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LIBERTY

A MAGAZINE OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM



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EWING GALLOWAY

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 right, 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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A MAGAZINE OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

EDITOR, Charles S. Longacre

MANAGING EDITOR, Frederick Lee

ASSOCIATE EDITOR, Heber H. Votaw

ASSOCIATE EDITOR, Francis D. Nichol

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To the Lincoln Memorial Come Thousands Every Year to Pay Tribute to One Who Fought and Died in the Battle for Human Rights



Lincoln Was a Man of Humble Origin, One Who Lived Without Thought of Self and Died as a Martyr in the Cause of Freedom. Though His Days Were Filled With Clouds and Darkness, He Never Lost Hope. He Constantly Pressed Forward in the Path of Duty, Even Though It Often Became Necessary for Him to Head Straight Into the Storm. We Do Well to Emulate His Sturdy Character in These Dark Days.



Lincoln and Jefferson— The Political Twins

by **THE HONORABLE SAMUEL B. PETTENGILL**

Former Congressman From Indiana

IT IS EASIER to read labels than to analyze contents. The result is that long after the contents have been adulterated, we keep right on buying—the label. In the field of politics we call this process party loyalty—loyalty to a label. This loyalty is commendable only if the contents are loyal to the label. Abraham Lincoln once described a political contest as two men engaging in a fight, throwing their coats on the ground, and, often, after they had fought sufficiently, leaving the field of honor each wearing his opponent's coat and claiming it as his own.

In the less-important business of foods and drugs we have laws against using labels that falsely describe the contents. In the field of public affairs, however, the rule is "*Caveat emptor*" (Let the buyer beware).

The men who founded this Republic had time to think. We seldom do. On his journey to Philadelphia in 1797 to become Vice-President, Jefferson spent five or six days on the road from Monticello. The same journey today takes but a few hours.

Lincoln was seventeen years old when Jefferson died. Lincoln also had time to think. Each of them took time to analyze contents as well as read labels.

And they were more interested in contents than in labels. Party names were changing rapidly in the first half century of our national life. But the accepted principles of government changed very little if at all.

Principles Above Party

Principles are still important. They are more important now, in fact, to one hundred thirty million people than they were to Jefferson and Lincoln with only a few million people. And despite the pressures of modern life, there are still those who do care about principles. They are in both of the great parties today. This article is for the men and women of both parties who still believe in the institutions which made this country great.

The struggle to preserve our constitutional democracy and system of free enterprise and to prevent its being engulfed by collectivist philosophy is going to require the support of all such men and women.

If we will not only read the labels, but examine the contents, we will find that the Republican as well as the Democratic party is historically rooted in the teachings of Jefferson. It is only this label worship



PHOTO BY H. M. LAMBERT

The Statue of Liberty and the Flag of the United States Have Beckoned Multitudes to Our Shores in Search of Freedom. Let Us Not Disappoint Them

and the expediencies of politics which have obscured the truth.

Abraham Lincoln was a political first cousin of Thomas Jefferson. He believed in freedom more than in authority. I have never run across any tribute paid by Abraham Lincoln to Alexander Hamilton, the apostle of centralization. On the other hand, Lincoln repeatedly acknowledged his indebtedness to Jefferson.

A spokesman for the Republican party has recently said, "I would not have you believe that the Republican party always has been faithful to the principles of Jefferson, which constituted the political faith of Lincoln. There have been periods in our history when the Republican party has slipped away from these principles and has followed strange gods. But whenever the Republican party has departed from basic Jeffersonian principles, it has not been true to itself."

The same might be said of the Democratic party. As a matter of fact, Lincoln did say so in April, 1859. He had been invited to attend a celebration in Boston in honor of the birthday of Thomas Jefferson. Although unable to come, Lincoln sent to that meeting a testimonial in which he argued that his own party now stood where Jefferson had stood, and Jefferson's party occupied a position contrary to the ideals of its founder. Lincoln wrote on that occasion:

Lincoln and Jeffersonian Principles

"Bearing in mind that about seventy years ago two great political parties were first formed in this country (i. e., Federalist and Anti-Federalist), that Thomas Jefferson was the head of one of them and Boston the headquarters of the other, it is both curious and interesting that those supposed to descend politically from the party opposed to Jefferson should now be celebrating his birthday in their own original seat of empire, while those claiming political descent from him have nearly ceased to breathe his name anywhere.

"Remembering, too, that the Jefferson party was formed upon its supposed superior devotion to the personal rights of men, holding the rights of property to be secondary only, and greatly inferior, and assuming that the so-called Democracy of today are the Jefferson, and their opponents anti-Jefferson party, it will be equally interesting to note how completely the two have changed hands as to the principle upon which they were originally supposed to be divided."

What Lincoln wrote on that occasion cannot be attributed alone to the fact that it was only a year before he was nominated by the new Republican party for the office of President of the United States. A dozen years before, Lincoln had served one term in Congress, and in two speeches made by him in the House of Representatives, he spoke of Thomas Jefferson and his principles in highly complimentary terms.

In 1852 Mr. Lincoln was asked to deliver a eulogy on Henry Clay, and at the close of his address he read a long letter by Jefferson which he felt to be complimentary to the subject of the address. In his famous debates with Stephen A. Douglas, when they were both candidates for the Senate, Lincoln again and again sustained his argument by quoting from Jefferson.

The New Party and Jefferson

The Republican party made its first campaign in 1856. Lincoln had been a candidate for nomination as Vice-President upon the ticket. The party platform of that year dedicated the party to "restoring the action of the Federal Government to the principles of Washington and Jefferson," and resolved—

"That the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence and embodied in the Federal Constitution are essential to the preservation of our republican institutions, and that the Federal Constitution, the rights of the States, and the Union of the States must be preserved."

One of its distinguished founders said at the time: "There is not a plank in our platform which does

not conform to the principles of Jefferson, the man who, of all others, has ever been regarded as the true representative of the Republican party of this country. . . . We stand, sir, upon his doctrines and we fight for his principles. We are coming to take possession of this Government, to administer it for the whole country, and shall suffer monopolists neither of the North or South to control its administration and so shape its action as to subserve the interests of the aristocratic few."

This same plank was repeated four years later, in 1860, when Lincoln was nominated. Still four years later, in 1864, Abraham Lincoln ran for re-election, not on the "Republican" ticket, but on the "Union" ticket, his running mate being an antislavery Southern Democrat, Andrew Johnson of Tennessee.

The name "Republican," by which the new party went forth to war in 1856, was the same name as the Democratic party had borne when Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe won their great victories. It was in truth founded by a coalition of Whigs and Free-Soil Democrats who had kept faith with the teachings of Jefferson, who, in writing the Declaration of Independence, had attempted to obtain a prohibition against slavery, and who, in the other great document of which he was the author, the Ordinance of 1787 for the Government of the Northwest Territory, had provided—

"There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said Territory otherwise than in the punishment of crimes."

This famous document, by the way, antedated the drafting and ratification of the Constitution of the United States, which made its famous compromise with slavery.

"Axioms of a Free Society"

In the letter which Lincoln wrote to the Boston dinner in honor of Jefferson in 1859, he further said:

"Soberly, it is now no child's play to save the principles of Jefferson from total overthrow in this nation. . . . The principles of Jefferson are the definitions and axioms of a free society. And yet they are denied and evaded with no small show of success. One dashinglly calls them 'glittering generalities.' Another bluntly called them 'self-evident lies.' And others insidiously argue that they apply to 'superior races.' These expressions, differing in form, are

AT VALLEY FORGE

Two Young Americans Ponder an Inscription at Valley Forge. The Words Are by Henry Armitt Brown, and Relate to the Heroic Stand of Those Early Patriots Who There Gave Up Their Lives That Future Generations of Americans Could Be Free. It Reads, "And Here in This Place of Sacrifice, in This Vale of Humiliation, in This Valley of the Shadow of That Death Out of Which the Life of America Rose Regenerate and Free, Let Us Believe With an Abiding Faith That to Them Union Will Seem as Dear and Liberty as Sweet and Progress as Glorious as They Were to Our Fathers and Are to You and Me, and That the Institutions Which Have Made Us Happy, Preserved by the Virtue of Our Children, Shall Bless the Remotest Generation of the Time to Come"

THIRD QUARTER

identical in object and effect—the supplanting the principles of free government, and restoring those of classification, caste, and legitimacy. They would delight a convocation of crowned heads plotting against the people. They are the vanguard, the miners and sappers, of returning despotism.

"We must repulse them or they will subjugate us. This is a world of compensation, and he who would be no slave must consent to have no slave. Those who deny freedom to others deserve it not for themselves, and under a just God, cannot long retain it. All honor to Jefferson—to the man who, in the concrete pressure of a struggle for national independence by a single people, had the coolness, foresight, and capacity to introduce into a purely revolutionary document an abstract truth, applicable to all men and all times, and so to embalm it there that today and in all coming days it shall be a rebuke and a stumbling block to the very harbingers of reappearing tyranny and oppression."

From all of this it is clear that it was only after Lincoln had groped his dark way to a martyr's tomb that the party of which he was the chief founder, during the tragic days of reconstruction, and later yielding to the pressure of the manufacturing North for high tariffs, and to the new nationalism following the war with Spain, gradually and by degrees almost imperceptible to its adherents, left its first moorings, abandoned its primary loyalty to Jefferson, and gradually embraced the aristocratic and centralizing teachings of Alexander Hamilton.



PHOTO BY H. A. ROBERTS

Rededication to Founding Principles

In the light of this historic record, I find no inconsistency whatever as a Jeffersonian Democrat, in asking those of my readers who are Republicans to join in rededicating America to the faith of the men who founded both of the two great parties.

A like argument made eight years ago fell under the eye of the great historian of Jefferson and Hamilton, the Honorable Claude G. Bowers, ambassador to Spain. Under date of January 15, 1931, Mr. Bowers was kind enough to write to me in the following words:

"I have just read with interest and enthusiastic approval your speech in the *Record* on Lincoln. You are absolutely sound, of course, in your history, and most effective in making the point that the Republican party of today is the party of Hamilton, and not of Lincoln, who was a Jeffersonian. In my latest book on 'The Tragic Era' I think I make it clear

how the party of Lincoln was taken over by the Hamiltonians."

From Lincoln to the lobbyists of special privilege the distance is as great as that between "a certain rich man" and Lazarus in the bosom of Abraham. Between them "there is a great gulf fixed." But when one goes from the grave at Monticello to the shrine at Springfield, it is as if one were visiting the same God's acre where all his forebears sleep.

But Lincoln is not the only Republican to pay tribute to Jefferson. Other men high in the councils of that party have done the same—Calvin Coolidge, Charles Evans Hughes, and many others. But regardless of the passing incidents which have in years gone by formed points of disagreement, those today who still believe in free enterprise as against collectivism, in liberty as against bureaucracy, and in the historic separation of powers between the nation and the States, will find in both Jefferson and Lincoln sufficient to justify the "faith of the fathers."

The New Order After the War

Will It Include All the Freedoms . . . Freedom of Speech . . . Freedom of the Press . . . Freedom of Religion . . . Freedom of Assembly, and Others?

by C. S. LONGACRE

MANY PANACEAS to ensure permanent peace and prosperity have been offered as a program for the "new order" of things after the present World War. Our President has proposed the "Four Freedoms" as necessary categories and fundamental principles for the security of peace in the future. Pope Pius has laid down five great fundamental propositions which he regards as essential to permanent peace and security in the days to come. Many other notables have made various suggestions regarding what shall constitute the new order of things after the present world conflict is concluded. The new Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. William Temple, is recommending what he calls "a Christian program" to be administered by Christians, and not by politicians as a plan, to assure permanent peace and security after the war.

Bishop Bell of Chichester, a high dignitary and collaborator with Archbishop Temple of the Anglican

church, adds a most significant suggestion to make this "Christian program" of lasting peace effective. In his book, "Christianity and World Order," he proposes the formation of "a permanent Christian Consultative Body, at Rome itself, or at some other place acceptable to the Holy See, over which the Pope or his representative should preside," while certain of the great churches of the world—for example, "the Orthodox (Greek Catholic), Lutheran, Reformed, and Anglican Confessions—would send their own accredited representatives."

In an article that appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly*, in which the above paragraph is quoted, Prince Loewenstein makes the claim that "the Catholic Church is . . . conceived as a divine institution," "and in matters of faith and morals provides her children with an infallible guide." He states that the leadership of the Pope in his peace proposals last Christmas "was accepted by Christians of all de-



COURTESY, METROPOLITAN LIFE INSURANCE CO.

NORMAN PRICE, ARTIST

Such Were the Scenes Throughout the Nation When the Bill of Rights Was Being Born. Men Everywhere Discussed the New Day That Was Dawning, and Took Heart. Not Alone Among the Rich and in the Halls of Legislatures Were the Freedoms of Men Considered, but Among the Common People as Well, Who Above All Others Were to Enjoy the Blessings of Liberty

nominations," and that the Archbishops of Canterbury and York recognized this leadership. If the proposal made by Bishop Bell of Chichester that a "permanent Christian Consultative Body" be set up were carried into effect, the supremacy of the Pope in temporal as well as spiritual matters would be restored to that which he enjoyed in medieval times.

A Proposed Program

Another series of proposals made by the Archbishop of Canterbury would bring about a complete regimentation of all the activities of life on the part of the government. According to this program the government, through bureaus, is to exercise absolute authority, and the individual is to possess no property rights of his own. The individual is to be governed in all things by the state. He is to be regimented in his housing privileges and renting privileges, and food and clothing coupons are to be furnished to mothers for each child above two years of age. The state is to maintain a wage level sufficient for a family of

four, and every citizen under eighteen is to be regarded as a ward of the state subject to state education, and not as a factor in industry.

The state is to furnish means and work for all unemployed through public works, and is to prescribe the articles and charters which are to govern all corporations, and to assure representation on their directorates by both labor and the public. All private corporations would be put out of business. The profit motive is to be abolished; dividends on investments shall not be allowed without the state's fixing the rate; a wage equalization fund shall be provided by the state for the maintenance of wages in bad times; and the principle of "withering capital" shall be adopted, the renewal of a loan after interest amounting to the total sum of the capital investment has been paid, not being allowed.

It is also recommended that all capital investments be wiped out by the government's gradually paying off the investments, and thus extinguishing all interest and dividends. All commercial problems are

to be decided by international authority, rather than by national governments, because they are bound up with international trade. All control over money, currency, exchange, tariffs, wages, working hours, and conditions, and commerce generally is to be under international jurisdiction. All private ownership of land is to be abolished. The state is to have absolute title to all land, urban property is to be publicly owned, and interest for the use of money privately lent is to be abolished, except for a nominal charge of one half or two thirds of one per cent to cover the cost of administration of loans. The state is "to stagger" some industries and "compel all industries to close down for Saturday and Sunday."

The archbishop concludes his statement, which he presents to Americans in a published article entitled, "Christianity and Social Order," by saying: "I have offered the suggestions in answer to the frequent challenge, What would you do? Let no one quote this as my conception of a political program which Christians ought to support. There neither is nor can be such a program. I offer it as a Christian program."

Coming as this appeal does to Americans from the official head of the English state church, with the request that they change their present form of government and adopt a communistic form of government, in which the state owns all property and controls all the activities of life, it deserves more than passing notice. Evidently Archbishop Temple believes that his proposed plan of government after the war constitutes Christian orthodoxy, and would result in the establishment of the long-expected "kingdom of God" on earth.

Since this article was published in America for the benefit of Americans as well as Englishmen, who are now allied in a world conflict, and who will be the principal actors in negotiating the terms of a world settlement if and when the war is concluded, naturally we are vitally interested in this proposal and any other proposal which promises to restore order and peace and human happiness as well as liberty to the people after the war.

Nullification of Bill of Rights

The proposal of the archbishop is a complete nullification of the Bill of Rights as vouchsafed to each individual under our American Constitution. It is a complete repudiation of the American way of life. It is opposed to the great ideals and objectives which the human race has struggled for the past six thousand years to win, their matchless heritage of freedom from state domination, and the requiring of officials of the state to become the servants of the people. It is not the establishment of a new order of things, but a reversal to the old order of things in which the state was the absolute sovereign and the people were



Happy the day when men began to shape a new order in which the liberties of men were fully recognized. Who would wish to return to the old order of things, when there was no recognition of the rights of men, and the people of the land were mere servants of the state? Surely no one who has experienced the joys and privileges of full liberty would ever surrender his rights without a struggle. Let us not be blind to those movements which would rob us of any of our freedoms.

mere serfs and servants of the state. We are told that the present struggle on the part of the Americas and Great Britain and her Dominions and of China, is against the absolute state and for the defense of the inalienable rights of man. The archbishop seeks to make the state supreme in all things and the individual the beneficiary puppet of the state. Americans will be slow to place themselves in the attitude of suppliants to an absolute state regime, and we fear that the English prelate will encounter even a rather difficult task in persuading Englishmen to place their necks in the yoke of state absolutism.

The program outlined by the archbishop harks back to medieval times, when political Christianity not only sought to dominate all affairs in the state, but actually subordinated not only the individual but the state itself to the absolute authority of the legally established church. The experiment was an absolute failure. It destroyed not only the spiritual life of the church, but the political efficacy of the state both in civil and in religious functions. We can hardly conceive that Archbishop Temple has not familiarized himself with the history of the Dark Ages, when the church was supreme not only in religious but in civil matters. Perhaps he thinks that a similar experiment, because of a change of personalities, would not produce the same consequences that were produced in medieval times! But human nature has not changed, even in professed nominal Christians.

The same tendencies toward intolerance and avarice for power and its abuse that were manifested in medieval times are evident now. We know from past history and present experiences



The American way of life was based on a new order of things. It recognized the inalienable rights of its citizens, which are well defined and which no government on earth has a just right to abridge or withhold. Under this way of life millions have tasted the joys of freedom and have prospered thereby. Today, as millions in other lands are being denied these rights, we should appreciate more than ever before the privileges that have been ours, and see to it that they shall continue.

how it works; we need not try this "Christian program" and experiment over again in the administration of the political affairs of the state. It means the commingling of religious obligations with civil duties under the penal codes, and that means religious persecution for all dissenters and nonconformists.

Under the American conception of civil government every individual possesses certain well-defined, inalienable, and God-given rights which no government on earth has a right in justice to abridge or invade. Civil government is instituted among men, not to deprive any man of these inalienable rights, but to protect those rights so long as the individual respects the equal rights of others.

"Withering Capital"

Archbishop Temple, by applying the principle of "withering capital" to the profits earned by the individual, gradually wipes out, not only all profits, all dividends, and interest, but ultimately all capital, and makes the Christian state the custodian of all property and the regimenter and administrator of all business activities, the individual being merely the serf of the state, and existing and working only for the benefit of the state. That is pure socialism, and communism of the first order.

The archbishop further advocates the control, not only of all money, currency, exchange, finances, wages, hours, religious holidays and observances, but all questions of commerce and commercial policies, by an international Christian organization. If the archbishop thinks that this will lead to the establishment of "the kingdom of God" on earth, he will

have abundant reasons to change his thoughts as soon as he attempts to put this "Christian program" into operation. Certainly Americans will not permit the complete annihilation of their individual political and religious liberties and the overthrow of their cherished plan of civil government known as the American way of life, in the defense of which they are fighting the present war.

A totalitarian government never was a success and never will be under the administration of selfish human beings, even though they have their names on the church books of Christian churches. Tyranny under the name of God and religion is no sweeter than it is under any other name. A "Christian program" which resorts to forcible means to carry out its objectives is not in harmony with the ideals and principles laid down by the Author of Christianity. It is anti-Christian as well as anti-American, even though it is called "applied Christianity" and a "Christian program."

The archbishop is no doubt looking to the Holy See for leadership in the carrying out of such a "Christian program." Another leader in the Anglican church suggests that an international tribunal made up from the important denominations be established, with the Pope at its head, which will direct in carrying out any peace proposals. Such a program is unprecedented in world events, and portends significant developments in the near future. It indicates that the churches of Christendom throughout the world are definitely planning to take over world affairs in the future, and that an international church tribunal will attempt to dominate not only the political, but the religious, matters of all the people under the proposed "new order" after the war.

If this "new order" were to prevail in America, it would mean that the American Constitution would have to be repudiated, and that the American way of life would have to be abandoned in favor of a socialistic system of government under the control of an International Christian Church body under the leadership of the Chief Bishop of the Church of Rome. This dream of the "new order" after the war by certain churchmen is supposed to usher the kingdom of Jesus Christ into this world through the processes of social, economic, and political evolution. But judging the future by the past, such a repudiation of republican principles of government, instead of leading us into a promised Utopia of peace, would precipitate a time of trouble such as the world has not witnessed in past ages. Let Americans take warning from the history of the Dark Ages before they exchange their present system of government for a church-and-state alliance with the church in supreme authority over all the activities of mankind.



PHOTO BY T. K. MARTIN

This Majestic Home of the Supreme Court of the United States Is Coming More and More to Be a Place of Great Importance to the Citizens of the United States. Here Decisions May Be Made That Will in Some Degree Affect Our Liberties

The Supreme Court and the Bill of Rights

by **E. F. ALBERTSWORTH, PH. D., S. J. D.**

*Professor of Constitutional and Industrial Law, Northwestern University,
Member of the Bar of the Supreme Court of the United States*

[This is the second of two articles on a present trend in America called the "New Constitutionalism."]

THE AMERICAN CONSTITUTION from its juristic nature consists of two parts: (1) A framework or structure of government is created—a Federalism with an orchestra of States; (2) A collection of basic principles is asserted to control the exercise of power by government to its own divisions, to foreign nations, to the States of the Union, and to persons in the body politic. Part of these basic principles includes the Bill of Rights and part is found scattered through the written Constitution in appropriate articles and amendments.

On the whole, the Supreme Court has an excellent record throughout its history¹ in so interpreting the provisions of the Bill of Rights that they have served

as powerful controls upon government in favor of the individual in other than the economic realm.² No "outmoded" Constitution is here to be found despite mechanized industrialism, material and scientific progress, change, and economic depression. These principles can be said almost to be fixed in their nature, not varying from age to age according to national vicissitudes or the kaleidoscope of national events. This is because they rest upon experiential

¹ Cf. *Cantwell v. Connecticut* (1940) 310, U. S. 296. For a full discussion of the decided authorities, reference is made to Herbert Wright, "Religious Liberty Under the Constitution of the U. S." (1940), 27 *Virginia Law Review*, 75; and Hartogensis, "Denial of Equal Rights to Religious Minorities and Non-Believers in the U. S." (1930), 39 *Yale Law Journal*, 659.

² The decision in the case of *Minersville School Dist. v. Gobitis* (1940), 310 U. S. 586, strikes a note of disharmony in the splendid record of the Supreme Court. The Court, with the present Chief Justice dissenting, sustained a requirement of a local board of education in Pennsylvania, under a compulsory State school-attendance law, that all students salute the American flag despite the sincere refusal, based upon religious conviction, of children affiliated with Jehovah's Witnesses.

truths won by our ancestors through "blood, sweat, and tears;" they are true not because the Constitution asserts them, but they are true and therefore the Constitution embodies them. If any part of our Constitution may be, and should be, regarded as a "Rock of Gibraltar," this part should.

Eternal Principles

That a person should have a fair trial, that he should not be subjected to involuntary servitude, that his religious practices—provided only that they are not irreligious license—should not be interdicted by government are as basically sound, just, true, and enduring today as yesterday and tomorrow. But as to the structure of government under our Constitution—whether it should include more and more centralized power at the expense of the several States, and the functions of government, whether they should be enlarged or restricted—the erosion of time and place has done its work in making for changes in the older Constitutionalism. In other words and a different simile, we are witnessing today a "streamlining" of the organic parts of the Constitutional framework in the popular urge toward economic security through government and with the aid of government.

But however unstained the record of the Supreme Court is in protecting the individual under the Bill of Rights against encroachment of government outside the economic realm, there may arise in the future situations where the Court, in view of its precedents in other fields, will be unable to afford protection should legislation be enacted directly or indirectly curtailing religious practices or religious teachings. This would be especially true if Congress or the States should enact legislation based upon an economic objective³ and stated expressly by the enacting

agency in the law to have been found true by it, if as a result the religious practices of minorities might be substantially affected or curtailed. Or again, under broad definitions of the "police power" inherent in all government, as already⁴ enunciated by Supreme Court decisions in economic fields, legislation could be easily sustained, and would have to be unless earlier judicial precedents were repudiated.

Setting of Precedents

A compulsory Sunday-observance law enacted by Congress for the District of Columbia, alleged by it to be in the interest of the general welfare of the inhabitants of the District in that it was and is the day generally observed as at least most convenient and necessary to the health of employees with least disruption to Government and private industry, might be difficult to be overthrown by the Supreme Court, much as it would be inclined so to defeat it. Drawing an exemption in such a law favorable to those religionists who observe another day of the week instead of Sunday, would still not detract from the essence of the enactment as a religious measure. The phraseology of a law is not all-important; it is the resulting act of human conduct sought to be controlled that is important. And under other decisions in the Court,⁵ if one of the several States enacted such legislation, probably greater difficulties would be presented to a court hostile to invasion of religion by the sovereign political power, in over-throwing the legislation.

Often⁶ the Court has said that persons before it challenging legislation should in the first instance seek to prevent its enactment by all legitimate means, as the Court, because

The BILL of RIGHTS

ARTICLE I.

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

ARTICLE II.

A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

ARTICLE III.

No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

ARTICLE IV.

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated: and no warrants shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

ARTICLE V.

No person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case, to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

ARTICLE VI.

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law; and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense.

ARTICLE VII.

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved; and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

ARTICLE VIII.

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

ARTICLE IX.

The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

ARTICLE X.

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

³ This legal doctrine of giving strong, if not conclusive, probative force to findings of the enacting branch, expressly stated in legislation, is employed in *National Labor Relations Board v. Jones & Laughlin Steel Corp.* (1937), 301 U. S. 1, and *Mulford v. Smith* (1938), 307 U. S. 38, and cases therein cited by the Court.

⁴ The Court recently summarized these doctrines, citing numerous decided authorities, in *Olson v. Nebraska* (1941), 61 Sup. Ct. Repr. 862.

⁵ Because of the physical remoteness of the U. S. Supreme Court in reference to the several States, the Court is inclined to rely strongly upon "police power" statutes enacted by such States. Cf. *Advance-Rumely Thresher Co. v. Jackson* (1932), 287 U. S. 283, and cases therein cited.

⁶ The Court collected various such authorities in *A. Magnano Co. v. Hamilton* (1934), 292 U. S. 40.



PHOTO BY T. K. MARTIN

The Members of Congress Who Meet in This Famous Structure Have Heavy Responsibilities Resting Upon Their Shoulders, Not the Least of Which Is That of Guarding the Liberties of Those Whom They Represent

of the limitations of the Constitution itself, is powerless to overthrow it once it is enacted. With the formulation of a "New Constitutionalism" in the economic sphere today, and with popular insistence that neither the Court nor the written Constitution be obstructive of national aspirations, I think this all the more difficult for the Court in overthrowing legislation. That the Court has maintained its splendid record in thus far giving all possible protection to the individual under the Bill of Rights, reflects simply the fact that the popular mind itself is supportive of the same philosophy.

The Real Bulwark to Religious Liberty

But the American people are subjecting themselves to all sorts of sacrifice of rights, which are probably necessary in war, but are dangerous in peace, and will be hard to throw off when once they are accepted, with the result that government becomes all-powerful and more and more extensive. Without intending criticism of these directions in a state of war emergency—as I merely describe the national trend—it must be clear to all who analyze social movements that unless the American people change their direction, a "new order" is certain to eventuate, both now and in the postwar aftermath. The protective phases of the Bill of Rights may well crumble unless the American people bestir themselves actively to preserve them.

The viewpoint that man exists for the state and that his political representatives are his masters, not his servants, may conceivably become an instrument of governmental propaganda. A renaissance of the teachings of religion and natural law respecting the nature of man and his relations to the Creator, appears the most vital bulwark to religious liberty today. The sphere of government in alleviating economic distress and enhancing the welfare of the economically underprivileged—within the permissible limits of a "streamlined" Constitutional structure—should be sharply demarcated—and certainly should not be opposed by religionists—while at the same time the individual's realm of conscience in matters of religious faith and worship should be equally insisted upon. And fortunately for American national development, political rulers have, as a general rule, wisely observed this line of demarcation, and only in exceptional instances have we witnessed the enactment of laws tending toward, or actually resulting in, religious persecution. The rendition to Caesar of "the things which are Caesar's," and to "God the things that are God's," has been the fundamental postulate on which we as a people have thus far maintained inviolate the separation of church and state.

Wise legislators in America should long hesitate before they sponsor any type of legislation which curtails directly or indirectly the practices, teach-

ings, and worship of true religious faith. By the lessons of history, the impact upon rulers who deviated from that principle has been disastrous to their own career. Once a precedent has been created by the state's invading the religious realm, other measures curtailing religious liberty may easily and quickly follow. That but little constitutional protection can be hoped for under the economy of the "New Constitutionalism" should give pause to well-meaning legislators who may waver in their opposition to proposed bills with implications for religious liberty in the belief that the Supreme Court will

invalidate the bills if enacted, and in the interim they as legislators will have mollified their puritanically inclined constituents by sponsoring their objectives.

As under the "New Constitutionalism" in economic matters controlled by government, the political center of gravity is no longer the Supreme Court, which in these respects is at present in the "twilight,"⁷ the responsibility is now greater than ever upon legislators that unwise laws which invade the sanctity of the religious domain be not enacted.

⁷ Corwin, "The Twilight of the Supreme Court" (1934), chap. 3.

Should the State Propagate Religion?

by CLAREMONT LOVINGTON

SOME PEOPLE THINK that it is perfectly proper and wise to have the state support and propagate religion, if it is a good religion. But we believe that if it is a good religion, it is capable of propagating itself and needs no support from the state. If it is a bad religion, all but its adherents will admit that the state should not propagate or support it. A religion that is not capable of propagating and supporting itself on its own merits, and that has to appeal to the state for help, is a bad religion.

Some very loose thinking is being done by many good people upon this subject. Some people think that everything that is "good" and "pure" should be supported and propagated by the civil government, and everything that is not "good" and not "pure" should be legislated against by the state. They fail to draw any distinction between things which are "civil" or "secular," and things that are "religious" or "spiritual." As a consequence their thinking is muddled and confused.

Example of Confused Reasoning

We shall give a concrete example of this kind of confused reasoning. Not long ago the hierarchy of a certain church which had gained the ear of the state and influenced its functions, reasoned as follows: "The state does not hesitate to pass pure-food laws and to adopt other measures which safeguard the public health and the physical well-being of its citizens. The man who peddles poisonous foods and drinks is dealt with severely by the law. But the health of the soul," said the hierarchy of this church, "is paramount to the health of the body; therefore

the man who propagates erroneous doctrines commits a far worse offense, because he brings eternal ruin and disaster to the soul."

The hierarchy further argued that "unsound and corrupt spiritual food constitutes a far greater menace and danger to society than adulterated and pernicious drink and food material." Then going a step farther, the hierarchy of this church argued that "the state not only ought to prohibit the propagation of all unchristian and anti-Christian teachings condemned by the church, but ought to provide good spiritual food for all the people by making Christianity a part of the public educational system, teaching the gospel in the state schools as approved and interpreted by the state church."

Such logic may seem sound to a church hierarchy which has succeeded in obtaining a predominant control over a state, so far as its own peculiar doctrines and interests are concerned; but let us suppose that a dissenting minority group should grow so rapidly as to gain the ascendancy and control over the state, would the allegedly and assumed orthodox state church still hold that the newly acquired state church should control the state in matters affecting the prohibition of the doctrines which the new church-and-state regime might declare as "unchristian and anti-Christian"?

Just such strange things have happened when civil governments were in turn administered by Catholic and then by Protestant regimes. Each acknowledges the other as heterodox and itself as orthodox. Each suffered persecution at the hands of the other when clothed with civil authority. Each claimed that



Nations May Totter, the Rights of Men Be
Curtailed, Death and Destruction Be on
Every Hand, but the Church of God Stands
Unshaken and Beckons Us to Its Portals

PHOTO BY EWING GALLOWAY

its own teachings were the teachings of Christ and true Christianity, and consigned the teachings of the other to the lower regions.

Liberty Impossible in Church and State Regime

There are two things that contribute to such an embarrassing situation. They are the doctrines of authoritarianism and totalitarianism. An authoritarian church and a totalitarian state always produce the above results. A church or a state which believes that it rules by divine right also believes that it has a right to rule in all things both temporal and spiritual. Such a doctrine always leads to a union of church and state and the persecution of all dissenters and non-conformists to the state religion. Religious liberty is utterly impossible under a church-and-state regime. The failure to draw a line of demarcation between civil and religious matters, and between secular and spiritual functions, is the root cause of all religious persecution.

The United States of America has set an example to all the world and has demonstrated to all the world that the affairs of the state and the concerns of religion prosper far more and produce more benevolent results when both are separated and each acts independently in its own sphere, than when they are united and one dominates the other.

The state has a right to regulate pure-food laws, because the state is ordained to defend and protect the bodies of men, whereas the church is ordained to work for the souls of men. The state has no authority over the souls or spiritual destiny of its citizens, but over their bodies only. The body is dependent for its well-being upon physical food, and the soul of man is nourished with spiritual food. Since the church is commissioned to feed Christ's sheep, it is the duty of the church to hand spiritual food to the people. This commission was never delivered by Christ to Caesar, or the state, but it was expressly given to His disciples—the church. Those who claim that the state as well as the church is to feed the flock of God spiritual food, resort to fallacious arguments which have never yet produced practical results. Their reasoning is not only unsound, but selfish, arrogant, and intolerant in spirit, as well as in practice.

State Religion Fosters Intolerance and Bigotry

No country or government which has attempted to support and propagate religion in the past has succeeded in being tolerant and charitable toward any other religion than the state religion which it fostered. In every age and in every country a union of church and state has led to baneful consequences, and history makes no exception. Whenever civil force is employed in the interests of religion, bigotry is unceasingly vigilant in its stratagems and connivances to secure for the state religion an exclusive ascendancy and dominance over the human mind and religious practices. The spirit of intolerance in religious leaders under a church-and-state union is ever ready to arm itself with all the instruments of terror of which the civil power is capable, to exterminate those who doubt its dogmas or resist the acceptance of its infallible pronouncements.

It makes little difference by what name a state religion operates, whether Catholic or Protestant, its means and methods of operation are the same. The Catholics and Protestants have alternately waged the most ferocious and unrelenting warfare on each other, whenever they were in the ascendancy and were armed with civil power. There is no need for the pot to call the kettle black when both are equally smeared.

We Protestants who have erred along these lines in the past are willing to confess our faults and acknowledge our mistakes. The Protestants of Geneva, Switzerland, erected a monument to Servetus, whom Calvin burned at the stake for his opinions, and humbly acknowledged the mistake and attributed it to the mistaken concept of state churchism. It is simply impossible to have religious liberty flourish where a state religion, which discriminates against all other religions, operates in a government.

Church Never Benefited by State Patronage

Not only are civil and religious liberty and equality impossible under the regime of a church-and-state union, but religious progress is impossible. Force in religion destroys true spirituality, tolerance, and charity. It can only engender bitterness and hatred on the part of the persecutor, and certainly it can never develop devotion and admiration for a state religion on the part of the persecuted.

Freedom to Worship God According to the Dictates of One's Conscience Is a Right That Should Never Be Challenged. This Is One of the Great Bulwarks of Our Nation

But religious domination and oppression by means of the civil power never benefit the state church ultimately. Any church which receives legal sanction from the state for the dogmas it holds, and is given financial support from the state treasury for the maintenance of religious institutions and its workers, is in danger of incurring the disfavor of the state and of being administered and controlled by the state whenever disagreements arise between the church and the state, or whenever political upheavals occur in the course of human events. Quite recently the state churches have suffered very bitter and humiliating experiences as the result of having received financial support as well as legal sanction and aid in the enforcement of church dogmas and usages.

Examples in Russia and Mexico

For centuries the Russian government had a state religion and gave it very substantial financial support in the building of its churches, cathedrals, and schools, paying the salaries of the clergy and religious teachers in religious schools. In fact, the state church enjoyed not only copious financial support, but legal sanction and enforcement of her church dogmas, and at times the head of the state church was the dominating factor not only in the church, but in state affairs.

Religious oppression was rampant in the land of Russia, and dissenters and nonconformists could not call their souls their own. The dungeon and exile

PHOTO BY EWING GALLOWAY



were the rewards for free expression of religious opinions. Religious oppression and hardships breed contempt even among the adherents of a state religion, and it fosters and fomented hatred, especially among those who are unbelievers in religion. For many centuries the state church was able to suppress all opposition and maintain its control over state affairs as well as religious concerns, so as to prevent any evil consequences to the church interests. But a day of reckoning finally arrived, as it does in all countries where state churchism rules with an iron hand. The people bear up under oppression and restraint for a long time, but when it becomes unbearable, then the people revolt, and woe to the oppressors.

When the Russian revolt occurred, it turned its wrath upon its oppressors, and the heads of the church and the state both had to make a hasty exit, and those who failed to make the exit out of the country paid dearly for their failure. Religion itself was taboo, and the state church had all its property confiscated. The state religion suffered the loss of all the state ever gave in patronage for its support, and was left worse than stranded upon its own resources. The adherents of the state church had never cultivated the spirit of self-sacrifice, and as a consequence the church was unable to support itself.

In Mexico we have another striking example which demonstrates the utter folly of state churchism. For centuries Mexico had a state-supported religion and

was controlled by the church hierarchy. Religious oppression for all dissenters and nonconformists was the rule instead of the exception. Finally the populace changed the political complexion of Mexico, and the political fortunes of the church were lost. Her churches and cathedrals and other religious institutions supported by the state were confiscated.

Lessons Not Learned

One of the strangest anomalies in history is that those state churches which have suffered such bitter and humiliating experiences at the hands of the populace and the state as the result of too much meddling in politics and the use of force in religion, do not seem to have learned any lessons from these devastating experiences of the past, and still insist on trying the same experiment over again. The lure of state power and state support seems to have an intoxicating effect upon all who indulge in such experiments.

If there is one lesson that history teaches with unerring accuracy, it is that no church or religion, no matter what its name, can afford to meddle with politics or receive state support, either legally or financially, without surrendering its spirituality, its freedom and independence, and finally suffering a bitterly humiliating experience as the reward for its own oppressive acts of intolerance and persecution for conscience' sake. The state should remain absolutely neutral in all religious concerns.

Baptist Memorial Protesting Compulsory Bible Reading

[The Baptist General Association of Virginia appointed the Honorable John Garland Pollard, former governor of Virginia, to draft a memorial protesting against the compulsory reading of the Bible and religious instruction in the public schools of Virginia. The following memorial was adopted by the Baptists of Virginia and presented to the Virginia Legislature, with the result that proposed legislation which would compel teachers to read the Bible in the public schools, was defeated. It is hoped that this action will help to defeat all similar attempts should the state contemplate by force to give religious instruction to the pupils in public schools. The text of this memorial will be read with profit.]

Text of Baptist Memorial

THE UNDERSIGNED COMMITTEE, on behalf of the Baptist General Association of Virginia, com-

posed of 1,175 white churches, with a total membership of 219,166 citizens of this commonwealth, having been informed that a renewed and concerted effort will be made by numerous citizens and organizations to have your honorable body at its next session pass the bill defeated at the last session, or any similar bill, compelling teachers in public schools of this State to read the Bible daily in schools, hereby enters its solemn protest against the passage of any such measure, and in support of its protest, presents the following facts and considerations, and recurs to the following fundamental principles:

1. The Bible is distinctly a religious book, and when properly read is an act of worship which cannot rightfully be enforced by law. Law rests on force. Religion is voluntary. Any attempt to promote religious worship by force of law is, in the language of our statute of religious liberty, "a departure from the



PHOTO BY RICHARD GARRISON

The State of Virginia Has Many Places of Historical Interest. Prominent Among Them Is the Governor's Palace in Williamsburg, the Old Colonial Capital. Built Between 1706 and 1718, It Was the Center of the Social Life in the Early Days of the Old Dominion. Fire Destroyed the Palace in 1832. It Has Been Reconstructed Upon Its Original Foundations, With Its Offices, Kitchens, Outbuildings, Formal Gardens, and Canal

plan of the Holy Author of our religion, who, being Lord both of body and mind, yet chose not to propagate it by coercions on either, as was in His almighty power to do."

Many Different Versions

2. There are many versions of the Bible. One of these, commonly used by Protestants, is known as the King James Version; another used by Catholics, is known as the Douay Version, which contains entire books not appearing in the King James Version. These two versions differ in many particulars considered material by the respective sects. Our Jewish fellow citizens do not consider the New Testament as a part of their Bible. If the law is to compel the reading of the Bible, the question at once arises, Shall the Protestant, Catholic, or Jewish Bible be read? The proponents of the proposed law would doubtless answer, "The Protestant Bible should be read, because it is the Bible of the majority." To compel the numerous Catholic and Jewish teachers in our schools to read a Bible which they do not consider the true Bible, is not only an invasion of their right, but also of the rights of the non-Protestant pupils and their parents.

Must Concede Rights of Others

We may best realize the wrong involved, by imagining our own feeling of protest, should the law compel the reading of the Roman Catholic version

to our Protestant children. Protestants can claim nothing on the score of conscience that they are unwilling to concede equally to others. It is not a question of majorities, for if the conscience of the majority is to be the standard, there is no such thing as the right of conscience at all. It is against the power of majorities that the right of conscience is protected. This right is an indefeasible natural right of man of which no free government can deprive him. There are some rights which even the majority cannot take away, and the right of conscience is the most sacred of these. Government should never interfere unless men, under the guise of conscience, commit acts which violate the good order of society.

Differences Fundamental

To the Protestant, the Catholic Bible is a sectarian book. To the Catholic, the Protestant Bible is a sectarian book. To the Jew, the New Testament is a sectarian book. To the citizen who has no religion, all versions are sectarian. To select the textbook of any sect to be read in the public schools is to confer a peculiar advantage upon that sect. This is expressly prohibited by the constitution of the State (section 56). It is a mistaken idea that the Protestant religion, or even Christianity, has in Virginia any peculiar rights. Christianity may have been once a part of the common law, but this has long since been changed in Virginia, both by statute and by constitution.

The Supreme Court of Appeals has said that the ancient law on the subject "was wholly abrogated by our Bill of Rights, and the act for securing religious freedom, subsequently ingrafted in the amended Constitution, which wholly and permanently separated religion, or the duty which we owe to our Creator, from our political and civil government; putting all religions on a footing of perfect equality; protecting all; imposing neither burdens nor civil incapacities upon any; conferring privileges upon none. Placing the Christian religion where it stood in the days of its purity, before its alliance with the civil magistrate; when its votaries employed for its advancement no methods but such as are congenial to its nature; . . . proclaiming to all our citizens that henceforth their religious thoughts and conversation shall be as free as the air they breathe; that the law is of no sect in religion, has no high priest but justice. Declaring to the Christian and the Mahometan, the Jew and the Gentile, the Epicurean and the Platonist (if any such there be amongst us), that so long as they keep within its pale, all are equally objects of its protection."—*Perry's Case, 3 Grat., 641.*

All on Equal Plane

Not only does the Constitution place all sects on the plane of absolute equality before the law, but, as if forever to banish the force of law from the realm of religion, it actually protects the individual from the church of his own choosing, by prohibiting the General Assembly from authorizing any religious society to levy a tax even on themselves—again recognizing that the law must not be used to enforce any religious duty.

History teaches us that the principle here contended for was established after centuries of struggle marked by persecution and bloodshed, culminating here in Virginia, whose government was the first in the world to proclaim complete and absolute religious equality before the law. Jefferson, who led the movement, declared it to be the bitterest fight in which he was ever engaged. Truly it is a blood-bought blessing, and we consider it our duty to seek to protect it against the slightest encroachment.

Shows Inherent Weakness

3. The bill as proposed contains two provisions intended to protect the rights of conscience, but which disclose the inherent weakness of the whole proposition. It provides that at least five verses must be read without comment. It compels reading, but prohibits study. It also provides that pupils may be excused from the classroom during the reading of the Bible, upon written request of either parent. This provision is a recognition of the fact that any version of the Bible used will be looked upon by some as

a sectarian book, and as a measure of justice to such, their children may withdraw from the classroom. But this does not correct the injustice, for it is unkind and inconsiderate to subject the children of the small minority to the embarrassment of excluding themselves from a stated school exercise, especially because of apparent hostility to that version of the Bible which the majority have been taught to revere. The excluded pupil will lose caste with his fellow students, and is liable to be the object of reproach, and perhaps of insult. Such a course would tend to destroy the equality of the pupils, which the law ought to maintain and protect.

May Submit in Silence

It is probable that a great number of non-Protestant parents, rather than subject their children to the embarrassment of separating them from their fellow pupils during the reading of the Protestant Bible, will submit to the injustice in silence, hoping for the day when minorities shall grow into majorities. In this connection it may be well for Protestants to remember that in some of the States, the Catholics are already, or soon may be, in a majority. May we reasonably expect from them better treatment than we accord them? It will be a sad day for the cause of public education when religious sects begin to vie with one another for the control of the schools. We must not drive the entering wedge of dissension into a system which is the bedrock of our republican institutions.

Moreover, while the proposed act seeks to leave some discretion to the pupils, none is left to the teacher, who is commanded by law to read the Bible, and, presumably, will be punished for failing to do so.

Complete Equality First Principle

4. The right to worship God according to the dictates of one's conscience is firmly established throughout America. But this is not all of religious liberty. It is broader. It means complete and absolute equality before the law of all religions. The state should have no favorites in matters of religion. Its only relation to religion is to protect all of its citizens in the sacred rights of conscience, just as it protects them in their rights of person and property. If there is one teaching which history makes clear, it is that Christianity prospers most under those governments which as such seek to help it least. A false religion may need the peculiar recognition of the law, but it is beneath the dignity of the true religion to ask or accept it.

From the early days of the Christian Era down to the present time, some of Christ's zealous followers have, in violation of His teachings, sought to promote His cause by force, first by burning at the stake, later by stripes or imprisonment and by taxing others to

promote a religion in which they did not believe, and today we have the last faint glimmer of that hoary fallacy remaining with those good people who erroneously think they can aid religion by invoking the strong arm of the law to compel the reading of the Bible. How blind to the teaching of history and the principles of Him who said, "My kingdom is not of this world"!

Regarded as Literature

5. Some argue that the law should compel the reading of the Bible, not as a religious book, but simply as literature. But this is evidently not the viewpoint of the proponents of this bill, for, as if to minimize the wrong done sects who do not accept our Bible, they limit the reading to five verses, prohibit comment, and excuse pupils from attendance upon the reading. The truth is that the Scriptures cannot be separated from their sacred religious character, and any move to advance their acceptance through secular authority under pressure of law, is an unworthy attempt to shift upon the state a solemn duty divinely commissioned to the church. The realm of religion is entirely beyond the scope of the state. True, it is sadly neglected, but the remedy is the re-establishment of the family altar and a redoubling of the efforts of the churches.

6. We wish it distinctly understood that we are in full accord with the proponents of the bill in their belief in the importance of training our children in the great religious truths taught in the Bible. Its importance cannot be overstated. The only difference between us is one of method, but that method involves a great underlying principle which is a part of our religious as well as our political faith. Our public-school system belongs to the members of all religious denominations, and those who are attached to none, and we must respect one another's rights in common property of us all. Religious training our children must have, but it should be given in our homes and churches, and not at the expense of those who do not believe in our Bible.

We maintain that each Christian body should advance its own religion by its own efforts and at its own expense, and that any attempt to get the force of the state behind our religion, even to the extent of compelling the reading of five verses from our version of the Scriptures, begets a suspicion that our religion cannot stand on its own merits. We are unwilling to admit, but on the other hand emphatically deny, that the textbook of our religion needs the strong arm of the law to support it.

Religious Instruction Vital

We fully agree that the religious instruction of the child should be given along with its secular training, but it by no means follows that it must be given by

the same persons and in the same place. Our Catholic fellow citizens do not agree on this proposition, and maintain separate schools where religion may be taught; but it will hardly be maintained that their children are better than others, or grow up to make better citizens. The important thing is for our children to have religious instruction, and it is not essential that any part of such instruction be given in the day schools under governmental control and at public expense.

7. Baptists in this State would suffer no direct injury from the proposed law, for the Bible which would be read in the schools is the version which the Baptists use; but the Baptists of Virginia know historically what discrimination against their religion means. Not many generations ago, when they were few in number, their ministers here in Virginia were punished and imprisoned for preaching the gospel; and now that they have grown to be the largest religious denomination in the State, they would be unworthy of the suffering and sacrifices of their forefathers and would lay themselves open to the charge that their love of right is for themselves only, if they did not seek to protect the religious rights of others.

Would Pilfer Rights

8. This matter seems trivial to some, who argue that the compelling of our teachers to read five verses of the Bible each day involves an infringement of their right so infinitesimally small that the law may well disregard it; but, to say the least, such a law would be a piece of petty pilfering of the rights of the minority sects, which would make us none the richer, but would brand us as offenders against the sacred rights of others, and render us easy marks for retaliation when circumstances are reversed.

The matter is in truth one of tremendous import, not perhaps in itself, but because it is a violation of principle; and one violation leads to another, until the principle itself is in danger. The mere reading of five verses of Scripture without comment will not and cannot satisfy those who believe that religious training should be given in the public schools. The next step will be the actual teaching of the Bible, and when this is established, how strong the argument will be that inasmuch as the Protestants are teaching their Bible at public expense, therefore the Catholics should be permitted to do the same; hence, public-school funds should be appropriated to Catholic schools, so as to give them an equal opportunity to teach their Bible at public expense. Such a division of school funds has already been accomplished in some parts of Canada, and will come in this country if success meets the efforts of those who insist on injecting matters religious with their inevitable sectarianism into our public-school system. The dis-

memberment of that system will be the natural fruitage of the adoption of the pending bill.

We therefore appeal to your honorable body to adhere to the doctrine, peculiarly bound up with the

history of this commonwealth, which completely separates church and state, which refuses to exercise force in the realm of religion, and which places all religions on a plane of absolute equality before the law.

A Dual Citizenship

by A. R. BELL

WE ARE BY BIRTH citizens of this world. We are by the new birth citizens of the kingdom of God. But we do not lose the first citizenship when we gain the second.

To illustrate. A woman does not lose any of her natural rights and privileges when she assumes the duties of wifehood. Because she marries a man, and becomes a wife, this takes away none of the rights and privileges she enjoys as a woman. She enters into new relationships, but she loses none of her previous rights.

Our privileges and obligations and duties in both citizenships are clearly laid down in the Bible. In the thirteenth chapter of Romans the apostle Paul clearly outlines the duties we owe to the civil authorities. In this chapter only man's relationship to his fellow men is set forth. In the fourteenth chapter, man's relationship to God in matters of faith and religious customs is set forth.

You will notice that God does not mix religion with our relationship to civil government. Both are ordained of God. Both run in parallel lines. Both are to occupy their proper sphere, neither of them conflicting with the other. Romans 13 presents only the second table of the decalogue and our relation to it. Luke 20:24, 25, defines both the civil and religious relations. We read there:

"Show Me a penny. Whose image and superscription hath it? They answered and said, Caesar's. And He said unto them, Render therefore unto Caesar the things which be Caesar's, and unto God the things which be God's."

This was the answer of the Son of God to the question of His inquisitors, "Is it lawful for us to give tribute unto Caesar, or no?"—a recognition of our responsibilities to the governments of both God and man. The Lord tells us the spirit that should control us in all our relationships and service to both Him and our fellows.

Paul knew his privileges because of his Roman citizenship, and he took advantage of them, and very justly, when the circumstances called for it. Witness his position. Said he to the officer who had ordered that Paul should be scourged, "Is it lawful for

you to scourge a man that is a Roman, and undemanded?"

And immediately the command was given:

"Take heed what thou doest: for this man is a Roman."

Paul's earthly citizenship stood him in good stead, and he was not slow—nor was he lacking in spiritual wisdom—to take advantage of it. That officer did not dare to put Paul through the "third degree." He accorded him his rights as a citizen, and had him face his accusers.

The other experience Paul had was at Philippi. The magistrates who had condemned Paul and Silas, and had had them severely beaten and cast into prison, somehow had discovered that Paul was a Roman citizen. They sent word to the jailer, saying, "Let those men go." And when he passed the word on to the prisoners, Paul said:

"They have beaten us openly uncondemned, being Romans, and have cast us into prison; and now do they thrust us out privily? nay verily; but let them come themselves and fetch us out."

And you will notice that these magistrates, fearing because of what they had done, came to the prison and tried to make things right.

We have our rights as citizens of earth. And it is entirely proper for us as Christians to stand on those rights. And no man can *justly* deprive us of them.



Said Christ, "Render Therefore Unto Caesar the Things Which Are Caesar's; and Unto God the Things That Are God's"

Then there are our religious rights. Men and women have always suffered for them. Even in our own fair land—a land whose profession is that religious liberty is the rightful heritage of us all—men have suffered for their faith. Christian men have toiled on the road in the chain gangs, and suffered imprisonment, because of their religious convictions, and the end is not yet.

Notwithstanding the fact that every State constitution in our Union is copied after the United States Constitution, and that its principles are ingrained into the very thought of our inalienable rights, all down the line of our history there have been men who have with zeal, but not according to knowledge, not accorded to others the rights and liberties and privileges they have demanded for themselves, and who have succeeded in having laws and ordinances written into our rules of conduct that

are altogether out of harmony with the profession we make when we say that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

Laws that are "wrong in conception," and that have "proved infamous in execution," have wrought persecution for conscience' sake in the experience of many God-fearing, upright citizens of these United States of America.

Would that men would appreciate the great privileges that belong to us all. Would that all of us appreciated the counsel of the Author of liberty, civil and religious: "As ye would that men should do to you, do ye also to them likewise." Luke 6:31.

Then would citizenship in both its phases reach the acme of excellence, and men would, in deed and in truth, rejoice in the inestimable blessings that citizenship bestows.

Calvin Coolidge on Religion and the Limitation of Law

"OUR GOVERNMENT rests upon religion. It is from that source that we derive our reverence for truth and justice, for equality and liberty, and for the rights of mankind. Unless the people believe in these principles, they cannot believe in our Government. There are only two main theories of government in the world. One rests on righteousness, the other rests on force. One appeals to reason, the other appeals to the sword. One is exemplified in a republic, the other is represented by a despotism.

"The government of a country never gets ahead of the religion of a country. There is no way by which we can substitute the authority of law for the virtue of man. Of course we can help to restrain the vicious and furnish a fair degree of security and protection by legislation and police control, but the real reforms which society in these days is seeking will come as a result of our religious convictions, or they will not come at all. Peace, justice, humanity, charity—these cannot be legislated into being. They are the result of a divine grace.

"I have long felt a very deep interest in the work of the Sunday school Bible classes, because of the conviction that this sort of serious and continuous



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Calvin Coolidge

study is not only of the greatest spiritual and character-building value, but the means of familiarizing people with one of the splendid monuments of all literature, the Bible."

"We cannot rid ourselves of the human element in our affairs by an act of legislation which pleases them under the jurisdiction of a public commission.

"The same limit of the law is manifest in the exercise of the police authority. There can be no perfect control of personal conduct by national legislation. . . .

"When provision is made for far-reaching action by public authority, whether it be in the nature of an

expenditure of a large sum from the treasury, or the participation in a great moral reform, it all means the imposing of large additional obligations upon the people. . . .

"Behind very many of these enlarging activities lies the untenable theory that there is some short cut to perfection. It is conceived that there can be a horizontal elevation of the standards of the nation, immediate and perceptible, by the simple device of new laws. This has never been the case in human experience. Progress is slow, and the result of a long and arduous process of self-discipline. It is not con-

ferred upon the people, it comes from the people. In a republic the law reflects rather than makes the standard of conduct and the state of public opinion. Real reform does not begin with a law, it ends with a law. The attempt to dragoon the body when the need is to convince the soul, will end only in revolt.

"Under the attempt to perform the impossible there sets in a general disintegration. When legislation fails, those who look upon it as a sovereign remedy simply cry out for more legislation. A sound and wise statesmanship which recognizes and attempts to abide by its limitations will undoubtedly find itself displaced by that type of public official who promises much, talks much, legislates much, expends much, but accomplishes little. The deliberate, sound judgment of the country is likely to find it has been superseded by a popular whim. . . . The enforcement of the law becomes uncertain. The courts fail in their function of speedy and accurate justice, their judgments are questioned, and their independence is threatened. The law changed and changeable on slight provocation, loses its sanctity and authority. A continuation of this condition opens the road to chaos."

"We cannot depend upon the Government to do the work of religion. An act of Congress may indi-

cate that a reform is being or has been accomplished, but it does not itself bring about a reform. The government of a country never gets ahead of the religion of a country.

"It is well to remember this when we are seeking for social reforms. Of course, we can help to restrain the vicious and furnish a fair degree of security and protection by legislation and police control, but the real reforms which society in these days is seeking, will come as a result of our religious convictions, or they will not come at all.

"We cannot escape a personal responsibility for our own conduct. We cannot regard those as wise or safe counselors in public affairs who deny these principles and seek to support the theory that society can succeed when the individual fails.

"There is no way by which we can substitute the authority of law for the virtue of man. Peace, justice, humanity, charity—these cannot be legislated into being. They are the result of a divine grace.

"I have never seen the necessity for reliance upon religion rather than upon law better expressed than in a great truth uttered by Tiffany Blake of Chicago, when he said, 'Christ spent no time in the antechamber of Caesar.'"

Financial Alliance Between Church and State

Is It Ever Justifiable?

by **MILLWARD C. TAFT**

Attorney at Law

AMERICANS SHOULD firmly adhere to fundamental principles. They should not turn aside from the great ideals and principles upon which this Republic was established by its founders. We should never allow financial considerations to lead us to compromise principle. Some Americans fail to sense the importance of maintaining a complete separation of church and state. The acceptance of public tax funds by private institutions is a serious matter, and I regret that some churches have not foreseen the danger, and are accepting financial aid from the state.

I want to raise my voice against private institutions' accepting state aid in any form whatsoever. The danger is not alone in free textbooks, free transportation, and hiring of teachers the payment for

which is made with public tax funds. There is another serious danger, and that is this—part-time jobs for students in private schools under the Federal Emergency Relief Administration program, that part known as the National Youth's Administration, enacted by Congress in 1933. Americans should be greatly concerned over this form of emergency relief. I believe many of us do not recognize the hidden dangers to private educational institutions and the results which must follow the accepting of such financial aid.

Innocent as it may look to some to receive this financial support, it is bound to lead us into great difficulty and to retard the work that the educational institutions are established to do. Let it be under-



PHOTO BY J. C. ALLEN

The Question of Aid to Students in Church-Operated Schools Is One That Must Not Be Overlooked. There Should Be No Alliance of Any Kind Between the Church and the State

stood that State aid or Government aid to private schools involves something more than dollars and cents. It creates a relationship of debtor and creditor, and when this is done, can one say the creditor has no rights and the debtor no obligations? Mark this: Public aid leads to public control. Public tax funds can be used only for a public purpose. This principle of law has been announced more than once, not only by our State and Federal courts, but by the Supreme Court of the United States. This principle of law cannot be challenged.

It is quite certain that many religious leaders thought the acceptance of State funds was a harmless affair. Too often legislation, both national and State, on its face seems innocent and harmless when in fact it conceals hidden dangers. We ought not to be deceived by such legislation, for all history warns us of its danger.

Some have expressed the thought that too much was being said in defending our Constitution and opposing aid to students in private educational schools. It is not a question alone of defending the Constitution, but even if it were, would you say it is wrong to defend it by upholding its principles, or should we repudiate its principles and join hands with those who favor a union of church and state? God forbid. The founders of our Republic did a noble work in separating the church and the state. It is our duty today to preserve this precious heritage of civil and religious liberty handed down to us.

Religious institutions established for the training of religious laborers should not be benefited by Federal or State tax funds. This creates a relation between church and state that should not exist. Is it possible that the founders of our Republic were in error when they separated the church and the state, financially and politically? If the founding fathers were right in upholding the fundamental principles

and constitutional guaranties of civil and religious liberty, the separation of church and state, what has occurred that now gives us evidence that they were wrong? We admit that the distribution of public tax funds to aid students looks very innocent, but the monetary gain is offset by the harm done to the principle of religious liberty.

The question has been asked, What is the difference between WPA funds and Federal help for students? There is no difference, if in both instances funds are used for private purposes, as was the case in the State of New Mexico in 1938, when seventy-three persons were indicted by the grand jury because WPA funds and materials were used to build roads for private purposes. If a student performs a service for the public and for the public only, he is paid the same as any other public employee from public funds, but when he performs a service for the school on the school's property, even though it may be labor performed in the laying of a sidewalk, or waiting on table, whereby the school is benefited by his labor, and he is paid from public tax funds, both the school and the student are receiving benefits contrary to law. To tax a citizen for private purposes is to take his property without due process of law.

The history of church-and-state alliances in the past, taught the founders of our Republic the unerring principles for which we here contend. They established in our fundamental law the principle of separation of church and state, after centuries of struggle marked by persecution and bloodshed, and they intended that these constitutional inhibitions and guaranties should prevent a repetition of such catastrophes in the future. Therefore, is it not the duty of every American to see that these guaranties of the equality of all citizens before the law are safeguarded? Every American should deem it a privilege to raise his voice in protest against the slightest encroachment and innovation upon our present heritage of religious freedom.

If religious liberty is to be maintained in America, if the church and the state are to remain separate, and if private educational institutions are to survive, then you and I must do more to better understand these great principles and teach others who do not know them. One thing is clear. No financial alliance of any kind is ever justified between church and state.

"DISCRIMINATION against the holder of one faith means retaliatory discrimination against men of other faiths. The inevitable result of entering upon such a practice would be an abandonment of our real freedom of conscience and a reversion to the dreadful conditions of religious dissension which in so many lands have proved fatal to true liberty, to true religion, and to all advance in civilization."

• Editorials •

Inalienable Rights Never Surrendered

ANY GOVERNMENT that deifies the state and exalts the authority of the state above the sovereign power of God, is foredoomed. No government of the past that has arrayed itself against God has endured for long. The government of dictators always adopts the philosophy of totalitarianism, one man ruling all men in all things, both secular and religious. Such governments always are destructive of individual rights and are at war with the democratic principle of government. Religion, if it is tolerated at all under a totalitarian form of government, is always made subordinate to the authority of the state.

The fundamental principles set forth in the Declaration of Independence are the very antithesis of a totalitarian government. The spiritual heritage which the founding fathers of the American Republic bequeathed as a legacy to posterity in the Bill of Human Rights of the Federal Constitution, sounded the death knell to totalitarianism in America. The glory of America lies in the fact that the Bill of Human Rights is applicable in times of war as well as in times of peace. Inalienable rights can never be alienated or abandoned under any circumstances. God does not forsake His throne or abandon His sovereign power and authority over His people during a crisis or any emergency. With God there is no crisis. His claims upon His children are eternal and unchangeable, because they are just and right. A right principle can never be surrendered. To surrender it would be an unmoral, if not an immoral, act.

Privileges can be, and frequently must be, surrendered in a crisis, in order to gain greater privileges, but fundamental principles can never be abandoned or surrendered without irreparable loss. Thomas Jefferson well expressed this principle when he said: "Our legislators are not sufficiently apprised of the rightful limits of their power, that their true office is to declare and enforce only our natural rights and duties, and to take none of them from us. . . . The idea is quite unfounded that on entering into society we give up any natural right."

No human government has the right to set itself up above the authority of the divine government, or above the natural rights of man. When human government abridges and destroys the natural, God-given rights of man, unless it is for the commission of crime, it exceeds the legitimate bounds of civil authority, and justice still confirms the inalienable rights of man. Essential justice is above law. A law

that exists in defiance of essential justice and natural rights is void, and the individual is justified in disobeying it and seeking vindication for such conduct before the highest court of the land. The eternal rule of natural justice never varies. It is as fixed as the eternal hills, yea, as God Himself.

The Lord saith: "I will come near to you to judgment; and I will be a swift witness against . . . those that oppress the hireling in his wages, the widow, and the fatherless, and that turn aside the stranger from his right, and fear not Me, saith the Lord of hosts. For I am the Lord, I change not." C. S. L.

Not Properly Appreciated

FREEDOM of worship and freedom of conscience in religious matters, being a constitutional guaranty, is not generally appreciated in America. It is like the air we breathe and the water we drink so freely. We do not properly value these blessings until we are deprived of them. So it is with our liberties in the domain of religion. The moment these are taken from us, a great wave of indignation arises. It is only when these inalienable rights are removed from us that we begin to place the proper value on these God-given blessings.

Our danger lies in our indifference to these constitutional guaranties. We feel that as long as they are safeguarded in the Constitution, we need pay no attention to their preservation. This is a fatal mistake. The democracies of Europe, which were established after the first World War, had guaranties of civil and religious liberty written into their constitutions which were even better worded than were the guaranties to American citizens in the Federal Constitution. But what has become of those guaranties of liberty, yea, of the constitutions and democracies themselves? They are no more. But, says one, What happened in Europe after the World War will never happen in the United States. Unless certain tendencies now operating in this country are checked, our constitutional liberties will not only be undermined and overridden by adverse legislation, but completely repudiated and destroyed.

We need to take serious alarm at the first experiments upon our liberties. It is too late to lock the door after the horse is stolen. We must be wide awake and alert in safeguarding our liberties, or they are doomed. The tendency is away from the Constitution. We are in danger of being governed by men instead of the Constitution. No one can afford to sell out his birthright for Government doles and political patronage.

C. S. L.

Mississippi Blue Laws Still Rampant

MISSISSIPPI'S 120-year-old Sunday blue laws hold on with the tenacity of the proverbial bulldog. Four attempts were made by the State legislature to repeal them and give the soldier boys in the training camps in Mississippi an opportunity to attend amusements or baseball games on Sunday the same as they do in practically every other State in the Union. Four times the senate voted in favor of the repeal of these antiquated religious laws, and four times the house of representatives has defeated the attempt. The house of representatives has many preacher-representatives. If Mississippi had a law similar to that which the State of Maryland has, clergymen could not be elected to the State legislature. Such a provision in the constitution of Mississippi would have ensured the repeal of the Sunday blue laws of that State. It was the preacher-representatives of the Mississippi house of representatives who made fiery speeches in favor of the retention of these un-American laws, which came down from colonial days under a union of church and state. We are told that these preachers "prayed audibly for the souls of colleagues who would vote for such a devilish proposal" as the repeal of the Sunday laws which prohibited Sunday recreation.

One senator who opposed the bill shouted just before the bill passed the senate: "America will never win the war while Sunday movies are being held." Another senator charged that the Pearl Harbor tragedy came about because soldiers were not at their post. Another senator thought he would help the mention of this incident, so he shouted: "They were attending Sunday movies." But Senator Earl Richardson, who was sponsoring the bill, aptly retorted: "The Hawaiian attack was at 7:15 A. M., and that's a mighty funny time for anybody to be at the movies."

Those who favor religious legislation and wish to impose their religious notions upon others seem to have a peculiar flexibility in their mode of reasoning. They let their imagination run wild and are inclined to make deductions based on fancy. They are so determined to have their own opinions prevail that they do not hesitate to find fault with angels and with the Lord of heaven Himself if what they do runs counter to their religious notions.

Not long ago a Sunday blue law advocate who believes that the Sabbath day should be spent in absolute idleness had his attention called to the fact that Jesus and His disciples picked wheat, rubbed off the chaff with their hands, and ate it as they walked through the wheat fields on the Sabbath day. "Yes," replied this legalist, "and I think much less of my Lord for having done it." When a person becomes so

self-opinionated as to find fault with our Lord because His actions do not conform to his religious notions, there is little hope that such a person ever will change his mind, even if the heavens dropped on him. It must be a great satisfaction to feel so well satisfied with one's own opinions that not even the Lord of heaven can pry them loose. None but a self-righteous pharisee knows anything of such self-satisfaction.

It is exceedingly difficult for some clergymen to give up their grip upon the State legislatures. To repeal a religious law enacted by the State legislature seems to them the same as repealing religion itself. They have not yet caught the idea that religion, when it is good, is capable of standing on its own merits without any support from the State legislature or the civil magistrate. Religious liberty for every man is as foreign to these clergymen as it was to the Puritans three hundred years ago. What a blessing it would be if all religious laws could be repealed and every individual be allowed to worship God as his own conscience dictates without being molested by the state authorities and the penal codes.

C. S. L.

Australia's Sunday Blue Laws Create a Problem

AUSTRALIA, like England, the mother country, for centuries has been afflicted with a series of church-and-state laws which govern the religious faith of its citizens. Among these religious laws are the rigid Sunday blue laws enacted more than four hundred years ago. The conservative and religious elements in England as well as in Australia and other British Dominions have been unwilling to remove the drastic restrictions placed in the Sunday laws relative to recreation and diversions on Sundays.

When the American expeditionary forces landed in Australia and established headquarters in that distant land, they discovered that they were not permitted to attend any amusements, like baseball games, or public entertainments, on Sundays, because such recreation and diversion were placed under the ban of the Sunday laws. Major Lynn Cowan, who is chief of General Douglas MacArthur's special service organization which concerns itself in building up the morale of the American troops in Australia, says he is going to provide week-end entertainment for the troops on leave, Sunday blue laws or no, even if he has to provide his own special theaters and baseball parks for the United States troops.

Again, some of the conservative clergymen in Australia, as would be the case in some parts of the United States, opposed giving any diversion to the soldiers over their week-end leaves. Major Cowan answered these opposing clergymen: "There are 125,-

000,000 Americans. We are not heathens. We go to church, and we also have the forms of amusement we want. We are not asking you to give up anything religious in this country. But we are going to have entertainment for our boys."

He informed the clergymen that he did not ask them to give up any of their religious practices and beliefs concerning their own conduct on Sunday, but that he intended to make "arrangements for stadiums, sports grounds, tennis courts, and golf links for use by American troops." "Despite clergymen and others," said Major Cowan, "we must remember that there is a war. Our boys fight it seven days a week. When they are off, they must and will be entertained."

Major Cowan touched a very vital principle when he told the conservative clergymen of Australia that he did not intend to interfere with their personal religious practices and religious beliefs concerning their own conduct on Sunday, but that he did not propose to let them interfere with his personal religious views, or with the American soldiers' privileges in the same matter. After all, religion is a personal matter between the individual and his God, and no other person or collection of individuals has a right to interfere with that freedom.

If all men could only recognize and practice that principle of equal rights and privileges before the law of the land and the bar of justice, religious prejudice and religious persecution would become a thing of the past.

The *Time* magazine of May 4, 1942, in commenting upon the Australian Sunday blue laws, says that the "United States found that their high-school books were right: Australia's fauna was indeed teeming with strange cases of arrested evolution. There, sure enough, were the duck-billed platypus, the kangaroo, the dingo dog. There was another one that zoology writers had left out. He was the 'wowsers', the strangest beastie of them all.

"The wowsers are human. The Australian slang dictionary defines him (or her) as 'a puritanical enthusiast, a bluestocking, a drab-souled Philistine, haunted by the mockery of others.' What the United States soldiers and their empire mates have to say about him would burn holes in a postman's sack.

"Worst feature of the wowsers is that he is not content to spend his Sundays drably in sedate strolls or in solemn indoor sportlessness. He wants everybody else to be Sunday-drab, too. And for soldiers who are working like horses six days a week to save the wowsers and his friends from the Jap, that is something to howl about.

"Thanks to the wowsers, Sunday in an Australian town, for soldiers who need recreation, is an exercise in breathing the dank air of a tomb."

The *Time* magazine says that the wowsers finally agreed that "recreational buildings for soldiers might be opened on Sundays, say from 2:30 to 6:00 p. m. and from 8:15 to 10:30. (The rest of the day is for church.) But they raised a wowsing quibble. Since this vast breach in the law was for soldiers, they wondered whether it would be wowsers-fair to let the soldiers' girls in. The girls are civilians."

The Australian press, in the *Sydney Daily Telegraph*, demanded, "Are we assembling huge armies . . . to pave the way to heaven for wowsers?" It is exceedingly hard for the political-minded clergyman to be charitable and tolerant in his religious opinions. We hope that this war will result in making all men more tolerant and charitable toward one another's views in the domain of religion. Why cannot men recognize that religious liberty for all men is possible only when all are granted the right to follow their own religious views, and the state keeps from interfering with the free exercise of the conscience in the sphere of religion? That is the only possible basis for peace, justice, and orderly liberty. C. S. L.

Victory for a Free Press

TWO VICTORIES for the freedom of the press were won recently—one before the Supreme Court of the United States and the other before the Supreme Court of the State of Mississippi.

In Mississippi, Frederick Sullens, editor of the Jackson (Mississippi) *Daily News*, was fined \$100 and sentenced to thirty days in jail for his comments upon a circuit judge's handling of gambling and liquor cases. Julian P. Alexander, justice of the Supreme Court of Mississippi, in reversing the decision of the circuit judge, asserted that "the right of a court to enforce respect for itself begins where the right of the citizen to speak ends." This is a great victory for the freedom of the press and for all who prize liberty. Nothing is safe, not even our courts, when the press becomes enslaved. Americans should take alarm when they see most of the people of the world enslaved because of a denial of freedom of expression. Freedom of speech and the press lies at the foundation of all other freedoms. When the freedom of expression is lost, every other freedom is denied and doomed.

Our supreme courts are rendering a fine service to the cause of human rights when they champion free utterance and keep the light of freedom burning brightly. Only the deliberate abuse of freedom of speech and the press needs to be curbed, after due conviction.

The "Times-Mirror" Case

The publisher and the managing editor of the Los Angeles *Times* newspaper were charged with con-

tempt of court in connection with the publication of three editorials respecting convictions for union labor activities. The Superior Court of California found the publisher and the managing editor guilty of contempt of court. The case was appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States, and the United States Supreme Court reversed the decision of the Superior Court of California. Justice Black wrote the majority opinion in favor of the management of the Los Angeles *Times*.

The majority opinion of the Supreme Court, in dealing with the question of disrespect of the courts by criticizing them, said: "The assumption that respect for the judiciary can be won by shielding judges from published criticism wrongly appraises the character of American public opinion. For it is a prized American privilege to speak one's mind, although not always with perfect good taste, on all public institutions. And an enforced silence, however limited, solely in the name of preserving the dignity of the bench, would probably engender resentment, suspicion, and contempt much more than it would enhance respect."

The Supreme Court, in dealing with the newspaper editorial which denounced in no uncertain terms two members of a labor union who had previously been found guilty of assaulting nonunion truck drivers, which editorial stated, "Judge A. A. Scott will make a serious mistake if he grants probation to Matthew Shannon and Kennan Holmes," said: "In view of the paper's long-continued militancy in this field, it is inconceivable that any judge in Los Angeles would expect anything but adverse criticism from it in the event probation was granted. Yet such criticism after final disposition of the proceedings would clearly have been privileged. Hence, this editorial, given the most intimidating construction it will bear, did no more than threaten future adverse criticism, which was reasonably to be expected anyway in the event of a lenient disposition of the pending case. To regard it, therefore, as in itself of substantial influence upon the course of justice would be to impute to judges a lack of firmness, wisdom, or honor, which we cannot accept as a major premise."

Thus a signal victory was gained in favor of the freedom of the press, and the Supreme Court of the United States needs to be commended for standing by its historic position in defense of the Bill of Human Rights in our matchless Constitution. It will be a sorry day for the people of the United States whenever the Supreme Court destroys the freedom of the press by placing a destructive interpretation upon the Bill of Rights, which protects the liberties of the people. An abuse of liberty to frustrate the ends of justice should never be left in the possession of one man's decision, who may have a personal grievance,

and take vengeance in contempt proceedings. It is fortunate for the American heritage of freedom that a single judge does not have the final say in contempt proceedings, but that the balance of power resides in the hands of nine men in the highest tribunal in the land. Eternal vigilance is our only safety. C. S. L.

Sunday Blue Laws Repealed

A NUMBER OF TOWNS AND CITIES in New Jersey repealed their ancient Sunday blue laws recently by popular referendum. An Associated Press report, in commenting on the election returns from Westfield, New Jersey, which repealed its drastic Sunday observance laws, said: "Westfield residents drank their breakfast coffee with fresh cream and golfed [on Sunday] without breaking any law, for the first time in their lives." The blue laws of New Jersey forbade all "diversions" and "pastimes." You could not travel more than twenty miles on Sunday in the State, and then only going to and from church. You were not allowed to play tennis, golf, or croquet on Sundays.

That was the Puritan idea of observance of the day in harmony with their religious creed. It is also the Bible plan of Sabbath observance as outlined in the fifty-eighth chapter of Isaiah. There we read: "If thou turn away thy foot from the Sabbath, from doing thy pleasure on My holy day; and call the Sabbath a delight, the holy of the Lord, honorable; and shalt honor Him, not doing thine own ways, nor finding thine own pleasure, nor speaking thine own words: then shalt thou delight thyself in the Lord."

But this instruction was given concerning the seventh day, and not concerning the first day of the week. The Puritan had no right in Scripture to apply this instruction to the first day of the week any more than to the second or third day of the week. Nor did the Puritan have a right to invoke the authority of the state to enforce the religious obligations and duties the individual owes to God and religion. Refraining from speaking our "own words" and finding our "own pleasure" on the Sabbath day is purely a religious obligation which the individual owes to God, and not to Caesar. The Lord clearly stated that "the Sabbath" is "My holy day." It belongs to God, and not to Caesar. Caesar cannot rightfully enforce any religious duties or obligations. The state must remain neutral upon the subject of religion. Religion is a personal and a voluntary matter, and should never be coerced.

C. S. L.

EVERY journey into bondage began with the first voluntary step.

Freedom of Conscience Jeopardized by Friends of Freedom

NOT INFREQUENTLY the friends of freedom thoughtlessly jeopardize the very heritage of freedom they fight to protect. We have a striking illustration of such a procedure in the case of Lew Ayres. He, in following the dictates of his conscience, decided that he could not bear arms, but that he could serve his country as a noncombatant. Many of the friends of freedom have severely criticized Mr. Ayres and denounced him in the strongest terms as unpatriotic, selfish, and cowardly.

President Roosevelt says we are waging this war in defense of the "four freedoms," one of which is freedom of conscience. Religious liberty is a gift from God to every man. It means that the man who disagrees with me has just as much a right to his conscience as I have to mine. There is no standard pattern for the conscience. God never made two people exactly alike, nor two consciences to function alike. When we attempt to put the conscience in a strait jacket, when we seek to deny the right of Mr. Ayres to follow his conscience, by heaping ridicule and contempt upon him, by boycotting him through social and economic pressure and ostracism, we are in reality destroying freedom of conscience. By jumping upon him and seeking to malign his good name and destroy his prospects of the future, we are stabbing the Bill of Human Rights in the back. We are destroying the very liberties we pretend to fight for in this conflict. No one's liberty is secure unless the liberty of each and all is safe.

There can be no freedom where one is free to think and act only as a dictator prescribes, be that dictator one or many. American freedom as conceived by the founding fathers was the freedom to differ and the right to differ they sought to protect in our matchless Constitution. Let us as Americans protect this sacred heritage for every American citizen who has the courage to follow his convictions in the face of ridicule and contempt, whether his conscience works in the same groove as yours or as mine, or in another groove. That, and that only, is religious liberty as set forth in our Constitution. That is true Americanism.

C. S. L.

Religious Instruction in Public Schools

AN INTERESTING AND INSTRUCTIVE editorial dealing with the subject of religious instruction in the public schools, appeared on April 16, 1942, in the Monroe County *Democrat*, published at Sparta, Wisconsin. Many Americans are greatly agitated

over the lack of religious teaching in the instruction that is being given our children today, and they seek to impart this lack through the public schools instead of establishing church schools or private schools for this purpose. We commend the following editorial to all those who are contemplating using the state schools for advancing the cause of religion:

"The movement afoot to ask public-school authorities to release pupils from school and schoolwork at a certain hour of the day, so that they may go to their respective churches for religious instruction, is freighted with dynamite.

"No subject touches the tempers of people as quickly as a mild disagreement on questions even thus remotely connected with religion. So we in Sparta should face this question coolly and without prejudice.

"It is true that children should have religious instruction. It is equally true that children should get much of this instruction from their parents and in the home circle. Perhaps it is true that parents are neglecting this obligation. And that pastors and religious orders must take over more and more of the religious instruction of children.

"However, school hours are taken up with studies. School programs provide all that an average student, in fact, all that any student, unless he be an exceptional one, can do between the hours of 9 A. M. and 4 P. M., with a recess for dinner.

"If an average student is taken out of school and away from his schoolwork at certain periods weekly, his schoolwork will suffer. And if teachers make allowances for these absences and excuse children, for work not up to standard, the children will not have gotten out of these school subjects what they need and must have in order to get on in the world.

"But, you say, religious instruction is equally important or more important.

"Then let us make sacrifices in order that our children may get religious instruction. Let our pastors get up in the morning and be ready at eight o'clock to meet the children of their congregations for forty-five minutes of religious instruction.

"Let the parents get up and send their children to these eight o'clock religious instructions.

"Morning is the best time.

"But school is out at four o'clock. And if the pastors prefer, let the parents send their children for religious instruction at four-fifteen. And let it continue for forty-five minutes or an hour.

"Thousands, yes, millions, of American adults of every sect received whatever religious education they have (beyond what they got in their own homes and at the knees of their mothers) at their respective churches and at hours before the public-school sessions began or after they were concluded.

"And these Americans thus educated in their religion maintain standards of honesty and morality higher than those of any people on earth.

"We must watch and protect our public schools, because they are our most precious heritage. They are peculiarly American. They and the opportunities they afford every child, rich and poor, have made America great.

"They are not godless any more than your office or your store is godless because you and your help work there.

"Perhaps eight o'clock religious instructions would inconvenience pastors and parents. But that would be a good way to open the day's work. And they would provide the missing prayers for those who call the public schools godless."

A Crime to Cut Hair

THE NEW YORK *Times* of April 22, 1942, published the following news item:

"A barber may not cut hair on Sunday—anybody's hair. So ruled Magistrate Anthony P. Savarese in Flushing court yesterday when he found Charles De Marco, fifty-six years old, of 102-47 Forty-fourth Avenue, Corona, guilty of violating the Sabbath laws as charged by Patrolman Peter Samuelson of the Newtown precinct. But if the customer is a fellow barber and the haircut is, to use the magistrate's own phrase, 'a reciprocal job without pay,' then he need not pay a fine. In this case Magistrate Savarese suspended sentence. Patrolman Samuelson had charged that on Sunday last he saw De Marco working in his shop, giving a man in the chair a haircut. De Marco explained that the man is a neighbor and a barber, and that they cut each other's hair during off hours and do not charge each other any fee."

According to the magistrate, cutting hair on Sunday is not a crime, but cutting hair for a fee is a crime, according to the Sunday law of New York. We wonder where the magistrate obtained such hair-splitting wisdom. Since barber No. 1 cut the hair of barber No. 2, and barber No. 2 cut the hair of barber No. 1 as a compensation for having his hair cut by barber No. 1, and barber No. 1 cut the hair of barber No. 2 as a compensation for having his hair cut by barber No. 2, is not this the equivalent of paying for your haircut? Certainly neither barber was cutting hair for nothing. Each compensated the other for his haircut. What foolish laws religious people pass when they want to thrust their religious opinions upon other people.

Working is not a crime, says the magistrate, if you don't exchange money as a reward. But what makes an act a crime? Is it the nature of the act or is it the time when the act is performed, that makes it a

crime? All law books tell us that "an act is a crime per se" when the nature of the act is criminal, and the time the act is performed does not make the act a crime. If it is a crime to cut hair, then it is wrong every day of the week. What is moral and civil on one day of the week is moral and civil on every day. What is immoral and uncivil is immoral and uncivil every day and not just on a certain day. An act may be sinful on the Sabbath day because God has forbidden it, and not so on a weekday. But sin cannot be punished by civil law or the civil magistrate; only crime is punishable by civil law. God's commandments which prescribe our duties and devotions to Him cannot rightfully be enforced by the civil magistrate. Offenses against God and religion are not in the purview of civil government.

What would the magistrate do with a hen which lays eggs on Sunday, and the owner of the hen, who sells the eggs for pay? Would he imprison the hen for laying the egg on Sunday, and would he fine the owner if he received pay for the egg? Or would he suspend sentence on the owner of the hen, if he ate the egg or gave it to a church bazaar to aid the cause of religion?

We are frequently amused when we read the court records of Massachusetts and Connecticut back in the good old Puritan days, when husbands were fined and placed in the stocks for kissing their wives on Sunday, when youths of opposite sexes were incarcerated for sitting under an apple tree and courting on Sunday, when boys were fined ten shillings for whistling on Sunday. How long will Americans tolerate all this meddling and mixing of religion with politics? If we separated the church and the state in practice as well as in theory, all these fanatical puritanical Sunday laws would be repealed, and each citizen would be given the privilege of making his religion a personal matter between himself and his God.

Religious Plaques Forbidden in Public Schools

THE BOARD OF EDUCATION of Covington, Kentucky, according to a United Press report, has refused to allow plaques of the Biblical ten commandments to be hung in the halls of the Covington public schools.

There is a movement on foot by certain religious and social improvement organizations to place plaques of the decalogue in the halls of public schools and courthouses, as well as to require religion to be taught in the public schools of the United States.

Whenever the question of placing plaques of the ten commandments in the public schools and courthouses comes up for discussion, immediately the ques-

tion arises between Catholic and Protestant leaders, Shall it be the ten commandments as set forth in the Bible or the ten commandments as set forth in the Catholic catechism or Protestant catechisms?

Recently it was proposed to put a bronze plaque of the ten commandments in a county courthouse in the State of Maryland. The Federation of Women's Clubs of the county was sponsoring the scheme. Two prominent Catholic women were ardent advocates of the plan and had the design for the plaque all prepared and presented it for acceptance to the women's club. The president of the club, however, was of the Presbyterian faith, and she immediately discovered that the design which the Catholic women presented was not the ten commandments as recorded in the book of Exodus, but as they appeared changed in the Catholic catechism, which eliminates the second commandment concerning the worship of images, and merely says concerning the fourth commandment, "Remember the Sabbath day, to keep it holy," and divides the tenth commandment into two commandments in order to have ten instead of nine. The Protestant members of the Federation of Women's Clubs, after considerable discussion pro and con, decided that the ten commandments as recorded in the twentieth chapter of Exodus should be placed upon the plaque that was to be placed in the courthouse. This decision offended the two Catholic women, and they withdrew from the club.

We can readily understand why the board of education refused to place a plaque of the ten commandments in the halls of the public schools in the city of Covington. To do so, it becomes necessary to decide whose interpretation or design of the ten commandments shall be recognized by the State authorities, the Catholic or the Protestant. This always results in heated religious controversies. The State should remain neutral on all religious questions, and give neither aid nor legal support and sanction to religious usages, customs, obligations, and doctrines.

C. S. L.

The Bill of Human Rights

THE GREATEST LEGAL DOCUMENT, aside from the ten commandments, which were divinely given, is the Bill of Human Rights incorporated in our Federal Constitution exactly one hundred and fifty years ago December 15, 1791. It is the one factor in our matchless Constitution which makes it the greatest document ever struck off by the hand of man.

The honor and the credit of the Bill of Rights belong to the American people. They hesitated to ratify the Constitution until the national lawmakers

gave them a definite promise that their religious rights, as well as their civil liberties, would be protected in the Constitution by a Bill of Rights.

Thomas Jefferson wanted these inalienable rights safeguarded in the Constitution. He wrote James Madison that he would favor the ratification of the Constitution by nine States, to get it to operate at once, and then he would like to ask the other States to refuse to ratify and come into the Union until a Bill of Rights was annexed to the Constitution.

That is exactly what happened. Rhode Island and North Carolina refused to ratify and come into the Union until a definite promise was made by Washington, Jefferson, and Madison—the three stalwarts of the new government—that such a Bill of Rights would be incorporated into the Constitution at the earliest opportunity. Rhode Island held out for four years after the Constitution had been ratified by more than three fourths of the States. Congress proposed by legislation to compel Rhode Island to join the Union by sending the Army to force ratification. The States which had already ratified the Constitution and joined the Union adopted boycott measures to force Rhode Island into the Union. But Rhode Island still refused, and said she would rather perish to the last man than ratify a Constitution which did not guarantee religious freedom.

The charter of Rhode Island from the days of Roger Williams made provision for the protection of the conscience of the individual in religious matters, for freedom of speech and of the press; in fact, the Rhode Island charter drafted by Roger Williams contained practically every provision that is in our Bill of Rights.

The Baptists of Rhode Island, and everywhere else, contended for these rights, and it was largely through their influence and insistence that the Bill of Rights was finally incorporated in our Federal Constitution.

The Bill of Rights enumerates certain fundamental principles which Jefferson called inalienable rights, which no government on earth had a right to abridge or deny to the individual. These natural, God-given rights have become known as the American way of life, or true Americanism.

Let me define the true meaning of Americanism as embodied in the Bill of Rights.

Americanism means living up to the ideals and principles of liberty and justice as set forth in the Bill of Rights in our Federal Constitution.

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

Americanism grants equal protection under the law to all religions, with no favors to any. It recognizes that all men are free to worship God or not to

worship God, in harmony with their own consciences. It advocates a total and complete separation of church and state.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Never before in the history of the world has the heritage of liberty, as embodied in the Bill of Rights, been placed in greater jeopardy by the foes of America and the enemies of liberty than at the present hour. If ever there was a greater crisis than the present hour, we have failed to discover that era. If ever there was a time when eternal vigilance was the price to be paid for the preservation of our precious heritage of civil and religious liberty, now is such a time. If we lose our liberties in this crisis, the world is doomed.

C. S. L.

Interesting Court Decision

RECENTLY THERE WERE TWO GROUPS of trustees of a church which appeared before Judge Benjamin E. Buente of the superior court of Vanderburgh County, Evansville, Indiana, each claiming and suing for the legal title to the real estate. The evidence showed neither group of trustees had a constitution, or bylaws, or a membership roll, and so the court requested that each person who claimed to be a member in good faith, make an affidavit to that effect, and be recognized as a member, and then hold an election for the purpose of electing three trustees. After these trustees were elected, the court was able to determine that the real estate was the property of the members of the church, to be held by the three trustees elected for their benefit, and suggested (not ordered) that in order to avoid further difficulty, they adopt a constitution and bylaws as well as a membership roll.

In the course of the opinion Judge Buente made the following significant statement, which we wish to emphasize: "The state should project itself into the temporal affairs of the church just as little as possible, and *into the spiritual affairs not at all.*"

If every court in the land had always observed this rule of jurisdiction laid down by Judge Buente, the historian would have been saved the task of writing the history of the bloody persecutions in the past. Whenever the state or the courts attempt to settle the spiritual affairs involving religious beliefs and doctrines, they can do so only by trampling upon the rights of one group, and sanctioning the beliefs of the other group. Since the rulings of the court have the status of law, it means the forcible suppression of the religious beliefs of one group and the legal sanction of the beliefs of the other group. It is not the prerogative of any court to determine which religious belief is right and which is wrong. A judge on the bench should mete out impartial justice and deal only with purely civil and temporal affairs, and with these earthly affairs "just as little as possible." The best-governed nation is the one that is the least governed in civil matters, and "not at all" in spiritual affairs. The spiritual belongs to God, and offenses against God and religion are not punishable by civil magistrates.

The primary cause of all religious persecution grows out of the fact that our courts have failed to recognize the line of demarcation laid down by Judge Buente, and have allowed themselves to be drawn into the settlement of spiritual and doctrinal affairs which are not within the province of civil authorities to determine. The state should steer as far as possible away from spiritual functions.

C. S. L.

Freedom of the Press

SIX MEMBERS of the Jehovah's Witnesses, all residents of the State of Kentucky and each claiming to be a "duly authorized representative of the 'Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society,'" were arrested in the city of Harlan, Kentucky, and charged with sedition for selling and attempting to sell, distribute, or otherwise circulate various books, tracts, pamphlets, periodicals, and magazines on certain streets and public places in some of the cities, towns, and villages of eastern Kentucky.

The members of the sect so arrested sought an injunction to prevent the mayor of the city of Harlan, the commonwealth attorney, the chief of police, the judge of the police court, the sheriff of Harlan County, and two members of the police department of the city of Harlan from interfering with them in the sale of literature issued by their organization.

The injunction was sought in the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Kentucky and bears the notation of London—No. 64. The officers above mentioned had threatened "to continue to arrest, imprison, and prosecute the plaintiffs." The unanimous opinion of the three judges who sat on this case was that injunctive protection should be given to the plaintiffs, since the printed matter that they sought to circulate and distribute does not "constitute 'sedition' as defined by chapter 100 of the Acts of the Kentucky Legislature of 1920." It was "ordered and adjudged by the Court" that the defendants above referred to "be and are hereby enjoined and restrained from hereafter arresting, imprisoning, or prosecuting the plaintiffs and others of Jehovah's Witnesses for or on account of circulating, selling, or otherwise distributing in a peaceable and orderly manner the literature, books, publications, and printed matter listed, identified and described in Paragraph No. 4 of the foregoing Findings of Fact [two legal-sized pages were used to list the titles of these], or by threats or otherwise interfering with such activity on the part of plaintiffs and others of 'Jehovah's Witnesses,' under color of chapter 100 of the Acts of the Kentucky Legislature of 1920 (Ky. Statutes 1148a-1 to 1148a-14, inclusive) or upon the ground that such acts constitute 'sedition' in violation of any law, statute, or ordinance of the State of Kentucky."

We wonder just how long it will take some overzealous executives to understand that no one may interfere with the freedom of the press in the United States.

H. H. V.

An evil tongue is the sharpest weapon his satanic majesty has yet invented.

True Liberty

"THIS is true liberty, when freeborn men,
Having to advise the public, may speak free;
Which he who can and will deserves high praise;
Who neither can nor will may hold his peace,
What can be juster in a state than this?"

"Man can only come to his full stature if he be free to develop his personality, and this is why he has instinctively rebelled against despotism.

"Finally, Milton nobly asserted those rights of a free people for which we fought in times past and fight again today:

"Give me liberty to know, to utter, and to argue,
freely according to conscience, above all liberties.'"

"But, after all, is freedom really necessary to the well-being of the state? Freedom is a word constantly on our lips: What do we mean when we use it? Do we honestly believe with Burke that 'the people never give up their liberties but under some delusion'? Do we endorse with all our hearts Wordsworth's dictum: 'Everyone knows that despotism is another word for weakness'?"

"History is a voice forever sounding across the centuries the laws of right and wrong. Opinions alter, manners change, creeds rise and fall, but the moral law is written on the tablets of eternity. Justice and truth alone endure and live. Injustice and falsehood may be long-lived, but doomsday comes at last to them."

"What is our Lord's attitude to liberty? . . . He assumes that man is a free agent accountable to God for what he does; and this assumption underlies all His teaching. He appeals to men's minds, asking them to exercise their reasoning faculties; He appeals to men's consciences, asking them to exercise their moral judgment; and He would not do this unless He believed that they had the power both to come to decisions and to act upon them."

"Man has a right to form his own opinion and voice it—in private conversation, in public meeting, in the press, and in books. By lip and pen we should be free to say what we have to say, without fear or favor. In Britain the fight for the liberty of the spoken and the written word went on for centuries, and now it is ours we shall never surrender it."

"The Bible is the book with which we can begin not only a new home but, in God's good time, a new world; and in that new world freedom will come to full fruition:

"These things shall be: a loftier race
Than e'er the world hath known shall rise,
With flame of freedom in their souls
And light of knowledge in their eyes.'"

—*Selections from "The Book of Freedom," Annual Report of British and Foreign Bible Society, 1941.*

LIBERTY, 1942

Pertinent Statements

"My children, France comes to make us slaves. God gave us liberty; France has no right to take it away."—*L'Ouverture, in the time of Napoleon.*

"MAY our land be a land of liberty, the seat of virtue, the asylum of the oppressed, a name and a praise in the whole earth, until the last shock of time shall bury the empires of the world in one common undistinguished ruin."—*General Joseph Warren.*

"I do not hesitate to answer my dear general's question in the affirmative, by declaring that now or never is the time for every virtuous American to exert himself in the cause of liberty and his country; and that it is become the duty cheerfully to sacrifice the sweets of domestic felicity to attain the honest and glorious end America has in view."—*General Schuyler, to General Washington.*

"IN a contest for the rights of human nature, the citizens of the United States of America could not but be impressed with the glorious example of those illustrious patriots, who, triumphing over every difficulty and danger, established the liberties of the United Netherlands on the most honorable and permanent basis."—*Continental Congress to Netherlands.*

"CONGRESS, at an early period of the war, sought the friendship of Holland; convinced that the same inviolable regard for liberty, and the same wisdom, justice, and magnanimity which led their forefathers to glory, was handed down unimpaired to their posterity."—*General Washington to Netherlands.*

"DURING the throes and convulsions of the ancient world, during the agonizing spasms of infuriated man, seeking through blood and slaughter his long-lost liberty, it was not wonderful that the agitation of the billows should reach even this distant and peaceful shore."—*Thomas Jefferson.*

"THE same force and resistance which are sufficient to procure us our liberties, will secure us a glorious independence and support us in the dignity of free imperial states."—*John Adams, in 1776.*

"If justice, good faith, gratitude, and all other qualities which ennoble the character of a nation and fulfill the end of government, be the fruits of our establishments, the cause of liberty will acquire a dignity and a luster which it has never yet enjoyed."—*James Madison.*

"THREE millions of people armed in the holy cause of liberty, and in such a country as that which we possess, are invincible by any force which our enemy can send against us. Besides, sir, we shall not fight our battles alone. There is a just God who presides

over the destinies of nations, and who will raise up friends to fight our battles for us."—*Patrick Henry.*

"THE courts are the tribunals prescribed by the Constitution and created by the authority of the people to determine, expound, and enforce the law. Hence, whoever resists the final decision of the highest judicial tribunal aims a deadly blow at our whole republican system of government—a blow which, if successful, would place all our rights and liberties at the mercy of passion, anarchy, and violence."—*Abraham Lincoln.*

"LET us show ourselves Americans by showing that we do not want to go off in separate camps or groups by ourselves, but that we want to co-operate with all other classes and all other groups in a common enterprise which is to release the spirits of the world from bondage. . . . That is the meaning of democracy."—*Woodrow Wilson.*

"ASSERT thyself; rise up to thy full height;
Shake from thy soul these dreams effeminate,
These passions born of indolence and ease,
Resolve, and thou art free."

—*Henry W. Longfellow.*

"SLOW are the steps of freedom, but her feet never turn backward."—*James Russell Lowell.*

SPARKS From the Editor's Anvil

STROKING a savage tiger does not change its nature into a harmless kitten.

THE only answer to error is a statement of truth, and not forceful suppression.

EVERY person has the right to make mistakes so long as they only affect his own welfare.

THERE can be no permanent guaranty for peace so long as human nature remains unregenerate.

A WEAK nation dare not wrong a strong nation, and a strong nation need not wrong a weak nation.

LIBERTY was won by millions of martyrs who died for the right of a man to bow to no master but God.

It is always profitable to take a backward look if we are willing to learn lessons from the mistakes of the past.

THE only world in which there will be no more wars is "the world to come," where Christ reigns supreme.

THE mismanagement of human affairs in government produces anarchists among the masses and dictators among the rulers.



COURTESY, CANADIAN NATIONAL RAILWAYS

THE CANADIAN PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS IN OTTAWA, ONTARIO

In This Majestic Building Is Centered the Government of Canada. The Dominion's People Are Being Engaged and Her Immense Resources Used Along With the Other Democracies in a Tremendous Struggle to Maintain Her God-given Rights and Freedoms