill. For the State department of education has recently issued a mandatory order to the Union Free School District No. 11, in the Town of Southampton, Long Island, requiring the school board to provide free bus transportation for children living in the district who wish to attend St. John's parochial school in Center Moriches. By this order the department has "set aside and vacated" the almost unanimous action of the voters of the school district when, at the annual meeting in July, they refused, by a vote of 97 to 4, to authorize such transportation.

It was alleged by the school district that its public schools supplied adequate educational facilities for all children who wished to attend them; that transportation is not and never has been provided by the district for the pupils attending its own public schools; that it would work a needless and unnecessary hardship on the taxpayers of the district to pay for the bus service, for though the number of children

seeking transportation is small, the expense would be considerable. The district further contended that the law permitted transportation only to "adjacent districts," and that the parochial school named is not in an adjacent district, but is so far away as to require the transportation of some of the children as much as seven miles.

The department of education overruled all these objections. It held that the remoteness of the parochial school is only an additional evidence of the need for bus transportation, and that an "adjacent" district is not necessarily a contiguous or adjoining one. The school board was ordered to "proceed forthwith to provide transportation for said pupils of St. John's parochial school, and pay the reasonable cost thereof out of any funds of the district available for such purpose." Further, in the event no district funds are available, the school board is required to raise by tax on the available property in the district a sum sufficient to pay for same.

The End of the Story

This seems a far cry indeed from the picture of the little girl standing in the rain, refused a lift by the public school bus because she attended a parochial school. Should the ruling of the department of education stand, it is easy to see that a vast total of public tax money will be diverted to the benefit of sectarian education.

Supporters of the public schools will learn in time that where the principle of separation of church and state is involved, yielding even in what seems a small matter is an unwise and dangerous concession. But they may learn that lesson too late.

Christianity and Republican Form of Government

by THE REVEREND LEONARD B. GRAY

[The Reverend Mr. Gray, pastor of the First Congregational church at Lebanon, New Hampshire, has used the term "democracy" as it is commonly applied to our system of government. An article by the editor in this issue of the LIBERTY magazine draws the distinction between this term and the word "republic." We suppose that most Americans, at least, understand the difference between the two, but common usage does not make much of a distinction between them. Believing in the principles that Mr. Gray has set forth, we have refrained from attempting to substitute a more accurate word for the term that he has used.—EDITORS.]

CHRISTIANITY AND DEMOCRACY must go hand in hand or not at all. If one falls, the other falls. They are dependent upon each other, supported by each other, preserved by each other. In the totalitarian states today Christianity and Christians are having a hard time. And in democratic countries such as ours, Christians have free reign to worship, belief, and expression of views.

Dictatorships and Christianity

It can, of course, be successfully claimed that the worst dictatorship cannot altogether destroy Christianity, and that in some individuals it actually makes Christianity all the stronger. Niemoeller, in a German concentration camp, has proved both claims. But the philosophy and method of dictatorships are so anti-Christian, the power of dictatorships is so great, and human beings in the main are so responsive to their environments, that dictatorships practically kill Christianity in the countries in which they have sway.

A striking exception to this, of course, is in Italy, where the Catholic-Italian agreement in 1929 recognized the absolute independence of the Pope in both spiritual and temporal matters. Dictatorship is so foreign to Christianity and democracy that in most countries the three cannot exist together. It is either dictatorship alone or Christianity and democracy together.

Christianity teaches the dignity and worth of the individual. It is opposed to the totalitarian's conception of life, which denies that worth. As opposed to totalitarianism, Christianity produces self-directed, self-motivated individuals, driven not by external power, but rather by inward forces. It claims that

the state exists for the individual and not the individual for the state.

Individual Rights and Christianity

Democracy believes in the rights of individual persons based on the worth of personality. Christianity also teaches this. It is a fruit of Christianity, for it grows from the Christian philosophy of life which teaches that each person is a child of God, capable of reason, choice, and development.

Democracy is Christian in that it rules people, not by outward coercion, but rather by inward conviction which it implants and develops in the heart. While the majority rules in a democracy, the essence of democracy is not the rule of the majority, but rather the rights of the minority.

Democracy, then, springs from the worth of the individual, who, in turn, is taught by Christianity, and maintains an attitude of mind which enables Christianity to flourish. In this day when democracy is in peril, it is quite evident that Christianity is also in peril. Let us therefore rededicate ourselves to the Christian philosophy and way of life because we dearly love both Christianity and democracy.

Some Things the Law Cannot Do

It cannot make a man righteous or moral.

It cannot make a saint out of a sinner.

It cannot transfer the sanctity of the Sabbath to Sunday.

It cannot make a thing holy that God never made holy.

It cannot change the leopard's spots or the skin of the Ethiopian.

It cannot rob a man of his soul liberty.

It cannot make a man do right.

It cannot make a man religious.

It cannot save a man from his sins.

It cannot regenerate the carnal mind.

It cannot prevent the commission of crime.

The law cannot save, but it can condemn.

It cannot overcome sin, but it can point out sin.

It cannot cleanse you, but it can witness to your cleanness.

It cannot create civilization, but it is the foundation of civilization.

C. S. L.

Be Vigilant

NEW YORK STATE has passed laws implementing the amendments to its constitution passed at the 1938 election. These laws provide for the appropriation of tax money to pay for the transportation of pupils to parochial schools and for social services to the children enrolled in such schools. This, we believe, is in violation of the Constitution of the United States, for it is the appropriation of public funds for the promotion of sectarian enterprises. Such is an invasion of our Bill of Rights. It causes taxpayers to pay for the promotion of sects whose principles, teachings, and ecclesiology are offensive to their consciences.

What New York State now needs is an American citizen to do for his country what John Clifford did for England. He protested by refusing to pay his local tax because it was used in part to pay the expenses of the Church of England and its parochial schools. There would be the difference that John Clifford was opposing precedent established by law, whereas in this country the citizen would be defending the commonwealth against its enemies and seeking to sustain precedent hitherto upheld by law. Fully conscious that such a citizen would be persecuted, even in this free country, we are sure that in the end he would be vindicated. Such a course of action would involve a defense of said action before New York State justices, and might include the tedious process of an appeal to the Federal Courts, perhaps reaching the Supreme Court.

Encroachments Upon Liberties

We cite this to show how when we relax our vigilance and permit un-American legislation to be passed, we involve ourselves in incalculable trouble before we can get the proper correction. Unless something is done now, we must expect to see further encroachments by ecclesiastics who are hungrily seeking to dip their hands into the public till. Certainly we would not expect them to stop where they are now, for that has never been their announced purpose.

We shall not see our American liberties invaded or taken from us by bold revolutionary strokes, for no such methods would succeed. The enemy will not come in like a flood—he will seep through the small cracks in our legislative defenses and widen his advantages with stealthy encroachments. This method will be slow, but it will be sure. By degrees the slumbering American citizen will get used to certain ideas and tax processes. He will grow to take them for granted. He will find himself at last too much enmeshed in the legal web to hope ever to extricate himself. The end will be his passive enslavement. That for which our fathers bled and died will be lost;

FIRST QUARTER

that tyranny which the forefathers fled their homelands to escape will be fastened on their children because of our own cowardice, ignorance, and neglect.

Tyranny is not acceptable merely because it wears a cloak of benevolence. Coercion is not any more desirable because its sleek proponents insist that it is for the common good. The theory of the religious state is sincerely held by the Roman Catholic hierarchy, and just as sincerely are Baptists and other free church bodies opposed to the principle. The religious state is one that is dominated by ecclesiastics.

We look with concern upon politicians who reveal a tendency to consult certain ecclesiastics because it is assumed they can decide which way millions of voters of their faith will vote. America cannot remain free if its political leaders sell its constitutional principles to gain power. No sect in this country, no matter how great its numbers or its wealth, should be given a privileged position in the affairs of the States or of the nation.

A Warning Sounded

To prevent this, we who are the spiritual sons and daughters of the heroic fathers who battled the ecclesiastical, soul-endangering tyranny of their times, when odds were overwhelming, should now, in the day of our long-enjoyed freedom, stiffen our resistance to the encroachments of an ancient wrong. We, therefore, unite our appeal with that of Dr. George W. Truett, who, in his great peroration before the Baptist World Alliance in Atlanta, said:

“Take again the fact of the allocation of public funds to sectarian purposes. That question has long and often been in the public mind in one form and another. Bills are proposed, in various States, again and again, for taxes to be appropriated for sectarian schools. If haply any of our Baptist people have, in an hour of weakness, been in any way enthralled by this encroachment, let them speedily repent of such inconsistent course, and go and sin no more! Nothing in all the world is worth doing wrong for!

“Right at this point all our people need to be wide awake to danger, and faithful to principle, or results will badly plague us later along. If, forsooth, the charge is sometimes made that our Baptist people are ‘exclusive,’ and ‘intolerant,’ and ‘illiberal,’ let the answer be modestly repeated that for the very religious liberty which our cherished brethren of all communions enjoy, they are most of all indebted to the Baptists.”—*The Watchman-Examiner*, Aug. 31, 1939, p. 975.

A CHRISTIAN is one who lives right, walks right, talks right, does right, thinks right, trusts right, believes right, practices right, and votes right.

Editorials

New Ruling on Flag Salute

IN OUR ISSUE FOR THE Second Quarter of 1938 we reported that a Federal District judge in Pennsylvania had ruled that public-school officials may not expel children for refusal to salute the flag because of religious convictions. This judge further held that public officials have no right to determine whether an individual's acts are based on religious grounds. So long as the things done do not affect the public safety, health, or morals, and do not interfere with the personal or property rights of others, the court concluded, they cannot be used as justification for excluding children from the public-school system.

A United Press dispatch of November 10, 1939, from Philadelphia, says:

"Third U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals ruled unanimously today that school children are not compelled to salute the flag if such action is contrary to their religious belief.

"The decision held unconstitutional the flag-salute regulation of the Minersville, Pennsylvania, public schools, because it infringed on the right of religious freedom.

"The opinion was handed down by two Episcopalian judges and one Jewish judge, and upheld a lower court decision by a Quaker jurist. It was written by Judge William Clark and concurred in by Judges John Biggs, Jr., and Harry E. Kalodner. The first two jurists are Episcopalians, while the third is Jewish. It upheld Judge Albert B. Maris.

"The case arose when the two children of Walter Gobitis, a Minersville grocer, were expelled from school because, on their father's orders, they refused to salute the flag. Gobitis is a member of the religious sect of Jehovah's Witnesses, which teaches that adoration of anything except God is a sacrilege.

"Since expulsion of the two children four years ago, the school board has refused to readmit them unless they consented to participate in the salute, and they have had private tutoring at their father's expense.

"Reiterating the words of George Washington that 'in my opinion the conscientious scruples of all men should be treated with great delicacy and tenderness,' Judge Clark wrote:

"We agree with the Father of our Country that they should and we concur with the learned district court (Judge Maris) that they must.

"These little children are asking us to afford them the protection of the First Amendment to the Consti-

tution and permit them the "free exercise" of their religion."

This decision reminds us again that our courts often stand between the individual and the crowd and protect him in the exercise of the inalienable rights guaranteed him by the Constitution. Sworn to uphold and defend this charter of our freedom, the courts recognize the supremacy of the individual conscience in all matters that pertain to man's duty to his Creator.

In these days in particular, when real liberty has been abrogated in so many parts of the earth, Americans should thank God anew for both our courts and our Constitution.

H. H. V.

Power of Christ Stronger Than Law

THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT became alarmed at the deadly toll which the opium and heroin drugs were taking among the Chinese who were falling as hopeless victims to the traffic in these deadly narcotics. They enacted stringent laws against the promiscuous sale of these poisons, hoping thereby to check the deadly blight upon their civilization; but the drug addicts still craved their drugs, and were unable to break the terrible habit. Nevertheless, the power of Christ is demonstrating that it can overcome this desperate drug foe where the law of the land is helpless.

Recently a young Chinese who became a heroin addict through a doped cigarette given to him by a friend, was brought to a Christian hospital in China. His craving for the drug was so strong that he was ready to do desperate things to secure it. Christian workers prayed with him to surrender his life to Jesus Christ. He accepted the invitation as his last hope of deliverance. The Christian worker then read the words of Christ to him, "Go, and sin no more."

The young Chinese accepted the challenge, and the power of Christ to keep him, and is now an earnest Christian worker. And there is a glow on his face when he witnesses: "God has taken away even the desire to have the heroin, and also the desire to smoke any more cigarettes." Here we have the demonstration of the great truth which we have so long advanced in the LIBERTY magazine that religion does not need the civil law to make its teachings effective. Religion and truth do not need carnal or secular weapons to defend their claims. The power of God is all-sufficient for all spiritual needs.

C. S. L.

Delaware Legislators Face Revision of Sunday Laws

RECENTLY AN ATTEMPT WAS MADE by certain clergymen to enforce the Sunday laws of the State of Delaware, which were enacted 144 years ago. Charles S. Horn, proprietor of the Blue Hen Theater, at Rehoboth Beach, was arrested and fined on three different occasions for opening the theater on Sundays. Mr. Wright, the attorney for Mr. Horn, objected to enforcement of the Sunday blue laws by singling out motion-picture entertainments and allowing other enterprises to function which were forbidden by the same law. He declared that no more fines would be paid unless the Sunday blue laws were impartially enforced in their entirety.

Governor Richard C. McMullen declared that "it would be serious to enforce any of those old blue laws," and he could not understand "why one place was centered out for the enforcement of the laws." The attorney general, James R. Morford, declared that he felt that unless the blue laws were repealed or modified by the legislature, "it would be necessary for all law-enforcing agencies in the State to see that they are strictly enforced." Both Governor McMullen and the attorney general advocated a revision of the existing Sunday blue laws.

Let us see what would happen if the existing Sunday blue laws of Delaware were enforced. The Sunday law reads: "If any person shall perform any worldly employment, labor, or business on the Sabbath day (works of necessity and charity excepted), he shall be fined four dollars, and on failure to pay, he shall be imprisoned, etc."

The courts used to rule that printing and editing a newspaper on Sunday is not a necessity. They have also ruled that operating buses, streetcars, and railroads, and passenger service for travel on secular business, is not a necessity.

In fact, the law expressly states that "any worldly employment, labor, or business" on Sunday is prohibited. What does "worldly" mean? Webster's Dictionary defines "worldly" to mean anything that is "not heavenly or spiritual;" that relates "to the concerns of this life as distinguished from those of the life to come." If Webster is correct, then only "spiritual employment, labor, or business" is allowable under the Sunday law on Sundays. That makes the Delaware Sunday law distinctly religious or spiritual. When the law prohibits only "worldly" things on Sunday, it means that it prohibits everything on Sunday that is "civil" on the other days of the week. It does not prohibit criminal acts, but nonreligious acts, and that makes it purely religious.

Another section of this 144-year-old Sunday blue law states: "If any carrier, peddler, wagoner, or

driver of any public stage, or carriage, or any carter, butcher, or drover, with his horse, pack, wagon, stage, carriage, cart, or drove, shall travel or drive upon the Sabbath day, . . . he shall be fined eight dollars, and on failure to pay such fine and costs, shall be imprisoned, etc."

Again, "Any justice of the peace may stop any such person so traveling on the Sabbath, and detain him until the next day." Thus all traveling by any known means is strictly prohibited under this Sunday blue law.

Another section of this antiquated law states: "If any person shall be guilty of fishing;" and "if any number of persons shall assemble to game, play, or dance on the Sabbath day, and shall engage, or assist in such game, play, or dance, every such person shall be fined four dollars, and on failure to pay such fine and costs, shall be imprisoned, etc."

Notwithstanding the existence of these drastic provisions in the present Sunday law of Delaware, Sunday professional baseball is being played in the large cities of the State of Delaware, and motion-picture entertainments are likewise permitted in Wilmington.

Again, another section of the Sunday law states: "If any retailer of goods shall expose the same to sale on the Sabbath, he shall be fined eight dollars or 'imprisoned' for failure to pay." Yet, every Sunday in Wilmington and other large cities in Delaware many kinds of goods are not only exposed, but sold.

Why should these clergymen in Rehoboth, therefore, single out the motion-picture entertainments, when elsewhere they are permitted to function, together with baseball, football, tennis, croquet, as well as nearly everything else which is forbidden under the existing Sunday law.

If the attorney general should attempt to fully and impartially enforce the existing Sunday law, public sentiment would soon crystallize into action to force repeal. Suppose he should attempt to stop all travel on Sunday, what would happen? There would be a paralysis of transportation so complete as to be unthinkable in this modern time.

What is the remedy? Some say repeal. Others say revision. Let us face the issue squarely. Sunday observance is purely a religious custom, one that was instituted some three centuries after Christ. Sunday laws are strictly religious laws and were so regarded by the ecclesiastical courts of Europe for fifteen hundred years. They are not civil laws, because they prohibit everything that is civil on Sunday and allow only religious acts to be performed. Can a religious law be revised to an extent that it will cease to be religious? If it can, then a fish can be changed to a fowl, or a cucumber to a watermelon. We contend that the only sensible thing to do with a religious law

on the statute books of a civil state which claims to offer civil and religious liberty to all its citizens alike under a separation of church and state, is to repeal it.

This is the only consistent course for the Delaware Legislature to follow. Six States and the District of Columbia have done this very thing. Religion has not suffered any loss, and church attendance has even increased in those States which have repealed all their Sunday laws. If the State legislature is hesitant to take this step, let it submit the issue to the people on a popular referendum, as the other States have done, and we predict that the people will vote for the repeal of all religious laws that are still existent upon the State statute books.

C. S. L.

NEWS and COMMENT

An Incongruous Sentence.—A judge in Indiana sentenced a man who pleaded guilty to a larceny charge to go to church every Sunday for six months to avoid going to a penal institution for six months. We wonder if this judge thought that listening to a sermon each Sunday for six months was so tormenting and tantalizing to the spirit of man that it was worse than being in prison, or whether he thought he could forcibly instill religion into the soul of man. In a country in which religion is a voluntary matter, we believe that such judicial sentences are incongruous even when imposed upon criminals in lieu of civil penalties.

Lawyers Err Sometimes.—A lawyer by the name of Noah W. Cooper, of Nashville, Tennessee, says that when a city council repeals its Sunday-observance ordinance, it might as well repeal God's commandments against murder, stealing, and housebreaking. Unfortunately, Mr. Cooper fails to distinguish between religious obligations and civil duties. Sunday observance is a religious custom observed by certain religious sects. So is Sabbath observance. Whether the first day of the week or the seventh day shall be observed is a question upon which sincere people differ in their religious views. When the city council or a State legislature repeals a religious law, it does no more than the founders of the American Republic did when they refused to write religious statutes into the Federal Constitution, and thereby repealed all religious legislation of the past. But murder, stealing, and housebreaking are civil offenses, whereas Sabbath-breaking is a religious offense.

Sabbath observance is an obligation which we owe to God, for the day is "the Sabbath of the Lord." The Sabbath belongs to God and not to Caesar. Murder, stealing, and housebreaking are injuries and offenses

against man, and Caesar is empowered only to protect man in his proper dealings and in his relationships of man with man. A lawyer who sees no distinction between the first and the second tables of the decalogue, or between duty to God and duty to man, needs to have Roger Williams set him straight. Here is one lawyer who errs when he endeavors to legislate the ten commandments as God's commandments in civil law. While murder is also an offense against God, it cannot be enforced as such, for the offense against God is so broad that even the thought of hate is murder in God's sight. Not a single one of the ten commandments as God's commandments is proper for man to legislate into civil law.

God's requirements are spiritual, and spiritual matters cannot be enforced rightfully by civil law where church and state are separated in entirety. The first four commandments of the decalogue are duties that man owes exclusively to God. The last six man owes to man and to God, but Caesar can deal only with man's offenses against man, and not with the offenses against God. A failure to make this distinction is the root cause of all religious legislation, religious persecution, and a union of church and state.

Selling Religious Tracts.—The Ohio Supreme Court recently handed down a decision holding that anyone selling religious tracts need not procure a license from any municipality in that State. On the strength of that decision, Police Chief Weaner A. Weaner, of Defiance, Ohio, withdrew the charges against Albert Adams for peddling religious tracts without a license. A similar decision was recently handed down by the Supreme Court of the United States in a Griffin, Georgia, case.

Ancient Custom Still Holds.—"The demand of Japan that the emperor be recognized as divine and worship be offered to him, led a Japanese pastor to teach that there are four persons in the Godhead, the fourth being the emperor. He was immediately arrested for insulting the emperor by placing him fourth instead of first. A pastor was also warned that he must not teach that all men are sinners, or that there is but one God, because the emperor is not a sinner, and is a god."—*Religious Digest, October, 1939.* We can hardly credit the above incidents as occurring in Japan in this enlightened age and in such a progressive and modern nation. Such incidents were frequent in ancient times when the rulers of the land set themselves up as gods and subordinate rulers as semi-gods, and claimed that they reigned by divine right and that their offspring were not men but gods. The Author of Christianity and the founders of the American Republic have changed all such claims to divine authority and priority by declaring that all men are born free and equal in the sight of God and before the law.

State Does Not Control Church Affairs.—The Mississippi Supreme Court, in a judgment handed down at Jackson, Mississippi, affirmed that “church authorities and such tribunals as they may set up for themselves are supreme in ecclesiastical matters.” The case concerned a minister who had been discharged recently as a pastor because of certain questionable tendencies in his teachings. The minister sought an injunction to obtain use of the church building, and then appealed when his bill was dismissed by the chancery court. A similar decision was recently handed down by the supreme court of California, as follows: “In view of the fundamental principle of separation of church and state, and the constitutional guaranties of religious freedom and worship, it is within the exclusive province of the judicatories of the church to discipline or exclude its members where neither property nor civil rights are involved. The civil courts must accept such decisions as final and binding. The civil courts, therefore, have no power or jurisdiction to question or review the decisions, or supervise the procedure, of the ecclesiastical tribunals in such matters.” In this case the minister was dropped from church membership for what the church considered justifiable reasons, and he sued to be reinstated for financial support, and his injunction was denied. The decisions of the courts in practically all the States have been uniform upon this subject. It proves that the United States grants complete separation of church and state and does not attempt to control the churches in their internal affairs.

Poll Regarding Religion and Politics.—A poll was taken of 110,000 members of the U. S. Junior Chamber of Commerce, and they gave their answers to the following questions:

“Should the clergy, from the pulpit, attempt to influence their congregations on social problems that involve political issues? Yes, 16 per cent. No, 84 per cent.

“Do you believe denominational intolerance is a factor that is detrimental to the whole religious movement? Yes, 67 per cent. No, 33 per cent.

“Do you believe the interests of religion would be advanced if denominational teachings were augmented by a broad general campaign for religious acceptance? Yes, 83 per cent. No, 17 per cent.

“Do you belong to a church? Yes, 82 per cent. No, 18 per cent.”

It is evident from the above answers that the majority of the members of the U.S. Junior Chamber of Commerce do not believe that religion is advanced when the clergy seek to mix religion and politics, but that religion should stand on its own merits and be accepted on a voluntary basis.

SPARKS From the Editor's Anvil

AN idea is more powerful than kings and all their armies.

THE populace is as fickle as human nature is changeable.

EXCESSIVE zeal in religion is frequently mistaken for true piety.

GREAT ideas are productive only where democracy and liberty flourish.

THE quickest way to corrupt morals is to legislate the people to death.

SCARCITY and poverty have never yet produced a prosperous and happy nation.

NATURAL rights are not derived from civil government, but from God and nature.

OFFICIAL corruption and abuse of power always precedes the downfall of a nation.

EQUALITY of all men before the law is purely an American principle of government.

No power can withstand the force of truth when it has a fair field and freedom to function.

No sacrifice is too great to make in order to preserve our American ideals and heritage of freedom.

No tomb was ever made so strong and so deep that it could imprison forever a righteous cause.

Too much power in hands of too few, leads to abuse of too much authority in too many realms.

No substitute can be found to take the place of personal initiative and individual self-reliance.

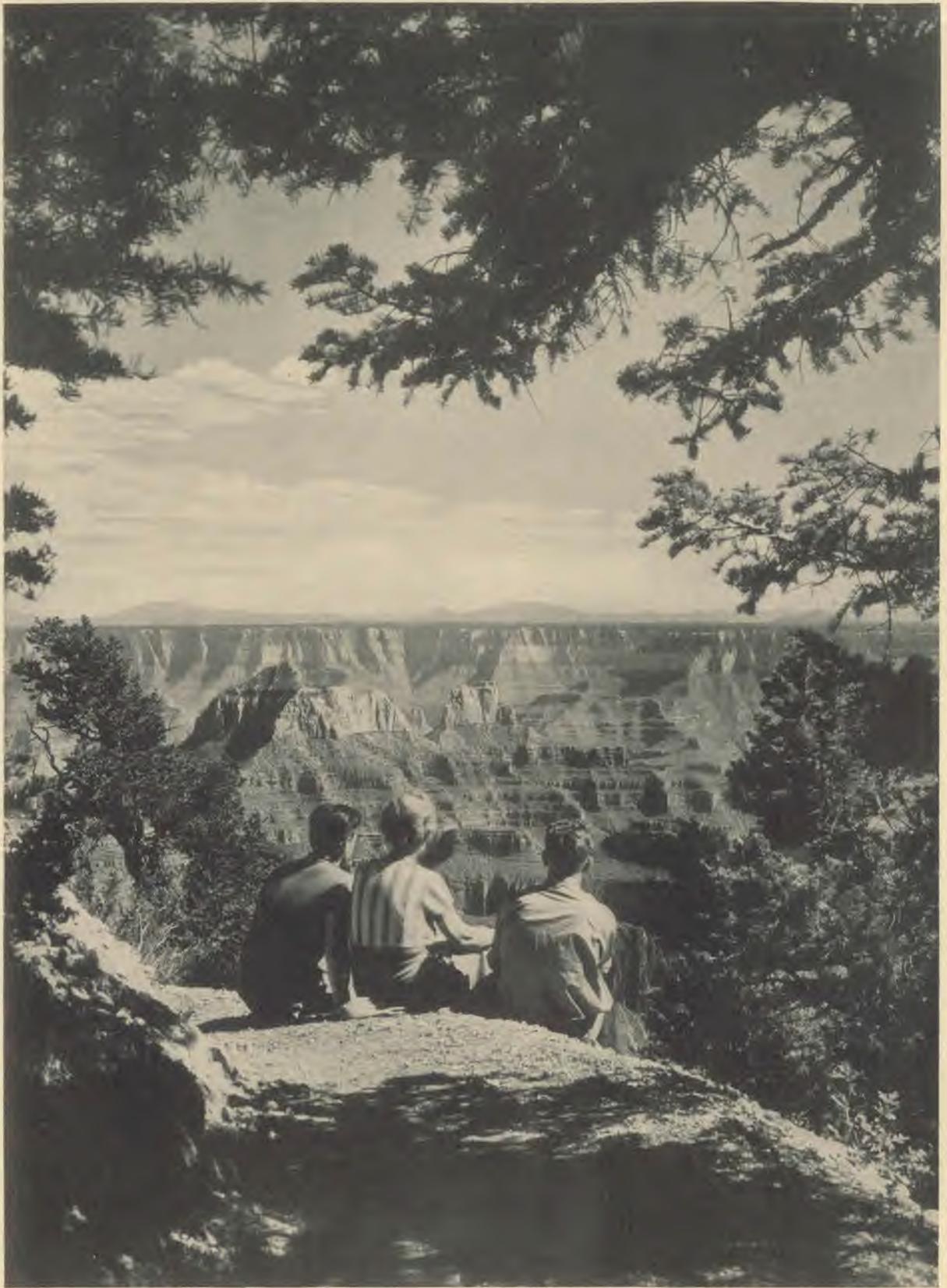
WHENEVER a government ceases to be the servant of the people, it becomes their tyrant and they become its slaves.

GOVERNMENT and industry can never be equal partners in business, because the government enjoys superior privileges.

WHENEVER the people are robbed of their right of sovereignty, they should return to power, not through revolution, but by way of the ballot box.

THAT which made Americans great in the past was individual initiative and thrift, and that which is making them weak now is public support.

THE more public funds the government doles out, the more powerful it becomes, and the weaker the people become through excessive taxation.



COURTESY OF UNION PACIFIC RAILROAD

VIEWING THE PICTURESQUE GRAND CANYON OF THE COLORADO RIVER

**America Is a Land Where the Beauties of Nature and the Rights of Men Have Long Been Cherished
Both Should Be Carefully Guarded, Lest We Lose Them**