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LIBERTY

A MAGAZINE OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM



Long May It Wave

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Long May It Wave!

by *Weldon Taylor Hammond*



I AM a Christian. I gloriously rejoice in the liberty wherewith Christ has made me free. Yet this soul freedom from the bondage and shackles of sin does not lessen, but greatly increases, my gratitude for the national freedom which I enjoy under the Stars and Stripes.

I salute the flag! This I deem not an act of worship, but a mark of becoming respect for the noble principles to which our founding fathers dedicated their lives; namely—a free press, freedom of speech, and the inalienable right to worship God according to the dictates of conscience. These heaven-born ideals of just and equitable government, vouchsafed in the Federal Constitution, have built and maintained our great American democracy—to the wonder and amazement of teeming millions—so that these United States rank without a peer in the history of nations.

The Star-Spangled Banner is but an emblem of the God-given rights of mankind to civil and religious liberty, which this grand Republic has solemnly pledged itself ever to uphold. Gazing proudly upon this beautiful herald of freedom, with a thankful heart for the manifold blessings of its benign rule, I am constrained to exultingly shout—"LONG MAY IT WAVE!"

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LIBERTY

A MAGAZINE OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

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PHOTO BY T. HORYDCZAK, WASHINGTON, D.C.

This Massive Painting of the Constitutional Convention, With Washington Presiding, Is the Work of That Celebrated Artist, Howard Chandler Christy. This Contribution to American Art Was Produced by Authority of Congress and Under the Supervision of a Committee Consisting of the Vice-President of the United States, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and the Architect of the Capitol. It Is 20 x 30 Feet in Size and Cost \$30,000. This Painting of a Momentous Event in American History Was Unveiled May 29, 1940, and Will Be Hung in the Permanent Collection at the United States Capitol



THE Constitution of the United States stands as a great bulwark of liberty in a world that has gone mad in a search for power. Conceived in an hour of peril for the peoples of the Western World, it is still the mainstay of those who cherish the way of freedom, which is again being threatened. The Constitution is not a dead relic, ready to be relegated to some musty vault for future generations to look upon with curiosity. It is a living, working instrument that guards the liberties of one hundred and thirty million men, women, and children. No dictator can arise and seize power so long as it is functioning properly. No form of despotism can rule over this nation so long as its citizens fully realize and appreciate the high privileges that are vouchsafed to them through this great document. Every man and woman, every child and youth of understanding years, should be clearly taught the principles set forth in the Constitution. All should be alert to challenge any encroachment upon its power. There must be no weakening of our faith in this instrument of freedom. Let us stand as one united people, fully sensing the dangers that threaten on every hand; and as one great defense against these dangers, let us cherish the glorious heritage that has come down to us because of the liberties vouchsafed to the citizens of this country by the Constitution.

What Lies Behind the Constitution?

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

Professor Emeritus of History, Columbia University

TEXTBOOKS and classes in civics are prone to treat the Constitution merely as a frame of government. The pupils are taught that we have three departments—executive, legislative, and judicial—each of which has certain “checks” on the other two. They learn what the enumerated powers of Congress are, how old a man has to be to be eligible for the Presidency, what limitations are placed upon the States, at what intervals elections occur, how the justices of the Supreme Court are chosen. These details of the machinery of our government are all very well so far as they go; but they can no more furnish an adequate appreciation of the wonderful Constitution under which we live than scanning the meters of the *Iliad* can reveal the genius of Homer.

Provision for Amendment

The actual form of government which the Fathers set up at Philadelphia more than a century and a half ago, after four months of arduous debate, was, according to their own testimony, an experiment. They made provision in it for its amendment. They realized that it might need alterations in detail to accommodate it to a growing nation and a changing economic and social scene. We cannot imagine that men of their character and ability (and they were probably the most distinguished body of Americans that ever gathered in one assembly) could believe that it was a matter of primary importance whether a person should have reached the age of thirty-five rather than forty or forty-five before he could become President, or whether it should take three fourths rather than two thirds of the States to ratify an amendment, or whether a Federal judge should hold office for life or for a limited term of years.

Many of the devices of the Constitution were the result of compromises necessary at the time for the acceptance of the document as a whole. Some of the provisions (as many a political scientist has pointed out) might well have been modified in the direction of greater flexibility or readier response to the will of the people. Perhaps our government would have worked more smoothly if the executive officers were



Dr. David S. Muzzey

not jealously debarred from the floor of Congress or if the administration were made continuously, instead of quadrennially, responsible to the electorate. Certainly such changes would make our government more “democratic.”

Gladstone’s oft-quoted encomium on the Constitution as “the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man” has doubtless been partly responsible for that overemphasis on the letter of the Constitution which has characterized the teaching of civics. Such expressions as “struck off” and “at a given time” imply a sudden creation, as if the Constitution sprang full panoplied from the brains of the Fathers in Philadelphia, as Minerva sprang from the head of Zeus. But this mythical interpretation of the Constitution, which leads some of its champions to ascribe a kind of divine inspiration to its clauses, obscures the real significance of the document as the product of a long historical evolution and deep study of the theory and art of government. It is what lies behind the Constitution that makes it the strong and enduring frame of government that it has been; and our pupils in the schools should be taught to appreciate this background of the Constitution if they are to understand its meaning and grow up as citizens to defend and perpetuate its blessings.

Origins of the Constitution

John Adams once remarked that the origins of the American Revolution went back two hundred years. The same might be said of the origins of the Constitution. The fifty-five men who at one time or another made up the Convention at Philadelphia (an “assembly of demigods,” as Thomas Jefferson, our minister in Paris, called them) were all descended in political thought, and most of them in blood, from British ancestry. They were familiar with the struggles of their seventeenth-century forefathers against the Stuart absolutism. The “Glorious Revolution” of 1689, which had dealt the deathblow to the theory of the divine right of kings, secured the control of the purse strings by Parliament, ensured

the supremacy of the civil over the military power, and removed the threat of a "papistical" dynasty, was part and parcel of their political tradition. In fact, one might say that the American Revolution of 1776 was fought to safeguard the fruits of the English revolution of 1689.

The Constitution, then, as the logical consequence and consummation of the American Revolution, framed by men who had been participants in the Revolution in the field or in council chambers, was no mere ideological blueprint devised by theorists like Marxists or Jacobins, but the embodiment of a historical heritage. The primary concern of the framers was not the particular form which this or that clause should take, though they debated these details with searching criticism, but rather that the document as a whole should be a faithful charter of the rights and liberties for which they and their companions in arms had pledged their lives and fortunes—a document worthy to stand with the Magna Charta and the English Bill of Rights. "Let us raise a standard," said George Washington, the presiding officer of the Convention, "to which the wise and honest may repair." The Constitution was to be no mere set of articles and bylaws, but a standard, a rallying point, the symbol of a cause. If we fail to impress upon our young people this noble purpose which lies behind the Constitution, it will be for them only a series of phrases which a parrot could be taught to repeat.

Struggles to Form a Union of States

Again, the Fathers had a vivid realization of the dissensions which had vexed the colonies from the days of their settlement and which had become especially virulent during the "critical period" immediately following the war for independence. It seemed at times as if the "united" states were to be resolved into thirteen jealous, wrangling, warring "disunited" states. On the eve of the Convention we were reduced to "scarce the appearance of a government." The Mississippi Valley was hanging in the balance between allegiance to the Union and defection to Spain. Civil war was actually being waged by Daniel Shays' rebels in Massachusetts. A group of cynical writers, known as the "Hartford wits,"



The Constitution Is No Mere Set of Articles and Bylaws, but a Standard, a Rallying Point, the Symbol of a Cause. If We Fail to Impress Upon Our Young People the Noble Purpose Which Lies Behind the Constitution, It Will Be for Them Only a Series of Phrases Which a Parrot Could Be Taught to Repeat

celebrated the fiasco of the Federal Government in the mock epic, "The Anarchiad:"

"Thy Constitution, Chaos, is restored;
Law sinks before thy uncreating word.
Thy hand unbars th' unfathomed gulf of fate,
And in deep darkness 'whelms the newborn state."

We have abundant testimony in the writings of the Fathers of the Constitution of the anxiety they felt for the establishment of a government with authority to bind these discordant elements into a viable union. The task, as we know, was difficult; but the need for its accomplishment was imperative. The consciousness of that need lay behind all the debates and resolves of the Convention. In addition to establishing a form of government which should preserve the liberties won in the long struggle with dynastic, feudal, and ecclesiastical autocracies, the Fathers had to grapple with that perennial problem of political science, the reconciliation of liberty with law, of authority with personal freedom.

At the moment when civil war was afoot in the Berkshires, George Washington wrote: "I do not conceive that we can exist long as a nation without having lodged somewhere a power which will pervade the whole Union." To create such a power, then, with limitations, on the one hand, which should prevent its degenerating into an autocracy, and with sufficient authority, on the other hand, to bind the whole people in a voluntary cooperation for the maintenance of the law of the land, was a second master motive that lay behind the framing of the Constitution. It is set forth in the weighty phrases of the Preamble, which are no mere rhetorical flourish, but a sober statement of the remedies necessary to heal the strife and discord which was so distressingly evident to the Fathers as they contemplated the present scene and reflected on its historical origin in the separatism which characterized the American colonies.

Diligent Students of Political Systems

To this deep concern for the preservation of liberties won and for the cementing of the Union the Fathers added another qualification too rare in the political counsels of today. They were diligent students of the political systems of the past. If some of them, like Washington, counted more for their native good sense and balance than for their scholarly attainments, the majority, like Madison, Wilson, King, Ingersoll, Dickinson, Rutledge, the Morrisises, and the Pinckneys, were well versed in the history of governments from the Greek leagues down to the present. They brought the corrective of perspective to the urge of the shifting interests of the day, and planted the roots of their deliberations in the rich soil of the accumulated experience of the past,



PHOTO BY THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

This Mural Painting by Barry Faulkner Hangs in the National Archives Building in Washington, D.C. It Features the Major Committees of the Constitutional Convention. James Madison Is Shown Presenting the Constitution to the President of the Convention, General George Washington. The Mural Is 14 x 34 Feet in Size

rather than in the thin layer of current controversy. The result was a crop of political vitality which has wonderfully weathered the changing climates of opinion and resisted the thorns and brambles of choking factions.

Many of our citizens today are gravely disturbed over the growth of imported theories of government which have gained a baneful supremacy in certain foreign countries. And their anxiety is by no means unjustified. The number of organizations in our country aiming at the overthrow of the Constitution and the drastic alteration of our form of government has been variously estimated as between 400 and 800. It may be that fear has magnified their number, or that ignorance, due to the secret operation of some of them, has minimized it. Be that as it may, our public officials are alive to the danger, and citizens' councils of defense are active in combating these lobbies of treason, whether they are engineered by fifth columnists or by the agents of foreign governments.

Communism and fascism are not new things under the sun. The Fathers of the Constitution had a kind of communism to contend with in their day, as is shown in J. Franklin Jameson's little volume, "The American Revolution Considered as a Social Movement;" threats of an incipient fascism, disturbing to Jefferson as he watched the proceedings from his post in Paris, appeared in the advocacy of a highly centralized government. The Fathers knew through bitter experience how to steer between Scylla and Charybdis. This wisdom that lay behind the shaping of the Constitution is one of the chief sources of confidence that the form of republican government which they devised will outlast the ever-recurring attacks of false ideologies both from the left and from the right.

The Supremacy of Law

Finally, there was behind the provisions of the Constitution limiting the powers of the Executive by checks and balances, the wholesome purpose of preventing the swollen authority of an individual or a little group from usurping the sovereignty which belongs to the people. Seven years before the Convention met, the first constitution of the commonwealth of Massachusetts summed up its purpose in the words: "To the end that this may be a government of laws and not of men." This wise counsel was in the minds of the Fathers gathered at Philadelphia. From the highest official down, our public servants have been required to take an oath of allegiance to the Constitution as the supreme law of the land. Even Washington, to whom the whole nation turned as the man to head the new government, was not exempt from a careful, and sometimes a captious, scrutiny for any sign of a disposition to identify the public welfare with his own fortune or glory—a disposition from which the great man was singularly free.

Today, when millions of people in civilized countries are hypnotized by tyrants who pose as saviors, when laws are flouted and lawmakers ignominiously dispersed, when treaties are broken, and wars of stark aggression are cynically announced as missions of regeneration, we need to be fortified in the faith of the supremacy of law over the dictates of demagogues. True "leaders" the latter are not: for the leader seeks to educate the people, while the demagogue would keep them in ignorant subjection; the leader encourages freedom of speech and press, while the demagogue clamps down a persecuting censorship; the leader asks the cooperation of understanding, while the demagogue demands the obedience of fear. When a man proclaims himself indispensable,

and by fraud, flattery, and force deceives a people into believing him to be so, he becomes a menace to his fellow men.

To safeguard the American Republic from such a menace the Fathers framed a government of laws and not of men, supplementing the Constitution by the enactment in the first session of Congress of a Bill of Rights which made explicit the freedoms of religion, assembly, speech, press, and person which

were implicit in the original document. It is, as Jefferson said in his inaugural address of 1801, the "sheet anchor of our liberties."

The Bill of Rights is enduring because of the great ideals and master motives that lay behind its composition. These should be brought vividly to the consciousness of the youth of our land, and so made the treasured possession of each succeeding generation of Americans.

A Government by Law or by Men

by C. S. LONGACRE

THE AMERICAN REPUBLIC was the first government established on the fundamental basis of being governed by law instead of being governed by men. The Constitution of the United States was adopted by the people as the supreme law of the land. The Congress, the Chief Executive, and the Supreme Court, as well as the people themselves, were all to be subject to the Constitution. The Constitution, however, was given no authority over the natural rights of man—only over civil and social matters. Religion was completely divorced from the jurisdiction of the Constitution. The conscience of the individual in religious matters was regarded as supreme above governmental authority and not subject to governmental functions so long as the individual respected the equal rights of his fellow men and the common decencies of society.

The American Plan of Government

The American Republic blazed a new trail when it decided to be governed by a written Constitution rather than by the whims and decrees of men. The American way of life was in striking contrast to the European way of life. The American plan placed a limitation upon the powers of the highest lawmaking body, inhibiting it from legislating in the domain of religion and in the realm of the natural rights of man. The courts were forbidden from passing judgment upon offenses against God and religion. Man was left to be judged by God in the final judgment day in matters of conscience. While the state refused to dominate the church, and withdrew its support



This Bust of the "Father of His Country" is by Joseph Nollekens. Washington Was Commander-in-Chief of the Revolutionary Army, President of the Constitutional Convention, and First President of the United States Under the Constitution

from the church, it did not allow the church to manipulate the state or to secure special favors through legal processes. A complete separation of church and state, with guaranties of entire civil and religious freedom to the individual, constituted the very warp and woof of the fabric of the Federal Constitution.

The people who adopted the Constitution reserved certain rights to themselves which they never surrendered to the government in the social and civil compact which they called the "Union." The Union which they formed under the Constitution was to be preserved indissolubly. A bloody war of four years' duration was fought to preserve that Union.

There has been a tendency of late to deprive the people of their rights guaranteed to them under the Constitution and to centralize governmental power and authority in the hands of a few men, and to make a government of men instead of a government of law. That is exactly what happened in the democracies which were established by the League of Nations in Europe after the World War. The World War was fought to make the world safe for democracies. But the democracies which were created after the World War are no more, and have become governments of men instead of governments of law.

All Branches of Government Subject to Constitution

A government of men is afflicted with all the whims and caprices, all the passions and cruelties, of men. A government of law is not subject to the weaknesses



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The Two Great Documents of American Liberty Are Enshrined in the Library of Congress at Washington

and prejudices of men, nor is it swayed by the policies of any party which may be in power for a short period of time and then passes off the stage of action, but it is a government that is governed by a constitution which is the fundamental law of all the land for all the people, under which their natural, God-given rights are protected no matter who the Chief Executive in the White House is or what political party constitutes the majority in Congress. All three branches of the Federal as well as the State governments are subject to the Constitution and not to men who are in office. The officeholders are men who are subject to the Constitution and are not supposed to rule the country according to their own whims.

Under the American system of government and the American way of life, our heritage of liberty guaranteed by the Constitution to protect each individual, is made secure no matter what governmental policies are followed or what political changes take place. Neither peace nor war can set aside the Constitution of the United States. As long as it is the supreme law of the land, it constitutes the rule of all the people. Public officials are the servants of the people and not the people the servants of public men. The

liberties and properties of the people do not rely upon men for their security, but are protected by the laws and constitutions of the land which survive all the frailties and prejudices and weaknesses of men.

A Government of Men

In a government of men nothing is secure. The people are not ruled by parliaments or congresses that are subject to the sovereign will of the people, but by men who rule them by decrees and not laws. The will of one man or of a few men constitutes the rule and authority to which all men must submit in all things. All the activities of life and all the functions of government are subordinated to the will of men in power. Citizens are transformed into subjects without any rights except those which are granted them by the will of the man who has assumed absolute rule over them. All the actions of the people are restricted, their functions are circumscribed, their prerogatives are regimented, their private affairs are controlled and administered, and none can call his soul his own.

The man who rules says, "I am the state." He is subject to none, but all are subject to him. The ruler can do no wrong. His will none may oppose. To criticize is an unpardonable crime. To offer opposition is treason. The people are slaves and pawns, and move about upon the political chessboard at the will of politicians. Such is a government of men instead of a government of law.

A government of men regards the rights of none as sacred. There is no right too sacred for the rulers to abridge or invade. They assume the absolute right to rule in all things both temporal and spiritual. They brook no interference with their will. Their authority is supreme in all things both human and divine. God's requirements are subordinated to the decrees of men now as in the days of Nebuchadnezzar, the king of Babylon. The ancient governments were all governments of men instead of governments of law. The kings claimed to rule by divine right; yet they dared to nullify and override the claims of God upon the people. A government of law makes it next to impossible for men to invade and abridge the natural rights of the people. The people who refuse to surrender their right of sovereignty to men, but hold public men subject to the fundamental law, preserve their liberties and their own free institutions. They have the power in their own hands as long as the Constitution is supreme and the ballot box is not corrupted. When the Constitution and the ballot box are destroyed, the people are no longer free and independent. A government of men nullifies every constitution, every human right, and every claim of God upon the soul of man. A government of men means the complete destruction of both civil and religious liberty. Let us beware of such a government.



COURTESY NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE

WILLIAM HEASLIP, ARTIST

Will the Liberties of Men Be Curtailed or Strengthened as a Result of the War Now Raging? This Is the Most Momentous Issue Today

FREEDOM

A World Issue Today

by J. I. ROBISON

[Mr. Robison, an American-born citizen, has lived abroad and traveled extensively. His plea for a fresh appreciation of the things we Americans enjoy is given force by the fact that he had an opportunity to study conditions abroad for many months after the present conflict began. This, added to his observations during previous years, makes his petition both timely and strong.—EDITORS.]

WE ARE IN THE MIDST of a great war. The mightiest nations of earth have set their forces in battle array and are preparing to fight the battle to a finish even though they perish in the struggle. Before we see peace again, no doubt millions of lives will be sacrificed, thousands of ships will be hurled into the depths of the sea, and hundreds of cities and towns will be in ruins.

But why all this sacrifice? What is it that men are giving their lives for in this great struggle? Is there any great moral issue at stake in the conflict?

It may not be possible to define the war aims. In

fact, they have not as yet been fully stated by any of the belligerents; but when the conflict is stripped of all its economic, colonial, and national disputes, all of which could have been settled in a conference, the final analysis of the issues at stake may be expressed in one word—FREEDOM. The democracies are fighting to be free, to defend the life and liberty won for them by their forefathers through centuries of struggle.

New Philosophy of Government

In Central and Eastern Europe during the last decade there has been built up a new philosophy of government based upon the denial of personal liberty and the inherent rights of man. A great war machine, geared to the limit of human capacity and endurance, has set itself the goal of ruling the world. It has ridden roughshod over individual freedom. It has scoffed at the idea that man has any God-given right to choose his own way of life as his conscience may indicate. The freedom of speech and the press, the right of peaceable assembly, and religious liberty

have all been ridiculed and denied to men under totalitarian jurisdiction. This new rule has inflicted death wounds on old, established social customs, and has invaded even the home and family life, claiming the sole allegiance of the children and youth of the nation. It has sought to regiment everything and everybody into absolute, unquestioning obedience to the dictates of the superstate, which must be regarded as omnipotent and omniscient in the same way that their emperors were regarded as gods by the ancient Romans.

In the totalitarian state, truth is ruthlessly crushed to earth. No one is allowed to learn the facts about either home or foreign affairs unless the state so wills. There is a rigorous censorship of newspapers, radio, books, and pamphlets; and even the private expression of individual convictions is forbidden. Independent thinkers have in the past been the forerunners of civilization and progress, but there is no room for such men in the totalitarian system. If a professor teaches other than those things which the authorities deem serviceable, he is soon in custody. A thinker dare not proclaim to his fellows conclusions unpalatable to the governing clique if he would avoid the concentration camp. Neither would a minister dare proclaim the doctrine of the apostles, "We must obey God rather than men," if he would retain access to his pulpit.

In short, the dictator states are seeking to put a barrier on the progress of human thought and to enslave the soul of man as well as his body. By stifling criticism, regulating public opinion, and crushing out all opposition, they have tried to confine their people in the narrow limits of their particular philosophy of life, killing every whit of personal liberty or individual freedom of thought or initiative. This vassalage is imposed even upon their own subjects, but it is doubly severe upon the conquered peoples who have come under their domination. Such nations are in complete subjection, and their people apparently have no personal rights either social, political, or religious that the conquerors feel themselves bound to respect.

Democratic Form of Government

In contrast to this bondage of both body and soul, we see in the democratic nations the complete antithesis of the totalitarian philosophy of government. Freedom, both personal and collective, assured to their citizens by national law and by their constitutions, is just as much a definite government program of the democracies as the suppression of liberty is the studied program of the dictator states. In democratic communities the people enjoy full liberty, not by tolerance, but by legal right, and this right the government cannot take from them unless it overthrows

the very foundations upon which the government itself has been built.

This liberty includes the freedom of speech and the press, the right of public assembly, political liberty expressed in a free ballot and an untrammelled legislature, and also complete religious freedom whereby everyone may worship God as his conscience may dictate. These liberties, which we in democratic states enjoy today, were not always ours. Only after centuries of conflict with entrenched autocracies did the masses gain from the privileged classes the freedom that is our cherished heritage today. Our forefathers threw off the feudal chains of slavery, serfdom, and special privilege, link by link, until religious, civil, and personal liberty became not only a vague hope, but a glorious reality in governments in which the people's voice and vote were supreme.

It is true that even in democracies liberty has certain qualifications. No one may legally slander or libel the personal character of others; neither is he allowed either in speech or in the press to be obscene or personally offensive, and he must not make himself a public nuisance in the community. These restrictions are not a curtailment of real liberty, but rather they protect all in living their lives in the way of their own choice without interference. These restrictions are, in fact, nothing more than social regulations that make it possible for millions of people to live together in peace in these complicated modern times and enjoy life without being a nuisance or an offense to their neighbors.

Challenge to Free Institutions

And so today we see these two opposing systems of government and philosophies of life in deadly combat. Free institutions which have been the glory of the democracies for ages past are today challenged by the totalitarian theory of government. There are without doubt many issues involved in this mighty struggle which may be thought of as causes or aims of the war, but the one great issue that makes an impassable gulf between the belligerent powers is the question of freedom and all that it involves. The two philosophies of government have come into deadly conflict, and there seems to be no common ground on which they may meet and negotiate a peace.

It is recognized that the democracies have made many failures. Economically there is room for vast improvement. But with all their shortcomings they alone have succeeded in securing for men a spirit of freedom under which mankind has been able to enjoy life and liberty free from fear of persecution. The lovers of freedom can but hope and pray that liberty will triumph, and that all men may be free to live and worship as free men in a free state without fear or restraint.

Religious Liberty Defined

by **GIDEON D. HAGSTOTZ, Ph.D.**

*Associate Professor of History,
Union College, Nebraska*

WHAT IS LIBERTY? It is freedom from undue restraint; it is the sum of the rights and immunities of all the citizens of an organized civil community, with provision for guaranteed protection against interference with their civil, political, personal, and religious activities. What pictures the word "liberty" conjures up! It brings to mind opened prisons, removed shackles, restored privileges, granted pardons, reunited families, and reestablished respect.

One marvels at the devotion of those who have given their lives for the principles of liberty. The pages of secular and ecclesiastical history contain many names

of those crusaders who, like the apostle Paul, could say, "Neither count I my life dear unto myself," and who offered themselves with a ceaseless devotion, that the way of others might be more secure.

Liberty and Conscience

There is a saying that liberty in itself is of little value. That is doubtless true, but one must also remember that all else without liberty is of no profit. When Patrick Henry voiced the words "Give me liberty, or give me death," he meant that life without liberty is worse than death. But he was speaking merely of civil liberty. It must be remembered that religious liberty means even more than civil liberty. Moreover, religious liberty is not synonymous with freedom of conscience. One's conscience is always free—it is unfettered regardless of external conditions.

Liberty implies a state of affairs in which a member of a state or society is permitted to follow without interference the dictates of his conscience in the profession of any religious creed or the exercise of any mode of worship. But when one's conscience points the way to overt acts contrary to certain accepted ideas, then one is faced squarely with the problem of religious liberty, and not freedom of conscience.

The Question of Toleration

Nor is it fair to compare the question of religious liberty with the question of toleration. Religious liberty affirms the existence of a state of equality for all, whereas toleration implies that men are not all equal. Many times one hears the plea for toleration, which, as has been stated before, implies inequality. What one should strive for is the development of a sense of fair play for all. Religious liberty is more than a circumscribed opinion born in the minds of the leaders of lesser groups as against entrenched or vested interests of any ecclesiastical organizations. Religious liberty is an inherent right and privilege of citizenship entirely divorced from any given church affiliation.

The core of religious liberty must be sought for in two specifications, said Sanford H. Cobb, in his "Rise of Religious Liberty in America," page 9, "in its origination in the will of God as Maker of the human soul, and in its relation to the civil law." Thomas Paine, who is cited so often as an avowed enemy of



THE ORDER OF RELEASE

This Painting Illustrates Very Vividly the Feelings That Come to One Who Hears an Order of Pardon or of Liberation. It Is the Work of Sir John Everett Millais Who Was at One Time President of the Royal Academy. The Dramatic Little Story of This Picture Relates to the Freeing of a Highlander Prisoner of the Scottish-English Wars of the Middle Eighteenth Century. The Prisoner's Wife Is Shown Handing the Order of Release to the Warder as the Scottish Soldier Again Joins His Family a Free Man. None Know the Joy of Freedom Better Than the Ones Who Have Once Been Denied It. And None Know the Bitterness That Comes With the Loss of Freedom More Than Those Who Have Known the Blessings of Living in a Free Nation

those who believe in God, and even of God Himself, said, back in 1776 in an open letter to the Quakers, "As to religion, I hold it to be the indispensable duty of all governments to protect all conscientious professors thereof, and I know of no other business which governments hath to do therewith."—*Quoted by Luigi Luzzati, in "God in Freedom," p. 686.*

All true advocates of liberty as a principle, and of religious liberty in particular, will agree with this assumption. The adherence to the postulate expressed by Thomas Paine assures all adherents to a given creed or creeds protection in religious activities on the same basis as that accorded to all citizens in the pursuit of their secular activities.

Dangerous Trends Threatening Liberties

The words, "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof," have often fallen glibly from the lips of American citizens. This statement has also been cited repeatedly in various settings until it has become commonplace. With the credulity of children, or the uninformed, many have accepted the idea that liberty, taken in the abstract or in direct relation to rights of citizenship, is a fixed reality. What is often forgotten, or possibly not even known, is that America, though still doubtless the home of the brave, is not necessarily the land of the free; and that the liberty we all claim to prize so highly has, in many instances and in various localities, been, in part at least, removed from the land.

During the one hundred fifty years which measure the existence of constitutional America, repeated efforts have been made to favor certain groups as against others until it is a matter well understood by many that there has developed a state of pronounced retrogression in the matter of religious independence. This degeneracy of religious liberty has reached such proportions that there is hardly a State left in the Federal Union which has not been attacked with religious bills purporting to promote the welfare of the commonwealth.

There is always a danger of considering the problem of religious liberty too much from the angle of one church, and that the church to which we happen to belong. Let us not forget that the subject of religious liberty must be placed squarely on the proposition that the curtailment or regulation of anyone's innermost beliefs—be he Catholic or Protestant, Jew or Gentile, atheist or Seventh-day Adventist—with their resultant acts, is a direct attack upon part of the American system of government. And as we grant that the principle of religious liberty assumes that all people have certain rights and privileges, we should likewise be willing to up-

Religious Liberty Is Not Synonymous With Freedom of Conscience. One's Con- science Is Always Free—It Is Unfettered Regardless of External Conditions.

hold these privileges and rights as citizens as well as Christians.

In substantiation of this assertion the words of Thomas Francis Bayard, Secretary of State during President Cleveland's first Administration, as found in Volume IV of the *International Law Digest*, are herewith quoted: "Religious liberty is the chief cornerstone of the American system of government, and provisions for its security are embedded in the written charter and interwoven in the moral fabrics of its laws. Anything that tends to invade a right so essential and sacred must be carefully guarded against, and I am satisfied that my countrymen, ever mindful of the sufferings and sacrifices necessary to obtain it, will never consent to its impairment for any reason or under any pretext whatsoever."—*Quoted by Luigi Luzzati, in "God in Freedom," p. 674.*

Mr. Bayard's statement constitutes a challenge which all church members ought to be willing to face and meet courageously. Do we think that because we have walked a comparatively serene path, it will be always so? Are we willing to give a ready ear and effective aid to the cause of religious liberty, or do we feel as did Hezekiah when he selfishly remarked, "Is it not good, if peace and truth be in my days?"

Religion in the State

Some, in their zeal to promote unrestricted religious freedom, have advocated full separation of religious and political life. This should not be; for, in many instances, it has been the religious influences working through public officials which have brought amelioration to existing deplorable conditions. Such alleviation has been noted in the much-needed social legislation of the present and the previous century. It is the spiritual element of the churches which led to the progressive work in this field. Through the centuries the churches have been morally active in local, State, and national affairs. When one makes the oft-repeated statement that politics are not clean, it is to be remembered that without the ever-leavening influence of Christian men and women the condition in the field of politics would be infinitely more deplorable. The danger to religious liberty does not

lie in Christian influences affecting the lives of officials in public positions; the danger point is reached when the state, or a church, or a group of individuals, tries to bring political pressure to aid in the propagation of religious creeds.

Probably Americans generally believe there is no real danger of religious bigotry and persecution's ever finding root in our soil. Doubtless many would subscribe to the idea once expressed by Lord Bryce in a moment of wishful thinking, who, in speaking of America, said, "In no imaginable future is there likely to be any attempt to repress either by law or opinion the free exercise of speculative thought on morals, on religion, and, indeed, in every matter not within the immediate range of politics."—*Quoted by Dieffenbach, in "Religious Liberty," p. 138.*

It is seldom that one finds Lord Bryce so far afield from actuality. When he remains within the province of historical writing there is no one more worthy than he to be called an authority; but when he leaves the historical field to explore future conditions or possibilities, he misses his calling. During the approximately five decades since Lord Bryce voiced this conjecture, the situation has greatly changed: rights of religionists in many States have

been ignored, local legislation or ordinances have come into existence, and efforts have repeatedly been made to formulate and enact legislation of a religious nature on a national and even an international scale.

The Great American Experiment

Too few of our citizens fully appreciate the accomplishment achieved by our forebears in establishing in America the principle of religious liberty. Too few remember that it was on this continent that "the doctrine of the liberty of conscience, the equality of opinions before the law," met its first full fruition. Too few recognize how much religious liberty has contributed to the sum of human endeavor. Said David Dudley Field (1805-1894), eminent jurist and authority in international law in the *American Law Review*, Volume 27, page 645: "The greatest achievement ever made in the cause of human progress is the total and final separation of church and state. If we had nothing else to boast of, we could claim with justice that first among nations, we of this country made it an article of organic law that the relations between man and his Maker were a private concern, into which other men had no right to intrude."—*Quoted by Luzzatti, in "God in Freedom," pp. 673, 674.*

This quotation does not mean to imply that the principle of religious liberty was created by the legislative minds of America, but it does affirm, as Mr. Cobb, who has been quoted previously, said, that "the spirit that guided the work of the founders of our government was not one that was crushed and screwed into sectarian molds by the decrees of intolerant councils, and by the subtleties of ingenious priests; it recognizes the value of every creed, but rises above them all. The grand and noble purpose was to establish justice, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity. This is the lesson of the development of civil as well as religious liberty in the United States."—*"Rise of Religious Liberty in America," p. 270.*

Many of those who were pioneers for the cause of religious liberty in America doubtless worked without fully recognizing the significance of their task. But whether they understood and appreciated the full significance of all they were doing, we who can look back upon the blessings of a century and a half of liberty must acknowledge that more than human wisdom must have been vouchsafed to those who sat in the Constitutional Convention as they formulated the charter which was to guide the destinies of the infant nation.

With liberties, especially religious liberty, being taken from men the world around, Americans should reverently pledge anew wholehearted loyalty to the principles that have made this nation great.



PHOTO BY H. M. LAMBERT

The Regulation of Church Attendance by Law Would Defeat the Very Purpose of True Worship

Religion and the Constitution

by **THE HONORABLE
HARRY GRAHAM BALTER**

Member of the California Bar

TO TRACE IN DETAIL the historical evolution of our concepts of law and the modern body politic would require too much time. But the trail is fairly clear. The Code of Hammurabi of the Babylonians, the Talmud, Mishna, Gemara, and Zohar of the Hebrews, the great legal codes of the Romans, all influenced later generations. The latter are still the basis of a large part of the jurisprudence of the modern world.

After Rome fell, the semibarbarous Visigoths gave to the world a legal code, the *Forum Judicium*, which is the basis of modern Spanish law. From all these, and yet distinct in its own contribution, there developed the system of Anglo-Saxon law of the English-speaking countries. The early colonists settling in America brought with them this common law of England, which after three centuries of development under peculiar American conditions has become our legal system of today.

In spite of the fact that the American colonists of the seventeenth century had available a fairly well-developed system of common law, they lived in a legal and social world which was almost entirely that of the Bible.

This is quite literally true. The Calvinists who settled New England transplanted the Mosaic codes almost *in toto*.

The law of God was actually the law of the land in many of the early colonies.

The manner of life which the Pilgrim Fathers pursued was very similar to that which might have been followed in a Hebrew commonwealth of old. Even the popular town meetings, although obviously rooted in Teutonic customs, were probably derived from the old Hebrew synagogues and other democratic meeting places.

The first two of the fundamental articles of the New Haven Colony adopted in 1639 assert:

"1. That the Scriptures hold forth a perfect rule for the direction of government of all men in all duties which they perform to God and men; as well in families and commonwealth as in matters of church.

"2. That in matters which concern the gathering and ordering of a church, so likewise of magistrates, offices, making and repealing laws, dividing allotments of inheritance, and all things of like matters, they would all be governed by these rules which the Scriptures hold forth to them."

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Also in Massachusetts Bay Colony the old Hebrew codes were the basis of the colony's criminal and inheritance laws.

In language as well as in principles many of the laws still on the statute books of the New England States clearly reflect their Biblical ancestry.

No Religious Liberty in the Colonies

The early American colonists came here in order to avoid religious persecution in their mother country. They sought the right to worship God as they saw fit. They were intensely religious.

Yet strangely enough, they were bitterly intolerant, once they settled here. The answer to the riddle is that they did not come here to seek or to establish religious equality, but only to have the right to worship God in their own particular way. There was



PHOTO BY H. M. LAMBERT

**The Bible Which the Early American Colonists Cherished So Greatly
Nowhere Teaches Men to Be Intolerant**

no love lost for anyone who didn't care to worship God as they did, and there was often cruel punishment for the nonbeliever.

In many communities the Quakers and the papists, as the Catholics were then called, were bitterly persecuted. However, Rhode Island was established by Roger Williams in 1636 as a religious haven for all dissenters and nonconformists who were being persecuted in the other colonies. Pennsylvania was founded by William Penn as a refuge for the persecuted Quakers. Maryland became a place of security for the Catholics.

But even though there may have been developing some slight tolerance by the established religion of one colony for other religious sects, practically all the colonies, with the exception of Rhode Island, were bitter and relentless persecutors of heretics or nonbelievers in God.

The Connecticut code of 1650 provided:

"If any man after legal conviction shall have, or worship, any God but the Lord God, he shall be put to death."

Maryland had a state religion, and it tolerated other religious sects, but anyone who denied belief in God, or denied Jesus Christ to be the Son of God, should, "for the first offense, be bored through the tongue . . . and that for the second offense the offender being thereof convicted, as aforesaid, shall be stigmatized by burning in the forehead with the letter 'B,' and fined forty pounds sterling, . . . and for the third offense . . . shall suffer death without benefit of clergy."

So although the colonies varied in their degrees of religious tolerance, religious liberty or equality as we now know it was neither envisaged nor permitted in the early American colonies.

Development of the Concept of Religious Equality

Gradually, however, through the century and a half preceding the adoption of the Constitution, the principle of religious liberty was slowly taking root.

Roger Williams deserves the credit for establishing the first modern state in which the true principle of

religious equality was recognized by law. The royal charter for Rhode Island went the whole way:

"No person within the said colony at any time hereafter shall be any wise molested, punished, or called in question for any difference in opinion in matters of religion."

Williams, in establishing this principle in 1655, was a century and a quarter ahead of his time.

The charter of William Penn was for its time very broad and liberal, even though it did not go so far as that of Rhode Island:

"That all persons acknowledging one Almighty God and living peaceably shall in no way be molested for their religious persuasions or practices in matters of faith or worship, or compelled to frequent or maintain any religious worship, place, or ministry."

The American Revolution liberated a tolerance in matters of faith which may have been nurtured in the American heart, but which needed some great emotional event to release it.

The leaders of the Revolution were religious men. The battle cry for liberty was linked with God.

Jefferson exclaimed, "The God who gave us life, gave us liberty at the same time."

James Otis, the legalist for the Revolutionary cause, cried, "Liberty is the gift of God, and cannot be annihilated."

The Declaration of Independence itself recognizes the divine nature of freedom: "All men are . . . endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights. . . . Among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

These same leaders of the Revolution carried their deep religious faith with them when they met at Philadelphia in the summer of 1787 to attempt to draft a workable political framework for the new nation.

Montesquieu's "Spirit of Laws," published in 1748, was the second most frequently consulted book during the debates and drafting of the Constitution. But the book most often referred to was the Bible.

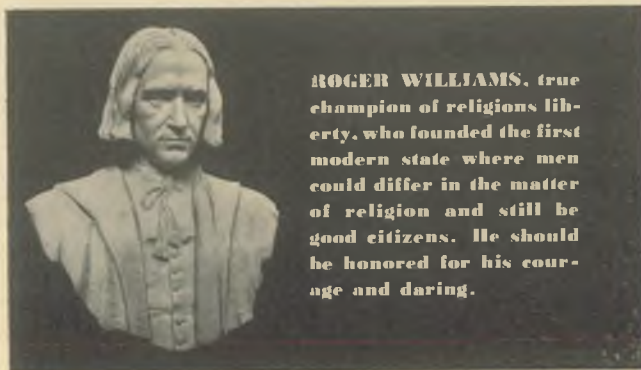
When things looked the darkest and the Constitutional Convention was nearly on the rocks, the aged and beloved Benjamin Franklin offered a resolution that the delegates resort to prayer for guidance.

The Principle of Religious Liberty Becomes a Part of Our Constitution

To the enduring credit of the framers of the Constitution, the principle of religious liberty became a part of that document.

Thomas Jefferson and James Madison deserve the lasting thanks of the American people for this contribution to advanced thought.

Even before the calling of the Constitutional Convention, Jefferson had been propagandizing for the



principle of religious equality in his native State of Virginia.

In 1783, almost single-handed, he pushed through the Virginia Legislature the historic statute of religious liberty, which Jefferson said was designed "to comprehend within the mantle of its protection the Jew and the Gentile, the Christian and the Mohammedan, the Hindu and the infidel of every denomination."

Again from Jefferson came this challenge: "For I have sworn upon the altar of God, eternal hostility against any form of tyranny over the mind of man."

At the Convention itself, on August 30, 1787, Charles Pinckney of South Carolina moved to include in the Constitution what is now Article VI, Section 3: "But no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office of public trust under the United States."

So well prepared was the new nation for the spirit of religious equality exemplified by this proposed article, that Roger Sherman, one of the delegates, said that the provision was unnecessary, "the prevailing liberty being a sufficient security against such test."

But the article was passed, only North Carolina voting against it, and Maryland's delegates being divided in acting upon it.

This is the only provision in the Constitution itself, which directly deals with religious equality.

Hardly had the Constitution been adopted by the delegates and the matter of ratification become the subject of debate within the States, when Patrick Henry fought its adoption by Virginia because in his opinion the Constitution itself contained no guaranty of religious equality.

So a few years later, the right to religious liberty became a part of the First Amendment:

"Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

How could this amendment—establishing the legal principle of religious equality—have become a part of our organic law with no opposition?

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PHOTO BY BRYCE BLUE

The Lighted Dome of the Capitol Building in Washington Is a Symbol of the Light of Freedom That Still Shines Forth in This Land as the Darkness of Oppression and War Settles Down Upon the World. Let Us Guard Well This Light

There are two definite practical reasons apart from the abstract development of religious tolerance:

1. If Congress had been given power to ordain "an establishment of religion," what sect would have had their religion made the predominant state religion?

Would it have been the Congregationalists of New England? or the Dutch Reformists of New York and New Jersey? or the Episcopalians of Virginia and the Carolinas? or the Catholics of Maryland? or the Quakers of Pennsylvania? It was the fear that some other sect would become governmentally endowed, that succeeded in keeping the Federal Government from establishing any one national church. It was plain that the liberty and security of any one church depended upon the civil equality of all of them.

2. The Anti-Federalists, or strong States-right advocates, were afraid to place in the Federal Government this additional important power of controlling religious matters. They felt that each State could have its own state church controlled by the majority in that State; but the many States in which were different sects could not safely give away this power to a far distant and feared central authority.

And so, partly because of enlightenment and partly because of fear, the great principle of religious equality definitely became a part of our organic law.

The Struggle for Liberty in America

by the EDITOR



ONE OF THE STRANGEST THINGS in history is that America, which is less than one hundred miles away from the great Asiatic Continent, teeming with its hundreds of millions of people, was not discovered by way of the Bering Strait. Why was this great Western Hemisphere reserved for Columbus to discover in 1492? Why was it so long isolated from the rest of the world when it was lying so close to Asia? We read in the Scriptures: "Known unto God are all His works from the beginning of the world." Acts 15:18.

Again we read in the Bible: "God that made the world and all things therein . . . hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation." Acts 17:24-26.

A Place of Refuge Prepared

From this we learn that God has a hand in shaping the destiny of nations and the bounds of their habitation. It is evident that God had a purpose in preventing the discovery of America by the nations of the Old World until the appointed time came. The events occurring in the world make it more evident, as time progresses, that America was purposely reserved to become the cradle and refuge of liberty. Here liberty was to be given a new birth and a new home.

For centuries men had toiled and struggled and suffered to obtain liberty, but tyranny was so strongly entrenched in Europe, Asia, and Africa that humanity had no hope of escape from the hand of oppression. During the Dark Ages political Christianity had perverted the doctrines and teachings of Christianity and made them a curse instead of a blessing, by enforcing under civil penalties the spiritual obligations of religion. The church and the state were united, and all religious requirements

were enforced by the civil magistrate at the request of the political or state religion, upon all dissenters and nonconformists until the streams of Europe flowed crimson with the blood of martyrs.

There was not a country in Europe to which the persecuted could flee for protection until Holland opened its doors to the oppressed. But little Holland itself was threatened with complete destruction, if it continued to harbor the dissenters and nonconformists. Where could the persecuted flee and find a safe retreat? If they fled to the fastnesses and caves of the Alps, even there the armies of the tyrants of Europe would search them out and slay them. Were they to abandon all hope? Would God provide no way of escape from the oppressor's hand?

Just when all hope for better times and a better world in which to live seemed to have reached its darkest hour, God provided a way of escape to a new and better and safer world—a utopia in the Western Hemisphere. America was discovered just in time to provide a way of escape from the worst religious persecution which had afflicted Europe. Those who had stout and brave hearts sailed across the Atlantic in frail barks, in which none today would dare to venture such a hazardous voyage. They arrived penniless and homeless in a barren wilderness infested with savage Indians. But they were willing to face all these dangers so long as they could live in a land where they were free to worship God in harmony with the dictates of their own consciences unmolested.

True Religious Freedom Deferred

But the hopes of those who first came to America to obtain a greater freedom to worship were sadly disappointed. Their own system of government caused their hopes to be deferred. They instituted an ecclesiastical government which in the very nature of things foredoomed their prospects of religious

liberty and freedom of the conscience in religious matters. Both the Pilgrims who settled at Plymouth in 1620 and the Puritans who settled in Boston in 1630, had fled from European oppression and religious persecution and had come to America to seek religious freedom for their own form of worship, but both established an ecclesiastical form of government which proved their own undoing. It compelled all to practice the religious teachings of the state church, and forced all dissenters to attend and support the state church services.

Everybody was compelled to attend divine services on Sunday whether he was a member of the state church or not. Sunday laws of a decidedly indigo hue were enacted. Men were fined ten shillings for nonattendance at church on Sundays. Men were both fined and placed in the stocks for kissing their wives on Sunday. They were fined and imprisoned for riding on horseback on Sunday, unless it was to and from church or on an act of mercy or necessity. Fathers and mothers were fined if they did not have their infants sprinkled when they had reached a certain age.

All religious requirements were enforced by the civil magistrate under the civil laws. It was this ecclesiastical government which led both the Puritans and the Pilgrims to violate their own ideals of freedom. They thought that religion would come to nought unless it was enforced by the civil magistrate. They believed that the church could not survive unless the state gave financial support to the clergy and legal support to the doctrines of the church. They were of the opinion that the church pews would be empty on Sundays unless all were compelled to go to church on Sunday. That was the reason nobody was allowed to indulge in games and amusements on Sundays under the Puritan regime in New England.

Some of these same Sunday laws enacted by the Puritans are still existent upon the statute books of some of the States. Religious liberty was impossible under the Puritan Sunday laws, and it is just as impossible today to have religious liberty under compulsory-Sunday-ob-

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servance laws as it was under Puritan rule. All religious laws still existing upon our State and city statute books should be repealed, so that we may have a complete separation of church and state in practice as well as in theory.

Persuasion Not Persecution

Those who observe another day than Sunday as holy time are being persecuted because they do not also observe Sunday. If those who observe Saturday, the seventh day of the week, as holy time, should petition the State legislature to compel everyone to observe Saturday instead of Sunday under the penal codes, would not the Sunday observer think, and rightly so, that he was being persecuted by those who forced their views of Sabbath observance upon him? Why not carry out the golden rule which Christ laid down: "Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them."

If the Sunday observer does not want to be compelled by law to observe Saturday as his Sabbath, then he should not, if he believes in the golden rule, attempt to force the Sabbatarian to observe Sunday by civil law. Every person has the right to persuade another by argument to accept his views on religion, but he should never attempt to force his religious faith upon others by law. The true religion of Christianity is propagated by the power of love, and not by the force of law. The apostle Paul tells us that in matters of conscience we are not to judge one another. He says, "One man esteemeth one day above another: another esteemeth every day alike.



LONDON GRAPHIC, 1884

EDWIN A. ABBEY, ARTIST

Dissenters From the Established Church Were Often Banished From the Early New England Colonies, as is Pictured Here

Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind. He that regardeth the day, regardeth it unto the Lord; and he that regardeth not the day, to the Lord he doth not regard it." "So then every one of us shall give account of himself to God. Let us not therefore judge one another any more." Rom. 14: 5, 6, 12, 13.

Entreaty Rather Than Force

The only means and the only methods the Christian can employ to propagate the Christian religion are peaceable means and charitable methods. Paul mentions just four methods that are to be employed in making Christians. Those four methods are expressed in four words; namely, "beseech," "exhort," "entreat," and "persuade." Force and compulsion were never used by Paul as proper means to propagate the Christian religion. The religion of Mohammed permits the use of the sword in propagating Mohammedanism. There are some Christians, so called, who have adopted the methods of Mohammed instead of the methods of Christ. Christ never made an alliance with the civil government. He never employed the sword of Caesar to advance His cause. He never petitioned the state to enact His teachings in civil law and to have the sheriff enforce them. The motive of divine love, and not force, prompted all His teaching. The love which He manifested on Calvary for sinners was to draw all men to Him.

Christ never commissioned His disciples to drive men into His kingdom, but to win them by preaching a gospel of love, peace, and good will to all men. God is not a respecter of persons, or of churches. Peter once thought that God saved and respected and accepted only Jews in His kingdom. But when God made it evident that He accepted Cornelius, a centurion, an Italian, a Gentile, Peter was surprised, and opened his mouth and said: "Of a truth I per-

ceive that God is no respecter of persons: but in every nation he that feareth God, and worketh righteousness, is accepted with Him." Acts 10: 34, 35.

Respecting the Conscience of Others

No one has a right to sit in judgment upon the motives of another man's heart. No one has a right to condemn another man because his conscience does not work the same way as his own conscience works. Some time ago I read an account in which one preacher took another preacher to task for going to a baseball game on Sunday. Said he, "My conscience will not allow me to go to a baseball game, but I do like to ride out in the quiet country on Sunday and take my golf clubs and play a game of golf on Sunday afternoon. That is good recreation for me after I have preached the Sunday forenoon sermon." The preacher who went to the baseball game on Sunday afternoon said to the preacher who played golf on Sunday afternoon, "My conscience would not allow me to play golf on Sunday afternoon. In order to settle this question, I think we ought to get a law through the legislature to stop playing golf on Sundays." The other said, "I think we ought to pass a law to stop playing baseball on Sunday." Each wanted a law passed to protect his own conscience, but was not willing to protect the conscience of the other fellow.

That was the trouble with the Puritan of New England. He came to America to obtain religious freedom for his own faith, but he was not willing to grant the same freedom to those who disagreed with him. But that is not religious liberty. Unless we are willing to grant to the man who disagrees with us the same freedom in religion that we want for our own faith, we know nothing whatever about religious liberty.

Let us repeal all the religious laws that still exist on our civil statute books, that all, irrespective of what their religious faith may be, may not only enjoy full religious liberty throughout the country, but may also enjoy the privilege of standing on equality with every other religion and every citizen before the civil law and the bar of justice. That, and that only, is equity and essential justice to all alike.

CHRISTIANITY and civilization can no more be annihilated by their enemies than the devil can annihilate God.

INITIATIVE and self-reliance are the pillars which support free republican institutions, while regimentation and submission are the mainstay of a totalitarian government.



When Men Were Put in Stocks and Beaten for Conscience' Sake

The Sources of Our Religious Liberty

by **THE REVEREND ROY EARLY**

*Pastor of the Reynolds Memorial Church,
Bristol, Virginia*



THE CHIEF CAPTAIN answered, With a great sum obtained I this freedom. And Paul said, But I was free born." Acts 22:28.

There is no more important issue in the world today than that of the relation of religion to the state. We in America have generally assumed that the problem of the relationship of church and state has for us been solved; and even in the face of what has been going on in recent years in other countries of the world, most Americans are more or less unconcerned about any effect it may have on citizens of this country.

First Nation to Achieve Religious Liberty

We were the first nation in the world to achieve complete religious liberty. And perhaps the greatest contribution we have made, both in the realm of politics and in the realm of organized religion, is the achievement of that relationship between church and state which gives to the individual's conscience complete liberty, and to the church assurance of noninterference from the state.

Let us consider those influences which were chiefly responsible for giving to the American people this great boon, religious liberty.

At the time of the establishment of the American colonies there was no country in the world without a state church. Religious uniformity was considered necessary in order to assure the safety of the state. Unity of worship was thought indispensable for the achievement of national unity. This was true of Protestant as well as of Catholic nations. There is a mistaken notion that the Reformation brought in religious liberty; that the Reformers were advocates of complete tolerance of others. But nothing could be farther from the truth. The Reformation resulted in the establishment of numerous national Protestant churches, as in England, Scotland, Holland, and in

the German and Scandinavian states. And these national churches were, generally speaking, as intolerant of Roman Catholicism as Roman Catholicism was intolerant of them. We must not forget the terrible code of anti-Catholic laws which were passed during the reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James the First in England, which outlawed Catholics just as completely as Queen Mary Tudor—we are accustomed to call her Bloody Mary—outlawed Protestants during her reign.

We must not forget that Protestants have been persecutors as well as Roman Catholics, or that Protestants have persecuted Protestants here in America.

Whence Came Religious Liberty?

Where did the conception of the complete separation of church and state originate?

Religious liberty is a principle of relatively recent origin among civilized states. Besides the established state churches which arose out of the Reformation, there arose a number of small sects. In Germany they were generally classified together and called the Anabaptists, or those people who held that infant baptism was unscriptural, and therefore advocated the necessity of baptizing again when the person reached the age of discretion. They not only advocated re-baptizing, but they attempted to establish religious organizations modeled after the early church. They advocated doing away with all the forms and practices which had grown up through the centuries, and they desired to restore the simplicity of both the worship and the organization of the Christian church of the first three centuries.

We know that the church during the first three centuries had no relation to the state. In fact, the early church or Christian actually had no legal status until after the Council of Nicaea in 325 A.D. Therefore these small sects all stood for complete separation



The Early Christians Often Endured Persecution for Their Faith

from the state, just as the early Christians stood apart from the state.

It is an interesting fact that throughout the Christian centuries the great principles of complete separation of church and state and complete religious liberty have been advocated principally by the small sects, and never by the great, strong churches.

The English Baptists, a small and despised sect, took over the principles of the Anabaptists of the Continent and advocated as their first great principle the complete separation of church and state. And be it said for the Baptists, they have never surrendered this their first and greatest principle.

A second source of the principle of complete religious liberty was the seventeenth and eighteenth century political philosophers. Sir Thomas Moore's *Utopia*, for instance, is an ideal state in which complete religious liberty prevails. John Locke wrote a series of essays on toleration in the seventeenth century. The Quakers also became the advocates of freedom of conscience. And the Quaker colony in America invited people of all religious opinions to come and settle.

Facts Favoring Religious Liberty

How did America become the first home of religious liberty? We know that nine of the American colonies had state churches. In the three New England colonies, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Hampshire, Congregationalism was established by law. In all the colonies south of Pennsylvania, the English church was established by law. In the Quaker colony and in Rhode Island there were no state churches.

Roger Williams had become imbued with separatist ideas before coming to America, and he lost no time in advancing his ideas after he arrived here. The principle which he held that was most obnoxious to the Massachusetts authorities was that the government had no jurisdiction over the consciences of men. That idea struck at the very foundation of the government of Massachusetts, and we know the story of the banishment which came as a result.

After his banishment he had a controversy with John Cotton in which he set forth the great principles of complete religious liberty. And Rhode Island became the first civil state (1636) in which these principles were actually put into operation.

Another great factor in creating in the colonies an environment favorable to religious liberty was the fact that so large a proportion of the colonies were proprietary grants. That is, in such colonies as Maryland, Pennsylvania, the Carolinas, and Georgia, the land was owned and the government controlled by an individual or a group of individuals, and they could sell their lands to whom they pleased. In fact, they had to sell land in order to make a success of their great ventures. Thus Lord Baltimore, although a good Catholic, invited Protestants as well as Catholics to buy his land. William Penn, although a Quaker, invited all religious groups to his great colony of Pennsylvania. The proprietors of the Carolinas and Georgia did the same thing. This was an influence leading in the direction of tolerance.

The fact of the European oppression of all peoples made America the haven of persecuted groups. All the colonies, outside of Virginia and Massachusetts perhaps, actually welcomed these people. As we have already stated, the small sect has been one of the principal influences in bringing in religious liberty.

A fourth factor that helped to create an environment favorable to religious liberty was the presence of such great numbers of people, with no church affiliation. At the end of the colonial era they made up more than three fourths of the population. Such people generally are opposed to granting special privileges to any one church. They say, "We believe in all the churches." It is an interesting fact that the leaders in the movement to separate church and state in Virginia at the close of the Revolutionary War were nonchurch members, men like Jefferson and Madison—yes, and Franklin.

When and how did separation of church and state come about in America? At the close of the American Revolution and with the adoption of the new State constitutions and the Federal Constitution. But the issue of church and state was not an issue in the War of Independence. The new governments simply put into their instruments of government colonial experiences. Hence the first amendment to the Constitution.

In these days when all over the world the freedom of conscience and of speech and the press is being destroyed, it is one of the grave duties of everyone, preacher, priest, and layman, to study anew the fundamental principles of our government and pledge himself to give his best efforts for the preservation of this most basic of all our greatest freedoms—religious liberty and the complete separation of church and state.

Should Religion Be Taught in the Public Schools?

by A. MARGUERITE FOX, A.B.

[THE important place of women in our public schools is well known. It is not uncommon for the successful man to remember in afteryears the influence exerted by even his first-grade teacher. In the work of the parent-teacher associations much of the burden is carried by the women members.

We are glad to offer our readers this contribution from Mrs. Fox.—EDITORS.]

THE PEOPLE CONTROL our schools, and for this reason they must be public schools, operated upon a basis that will take in all the people.

Our system of free public schools is now legally established in all the States and supported by a strong public sentiment. The public school has myriads of friends and but few avowed enemies. There is, however, a misconception on the part of some regarding what it is, and for what purpose it is maintained. Some regard the public school as semi-religious, originated and maintained for the purpose of teaching, among other things, the doctrines of the Christian religion. Before attempting to show how impossible it would be in this land of every diversity of creed to teach a religion in these schools, without doing violence to some taxpayer's ideas of the only true faith, let us examine the origin and intent of the public schools.

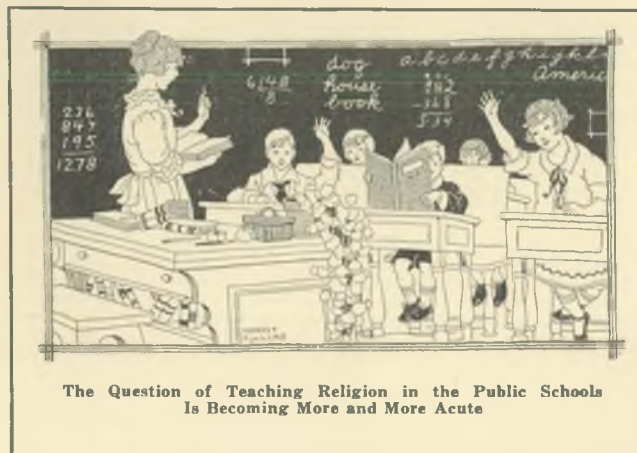
The civil government has created and maintained the public school for self-preservation. Ignorance may prolong the existence of a despotic form of government, but the stability of a republic, in which the responsibility of government rests upon all alike, depends upon the intelligent action of the mass of the people. Realizing this, each State has made provision for the maintenance of a system of free public schools by taxation—Protestants, Catholics, Jews, and infidels being taxed alike for their support. The public school rests upon the foundation of political necessity. It has in view not only the happiness and well-being of the individual, but the preservation of the state, and is therefore a purely civil institution, maintained for political purposes, neither in the interest of nor in opposition to religion. The public school as a part of our governmental policy comes under Lincoln's definition of government; it is, "of the people, by the people, for the people." It is neither by nor for the Protestant, the Catholic, or the infidel, as such, but is

for the people, the whole people, without reference to religion.

All history proves that the state as a teacher of religion is a disastrous failure. The state in providing for the teaching of reading, writing, and mathematics is simply attending to its legitimate business, which the church does when it attends to the teaching of religion. The fact that the state is wholly unqualified, both in point of origin and in object, to teach religion, should forever settle the question of religion in the public schools. But besides being wrong in theory, the teaching of religion in the public school is impossible of practice, owing to the wide diversity of opinion which prevails among the patrons of the public school.

If we limit the question to those who believe in religion, the difficulty is not obviated; for the question then arises, What religion is to be taught? Among the numerous phases of belief which the theology of the day includes, how shall it be determined which is the proper one to be promulgated by law? The state should not favor one religion above another, and certainly could not do so without meeting the united protest of a large number of citizens. For example, would Protestants and Catholics be able to agree upon the fundamental principles of Christianity, when they are in dispute over the very source from which these principles are drawn? Catholics regard the Protestant Bible as a sectarian book, and Protestants regard the Catholic position as untenable.

Above all other considerations in the settlement of this question, is that of the proper relation of re-



ligion and the state; and this relation, if it can be called such, is one of total separation. The teaching of religion in the public schools would be a violation of this principle, the validity of which is recognized, and established on the highest authority, both human and divine.

Well, says one, if religion should not be taught in the public school, where should it be taught? General Grant spoke wisely when, in a speech at Des Moines, Iowa, in September, 1875, he said: "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."

Doctor Tiffany, one-time pastor of the Hennepin Avenue Methodist Episcopal Church of Minneapolis, Minnesota, also reasoned well when, in an address at the Rochester, Minnesota, High School commencement exercises, he said: "Church and state must not

be united. As Americans, we deny the right of any religious or other combination to have authority in civil matters. We recognize religion as a necessity, and the church as a form of it, but we look with suspicion upon any interference it may attempt in government. Home shall teach youth obedience, the church, religion; but the schools shall give knowledge. The state must not teach religion, for that would give it authority to decide what religion to teach. The state must educate the children to make them intelligent, not saints."—*Rochester, Minnesota, Post, July 13, 1890.*

The family, the church, and the denominational school afford a proper and ample field for the religious education of the youth. The attempt to force such instruction into the public schools is not only dangerous, but altogether needless. It is one which should awaken the vigilance and call forth the united opposition of all true American citizens.

A Just Decision Reversed

Shall the Public Be Asked to Support Parochial Schools?

by **HEBER H. VOTAW**

IN OUR ISSUE for the third quarter of 1940 we gave an account of a situation that had developed in Vincennes, Indiana, as a result of the taking over by the public-school authorities of three parochial schools in that city. Certain taxpayers sought to prevent by injunction the paying of public monies to teachers in these schools who had been hired because they were recommended by the heads of Catholic institutions in other States, and because no teachers except these priests and nuns were employed in these schools that were supposed to be public schools.

The case was tried before Judge Frank E. Gilkinson, who ruled: "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, and that it is unlawful to expend the public-school funds in paying their administrative and instructional obligations."

The case was carried to the supreme court of Indiana, and in the May term of that court the decision of the lower court was reversed. Among other statements contained in the supreme court's opinion, the following are significant:

"The acceptance of private donations to a public cause does not make the cause private." "The fact that a church, a rectory, or priests' home, and a sisters' home were located on the grounds near each of said schools" did not make these parochial schools.

Again it was stated: "The appellants also stress the fact that in the schoolrooms in each of said buildings, in addition to other pictures in view of the pupils, there were the pictures of Jesus, the holy family, the crucifixion, and George Washington, and that each room was also provided with an American Flag, and with a holy-water fount, in which holy water was kept for the use of the pupils." In spite of all these evidences of religion, the court held: "Such pictures and furnishings do not constitute sectarian teachings in the schools."

Again the court said: "The fact that these teachers [priests and nuns] 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."

In order to buttress the court's conclusions, reference was made to the case of *Hysong vs. School District of Gallitzin borough* (Pa.). It is strange indeed that any court in this day and age would refer to that decision, since most courts from that time have followed the strong minority opinion written by Justice Williams. Because the Pennsylvania case has a good deal in common with the *Vincennes* case, we offer a part of Justice Williams' dissent:

"The question presented in this state of facts is whether a school which is filled with religious or ecclesiastical persons as teachers, who come to the discharge of their daily duties wearing their ecclesiastical robes and hung about with rosaries and other devices peculiar to their church and order, is not necessarily dominated by sectarian influences and obnoxious to our constitutional provisions and the school laws. This is not a question about taste or fashion in dress or about the color or cut of a teacher's clothing. It is deeper and broader than this. It is a question over the true intent and spirit of our common-school system, as disclosed in the provisions referred to.

"If this is a proper administration of the school laws in Gallitzin, it would be equally so in any other school district in the State, and if every common school was presided over by ecclesiastics in their distinctive ecclesiastical robes, supplying pupils with copies of their catechism and teaching it before and after school hours to all who choose to remain for that purpose, it seems to me very plain that the common schools would cease to be such, and would become for all practical intents and purposes parochial schools of the churches whose ecclesiastics presided over them.

"The common schools are supported by general taxation. The Catholic, the Protestant, the Jew, and the infidel help support them and have an equal right to their benefits. The common school cannot be used to exalt any given church or sect or to belittle or override it, but they should be, like our political institutions, free from ecclesiastical control and sectarian tendencies."

The utter nonsense of proclaiming that the religious garb of a Catholic priest or nun is not different from the dress of someone else, was very well answered by this statement from Justice Williams:

"Among other things by which their separation from the world is emphasized and their renunciation of self and subjection to the church is proclaimed, is the adoption of a distinctively religious dress. This is strikingly unlike the dress of their sex, whether Catholic or Protestant. Its use at all times and in all places is obligatory. They are forbidden to modify it. Wherever they go, this garb proclaims their church, their order, and their separation from

the secular world as plainly as a herald could do if they were attended by such persons."

Furthermore, Justice Williams' opinion was evidently that if the legislature of Pennsylvania, because it very soon thereafter passed a law absolutely prohibiting the wearing of religious garb by public school teachers.

It seems strange that while the Indiana Supreme Court was studying opinions, it entirely overlooked the case of *O'Connor vs. Hendrick* (N.Y.), in which the question of wearing religious garb in the public schools was at issue. Said this court: "There can be little doubt that the effect of the costume worn by these Sisters of St. Joseph at all times in the presence of their pupils would be to inspire respect, if not sympathy, for the religious denomination to which they so manifestly belong. To this extent the influence was sectarian, even if it did not amount to the teaching of the denominational doctrine."

It is doubly strange that an opinion discredited by the State legislature of Pennsylvania would be followed, when, besides the New York case, there is also the case which came to the supreme court of Iowa in which an injunction had been sought to restrain the school board in the *Maple River Township of Carroll County, Iowa*, from using public funds of the school corporation to pay nuns who were employed as teachers. Justice Weaver, who wrote the decision, said:

"We unite with the New York court in the view that the opinion of Williams, J. [*Gallitzin*], is more nearly in accord with the true spirit and principle of the law. . . . It is fundamental that the law itself shall be free from all taint of discrimination, and that the State shall be watchful to forbid the use or abuse of any of its functions, powers, or privileges in the interest of any church or creed. . . .

"If there is any one thing which is well settled in the policies and purposes of the American people as a whole, it is the fixed and unalterable determination that there shall be an absolute and unequivocal separation of church and state, and that our public-school system, supported by the taxation of the property of all alike—Catholic, Protestant, Jew, Gentile, believer, and infidel—shall not be used directly or indirectly for religious instruction."

We repeat, We cannot understand by what process of reasoning the supreme court of Indiana could have reached the conclusion that a school in which only Catholic teachers are employed and to which almost none, if any, pupils who are not of Catholic parentage go, and in which there are images and pictures and holy-water founts, can be called a public school. It is nothing more or less than a parochial school, the expenses of which are paid by public funds. It is unjust and un-American.

Our Greatest Heritage-- the Constitution

by JOHN J. FLECK

THE GREATEST HERITAGE that has fallen to any single people in history is our Federal Constitution.

In this age of perplexing problems and chaotic conditions there is nothing one can do with so great profit, to gain a clear concept of cause and remedy, as to go back and read the history of this country for a few years before the Constitution was written and a few years after it was written. It would have a far-reaching influence for good if the American people who are seeking a way out of almost insurmountable difficulties could be persuaded to study the Constitution and read the discussions that led up to the meeting of the Constitutional Convention and the arguments that were advanced in the *Federalist* and elsewhere for its adoption.

Before the Constitution was written, the mob drove our Congress from Philadelphia into New Jersey, Shay's rebellion assaulted the courthouses in the State of Massachusetts, money was worth two and one half cents on the dollar, and we had no credit anywhere.

Order Out of Chaos

In that black night of chaos and darkness and despair, fifty-five men met in Philadelphia and wrote the Constitution; and almost immediately, governmentally, light began to come out of darkness, order began to come out of chaos. During the hundred years following its adoption and the founding of this Republic, we made more human progress, material, mental, and moral, than the world had known in all time before. During that hundred years we were the most normal people in our homes, in our schools, in our churches, and in our industry that history records.

Before the Constitution was written, the pendulum of government throughout the centuries had swung back and forth from the monarch to the mob. Alexander Hamilton, the master mind of the Constitutional Convention, said: "We are forming a republican government. Real liberty is never found in despotism, or the extremes of democracy. . . . If we incline too much to democracy, we will shoot into a monarchy." The Constitution provided a middle ground, a representative government, and the founders called it a Republic. It guarantees to each of the states a republican form of government.

Sought to Avoid Extremes

The men who wrote the Constitution and founded this Republic strove to avoid the extremes of feudalism on the one hand, and all forms of socialism and communism on the other; and they sought also to avoid the dangers of government ownership, in so far as it was consistent with public welfare. So strong was the devotion of the builders of this Republic to the Constitution, that it was provided that public officials should take an oath to support it.

There is much talk of democracy on the part of a very great proportion of governmental officials, lawmakers, and educators who have a woeful lack of understanding of that oath or an indifference toward it that borders on contempt. There is not a democratic thing in the Constitution, and no one has yet been able to point out within the Constitution of the United States the faintest hint of a suggestion that it provided for direct action in any way, which is the method of democracy; and public officials are still required to take a solemn oath to uphold the Constitution of the United States, and that is the only thing they are sworn to do. During the Civil War period, proponents of democracy were shot at sunrise. And even during peacetime there should be rules to protect the Republic against subversists, and to protect our citizens from official acts that threaten the privileges that made us the greatest nation in the world.

Swinging Away From First Conceptions

So long as we adhered to the guidance of the wise provisions of the Constitution, we made great progress in this country and wielded a wholesome influence on the other countries of the world, but during the latter part of the nineteenth century we began drifting away from the Constitution, taking up popular fallacies, such as the initiative, referendum, recall, boards, commissions, bureaus, excess legislation, class legislation, election of judges, the long ballot, majority-rule legislation, etc. It is quite clear that there has been little or no difference between political parties in this regard. The tendency has been general and dangerous. We have been swinging from the sound statesmanship of representative government in a Republic toward the deceitful demagogism of the direct government of a democracy.

We are reaping the results of unwise departures

from the Constitution in ever-increasing expenses and ever more and more confusion in governmental procedure.

Fallacy of Direct Government

So long as people permit themselves to concede mentally that the substitution of direct government for representative government is a desirable tendency, which is denied by every page of history and every result of experience, it is impossible for them to think clearly and accurately on problems that pertain to the home, the school, the church, or industry. It is that tragedy, more than any other one thing, that accounts for the mob-mindedness and the confused reasoning and superficial thinking during recent years. All true patriots should make this a solemn hour of decision to exert their every influence to curb any further trend in that dangerous direction.

Our lawmakers and educators should be impressed

with the fact that their salaries are paid at public expense for the promotion of public welfare.

We should begin at once a campaign of education to carefully and consistently strip from our government all the popular fallacies of direct government which have been attached to it, and to restore strictly representative government. We should remove, and bar from our schools, all misleading and opinionated dictionaries and textbooks. The best possible way to turn out well-informed and patriotic citizens is to give them an understanding of the meaning of the Constitution. What you find in the schools today will permeate the life of the country tomorrow. A high standard of citizenship is all-important.

Above all, we should try to select public officials who have an understanding of the meaning of the oath to support the Constitution, and of sufficient character to have a high regard for the sacredness of taking an oath.

A Free Mind

by THE REVEREND LEONARD B. GRAY

THE RAPID AND overwhelming victories of totalitarian governments this past year have quite suddenly presented a serious threat to our American freedom. This threat has moved our people to cease taking their liberties for granted, and to prize them as they have not prized them for many generations. And yet how few people are as free as they think they are! For while all of us are free through the force of law from the bondage of external forces that dictators would impose, many are held in bondage by forces inside their own minds. In these chaotic and insecure days, many are bound by a sense of insecurity, by uncertainty, by anxiety, and by fear. And others are bound by the handed-down beliefs, preconceived ideas, and prejudices they allow to exist in their minds.

Are there not many who are Unitarians, or Baptists, or Congregationalists because of the ideas and practices which they took over without question from parents and friends and churches? And are not many people so fixed in their religious views that they fail to see the values in views different from their own? The majority of our people are either traditionally Democratic or traditionally Republican, and the number of independent voters, while growing, is still comparatively small. It is evident that many people are filled with salted-down decisions. And such decisions erect mental defenses against opposing views, however good these views may be, and thus

people are held behind barriers which they themselves erect in their own minds.

Fundamental and Eternal Realities

Emerson wrote, "We accept the religions and politics into which we fall, and it is only a few delicate spirits who are sufficient to see that the whole web of convention is the imbecility of those whom it entangles." Of course, the basic principles of religion and science and human behavior are eternal. And in this confused world our hearts yearn for the support of something sure and abiding. How much we need just now to get down to fundamental and eternal realities! And yet the old has no vital meaning for us unless it is reproduced in our experience today. And so the old must be tested in the light of new discoveries, new demands, and new needs. The old must not be accepted because it is old, but accepted, if at all, because of its ability to meet the needs of today. If the old is revalued and tested again and again, and thereby found good, as much of it will be, its value for one is all the greater for this repeated testing and revaluation. The truth in the twenty-third psalm, I believe, is eternal, but it means nothing to me unless I experience it. I do not read and love and use it because it is ancient, but rather because it is an ever-present help to me today.

So I urge that you wipe all preconceived ideas from your mind, not with the thought of discarding them,

but with the sincere desire to approach them afresh. Then what is retained of the old is vital. Also, honestly consider and weigh the new. For the type of mind that takes up with the new merely because it is new is bound to the new just as strongly as some minds are bound to the old.

Start afresh on every idea and way of life. Walk

around each one and look at it from all angles. Test it by reason and experience. Test it by its ability to meet present needs. Learn all the facts you can. Examine the old and the new with an open, unprejudiced mind. Think for yourself. Decide for yourself. Thus you will acquire a free mind to search for the truth that will make you free.

Free Textbooks for Private Schools



by **A. R. BELL**

THE MISSISSIPPI CONSTITUTION declares:

"No religious or other sect . . . shall ever control any part of the school or other educational funds of this State; nor shall any funds be appropriated toward the support of any sectarian school, or to any school that at the time of receiving such appropriation is not conducted as a free school."

This is a very plain statement. And yet the Mississippi Legislature has recently passed a law granting the loan of free textbooks to children attending the first eight grades of both public and private schools.

And to add to this legislative blunder, the attorney general of Mississippi has voiced the opinion that the law is constitutional, and that it in no way violates the provisions of the constitution involving the principle of the separation of church and state.

We are living in a strange time, when men who hold the highest position in the law, save one, will declare a law constitutional which is absolutely out of harmony with the constitution.

What does this law mean? It means that the citizens of Mississippi will be taxed to finance the affairs of all private and sectarian schools in the State.

Do you wonder that some men say, and of men in high places, that they care for the law about as much as the elephant cares for the fly that lights upon its back. As one writer says of the country in which we live: "It has a divine faith in the power of legislation. It spends more money making laws and governing itself than any other country, outside of the USSR, and it takes a peculiar satisfaction in circumventing or ignoring its laws."

We have an idea that we have a Constitution and a Declaration of Independence in Washington, and everything is safe. We are a wise and an understanding people; but we are astonishingly illiterate when it comes to knowing just what are the fundamental principles of these two charters.

The legislation above referred to is out of harmony with both the constitution of the State of Mississippi and the Constitution of the Federal Government. It means taxation for religion. It means a denial of the principle of the separation of church and state. It means a harking back to the days when religion, or what passed for religion, ruled the civil powers. It means a repudiation of the will of the people as expressed by them in the fundamental and organic law of the Commonwealth.

We are reaching the danger line in this matter. Already one State, New York, has altered its constitution in the matter of appropriation of public funds for sectarian purposes. Opinions which are in agreement with this Mississippi decision have been expressed in a number of other States. And the end is not yet.

There may be some who will reason that in the Mississippi case it is merely a "loan" of textbooks, but that word "loan" is simply a petty evasion, pettifoggery, on the part of the parochial schools of the State, to fool the fellow who has to buy the books—the taxpayer. It is an equivocal, ambiguous term meant to befog the eye and the mind of him who "pays the freight."

Surely we need to wake up.

Hit Him: He's Weak

THE EDITOR AT ONE TIME sat on the village council of a small village in which he was pastor. It was in the days when automobile traffic was coming into its own and regulations regarding driving were few. Our council wrestled with the problem of curbing reckless driving. We wanted our constable to discipline the drivers who rushed through the village at fifty miles an hour, endangering life.

The constable protested, and his protest won the council. "The men who own automobiles are important people," he said. "If you arrest them, they will make trouble for all of us." The council agreed that he was wise.

At the same time children who had formerly used the streets for their bicycles were forced back to the sidewalks. This endangered the welfare of the pedestrian. So we took up that problem. The council voted, with the approval of the constable, a regulation which required children to dismount from their bicycles and walk past any pedestrians they might chance to meet. The constable agreed that he would enforce that rule, and he did.

We have been reminded of this willingness to discipline the little fellow in the efforts to force small religious sects to salute the American flag. In some communities these groups have had to bear insults for their faith. With the country rampant with fifth columnists, tradesmen anxious to profit at the public purse, politicians seeking to turn the war prospects to their own advantage, it is much easier to club members of Jehovah's Witnesses, or the Mennonites, than it is to go after those of strength and power. So we club the little fellow.

Most of us are still silly members of a cowardly village council. Our patriotism is limited to our anxiety to show off by persecuting someone who is weak. But we are mighty cautious in attacking the strong.

A club for the little fellow; a covered whisper for the mighty.—*Editorial from Church Management, September, 1940.*

Kansas Court Decision

UNIL 1937, SCHOOL DISTRICT No. 27 in Woodson County, Kansas, had found it necessary to support only a one-room, one-teacher schoolhouse, since most of the children of school age attended a parochial school supported by the Catholic Church. However, the parish priest at that time notified the school board that the church would not be able to continue to support the parochial school, and would turn its pupils into the public schools for education.

Looking for a place that would take care of the

extra load of pupils, the school board discovered that the parochial school was the only building large enough for that purpose. It rented the building from the Catholic Church, but not for full-time use. The church was unwilling to rent it to the school board except for the school period of 9 A.M. to 4 P.M. During the rest of the time, the building was controlled by the church.

The board was also forced to hire two extra teachers. It accepted two members of the Catholic sisterhood known as the Sisters of Mercy who were licensed to teach in Kansas. They stayed on the second floor of the parochial-school building, which was not rented by the school board for public-school purposes.

Since the Catholic Church refused to give up the building except for the exact hours school was in session, the sisters and the parish priest conducted religious education classes in the Catholic faith from 8:30 to 9 A.M. School was let out an hour or two early on days of significance to the church, and most of the children attended religious service in the Catholic church next door during the partial holiday. Further, three prayers were said by all students daily, and two of them were purely Catholic in nature.

The situation was apparently intolerable to some of the parents, and L. W. Wright, a taxpayer in the school district, brought suit against the school board to put an end to it. In a recent decision the district court of Woodson County ruled that the school board of District No. 27 could not conduct a school in a building controlled by the church and in which religious education in the Roman Catholic faith was taught.

The Kansas court pointed out that the Kansas constitution expressly states that a school board must have complete control over a public school building—before and after school, as well as during classes. The school board has the power to grant the use of the building to religious or civic groups when it isn't needed for school purposes—but not to the exclusion of all but one group.

The court also held that religious education must cease, and said that prayers, except the Lord's prayer or the twenty-third psalm, were against constitutional provisions.

The decision was an important victory for the cause of free schools, and sets an important precedent not only for Kansas, but for all States in which religious groups seek to control the public educational systems.—*The New Age, September, 1940.*

It is better to sit in the seat of the mournful than in the seat of the scornful.

Those who live for time instead of eternity receive only the rewards of time.

• Editorials •

Vanishing Americans

UNITED STATES SENATOR DAVID I. WALSH could not have been on sounder ground than he was on when he told a group of Holy Cross Alumni, in speaking on "Vanishing Americans," that the proposed program of Federal subsidies for education was dangerous. He correctly stated that "Federal subsidies carry with them Federal control, bureaucratic meddling, and invasion of State rights and local self-government."

We hope that the Catholic hierarchy which has sponsored certain bills in Congress and in various State legislatures to obtain Federal and State subsidies for the support of their parochial schools, will seriously take to heart the wise counsel given by Senator Walsh to the Holy Cross Alumni.

The Catholics are the last people in the world who want their schools placed under the control of the Federal or State government. But when Catholics ask for Federal subsidies for their own schools, and it is granted, it will mean that ultimately the government will control and regulate their schools and that they will be compelled to surrender their independence and freedom of action in the management of such schools, as well as the curricula of their educational program. If the Catholics are willing to have the government control and manage both their schools and curricula for them, this is the quickest way of having it brought about.

Senator Walsh is right; government subsidies mean government administration. C. S. L.

The Christian Spirit

WHAT THE CHURCH NEEDS more than time is a mind to be Christian. Give it a mind to serve, and it will gain strength. Give it a mind to make its own affairs Christian, and influence on society will be the result. . . .

"Let the church dare to live the Christianity it preaches, and no one will be able to accuse it of impotency."

To this, from a Christian journal, we wholeheartedly subscribe. We cannot, however, forbear saying that if the church desires "to live the Christianity it preaches," it can never resort to force for the propagation and promulgation of its doctrines. The essence of the gospel is the power to choose.

Some years since, a hearing was held by a committee of the California Legislature. A group of zealous, but misguided, folk were urging the passage

of a civil law to protect Sunday from desecration. A smaller group pointed out the dangers of this proposed union of church and state. At the hearing's close, the leader of the proponents, a large, handsome man, charged down upon the spokesman for the opponents, a small, quiet man, and said, "I wouldn't have your kind of religion, I wouldn't." The rejoinder was, "There is much difference between your religion and mine. Mine is the kind you do not have to have unless you want it. Yours is the kind that you would like to force down people's throats by law."

No precept of Christianity can take the place of the practice of Christianity. Understood, appreciated, and lived, the gospel of Jesus Christ would leave no place for racial or religious hatreds, no place for intolerance, no place for persecution, no place for the holier-than-thou attitude of those who need most of all to look into the mirror of the gospel and find that what they consider robes of righteousness are filthy rags of selfishness and sin. H. H. V.

The Persecuting Spirit of the Puritans

THE FOLLOWING EXTRACTS are taken from "The History of Scituate," Massachusetts, by Samuel Dean, published in Boston by James Loring in 1831, pages 245, 246, and constitute quotations from a letter written by General James Cudworth to Mr. Brown in England, dated Scituate, 1658:

"As to the state and condition of things amongst us, it is sad and so like to continue. The antichristian, persecuting spirit is very active, and that in the powers of this world. He that will not lash, persecute, and punish men that differ in matters of religion must not sit on the bench nor sustain any office in the Commonwealth. Last election Mr. Hatherly and myself were left off the bench and myself discharged of my Captainship because I had entertained some Quakers at my home, thereby that I might be the better acquainted with their principles. I thought it better to do so than with the blind world to censure, condemn, rail at, and revile them, when they neither saw their persons nor knew any of their principles. But the Quakers and myself cannot close in diverse things and so I signified to the Court; but told them withal that as I was no Quaker, so I would be no persecutor."

On page 240 of this same history we read: "On the election of Josiah Winslow Governor 1673 he endeavored, and with success, to make honorable

amends for the abuse and neglect which Cudworth had suffered from his predecessor Governor Prence. We notice in the Colony records, July 1673, 'Captain Cudworth, by a full and clear vote is accepted and reestablished in the Association and body of this Commonwealth.' He was chosen an assistant again 1674 to 1680 inclusively. In 1675 he was chosen 'General and Commander-in-Chief of all the forces that are or may be sent forth against the enemy,' and he continued in this office until Philip's war was ended. In 1681 he was appointed an agent for the Colony to England. He was also deputy governor this same year. On his arrival in London in the autumn of 1682 he unfortunately took the smallpox, of which he died."

This incident shows to what length the Puritans went in persecuting the Quakers and innocent persons who entertained them in their homes. Because the Quakers refused to salute their peers by removing the hat, and refused to comply with the Puritan laws which aimed to regulate their religion and worship, they were tied to the tails of carts and whipped while driven through the New England towns, and finally banished to the savage Indians in the wilderness. Those who took pity upon them and offered them food or shelter were likewise punished and frequently banished. That is what an ecclesiastical government does to Christians. It leads Christians to punish and persecute Christians, all in the name of God. The system is to blame for it. It always makes tyrants and bigots out of otherwise good Christians. The employment of force in religion can have no other effect upon human beings. It is destructive of all that is Godlike in man and true and noble in his character. Therefore, let us abolish the system, and save Christianity from these blunders and tragedies.

C. S. L.

Failure of a Mission

PROBABLY SOME OF OUR READERS were inclined to censure us for the attitude taken with respect to the appointment of Myron C. Taylor as President Roosevelt's personal envoy to the Vatican. Our position at the time we spoke on this subject was reached through consideration of past attempts to unite the power of the civil state and the church. Whenever and wherever this has been done, only evil has resulted. Even a temporary appearance of worth-while accomplishment is always, we repeat, always, followed by unfavorable aftereffects.

We are reminded of this by the following United Press dispatch from Rome under date of August 26, 1940, which quotes from the newspaper *Corriere di Napoli*:

"The mission headed by Taylor seems to have had

little success. It is understood that Taylor, who is now returning to the United States, intends to renounce his work, admitting his failure.

"This is true notwithstanding Vatican sources who insist that Taylor's trip is nothing but a summer vacation and that he will return to Rome this winter.

"Diplomatic circles, however, reveal that Taylor's mission, even though it deluded some members of the Vatican who interpreted it as America's recognition of the Pontiff's high spiritual influence, was in itself a failure.

"Some circles say that Taylor has added confusion to the already delicate papal work by advancing material and political ideas of doubtful impartiality.

"The Pope's work, it certainly seems, was not greatly aided by Taylor, who was inspired by motives far less elevated and disinterested than those which inspired the vicar of Christ."

We lay no claim, of course, to the gift of prophecy, and we are repressing a strong desire to say, "I told you so." But the fact remains that anyone with even a casual acquaintance with history of the past must have foreseen that there could be no real harmony of action between a civil and a religious state without the sacrifice of its principles by one or the other power.

H. H. V.

Should Clergymen Be Granted Freedom of Speech?

THE DENVER *Post* recently invited "farmers, merchants, lawyers, teachers, clergymen, editors, mechanics," and other professionals to express their views upon any subject of public interest. Accordingly a prominent Catholic priest expressed his views upon political matters of public interest. He was severely taken to task by one writer, who claimed that "in a democracy no clergyman has the right . . . to use his pulpit as a political sounding board."

The editor in an editorial note said: "No one is more opposed to a union of state and church than I, but to deny a clergyman the right to express his views is subjugating the church to the state." A Presbyterian minister, the Reverend J. F. Shepherd, in defending the right of Father McMenamin to express his political views, said, "As a minister of the Presbyterian Church for over fifty years, I challenge any man to deny me the right to vote as my conscience shall dictate, or, in a kindly but honest way, to express my convictions on any question of public import. Why should a minister or a priest be dumb, with his wider knowledge of social, moral, and political questions, when questions which grow out of the social

and moral issues are involved; while others, who may have an ax to grind, are heard?

"Did the author of this attack ever read his Bible? If so, how does he justify the utterances of the prophets, every one, in condemning evil in government, or what of the many utterances of Christ against the rulers of Jerusalem?"

The editor again adds a note:

"Clergymen certainly have the right of free speech, the same as any other citizen." The question at issue is not one of "right." The Constitution of the United States guarantees freedom of speech and of the press to every citizen, irrespective of his religious persuasion or religious or political position. All citizens in this respect stand on the same equality before the law.

The question at issue is really one of propriety rather than of right. But even propriety can easily be overworked. It was once deemed improper for a clergyman to wear a turn-down collar, a short coat, or a mustache. It was once deemed unconventional for a clergyman to take a wife to himself. It must always be borne in mind that a clergyman is still a human being, that he has the same weaknesses and frailties in the flesh as other men, and that he cannot divorce himself from life's responsibilities as a citizen. He can do certain things as a citizen which he cannot do as a clergyman. The clergyman has a right as a citizen to express his views personally on public issues which affect the welfare of the people and of the country. There is nothing improper about denouncing the wrongs of men and rulers so long as a citizen sticks to the facts. But if a clergyman as a churchman uses his pulpit and his church as a dominant political force to secure the enactment of religious legislation favorable to his church dogmas, and through his church organization seeks to intimidate the rulers and control state affairs for the furtherance of religious ends, then we are not only justified in questioning the propriety of his course, but are justified in condemning him for meddling with partisan politics.

C. S. L.

Shall Flag Salute Be Forced?

THE AMERICAN FLAG stands for the protection of the individual and for the defense and preservation of the precious heritage of liberty, which the founding fathers handed down as a legacy to their posterity. It stands for the great fundamental ideals of true Americanism and the American way of life. It symbolizes all that is good, and true, and noble. Above all, it stands in defense of human rights, and civil and religious liberty as safeguarded in the Constitution.

In some communities the law-enforcement officials

have been puzzled about how to deal with a religious sect which refuses to salute the American flag. Different State supreme courts have handed down divergent decisions. The alleged offenders who refuse to salute the flag, maintain that they are barred by their religious convictions from making the conventional sign or salute for the flag. They believe that the Bible forbids bowing to an image or symbol and denominates such an action as saluting the flag an act of reverence and therefore idolatry. The question whether they are right or wrong is not for any man or any government to decide, any more than it is the prerogative of a government official to decide which religion is true and which is false.

Our Constitution protects any man in the free exercise of his religious convictions, and makes no attempts to harmonize or unify divergent religious convictions, so long as the individual conducts himself as a good citizen otherwise and respects the equal right of his fellow men. Voltaire said, "I wholly disagree with what you say, but I am willing to die in defense of your right to say it." It is this right, the right to disagree—the sacred right of dissent—that the American flag symbolizes and defends.

Freedom of religion is the first basic guaranty set forth in the American Bill of Human Rights. That freedom is guaranteed not only to a religion that is right, but to a religion that may be wrong. Whether a man's religious convictions are right or wrong is not a matter for the government to determine. Religious convictions are not controlled by the wishes of the majority. The majority rule prevails only in purely civil matters. Both religion and patriotism are matters of the spirit and emanate from the heart, if they have any virtue. Compulsion, when it is employed to advance religion or patriotism, can only beget a spirit of hypocrisy and meanness.

One of the courts recently ruled that all citizens should be compelled to salute the flag because a refusal to do so is an offense against the ideals and customs of the majority, and is likely to lead to resentful action of the majority against minority groups. It is in just such a contingency and crisis that the Constitution and the American flag step in to protect the minority in their constitutional rights against the encroachment of the majority. The Constitution protects the individual above all things, because the majority has the power to protect itself.

We hold no brief for any religious sect which refuses to salute the flag. We may heartily disagree with their religious tenets. But that is no reason why we should not defend their constitutional rights to the free exercise of their religious tenets. Unless the rights of each and all are protected, the rights of none are secure. We believe the flag which guarantees us protection against all enemies is worthy of respect

and salutation. We do not believe that the salutation of the flag is an act of worship and therefore an act of idolatry. But it is not for us to set up the standard of religion for any sect and compel it to conform to our standard. We must jealously safeguard the sacred right of dissent and nonconformity.

The Quakers were once severely persecuted for their refusal to salute public officials by the removal of the hat in their presence. The Quakers regarded such a salutation as an act of idolatry and worship. We believe they were mistaken in this matter, but we also believe that the state officials went too far when they persecuted, flogged, imprisoned, and even killed the Quakers for their refusal to remove the hat in their presence.

One of the kings of England who saw the humorous side of the situation when William Penn—the Quaker—came into his presence, has given us an example of how to deal with matters of this nature. William Penn refused to remove his hat in the presence of the king. The king smiled and removed his own hat in the presence of William Penn, saying: "The law of England does not allow two men to wear their hats in the presence of His Majesty; so I will remove my hat, since you refuse to remove yours."

When someone refuses to stand up when the "Star-Spangled Banner" is played, or refuses to salute the flag when all others salute it, let us, like the king of England, set a good example of courtesy and good manners by our loyalty to the principles of our Constitution which the flag represents. C. S. L.

A Menace Facing Our Public Schools

THE NEW YORK *Sun* of August 8, 1940, tells of "the rapid growth during recent years of the Catholic parochial school system," which gave rise to a new course in Catholic school administration at Fordham University last summer, attended by "administrators, supervisors, and teachers from public as well as from parochial schools in many parts of the country," amounting to a total enrollment of 1,550 from "twenty-two States and seventeen foreign countries."

The course given at Fordham University was conducted by four Catholic diocesan superintendents of Catholic schools. They were the Reverend William R. Kelly of the archdiocese of New York, the Right Reverend Mgrs. Richard J. Quinian of the archdiocese of Boston, the Reverend Paul E. Campbell, former superintendent of schools in the diocese of Pittsburgh, and the Reverend Edmund J. Goebel of the archdiocese of Milwaukee.

According to Dean Francis M. Crowley of the

Fordham School of Education, one of the main objectives of this new course, which embraces the administrators and supervisors from the public and parochial schools, is to secure "state aid for Catholic schools, provisions for free transportation of pupils and free textbooks, 'released' time for religious instruction" in public schools.

Father Goebels, of the archdiocese of Milwaukee, said: "The best way of winning state support for Catholic education is by the indirect method of building up friendly relations with public-school boards and officials. This is a definite step in improved public relations, and more important, I believe, than contacts with public officials. From the former we can gain recognition and have our problems solved without provoking prejudice. Local sanction leads to more favorable legislation."

Father Goebels in his frank way tells how the Catholic hierarchy is worming its way into the public treasury for support of its parochial schools. It is by the "indirect method of building up friendly relations with public-school boards and officials."

Wherever the school boards are dominated by members of the Catholic faith, it is easy to work up "friendly relations" and secure financial aid for parochial schools locally. As Father Goebels says, "Local sanction leads to more favorable legislation." This is precisely the way the Catholic hierarchy has been working to secure state aid for parochial schools in those communities in which the Catholic population largely predominates. They are securing "indirectly" what they could not possibly secure "directly" by fair and open methods.

The Catholic hierarchy in America has undergone a complete change in recent years. There was a time when the Catholic hierarchy and the *LIBERTY* magazine fought their battles together side by side in Congress and before the State legislatures. When attempts were made to force the reading of the Bible in the public schools, and to appropriate money to furnish Bibles to all public-school children at public expense, our Catholic friends called upon us to help defeat such proposed legislation.

But of late the Catholic hierarchy in those localities in which Catholic population predominates have openly advocated the teaching of religion in the public schools. A striking illustration of this reversal of attitude is set forth in the Austin (Texas) *Tribune*, which quotes the Reverend Dr. Stanislaus Lisewski, president of St. Edward's (Catholic) University, as saying: "They are un-American who maintain that religious education should remain eliminated and excluded from public education."

Some of the greatest Presidents of the United States, as well as our greatest statesmen, have arduously labored to keep the church and the state sepa-

rate in America and to confine religious education to the church and the family altar and to religious schools supported by private contributions. Are these statesmen who have founded our public-school system for secular education supported by the public taxes to be branded now as "un-American"?

Unless the public schools safeguard the tax funds and the special objectives of the public-school system, it will not be long before the tax funds will all be dissipated for other purposes than their original purpose, and our public-school system will be absorbed by religious systems.

Our legislators and the taxpayers need to exercise diligent care or the tax funds will be used in the near future to support religious teachings in our public schools to which the taxpayers as a whole can never subscribe. The only remedy is to keep religion out of the public schools and to keep the church and the state separate and independent in their respective functions. Unless this is done, both the church and the state will be afflicted with religious controversies and spiritual degeneracy and political corruption.

C. S. L.

NEWS and COMMENT

"A Healthful Necessity."—According to an Associated Press dispatch of October 22, 1940, Magistrate Michael A. Ford has ruled that "operating a wet-wash laundry . . . constitutes a healthful necessity."

A Chinese, Jack Wak by name, had been accused of violating the Sunday law by operating his laundry on Sunday, and Magistrate Ford, in giving his opinion, pointed out "that it used to be illegal to hold hands, or kiss a wife, on Sunday, but they're no longer considered punishable offenses."

Apparently the magistrate who dealt with this case recognizes what everyone ought to know, that it is not possible to teach any kind of religion successfully through the use of civil laws. Probably most of the Chinese in this country still adhere to the worship of their fathers, but the industry and integrity of many of these sons of Sinim are proverbial. We think all would agree that honest labor, such as Jack Wak was carrying on, can hardly be thought of as more sinful than much of the type of recreation that is followed by the great bulk of professed Sunday observers.

Mob Violence Should Be Checked.—The Indianapolis *Star* of September 25, 1940, carried a special dispatch from Connersville, Indiana, which told of the conviction of two members of Jehovah's Witnesses on a "riotous conspiracy charge." These two women were fined \$500 each and sentenced to "two to ten years' imprisonment."

Evidently the trial and the circumstances which surrounded it aroused strong feelings in the community, because the newspaper account records that "disorder flared on the heels of the verdict. A crowd of 500 persons, who had gathered outside the courthouse, waited until the defense attorneys were emerging, and then showered them with a barrage of cantaloupes, tomatoes, and other garden produce.

"Sheriff Lester Hunt and Deputy Scott Adams restored order in the crowd and escorted the attorneys—Victor Schmidt of Cincinnati, Ohio, and Walter Reese of Shelbyville—to their cars. Hayden Covington of New York, another defense attorney, was not present when the disorder occurred.

"It was reported that the tires on Reese's automobile had been cut and the car otherwise damaged by the crowd."

The spirit of mob violence can never be too strongly condemned. It is ironical in the extreme that men who clamor for the conviction of some who refuse to salute the flag desecrate it themselves by attacking attorneys who have been lawfully engaged to represent prisoners before the bar of justice.

This is not the first occurrence of which we have known in which some who boast of their patriotism and pride themselves in their "good citizenship" have brought disgrace upon themselves and their community by lawless attacks upon some against whom they may have a personal grievance. It is certainly to be regretted that in any place in these United States such a spirit of lawlessness should be found. Perhaps we are going beyond our business when we suggest that it would be a fine thing to bring some of the rioters to trial.

SPARKS From the Editor's Anvil

IGNORANCE is bliss when knowledge is not a blessing.

MISGUIDED zeal and enthusiasm may dethrone reason.

OLD wrongs are never corrected by committing new wrongs.

WHENEVER a people have nothing to lose but their chains of bondage, a revolution is in the offing.

DELEGATED power is dangerous unless it can be held in leash by those who delegate the authority.

ASSUMING superior morality is a conceit as common among human beings as the conceit of superior intelligence.

THE assumption of infallibility and impeccability by erring human beings is a display of blasphemous arrogance.

DECLARATION of PRINCIPLES

Religious Liberty Association

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

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

AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS

Atlantic Religious Liberty Association (affiliated organizations in Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, New York, Rhode Island, and Connecticut): Office, South Lancaster, Mass.; Sec., M. L. Rice.

Central States Religious Liberty Association (affiliated organizations in Kansas, Nebraska, Missouri, Colorado, Wyoming): Office, 4547 Calvert St., College View, Lincoln, Nebr.; Sec., J. F. Piper.

Columbia Religious Liberty Association (affiliated organizations in Pennsylvania, Ohio, New Jersey, West Virginia, Virginia, Delaware, and Maryland): Office, 507 Flower Ave., Takoma Park, Washington, D.C.; Sec., H. J. Detwiler.

Lake States Religious Liberty Association (affiliated organizations in Michigan, Illinois, Indiana, and Wisconsin): Office, Drawer C, Berrien Springs, Mich.; Sec., J. J. Nethery.

North Pacific Religious Liberty Association (affiliated organizations in Oregon, Idaho, Montana, Washington, and Alaska): Office, 202 South Palouse St., Walla Walla, Wash.; Sec., E. L. Neff.

Northern Religious Liberty Association (affiliated organizations in Iowa, Minnesota, North Dakota, and South Dakota): Office, 2718 Third Avenue South, Minneapolis, Minn.; Sec., E. H. Oswald.

Pacific Religious Liberty Association (affiliated organizations in California, Nevada, Utah, Arizona, and Hawaii): Office, Box 146, Glendale, Calif.; Sec., W. M. Adams.

Southern Religious Liberty Association (affiliated organizations in Alabama, Mississippi, North and South Carolina, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, and Tennessee): Office, 437 East Ponce de Leon Ave., Decatur, Ga.; Sec., J. K. Jones.

Southwestern Religious Liberty Association (affiliated organizations in Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, New Mexico, and Texas): Office, Keene, Texas; Sec., R. L. Benton.

ORGANIZATIONS OUTSIDE U.S.A.

Canadian Religious Liberty Association: Office, Box 396, Oshawa, Ontario, Canada; Sec., C. G. Maracle.

Australasian Religious Liberty Association: Office, "Mizpah," Wahroonga, New South Wales, Australia; Sec., A. W. Anderson.

African Religious Liberty Association: Office, Grove Ave., Claremont, Cape Province, South Africa; Sec., L. L. Moffitt.

Northern European Religious Liberty Association: Office, 41 Hazel Gardens, Edgware, Middlesex, England; Sec., W. T. Bartlett.

Southern Asia Religious Liberty Association: Office, Box 35, Poona, India; Sec., R. B. Thurber.

Southern European Religious Liberty Association: Office, 49 Ave. de la Grande Armée, Paris 16, France; Sec., Dr. J. Nussbaum.

Philippine Islands Religious Liberty Association: Office, Box 401, Manila, Philippine Islands; Sec., R. R. Senson.

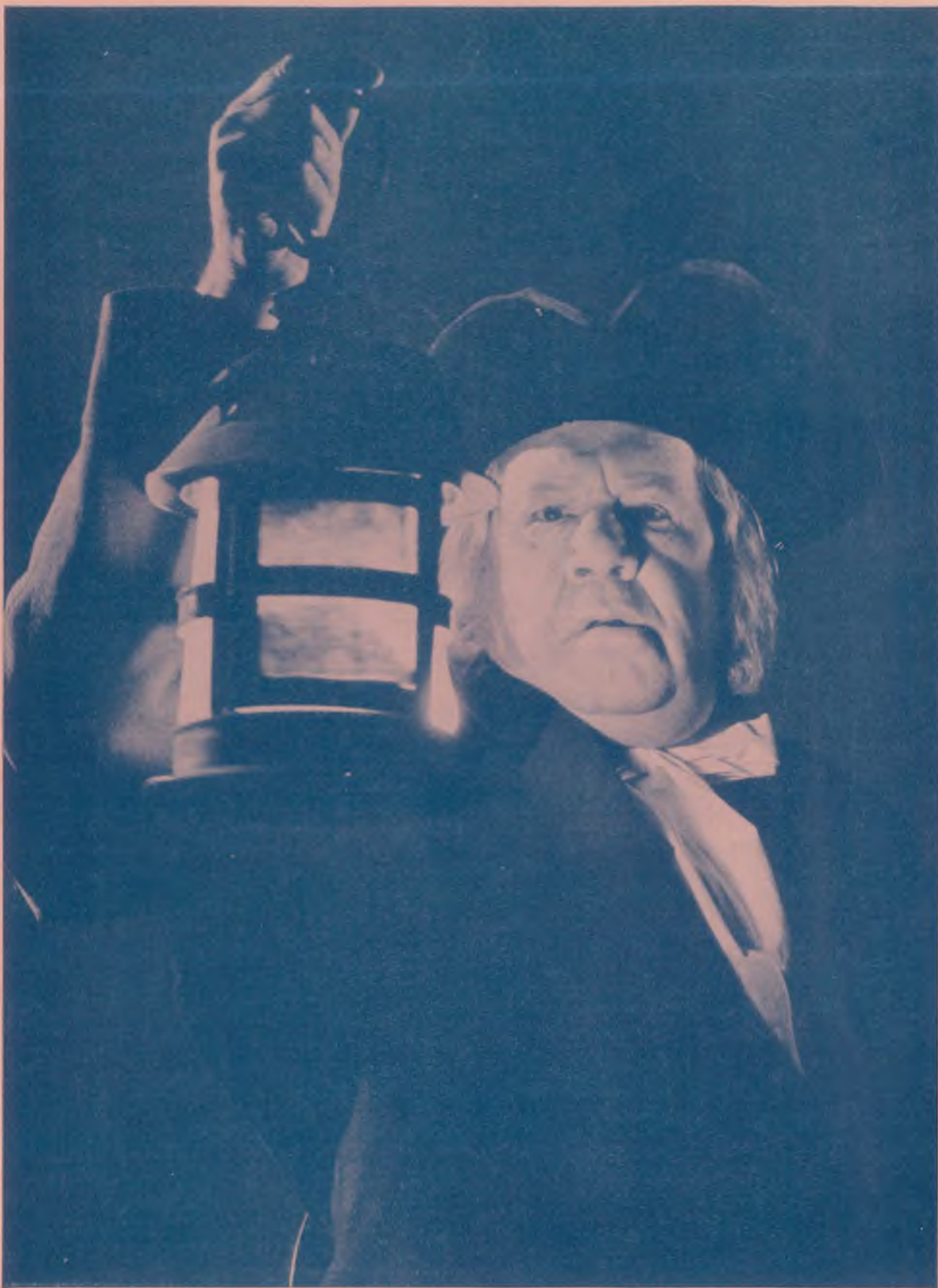


PHOTO BY EWING GALLOWAY, N.Y.

The Lights of Liberty Have Been Dimmed in Many Parts of This Troubled World. Shall We Allow the Shadows of Despotism to Creep Over Our Fair Land? Only as We Hold High the Lantern of Freedom and Good Will to Men and Let Its Undimmed Light Shine Forth Can We Hope to Escape the Terrors of Tyranny. The Darkness Which Is Settling Down Over the World Challenges Us to Be More Vigilant in Guarding the Liberties Which Still Are Ours to Enjoy