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LIBERTY

A MAGAZINE OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM



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Liberty Bell

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."

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CONTENTS

"Faith of Our Fathers," by Robert G. Jones	Cover
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Delaware's Dilemma	5
Should the State Protect the Observance of Sunday?	10
Clergyman Opposes Sunday Laws	12
Blue Laws Should Be Repealed	12
The Ideal of Liberty	13
What Is the Matter With Americans?	16
Religion and the Constitution	18
Liberty and Our Constitution	21
The American Way	22
Nicaragua Presents a Noble Example	23
Cure for Disloyalty	26
The American Concept of Civil Government	27
How to Deal With the Consciences of Others	28
An Amazing Statement—Shall Protestants Be United by Force	29
Cabinet Post of Religion	30
Dare to Do Right	30
Religious Persecution Rampant Again	31
Sunday Auto Sale Vindicated	32
Communism in Public Schools	32
No Milk on Sunday	33
State Aids Church	34
Sparks From the Editor's Anvil	34

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

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COURTESY, CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, DOVER, DEL.

Old Colonial Statehouse at Dover, Delaware. Since Erection of the New Legislative Building, It Has Been Used for Administrative Offices



DELAWARE was one of the original thirteen States. It was the first State to ratify the Constitution of the United States. The State capitol is located at Dover, a thriving city which is situated in one of the richest agricultural counties in the country. Dover was ordered laid out in 1683 by William Penn. The first courthouse was built in 1699. The first church was built in 1708. This State has had a long and distinctive history. It is to be commended for the effort it is now making to adjust its laws so that they will coincide with the true American spirit. Sunday laws are religious laws. This is made clear when one observes the earnest endeavors of religious zealots to both establish and shield such laws. It is time that every State should give consideration to repealing all such enactments.

Delaware's Dilemma

Shall Ancient Sunday Laws Be Enforced, Ignored, or Repealed?

by the EDITOR

[The Delaware Legislature is wrestling with the problem of what to do with its archaic Sunday laws. At one time every State in the Union had a Sunday law. Seven or eight States have already repealed these religious enactments. Other States are simply ignoring them. Where the laws are not repealed, there is always danger that they will be used in a manner not becoming to true Americanism. The following article, prepared by the editor of "Liberty," is based upon the official report of a commission appointed by the Delaware General Assembly and will no doubt be read with great interest and profit. —Editors.]

THE SUNDAY LAWS of the State of Delaware were originally enacted in the reign of King George II of England while the colony of Delaware was still under British rule. There has been very little change from the original statute, which prohibits all labor, all business, all travel, and all recreation on Sunday. It offers no exceptions except to works of necessity and charity.

State Action Against Theater Operator

When the present attorney general of the State, the Honorable James R. Morford, took office, he assumed, and rightly so, that it was his duty to enforce all laws of the State of Delaware. He arrested Mr. Horn, the owner of the Rehoboth Theater, for operating his theater on Sunday. The Honorable Caleb M. Wright, of Georgetown, Delaware, was employed as Mr. Horn's defense attorney. Mr. Wright sent the following letter to the attorney general, Mr. Morford:

"The closing of the Sunday movies at Rehoboth has raised a problem fraught with serious consequences to the people of this State. Probably few people realize that the observance of the Sabbath day is protected by a statute which had its origin in the reign of George II while Delaware was still under British rule. Since then there has been very little change from the original statute to the one by virtue of which you saw fit to order the discontinuance of Sunday movies in the city of Rehoboth. It is interesting to note, and I think a matter that should be brought to the general knowledge of the public, that there are, in this small State, hundreds of incidents of the violation of the Sunday laws which are taken as a matter of course.

"Our statute, as you know, makes it unlawful for anyone to perform any worldly employment, labor,

or business, on the Sabbath day, works of necessity and charity excepted. The above-quoted provision is but one small paragraph of the section of our code relative to the violation of the Sabbath, but this one paragraph makes it unlawful to operate any grocery stores on the Sabbath day, for gasoline stations to sell gasoline, trucks to move on our highways, amusement parks to be open, soft drinks to be sold at fountains, or Sunday papers to be delivered or sold; these are only a few examples of the violation of the Sunday laws as they now exist.

Theater Closed; Newspaper Office Operates as Usual

"At about eight-thirty Sunday evening, after Mr. Horn's theater was closed at Rehoboth, I called the *News-Journal* office in Wilmington and asked them how many people they had working at that time in their office. The number was approximately sixty, according to the information that they gave me. If the law under which the Sunday movies were closed in Rehoboth is strictly enforced, there is no basis or reason for the operation of this great newspaper in our State from midnight Saturday until midnight Sunday, since getting an edition of the *Wilmington Morning News* on the streets an hour or two earlier, thus making it necessary for the employees of that paper to work on the Sabbath, cannot be deemed a work of necessity.

"Another provision of the Sunday blue law provides that it is against the law to fish on the Sabbath, and it seems to me that under this provision it is unlawful for fishing-party boats to operate out of our many fishing points within this State or for anyone to fish from the shores of this State on the Sabbath day.

"Another paragraph of the Sunday blue law pro-

vides that it shall be unlawful for any number of persons to assemble to game, play, or dance on the Sabbath, and provides for a penalty if persons shall do so. If that provision of the law was strictly enforced, it would be impossible on Sunday for people to go on the beach at any of our numerous resorts and play a game of tag, or a game of catch, or do any one of the numerous things that we see being done each Sunday during the summer at our beaches.

"I am sure that you are familiar with the provision of our Sabbathbreaking statute, which permits swimming, tennis, and golf within the corporate limits of the city of Wilmington; and the inference that I gather from this provision of our law is that it is unlawful for any person to swim, play tennis or golf on the Sabbath day outside of the city of Wilmington.

Why Single Out One Form of Violation?

"It is also very obvious that Sunday movies have been singled out of the mass of Sunday-law violations, committed as a matter of course, as the one phase of Sabbathbreaking for action by your office. I can deeply appreciate the unpleasant task and the public indignation that would be unjustifiably heaped upon you if you attempted to enforce the Sunday blue laws in strict accordance with our statutes, but as a constitutional officer of this State you are sworn to uphold the laws and to enforce them, and it seems to me that this whole matter is one which is of the utmost importance to you and should be given immediate consideration by the legislature of this State; otherwise I see no alternative for your office but to apply the Sunday blue laws against all persons who violate them. It is not fair to place upon your shoulders the burden of deciding against whom the Sunday laws should be enforced and who should be allowed to flagrantly violate them. A Sunday blue law such as we have, only too often makes its enforcement and your office a medium to be used for spiteful and many times unworthy and ulterior motives, and in many cases to enforce a law against the will of the majority of the people of our State.

"Can there be any other alternative but to enforce the Sunday laws against all who violate them or revise the present laws relative to Sabbathbreaking?"

The Attorney General's Reply

The attorney general in his reply sets forth the fact that these ancient Sunday laws are "religious,"

Why is it wrong to play golf or seek recreation on Sunday and not on other days of the week, except it be on religious grounds? If Sunday has any sacredness, then why is it proper to play games on Sunday afternoon, and not on Sunday morning? The inconsistency and futility of Sunday laws will be most apparent to anyone who is willing to read the records of such laws.



"archaic" "blue laws," and "outmoded," the same as the LIBERTY magazine has contended all these years. We therefore take pleasure in publishing this illuminating letter, which gives the views of the attorney general, as follows:

"This is to acknowledge the receipt of your letter relative to the matter of the enforcement of the laws on the subject of Sabbathbreaking, commonly known as the 'blue laws' (5253 Sec. 4.).

"I am in entire accord with practically everything stated in your letter. We might go on and enlarge the list of violations of this law to a point where it could be conclusively demonstrated that practically every citizen of the State of Delaware at one time or another is guilty of the violations of this provision of the code.

"Thus, in addition to the examples stated in your letter, we find on our highways every Sunday thousands of trucks hauling produce from our own and adjoining States to metropolitan centers. The second paragraph of the act prohibits any carrier, peddler, wagoner, etc., from traveling or driving on the Sabbath day, and in addition thereto prohibits any retailer of goods from exposing the same for sale on Sunday. In these latter cases the fine is eight dollars (\$8) instead of four dollars (\$4). If the law were to be enforced it would result in arresting the driver of every truck using the highways on Sunday, the operator of every fruit and produce stand along our highways open on Sunday, and the proprietor of every other place where any merchandise is exposed for sale at retail on Sunday.

Great Extent of Violations

"Frankly, I see no reason why this section should not also apply to all the restaurants, inns, and tea-room along our highways where food, cigarettes, cigars, soft drinks, and the like are for sale and dispensed.

"As pointed out to you, the law also applies to the numerous operators of the fishing boats operating from Lewes, Bowers' Beach, Little Creek, and the like. Not only does it apply to the operators of those boats, but it also applies to all persons who fish from those boats on Sunday, and each person is amenable to arrest and fine.

"I think there is hardly a citizen of the State of Delaware who has not at one time or another engaged in some sport or game on Sunday, but we find from an examination of the law that unless such sport be swimming, tennis, or golf, and unless it be en-

gaged in within the corporate limits of the city of Wilmington, it is a criminal act. It seems unreasonable that a person should be permitted to swim or to play tennis or golf (even in Wilmington) and at the same time be branded as a criminal if he or she engages in other innocent pastimes such as croquet, bowling, badminton, tetherball, and the like. No doubt many worthy citizens play bridge on Sunday afternoon or evening without being aware that they are violating the law. Furthermore, you will note that while baseball and football may be played on Sunday after two o'clock in the afternoon, any person even throwing or catching a baseball or kicking or throwing a football before two o'clock anywhere in the State on Sunday would be guilty of a criminal offense. It is difficult to see how such a law can have the respect of any considerable group of Delaware citizens.

"No useful purpose may be served in this exchange of correspondence in the demonstration of the manifest absurdities of this law as applied to the present-day life of our community. However, it is on the statute books, and the attorney general's office has no proper choice in the matter except to advise the enforcement of this and other criminal statutes when complaints are made.

Enforce Law Only on Basis of Complaints

"There is only one matter in your letter with which I am not in entire accord, and that is the propriety of the law being enforced with respect to Mr. Horn's Rehoboth Theater. It happens that Mr. Horn's theater is the only place of this character in the State of Delaware that does business on Sunday, and if motion pictures may be shown in Rehoboth on Sunday, the operators of theaters in every other part of the State have an equal right. In other words, I feel that at least a reasonable administration of

the law demands that it be enforced equally upon all persons in the same line of activity, and as complaints were received by this office with respect to Mr. Horn's theater, this office had no recourse except to notify him that he was violating the law, and to advise his arrest when he persisted. The only other alternative would be to permit all other motion-picture theaters in the State of Delaware to remain open on Sunday. If this happens, the legislature, and not the attorney general's office, is the agency to make it possible.

"Personally, I do not believe it to be compatible with the duty of a prosecuting officer to wink at violations of any law, even though the law be as manifestly ridiculous and unsuited to present-day conditions as the one under consideration. Accordingly, when complaints are made to this office, I feel it is the duty of the attorney general and his deputies to adhere to the clear mandate of the statute, and to leave the determination of public policy where it rightfully belongs, viz., to the legislature.

Attorney's Office Not a Police Station

"On the other hand, the attorney general's office is the State law office, and not a police station. The attorney general and his deputies are not police officers, and I do not propose that the office shall be



PHOTO BY L. GREEN



used for police work. There are ample police officers in the several towns of the State, and throughout the counties, for ordinary police work. Accordingly, we shall take the position that the matter of the enforcement of the Sunday laws throughout the State of Delaware is a matter within the jurisdiction of the local and police agencies of the State, viz., the State and county police, and the town officers, where there are such officers. These officers have full power to prevent the violations of the Sunday laws, and to make arrests for violations of the same.

"Even though it were the duty of the attorney general's office to police the State in this regard, it would be impossible to do so, because of lack of facilities. As a matter of fact, and as pointed out in your letter to me, and in this reply, the violations of the Sunday law are so widespread, involve so many different forms of human activity, and so many individuals, that I doubt the adequacy of police facilities in the State of Delaware on any given Sunday to arrest all persons who are guilty of the violation on that day, and at the same time to perform other normal police duties.

"You ask whether there can be any other alternative but to enforce the Sunday laws against all who violate them, or that the present laws be revised. Yes, there is another alternative, and that is the

one chosen in the past, viz., to refuse to enforce this law. I am not willing, however, that my office should accept the responsibility for, and do not believe that the legislature will wish to force the attorney general's office to, such an alternative. My position is, and will be, that the law should be enforced or that it should be repealed, amended, or modified. Perhaps strict enforcement is one of the best ways to accomplish this end. I am confident that with strict enforcement the public demand would be as great as to force immediate legislative action.

"Accordingly, I concur heartily with the suggestion that this is a matter that should be seriously considered by the State legislature in the immediate future. In this way only may relief be given to the otherwise law-abiding citizens of the State of Delaware who are innocently, but nonetheless persistently and continuously, guilty of the crime of Sabbath violation. Such action would also relieve the attorney general, his deputies, and all police officers in the State in the embarrassing situation in which they find themselves under this archaic and outmoded legislation.

Law Must Be Enforced or Repealed

"In conclusion, I venture the opinion that non-enforcement of any law, even though manifestly absurd and ridiculous when applied to the present-day life of the community, is not conducive to respect for the law or for the courts. Accordingly, I sincerely hope that the legislature of the State of Delaware will see fit immediately to consider and take action, either with respect to the repeal of this statute, or the amendment thereof, so as to fit the conditions and normal activities of modern life. If no such action is taken by the legislature, it must be considered by all law-enforcement agencies as the mandate of that body that the law be enforced as it stands."

The attorney general, Mr. Morford, sent both Mr. Wright's letter and his own letter to the General Assembly of Delaware, calling attention to the serious situation that confronts the enforcement officers relative to this ancient law, recommending that the General Assembly appoint a commission "to make a study of the Sunday-observance laws of the State, and to report the findings thereon, whether the existing laws should be repealed or modified, and if to be modified, their recommendations thereon."

Commission for Study Appointed

A commission of nine persons was appointed. It made its survey and reported to the General Assembly. Its survey showed that practically everybody in the State of Delaware was violating, "unconsciously" perhaps, the present Sunday laws of the



PHOTO BY H. A. ROBERTS

Is the Liberty Bell to Be Muffled and Its Message Silenced in This Our Day? Unless the People of This Generation Appreciate Its Clarion Call as Did the Founders of This Nation, Our Liberties Are in Grave Danger

State, that the present law discriminated in favor of some and made criminals of others engaged in the same businesses. It also gave the results of a questionnaire submitted "to religious, civic, and fraternal organizations, as well as numerous representative citizens" in Delaware. The replies received revealed that 300 per cent more citizens were in favor of the revision of the Sunday laws than were in favor of retaining them as they are at present. Some were noncommittal, and some were for total elimination of the Sunday law.

The commission also wrote a letter to each attorney general of all the States in the Union to ascertain the status of the Sunday laws and their enforcement. Thirty-nine answers were received. Eight of the States replied that they had no Sunday-law restrictions whatsoever. All the rest, which had Sunday laws, admitted that their "archaic Sunday laws" were either considered "obsolete," "a dead letter," or "unenforceable." Evidently in these States the attorneys general feel that the easiest way is to wink at these archaic religious blue laws, and they do not feel that it is required of them to enforce all the laws which have been enacted but are considered as "dead letters" and "obsolete."

We agree, however, with the attorney general of Delaware, that it is not the prerogative of the attorney general of a State to wink at the existing laws, but to enforce them to the letter and bring the people as well as the legislature to sense their duty and repeal such un-American, unchristian, unjust, unkind, impractical, and intolerant blue laws of an ancient vintage. Only bigotry and the spirit of intolerance can favor the retention and enforcement of these archaic religious laws.

The commission, in consultation with the attorney general, respectfully recommended that the General Assembly of Delaware give serious consideration to "repealing said section" "5253 Sec. 4 of chapter 153 of the Revised Code of Delaware," and "that the town or city council or other legislative body of each incorporated municipality of the State of Delaware shall have power to enact" Sunday ordinances, or not to have any ordinances regulating the observance of Sunday. It allows the people to settle the matter by referendum after the legislature has repealed the existing Sunday laws.

What Will Be the Outcome?

This is the very thing the LIBERTY magazine has advocated through all the years, with the exception that we have stood for the elimination of all governmental functions in prescribing or proscribing religion by law. The Religious Liberty Association of Delaware and Maryland and the Religious Liberty Association of America have taken an active part

in this campaign for the repeal of the Sunday blue laws of Delaware. They have disseminated religious-liberty literature, written articles for the press, and given numerous broadcasts over the Wilmington radio stations. There has been a most favorable reaction from the public. We trust that these efforts will now bear fruit in the repeal of these laws.

The Lord's Day Alliance of Delaware and of Maryland are the only organizations which have passed resolutions which favor the retention and the enforcement of the existing Sunday blue laws; and they also requested the Congress of the United States to enact a similar law for the entire nation. This shows how impractical and archaic the Lord's Day Alliance is, and how intolerant it would be if its notions of Sunday observance should be enforced by the authority of the Government. Fortunately, church organizations no longer administer the civil government in the various States as they once did in colonial times. We shall watch with great interest what the General Assembly of Delaware does with the recommendation of the commission suggesting that the Sunday laws of Delaware be repealed *in toto*, and that the whole matter be referred to the various political units and municipalities on a popular referendum.



PHOTO BY H. A. ROBERTS

Unless Attendance at Religious Service Is Entirely Voluntary and Prompted by Sincere Spiritual Interest, There Is Little Value in It. Those Who Worship God "Must Worship Him in Spirit and in Truth"

Should the State Protect the Observance of Sunday?

Archaic Religious Laws Should Be Repealed

by **HEBER H. VOTAW**

THE DELAWARE LEGISLATURE has recently met. At its last previous session there was appointed a committee to study the Sunday laws of the State and report to the present session. The chairman of this committee is the Reverend Ralph L. Minker, a Methodist minister, superintendent of the State's Ferris Industrial School. All the other members of the committee belong to one or the other of the branches of the legislature.

The press reports that the delegates to a meeting of the Lord's Day Alliance recently held in Wilmington urged that the present law be retained. The attorney general has indicated that since the law is on the statute books, it must be enforced, and of course he is right in this, since he has taken an oath to uphold the State's constitution and prosecute violators of the law.

Let us look at a part of that State's civil legislation to protect a religious day.

The Delaware Legislature on February 6, 1795, passed an act "more effectually to prevent the profanation of the Lord's day, commonly called Sunday." As a reason for this it was declared that the penalties inflicted previously for Sundaybreaking had "been found insufficient to deter many persons from such immorality." The new law provided "that if any person or persons . . . shall do or perform any worldly employment, labor, or business on the Sabbath day (works of necessity and charity excepted)," such person or persons should forfeit the sum of four dollars. If the prisoner could not or would not pay the fine, he was "imprisoned in the public gaol of the county, for any space of time not exceeding twenty-four hours."

In 1893 this old law was amended in some respects, but the fine of four dollars or imprisonment "not exceeding twenty-four hours" was left for some offenses. Another provision, however, called for a fine of eight dollars, or imprisonment "not exceeding twenty-four hours." This larger penalty was to be imposed "if any carrier, peddler, wagoner, or driver of any public stage, or carriage, or any carter,

butcher, or drover, with his horse, pack, wagon, stage, carriage, cart, or drove, shall travel or drive upon the Sabbath day; or if any retailer of goods shall expose the same to sale on the Sabbath."

Yet another section prohibits "fishing, fowling, horse racing, cockfighting, or hunting game on the Sabbath day." Here the fine is four dollars and the imprisonment as before mentioned.

Again, "If any number of persons shall assemble to game, play, or dance on the Sabbath day, and shall engage or assist in such game, play, or dance, every such person shall be fined four dollars, and on failure to pay such fine and costs, shall be imprisoned as aforesaid."

The very language used in these laws shows them to be holdovers from days of long ago. Probably there could not be found a "drover" in all Delaware today. It would be as hard to find a "pack." But the spirit of these laws is shown in a multitude of ways today. Is it not time for the legislature of the State to consider them on their own merits and in relation to the times in which we live?

Laws that are intended to govern men in religious affairs have a way of embracing almost anything when some zealot undertakes to correct his fellow citizens with respect to their obligations toward God. All citizens of Delaware know how strict their Sunday laws are in their letter. It is doubtful whether many would like to see them rigidly enforced. Most of the citizens want them forgotten. However, as long as they are on the statute books, officials who have taken an oath to enforce them should do so.

What is the purpose of these laws? "To prevent the profanation of the Lord's day, commonly called Sunday." The State is asked to recognize and protect a purely religious institution. Has it a right to do this? Absolutely no. Jesus Christ taught that each should "render . . . unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's; and unto God the things that are God's."

The civil government has every right to make and enforce laws which govern man's relation to his fel-

low man. It has no right to attempt to direct his relationship to his Creator. To perform its proper functions it must protect every man in his right to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience.

The State of Delaware cannot rightfully recognize Sunday as a sacred day simply because the majority of its citizens consider it such. The civil state never has a right to recognize or support or enforce any religious obligation.

If the legislature has the authority to decide which day a man must observe as a day of rest, it has equal power to decide what form of baptism—sprinkling,

pouring, or immersion—is to have State approval. Or it can decree that only the clergy may partake of the wine of the communion instead of allowing *both* wine and bread to be given to the laity.

The state cannot judge justly in the realm of religion, because it is an affair of the heart. Only God can see what is within. "The Lord seeth not as man seeth; for man looketh on the outward appearance, but the Lord looketh on the heart." 1 Sam. 16:7. The following striking passage, also from the Bible, asks a pertinent question: "There is one Law-giver, who is able to save and to destroy: who art thou that judgest another?" James 4:12. How does finite, mortal man dare to try to take God's place? The civil state can judge only by the overt, open act. In all matters of religion the intent of the heart must be judged, and only the Omnipotent is sufficient for this.

When the state seeks to enforce religious obligations, absurdities always abound. For instance: In Baltimore, in 1940, a young man broke a shoestring. He bought another on Sunday, so that he could skate in a rink where it was legal to do so on that day. The merchant was fined \$21.45 for making the sale. But in the same store he could and did sell ice cream, soft drinks, and all kinds of "smokes." Absurd? Positively silly.

Recognizing that it is utterly impossible to reconcile Sunday laws with the spirit of true separation of the church and the state, and finding no logical justification for pleading for the retention of Sunday laws, but being unwilling to allow Sunday to stand on a level with every other day as far as the civil law is concerned, some have sought to becloud the real issue by pleading for such legislation as health measures.

It is admitted that the state has a right to care for the physical welfare of its citizens. But it cannot be proved by the Scriptures or by science that Sunday has any advantage over any other day as a time for purely physical relaxation or rest.

If the state wishes to enact a law for the protection of the laboring man, let it provide that all who toil must be given twenty-four consecutive hours of rest in every seven days. Some commonwealths have done this. No harm has come to their people, and no lessening of spiritual fervor has been seen. Those who reject this plan want a religious—not a health—measure enacted or retained.

Delaware's provision for keeping sacred the "Lord's day, commonly called Sunday," surely belongs to the "horse-and-buggy days" if anything does. Citizens have both a right and an obligation to demand that such statutes be repealed. Nowhere has religion or piety suffered by separating church and state completely.



PHOTO BY H. M. LAMBERT

Sunday Laws Are Unchristian and Un-American. They Should Be Challenged by Every Federal and State Official Who Is Sworn to Uphold the Rights of All Citizens Alike. These Laws Are Implements of Much Unjust Prosecution Which Is Akin to Persecution. No Nation Which Considers Itself the Guardian of Liberty Can Afford to Compromise Its Position by Such a Dangerous Implement of Intolerance

Clergyman Opposes Sunday Laws

THE REVEREND RALPH L. MINKER, chairman of the nine-member commission appointed by the General Assembly of Delaware to study the Sunday laws of the State of Delaware and make a recommendation to the State legislature as to whether they should be repealed or modified, spoke in the Grace Methodist Church in Wilmington, Delaware, January 19, 1941, upon the subject of promoting Sunday observance by example rather than by law as the wisest course for churchmen to follow. He took a rap at the archaic Sunday laws of Delaware. In part he said:

"The use of Sunday is governed to a large extent by one's personal needs and one's religious training and background.

"There is no unanimity among religious people as to the particulars of Sabbath conduct. Some would be extremely strict and very minute in their prohibitions. Others would be much less severe, but nonetheless interested in using the day in a constructive and healthful manner.

"Such a lack of unanimity shows the impossibility of ever satisfying by statute the extremists.

"In other words, this matter of Sunday observance is such a personal matter that the wisest course for churchmen is to promote its observance by example rather than by law."

Mr. Minker urged interest in the "blue-law" problem on the part of church members, calling the present statute "archaic and out of date."

"We face a serious condition, involving not only respect for Sunday law, but for all law, moral as well as civil," he declared.

"I earnestly commend your intelligent interest as members of the church in the efforts of our commission to rectify that serious situation," he stated.

It is good to see a Methodist churchman who takes such a sensible position upon the subject of Sunday observance. It is the only Christian position to take. Unless we make our religion a personal and voluntary affair between us and God, it is anti-Christian and valueless.

Blue Laws Should Be Repealed, Says Delaware Newspaper

HEADLINES in a Wilmington [Delaware] newspaper read: 'Police warn places against operating alleys on Sabbath' [Sunday].

"Conceived in ignorance and born in hypocrisy, the Sunday blue laws form one of the greatest menaces that the society of this land has to combat.



PHOTO BY DOUGLAS. FROM GENDREAU, N.Y.

Church Spires Point to Heaven. It Is There That the Church Should Find Its Help, and Not in Legislative Halls

"The first blue laws of the country originated in the Connecticut colony, when Puritanical laws forbade amusements of any kind, at any time.

"In more recent years, the term has been applied to laws restricting the sale of cigarettes and other supposedly nonessentials on the Sabbath, and imposing a censorship on books, plays, and Sunday diversions.

"Such strict regulations are the fruits of the desires of self-appointed guardians of other people's welfare, and should not cause anyone to suffer, except the perpetrators themselves. If one is so good(?) that he can derive pleasure from the discomforts of

others, he should not be allowed to indulge in such felicity at the expense of those whose tastes for enjoyment do not work a hardship on their fellow beings. In short, let us wage war on hypocrisy, in favor of persons whose religion is manifested in real service to humanity rather than superstitious dogmatism.

"Now that the blue laws are on our statute books, there is no alternative for the enforcement agencies

but to see that they are not violated without proper punishment to the offender. They have no other course to pursue, and we applaud them in the strict performance of their sworn duty.

"What is needed, however, and what is *seriously* needed, is for the members of our legislature to take time out from their various other duties and REPEAL THOSE OBNOXIOUS BLUE LAWS!"
—*Dover [Delaware] Index.*

The Ideal of Liberty

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

Professor Emeritus of History, Columbia University

This is the first of a series of articles in which Doctor Muzzey will discuss different phases of the subject of liberty. This article discusses it from the psychological point of view.—Editors.

LIBERTY is one of those abstract words derived from the Latin, which suggest the Platonic "idea." If not an eternal pattern laid up in heaven, a pattern of which our actual liberties are but faint reflections, it is at least a kind of symbolic summary of such liberties. The abstract word must be implemented by the experience of concrete and definite freedoms. No one can define liberty in general. The minute one tries to do so he finds himself referring to specific liberties, such as the right of free speech, of the free exercise of religion, of security in goods and person, and the like.

When Patrick Henry exclaimed, "Give me liberty, or give me death!" he meant that he would rather die (or at least he said that he would rather die) than give up the right to have a voice in the way in which he should be taxed. When the apologist for slavery, on the eve of the Civil War, invoked the spirit of 1776 and cried, "Let us inscribe '*Liberty*' on our banners," he was not, of course, thinking of liberty for the slave, but of his own right to maintain his "peculiar institution" without interference from the abolitionists of the North.

Turn to the dictionaries for the definition of liberty: it will always be affected with this quality of relationship. In other words, liberty is not a state, like ecstasy or despondency, but a situation. Here are the definitions of the word taken from the Century Dictionary: "The state of being free, or exempt from external restraint or constraint, physical or moral;" "The condition of being exempt, as a community or an individual, from foreign or arbitrary

control; a condition of political self-government;" "Permission granted, as by a superior, to do something that one might not otherwise do;" "Immunity enjoyed by prescription or by grant; privilege; exemption; franchise." Webster makes liberty, freedom, and independence synonyms and defines them as "exemption or liberation from the control of another." Thus, all these definitions imply a mutuality in the concept of liberty. And there is no mutuality in the abstract.

Liberty Conditioned by Rights of Others

Now, though this factor of mutuality is the most important ingredient of liberty, it is often subordinated or even ignored in the popular conception of the word. Ask the man in the street what he means by liberty, and he will probably say, "The right to do as I please." But it is evident, on a moment's reflection, that nobody has the right to do as he pleases. Robinson Crusoe may have had that right when he landed on his supposedly desert island, but when he saw the footprints of the man Friday, his liberty was conditioned. The commonest way of stating the restraint which society puts on our will to do as we please is the formula which John Stuart Mill gave in his famous essay on the subject; namely, that one is free to do as he will, provided he does not interfere with the like freedom of his neighbor. This looks like a very simple prescription, but in reality it is full of complexities. Am I to be the judge of what my neighbor regards or should regard as his freedom? Is he to determine where, out of consid-

eration for him, my freedom is to be limited? Except for such insignificant acts as brushing our teeth and polishing our shoes, there is scarcely an aim we pursue that does not implicate others. "There is no word," says Montesquieu, in his treatise on "The Spirit of the Laws," "that admits of more various significance and has made more varied impressions on the human mind than that of 'liberty.'"

From the historical point of view, as I shall endeavor to show in the next article, liberty has been the accumulation of specific freedoms achieved in the face of various forms of oppression, political, economic, and religious. But there is a widespread conception of liberty, not as an achievement, but as a gift from heaven. "Man was born free," wrote Rousseau; "he is everywhere in chains." And Thomas Jefferson wrote, "The God who gave us life, gave us liberty." Doubtless this faith in liberty as a "natural right" of man has been a powerful urge to the attainment of historical liberties, especially since that faith reached its full intensity in what Professor Becker has called "the heavenly city of the eighteenth century." But the confusion of the two ideas of a God-given liberty and a man-achieved liberty has been responsible for a wide divergence in both the ideal and the practice of freedom. According to the former conception the mere will of a man or a group of men to do what seemed best in their eyes had a higher sanction than expediency or even law. Restraint came to be regarded, not as a social necessity, but as the unwarranted interference with the state, the church, the school, or some other "external" authority with a "right" which was original, underived, absolute, and in Jefferson's language, "unalienable."

Restraints Upon Personal Liberty

Since men in the mass are ever ready to believe that their own desires and actions are just, it has not been difficult for them to translate these desires and actions into "natural" rights. And hence there has resulted that identification of liberty with what the uneducated, undisciplined masses desire, which Everett Dean Martin deplores in his volume on "Liberty." On the other hand, when liberty is envisaged as an achievement, it must be the fruit of certain intelligent, reasoned, and reciprocal adjustments to social and historical circumstances which recognize the immense complexity of human affairs and acknowledge the necessary restraints placed upon the wills or whims of man.

We cannot, then, be satisfied with an ideal of liberty expressed in such simple terms as the right to

do what one pleases, as in Hobbes' definition: "A free man is he that in those things which by his strength and wit he is able to do is not hindered to do what he has a will to do." To the will, the ability, and the opportunity to act in a certain way we must add complementary factors of liberty; namely, certain inward inhibitions and outward restraints which are necessary if liberty is not to degenerate into mere license. Granted that liberty is synonymous with self-realization, it is still pertinent to ask what kind of self is to be realized. For the Greek thinkers who followed the Socratic lead, a man fulfilled his essential selfhood when he attained intellectual maturity. Reason was the sole guide of life. No one could be free so long as ignorance, passion, or conformity to the undisciplined mind of the masses determined his conduct.

Neither the will to act nor the opportunity and power to act as one pleased was true liberty, but only the will and power to act according to that insight which was the supreme attribute of God and the supreme duty of man if he would be like God. "The undisciplined life is not worth living," said Socrates. It is merely bondage to appearance, sham, and illusion. Nay, it is even worse than that; it is madness. Every man without "phronesis" (which may be translated as the exercise of reason) is a madman, said Socrates again. The Stoic school laid the emphasis on a good life as the condition for liberty. Epictetus the slave declared that no bad man could be free. Evil thoughts and evil acts enslaved such a man, though no external restraints were put upon his freedom; while, on the other hand, the man who had within him that harmony of soul which comes of living in accord with the harmony of the spheres was free, regardless of the stone walls and prison bars which might confine his body.

One recalls Thoreau's comment on his imprisonment in Concord jail in his essay on "Civil Disobedience:" "I did not for a moment feel confined, and the walls seemed a great waste of stone and mortar. . . . I could not but smile to see how industriously they locked the door on my meditations, which followed them out again without let or hindrance." When Emerson went to visit Thoreau at the bars of his cell, he said, "Henry, what are you doing in there?" "Waldo," replied Thoreau, "what are you doing *out* there?"

Other thinkers have found liberty in a paradox. Only by becoming the servant of a great cause or idea can a man be really free, because devotion to such a cause or idea liberates the power in him to make his life seem significant. This is a point of view emphasized especially by the advocates of religious



Bright Light of Liberty,
May It Shine Undimmed

liberty. "In his will is our peace," sang Dante. And a modern hymn writer expresses the thought in the lines:

"My heart is weak and poor until it master find,
Enslave it with Thy matchless love, and death-
less it shall reign."

To Martin Luther's mind only the Christian was free. In the estimation of the Pope and his followers only the Catholic is truly free. The service of God, which is "perfect freedom," means for the Catholic, as Jacques Maritain has expressed it, "participation in the will and love of God as His will and love are communicated to men through the institutions of

the Roman church." These conditioning factors of intellectual, moral, and religious requisites of liberty are by no means the only inward restraints to the bare will and power to do as one pleases. Indigence as well as ignorance, want as well as wickedness, poverty as well as pride, is a hindrance to freedom. But we cannot dwell here on these topics. Let us turn rather to the more popular conception of liberty as freedom from external and unwelcome restraints or coercions.

Law May Be the Guaranty of Liberty

These restraints and coercions may come from a despot, or dictator who exercises his power over a subject people by virtue of prescription or force. The oppressed have always and rightly felt justified in resisting such power, and their successes in the realms of politics, economics, religion, education, art, letters, and science, make the thrilling story of the progressive liberation of the body and mind of man. Arbitrary power corrupts both the master and the slave. But to reason that because many laws have been unjust, law itself is destructive of liberty (as the anarchist reasons), is to fly in the face of demonstrable truth. Law is more often a guaranty of liberty than a deterrent to liberty, or, at least, it is more often a denial of certain unwholesome liberties for the sake of more valuable ones.

For example, when the pure-food law was introduced into Congress, several Senators objected to it on the ground that it deprived the people of eating what they pleased. Could anything be more ridiculous than the safeguarding of the right of people to eat tainted meat or adulterated sauces? What these reactionary Senators cared for was not the right of the people to eat what they pleased, but the right of the purveyors to make a profit out of poisoning the people. Again, when a civil-service law deprived the right of a political boss to place his henchman in a lucrative position, it increased the liberty of hundreds of men to seek a job.

The simple truth is that law in civilized countries aims at the enlargement of the social well-being. That the law is sometimes foolish and less frequently unjust is no argument against this form of external restraint. The teetotaler who is a careless driver may chafe at the traffic laws, but

(Continued on page 25)



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"—give me liberty, or give me death!"

The Scene: St. John's Church in Richmond, Virginia. The Time: March 23, 1775. Patrick Henry, Urging Defense of the Virginia Colony Before a Group of American Patriots, Concludes His Plea With These Words That Resound in These Troubled Times

What Is the Matter With Americans?

by C. S. LONGACRE

A GREAT CHANGE OF ATTITUDE toward life's responsibilities has come over a large group of American citizens. Until recently, only the physically incompetent looked to the state for relief and support, aside from incapacitated soldiers or their dependent widows. But today there are at least some 18,000,000 able-bodied people in the United States who are leaning upon the Government for support. We are not referring to the unfortunate and the helpless orphans and aged. Millions seem to be unable to earn a livelihood on their own initiative. There are large numbers among this group who claim that the world owes them a living, and they depend upon the Government to give it to them.

Another group not only believe that the world owes them a living, but their attitude is that they are going to get it from the world by hook or crook, if it is not forthcoming. They do not believe that the possession of property is ever the result of hard labor, but of trickery and deception. They do not believe that poverty and pauperism sometimes come as the result of riotous living or lack of initiative, thrift, frugality, and economy. To them the more-abundant life is not based on hard labor and rewards honestly earned, but on getting something for nothing. They want to enjoy the fruits and rewards of other people's labors which they themselves are unwilling to win by toil.

Danger in Government Support

One of the gravest dangers which America faces today is the attitude of utter indifference on the part of the have-nots toward the preservation of the American democratic system of government and the ideals and fundamental principles upon which it is founded. This group of everlasting leaners on others for support are perfectly willing to surrender all initiative and right of sovereignty for a mess of pottage, or a well-provisioned basket of material comforts for the immediate present needs, without giving any thought as to the evil consequences that may follow such a surrender of the heritage of liberty. They speak disparagingly of the slow and deliberate movements of republics, forgetting that their welfare and safety for the future depend upon mature consideration rather than immature and hasty action on the

part of a dictator. In the long run, all things come to those who wait patiently for truth and right and justice to prevail by fair and equitable means, rather than hastily violating every principle of moral rectitude and common decency.

The trouble with most paupers is that they never practiced frugality and economy when they earned



PHOTO BY H. A. ROBERTS

The Throbbing Factories of Our Nation Provide Useful Employment for Millions. Free Enterprise Is One of the Great and Primary Principles Held by Americans

a good livelihood. They lived riotously and wasted their means, while others who earned no more than they saved a little out of each day's earnings for a rainy day. Now the have-nots want to penalize those who have been thrifty and frugal, and forcibly rob them of their possessions.

Does the World Owe Anybody a Living?

The doctrine that the world owes one a living, and that one ought to get something for nothing, is the root cause of the plight in which this world is today. It violates every fundamental principle of justice and human rights. It leads human beings to disregard the most sacred relationships between man and man and between conscience and God. It tramples the precious heritage of liberty underfoot for the sake of self-aggrandizement. It leads men to sneer at the guaranties of the Bill of Human Rights vouchsafed to each individual under our matchless Constitution. It serves to inspire the mob, and emboldens the hand of the racketeer. It enables the demagogue or the craven politician to capitalize on human misery and purchase his way to power and retain it as long as he can feed and satisfy the proletariat with government patronage. The pages of history have recorded the wrecks of governments upon this rock.

No government can spend itself rich any more than an individual can. No monarch ever succeeded for long to lift himself into power by pulling others down. The law of justice has decreed that one shall not enjoy for long something he gets which has cost nothing. Tyrants seldom sleep two nights in the same bed. Uneasy lies the head that has stolen booty under its pillow. Only he who would prefer to have liberty with want rather than wealth with serfdom deserves to have freedom as his heritage. All others would sell their inheritance for the same consideration as Esau sold his. Liberty can be preserved for the security of posterity only so long as it is given love and devotion strong enough to be sealed with the martyr's blood if necessary. Only he is a true lover of liberty who is willing to live and die for it, so that others may enjoy this precious boon after he is gone.

Rugged Individualists or Leaners

Altogether too many Americans today are willing to barter away their cherished liberties which cost them no sacrifice, for the sake of gaining temporal and material comforts in this time of trial and distress. They are oblivious of the past, and of the age-long struggle of our ancestors who bequeathed to us our Bill of Human Rights in the fundamental law of the land. They sneer at the Constitution as being outmoded and old-fashioned. They discount individual thrift and initiative and refer to it as "rugged individualism." It is better to be a rugged individ-

SECOND QUARTER



PHOTO BY H. M. LAMBERT

Nothing Is Worthy of More Praise Than Work That Is Well Done and That Is Willingly Done. In a Nation of Free Men, All Should Do Their Share of Work. None Should Be "Leaners." A Man's Right to Work Should Be Protected

ual capable of hoeing one's own row and cultivating one's own garden, than to be a jellyfish without a backbone, or a wheelbarrow which goes only when somebody pushes it, and upsets every time it hits a snag in the road. If America today had more rugged individuals with stiff backbones, thrift, and pep, there would not be so many human "leaners" and "trailers" unable to stand upon their own feet, and unable to move for lack of motor power.

American liberty was won by rugged individuals, in the face of tremendous odds and overwhelming hardships. There is nothing that so withers the growth and progress of civilization and enlightenment, and menaces free republican institutions, as robbing the individual of his freedom of action, his right to save what he earns, and his initiative to progress beyond his shiftless fellows. Virile men must remain free, or the wheels of civilization will be turned backward, and there will be a complete blackout of liberty. A nation whose people love freedom and truth and justice is invincible, because right is ultimately bound to triumph; but a nation whose people have lost the spirit of liberty and are willing for the sake of government dole to be moved about as pawns upon the political chessboard by demagogues, is doomed to perpetual serfdom.

Civil Rights Being Invaded

Many of our civil liberties guaranteed to us under the Constitution have already been nullified and overridden by paternalistic and sumptuary legislation. The State constitutions which expressly prohibited using tax funds to support private and religious schools are being amended in some States so that the public tax funds can be appropriated for the support of religious schools. Employers are no longer free to select their own employees, or to state

how many hours in a day or how many days in a week they shall labor, or what wages they shall be paid. Many of the activities of life which until recently an American citizen could freely engage in without interference from civil authorities, are now restricted, regulated, and regimented by Federal bureaus which are all-powerful, exercising powers of all three branches of the Government, and from whose decisions there is no appeal for redress of grievances to the courts.

Civil rights cannot be invaded without endangering religious rights. Civil and religious liberty are twins which cannot be separated without endangering the existence of both. Civil and religious liberty stand or fall together. We must, therefore, take serious alarm at these present invasions of our civil liberties and rights under the Constitution. Such are a prelude to the destruction of our religious liberties vouchsafed to us by the same Constitution. The people of Europe who are living under totalitarian governments today, lost their civil liberties first, and shortly afterward they were deprived of their religious freedom. Let none say, What has happened in Europe cannot happen in America. There are already altogether too many leaks in our dikes.

America, watch your step! Something has gone wrong. Too many are depending upon Uncle Sam as a Santa Claus! Too many are willing to ridicule our Bill of Rights and change our form of government to a totalitarian regime! Too many are ready to

delegate their right of sovereignty to the Chief Executive! Too many are willing to sell their constitutional liberties for passing creature comforts!

Americans! Beware

Americans, watch your step! Remember, liberty may be lost overnight, but it cannot be won back in decades. Americans, guard your liberties! Never surrender your right of sovereignty to any man, no matter how good and amiable he may be. Liberty is a jewel—more precious than rubies and diamonds. Its only security is in the hearts of the American people. If we lose our love and devotion for liberty, even the Constitution cannot save it.

America is the last hope in this world for political freedom and security, and if Americans lose their faith and their cherished ideals of the American way of life, the world is doomed. If America goes under in this critical hour, the inhabitants of the world will have to reap the harvest of their own seed sowing of folly in a retributive judgment of divine vengeance. "It may be later than we think." Who can tell? Only God knows how soon the inevitable day of judgment is to fall upon the rulers of the nations who are demonstrating their incapacity to rule without ruining the world and enslaving its inhabitants. The destiny of the world is trembling in the balance. How carefully we should cherish our precious heritage of liberty!

Religion and the Constitution

**by THE HONORABLE
HARRY GRAHAM BALTER**

Member of the California Bar

[This is the second of two articles by Mr. Balter, the first having appeared in our issue for the first quarter of 1941. In this article the author shows how the principle of religious freedom has often been compromised and even limited by certain acts of legislative bodies and by court decisions.—EDITORS.]

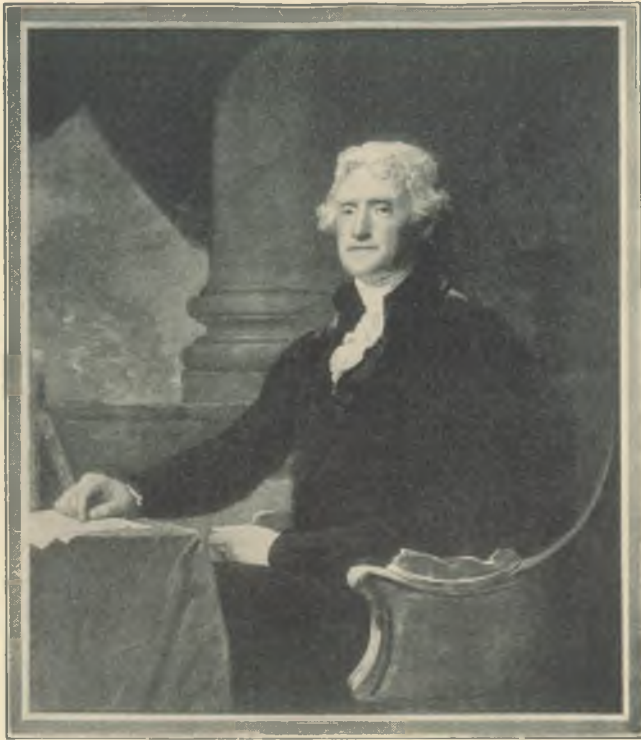
THE FOUNDERS OF THIS NATION must have sensed that some great enduring principle was being given by them to the world. Jefferson publicly said that on his epitaph he wanted only three achievements noted: (1) That he wrote the Declaration of Independence, (2) That he founded the University of Virginia, and (3) That he was the author of the Virginia Statute of Religious Liberty. Here is his

sage observation on the significance of the First Amendment of the Constitution:

"Believing with you that religion is a matter which lies solely between man and God, that he shall account to none other for his faith or his worship, that the large powers of the government reach actions only and not opinions, I contemplate with reverence the act of the whole American people which declared that their legislature should 'make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.'"

Joseph Story, brilliant justice of the United States Supreme Court, commented thus half a century later:

"It was under a solemn consciousness of the danger from ecclesiastical ambition, the bigotry of the



Thomas Jefferson Was a Strong Believer in the Principle of the Absolute Separation of Church and State. He Endeavored to Be Consistent in His Belief and Practice When He Refused to Declare Thanksgiving Day a National Holiday Because of Its Religious Significance

spirit, and the intolerance of sects thus exemplified in our domestic as well as foreign annals, that it was deemed advisable to exclude from the national government the power to act upon the subject of religion."

The Constitution sought to establish religious *equality* and not merely religious *tolerance*. And there is a fundamental difference between the two. Tolerance is a concession which may be withdrawn. It implies a preference for the ruling forms of faith and worship, and a practical disapproval of all other forms.

Jefferson and Madison were such deep believers in the principle of absolute separation of church and state, in practice as well as in theory, that as President each refused to declare Thanksgiving Day a national holiday, because Thanksgiving had a religious significance. In 1811, when Madison was President, he vetoed a bill passed by Congress to incorporate a church organization; and a few years later he again vetoed a bill which would have made a gift of public land to a church.

Limitations Upon the Right of Religious Freedom

Theory and practice often cross paths.

Not many years after the adoption of the First Amendment endorsing the principles of religious liberty, practical limitations became apparent:

1. In the first place the Constitutional provisions

were binding only on the Federal Government. The States were free to establish a state church, or legislate religious intolerance. But the spirit of religious freedom was strong enough to seep through State walls. Nearly every State has a provision in its constitution which guarantees religious liberty.

However, so that we may be mindful that a State may incorporate religious intolerance, let us read a provision of the Mississippi constitution, which states that liberty of religious belief shall not be construed to "exclude the Holy Bible from use in any public school in this State." (Miss. Const., 1890, Art. 3, Sec. 18.)

2. In the second place, the religious liberty guaranteed by the Constitution is not *absolute*, but is limited by considerations of public morals and current belief.

It was early determined that the Constitution did not guarantee absolute religious freedom. One could not under the cloak of religious belief follow rites or practices which are against the currently accepted moral or religious views.

Said Justice Field of the United States Supreme Court:

"Crime is not the less odious because sanctioned by what any particular sect may designate as religion."

On this basis, the polygamy of the Mormons, or the burning of the widow on the funeral pyre by the Hindus, or the "immorality" of any sect on the pretext of religious sanction, is judicially frowned upon.

Christian Concepts in Our Daily Social and Legal Practices

The famed French student of America and her people, De Tocqueville, writing in 1831, observed that: "There is no country in the world in which the Christian religion retains a greater influence over the souls of men than in America."

We may or we may not be a religious people today. But be that as it is, our institutional practices still clearly bear the religious imprint.

State Sunday-closing laws have been sustained many times, even though to some religious sects Sunday is not considered a day of rest. In Minnesota a law which prohibited business on Sunday was upheld in the face of an objection by one of Jewish faith that his day of rest is Saturday and not Sunday. A large majority of people, said the court, being Christians, had Sunday as their day of rest, and it was therefore reasonable to prohibit the carrying on of business on that day.

In spite of their protest on principle by both Jefferson and Madison, Thanksgiving and Christmas are today legal holidays.

Every American President from Washington and

Lincoln to the second Roosevelt has from time to time spoken of his dependence on God for guidance in matters of state. The last sentence of Lincoln's famous Gettysburg address carries the same thought: "That this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, and for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

Religious organizations enjoy many tax exemptions provided by law.

At public expense, the Army, Navy, and most public institutions maintain chapels and retain chaplains.

Most official documents refer to the date of signing as in this or that "year of our Lord."

All legislative bodies open their deliberations with religious prayer addressed to God, and generally to the God of Christianity.

Even the Constitution itself, in Article I, Section 7, excepts Sunday from the ten-day period in which the President is to determine whether he is to approve or veto a bill. [The exception here allowed is permissible, not mandatory. Many bills have been signed on Sunday.—Ed.]

Fourteen States have laws which make blasphemy a crime, and in fairly recent times men have been convicted in different places for blasphemy. A notable attempt to provide against religious bigotry was the Constitutional amendment proposed in 1892. This died because of a lack of sufficient popular pressure.

The political and social outlook of most of the early settlers was definitely influenced by Biblical teachings. Though coming to this land to secure freedom of worship for themselves, religious persecution was too often the rule; tolerance was rare. When the Constitution was written, because of an increased enlightenment and liberality which had developed, and because the different sects feared to give the new Federal Government too much power, lest it might choose a particular one to receive its favors, it was agreed that all should stand alike before the law.

Recent Supreme Court Decisions

That Christianity has left its imprint on our legal practices is shown by recent Supreme Court decisions. These make it clear that the discussion of

things we have studied is not merely academic.

Most notable is the case of *Minersville School District, et al, vs. Gobitis* (84 L. Ed. 975), decided June 3, 1940, in which a new and disturbing concept has been injected into the Supreme Court's interpretation of the right to freedom of worship. This is the famous flag-salute case. In upholding

the right of a school board of a State to compel obedience to a regulation that requires salute to the American flag as a prerequisite for attendance in the public schools in that district, Mr. Justice Frankfurter, speaking for the majority of the Court, uses these pregnant phrases:

"The religious liberty which the Constitution protects has never excluded legislation of general scope not directed against doctrinal loyalties of particular sects. . . . Conscientious scruples have not in the course

of the long struggle for religious toleration relieved the individual from obedience to a general law not aimed at the promotion or restriction of religious belief. The mere possession of religious convictions which contradict the relevant conscience of a political society does not relieve the citizen from the discharge of political responsibilities. . . . The question remains whether children like the *Gobitis* children must be excused from conduct required of all other children in the promotion of national cohesion. We are dealing with an interest inferior to none in the hierarchy of legal values. National unity is the basis of national security. . . .

"The precise issue, then, for us to decide is whether the legislatures of the various States and the authorities in a thousand counties and school districts are barred from determining the appropriateness of various means to evoke that unifying sentiment, without which there can ultimately be no liberty, civil or religious. To stigmatize legislative judgments in providing for this universal gesture of respect for the symbol of our national life in the setting of the common school as a lawless inroad on that freedom of conscience which the Constitution protects, would amount to no less than the pronouncement of pedagogical and psychological dogma in a field where courts possess no marked and certainly no controlling competence. . . .

"Perhaps it is best even from the standpoint of

Precious Heritage

By Jessie Wilmore Murton

How can we, who have never known the feel
Of fetter or of lash, for conscience' sake,
Appreciate the hot flame of their zeal?

We, who have never dared, for faith, to break
The yearning clasp of love or fatherland—
To brave a hostile shore, an unknown sea—
How can we sense the courage of that band
Of pilgrims—or their thirst for liberty?

For that pure zeal, that courage long ago,
Today our prayers of praise and thankfulness
Ascend from altars that our fathers raised;
We lift anew the torch they set aglow
Back in that bleak, unfriendly wilderness,
And raise our anthems to the God they praised.

those interests which ordinances like the one under review seek to promote, to give to the least popular sect leave from conformities like those here in issue. But the courtroom is not the arena for debating issues of educational policies. It is not our province to choose among competing contributions in the settled process of securing effective loyalty to the traditional ideals of democracy, while respecting at the same time individual idiosyncrasies among a people so diversified in racial origins and religious allegiance. So to hold would in effect make us the school board for the country. That authority has not been given to this Court, nor shall we assume it."

This case goes a long way in giving the Government—Federal and State—a broadened power to limit the right of free worship in the name of secular interests, whether under the cloak of "national unity" or otherwise.

When carefully examined under the serious student's penetrating research, "freedom of religion" is clearly seen to be considerably different in operation from what is commonly supposed.

Eternal vigilance by the American people remains the only safe means of preserving in substance, if not in full form, the great democratic right of freedom of worship and religion.

Liberty and Our Constitution

by JUDGE CYRUS SIMMONS

LIBERTY IS AN INSPIRATION. To many it is akin to religion. The objective of Christian religion is freedom. "If the Son . . . shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed." John 8:36.

Days of Despotism

God frowns upon slavery. When the Israelites under the lash of the Egyptian taskmasters were required to make bricks without straw, God wrought a special deliverance. When the time arrived for their deliverance from bondage in Babylon, He raised up Cyrus the Great to liberate them. Isa. 45:1-5. He put it into the heart of that heathen king to pass a decree (536 B.C.) which permitted the Jews to return to Jerusalem. Ezra 1. Some returned. Darius issued a second decree (519 B.C.), which also permitted the Jews to return to Jerusalem. Ezra 6. A few more returned at that time. If all had obeyed, they would have escaped the decree of Ahasuerus (510 B.C.), which commanded that "all Jews" should be killed. Esther 3:13. Again the Lord in His mercy worked their deliverance. A final decree was issued by Artaxerxes (457 B.C.). Ezra 7:11-26. All who did not then take advantage of the privilege remained in slavery.

It is observable that during these barbarous ages, it took the power of God to make freedom possible. It can also be seen that indifference to the blessings of liberty engenders and perpetuates bondage.

During the first four thousand years of the world's history, civil and religious liberty depended upon the humor and caprice of rulers, kings, and despots. The same condition prevailed at the time of Christ. John the Baptist was beheaded by the word of Herod to satisfy the revenge of his dissolute wife.

The crucifixion of Jesus was a despotic act—the result of the union of church and state. The Sanhedrin, or the church, condemned Christ; the state nailed Him to the cross. Human life then had little value; men were often enslaved and crushed out by brutish power. This was true for a thousand years thereafter, and there was little protest.



PHOTO BY H. A. ROBERTS

Life Without Liberty Is Bleak. None but the Free Can Be Truly Happy

A Change Takes Place

At Runnymede, in 1215, the barons demanded that King John set his seal to the Magna Charta. On the Charter Island, constitutional supremacy over the royal prerogatives was granted. For the first time the right was given of habeas corpus, trial by jury, and restraint on arbitrary taxation.

So much for England. How about France? The lust and passion for royal power caused Louis XIV to exclaim: "The state, it is I." Louis XVI followed in the footsteps of the Great Monarch. He turned a deaf ear to misery's cry. He would not "discern the signs of the times." On the slightest suspicion, without a trial or notice, victims were crowded into the Bastille. The caged starling on the outside of the prison, crying, "Let me out! Let me out!" echoed the groans of the helpless, hopeless ones on the inside.

But look, the Revolution is on! The frenzied mob, armed with engines of destruction, forced the Bastille and razed it to the ground. Amidst the milling, yelling crowd the king was seen riding in a tumbrel to the guillotine. After a desperate struggle, his long hair was tucked under the black cap, and Carlyle says, "The head of a king was thrown at the feet of tyrants!"

From then on a Frenchman would die for freedom. From then on united France, liberty loving, began to live. From then on her prowess and power grew until she was recognized as one the strongest national fighting forces in the world.

But recently, alas! France began to disintegrate. Inside treachery worked her ruin. Now much of her territory, her power, her glory, is gone.

About the time of the Revolution the peoples of the old country, fleeing from intolerance and persecution, braved the stormy ocean and fled to America.

We see Thomas Jefferson writing the Declaration of Independence. We see our founding fathers writing our Constitution and Bill of Rights. For the first time in the history of the world, liberty was fully recognized: freedom of religion, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, the right of trial by jury, of habeas corpus, of equal taxation, the protection of human and property rights, and legal respect for the equality, dignity, and worth of the individual. These were the precious blessings then granted to men.

Our Constitution! may it never grow too old. Gladstone pronounced it the greatest contribution to political science that was ever struck off by the pen of man. When the times are too progressive for our Constitution, then are we not traveling too fast? Our Constitution! may it never be a mere framework of liberty, while the very spirit and soul of freedom

is legislated away by a multiplicity of designing laws.

Long may the Statue of Liberty shine and be a beaconfire for the democracies of the world. Statue of Liberty! designed by Bartholdi, and presented by France when she was in all her glory, may thy illumination never grow dim. Statue of Liberty! continue to light the pathway of liberty, equality, fraternity, while the voice of the never-ending waves that wash thy feet, and the resounding shores that hold thy noble and majestic form aloft, seem to repeat the words of Patrick Henry: "Give me liberty, or give me death."

The American Way

By Charles G. Reigner

Hold high the flaming torch of freedom's holy light
That sheds its gleaming rays throughout our native
land;

Undimmed it spreads afar—a thrilling, glorious
sight—

Triumphant still, its beams from out the darkness
stand.

Ring out the bells that once proclaimed the nation's
birth,

Unmuffled let them strike the air in wild delight—
Majestic peals that sound their clang throughout the
earth—

Ring out the bells of freedom through the gloomy
night.

Unfurl the flag—fling out that symbol of our pride,
Its emblematic stars and stripes in triumph wave.
The flag of freedom, bought by blood, will still abide
While loyal hearts remember what our fathers gave.

Rise up in might—reject the soft and easy way;
Our glorious heritage with might and main defend;
Strike down the hand that would our liberty betray—
For hard-won human rights must free men now con-
tend.

O God of right, make all our hearts to thrill anew
With ardor for the way of life our fathers won.
With passion for democracy our lives imbue,
For right makes might—to this event the ages run.

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sion of the publishers, the H. M. Rowe
Company, Baltimore and Chicago.

A REPUBLIC is a government of laws—not men.

THE light of liberty is a beacon of hope for the
oppressed in every land.



PHOTO BY DIAZ F. STUDIO

A Picturesque View in Managua, the Capital of Nicaragua

COURTESY, PAN AMERICAN UNION, WASH., D.C.

Nicaragua Presents a Noble Example

by R. L. ODOM

IN THE MONTH OF SEPTEMBER, 1940, there occurred an incident which put to a test the good spirit of the government of the Republic of Nicaragua. The noble example of President Somoza and his associates in this case is worthy of wide publication, especially in a time when we see religious freedom suffering tremendous blows in the Old World from both religious and atheistical fanaticism and intolerance. We do not know much about the political doctrines which inspire the government of Nicaragua, but we do know that it is in favor of religious liberty.

The fourteenth of September, 1940, was celebrated in all Nicaragua as the Day of Allegiance to the National Flag. All the schools which function in the republic are required by law to participate in this official ceremony every year, and to take the oath of allegiance to the nation's banner.

But it happened that in 1940 the Day of Allegiance to the National Flag fell on Saturday. The director of the Seventh-day Adventist school at Bluefields, Nicaragua, went beforehand to the proper authorities and explained to them the difficulty that existed and requested that the school be exempted from attendance at the flag ceremony on the Sabbath day. Moreover, the Adventists gladly offered to reaffirm their loyalty to the flag on any other day of the week, provided it were not the seventh day, which is sacred to them.

It seems that the request of the Adventists was misunderstood, and the authorities did not grant it. But rather than violate their consciences and the law of God, the teacher and the students of the school did not attend the official ceremony as they had done every year before. The case was reported, and the authorities ordered the school and the church to be closed while the ministry of public education should determine what punishment should be meted out.

Several weeks passed before Arthur H. Roth, secretary of the educational department of the Central American Union of Seventh-day Adventists, arrived at Managua, capital of Nicaragua. Pastor Roth and the teacher of the school at Bluefields visited the minister of public education, Dr. Alejandro Argüello Montiel, and explained to him the difficulty and requested permission to reopen the school and the church, which had been closed and sealed.

Later, Pastor Roth, accompanied by Dr. Argüello Montiel, called on the president of Nicaragua and presented him a petition asking for the reopening of the Adventist school and church at Bluefields. The memorial presented by Pastor Roth said, among other things:

"This act appears to have been interpreted as one of ill will and disloyalty to the flag and to the government of Nicaragua. I hasten to assure you that such was not the motive. The reason for having

failed to attend those exercises was born of our religious convictions. As you doubtless know, Seventh-day Adventists are faithful observers of the Sabbath day, the seventh day of the week, because they believe they are commanded by God in the Biblical commandments to keep it, as their own name also indicates this feature of their beliefs.

"Seventh-day Adventists desire to be good and loyal citizens, and they do not refuse to take the oath of allegiance to the national flag when this act does not fall on the day which they observe, that is, on the Sabbath.

"In previous years the school at Bluefields has gladly participated in the festivities honoring the fatherland and the national standard. The school at Bluefields considers it a privilege to continue to honor the fatherland which grants us peace, liberty, and protection."

Thereupon President Somoza gave instructions to Minister Argüello Montiel that on the following Wednesday, the twenty-third of October, the Adventist school at Bluefields might be reopened after a public ceremony in which they should take the oath of allegiance to the national flag.

The appointed day for the oath of allegiance to the flag was a very special day for Bluefields. The following news report, published in the newspaper *La Estrella de Nicaragua*, explains how the incident ended:

"BLUEFIELDS, OCTOBER 23.—This morning the ceremony of the oath to the flag was held for the

Adventist school, with Minister Argüello Montiel, Captain Tellería, and the schools in general attending."

The treatment and consideration given to the Seventh-day Adventists of Nicaragua in this case may be interpreted as a desire on the part of President Somoza and his associates to respect the religious beliefs of minorities in that country, and may be rightly regarded as a guaranty of freedom of worship and conscience for all the citizens of the republic.

By such fair dealing, the Nicaraguan government surely will win the support and the gratitude of its citizens. Seventh-day Adventists appreciate very much the consideration and respect which they have received from this government. We believe it is the duty of the state to protect its citizens in

the enjoyment of their natural rights, and to guarantee the freedom necessary to their exercise.



The National Flag of the Republic of Nicaragua

THE greatest treasure is not the possession of liberty, but an undying love and devotion for liberty.

HE who lifts himself up by pulling others down may wear a crown of gold, but never a crown of glory.

GOD made men before He made governments; therefore governments derive their powers from the consent of the governed.



PHOTO BY DIAZ F. STUDIO

The Presidential Palace in Managua, Nicaragua

COURTESY, PAN AMERICAN UNION, WASH., D.C.

The Ideal of Liberty

(Continued from page 15)

approve heartily of a prohibition amendment. His convivial friend may not feel that his liberty is curtailed when the red light comes on, but may spend the time waiting for the green in cursing those who deprive him of buying a bottle of whisky. It is another evident truth that any regulative law must deprive some people of some liberty. The question is one of expediency, not of metaphysics. The chief end of law is protection; and the most difficult of the arts of statesmanship is to determine the amount and incidence of protection necessary for the general well-being of society. A social-security act will deprive an employer of doing what he pleases with all his profits. A wage-and-hour act will deprive him of the liberty of working men long hours for sweatshop pay. Shall we say, then, that such laws are destructive of liberty?

Freedom of Conviction and Belief

There is a sphere, however, in which the literal definition of liberty as freedom from all external restraint or coercion should be scrupulously respected. That is the sphere of one's personal convictions and contentments. No man can be free if he is interfered with, either by law or by social pressure, in his expression of what he truly believes, in his mode of worship, in his choice of reading, in his scientific research, in his recreation and his friendships. Horrible as is the destruction of buildings and bodies by the totalitarian leaders, their attempt to destroy the freedom of the mind is still worse. As if the power of any state, though backed by a million tanks and planes, could elicit a single constructive idea in the mind of man or create a single lasting work of art. Yet the totalitarian state, embodied in the will of its leader, presumes to dictate an orthodox history, science, sociology, anthropology, religion. I think that Thomas Jefferson was nearer the truth when he said that the state had no power over a man's personal convictions. What harm, he asked, did it do his fellow men whether he believed in one God or in twenty: it broke no one's leg and robbed no one's purse.

When it comes, however, to liberty in the economic sphere, the case is different. One's material interests are subordinate to the freedom of spirit. Here, for several reasons, the state may and should interfere with liberties in order to preserve greater liberties. For in the economic sphere men are prone to trespass on the liberties of other men and to secure their own liberty at the expense of their neighbor's. In the sphere of the mind equal liberty is available for all according to the capacity of each.

Indeed, the liberty of the teacher enhances the liberty of the student. The community is better off for the great varieties of freedoms which do not clash, but rather complement one another. But cooperation and complementation are replaced in the economic sphere by competition and exploitation.

The state, then, as the dispenser of justice, has the duty of distributing liberties in such manner as to make for the greatest good of the greatest number. It takes a man's money by unlimited powers of taxation in order to safeguard the liberty of the country. It forbids the unscrupulous promoter to fleece the people by an issue of wildcat stock. It compels the maker of drugs to list the contents of the bottle on the label. It protects a man's reputation against slander and defamation. It says, You cannot do as you please, if you please to murder your grandmother, spread a contagious disease, or poison your



H. A. ROBERTS, PHOTO

Only the Free in Mind and Spirit Can Develop Into Strong and Useful Citizens. May the Youth of This Nation Properly Use the Liberties Granted to Them

customer with putrid beef. In a word, liberty of action in a social community must always be subject to a scale of values which the community finds wholesome. So there is no real conflict between liberty and authority here. Authority in the state is the guaranty of liberty for the people. The anarchist is woefully wrong when he thinks that if law were abolished, the millennium would arrive. A thousand social oppressions would replace the whole repression of the constituted authority.

The final word is that liberty and authority, freedom and law, are not antonyms. Liberty must be blended with authority, freedom with law. The two must interpenetrate. John Dewey has given a striking illustration of this in his discussion of scientific freedom. The private investigator is perfectly free to make such experiments as he wishes, but withal

he must submit his findings to "the organized common sense of the community" and bring them into harmonious relation with the whole body of scientific investigation. "Freedom of thought means bondage to the truth." Freedom of action means regard for the social whole. Louis Le Fevre, in his stimulating book on "Liberty and Restraint," cites the report of a Fiji Islander to a commission sent to study the decline of the native race: "The white chiefs who have come to live among us are great, and we are insignificant. A plant cannot grow up under the great Ivi tree, for the great Ivi overshadows it and the grass beneath withers away." There are many in America (share croppers, Negroes, Okies, unwanted workers) sitting under the tree of liberty, but withering away in its shade. When justice tempers freedom, true liberty will arrive.

Cure for Disloyalty

by I. A. CRANE

NEVER BEFORE has there been so much talk of alien propaganda, flag salute, and loyalty pledges as at the present time. Until recent years no special effort was made to inspire reverence for the flag. People loved Old Glory because of the great principles of liberty and justice which it represents. They were loyal to the nation which guaranteed these blessings. Why should these fears of disloyalty be so prevalent now?

The founders of this nation laid the foundation of real loyalty when they set forth in the Declaration of Independence the basis of true government. In this they declared, "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure [make sure] these rights, governments are instituted among men."

Later, as these truths began to be better understood and appreciated, they were incorporated into law by the United States Constitution and its successive amendments. If these heaven-born principles were understood and practiced by officials and people, there would be confidence and genuine patriotism. Without this, all outward show of loyalty is in vain.

That which promotes true loyalty is now sadly lacking. Few in our time appreciate and practice the truths set forth in the Declaration of Inde-

pendence and the Constitution. Even leading statesmen are now suggesting that those documents *are not suited to our times!* They are saying that these principles of true government, which we know are based upon eternal and unchangeable truths, belong to the "horse-and-buggy days." Such sentiment is bound to have its effect. For it is evident that when respect for the Declaration of Independence and the United States Constitution is gone, respect for the nation which was built upon the principles contained in these documents must inevitably go also. Then respect for all law will be undermined, and crime, dishonesty, and political corruption will naturally abound. We are even now beginning to see the results of this subtle activity.

Disrespect for the Constitution and the principles of the Declaration upon which the Constitution was built, breeds contempt for the nation in which these principles are fundamental. Such action is analogous to professing to serve God while casting aside the decalogue upon which His government is based. Let officials and people of America return to the "self-evident truths" which our forefathers espoused; let them recognize the God-given rights with which all men are endowed; and there will be seen a spirit of unity and loyalty which no dictator can possibly overthrow. May this be seen in all America. We can no more make real patriots by law than we can make real Christians by legal force.

The American Concept of Civil Government

by A. R. BELL

NEVER IN ALL HISTORY has a form of government appeared like the government of the United States of America. This form of government under which the United States came to the birth was an untried one. It had no precedent. It was entirely new.

Never before had mankind been called upon to consider such a statement as, Governments derive "their just powers from the consent of the governed." Never in all the past were men called to ponder such a truism as, "all men are created equal."

Think for a moment. All down through the centuries the governed—the people—amounted to nothing save only to serve those "born" to rule over them. The aristocracy held sway. Kings ruled by "divine right." Men lived and died under the caprices of men who arrogated to themselves the right to rule.

What a boon from the very heavens to know freedom as we know it! What a change from the old order of things it is when a President of this Republic declares that "freedom exists *only* when the people take care of the government."—*Woodrow Wilson, at the Workingmen's Dinner, New York City, Sept. 4, 1912.*

Another word from another Chief Executive of our country reads, "The God who gave us life, gave us liberty at the same time."—*Thomas Jefferson, summary view of the rights of British America.*

It was Lincoln, the savior of his country, who said, "No man is good enough to govern another man without that other's consent." And, "A majority held in restraint by constitutional checks and limitations, and always changing easily with deliberate changes of popular opinions and sentiments, is the only true sovereign of a free people."

Lincoln also said, "The people of these United States are the rightful masters of both Congress and courts, not to overthrow the Constitution, but to overthrow the men who pervert the Constitution."

It was the Father of his Country, George Washington, who in his Farewell Address said:

"Towards the preservation of your government and the permanency of your present happy state it is requisite, not only that you steadily discountenance irregular oppositions to its acknowledged authority, but also that you resist with care the spirit of innovation upon its principles, however specious the pre-

texts." "The Constitution which at any time exists, till changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all."

Our martyred McKinley declared (San Jose, California, May 13, 1901):

"We have lived under it [the Constitution] for one hundred and twenty-five years in storm and sunshine, in war within and war without, amidst the passions of the people, and after one hundred twenty-five years that great instrument stands unclouded by a single lapse of principle.

"To us, my fellow citizens, young and old, the preservation of that Constitution is committed. It is a sacred document, and it is a sacred trust, given to us to see to it that it is preserved in all its virtue and in all its vigor, to be passed along to the generations yet to come. Glorious Constitution! Glorious Union! Glorious flag!"

It was the revered Calvin Coolidge who, speaking of the wonderful blessings and privileges vouchsafed to us under our Magna Charta, the Declaration of Independence, and the Constitution, said,

"In all the essentials we have achieved an equality which was never possessed by any one people. . . . The rights of the individual are held sacred and protected by constitutional guaranties which even the Government itself is bound not to violate. If there is any one thing among us that is established beyond question, it is self-government—the right of the people to rule."

I say again, What a boon from the very heavens to know and enjoy freedom as we do! What a change from the old order of things! What a fresh courage comes to us as we meditate upon these expressions of fundamental truths from the lips of men who have been called by the people to occupy the highest place in the government in which each citizen holds his sovereign part and place.

What a pity it is that some of us have failed yet to see the beauty and grandeur of it all. What a pity that there are even leaders of the people who have not yet grasped the fact that in government certain individual rights are paramount, and who are still working with might and main to hark back to the old concept that might makes right. There seems to be a spirit in the very air we breathe to deny to others the rights and privileges all should enjoy.

In matters of religion, some leaders in the church are working to the end that they shall be "God's spokesmen to the state." And some men in our halls of legislation, and in the national congress, "are not sufficiently apprised of the rightful limits of their power." They seem not yet to understand that "their

true office is to declare and enforce only our natural rights and duties, and to take none of them from us."
—Jefferson, June 7, 1816.

"'Tis Liberty alone that gives the flower
Of fleeting life its luster and perfume;
And we are weeds without it."

How to Deal With the Consciences of Others

by S. H. CARNAHAN

NEARLY NINETEEN CENTURIES AGO there was born in Asia Minor a boy of prominent parentage. He was highly educated in the chosen city of God. His life seemed blameless; he was a very zealous religionist. According to his own conscience, trained as it was, he felt that it was his duty to enter into the households of those who worshiped after the way of the newly organized church, and hale the members, men and women, into prison, and even persecute them unto death, because their worship was different in some respects from that of the state church to which he belonged.

But God Himself, in His kind, loving providence, by His own suffering Son, arrested this false religionist and converted him from his mistaken, unjust way and gave him a righteous, Christian spirit. Hence, in his afterlife and religious labors he dealt with others in a different manner. Instead of trying to compel them to yield up their conscientious convictions and follow his views, he exercised the true Christian spirit by sacrificing his own individual rights in order not to offend the consciences of those whose views differed from his.

As an example of his, the great apostle's, toleration, in even such a simple matter in life as what should be eaten, we cite these words written by him:

"You must not, by what you eat, ruin a man for whom Christ died. For if your brother's feelings are hurt by what you eat, your life is not governed by love. Let us, therefore, keep before us whatever will contribute to peace and the development of one another, . . . but it is wrong for a man to hurt the consciences of others by what he eats. The right thing to do is to eat no meat at all and to drink no wine or do anything else if it hurts your brother's conscience. The man who will eat any-

thing must not look down on the man who abstains from some things, and the man who abstains from them must not criticize the one who does not, for God has accepted him. Who are you to criticize someone else's servant?" Rom. 14:15, 19, 20, 21, 3, Goodspeed's trans.

"But in sinning against your brothers in this way and wounding their too scrupulous consciences, you are really sinning against Christ. Therefore [Paul's decision], if what I eat makes my brother fall, I will never eat meat again, rather than make my brother fall." 1 Cor. 8:12, 13, Goodspeed's trans.

King Agrippa could not accuse the apostle of trying to compel him to be a Christian, but only acknowledged, "Almost thou *persuadest* me to be a Christian."

CHRIST never sought an alliance with the Roman government to advance His cause. He made His appeal to the throne of God for spiritual power instead of to the throne of Caesar for secular power.



Let Those Who Would Use Force Learn of Paul. His Was the Weapon of Persuasion. This Should Be the Only Weapon Used by the Church to Extend Its Influence

Editorials

An Amazing Statement— Shall Protestants Be United by Force?

ANYONE WHO POINTS continually to dangers that threaten is likely to bring upon himself the good-natured raillery, if not the actual scorn, of the folk who do not like to be disturbed. In Biblical days Jeremiah foresaw and foretold so forcefully the evil to come that the ruler finally had him put in a pit. In Roman times one who repeated incessantly that "Carthage must be destroyed" was doubtless considered a nuisance by complaisant folk.

The fact that this journal constantly points out those evils that assail the fundamental principles of our government has brought upon its editors a rather full share of both ridicule and abuse. But we must persist, because evidences increase to show that there is solid ground for the warnings we utter.

One of the most amazing and alarming things that the press has brought to our attention lately is a statement made by the pastor of a Methodist church in Arkansas, as reported in the *Arkansas Gazette*, January 15. Not only is he pastor of a Protestant church, but he is the son of a Methodist minister. He has been the executive secretary of the denominational college from which he received his A.B. degree, has a degree from the Yale Divinity School, and has done graduate work at the University of Chicago. He ought to know too much to say the things it has been reported he has said.

The *Arkansas Gazette* reports that in addressing his congregation he declared, "American churches will never come together in a unified manner for a great world-wide effort without being forced." He continued:

"Religious freedom has been the most devastating force of the church work. Instead of bringing us together, it has separated us into numerous sects and denominations. . . .

"We have cried in America that we need and must maintain our religious freedom. . . . Our freedom has only separated us, so that Protestant cooperation is almost a farce and joke. . . .

"It is time for the state to say: 'All will come into one group. We will do away with all Protestant denominations and make you to become into one, or else you cannot survive.' . . .

"To do this, the Government should set up a religious council and direct the work. Already Japan in a small way has done this. Maybe we shall look

again to the East for guidance in this thing. Until we are compelled to do it, we will not. It will take force to pull us together."

Such statements, no matter by whom they are made, indicate an abyssmal ignorance both of the principles of the American Government and of the teachings of Christianity. The glory and pride of our land is that men may worship God according to the dictates of their consciences without molestation or hindrance from the civil powers. This land has escaped the bitterness, the rancor, the hatred, and the bigotry of Old World nations which have been torn by religious dissension because here the state has not undertaken to do what no civil power has a right to attempt. America has offered an asylum to men of all creeds and of no creed. It has recognized that so long as a man obeys the civil laws, the state has no right to inquire into his religious beliefs or practices.

Shame upon any man who has experienced all the benefits of the freedom that America gives and then cries for the darkness of past ages! Shame on any man who has had opportunity to study the gospel as revealed in the Holy Scriptures, and who, posing as a follower of the Nazarene, would dare to suggest that the force of the policeman's club should be substituted for the persuasive power of the love of Jesus Christ! The most charitable view one can take is that his zeal for the growth of the gospel has outrun his sound judgment.

The proposals are wrong on two fundamental counts, and it makes no difference who made them. This journal deals with principles, not with personalities. Further, there is always the possibility that the report given does not quite accurately convey a person's full thought. But we repeat, The proposals quoted from the newspaper are fundamentally wrong.

In the first place it is utterly impossible to unite churches by force, as all the history of the past clearly shows. And if they were driven to outward and apparent unity through fear, their attempt to further a world-wide effort in behalf of the gospel would not be worth a cent. A horse may be led to water, but it cannot be made to drink.

That the people of Arkansas generally hold a correct view of the right relationship which should exist between church and state is indicated by their reaction to what was proposed. One of our correspondents, sending a goodly number of clippings of letters addressed to the editor of the *Gazette*, has called our attention to the fact that not one single

comment of approval of the minister's ideas had appeared up to the time the letter was written to us.

The *Arkansas Democrat* of January 22 has a mildly ironical editorial, a part of which is:

"In other words, church and state will not be separated.' And we add: In other words, if we can't settle our spiritual differences among ourselves, we should arm Uncle Sam with a club called a national 'church' and let him pound unity into our heads.

"Surely, Brother — [The editor of the *Democrat* used the preacher's name. We have deliberately left it out, because, as we said above, we are talking about principles and not about personalities.—ED.] was not trying to be facetious on so serious a subject. Let us be more generous and say that he was merely trying to get his name in the newspapers."

And, we add, there must be a thousand better ways by which a representative of Christianity might suggest a union of Christianity's forces to war upon earth's evils.

H. H. V.

Cabinet Post of Religion

A WELL-KNOWN CLERGYMAN of Cleveland, Ohio, recently suggested that since "democracy cannot exist without religion," "would it not be logical also to have a Government secretary for religion . . . essential to the preservation of democracy?" He further argued that the founding fathers of the Constitution only intended to separate church and the state, but not the state and religion, and therefore it would be proper to establish "a Cabinet post of religion."

Logic is a very flexible and pliable thing at times. If your premise is not sound, your conclusion will be faulty. Judas was a disciple of Christ. Judas hanged himself, and therefore all disciples of Christ ought to hang themselves, is logical reasoning, but it is not sound reasoning.

It is true that the safety of democracy depends upon religion. It is also true that the salvation of man depends upon faith in God, and that all men ought to be saved, if possible. But it does not follow that because of this vital need in the salvation of mankind, we should establish a Cabinet post for the salvation of men and have the Government enact laws to compel men to exercise faith in God in order to be saved. To save mankind is more important than to save a democracy.

It is not correct to assert now, 150 years after the Constitution was adopted, that the founding fathers only intended to separate the church and the state, but not the state and religion. James Madison was frequently called the father of the Constitution because he wrote its original framework and kept copious notes on all that was done and discussed dur-

ing the Constitutional Convention. This very subject was fully discussed from every angle at the time the Constitution was framed and again at the time the first ten Amendments to the Constitution were adopted. It was religion itself as an institution and as a belief that was not to come within the purview or domain of government. James Madison expressly states:

"Religion is not in the purview of human government. Religion is essentially distinct from government and exempt from its cognizance. A connection between them is injurious to both."

Benjamin Franklin, another stalwart member of the Constitutional Convention, who vigorously opposed recognizing religion in the Constitution, said:

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

It was religion itself that the framers of the Constitution divorced from all governmental regulation and legal sanctions. Thomas Jefferson and James Madison, while serving in the office of President of the United States, refused to issue any Thanksgiving proclamations or calls for special days of prayer, claiming that such calls belonged to the functions of the church and not to the state. They also opposed paying the chaplains of the Senate and the House of Representatives, and of the Army and the Navy, holding that the respective denominations, and not the general public, ought to pay for all spiritual work.

If we want to find out what the intent of the founding fathers was, certainly we can go to no greater source for that information than to the author of the Declaration of Independence and the father of the Federal Constitution. They stood for the complete separation of the church and religion.

C. S. L.

Dare to Do Right

IT IS AN OLD STORY, but a good one. A Sunday school teacher asked a small boy why the lions did not eat Daniel. The reply was, "Because he was all grit and backbone."

Daniel's test was over the matter of worshipping his God according to the dictates of his own conscience. A false god had been set up. It was demanded of Daniel, along with all the other subjects of the Medo-Persian kingdom, that he should make no request of anyone save Darius. For thirty days Darius was to be supreme. Of course, as head of what has been called a universal empire, he was accustomed to receiving homage from subjects of

many races and different creeds. Certain things may be rightfully given to civil rulers. But in this instance, when the "firm decree" went forth which required that no one might bend the knee or "ask a petition of any God or man within thirty days" excepting Darius, his vaunting arrogance, and the hatred of his courtiers toward the Hebrew subjects who worshiped Jehovah, had led him to demand what rightfully belongs only to God.

Every child knows, or should know, the response that this loyal subject made to the demand that would cut him off from communion with his God. Three times a day he gave to God what belongs to God, and to God only. Against him could be found no complaint except this, and those who sought his downfall, filled with envy and hatred though they were, had to admit that they could "not find any occasion against this Daniel, except we find it against him concerning the law of his God." Knowing that the decree had been signed, and that he would surely be cast into the lions' den, Daniel in no wise swayed in his purpose to serve God.

Among the captives of Judah in Babylon, there were three Hebrew worthies. Most folk forget easily their Biblical names. A great image of gold, symbolical of Babylon, had been erected on the plain of Dura, and the decree had gone forth from Nebuchadnezzar, the haughty monarch, that when certain musical instruments sounded, everyone must bow before the image. Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego refused to do this. When they were brought before the king to answer for their disobedience, and were warned that should they persevere in their disobedience they would be cast into a fiery furnace heated ten times as hot as usual, they said: "If it be so, our God whom we serve is able to deliver us from the burning fiery furnace. . . . But if not, be it known unto thee, O king, that we will not serve thy gods, nor worship the golden image which thou hast set up."

Through the two and a half millenniums that have elapsed since these occurrences, wherever the Scriptures have gone, the stories of Daniel and his fellows have thrilled the hearts of men. Undoubtedly Christians through the ages have found their courage strengthened, their determination settled, by recalling what these men of God did in olden times. There is need now for the same deep conviction concerning duty, the same fixed purpose to obey God. Loyalty to God does not mean disloyalty to one's government. The Christian patriot gladly recognizes his obligations both to God and to the state. But if there is conflict between the two, God comes first.

America, which has been so favored under God, stands in danger of having her sons and daughters put material prosperity and physical safety above moral soundness. One commentator, in a cynical

vein, has written: "For the last twenty years American civilization has appeared to pursue no ideal more world shaking than the attempt to get harder and harder butter on softer and softer bread."

Today there is need of moral fiber. Today, as never before in the history of the United States, there is a call for men—"men whose conscience is as true to duty as the needle to the pole; men who will stand for the right though the heavens fall."

H. H. V.

Religious Persecution Rampant Again

AT PRESENT Jehovah's Witnesses are being maltreated by mobs, and in some places the mob element is even encouraged by the city officials, who ought to offer protection. This is done because Jehovah's Witnesses regard the saluting of the American flag as an act of idolatry.

Our desk has been flooded with newspaper clippings from all over the United States which give accounts of violence done to Jehovah's Witnesses for refusing to salute the flag. In some localities the cities have passed ordinances which forbid this sect to scatter their literature or sell it without a permit, or to hold meetings. When a permit is asked for, it is being denied in some localities.

We hold no brief for the doctrines of Jehovah's Witnesses, nor for their refusal to salute the flag. We believe that many of their doctrines are erroneous, and we see no reason why the saluting of the flag should be regarded as an act of idolatry. But right or wrong in what they believe, they have a right to their belief. It is not for the state to determine whether a religious belief is right or wrong. It is the duty of the state to protect each individual in the enjoyment of his beliefs, so long as he does not injure or deprive others of their rights.

We do not believe that patriotism can be inculcated by force any more than that religion can be propagated by sheer force. The flag stands for freedom in political as well as in religious matters. In a democracy or in a republic every citizen has a right to his own opinions, and no one has a right to say him nay. In a totalitarian government no one can call his soul his own. All the activities of life are regimented and controlled by force.

Those communities which allow the mob element to do violence, to destroy property, to forbid the dissemination of literature and the holding of religious services by those minority sects which may hold religious beliefs not consonant with their own, are not a whit behind the totalitarian governments of Europe. The flag does not stand for such un-American meth-

ods of procedure. Such tactics are an insult to the flag. There is nothing patriotic or Christian in such behavior.

We plead with American citizens who have a devotion and zeal for the flag not to destroy our American ideals of freedom by a misguided zeal for the flag. The American way of life seeks to protect each individual in the unmolested enjoyment of his opinions, whether those opinions are right or wrong, so long as the individual respects the equal rights of others.

The quickest way to destroy the American Republic is to adopt un-American methods in administering our government.

C. S. L.

Sunday Auto Sale Vindicated

THE CITY COUNCIL of Cincinnati, Ohio, recently enacted an ordinance to prohibit the sale of automobiles on Sunday. This law was instigated by certain automobile dealers who were anxious to close their sales places on Sunday and therefore did not want anyone else to sell automobiles on that day. The Cincinnati *Inquirer* of November 5, 1940, gives an account of an automobile salesman for the Columbia Motor Sales Company, A. E. Powers, who was arrested and charged in the warrant with violating the ordinance which prohibits the sale of automobiles on Sunday. Mr. Powers was accused by Frank Moreau of having accepted on Sunday \$2 as part payment on a used car. It was the first case filed under the ordinance. When the case came to trial, the court dismissed it on a technicality. The courts are placed in great perplexity when they are called to pass judgment on cases of this kind. They are supposed to uphold the law, but at the same time the court realizes that such laws are unsound and un-American, and are more of the nature of spite laws than sound civil laws. Consequently, the courts resort to all kinds of subterfuge to circumvent these antiquated blue laws, instead of declaring them obsolete, un-American, unjust, and strongly flavored with religious sentiment. The courts have devious ways of maintaining justice.

C. S. L.

Communism in Public Schools

THE BULLETIN OF THE FRIENDS OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS of October, 1940, asserts that "Democracy's Reader," entitled, "Your Land and Mine," edited by Professor W. W. Charters and Miss Prudence Cutright, and other "Democracy Readers," and Harold O. Rugg's "Social Science Series," now taught in many public schools, are so saturated with

the doctrines of communism that they "should be forbidden by law to be taught in any school in America."

Many people all over the United States have been thoroughly aroused over the "Social Science Series" as well as the "Democracy Readers," so that they have protested vigorously, and the American Legion has likewise taken up the cudgel against these communistic readers that are now flooding our public schools. These textbooks attempt to teach the children that the American Government is not a republic, but a democracy. That is the reason for the name "Democracy Readers." Professor Charters was a member of the advisory committee of the Moscow Summer School of 1933 and 1934, where the American teachers and students were urged to go to study Communism in Russia.

There is constant repetition of the words, "America is a democracy." The book of Professor Charters says: "We should say it over and over to ourselves—America is a democracy." Democracy is the backbone of communism and was rejected by the founding fathers of the American Republic. Another word that is used over and over again in the "Democracy Readers" is the word "collectivism." The "New Social Order" is to be based on "collectivism." This collectivism is to destroy the right of individualism and set up a bureaucratic tyranny destructive of constitutional government. A collective dictatorship is to be established known as the "New Social Order." If there is one form of government which our forefathers repudiated at the time of the founding of this Republic, it was a "democracy."

James Madison, the father of our Constitution, said: "Democracies have ever been spectacles of turbulence and contention; have ever been incompatible with personal security or the right of property, and have in general been as short in their lives as they have been violent in their death. Theoretic politicians who have patronized this species of government have erroneously supposed that by reducing mankind to a perfect equality in their political rights they would at the same time be perfectly equalized and assimilated in their professions, their opinions, and their passions. . . . A republic, by which I mean a government in which the scheme of representation takes place, opens a different prospect, and promises the cure for which we are seeking. . . . The true distinction between these forms is that in a democracy the people meet and exercise the government in person. In a republic they assemble and administer it by their representative agents. . . . It is evident that no other form would be reconcilable with the genius of the American people."

The phrase "democratic form of government" was studiously avoided by the framers of the Constitu-

tion. Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Hamilton, and other notable patriots invariably used the phrase "a republican form of government."

A purely democratic form of government is subject to all the passions, prejudices, and emotions of a rabble multitude, which frequently resorts to mob rule. It has been the boast of communists that their governments are pure democracies, and not republics. A purely democratic government has no constitutional checks and balances, and no limitations on its powers. Whatever the multitude or the majority decide to do is done. If it decides to abolish religion and all religious rights, all inalienable rights, all property rights, it does so without restriction and without compensation. Under a republican representative government, the powers of which are limited by constitutional provisions of proper procedure, such a thing cannot be done so easily or so quickly, for the multitude is not in control; nor does it make and execute the laws. A democracy is ruled and controlled by men; a republic, by law. Under a democracy nothing is stable and fixed. The arbitrary rule of the multitude prevails in spite of natural God-given rights. Everything is inspired by the whims and passions of the multitude, and there is no written constitution to hold them in check. Minority groups have no rights either civil or religious under a pure democracy. In a republic the constitution holds the mob element and the arbitrary passions of the multitude in leash as long as the constitution is recognized as the supreme law of the land to which all branches of the government are subordinated. The constitution protects the minority in the enjoyment of its natural and God-given rights both civilly and religiously.

The "Social Science Series" and the "Democracy Readers" exalt a pure democracy of the communistic order, and it is high time that Americans become aroused over what is being taught to their children in the state schools. In New York State alone, the school authorities in nine cities have eliminated these textbooks. School authorities in some of the cities in Rhode Island, New Jersey, California, Oklahoma, Iowa, Illinois, Georgia, and Colorado have discarded these books as subversive to the ideals of our American system of government. The communists throughout the country are raising the cry that such action on the part of public-school authorities is destroying "academic freedom."

Our public-school authorities have a right to protect the taxpayers who support our public schools, and see that nothing shall be taught in our public schools that is subversive of the ideals of the American Government, or that is destructive of the liberties guaranteed under the Constitution, and that no religion shall be taught, or philosophy of life, which is peculiar to a certain sect or sects or organizations.

SECOND QUARTER

Controverted questions are to be avoided, so that all taxpayers may stand on the same equality before the law. Eternal vigilance along these lines is the only security for our free republican institutions and the American way of life.

C. S. L.

No Milk on Sunday

RECENTLY THE ERIE (PENNSYLVANIA) MINISTERIAL ASSOCIATION adopted a resolution to request the city council to pass an ordinance which would require the public to order double the amount of milk on Saturday, thus eliminating Sunday deliveries. The city health director, Dr. James R. Smith, put a crimp into the plan, declaring, "Such a plan would create a health menace. Many families do not have refrigeration in summer to protect milk for a two-day period."

We are anxious to know where the Ministerial Association of Erie received its authority to regiment the double amount of milk each citizen should order on Saturday. We surmise that they drew the inference from Exodus 16:5, which reads: "It shall come to pass, that on the sixth day they shall prepare that which they bring in; and it shall be twice as much as they gather daily." The Lord said unto Moses at the time He fed the children of Israel with manna in the wilderness for forty years: "Six days ye shall gather it; but on the seventh day, which is the Sabbath, in it there shall be none. . . . See, for that the Lord hath given you the Sabbath, therefore He giveth you on the sixth day the bread of two days; abide ye every man in his place, let no man go out of his place on the seventh day. So the people rested on the seventh day." Ex. 16:26-30.

The Ministerial Association of Erie evidently overlooked the fact that they nullified the Lord's instruction to Israel by requiring the people of Erie to order twice the amount of milk on the very day on which the Lord required His people to rest. The day which God called "the Sabbath of the Lord thy God," was the seventh day, Saturday. The sixth day, on which they received twice the amount of manna from the Lord, was Friday. Another fact which the ministerial association overlooked was that the Lord miraculously preserved the manna from spoiling on the seventh day, when it spoiled on every other day of the week, if left over for the next day.

Then, too, the ministerial association made their appeal to the civil authorities concerning the observance of a religious obligation, instead of appealing to God. Church discipline should be applied only to church members by the church, and not administered by the civil magistrates. God Himself withheld the manna and performed a miracle to preserve

the double portion; and He did not refer the matter to the civil authorities to settle. Religious obligations do not come within the province of the civil government to enforce.

C. S. L.

State Aids Church

THE INDIANAPOLIS *Times* of November 16, 1940, published the following United Press news item:

"The government of General Franco has issued a decree which provides for a budgetary appropriation of about \$6,000,000 a year for the Catholic Church.

"The action was taken because 'the Spanish conscience is Catholic and because of the faithfulness of the nation to the church, as well as in tribute to the cooperation of the clergy in our victorious crusade.'"

This statement from the Franco government reveals the close alliance which existed between Franco's army and the Catholic clergy during the Spanish revolution. Because of this lack of neutrality on the part of the Catholic clergy during the Spanish civil war, thousands of the Catholic clergy and nuns and monks had to pay the supreme sacrifice and suffer the destruction of many churches.

We wonder if the Catholic Church will ever learn the lesson that it does not pay to receive aid from the government; nor does it pay to indulge in partisan politics. Whenever the fortunes of politics change, if the church is an active participant in politics, her own humiliation is involved. Every church, no matter what its religious faith may be, that receives favors from the government, and meddles with political affairs, is ultimately bound to be controlled and administered by governmental authority, and not infrequently has to suffer bitter experiences at the hands of a hostile government.

If only the churches would keep out of politics and support their own institutions by their own gifts and sacrifices, and remain neutral in their attitude toward governments, they might save themselves from governmental interference. The church has a right to protest against governmental interference in religious matters if her own hands are clean from receiving government bribes and gifts, but her mouth is stopped against governmental abuses and interferences when the church is the recipient of government patronage.

C. S. L.

THOSE who chisel away the guaranties of constitutional rights undermine their own liberties.

SPARKS From the Editor's Anvil

It is preferable to live on black bread and water as a freeman than to have a full larder in chains.

WHEN liberty perishes from the earth, the world is ripe for the harvest of doom.

A WEAPON that is stronger than all the implements of war is the spirit of liberty in the hearts of an oppressed people.

ERROR is a perversion of a truth effected by a compromise.

It takes courage to blaze a new trail through virgin territory.

HAPPY is he who can fight his battles without sword or armored mask.

BRAVE is he who follows truth without fear of consequences.

HE who is entrusted with power has to face the temptation never to relinquish it.

The Cover Picture

THIS beautiful picture, "Faith of Our Fathers," in natural colors, size 8 $\frac{7}{8}$ " x 11 $\frac{1}{8}$ ", is obtainable in special oilette finish, which has an easily cleaned surface that gives the appearance of an original oil painting, in a frame attractively finished in bronze. Each picture is packed in an individual, buff paper-covered gift box, and will be mailed anywhere in the United States, postpaid, for only \$1.25, or given free to anyone who will send in five yearly subscriptions to LIB-

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The LIBERTY Magazine
Takoma Park Washington, D.C.
LIBERTY, 1941

LIBERTY for all men alike is doomed, unless the courts uphold "equal justice" and "the equal protection of the laws."

No one should condemn another because the good Lord did not cast him into the same mold.

No one can do as he pleases when his acts affect the lives of others injuriously.

WHEN a nation's wealth is dissipated beyond recovery, the national debt has to be liquidated by inflation.

WHEN Christianity resorts to unchristian methods to attain its ends, the world discredits all religion.

HE who surrenders his conscience and his convictions to any man or organization is not a freeman, but a slave.

A PATRIOT never boasts of having a corner on patriotism.

WAR is inevitable among human beings so long as covetousness reigns unbridled.

DECEIT and falsification within do more to undermine the stability and security of a government than do all its foes without.

NEVER follow any movement unless you know where it is leading you.

EVERY man should speak the unvarnished truth even if it leads to his condemnation.

A Few Truisms

A FRIEND sent us a clipping that contained a few truisms which we believe will interest those who still hold to the original ideals and principles upon which this Republic was founded:

"You cannot bring about prosperity by discouraging thrift.

"You cannot strengthen the weak by weakening the strong.

"You cannot help small men by tearing down big men.

"You cannot lift the wage earner up by pulling the wage payer down.

"You cannot keep out of debt by spending more than your income.

"You cannot further the brotherhood of man by inciting class hatred.

"You cannot establish sound social security on borrowed money.

"You cannot build character and courage by taking away men's initiative and independence.

"You cannot help men permanently by doing for them what they should do for themselves."

SECOND QUARTER



Roger Williams

His Life, Work and Ideals

by C. S. LONGACRE

*The Only Solution to the Perplexing
Relations Between Government and
Religion.*

PITTING principle against tyranny, Roger Williams set the pace for all who should come after him in the age-long struggle between oppression for conscience' sake and freedom to worship God according to individual preference. The story of his conflict with the zealous but misguided leaders of his day who believed that the government should control the religious thinking of the people, makes interesting and exciting reading in this age when liberty of conscience is being suppressed by governments in many nations of earth.

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★ When the bell of intolerance tolls for one, it tolls for all ★

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Book*

The Fight for Freedom

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Here is a new book that is very much needed in this critical period when liberty is assailed from every angle by its foes. It gives a vivid history of the struggle for freedom in past ages and brings the conflict up to the present crisis. Again and again it has been necessary to combat intolerance here in America. In this struggle to hold down religious intolerance, the tide of prejudice has been thrown back more than once by the narrowest margin. We know that in the long run intolerance is as destructive for the intolerant as for the victim. That is apparent in many parts of the world today where ancient bulwarks of human liberty are being smashed. Thus whole nations of freedom-loving people are left at the mercy of those who deliberately pervert truth with their hate-filled attack upon religion and the teachings of Christianity, until millions are confused and know not what to believe. This new book is a stirring summons to act, and should be read by ministers, lawyers, judges, editors, teachers, civil leaders, and all others who are interested in preserving the American principle of civil and religious freedom.

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