



Founded 1886

LIBERTY

A MAGAZINE OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM



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THE NATION'S CAPITOL IN WASHINGTON, WHERE OUR REPRESENTATIVES MEET THE CRISES OF THESE TREMENDOUS TIMES

Conscription and Conscience, by Senator J. J. Davis—Also Articles by Congressman Sol Bloom, the Hon. P. F. Douglass, and Doctor D. S. Muzzey

15 CENTS A COPY

WASHINGTON, D.C.

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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 believe in the golden rule, which says, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them."

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LIBERTY IS THE SUCCESSOR OF THE AMERICAN SENTINEL, WHOSE FIRST NUMBER WAS PUBLISHED IN 1886, AT OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA. ITS NAME WAS CHANGED IN 1906 TO LIBERTY, UNDER WHICH NAME IT HAS BEEN PUBLISHED QUARTERLY BY THE REVIEW AND HERALD PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION, TAKOMA PARK, WASHINGTON, D.C. ENTERED AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER MAY 1, 1906, AT THE POST OFFICE AT WASHINGTON, D.C., UNDER THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF MARCH 3, 1879. SUBSCRIPTION RATES.—ONE YEAR, 50 CENTS; CLUB OF THREE SUBSCRIPTIONS TO SEPARATE ADDRESSES, \$1; FIVE OR MORE COPIES MAILED BY PUBLISHERS TO FIVE ADDRESSES, OR TO ONE ADDRESS, POSTPAID, EACH, 9 CENTS. NO SUBSCRIPTIONS FOR LESS THAN ONE YEAR RECEIVED. REMIT BY POST-OFFICE MONEY ORDER (PAYABLE AT WASHINGTON, D.C., POST OFFICE), EXPRESS ORDER, OR DRAFT ON NEW YORK. CASH SHOULD BE SENT IN REGISTERED LETTER. WHEN A CHANGE OF ADDRESS IS DESIRED, BOTH OLD AND NEW ADDRESSES MUST BE GIVEN.



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Recent Years Have Witnessed the Erection of Many New Buildings in the Nation's Capital to House the Various Departments of the Government



WASHINGTON, the heart of the nation, is a city of wide, tree-lined avenues, majestic monuments, and magnificent buildings, with the Capitol, the Supreme Court, and the executive mansion as its chief interests. Here in the center of the greatest world power now not at war, great problems are being discussed with an intenseness hitherto never felt in times of peace. What the future holds for this great nation no one dares to predict. The signs of the times point to days of peril ahead. Will the leaders of this nation be able to keep our ship of state off the shoals of war? While they are endeavoring to be ready for every eventuality by forging weapons of defense, will they be able to steer clear of a greater danger that threatens our liberties? What will it profit us if, in seeking to thwart one evil, we be overcome by a greater evil? The citizens of this great country, who cherish the blessings which a free nation has vouchsafed to all, should be alert to every act of the men who are directing the affairs of state. They should be ready to challenge every move that tends toward the overthrow of any of the inalienable rights of man.

Conscription and Conscience

by **THE HONORABLE JAMES J. DAVIS**

U. S. Senator from Pennsylvania

THE RIGHT of private judgment is essentially a religious principle. The individual conscience takes God as final authority. Over against this fundamental bulwark of liberty stand a thousand other claims on the life of the citizen which must be answered. And in view of conditions which now exist, Americans should all address themselves to the solution of difficulties which are arising. We are faced with a problem of maintaining a free state and a free church. The freedom of our country is necessary to the maintenance of the tradition of freedom of religion here. It is therefore a subject of deep concern to every conscientious citizen.

Guarding Freedom of Conscience

Conscription of men and money in time of war is the customary practice of the major nations of the world today. The proposal is now being made in this country that we have military conscription although we are not nominally at war. As we look at this problem, we should bring to the consideration of it our very best intelligence, our very most exalted patriotism, and our truest religious devotion. No negative answer will satisfy us. Some positive, constructive way should be found to enable freedom of conscience and the duties of patriotism to be maintained without any fundamental loss to either. The Master said, "Render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and to God the things that are God's."

Religion has been and is the great dynamic of our social life. It has provided us with ideals, aspirations, social outlook, and the organization necessary to carry on the best traditions of society from generation to generation. I have a profound respect for our religious institutions because of what they mean to so many millions of our people. Without them there would be a sense of loss and frustration which would lead to hopeless intellectual and ethical confusion. Men have tried at one time and another to overthrow the church and to satisfy themselves without religious institutions, but they have never succeeded for any long period of time, because the religious motive is inherent within us and religious organizations are necessary to express it.

We are living in an age of doubt and paganism. Uncertainty is all about us. The world muddle is distressing beyond words. It has been made easy

to disbelieve in the present day, when at other times it has been almost impossible to do so. This is not the age of faith. This is the age of change. But although many attacks are made on organized religion, not the least of which is the present movement to tax church institutions, the great ongoing movement of the Christian church has carried millions of faithful adherents through the trials and perplexities of their lives to final triumph. This fundamental belief has been so thoroughly trained in me through my early associations that it would take something more than an earthquake to dislodge it today.

Churches Still Hold Vital Place

Sometimes I am told that people are not going to church any more. But my observations and comprehensive statistics point otherwise. An association with church and fraternal work for more than half a century convinces me that voluntary institutions



PHOTO BY LOWND'S AND EWING

Freedom of Conscience and the Duties of Patriotism Should Be Maintained Without Loss to Either

are stronger in America today than when I was a boy. They offer more to people, and in my judgment are more generally enjoyed and appreciated. Have you ever stopped to reflect how few churches have been compelled to close their doors during this last decade of depression? Business has been curtailed, wages have been lowered, and many schools, dependent on public taxes, have been closed, but the vast preponderance of our churches have kept their doors open and their spiritual life intact during this time of supreme human need. This is indeed a wonderful tribute to the hardy faith which is alive in the hearts of so many twentieth-century Americans.

Today we see a fundamental approach to Christian unity among various denominations which I think is greatly to be desired. I believe there is a definite place for various denominations and sects, for in this country we have observed the fundamental principles of religious liberty. At the same time we are growing to understand the values of cooperation in the common tasks of religion in relation to work, education, recreation, and government. There are some things which the individual denomination can do better for itself; there are other things which can better be done in cooperation with other groups. These things which we do together are important today when the problem of freedom of religion and the rights of individual conscience is so urgently before us.

As Americans we stand for the principle of fair play. One of our fundamental beliefs is the right of the individual citizen to a square deal. On this principle we secured our national liberty, and formulated our Constitution, and achieved a widespread prosperity for a larger number of individuals than enjoy such prosperity in any other land. We have a sincere belief in justice. When we pray, "Give

us this day our daily bread," we are praying that others shall have bread as well as ourselves. Certainly we should not deny to others the blessings which we seek for ourselves. This does not conform to our American sense of justice. We believe there are certain eternal principles of right conduct which have been indelibly written into our minds and hearts. We recognize that our man-made laws are of value according to the extent to which they are an attempt to

express formally the exalted universal law that is alive within us. Liberty and justice belong together. Fair play will not long endure if the spirit of liberty be denied. And what is fair play if it is not the right of the individual to respond to the guidance of the Almighty in the determination of his duty to God and man?

Liberty Under Law

If you wish to find the heart of American problems today, you will study each of them in relation to the fundamental principle of liberty under law. As this nation has grown strong and great we have been called to keep our essential freedom of movement such as we have always known it, and yet at the same time to provide a sufficient amount of orderly procedure so that our liberty as individuals does not jeopardize and endanger the life and liberty of our fellow men. This is the supreme American doctrine in liberty under law. Practically all our public problems involve this principle. And as we come to understand this doctrine we approach a fresh appreciation of the wisdom of the prophet of old who said, "What doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?"

The strength of organized religion in this country will ensure a thoroughgoing consideration of the rights of individual conscience as America faces the problem of military conscription. Great Britain even in time of war has made ample place for the conscientious objector. Surely the United States in time of peace should not do less. And the great religious denominations of this country are now calling for such protective action. The most precious possession of American citizens is our liberty. We

should not thoughtlessly impair this heritage which we have received from our fathers. No emergency is now upon us which would justify passing any measure which would throw the American people into chains.

Conscience the Cornerstone of Liberty

The family is the basic unit of government. The father and mother have duties as breadwinners and

Freedom of the Soul

By Don Morton

Weary may be the way, lonely, friendless;
 Hope may finally die and faith may fade;
 The earth may be a patch of ugliness
 And everything of sunshine turned to shade.
 Yet onward must we go, if noble ends be gained.
 No turning back, unless we bow to fears
 And seek for pleasures which have but defamed.
 The rarer souls desire the rarer ways;
 And the rarer ways are sometimes dreary vales—
 But onward we must go, though the delays
 Oft desecrate whenever valor pales.
 There is no way but onward to the great—
 Onward, then, for our goal is heaven's gate.

homemakers, and the children are the growing citizens of tomorrow. As the family goes, so goes the nation. My first thought when I vote for legislation in the Senate of the United States is the effect that that vote will have upon the American family. Every member of Congress, Representative or Sen-

ator, should have this principle guide him in consideration of the problem of conscription. He should remember that freedom of individual conscience is the cornerstone of the American heritage of liberty. He should never forget that free persons owe their first duty to their Creator, a lasting obligation to God.



PHOTO BY KEYSTONE

The Family Is the Basic Unit of Government. As the Family Goes, so Goes the Nation



The Bill of Rights

by **THE HONORABLE SOL BLOOM**

Member of Congress from New York

WITH THE ADOPTION of the first ten amendments to the Constitution, there was erected one of the milestones of American liberty. The Congress, after long and careful consideration, on September 25, 1789, agreed upon these amendments which became the Bill of Rights.

From the hour of ratification until this hour, every person in the United States has been secure in the enjoyment of his right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

As we all know, the Constitution was ratified with misgivings, because that great charter did not contain specific barriers against governmental violation of individual rights and immunities. The framers of the Constitution pointed out that, since the powers of the new government were enumerated and limited, individual rights could not be invaded. But the people demanded more. They demanded that the government they were creating should be held down by positive written law which would bar it forever from encroaching upon individual rights and liberties. Upon the assurance that Congress would heed this demand and bring forth the desired amendments for the people's approval, the Constitution was ratified.

Madison Presses for Amendments

In the first session of the First Congress, organized April 6, 1789, James Madison, in the House of Representatives, fulfilled his pledge to press for a bill of rights. He met with opposition and excuses for delay—and they were good excuses. Congress was swamped with business. It was organizing the new government. Its first duty was to raise revenue. It had to regulate commerce and shipping. Great executive departments had to be set up, and the judicial department had to be organized. In the midst of this creative work Congress was forced to deal with

Indian nations that threatened war on the borders. The relations between Congress and the Executive had to be defined. The President's power of removal raised a paramount constitutional question that consumed much time in debate.

Members protested that amendments to the Constitution should wait until the Government was put on its feet. "Why," they cried, "you have not even chosen the seat of government!"

With great skill and persistence, Mr. Madison pressed for consideration of a bill of rights. Others in the Senate worked to the same end. The promises to State conventions were held up as a sacred obligation upon Congress. Pressure from the States had its effect. Many State conventions had recommended amendments which they regarded as essential for the preservation of individual security.

Many Proposals Debated

All these proposals were debated at length in Congress. The discussions covered the history of the struggles for liberty throughout the ages, and all the methods whereby men had sought to evolve governments which, while protecting them, could be prevented from tyrannizing over them.

It is a pity that the papers of Congress were lost when the British burned the Capitol in 1814, for these papers contained the details of all proceedings which developed the Bill of Rights.

The outcome of the debate was the adoption by House and Senate of a resolution submitting specific constitutional amendments to the State legislatures. On the same day Congress adopted the following resolution:

"Resolved, That a joint committee of both Houses be appointed to wait on the President of the United States, to request that he would recommend to the people of the United States a day of public thanks-

giving and prayer, to be observed by acknowledging, with grateful hearts, the many and signal favors of Almighty God, especially by affording them an opportunity peaceably to establish a constitution of government for their safety and happiness."

At this time, when the liberty of mankind is trampled upon by many dictators, and when free governments are destroyed by brutal aggressors, the American people may well renew their gratitude and thanks to the Almighty for preserving this free country.

Thanks to divine Providence and their own valor, the people won their liberty, and up to this hour they have retained mastery over their own government, and have maintained their independence against all foreign assault as well.

Many Attempts to Violate Rights

In times of stress many attempts have been made by officers of government to violate the rights of individuals. These attempts have been made by Congress, Presidents, courts, and States. Congress has sought to penalize men for free speech. It has tried to impose a censorship over the press. It has tried to authorize unlawful search and seizure of private papers. It has tried to place men twice in jeopardy for the same offense. It has tried to take private property without compensation. It has tried to subject men to imprisonment at hard labor without an indictment. It has tried to deny to an accused man the right to confront his accusers. It has tried to give the Government the right to appeal a case in which the accused was acquitted by a jury. It has tried to make a crime of an act which was not a crime when it was committed. It has tried to compel a man to testify against himself. It has tried to force the transfer to a Federal court of a case which had already been constitutionally decided by a State court. It has tried to enforce bills of attainder.

In all these cases the Constitution and the Bill of Rights were invoked to protect the individual, and the courts, obeying the people's supreme law, held all these so-called laws of Congress to be null and void.

No Man Above the Law

Presidents have attempted to suppress free speech. They have tried to take private property without compensation. They have tried to subject civilians to trial by court-martial when the civil courts were open. They have tried to bring men from distant States for trial in the District of Columbia. They have sanctioned the stealing of private papers by

Army officers and have tried to convict men on the strength of these stolen papers.

In all these cases the courts have intervened to protect the individual against the arbitrary and unlawful acts of Presidents. Addressing itself directly to the unlawful act of a President, the Supreme Court said: "No man in this country is so high that he is above the law."

Corrupt judges have tried to defraud and oppress individuals in violation of the Bill of Rights. Congress has impeached and removed such judges from office.

The States have repeatedly tried to deprive individuals of life, liberty, and property in violation of the Bill of Rights, and the courts have protected such individuals.

Treaties have been made which violated the constitutional rights of individuals, and the courts have set these treaties aside.

No act of Congress, no order of a President, no judgment of a court, no law of a State, no treaty, is valid if it violates the supreme law embodied in the Bill of Rights.

Individual Rights Secured at All Times

During war the people willingly impose restrictions upon themselves, and the Government may im-



The First Congress Under the Constitution, Meeting in Federal Hall in New York City in 1789, Agreed Upon the Amendments Which, When Ratified by the People, Became Our Bill of Rights

pose restrictions under the Constitution. But even during war individual rights secured by the Bill of Rights cannot be violated. Neither Congress nor the President nor the courts can suspend the Bill of Rights on account of war. Come what may—peace or war—the right of life, liberty, and property is secure in the United States.

A great American statesman has said of the Bill of Rights: "Such provisions as these are not mere commands. They withhold power. The instant any officer, of whatever kind or grade, transgresses them, he ceases to act as an officer. He becomes a trespasser, a despoiler, a lawbreaker, and all the machinery of the law may be set in motion for his restraint or punishment."

No American, looking out upon the world today, can fail to be shocked and grieved by the sufferings of peoples who have lost their liberty. In some cases they had very little liberty to lose. In other cases they were not vigilant in preserving their liberty. In still other instances, brave, vigilant, and honorable nations have been destroyed by stronger neighbors.

Strong Reasons for Gratitude

Current events reinforce the lesson of history by showing how difficult it is for mankind to gain and hold liberty. The Americans 150 years ago thanked Almighty God for affording them an opportunity

"peaceably to establish a constitution of government for their safety and happiness." We of today have 150 stronger reasons for gratitude to the Almighty, for we enjoy tested and tried security and liberty. American liberty is no experiment. It is our sacred inheritance. What was won by our fathers we must hold. Upon each generation falls the duty of safeguarding the great treasure, the precious jewel of liberty. The generations before us have done their duty. We must do ours if our children are to be free.

Our immediate duty now, as I see it, is to safeguard our liberty by keeping out of other nations' wars. It is easy to get into war, but sometimes nations have lost their liberty by plunging into unnecessary war. No triumph in any war we might wage could bring us greater liberty than we already enjoy. We risk nothing by remaining at peace. We risk everything when we engage in war to right the wrongs of the world.

"Our liberties we prize, our rights we will maintain," is the motto of one of our States. This breathes the spirit of individual domestic liberty and national defensive strength. Liberty and valor go hand in hand. With individual rights secure; with vigilance on our watchtowers, with the sword of might in our hands, and with the smile of God lighting the flag above us, we can hold fast our liberty and independence.



PHOTO BY HORYDCZAK.

Lasting Monuments to Our First and Sixteenth Presidents, the Shaft to Washington and the Memorial to Lincoln Are Foremost in the Itinerary of Tourists to Washington



PHOTO BY H. M. LAMBERT

Is Religious Unity Possible?

by **DAVID SAVILLE MUZZEY, Ph.D.**

Department of History, Columbia University



IN EVERY AGE there have been conciliatory spirits, who, deploring the conflict of religious creeds, have sought some basis on which men of good will could unite for the expression, both intellectual and emotional, of that indestructible element in human nature which we call the spiritual life. A notable example of this irenic program at the present time is the movement for the fraternization of Catholics, Protestants, and Jews, which has the support of many prominent men in each of the respective confessions. With the purpose of such a movement, in its emphasis on what Professor John Dewey calls "our common faith," only a bigoted sectarian could quarrel. What stands in the way of the realization of the program is the failure to recognize that unless and until a basic principle can be found, acceptable to all parties to the discussion, religious unity will

remain but a commendable gentlemanly gesture of good will.

Hindrances to Unity

The Roman Catholic will go from the conference with respect for the kindly intentions of his Protestant neighbor, but (if he is a faithful son of the church) still believing that religious unity can be accomplished only by the return of the erring sheep to the Catholic fold. The Jewish rabbi will not accept the triune God of the Presbyterian for the one God of Israel. The whole crux of the religious situation is the idea of a divine revelation. So long as men believe that God has vouchsafed eternal truth to man in the form of a hierarchy, a body of Scripture, a covenant with a particular race, an incarnation of a single prophet, it is idle to look for religious unity.

The case against the attempt to impose religious unity, when the religion is based on supernatural revelation, can be summed up, it seems to me, in a series of consequential propositions. First, as it is by hypothesis final truth, the revelation cannot be changed. It must, therefore, have the sanction of some authority for its safeguarding. But authority can command only uniformity, not unity; and the attempt to impose uniformity in religion has, as the whole history of Christendom has shown, resulted in the worst forms of irreligion, such as bigotry, persecution, and religious wars. Unity must be the product of religious liberty; uniformity may be only the specious harmony of coercion. A counsel coming down from the days of Saint Augustine illustrates the perversion of truth in the authoritarian doctrine. It reads, "In essentials unity, in nonessentials liberty, in all things charity."

Compulsion in Religion a Failure

With the last clause no one can find fault; but the two former clauses exactly reverse the truth. Who wants liberty in nonessentials? We can well afford to let them be governed by convention, customs, and manners which make our daily intercourse agreeable. We've "had a delightful evening," when perhaps we've been bored to distraction, or, we've been "so glad to meet you," when we are not conscious of any pleasure at all. What does it matter? Only a Count Kaiserling would blurt out, "I'm not really interested in what you are saying." But when it comes to essentials, we must have liberty; that is, we must have the decision ourselves as to what the "essentials" are. The trouble with authoritarian unity is that the authorities tell you what are the essentials. Hence their demand for unity in essentials means obedience to their authority. Of this we have a sad example today in the political and social regimentation of the totalitarian regimes. And it is but a short step from Augustine's "in essentials unity" to his interpretation of the gospel text, "Compel them to come in," as a warrant for forcing heretics to submit to the authority of the "holy church."

In spite of all the attempts at religious coercion, the world is no nearer today (and never will be) to creedal unity than it was in the Middle Ages. The Emperor Charles V, in the sixteenth century, after devoting a good part of a long reign to warring on the religious dissidents of his dominions, retired to the monastery of San Yust in Spain to spend the closing year of his life in prayer and meditation. It is said that here, while puttering with his clocks, he remarked, "How foolish I was in thinking I could get men to think alike in religion, when I cannot get two clocks to tick in unison." Men may march in goose step and salute at an angle of 45°, but thinking men will never submit to the regimentation of uni-



DRAWN BY R. M. ELDRIDGE

Charles V, Ruler of the Holy Roman Empire, Puttering With Clocks in His Monastery Retirement, Remarkd That He Had Been Very Foolish in Thinking That He Could Make Men Think Alike in Religion, When He Could Not Even Get His Clocks to Work in Unison

formity. Liberty of thought is the fundamental liberty of man; and the deepest of all his convictions, the hardest to eradicate by persecution or proscription, is his religious faith.

Dogma an Obstacle to Investigation

A second count against the authoritarian attempt to *impose* religious unity is its tendency to oppose that explorative and innovating exercise of the intellect which is the source and origin of all advance in science, politics, education, and the arts. This is not to deny that valuable contributions to science have been made by orthodox churchmen or that the scholastic standing of many religious schools and colleges has been high. Only there is the undeniable fact that there are certain "restricted areas" in which speculation is not absolutely free. An Austrian monk is welcome to experiment with dominant characteristics in peas or rabbits; but if he exercised the same objective criticism in the analysis of the dogma of papal infallibility, he would meet a cooler reception from the guardians of the faith delivered to the fathers. Let us not gloss over the plain fact that dogmatic acceptance of a creed is incompatible with unfettered intellectual freedom. Such freedom being circumscribed, no religious unity worthy of the name can

be based on an authoritative religious creed. "He who is gifted with the heavenly knowledge of faith," said the Council of Trent, "is free from inquisitive curiosity." But to be free from "inquisitive curiosity" is to lack the prime requisite for human progress. Would there ever have been a Galileo if there had not been an inquiring spirit to take issue with the dogmatism then in control of men's minds?

Hypocrisy in Religion

A still further objection to the authoritarian attempt to impose religious unity is the encouragement it furnishes to evasion, apologetics, and even hypocrisy in religion. When Cardinal Newman confessed that orthodoxy was inseparable from allegory, he made a breach in the walls of the fortress of intellectual integrity through which many a less gifted and less conscientious man has passed. Once resort to such phrases as "in a sense" or "figuratively speaking" or "for the men of that day" for the maintenance of doctrines the plain language of which is irreconcilable with evident facts, and the way is opened for all kinds of sophistication and obfuscation. It is an undeniable fact that too often plain and honest intellectual procedure is violated in the field of religion. And all this is but the fruitage of an authoritarian attempt to impose religious unity on men. For men sometimes "accept," on pain of their souls' jeopardy, propositions which they find it impossible really to believe.

"Hypocrite" is a harsh word in our current language; it connotes deliberate deceit, baseness, and a mean and sneaking spirit. If I have used the word "hypocrisy" to describe one of the attitudes encouraged by an authoritarian attempt to impose religious unity, I have not had the slightest intention of attributing the above qualities to any believer in dogmatic creeds. I use the word rather in its original sense. The Greek *hypocrites* meant an actor, one who appeared on the stage as an impersonation of another character. The contrast between the priest in his celebrations at the altar and in conversation with a circle of friends, or between "father" patiently fidgeting in the family pew until the service ends and putting through a business deal the next day, is sufficiently suggestive of the Greek term.

Mere Toleration Not an Accepted Basis for Unity

Nor is mere toleration, infinitely preferable as it is to any form of authoritarian coercion, an acceptable basis for religious unity. For toleration bears the same relation to religious liberty that a permissive action bears to an autonomous one. The very word "tolerate" implies an indulgence; it means to bear, to allow, to put up with; and that, of course, implies that the thing put up with, for various rea-

sons of expediency, humanity, or indifference, is an inferior thing. That toleration has been praised as a great virtue by liberal-minded writers from John Locke down has been rather due to the fact that they viewed it against the background of the persecutions and religious wars which disgraced the previous centuries than to any adequate conception of religious liberty.

There were always limits to toleration. Even Locke excluded Catholics and atheists from recognition. The famous Maryland Toleration Act of 1689 included only Christians who believed in the divinity of Christ. In short, toleration, so far from being a basis of religious unity (and this is why such movements as the union of Catholics, Protestants, and Jews are perfectly futile), is affected with a snobbish, holier-than-thou quality, which may be concealed in polite intercourse, but is inherent in the very idea of "putting up with" a dissident form of religion.

But having proved that any authoritarian attempt to impose religious uniformity can end only in hypocrisy, bigotry, and persecution, we would not have the reader draw the conclusion that we should not seek to work together in harmony with certain religious principles. We are not disturbed by the rejoinder of those who seek arbitrary conformity, that we would throw all religion to the winds and abandon men to secularism and infidelity. Even if that rejoinder were true, it would still be plausible to contend that secularism is preferable to hypocrisy, and infidelity to bigotry.

Men will never agree on what are the true dogmas to believe, but men generally are agreed on the obligation to lead lives of righteousness, honor, and service to humanity. And most men would agree also with the words of the prophet Micah that the Lord requires that we do justly, love mercy, and walk humbly with God. Few would question the standard of self-sacrificing love presented by the Lord Jesus Christ as the best expression of the religious life. On these agreed propositions men of good will, no matter what their particular faith may be, can unite without compulsion. Such voluntary unity would have in it no element of bigotry or hypocrisy; nor would it engender persecution. True, such voluntary unity would not constitute a church, which is but another way of saying that those distinctive, supernatural teachings that distinguish a church can never find universal, willing agreement among men.

SOMETIMES silence is golden and inaction is prudence, but silence is yellow instead of golden and inaction is cowardice instead of prudence when fundamental rights are assailed.



PHOTO BY H. A. ROBERTS

The Principle of Separation of Church and State Should Apply in Education Supported by Public Taxation

Religion Goes Back to School

by **PAUL F. DOUGLASS, LL.B., Ph.D.**

Member of the Vermont House of Representatives

THE "SPIRITUAL ILLITERACY" of Americans has so alarmed American divines that the movement to restore the teaching of religion as a discipline in the public schools is gaining an almost inclusive momentum. A changing state and a changing church are interacting to provoke a reconsideration of the theory and practice of public education. The extent of this "spiritual illiteracy" is so shocking to some Protestants that the condition is identified with the continuance of popular institutions.

Zions Herald asserts that "the continuance of democracy depends upon the ruling class being consciously Christian." T. Otto Nall, writing as a Methodist editor, but probably speaking in the mood of all Protestantism, declares: "Those who wrote religious liberty into the Constitution did so because they wanted freedom of religion, not freedom from

religion. They feared sectarian teaching even as we do, but they would probably be amazed to discover that such a fear has prompted us to deny religious instruction at a time and place where it is greatly needed, and they would surely be aghast at our high rate of religious illiteracy." Naturally Roman Catholics applaud. They have never believed anything else.

Background of Religious Education in Public Schools

The history of American education has moved through two cycles in public attitude toward religion in the schools. In the beginning public education in the United States was fostered and controlled by the church. Religion had a prominent position in the curriculum. The situation was satisfactory as long

as the population of the growing nation was homogeneous in matters of religion. By the middle of the nineteenth century, however, the relationship began to be disturbed and discussed. By the end of the nineteenth century the secularization of public education was practically complete. This circumstance was the result of two factors: religious heterogeneity expressing itself in spiritual anxieties generated by the competition of sects, and the development of educational theory and practice to something of a science.

The principle of separation of church and state was assimilated as a dogma of public education. For purposes of civil and civic harmony, the public school maintained an anxious neutrality toward religion. Public opinion was reflected in judicial decision: "The people of the various States, and of the United States, as a political entity have no 'creed or religion.'" (16 C J S 599.) "The law knows no heresy, is committed to the support of no dogma, the establishment of no sect." (Watson v. Jones, 20 L. ED. 666.) "The crowning glory of American freedom is absolute religious liberty." (Cline v. State, 45 L.R.A.N.S. 108.)

It became axiomatic that in order to avoid civil strife, education must be supported and controlled by the state and the teaching of religion must remain in the hands of the church. This cycle of secular education expired with the nineteenth century. The pendulum began to swing back. For the last thirty years definite changes in the relation of public schools to religion have been proceeding with legislation and in advance of legislation.

The Gary Plan for Teaching Religion

Gary, Indiana, is an important geographic location in the history of American education. November, 1913, is an equally significant date. In this industrial city of 40,000 inhabitants, Superintendent of Schools William E. Wirt took a step in relating secular and religious education that definitely closed the epoch of nearly a century in which the religious element had been absent from education.

Wirt's interest in the religious aspect of education was merely a part of an educational philosophy which he was putting into practice. Believing that the child should live most of his waking hours under the supervision of the schools, he proceeded to conduct school from 8:15 A.M. to 4:30 P.M. for six days in the week.

Making demands for more of the child's time, Professor Wirt was faced with the problem of organizing the child's play and contacts. During the additional hours he proceeded to send the boys and girls in small parties to receive the benefit of any welfare agency. Among these stood the church. The school would allot the church from one to six hours a week of each

child's time, the quantity of instruction to be determined by the program of each church. By signing a card, the parent chose an elective course in religion for his child, but in taking this elective the child lost nothing in his formal studies. The church sought to show the parents that the work done at the church was at least as worth while as that done at the school.

The Gary plan captured the imagination of Protestant leaders. It seemed to them to avoid all the difficulties raised by the civil law and constitutions of the States and the Union. No religious instruction was given in the schools. No public funds were used in religious courses. No compulsion was exercised over any child except by request of the parent. By 1940 the scope of the movement for using the public school in one way or another as a vehicle of religious instruction had expanded to very nearly a thousand communities and three quarters of a million pupils.

Religious Ignorance of Children Decried

The Gary plan was not the first program for breaking down the isolation of education from religion. It happened to be the first serious effort in which a public-school administrator took the initiative in recognizing religion in its relation to education. Many Protestant leaders were appalled when it was discovered that three out of every five children in America between the ages of five and seventeen were not being reached by the Sunday school. "Protestantism," cried the *Christian Century*, "is now at the point of discovering that its youth are adrift on the sea of secularism." Feeling rose to such a point that some States granted high-school credit for Bible study outside the public school. The constitutionality of such, of course, was challenged in the courts, for even the reading of the Bible without comment was discovered to have its disruptive civil effects. The movement had gained momentum, and States that enacted no permissive laws found that even without State laws religious instruction was being given, sometimes in the schools themselves, and sometimes on "released time" in churches to which the school pupils were sent.

The growth of the movement has been so rapid that the International Council of Religious Education is having a struggle with the problem. The weekday church school appears in many different forms. Within the movement there is a lack of coherence and unity. The dissimilarity among schools makes professional counsel difficult and presents problems in the development of the program.

Insipid Conception of Religion

The effort of Protestants to conceive religion as a discipline freed from sectarian bias has evolved a

(Continued on page 26)

Public Schools in Danger of Religious Domination

by C. S. LONGACRE

A NEW DANGER is facing our public-school system of secular education. Religious forces are slowly, but surely, encroaching upon the public schools by absorbing their time and adroitly forcing the school authorities to yield to their demands, regarding religious instruction to public-school children. More than 800 communities have already yielded to these demands.

So long as this matter has been promoted on a strictly voluntary basis and without the use of the tax funds of the state for the support of religious instruction by the clergy to the members of their own faith upon church premises, we have not felt called upon to attack this innovation, although we always have had our doubts as to the practicability of the plan, and have known that sooner or later the voluntary element would be eliminated and that tax funds of the state would be used for the support of the scheme. Of late the religious forces have become more bold and aggressive in their demands and are beginning to threaten the school boards politically if their demands are not satisfied.

School Board Threatened

A concrete case in which political pressure is being brought to bear upon the school board in Franklin, New Hampshire, for refusing to comply with the demand of religious forces has been called to our attention recently. Two Catholic priests of Franklin requested that the school board dismiss the Catholic and Protestant school children for one period a week for religious instruction, and the request was denied.

The priest of St. Paul's Catholic church thereupon informed the school board, through a public statement made in the press, "that Franklin has a population fifty per cent Catholic which could be effective at the polls in a school election." That threat introduces the element of force and politics into the issue and robs it of its voluntary character. The priest stated that a resort to the polls would be a "last ditch" effort, but, declared the priest, "the end is important enough to justify the means."

The resort to politics and force in order to propa-



gate religion is the element with which we must take decided issue, no matter whether the proposal comes from Catholics, Protestants, or Jews. It is this innovation which ultimately leads to a complete union of church and state and to all its evil consequences. Whenever religious institutions begin to operate upon our political institutions to obtain special favors

and concessions, however mild and innocent the innovations are in the beginning, legal precedents follow and are enlarged and broadened until finally religion dominates our civil institutions. We must take alarm at the first intrusions, because such a first step slowly but surely leads to the last step, which is a complete union of church and state, with the state under the dominant heel of the church.

State Support for Parochial Schools

Gradually the parochial schools in thickly Catholic populated areas are worming their way into the public treasury. In our last issue we referred to the case in Vincennes, Indiana, in which three Catholic schools were taken over by public-school authorities and really operated as parochial schools, the expenses being met from public funds; and we quoted this from Judge Gilkison's decision concerning these schools:

"Under all the facts shown to exist in this case, I am convinced that the schools in question are Roman Catholic parochial schools and not Indiana common schools."

This case was carried to the Supreme Court of the State of Indiana, and the highest tribunal of that commonwealth held that religious "pictures and furnishings do not constitute sectarian teachings in the schools;" that "the fact that these teachers were recommended by various Catholic normal schools cannot be considered an important factor;" "nor does the fact that these teachers in question, while teaching, wore the robes of various orders to which they belonged, constitute sectarian teaching or make it illegal for them to be paid their salaries as teachers."

A Dangerous Drift Discerned

The opinions here referred to show a tendency of our courts to fall under the spell of religious domination. The safeguards in our State constitutions against appropriating the public tax funds for parochial-school education are so construed by our courts and our public-school authorities, wherever they are dominated by Catholic influences, as to render these guaranties almost worthless. We are made aware of the solemn fact that we are beginning to drift away from our American ideals of a total separation of church and state. The ship of state is drifting from its original moorings.

There is altogether too much playing of politics with popular and numerically strong religious organizations. Some of our statesmen who indulge in praising our Constitution and the Bill of Human Rights on the Fourth of July, seem to forget all about the guaranties of a separation of church and state when they can effect a political deal with a numerically strong religious organization by promising it government patronage.

We are exceedingly slow in learning any lessons from the mistakes of the past. The most dangerous alliance any church can make with the state is a

financial alliance. Such alliances mean that either the state will ultimately dictate and control the policies of the church or the church will gain sufficient strength and prestige to dominate the state.

Government Patronage Demanded

The sad feature of it all is that the hierarchy of the Catholic Church is demanding this government patronage. They learn no lessons from past experiences in Russia, Germany, Spain, and Mexico. They hope that ultimately they will gain the upper hand and be able to dominate the state as has come about in Spain. But all history testifies to the unerring fact that a church-and-state alliance, whether it be political or financial, ultimately leads to a bitter struggle, and results in the loss of religious freedom and the humiliation of the political church.

No church can afford to receive government patronage for the teaching of religion in its own schools or in its churches. It is just as improper for the state to pay the salaries of religious teachers in parochial schools, even though they are camouflaged as public schools, as it is to pay the salaries of the priests to teach religion in the churches. The quickest way for a parochial school to lose its independence



PHOTO BY H. N. LAMBERT

Great Are the Molding Influences and the Responsibility of Those Who Teach the Growing Generation

and freedom to teach its peculiar religion to its own children, is for it to accept government patronage. Government patronage means ultimate government administration and control. The fact that government restrictions are not immediately imposed upon religious organizations which receive government appropriations is no guaranty that the church will escape final domination by the state. Sometimes the evil day is delayed by decades and even centuries, as it was in Russia, Spain, and Mexico. But the day of reckoning finally comes, and the church that received government patronage and recognition is the one that suffers the greatest humiliation and persecution from the state. It never pays religion to receive any aid except that which is voluntary, from its own members or from contributors.

We believe there are many Catholics who sincerely regret and lament the shortsightedness of the hierarchy in making these financial alliances between their church and the state. In fact, we have published in this magazine the testimonials of influential Catholics who are strongly opposed to the government's granting special favors to the churches. They rightfully assert that the church will suffer more harm than the benefit which will accrue from the reception of government patronage. With all good Catholics, Protestants, and Jews, we plead, in the language of President U. S. Grant:

"Leave the matter of religion to the family altar, the church, and the private school, supported entirely by private contribution. . . . Keep the church and state forever separate."

Highest Allegiance Due to God

by CALVIN P. BOLLMAN

THE REJECTION some years ago of the application for citizenship of two persons, one a Baptist minister and the other a Christian nurse, because of their refusal to say that they would take up arms in defense of their country, suggests the question:

What should be the relation of noncombatant Christians to civil government in time of war?

It does not seem that the relations of noncombatant Christians to civil government in time of war should be greatly different from their relations to the government in time of peace.

Christians, although they are in the world, are not, and cannot at any time be, of the world. (See John 17:16.) To become of the world is to cease to be a Christian except in name.

The general rule for Christians, and one to which, so far as we are able to see, there is and can be no exception, is, "Whether therefore ye eat, or drink, or whatsoever ye do, do all to the glory of God." 1 Cor. 10:31.

Never Right to Do Evil

Moral principles never change; therefore this rule of moral action must not be given any Jesuitical interpretation. Circumstances do alter cases, but they do not change moral principles. It never can be right to do evil, that good may come. Therefore,

the "whatsoever" of 1 Corinthians 10:31 must be understood to include the duties comprehended in the words of Christ: "Render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and to God the things that are God's."

And here is the true touchstone to which all questions of obedience to civil and military authorities must be brought, and by which duties must be classified: if the obligation pertains to a purely civil matter, whether of taxes or of service, we must render that which is required to civil government, no matter how unreasonable or onerous it may seem to us. In the time of Christ the Romans had no moral right to govern Palestine, but they were the *de facto* rulers, and Christ gave no countenance to any thought of resistance. The coin of the country bore the image and the name of Caesar; then why not pay tribute to Caesar?

The great breadth of the rule, "Render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's," is shown by these words from the sermon on the mount: "Whosoever shall compel thee to go a mile, go with him twain." It had long been the practice of Roman soldiers to impress or requisition men to further them on their way, and by the laws and customs of the country this they had a right to do. To this and other civil exactions it was man's duty to submit without protest, even

as Christ Himself submitted not only to arrest and trial, but to a cruel death, under sentence of a Roman governor.

Duty to God

But while thus recognizing Roman government to the full in civil matters, in giving the gospel commission, the Master said, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature." This the Roman law forbade under penalty of confiscation of goods and banishment, or death. But the apostles went, and, according to His promise, Christ Himself, in the person of the Holy Spirit, went with them, and worked with them in violation of the Roman law. Here was a duty they owed to God, and to Him they must render it regardless of the commands of civil or ecclesiastical rulers.

And this the apostles and early Christians did. The story of the imprisonment of Peter and others in Jerusalem, told in the fourth and fifth chapters of the Acts, is too familiar to require repetition here. Peter's answer for himself, and for others forbidden to speak any more in the name of Jesus, belongs to the classics of religious liberty: "Whether it be right in the sight of God to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye. For we cannot but speak the things which we have seen and heard." And again, a little later, "Peter and the other apostles answered and said, We ought to obey God rather than men."

Conscientious Men the Friends of Government

And such have ever been the answers returned by the believing people of God. In his work on "Moral Science," Professor James H. Fairchild, of Oberlin College, says:

"Conscientious men are not the enemies, but the friends, of any government but a tyranny. They are its strength, and not its weakness. Daniel, in Babylon, praying contrary to the law, was the true friend and supporter of the government; while those who, in their pretended zeal for the law and the constitution, would strike down the good man, were its real enemies. It is only when the government transcends its sphere, that it comes in conflict with the consciences of men."—Page 179.

FOURTH QUARTER



PHOTO BY H. M. LAMBERT

Conscientious, God-fearing Men and Women Are Not the Enemies, but the Friends, of Any Government Except a Tyranny

There remains little that needs to be said. The principles are plain, as are also the precepts of Christ and the apostles, and the example of godly men of all ages. The conclusion is unavoidable. We all owe some things to civil rulers, and these we must pay, however unjust they may seem to us at the time; but we owe supreme obedience to God. He is the great moral governor, and when there is an evident conflict between His law and the commandments of men, we must obey God at whatever cost, whether of fines, imprisonment, whipping, or even death.

Each Individual to Answer for Himself

Into the details of this question it is not our purpose to enter. There are some questions that each individual must answer for himself. This much, however, the writer will add as his opinion: In time of war there are certain services which the non-combatant Christian can render. It is always duty to relieve suffering and to save life. The garb in which this service is rendered is of little importance. Noncombatant Christians may don the uniform and in that uniform render every possible service that is not violative of any divine command. But when a moral issue arises, whether it be as touching obedience to the fourth commandment or to the sixth, noncombatant Christians must, like Peter and the other apostles, answer, "We ought to obey God rather than men."

Of course in many cases a refusal to honor civil

commands would mean punishment of a more or less severe character; but mean what it may, the non-combatant Christian, if he would remain a Christian, while rendering "to Caesar the things that are Caesar's," must likewise render "to God the things that are God's." The servant of Christ can lay down

his life for the Master, but he can never surrender his conscience to the keeping of another. "Who art thou that judgest another man's servant? to his own master he standeth or falleth. Yea, he shall be holden up: for God is able to make him stand." Rom. 14:4. God alone controls the conscience, not man.

Federal Aid for Parochial Schools

by A. R. BELL

FEDERAL aid for schools"! Doesn't that sound fine? Why, of course. Why not? "Aye, there's the rub." Why Federal aid? Aren't the States taking care of the schools? Then why Federal aid? And for what schools, pray?

Are the several States asking for Federal aid? And what would it mean if this aid were granted? One thing it surely would mean, that would be academic centralization. Would this be in the best interest of the schools? Is it not a truth that Federal funds mean Federal authority?

Would it be for the best interests of the schools to be controlled by Federal authority? Textbooks, curriculum, discipline, etc., etc.? How long would it be before the authority exercised would be arbitrary and inflexible?

Then, too, in this agitation for Federal aid for the schools, may we ask again—Federal aid for what schools?

Comes the answer, The parochial schools. But parochial schools mean religious schools. This brings to the front the question, Are we ready, as taxpayers, for our taxes to be used for the support of religious schools? Would not this be a dangerous policy? Would it not be a denial of the settled rule of action that has been law with us of America since the founding of our nation? Would it not be, in a very definite way, the denial of the principle so long held by our citizenry of separation of church and state?

Our public schools supply adequate educational facilities for all children who wish to attend. If, notwithstanding this, some church organization decides that the children of its members shall have the privilege of religious teaching that will keep step through the grades to graduation, which it has a perfect right to do, shall the tax money of the State be used to support the church schools which this organization establishes? Think it over, Mr. Citizen.

Grant's Position Regarding Schools

It was President Grant who said, "In our Republic the citizen is the sovereign, and the official the servant. It is therefore important that the people should foster intelligence. Let all labor to aid all needful guaranties for the security of free thought, free speech, a free press, pure morals, and unfettered religious sentiments. Let all labor to encourage free schools, and *resolve that not one dollar appropriated for their support shall be in any way used to maintain any sectarian schools.*" His great contention was, "Leave the matter of religion to the family altar, the church, and the private school, supported entirely by private contribution. . . . Keep the church and state forever separate."

Federal aid for private schools would subject them to the danger of becoming a Government monopoly. It was President Coolidge who said, "Under our institutions there is no limitation on the aspirations a mother may have for her children. That system I pray to continue. This country would not be a land of opportunity, America would not be America, if the people were shackled with government monopolies." —*Acceptance Speech, Aug. 14, 1924.*

It has been held with us down through the years that the use of public moneys in the support of sectarian schools is altogether wrong. Religion is a matter of the heart and conscience. It is not the prerogative of the state to teach religion. Conscience and the heart are realms which the state cannot enter. Hence we are opposed to the teaching of religion in the public schools. But, if parents desire that their children shall receive a Christian education, it is their right to place their children in a school in which they shall receive this education. Yet it must not be supposed that because this sectarian school is an educational institution, it should be supported by the public moneys of either the State or Federal Government.

Beware of Union of Church and State

Federal aid for parochial schools would constitute a union of church and state. It would place the church and religious schools under the supremacy of the state. It would be an experiment with our liberties. It was Madison who warned that "it is proper to take alarm at the *first* experiment on our liberties." —*Madison's Memorial, 1785.*

Over the courthouse in Worcester, Massachusetts, is graven in granite: "Obedience to Law Is Liberty." Shall we not, then, give heed to that charter of our liberties, the Bill of Rights, which reads in its first clause that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

Violate this principle, and sooner or later the public taxes would be seized upon to make our public schools religious and sectarian.

In this our day and time, when policies are being advocated and *enforced* upon the people in countries throughout the world, may it not be well for us of America to remember and meditate upon the words of Montesquieu: "The deterioration of a government begins almost always by the decay of its principles."

And may we be sobered in these days of flux by the words of Byron, who said: "A thousand years scarce serve to form a state; an hour may lay it in the dust." —*Childe Harold, Canto II, St. 84.*

Baptists Answer Some Important Questions

ONE LEADING BAPTIST periodical asked a series of questions concerning religious liberty, and another one in a recent issue answers them. We give both questions and answers.

"1. *Is the principle of the separation of church and state in danger?*

"ANSWER.—It most certainly is. In Europe, in the Far East, the issue has entered the war stage. In this nation it is only in the *talk* stage. But if we are not mighty careful, we shall discover that the church, in a crisis, has no rights at all here. There is serious danger of totalitarian government in America. (Note MacIntosh discussion of the U. S. Supreme Court.) And it is from the right as much as from the left. Beware of the state!

"2. *In view of the appointment of an American representative to the Vatican, what action should Baptists take?*

"ANSWER.—Baptists should lead the public agitation against this move until Mr. Myron C. Taylor is recalled to report. Once he is back, he should remain at home. This issue is far more serious—to all Americans: Jews, Catholics, and Protestants—than

we now realize. It endangers the religious liberty of all citizens. Why should our President, or the Pope, have anything to hide? It is time for a report.

"3. *What is the meaning of the Baptist principle of liberty of conscience?*

"ANSWER.—It means that we are free as individuals to seek the truth wherever it may be found, to live in accordance to what we believe to be God's will for us, and have the right to proclaim our religious convictions freely. Such principles we find both in the Bible and in the Bill of Rights.

"4. *How far has religious freedom aided human liberty in general?*

"ANSWER.—Religious freedom has been very scarce upon the face of this earth, but our own country is a good example of how it can produce human liberty in a democracy. We cannot now conceive of a free America without the foundation principles of religious liberty.

"5. *Can true Christianity survive where religious freedom is denied?*

"ANSWER.—Not the kind of Christianity that we find in the New Testament. Religious freedom must exist if we are to practice our religion, and, as St. James says, faith without practice is a dead thing. One thing is essential to the religion of Jesus, and that is liberty.

"6. *What are the evils of the union of church and state?*

"ANSWER.—Some of them are: (1) Compromise on great moral issues; (2) dependence upon the State for financial support which robs the individual Christian of his stewardship.

"7. *How far may government agencies go in limiting freedom of speech?*

"ANSWER.—It may regulate speech to conform with civil decencies, it may curb all speech which deliberately aims to seek the overthrow of the government by means of force, but it has no right to control thoughts, ideals, principles, no matter what form of words they may take. We have written the rights of freedom of speech into our U. S. Constitution. Our right to protest injustices is ensured by the law of the land."

Correction

In our last issue, Mr. A. R. Bell offered a letter that has been attributed to Cotton Mather. According to the best information that we now have, the letter is a hoax. We acknowledge our error.

The LIBERTY magazine makes every effort to give its readers nothing but facts. We believe that truth is its own best defender. We have no sympathy with any doctrine that needs falsehood to make it either plausible or convincing.—EDITORS.

State Schools Must Remain Neutral

by S. H. CARNAHAN

THE FIRST AND MOST IMPORTANT amendment to the Constitution of the United States says: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

The populace of the United States is made up of all the people in the commonwealth—atheists, who deny the existence of the personal God; believers, who are divided into a multitude of creeds; deists, who are believers in natural religion only; Jews and Mohammedans and other peoples of various Oriental and Occidental faiths.

It is not the place of the state to either establish or prohibit by law any of these forms of belief; rather, it is the duty of the state to protect all its citizens alike in their views. Not only that; the state should make it possible for all to peaceably assemble and enjoy associations in their views, and to have freedom of speech and press in the promulgation of the same through persuasion, but not by force.

However, no state institution, supported by public taxation, should compel its students to conform to any religious exercises which would violate their individual consciences; nor should those Christian students who believe in the supreme God of creation

and His revealed word be compelled to study so-called scientific theories which are antagonistic to their conscientious religious belief.

The libraries of state educational institutions could admit the books of these various secular and religious teachings to their shelves and permit the different students to voluntarily read and study for themselves without any compulsion on the part of the state or the institutions' faculties. The teachers of these state educational institutions who are paid out of funds of all the people must respect the equal rights of all the people whose servants they are. Therefore, they must remain neutral in their teachings upon religion and antireligious subjects. They cannot teach science or philosophy in such a way as to antagonize the religious beliefs of some and favor the beliefs of others. They can teach descriptive and proved science, but not speculative and hypothetical science that is subversive of the religious beliefs of the people. Every citizen as a citizen is free to voice his sentiments on any subject, but he is not free to do so as a public servant under our system of government, which forbids the teaching of religion in tax-supported schools. On religious and antireligious subjects he must be silent.

Religion by Law Unchristian

by TOM P. JIMISON

Portion of a Sermon Delivered by a Methodist Minister

JESUS KNEW THAT the greatest disservice any church or state can render to the cause of genuine religion is to make it burdensome by making it narrow, rigid, and unbending. He knew that religious faith must have room, elbow room if you please, that it must have freedom, resiliency, buoyancy. A religion of rules and regulations [imposed by men] had already ruined His own people. It had bound burdens upon their backs which were heavy to bear. It had circumscribed them in their worship, had narrowed their vision, had pestered them with paltry and petty matters until their lives were miserable. They lived in a perpetual state of gloom, and their leaders degenerated, in many instances, into carping and captious critics who set themselves up as the final

arbiters of what was right and what was wrong. Instead of making faith a means of friendly access to God, these people demanded that it express itself in blind loyalty to the [man-made] institutions of religion.

Religious Laws Bring Oppression

It is not difficult to see why such a religion became oppressive. A religion of law is always oppressive. The law said to keep the Sabbath days holy; therefore it would be a great sin to thresh wheat on one of these days. Hence when the hungry disciples of the Master plucked some wheat heads as they walked through the field on the holy day, and rubbed them between their palms to get the grains to eat, they were

guilty of threshing, and the sanctimonious were offended. There ought to be a law. There was one, in fact, and they would call the hand of this upstart Carpenter and His motley followers. They did it, and the Lord answered them: "The Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath." . . .

Religious Law Sign of Weakness

A wise old philosopher once said, "A strong case needs but moderate statement." The surest sign that a man doubts his own position is for him to grow red in the face and try to enforce it upon others with violent and intemperate words. And the surest sign that a religion has become weak and flabby is for a people to try to enforce devotion to its institutions by legislative enactment or councilmen's decree. St. Paul, the greatest Christian preacher who ever walked the earth, wanted each man to be fully persuaded in his own mind, wanted followers of the Nazarene to be guided by their own enlightened and quickened conscience, craved for them to be constrained by the love of Christ. A casual or cursory reading of his scintillating epistles to the churches invariably leaves such an impression on the mind.

Today we almost laugh at some of the early invaders of this continent because they forced Indians to be baptized before numbering them to the sword. We think that they were both ignorant and devilish. The most ardent advocate of baptism by water would declare now that the rite would be a hollow mockery when administered against the will. Our forebears forced people to go to church, then punished them if they went to sleep while the preacher was reading his tedious and soporific dissertation. We deplore that now, charging it up to a religious zeal which was not founded upon knowledge or sound psychology. We know that the man who is forced to attend worship will not have his heart in it. Yet we still think to coerce men and women to observe a day, to outwardly be loyal to an institution regardless of what they feel or believe in their own hearts. 'Tis foolish. Might as well undertake to force a boy and a girl to fall in love.

Man Must Be Free to Worship as He Will

What earthly authority can decide for me the question of how I shall or shall not most profitably spend the Sabbath? One week I may profit most by spending the day in bed. Another time it may be best for me to wander in the woods, catch the odor of blossoms, and listen to the song of the birds. If his heart is hungry for the comfort of the Word, he will attend church, and he needs nobody to tell him to go. Each man should spend the day in the manner which he thinks will best prepare him for the duties of the following week.

FOURTH QUARTER

The ancient ark of the covenant needed not profane hands to steady it, and the Sabbath does not need any secular authority to sanctify it and make it holy. It is an impertinence for any body of citizens to undertake by law to bolster up any religious tenet or institution. God does not need human help. Men hurt the cause which they seek to help. They magnify things rather than people, and that has ever been inimical to the spirit of Jesus Christ. Those who love Him will be guided by His spirit. Those who do not will certainly not be converted by the clubs of cops, by fines, or by the bars of Bastilles.

Sayings of Others

WHEREVER there is a human being, I see God-given rights inherent in that being, whatever may be the sex or complexion.—*William Lloyd Garrison.*

No man is justified in doing evil on the ground of expediency.—*Theodore Roosevelt.*

THE humblest citizen of all the land, when clad in the armor of a righteous cause, is stronger than all the hosts of error.—*William Jennings Bryan.*

IN giving freedom to the slave, we assure freedom to the free—honorable alike in what we give and what we preserve.—*Abraham Lincoln.*

THE freemen of America did not wait till usurped power had strengthened itself by exercise and entangled the question in precedents. They saw all the consequences in the principle, and they avoided the consequences by denying the principle.—*James Madison.*

FREEDOM of conscience was, in that age, an idea yet standing on the threshold of the world, waiting to be ushered in; and none but exalted minds—Roger Williams and Penn, Vane, Fox, and Bunyan—went forth to welcome it.—*George Bancroft.*

WHEN religion is good, it will take care of itself; when it is not able to take care of itself, and God does not see fit to take care of it, so that it has to appeal to the civil power for support, it is evidence to my mind that its cause is a bad one.—*Benjamin Franklin.*

THEY are slaves who fear to speak
For the fallen and the weak;
They are slaves who will not choose
Hatred, scoffing, and abuse,
Rather than in silence shrink
From the truth they needs must think;
They are slaves who dare not be
In the right with two or three.

—*James Russell Lowell.*

Observance of Days a Voluntary Matter

by **RICHARD D. SIMS**

THE "SUNDAY-CLOSING SPONSORS," Gilbert F. Biecker and Fred H. Lohmeier, of Cincinnati, addressed a "Sunday-closing" leaflet to brokers, salesmen, and builders, and invited anyone to make comments on Sunday closing, either for or against. In a letter sent on July 15 to real-estate men, brokers, and builders, it is "proposed, namely, to close real-estate offices on Sunday, to make it unlawful for those persons regularly engaged in the real-estate and building business to hold houses open for inspection, or in any other way to transact any real-estate business on Sunday, and that this is to be accomplished by city ordinance."

As one of the real-estate men of Cincinnati, I accept the invitation to make comments upon this Sunday-closing proposal. No one objects or has grounds for objection if any or all the real-estate men, brokers, and builders in Cincinnati decide by voluntary action on their part to rest on Sunday. In fact, it would be a crime to pass an ordinance and compel them to work on Sunday, and it would be just as great a crime to compel them to rest on Sunday. In either case the city would rob them of their individual freedom to choose to rest or to choose to work on Sunday.

But why all this ado about Sunday? Why not make the same ado about working or resting on Monday or Wednesday? Why is Sunday more preferable to rest for one's health than Monday? There can be assigned no civil or health reason why resting on one day of the week is not just as beneficial for the individual as resting upon any other day. All days are alike so far as resting for one's physical benefit is concerned. Why, then, single out Sunday above all other days of the week? There can be only one reason given for this difference in the days of the week. That one reason is a religious one, and no religious reason can rightfully be made the basis for a city ordinance which requires people to observe a religious custom under penalty.

The pamphlet on "Sunday Closing" asks the question: "Is it wise for real-estate brokers to break the sabbath day?" Breaking the Sabbath day is a religious offense. Keeping the Sabbath day is a religious duty, and religious duties are not enforceable by civil law, nor are religious offenses punishable under the civil codes.

Again the question is asked, "Why should the real-estate broker saddle himself with Sunday work?" As a real-estate broker I voluntarily rest on Saturday, and why should I not have the right to work on Sunday? But what right have I to ask the city to pass an ordinance to compel all other real-estate men, and brokers, and builders to rest on Saturday because I prefer or choose to rest on Saturday?

The question of observing certain days of a week or different days of the week, or no day of the week, is purely a personal matter, and nobody else's business. Religion is a personal matter between the individual and his God.

Lest We Forget

By **Nicholas Lloyd Ingraham**

America, may we not soon forget
That priceless heritage of liberty
Our fathers bought with blood. May we not let
Our vigil slack through subtle lethargy.
Let not one shining buckler disappear
From thy strong armor. Let there be, O God,
New bulwarks built from year to year
Refortifying paths our fathers trod.
May there be born in hearts of men today
New love for liberty before too late
Our piers of freedom fall the hopeless prey
Of foes anon, or now within the gate.
America, revive, from sea to sea,
From north to south, new love for liberty.

Shakespeare on Human Nature

"In religion,
What damned error, but some sober brow
Will bless it, and approve it with a text,
Hiding the grossness with fair ornament."

"Lowliness is young ambition's ladder,
Whereto the climber upward turns his face;
But when he once attains the upmost round,
He then unto the ladder turns his back,
Looks in the clouds, scorning the base degrees
By which he did ascend."

"The world is still deceived with ornament.
In law, what plea so tainted and corrupt,
But, being seasoned with a gracious voice,
Obscures the show of evil."

The Soul and Spirit of America

[Governor Lehman of New York State, in addressing the United Spanish War Veterans at a gathering at Saratoga Springs, New York, said some excellent things about "the soul and spirit of America" which we wish to share with the readers of LIBERTY. The governor's address follows.—EDITORS.]

THIS COUNTRY WAS FOUNDED by pioneers who came here to escape political or religious persecution. Since then millions of others have followed them. They have found happy homes in the New World. When they sailed from their homes in the Old World, they left behind the enmities which divide nation from nation, race from race, creed from creed, class from class.

"The spirit of democratic America will not tolerate such hatreds and divisions here.

"With few exceptions, those who have come to us from other shores have made noble use of the liberty which they have found here. They have done their full share in promoting the material welfare of the country. They have done more.

"They have done their part in preserving the spirit of America, and in maintaining its ideals. They have enriched its cultural life by merging into the life of America what was best in the culture of the lands where they were born. They understood, perhaps even better than the native born, the real worth of freedom, for they had seen the evils of tyranny. In the free life of America, love for their adopted country left no room in their hearts for national, racial, religious, or class hatred and divisions.

"Must Avoid Europe's Evils

"We must not for an instant tolerate here the passions, the prejudices, the false theories and ideals which are making Europe an armed camp and which have forced from their homes countless thousands to wander homeless through Europe.

"There is no place in American life for group or clique or faction who encourage dual alliance. There is no place in American life for groups who practice un-Americanism. Our nation has become great because here races and nationalities have lived side by side with each other in friendship and in understanding, actuated solely by the common interest of love of state and of country.

"They have respected each other's hopes and ideals and racial characteristics because they realized that from all races and from all religions come equal loyalty and equal devotion to our country. It is this common interest that has made for a sympathetic understanding between our peoples and that has assured us in this country religious and political equality.

FOURTH QUARTER

"America is great because America has accorded justice to all. America will remain great so long as all its citizens recognize that a denial of freedom and opportunity to one group affects every group; that injustice to a single individual may not be tolerated without injury to the soul and spirit of America.

"How fortunate are we that our lot has been cast in a country where both by constitutional mandate and by the ideals of the people themselves, religious and political freedom is guaranteed to all.

"But with the privileges of citizenship in this great liberty-loving country of ours comes high responsibility for maintaining the blessings of liberty and equality which are guaranteed to all our loyal citizens. The enjoyment of the rights accorded by democracy imposes a heavy responsibility to safeguard those rights.

"Obedience to Statutes

"Those who benefit from the blessings of democracy must not abuse the privileges of democracy. Those who are protected in their liberties by our statutes must obey those statutes, not only in the letter, but in the spirit. It is contemptible for anyone who enjoys the benefits of democracy to seek to undermine the principles and institutions which alone have made those benefits possible.

"We can have no divided loyalty in this country. That great American, Theodore Roosevelt, eloquently expressed this truth when he said:

"'We can have no fifty-fifty allegiance in this country. Either a man is an American and nothing else, or he is not American at all. We are akin by blood and descent to most of the nations of Europe; but we are separate from all of them; we are a new and distinct nation.'

"Our nation is more than a geographical unit of a single government. Our nation is composed of peoples of different stocks and many religions, but we are all united by an intense love of liberty. We are a nation born of a great ideal. That ideal can and will be preserved for us and for our children and our children's children only if we safeguard it militantly and uncompromisingly.

"I am glad to speak to you because I know that all of us in spirit are actuated by a common ideal—an undivided loyalty to America—which no outside influence can ever weaken. Working together we must strive ever to preserve the great principles of justice and mercy and love of God and man which have been cherished here for centuries and which are the very essence of the spirit of our beloved country.

"We who love America, we who love democracy and freedom and equality, must dedicate ourselves to a spirit of understanding, of tolerance and good will, of patriotism, and, above all things, to an unyielding love for free America."—*N. Y. Times, July 12, 1939.*

Religion Goes Back to School

(Continued from page 15)

pedagogical conception of religion so insipid on the one hand and so broad on the other that it is hard to differentiate it from ethics, neighborhood civics, the nonphysiological philosophy of Christian Science as a world of love, and the economic reform of society by substituting cooperation for competition, save that the subject is taught by clergymen, nuns, or teachers entirely responsible to a sect.

Do the practices which have come in amount to the giving of credit for sectarian instruction? Does releasing certain pupils to attend religious instruction and retaining others for the remainder of the school day result in religious discrimination?

More and more frequently these issues have been resolved in favor of the religious instruction partly by legislation, partly by reconsideration of legal precedent, and partly by the reluctance of both legislatures and courts to act on the problem in any way which might be interpreted as hostile to religion.

Regardless of the position taken by various branches of Protestantism, Catholics have always held that "separation of church and state" is the "irrelevant middle term" of "educational secularism."

The Roman Catholic Position

However enthusiastically the Catholics may greet the venture of Protestantism into the field of weekday religious education, and cooperate with the program where parochial schools do not exist, the attitude is only partial.

Father Stanford states the Catholic position when he says that "we will not have advanced far enough until we recognize that religious education means religion in education, and that such religious education most effectively can be given in the atmosphere and the work of a definitely religious school. The religious school is the great bulwark of the nation, because it does not stop with the cultivation of intellect and mind, but seeks to reach the inmost recesses of the human soul."

The Catholic conviction on education is further evidenced by the growth of parochial schools. Between 1906 and 1926 the enrollment in parochial schools increased at twice the rate of growth experienced in public schools.

The Catholic position is adamant. Pope Pius XI replied to Mussolini's claim that the state is superior to all other organized forces in the field of education in these words: "We can never agree with anything that restricts or denies the right given by God to the church and the family in the field of education.

On this point we are not merely intractable; we are uncompromising."

Religion in education has already been reestablished in a position from which it cannot easily be dislodged. As far as the Catholic Church is concerned, the whole trend is a welcomed, but expected, confirmation of its own position. The continuation of the movement can only justify its claim to state support. The Protestant church, so inadequately equipped and staffed for weekday religious education, seems quite willing to remain on the ground it believes it has conquered—a regular weekly period of contact with children on school time, preferably with school credit.

An attempt was made in Ohio to satisfy Catholic demands for State aid to parochial schools. By a vote of twenty-five to eleven the Ohio Senate passed an "educational-opportunity-equalization" bill designed "to enable parents to exercise their inalienable right of guiding the training of their children, in order to avoid the vastly greater expenditure that would be necessary to provide public-school education for the thousands of pupils whose parents elect to fulfill the duty of preparing their children for citizenship in schools not supported by State funds."

In opposing the bill the Ohio Council of Churches said: "If others desire to maintain schools, they are at liberty. . . . We plead solely for a continuation of that principle of a free church in a free state, which has proved for more than one hundred years to be the best for American democracy."

An Unstable Situation

A "free church in a free state" does not fortify its position by legal power to approach the mind of the individual. Christianity is a society genetically independent of political society. Its method is completely voluntary, if one takes primitive Christianity as a standard. Its propagation is entirely by personal contact of soul touching soul. It is indeed, from a scientific point of view, a very doubtful theory that morals can be taught in the classroom in such a way as to influence habits and patterns of conduct. There is much more evidence for the theory that morals are a product of the interaction of the individual in group contacts in which codes of conduct insist on standards acceptable to the group.

In view of all the lessons of the past, it is regrettable that proposals now being considered and plans now in operation violate a century of American tradition in the development of secular education, and bid fair to throw it overboard. The situation which exists at the present time is incoherent and unstable. It is unstable because from the standpoint of public-school methods it is disorganizing, as any principal will testify. It is unstable because the growing influence of the Catholic Church can accept the pro-

gram only as an interim stage in the evolution of public support for parochial schools. It is incoherent because it appends to the public school an educational personnel and subject which is neither under the control nor within the province of the school. And the system is divisive because Catholics, Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians, Friends, Seventh-day Adventists, and the rest of the sects, whose children have been studying arithmetic, spelling, and English as American boys and girls, are suddenly, at the ringing of a bell, segregated on the basis of none-too-clear conceptions of divine revelation, manner of baptism, proper day of worship, and other church bases of family religious tradition.

Catholics Hoping to Reap Benefit

The one certain result of the campaign against "spiritual illiteracy" through the vehicle of the public school is going to be a deeper understanding of

the educational objectives of the Roman Catholic Church. The partial progress which has been made toward meeting Catholic claims by granting transportation, textbooks, and sometimes fuel to parochial schools by the State, will be rationalized into a forthright state support of the church school. This step is very much nearer and is becoming very much more inevitable than the American Protestant public imagines. To the vast and organized Catholic constituency this outcome will be accepted only as justice, as a recognition of the position of the church, and as a return to the original "American tradition." The effect upon the Protestant church is going to be staggering. Catholics know this; Protestants are going to discover it.

"Spiritual illiteracy" can no longer be attributed by Protestantism to the public school. Secular education in America is vanishing. Perhaps it will be remembered in history as something which for a time had its inning, like democracy and liberty.

• Editorials •

War Hysteria Prevalent Again

HYSTERIA RUNS RAMPANT whenever war rages in the world. Every person is put under suspicion as belonging to the "fifth column," aiding and abetting the enemy, if he does any independent thinking. Especially if a person opposes any measure which he may consider dangerous to our democratic ideals of government, and predicts dire consequences befalling the government should it persist in following a wrong course, he is likely to be condemned as a traitor to his government and to suffer as a malefactor, when in reality he may be a loyal citizen.

Thus it has always been when a grave danger faced a nation, or when a nation departed from the path of justice and rectitude. We have a striking example of such hysteria among the rulers and people in the record of the crisis in which ancient Israel was threatened with invasion by the Babylonian Empire, and the prophet Jeremiah predicted that the city of Jerusalem would be taken by the Babylonians, and its buildings and walls leveled to the ground, unless the rulers and the people of Israel repented of their sins and returned to walk in the statutes of God as He had commanded them.

Immediately a hue and cry went up from the populace, inspired by the rulers, that Jeremiah was an enemy to the state, and if they had had a "fifth column," he would quickly have been placed in that

column. "This man is worthy to die; for he hath prophesied against this city," cried the inhabitants of Jerusalem. Jeremiah replied, "Amend your ways and your doings, and obey the voice of the Lord your God; and the Lord will repent Him of the evil that He had pronounced against you. As for me, behold, I am in your hand: do with me as seemeth good and meet unto you."

They first put Jeremiah into prison. Later they put him into a well of water, hoping to drown him, but the well was empty and he sank into the mire in the bottom of the well, and would have perished if an Ethiopian prince had not besought the king for him. When a man is willing to lose his life for God's sake, Providence extends His arm to deliver. When we count ourselves *out*, and the success of God's cause *in*, we always win. When we hold fast to God's principles and promises, unafraid, willing to die if need be for the triumph of God's cause, letting the world spin beneath us unheeded, then we prevail.

War hysteria is controlled by mob rule and impulse. It frequently violates every principle of justice and ignores every guaranty of the Bill of Rights. War hysteria is not amenable to God or to the equitable restraints of law. In our land it poses as one hundred per cent Americanism and patriotism, when in reality it is only lawlessness run mad. We have more to fear from some of our native-born Americans who have lost sight of the great American ideals of

the republican form of government and civil and religious liberty than we need to fear from aliens within or without our borders.

C. S. L.

Present-Day Threats to Cherished Rights

ALL WHO HAVE GIVEN THOUGHT to the matter recognize that indifference in the matter of the preservation of our liberty constitutes the greatest danger it faces. Even those who admit that "eternal vigilance" is the "price" of liberty are likely to think that in our land tyranny cannot arise, intolerance never be common, or persecution be permitted.

Those who thus think forget that the spirit of our Constitution, to be safe, must be preserved in the hearts of our citizens. The letter, written on parchment, may be preserved, while the spirit is dead. Only in hearts aflame with an understanding and appreciation of its real meaning can there be hope for its preservation.

Some of the dangers, and some of the things necessary to avoid them, were forcefully set forth in Dorothy Thompson's column of June 3:

"I am not among those who think that we are threatened with an imminent invasion, either from Mars or from the Nazis. It is something quite different with which we are threatened—the complete collapse of the world of which we are an integral part, and the redistribution and reorganization of that world, socially, economically, politically, financially, and spiritually, in such a manner as will menace our institutions, our way of life, and our possibility of independent survival. . . . Integrity, honesty, and noble passion are held up to ridicule. The independent personality is the butt of every cheap joke. . . . To care about anything is to be quaintly ridiculous. Tolerance has been the watchword—that tolerance which comes of believing in nothing, loving nothing, hating nothing, the incapacity for indignation or enthusiasm, the paralysis of action—the tolerance which means that faith has gone out of the human heart and conviction out of the mind. . . .

"We have been living for a generation on unearned increment, wasting and abusing the liberties which our ancestors won for us in blood; mortgaging our children's patrimony to pay today's bills which are our own.

"Born in liberty, we have forgotten the stern fact of liberty—namely, that it involves the highest degree of personal and group responsibility. Freedom without responsibility means anarchy. When the President said, a week ago Sunday, that we do not need to abandon our democracy to match the strength of aggressors, he spoke the truth. We do not need to abandon it, but we do need to go back to it—to go

back to its normal and intellectual foundations and build on them again."

As another has well said, our form of government is the "fruit of centuries of struggle watered by the blood of thousands who had never even heard of democracy."

Our representative plan, giving the people a voice, the commanding power, really, in deciding their political destinies, did not arise out of "eighteenth-century political and industrial conflicts" as many now misconceive. "The ideal of local self-government was brought to America by the Pilgrims; the separation of church and state was derived from the Baptists; the right to free speech was a development of the right to freedom of conscience established by Roger Williams and William Penn; the equality spoken of in the Declaration of Independence was an outgrowth of the equality practiced by the Quakers."

Our forebears in founding this nation studied every form of government which man had ever tried. Committed to no preconceived notions, anxious to avoid all that smacked of tyranny, convinced of the essential ability and honesty of the common man, they avoided the mistakes of others and incorporated the best that history and experience could provide in building a state that offered freedom to all, regardless of race or creed.

It may be readily granted that it is "better to stand for something today than merely to know what one's ancestors stood for." But to know nothing of the history of the making of our nation, the things which made it what it is, is as bad as for "one not to be able to recall his own parents."

H. H. V.

Prejudice and Bigotry

THE GREATEST HINDRANCES to true progress are prejudice and bigotry. Preconceived ideas and conventional customs are deeply embedded in our everyday life. Whether these ideas or customs are correct and based on truth and fact makes little difference. Prejudice stuffs the ears so that they cannot hear the truth, and bigotry blinds the eyes so that they cannot see the light. Only a mind that is free from prejudice and bigotry is unafraid of truth and facts, and will follow the light wherever it may lead.

Truth never leads away from God, who is the ultimate truth. It never leads into bondage, for "the truth shall make you free." Truth never leads a person to abuse his liberty, for it can afford to wait till right triumphs. Truth needs no artificial support; it is its own defender. Truth never employs spies to detect its enemies, for no enemies can prevail against the truth. Error alone makes its appeal to prejudice and bigotry to close the human mind so that truth

cannot enter. Truth deals with what is worth while in life—a real knowledge of God and the exigencies of a future life. Error deals with the unreal things of life—the transitory and fleeting things that please, but leave a sting and curse in their wake.

Error always calls black white and wrong right, and prejudice blinds the eyes so that they fail to distinguish the difference between black and white, and bigotry dulls the understanding so that it cannot discern the difference between right and wrong. Prejudice makes it exceedingly difficult for us to make our adjustments to new conditions when the light of truth points the way. Prejudice is static, while truth is progressive. Bigotry is intolerant and uncharitable, and will crucify the Christ and burn the saint at the stake. Prejudice will lynch a man on mere hearsay, before he is tried and convicted. It will drive a Roger Williams from his wife and newborn babe to find refuge among the savage Indians in a cold and bleak wilderness. It will put a John Bunyan behind prison bars for a decade for preaching the gospel of truth without a state license approved by a state church.

Bigotry—religious bigotry—not to be outdone by prejudice, has, when clothed with civil power and authority, crimsoned its sword with the blood of millions of martyrs of every faith. The Jews shed the blood of the prophets, the Catholics burned the Savonarolas, and the Protestants the Servetuses, when the civil sword and the fagot were thrust into their hands.

The only way to prevent prejudice and bigotry from carrying on their deadly work of religious persecution is to deny them the use of civil weapons. The only guaranty of civil and religious liberty for the individual is a complete separation of church and state, and the establishment of legislative barriers in the fundamental law of the land, denying all interference of the state in religious matters and all meddling of the church in political affairs, and erecting these barriers so high that the state cannot pass over them, and strengthening them so that the church and religion cannot enter through them. The divorcement of religion from all political functions is the only solution to this perplexing problem.

Prejudice and bigotry are inherent in human nature, and the only way to chain them so that they cannot break loose from their leashes is to rob them of civil power and authority in the realm of conscience and religion.

C. S. L.

THE only possible way for an officer of the civil law to be free from bigotry and prejudice in the administration of equal justice to all men is to maintain absolute neutrality upon all religious questions and offenses against God and religion.

FOURTH QUARTER

Americanism Defined

AMERICANISM MEANS LIVING up to the ideals and principles of liberty and justice as set forth in the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights in the Federal Constitution.

Americanism is an ideal, a principle, and a way of life. It recognizes the equality of all persons before the law, with special privileges to none.

Americanism grants equal protection under the law to all religions, with no favors to any. It recognizes that all men are free to worship God or not to worship God, in harmony with their own consciences. It advocates a total and complete separation of church and state.

Americanism recognizes that each individual possesses certain natural, inherent, God-given, inalienable rights which no human government has a right to abridge or invade. In the realm of faith and religion it recognizes the conscience as supreme so long as the individual respects the laws of decency and the equal rights of his fellow men.

Americanism enumerates certain fundamental rights as superior to governmental authority, such as free speech, a free press, including the freedom to circulate literature, the freedom to worship, the freedom to assemble, the right of petition against grievances, the right of trial by one's peers, and the right of sovereignty as a people. All these liberties are recognized as belonging to the people instead of to the government, and the government can only correct abuses of the same for the protection of the public.

Americanism stands for an equal opportunity for all to acquire property rights and to enjoy the fruits of one's labor and enterprise, as well as an equal opportunity to aspire to public office, including the Presidency of the United States.

Americanism recognizes the right to criticize abuses in the government, to disagree with political policies, to differ in religious ideas and modes of worship, and to tolerate opposing opinions whether right or wrong, so long as they do not result in harmful acts or violate common decencies.

Americanism recognizes the Constitution of the United States as supreme authority to which all three branches of the government are subject, and which every public official is oath-bound to defend and preserve inviolate, in peacetime and in wartime.

Americanism seeks by means of liberty under law to promote peace and happiness for each and all, regardless of political or religious faith.

Americanism stands for a republican form of government instead of a pure democracy, and advocates that the sovereignty of the people should never be surrendered to dictators, but should be exercised at all times through representative government.

C. S. L.

A Misconception of Christ's Mission

THE REFORMED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH of North America, through a committee known as "Witness Committee," of which W. J. Coleman is chairman, and James S. Tibby, treasurer, has published a sheet enlisting "sympathy and support in a campaign to secure a national recognition of Christ the King." If such a campaign worked for a "personal" instead of a "national recognition of Christ the King," we could give our wholehearted endorsement to it. This "Witness Committee" laments "that there is no recognition of God in the national Constitution, . . . much less is there any recognition of the authority and law of the Lord Jesus Christ, though He is Lord of all." They quote Christ's words: "All authority hath been given unto Me in heaven and on earth." They have overlooked the fact that Christ disclaimed any authority in the settlement of temporal matters, and that He only exercises authority in spiritual matters. A man came to Christ and said: "Master, speak to my brother, that he divide the inheritance with me." And Jesus said unto him: "Man, who made Me a judge or a divider over you?" Christ disclaimed that He was a king or a judge in temporal matters. In fact, Christ expressly denied that His kingdom was of an earthly or secular nature. He plainly told Pilate: "My kingdom is not of this world: if My kingdom were of this world, then would My servants fight, that I should not be delivered to the Jews: but now is My kingdom not from hence."

The Reformed Presbyterian Committee states that our government should recognize Christ "as Saviour and King in the supreme law of the land," that "this recognition can be made only by a Christian amendment to the national Constitution." They say that when such a Christian amendment is adopted and placed in the Constitution, they want to "make certain that its adoption will be no empty form."

Just such a program was put into force in Europe in medieval times under a union of church and state. A theocracy was established in the colonies in the heyday of the Puritans. It was "no empty form" then. In Europe the streams were crimsoned with the blood of martyrs, and in America dissenters and non-conformists suffered the death penalty for seventeen different religious offenses instead of civil crimes. All this bloody work was carried on "in the name of God." The founding fathers in reading the bloody history of the past which resulted from union of church and state, utterly repudiated this religious-political system of government, and purposely left all recognition of God and Christ and the Christian religion out of the supreme law of the land, and erected

barriers in the Constitution against the repetition of religious legislation by civil authorities. They did this, not because they were hostile to religion, but because of their friendliness toward it, knowing that religion can flourish in its purity only when completely separated from the state.

Religious liberty is impossible under a union of church and state, when such a union is "no empty form."
C. S. L.

Blue-Law Proponents Meet With Defeat

A SURVEY OF THE RECENT referendum held in many of the towns and counties in Pennsylvania on Sunday-law enforcement relative to Sunday amusements and sports reveals that the Sunday-blue-law proponents met with defeat, losing in practically every case.

The voting was deemed important because it was the first test of sentiment since 1935, when the last referendum was held. At that time about three fourths of the territory of Pennsylvania lifted the Sunday-blue-law ban and voted in favor of Sunday movies, baseball, football, and other amusements, which had been prohibited under the ancient Sunday blue law enacted in 1794. The people of Pennsylvania had five years of opportunity to witness the effect of the repeal of the Sunday laws concerning amusements. The blue-law advocates were confident that the people would vote back the Sunday laws at the termination of the five-year experiment.

However, not only did the counties, towns, and boroughs which repealed the Sunday laws five years ago again vote in favor of Sunday amusements, but nine other boroughs and one township which had previously retained the Sunday-law ban also voted for Sunday amusements this time. Returns reveal that the following additional communities approved Sunday exhibitions by popular referendum: Beaver County, Freedom and Koppel boroughs, Berks County, Mount Penn and West Reading boroughs, Bucks County, Bristol township, Tioga County, and Blossburg, Elkland, Mansfield, Wellsboro, and Westfield boroughs. This is somewhat of a record for a State which in the past was one of the bluest of blue-law States.
C. S. L.

Sunday-Blue-Law Violators Freed

SIX ALEXANDRIA (Virginia) merchants were summoned July 17 before the civil court of Alexandria for violation of the Virginia Sunday blue law. Two of the defendants operated shoeshine parlors

on seven days of the week, and Judge James R. Duncan dismissed these two cases on the ground of their being necessary establishments in view of their regular use by Sunday-morning churchgoers. Three of the defendants operated gasoline filling stations, and they were arrested for washing cars on Sunday. The judge dismissed these three cases on the ground that the washing of cars was incidental to the operation of the filling stations which were exempted by the Virginia Sunday law, and therefore the washing of cars on Sunday was a "necessary" service.

The other defendant involved a bakery business, and Judge Duncan dismissed this case on the basis that a bakery was "a community necessity" seven days a week because of the perishable nature of its products.

These are all good reasons for exempting all these merchants and tradesmen from the operations of the Sunday law of Virginia. But Virginia has a Bill of Rights in its constitution which takes precedence over all the above reasons. The Sunday law of Virginia is a strictly religious law, because it prohibits all labor, business, and trades on Sunday on a strictly religious basis and makes the violation of Sunday an offense against God and religion.

The Act of Religious Freedom drafted by Thomas Jefferson and enacted by the people of Virginia makes all religious laws unconstitutional and is against compulsory Sunday observance or any other religious requirement that is to be enforced under the penal codes. Therefore, our courts should give the paramount reason, and not some minor subterfuges, as the real reason why Sunday-law violations should be dismissed from prosecution in our courts. All such prosecutions are in violation of religious liberty and the Bill of Rights.

C. S. L.

NEWS and COMMENT

The Oldest Newspaper.—The oldest newspaper in the world is the *Peiping Gazette*, a Chinese newspaper, which has been published continuously now for 1,028 years. Eight hundred of its editors are said to have been beheaded for printing articles that displeased the authorities. What price editors had to pay in the past in order to secure for us the freedom of the press! All totalitarian and authoritarian governments today revert back to the ancient custom of throttling the freedom of the press.

The Legend of William Tell.—Writers in the past, under totalitarian governments and dictators, had a tough time. Men were beheaded or burned at the stake for the most trivial offenses. No writer knew for what opinion he might be summoned before the dictator and beheaded. "In 1760, Uriel Freudenberger was condemned by the Canton of Uri to be burnt

alive for publishing his opinion that the legend of Tell had a Danish origin."—*Delepierre, "Historical Difficulties,"* p. 75.

"Vatican's Attitude Pleases Germany."—Under the above caption the Philadelphia Morning *Enquirer* of July 19, 1940, published an Associated Press report that the Vatican newspaper *Osservatore Romano* recently praised the totalitarian dictators, and issued a statement that "the principle of authority" is higher than "the human will," and that "the foremost political problem of any people which does not want to die," is to cultivate a spirit which "will be able to impose the supremacy of the common good over private interests, groups, and parties."

The *Enquirer* states that the "German foreign-office circles expressed marked satisfaction today over what they regarded as a complete about-face by the Vatican in its position toward totalitarian states."

An authoritarian church arrayed on the side of a totalitarian state may be a harmonious and cooperative entity in strengthening "the civic conscience" as the Vatican newspaper asserts, but it will mean the weakening of the moral conscience and the destruction of individual inherent rights, and the doom of free republican institutions.

SPARKS From the Editor's Anvil

A WISE man is a slave to virtue and a master over vice.

HE who yields to despondency never gains a victory.

MEN should keep asunder what God refuses to join together.

ANY cause that cannot stand discussion is not worth preserving.

TRUTH and essential justice are as eternal as the Self-Existent One.

COMPETITION, which is the spice of life, is regimented by the dictators.

HE who commits a wrong against a natural right is guilty of an immoral act.

OPPRESSION and injustice make more disciples for a just cause than all the propaganda of the just.

HE who silently ignores the tirades of abuse and endures libel will receive his reward in the hereafter.

THE rights of the red man, the yellow man, the brown man, and the black man are as sacred as the rights of the white man.

ALL men have trouble with their own consciences, and as a consequence cannot consistently become the guardians of the consciences of other people.



IN European and Asiatic war zones there are today millions of refugees: old men, women, and children. These, deprived of their means of livelihood, ill, and undernourished, may find it necessary to depend upon Red Cross action for their very existence. In our own country, flood, fire, or storm may, at any moment, make thousands homeless and temporarily dependent upon the Red Cross for rescue, shelter, food, and clothing. Their survival may depend upon you, for the American Red Cross is your agency to meet great human emergencies. Membership in your local chapter assures maintenance of the organization's humanitarian preparedness, locally and nationally, so that without delay it can swing into action to care for suffering, helpless people. You and your neighbor are both needed in the ranks of your Red Cross. Join during the annual Roll Call, November 11 to November 30.