

LIBERTY

A MAGAZINE OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

Founded 1856

15 CENTS A COPY

WASHINGTON, D. C.

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Religious Liberty Association

1. We believe in God, in the Bible as the word of God, and in the separation of church and state as taught by Jesus Christ.
2. We believe that the ten commandments are the law of God, and that they comprehend man's whole duty to God and man.
3. We believe that the religion of Jesus Christ is founded in the law of love of God, and needs no human power to support or enforce it. Love cannot be forced.
4. We believe in civil government as divinely ordained to protect men in the enjoyment of their natural rights and to rule in civil things, and that in this realm it is entitled to the respectful obedience of all.
5. We believe it is the right and should be the privilege, of every individual to worship or not to worship, according to the dictates of his own conscience, provided that in the exercise of this right he respects the equal rights of others.
6. We believe that all religious legislation tends to unite church and state, is subversive of human 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

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LIBERTY IS THE SUCCESSOR OF THE AMERICAN SENTINEL, WHOSE FIRST NUMBER WAS PUBLISHED IN 1886, AT OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA. ITS NAME WAS CHANGED IN 1906 TO LIBERTY, UNDER WHICH NAME IT HAS BEEN PUBLISHED QUARTERLY, BY THE REVIEW AND HERALD PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION, TAKOMA PARK, WASHINGTON, D. C. ENTERED AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER, MAY 1, 1906, AT THE POST OFFICE AT WASHINGTON, D. C., UNDER THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF MARCH 3, 1879. SUBSCRIPTION RATES—ONE YEAR, 60 CENTS; CLUB OF THREE SUBSCRIPTIONS TO SEPARATE ADDRESSES, \$1; FIVE OR MORE COPIES MAILED BY PUBLISHERS TO FIVE ADDRESSES, OR TO ONE ADDRESS, POSTPAID, EACH, 9 CENTS. NO SUBSCRIPTIONS FOR LESS THAN ONE YEAR RECEIVED. REMIT BY POST-OFFICE MONEY ORDER (PAYABLE AT WASHINGTON, D. C., POST OFFICE), EXPRESS ORDER, OR DRAFT ON NEW YORK. CASH SHOULD BE SENT IN REGISTERED LETTER. WHEN A CHANGE OF ADDRESS IS DESIRED, BOTH OLD AND NEW ADDRESSES MUST BE GIVEN.



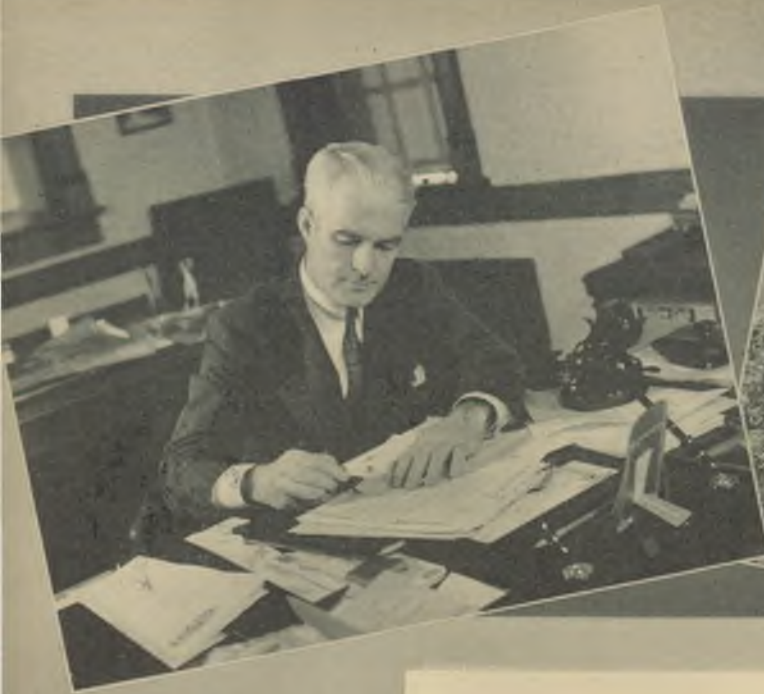


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 EDITED BY H. M. LAMBERT



PHOTO BY EWING GALLOWAY

This Global War Will Affect in Some Way Practically
 Every Man in the World, Even in the Remotest Sections

The Christian's Duty as a Member of the State

by HAROLD JOHN OCKENGA, Ph. D., Litt. D.

[Doctor Ockenga is pastor of the Park Street church in Boston, Massachusetts. He has traveled widely, and besides being a contributor to various religious journals, is the author of a number of books. —Ed.]

REPEATEDLY I HAVE THOUGHT about the Christian's duty as a member of the state when I have considered passages in the Scripture which bear upon it, such as Jesus' words, "Render therefore unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's; and unto God the things that are God's." Certainly His teachings and His willingness to pay tribute, as we have it recorded in the incident of the miracle of the coin found in the mouth of the fish which Peter took and gave to the taxgatherers, reveal that the Christian has obligations in the realm of the state as well as of the church. Moreover, Paul's appeal to Caesar during his trial before Festus must have necessitated at least some exposition of and reference to the Scripture and Christian teaching, which would place Caesar in judgment upon whether Paul had done evil or

not. Such an attitude is consistent with his teaching, "Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers. For there is no power but of God: the powers that be are ordained of God."

Another great apostle, namely, Peter, said, "Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake: whether it be to the king, as supreme; or unto governors, as unto them that are sent by him for the punishment of evildoers, and for the praise of them that do well. For so is the will of God, that with well-doing ye may put to silence the ignorance of foolish men. . . . Honor all men. Love the brotherhood. Fear God. Honor the king." Here we have the agreement of the foremost of apostles and also of the Lord Jesus in reference to political matters, and this teaching arouses our interest.

There is a general interest in a subject such as this at the present time. Never was there a day when preaching on the relation of the individual Christian to the state was more necessary than in this day of world revolutions and of war. Our age is one of the great transition ages of history like that of the

breakup of the Roman Empire, like the rise of nationalism in Europe after the Renaissance, and like the period of the Industrial Revolution. Let us make no mistake. This present war is a revolution, a mighty and terrible world revolution which will affect the life of every man in the world, even in the remotest sections of Africa.

There is also the particular interest of individuals in a subject like this just now. We are living in a time when confusion of thought exists among Christian people of all kinds.

The Scripture says, "There is no power but of God: the powers that be are ordained of God." These are powerful words when speaking of the state, and they have great teaching value.

What then is the place of the state in God's scheme of things? We say unhesitatingly that God established the state. The state was instituted after the flood as a check upon man's evil deeds and thoughts. God said, "Surely your blood of your lives will I require; at the hand of every beast will I require it, and at the hand of man; at the hand of every man's brother will I require the life of man. Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed: for in the image of God made He man." Before the flood there was a homogeneous society of men, but of evil men, and this society failed to warrant its continued existence in the form in which it was found at that time. God instituted human government to restrain the evil impulses of man and to give some sense of security to man.

A note ought to be made here that the ultimate aim of certain groups is a governmentless society. The steps in this theory are: first, the violent revolution of the proletariat whereby the means of production are seized and put in the hands of the workers; second, the development and working of socialism; and third, the homogeneous classless society in which no government at all will be necessary for men. The Bible reveals that this theory is an error. There can be no homogeneous society without government, because man is sinful, depraved, and fallen. He needs a restraining influence, a government of his fellow men established by God.

God not only established the state, but it is God's power which governs the world through the state and acts through the civil magistrates. From certain passages in the Scripture which speak of Satan as the god of this world, there was an early tendency in the church to create a dualism and to ascribe the civil power to the devil, or Satan. The author of the Clementine homily says, "The true prophet says that God, the Creator of all things, assigned two realms to two beings, the one good, the other evil. To the evil being He gave the lordship of the present world with the proviso that he should punish those who do evil: to the good being, the future, eternal world. . . . The

children of the future world are, while they remain in this one, in the hostile realm of a foreign king." This antagonism enables us to understand Paul's insistence on what seems to be a truism; namely, that there is no authority but from God. This leads us to inquire what is Satan's sphere? The Scripture evidently teaches that Satan's sphere is purely spir-



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To the Religious Leaders of His Day Jesus Declared It to Be Man's Duty Not Only to Render to God the Things That Are His, but Also to Give to the Government or Earthly Authority the Things That Belong to It

itual. He is the god of this world and the prince of this world, but only because the mass of people in the world have accepted his spiritual domain. He governs men and leads them to do his will, but he does not have kingdoms to give except as he can use other men to do his will. Whenever Satan's emissaries conflict with God's law, the Christian is brought into conflict with the law of the state, but this does not mean that the state itself is evil. Satan's kingdom is only a spiritual kingdom, a kingdom of darkness, as Christ's kingdom is a kingdom of light.

It was God who gave to Nebuchadnezzar a kingdom, and though Nebuchadnezzar did not acknowledge this truth at first, after he had been humbled as the beasts of the field, he said, "He doeth according to His will in the army of heaven, and among the inhabitants of the earth: and none can stay His hand or say unto Him, What doest Thou?" Daniel said, "The Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever He will." God gives the reins of government to those who fit into His inscrutable purposes of either chastening or punishment of the peoples of the world.

Acknowledging the truth that God gives the authority in the state to whom He will, we find the whole range of authorities as providential. We are to be subject to the higher powers. This does not mean the supreme powers of the state, but the range of authorities which are above the ordinary citizen. The means to the establishment of these authorities, whether the divine right of kings, the result of popu-

lar franchise, or the result of revolutionary force, are still providential. According to the teaching of the Scripture the President whom the United States of America elects is the President whom it deserves to have according to the divine judgment. The power will be given in the permissive will of God. For us to resist these authorities is to resist the ordinance



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The Apostle Paul, on Trial for His Faith, Refused to Allow His Case to Be Decided by the Religious Council at Jerusalem. He Chose Rather to Stand on His Rights as a Roman Citizen, and Appealed His Case to Caesar at Rome

have just said does not militate against some sort of league or federation of nations, if in the providence of God such should ever be proposed and wrought out in the earth.

There is a definite purpose to this civil government which God has instituted. It is to control fallen man in his social relationships. If man is inherently bad, corrupt, depraved, and fallen, it is obvious that these bad tendencies will soon come out in his social relationships with his fellow men, and therefore man must be curbed, restricted, ruled, and controlled. In fact, this is the great problem of government. The utilitarians worked out a scheme whereby by the adding of punishments to evil deeds and of rewards to good deeds they could make men, who, inherently selfish, sought their own greatest happiness, work for the happiness of the greatest number of mankind, for an unsocial act would bring with it more personal pain than a social act. The theory itself is not bad in its operation when we are dealing with man on the natural plane, and it is largely the basis of the theory of modern government.

The purpose of civil government according to Romans 13 is to inspire fear and thus to restrain evil-doers. Paul said, "Rulers are not a terror to good works, but to the evil. Wilt thou then not be afraid of the power? do that which is good, and thou shalt have praise of the same: for he is the minister of God to thee for good. But if thou do that which is evil, be afraid; for he beareth not the sword in vain: for he is the minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil." It is true that an unjust law or a tyrannical power may make the authority appear evil, but it is a minister for good. The Christian may suffer under an unjust ruler, but his own suffering may ultimately bring about the change in the law. It is the evildoer, not the righteous, who needs to fear the authorities, for the authorities are established to punish evildoers. It is well known that it is often the punishment of a wrongdoer that brings him to repentance and to God for eternity.

Rulers are to reward them that do good. Good works and justice consist not merely of submission to rulers, but of active righteousness in social relationships. The authorities are never a terror to such. Government in general is for the security, protection, help, and good of the righteous man.

The Christian Must Be Subject to the State

Paul said, "Let every soul be subject unto . . . the powers that be. . . . Ye must needs be subject. . . . Render therefore to all their dues: . . . honor to whom honor." It is the Christian's duty to submit himself voluntarily to the state in which he lives. There are exceptions to this rule, of course, which are

of God or the divine arrangement. Resistance brings with it judgment through the state itself. I do not understand that God intervenes in judgment upon one who resists the state, but I understand that the state itself executes the judgment upon the individual when the individual has resisted the authority of the state itself. An exception should be made here, for the believer must not actively or even passively co-operate with evil. He must distinguish between the authority and the incumbent of the office, so that if an evil incumbent occupies an office and commands something contrary to God's law, though we submit to the office, our firm, religious conduct will itself ultimately break the tyranny even if we suffer for it.

God not only established the state and committed the power unto the rulers thereof, but He also sets the bounds of the habitations of nations. Paul said He "hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation." After the incident of Babel, when the tongues of men were confused, God established the nations for a purpose. Hence, we may believe that nationalism is natural, and supernationalism in the Christian family is natural. One nation may overrun temporarily many other nations, but it will ultimately recede to the bounds of its habitation as set by God. According to the Scriptures, even rulers and kingdoms are weighed in the balances and often found wanting. Then when they are judged, it is in this world, not in the world to come, and it is judgment wrought out usually by the sword. What we

made in the Scripture and which we must acknowledge, but for the most part the first duty of the Christian is to be an acceptable citizen of the state.

The Christian's duty is one of a dual relationship, for this is written to "every soul." The Christian is a citizen of the state with all its privileges and its obligations. With his vote, where he has the franchise, he has the opportunity of selecting his own governmental representatives, who are the ministers of God, and through his influence over other men for righteousness he is able to have something to do with the condition of the nation. What an error it is then for these religious groups to say that they will not vote and will not have anything to do with the state until it acknowledges God or Christ in its fundamental law. Whether acknowledged or not, God is the authority and power back of government. As a believer, the Christian is also a citizen of the kingdom of God. To this kingdom his loyalty must be supreme, but for the most part that loyalty should harmonize with his loyalty as a citizen. This arises from the fact that a man who is a Christian lives from the heart in conformity to God's law, and since these laws are also the true foundation of the state, he ought to be a better citizen of that state. Wherever this conflict is set up between the kingdom of God and the state, the kingdom of God must be supreme in the life of the individual believer.

How grateful we should be as Americans that into the fundamental laws of the United States of America, such as the Constitution, are written the basic principles of the law of God. Thus a Christian, especially in America, is able to be a good citizen. Yet we must remember that the church as the manifestation of the kingdom of God is separate from the state and must not enter into the civil struggle. Its work is with individuals in saving them, transforming their lives, making them Christians. Through these individuals power and influence are given to the church over the state.

Paul enjoins obedience to the state by the Christian for two reasons. "Ye must needs be subject, not only for wrath, but for conscience' sake." Out of obedience to his own conscience the Christian

usually will obey the law of the state. If a Christian is not subject to the state's law, he must bear the penalty as well as anyone else. In refusing to obey the law of the draft, clergymen are facing five years of imprisonment or a ten-thousand-dollar fine. This wrath is judgment inflicted by the state as God's agent. The Christian has no more right to expect exemption from the state law than has any other citizen of the state. What then is the place of conscience in obedience? Conscience should make us obey with more alacrity. There are some who will obey the state laws merely to escape penalty. Christianity should enhance law and order by making men obey from conscience as well as from penalty. What shall we do in the matter of conscience when God's law and the state's law clash? Then we must do exactly as the apostles did, and say, "Whether it be right in the sight of God to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye. For we cannot but speak the things which we have seen and heard." "We ought to obey God rather than men." Then they took the apostles and beat them and released them, and they departed from the presence of the Sanhedrin rejoicing that they were counted worthy to suffer shame for Christ's name. Your conscience before God is supreme and it is personal. No one else can tell you what to do, but when you follow your conscience, you must prepare to bear the consequences even as the early Christians and the martyrs of the Middle Ages bore the consequences of following their consciences.

The duties required of the believer in the state are clearly set forth. We are to render to all their due, tribute to whom tribute is due, custom to whom custom, fear to whom fear, and honor to whom honor is due. The first command is that we are to pay tribute. Payment of taxes and tribute is for the protection and good received from government. It is a rightful obligation. Instead of complaining because of our required tribute, how gladly should we Americans pay taxes in this last citadel of the free and the home of the brave, that we may preserve it as it is now! According to the meaning of these words, tribute is a regular tax which is paid by individuals. Custom is upon certain articles of trade which is paid intermittently. Fear is given to authorities who have the power of life and death; and honor, to those who are above us in the range of state authorities. Truly we have no right to enjoy the great American heritage without a willingness to contribute our money, our blood, and our tears to continue it for our children.

When men became soft, effeminate, and lovers of luxury in Rome, the barbarians swept in from the north and took away their privileges. These are days calling for strenuous self-discipline of Americans if we are to preserve our heritage.

"Our institutions were not devised to bring about uniformity of opinion; if they had been, we might well abandon hope. It is important to remember, as has well been said, that the essential characteristic of true liberty is, that under its shelter many different types of life and character and opinion and belief can develop unmolested and unobstructed."

—Charles Evans Hughes.



PHOTO BY BURTON HOLMES FROM SWING GALLOWAY

A Place of Interest on the Border Between the Provinces of Alberta and British Columbia on the Canadian Pacific Railway. A Little Mountain Stream on This Continental Divide Separates at This Point Into Two Little Brooks. "The Waters That Flow to the East Eventually Reach Hudson Bay and the Atlantic Ocean; the Rivulet That Runs to the West Adds Its Mite to the Volume of the Pacific"

Democracy Is Worth Saving

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

Professor Emeritus of History, Columbia University

RECENTLY I STOOD at a point on the great Continental Divide, just over the Canadian border, where a shallow stream of water only a few inches wide bifurcates like an inverted Y, one branch flowing westward until it finally merges with the Columbia River and empties into the Pacific, the other finding its way into the Atlantic. The thought of the ultimate destiny of the divided rill brought a sense of awe. Today it furnishes a suggestive symbol, for we are standing now on one of those watersheds which divide the epochs of history. Two utterly irreconcilable systems of politics, economics, and ethics are locked in a desperate struggle for the mastery of the world. On the one side are the democracies, dedicated to the ideals of personal liberty, civil rights, representative government, parliamentary debate, freedom of speech, press, and worship, economic opportunity, and unfettered scientific investigation. On the other side are the totalitarian regimes, spurning democracy as a "putrid corpse,"

ridiculing the deliberations of representative assemblies as "the cacklings of hens in a barnyard," ruthlessly repressing every expression of personal freedom, and reducing the individual to a puppet manipulated by strings of authority, a mere cog in the machinery of the omnipotent and irresponsible state. Franklin Roosevelt and Adolph Hitler are in complete agreement on one point: that the coexistence of these two irreconcilable systems is impossible. One must die in order that the other may live. The world cannot permanently endure half slave and half free.

At present our attention is fixed almost exclusively on the necessity of winning the war. From the President down to the least local administrator come the exhortations to make our utmost contribution to this end: to buy defense bonds and stamps, to bear cheerfully the increased burden of taxes, to reduce travel to a minimum in order to enable the transportation system to move the necessary troops and supplies, to conserve rubber for Army trucks, scrap for

steel tanks, and fats for explosives. We are confident of ultimate victory; but victory in arms alone will not ensure the triumph of democracy.

After this war, as after the last one, there will undoubtedly be obstructionists of one sort or another among us, wittingly or unwittingly working to prevent the realization of the ideals which have been set forth in President Roosevelt's Four Freedoms and the Atlantic Charter.

There will still be economic royalists who will cling to their self-arrogated claims of privilege at the expense of the general welfare of their fellow citizens. There will be the self-indulgent who value ease and comfort above liberty, not realizing that if they lose their liberty, they will lose their ease and comfort too. There are the fatalists who see no sense in stemming the "wave of the future," even if they are carried as flotsam on its crest. And there are even deliberate traitors, fifth columnists, who, for imagined personal gain or glory, would betray the citadel of democracy to the enemy.

These groups of obstructionists, however, we hope and believe, make up a comparatively small proportion of the citizens of our country. Moreover, they are under the constant criticism of public opinion, and the more dangerous of them are under the constant surveillance of the public authorities. A more distressing fact is the widespread ignorance of and indifference to the principles on which our democratic institutions are founded, which prevails among Americans, natives as well as aliens. A recent survey of the National Education Association revealed the shocking fact that 82 per cent of the students in our colleges and universities were taking no courses in American history. They are flocking to classes in economics, accounting, and business management, while their knowledge of the very soul of America is confined to such scraps of information as their fading memory may preserve. Our scientific achievements are astounding. Our material civilization has attained levels which have in them the potentiality of furnishing for every man, woman, and child a life free from the curse of poverty and destitution. But unless the moral health of the nation is to deteriorate, our people must have a rebaptism of American idealism. Our educators, publicists, and political leaders must accept as a primary responsibility the constant rediscovery and revitalization of the heritage of freedom bequeathed to us by the fathers of the Republic.



"That is why Abraham Lincoln, and all who like him have believed no price too high to pay for freedom, have been staunch in the faith that democracy is worth saving."

"Eternal vigilance," said Thomas Jefferson, "is the price of liberty." "What thou hast inherited from thy fathers," wrote Goethe, "that must thou earn in order to possess it." To save American democracy, the American people must be educated to appreciate why democracy is worth saving and to learn how it is to be saved.

To the first question history has ample answers from the classic days of antiquity down to the present. Wherever democracy has been practiced, the ground has been fertilized for the seeds of liberty and individual development of dignity and talent. Wherever democracy has been surrendered or overthrown, the results have been intellectual sterility, moral degeneracy, and social corruption. Let us note but a few examples.

Athens in her great age of democratic freedom was "the eye of Hellas." The creative genius of her poets, artists, and philosophers bequeathed an inexhaustible fund of culture to posterity. The whole body of citizens shared in the common activities of political assemblies, the courts of law, the spectacles of the theater, the discussions of the agora. The schools of philosophy were unhampered in their speculations and uncensored in their teaching. But as the fifth century progressed, a spirit of greed and military arrogance entered like a poison into the life of the city. The Delian Confederacy, established originally as a league of free and equal states for the protection of Hellenic culture against the attack of the barbarians, was converted into an empire in which Athens arbitrarily extended her coercive power over the member states and robbed them in order to increase her own material wealth and add monument after monument to her imposing physical magnificence. In the words of Bruce Brotherton, "The Athenian empire grew in tyranny and utterly destroyed Hellenic unity and finally obliterated the liberal spirit. Athens earned the hatred of all Greece, as fifty years before she had earned its gratitude, so that to sustain herself she had to use her utmost force. In her own fear and eagerness to maintain herself, she destroyed small states like Melos, putting its men to the sword and enslaving its women and children." Had Athens continued to cherish the democracy of her best days, she might not only have preserved her own independence, but she might have remained as a powerful center of influence against the declining standards of life and thought in the Hellenistic world—the

"failure of nerve," as Gilbert Murray has called it.

The career of Napoleon Bonaparte is another illustration of the intimate connection between the repudiation of democracy and the degeneracy of culture and liberty. Starting out as a defender of the French republic, Napoleon allowed his overweening ambition to lead him into the path of empire. Like the Athenian generals of the fifth century, he brought home from his military triumphs much booty to adorn the city and much glory to feed the pride of the citizens. But historians all agree that the years during which Napoleon was supreme in Europe were also years in which the creative spirit of France was at its lowest ebb. Great works of art were lacking. Literature was debased into fulsome panegyrics on the virtues of the emperor. Education was converted into catechism prescribed by the state for the glorification of the regime. The representative assembly was reduced to a group of "yes men," while the policies of the empire were determined by Napoleon's hand-picked council of state. Fouché's Gestapo pounced upon any sign of opposition to the will of the despot, and men and women who still clung to

the liberties of a free and independent citizenship were obliged to speak in whispers and hang their heads in shame, or to go into exile or hiding.

Have we not seen all these nefarious effects of the suppression of democracy revived in the Nazi and Fascist regimes of today? It is not the material destruction and physical misery which these have brought upon the overrun countries that constitute the major offense against civilization. It is not even the diabolical cruelty shown in the massacre of hostages, or the lying propaganda which has sought to dope and dupe their people, of which the following is a recent example: "The United States is in a panic. The people are kept down only by violence. Barricades have been thrown up in the streets of Washington. The President is frantic. The majority of Congress is in revolt against an unjustified war. Millions have fled from New York to the interior, with Mayor La Guardia and Mrs. Roosevelt in the lead. The entire Pacific coast has been evacuated." The material damage of the war can be repaired; the imprisoned victims of sadistic fury can be released (those that are alive); the nonsense of desperate propaganda will, of course, fall of its own weight. The authors of the present world calamity can be sent to Coventry. But if the victorious nations fail, as they failed twenty years ago, to make the democracy they fought for truly effective; if

"A recent survey of the National Education Association revealed the shocking fact that 82 per cent of the students in our colleges and universities were taking no courses in American history. . . . To save American democracy, the American people must be educated to appreciate why democracy is worth saving and to learn how it is to be saved."

PHOTO BY CY LA TOUR



"The candid citizen must confess that if the policy of the Government upon vital questions affecting the whole people is to be irrevocably fixed by decisions of the Supreme Court, the instant they are made, as in ordinary litigation between parties in personal actions, the people will have ceased to be their own rulers, having to that extent practically resigned their Government into the hands of that eminent tribunal."

**Lincoln's Inaugural Address,
March 4, 1861.**

they allow the old evils of selfish nationalism, imperialism, economic autarchy, and political vengeance to mar the coming peace, neither the material nor the spiritual fruits of the war will be won. Democracy can be saved only by a people who are thoroughly aware of what the loss of democracy would mean: the political, economic, religious, and cultural freedoms which we have always cherished as the American way of life, or the American dream. This freedom cannot be handed down from generation to generation like a family inheritance. It must be constantly won anew by grappling courageously with the successive assaults which threaten its destruction.

If then we are convinced by the testimony of history that democracy is worth saving, we shall be eager to discover and embrace the means by which democracy is to be saved. And in this I think we can find no better guidance than that contained in the words of Abraham Lincoln just eighty years ago. In his annual message to Congress in December, 1862, after a year of dismal reverses for the Union armies, Lincoln wrote: "The dogmas of the quiet past are inadequate to the stormy present. The occasion is piled high with difficulty, and we must rise with the occasion. As our case is new, so we must think anew and act anew. We must disenthrall ourselves, and then we shall save our country. Fellow citizens, *we* cannot escape history. . . . We shall nobly save or meanly lose the last best hope of earth."

The words are as apposite today as they were when Lincoln penned them. No one can read Mr. Willkie's vivid report of October 26 on his extended visit to Russia, China, and other scenes of the global war in Eastern lands, without realizing that America is for those peoples the citadel of the last best hope of earth, not alone because of the reservoir of our material power to turn the tide of battle, but even more because of the confidence they have in America as a land of liberty and the guardian of a tradition of democracy which it would fain see spread to the whole world. Arms and armies have never been the normal exports of America. Our aim has been to

send abroad the ideas which our great leaders like Lincoln have most prized at home. Our proudest title has been finely expressed in the phrase, "the land where hatred dies." Our noblest message to the world is in the lines of Emma Lazarus inscribed on the Statue of Liberty in New York harbor:

"Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore.
Send them, the homeless, tempest-tossed to me.
I lift my lamp beside the golden door."

"America," said President Roosevelt some months ago, "must be the arsenal of democracy." For the present emergency that is true. But there is a far higher mission for America. She must be not only the arsenal of democracy, but the mecca of democracy. And for this mission she must keep her ideals bright and shining. Legend has it that originally the sacred stone of the Kaaba at Mecca was of dazzling brilliancy, but that it was turned black by the sins of the people. God forbid that that should happen here!

The only way to prevent such a catastrophe is by the constant revitalization of the democratic ideal bequeathed to us by the fathers of our country. To revert to Lincoln, we have his confession that his whole political philosophy was derived from the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States. These charters of democracy supplied him with the amazing courage and patience with which he resisted the machinations of the Copperheads and fifth columnists of his day, the faint-heartedness of the defeatists, and the jeers and taunts of critics who called him a bungler, a simple Susan, and an obstinate mystic. His boundless tolerance and humanity were rooted in the complete acceptance of the statements of the Declaration that *all men* are created equal, that the rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness were inalienable, that governments were instituted to secure these rights, and that they were founded on the consent of the governed. Note that the Declaration was far more than a protest against the political and economic measures of British coercion or the announcement of the separation of the American colonies from Great Britain. It was a superb act of faith, a declaration of what men and governments should be, and not of what they were. Nowhere else in the world were all men believed to have been created equal, but rather to have been born to fit into classes and castes. Nowhere else were governments believed to have been instituted to secure the rights of the in-

dividual, but rather the perpetuation of the power of the rulers. Nowhere else were they founded on the consent of the governed, but rather on the prerogatives of the governors. No state in Europe (to say nothing of Asia) could show a body of citizens as contrasted with subjects. But citizenship—free, responsible, upstanding citizenship—is the very essence of democracy. In such an atmosphere alone can true liberty flourish. That is why Abraham Lincoln and all who like him have believed no price too high to pay for freedom, have been stanch in the faith that democracy is worth saving.

How shall we preserve that faith? We are called upon, as were the men of Washington's day and Lincoln's day, to make sacrifices. But men make sacrifices only for what they love. And how can they love what they do not know? The greatest threat to our liberty today is not from the armed forces of the enemy without, but from the ignorance of and the indifference to the noble ideals which have made our country what it is, and which, in the words of Woodrow Wilson, "we have always carried nearest our hearts." We must strive, by word and deed, to make these ideals the common treasure of the American people. We must not be ashamed to be called idealists, for in the present crisis the inevitable alternative to idealism is a base surrender to slavery. We must, as Lincoln said, "disenthral" ourselves

from the spells of political cynicism, economic privilege, religious intolerance, racial prejudice, and then we shall be fit instruments to save for democracy not only our own country but also lands across the seas. Again America is spending her blood and treasure for the principles which gave her birth and for the peace which she has always treasured. Never before in the history of the world has there been greater need than now for the practice of the principles of freedom as enunciated in our Declaration of Independence and in our Constitution. In making this sweeping statement, we are not unmindful of the fact that in the centuries of the past these principles were undreamed of. But we justify our speaking thus strongly by recalling that though a century and a half have passed since the American nation was born and liberty became a reality, most of earth's millions still do not have the benefit of the things our charter of government sets forth as inalienable rights. With greater knowledge comes added responsibility, and there is less excuse for tyranny now than ever before in the world's history. The people of the earth are looking to us for help and hope. The most glorious opportunity in all our history is now before us. Shall we merely attempt to outstrip the rest of the world in wealth and power, or shall we make our humble and chastened resolve to contribute the best of our heritage to the healing of the nations?

The Problem of Personality

in Its Bearings on Organized Society

by C. B. GOHDES, Litt. D.



THERE ARE TWO ASPECTS to a cathedral or any other object of art: the material of which it is composed and the artist's dream which has invested it with thought, beauty, and purpose. No alchemy has taken place to make the component stone, mortar, glass, and wood anything else than what they have been. But when the blueprints have been translated into structure, there stands a dream in stone, attuning hearts to admiration, worship, and song!

An analogy this, of another, nobler structure, of

purpose more majestic, of destiny more sublime—a human life crystallized as the Creator's dream. A thousand influences are at work to make this structure or to mar it. Forces are at work within man to transmute the image of God into a ghastly caricature, and too often they succeed. Other forces are at work to thwart the eternal plan which would make society a laboratory to effect man's growth into the image of God. Who, seeing humanity in its convulsions of hate at the present moment, would say that the image of God is emerging from the present fury of battle



PHOTO BY EWING GALLOWAY

*Here and here has
America helped me.
What have I for
America done?*



and welter of international relations? It is worth while, therefore, to formulate a working conception of personality and of a society geared to its attainment.

I

The Individual

It has been said that God creates only individuals, but that, at the end of their careers, these have become mostly copies. No one having the least knowledge of genetics doubts that every human being is created an individual. The genes with their load of heredity are the material basis of individuality. These infinitesimal denizens of the sperm plasma are the determiners of the characteristics which in the aggregate constitute the individual. They are the potentials of beauty or of plainness, of genius, of talent, of mediocrity. They seem to carry immunity to some diseases and liability to others. They are the fountains of formidable passions and also of exquisite moral balance. But what is of paramount importance for our present purpose is that there is such variety in their distribution when the human embryo is formed that the possibility of two human beings' being perfectly alike is absolutely precluded. By the laws of nature, every mother is the progenitrix of an individual. God is assuredly a believer in individuality, for He works it in the vast realm of life everywhere.

But is this basis of individuality, the genes, exclusively material? We know enough of the mystery of the atom—its nucleus and electrons—to ask in

wonder, Where does matter end and energy begin? Ignorant though we be of the manner and the time of the soul's genesis in what would, without it, be the body of an animal, the fact is that God has made man not an animal body but a living soul. Pagans have been struck with the uniqueness of the human being. The Greek word for man is *anthrōpos*—he who looks aloft. Man can raise his head and view in wonderment and wisdom the skies and the stars beyond them, and the God above these. Man is a moral being, conscious of himself and of his place in God's world. Of all the innumerable beings that people the earth, man is the only one that can say, in a self-evaluation all but divine: "I am; I can; I will; I ought." However, it is not as an individual that man realizes the possibilities of his being. The traits of the individual are merely the raw material of personality, which is woven on the loom of action. The individual realizes himself in becoming a person. To become that in the fullness of his capacities is the goal for the attainment of which man must be viewed in relation to his environment.

II

The Person

The development of the individual into a person, an integral person adjusted to his environment, in right relations to God and man, is the transcendent problem of human life. Its solution is contingent upon the unfolding and activation of the powers of the individual. Individuality is an endowment.

LIBERTY 1943



Personality, on the other hand, is an achievement due to the give-and-take in the reciprocal relation between the individual and his environment, particularly the social phase of it.

The person is the individual in process of self-fulfillment. Where important relevant factors are lacking in the environment, the powers inherent in the individual lack the dynamism necessary to their growth in symmetry and strength. A stunted personality is the result. The most important contribution a human being can make toward general human welfare is the dedication to it of the powers distinctively his own. Freedom means essentially leave to be oneself, provided a reciprocal relation to society be maintained.

The reader may remember the story of the wolf child in India, which occasioned a great amount of discussion some years ago. It was reported that a mother wolf carried a child into her lair, where she nourished and sheltered it as a member of the pack. When rescued after years of animal life, the girl was capable of only animal activities. Her language was a wolfish howl; her manner of eating the stinking food of the jungle, bestial. She had no desires but those springing from animal impulses, no erect posture as befits the human stature, no hint of a soul gazing through fear-haunted eyes. That is what the individual had become, bereft of the human environment needed for the expansion of personality. When death came, it found her stunted. The pathetic case of the wolf child illustrates the importance of an environment in keeping with human need and dignity.

The case here portrayed is, of course, exceptional; but the inference is justified that society correlates with the individual successfully in proportion to the degree it renders possible his development into an integral personality.

III

The Laboratory of Personality

In a corporate civilized society all the facilities should be found which its members require for self-fulfillment. The individual has the right to expect the several communities of which he is a member—city, state, nation, church—to provide him with the means of expansion that his distinctive individuality requires. To permit bodies to be stunted in this day of dietetics, to foil slumbering intellectual stir and striving by failing to provide adequate schooling, to withhold moral safeguards and religious sanctions from any group or locality, to let the poorer classes fall victim to indigence and those well-to-do, to the vices bred by indolence: these social delinquencies all spell failure.

To look to the state as provider for the conditions favorable to the expansion of the individual has become a habit. Nevertheless, the wisest and strongest government cannot ensure to the individual a supply of all his needs, and experience has proved that what is obtained without effort is apt to be unappreciated. The best state seeks to furnish an opportunity for each individual to develop to the highest level of his full capacity. Yet all this is not enough. God must be found in the social environment. Neither the knowledge nor the worship of Him can be provided by the state through law, an attempt which would fail in any event, since the worship of God must be spontaneous and free. The church should function as God's prophet and as a frame of moral reference; the family, as the first school of the child. The divinely ordained powers of both must be safeguarded by the state if the atmosphere in the social environment is to be favorable to the development of the human personality. The failure of either of these in the premises will react upon the health of the political community also. In a healthy society there is a circumambience of influences among these three essential institutes—the state, the church, the family. The failure of any of these will vitiate the commonweal.

In a novel our grandfathers read, "John Halifax, Gentleman," occurs the question: "Here and here has England helped me, what have I for England done?" A pertinent question, this! One similar might well be asked beneath the banner of the stars and stripes. A community which enables the individual to unfold his powers is entitled to receive from its members not only their best in the form of good citizenship and righteous living, but also their services, even to the giving of life itself if necessary. True, in one sense, the human person transcends even the majestic entity of the state. The human soul may aspire to immortality, which is conferred also upon the body, its companion while undergoing the test of life. The least human being is a child of the eternities, and, for that reason, of greater moment than a country with all its wealth. But a country whose government is geared to the achievement of personality as its chief objective is worth living and dying for as the preserver of man's most sacred right; and if its defender dies as an heir of life eternal, what loss does he incur?

Having viewed the achievement of personality as the result of a correlation between the individual and his environment, we may wonder at the resultant inequalities. The poet Byron flashes upon posterity scintillations of genius in the form of poems as permanent as the English tongue, but his life reeks from the cesspool of passion. Benedict Arnold leaps at Saratoga into a veritable tempest of shot and shell, with the courage of a knight, then sells his country

for the sorry guerdon of a Judas Iscariot. The immigrant Adamic becomes a leading scholar through integration with the educational facilities in the land of his adoption, while the scion of a rich colonial family may fritter his strength away in indulgence in drink and illicit love. A Clarence Darrow bends juries to his will by his devastating eloquence, but lives unmoved at the sight of the Calvary cross and dies ignorant of his Creator and his Redeemer. Why these amazing differences of personality in the correlation of individuality and environment?

There is a factor additional to individuality and the environment with which we must reckon in the study of personality: the human attitude toward both. Our individuality constitutes what we are. Our environment constitutes what we have. Our attitude determines what we become. Divine power and knowledge, moral strength and balance, in many cases physical health, intellectual advancement, and above all, the ennobling charm of spiritual beauty—all these are at our disposal where the society in which our lot is cast envisions its appropriate objectives.

The blessings which Americans enjoy are manifold. Above all other peoples we are blessed because of the liberties which have been secured for us. Our heritage is without parallel in the history of the world, but all the good we have may be lost through indifference. Why will men place around their ma-

terial wealth every protection and yet fail to safeguard the things that are of infinitely greater worth?

The founders of the nation spoke of inalienable rights; yet men yield them through corruption and bribery and craven cowardice. The things which the citizens of the United States have accepted, all too often without serious thought of their immeasurable worth, can be retained only by the strictest vigilance. Opportunity must be grasped to be valuable; blessings lightly esteemed are not long kept. The present assault upon liberty in all the world ought to give us a fresh appreciation of our form of government and our duty to the principles that have made it great. Let any of these principles be rejected or even lightly treated, and our American freedom will be lost.

But it is not enough to urge the nation to better ways. Since individual freedom is ours, individual responsibility cannot be escaped.

"If we trod the deeps of ocean, if we struck the stars
in rising,

If we wrapped the globe intensely with one hot
electric breath,

'Twere but power within our tether, no new spirit
power comprising,

And in life we were not greater men, nor stronger
men in death."

Putting Pressure on Our Free Press

by C. E. HOLMES

A GOVERNMENT REPORT some time ago estimated that 391,000,000 books and leaflets were published in the United States in one year. These are 391,000,000 evidences that the press in our land is free. Added to these are the billions of pages of newspapers and magazines that are flying from printing presses at the speed of a mile a minute.

Every person has the self-evident right to express his opinions by voice, writing, or printing. He has also the right to hear the ideas of others on any and all subjects. Were it not specifically guaranteed in the Bill of Rights, every fair and honest-minded person must acknowledge the justice of this right.

Once an opinion is made public, it becomes public property. It may prove to be worthless, or may be

of value. It may be accepted or rejected by those who hear it. Unless there is liberty thus to present and hear all matters freely, there is no way to find truth or detect error.

The value and necessity of hearing both sides of a question was emphasized centuries ago by the wise man, Solomon, thus: "He that is first in his own cause seemeth just; but his neighbor cometh and searcheth him." Prov. 18:17. Or as the Jewish translation gives it: "When his neighbor cometh, then it will be investigated."

When the mind of man is free and untrammelled, there is opportunity for advancement. There is happiness, peace, and prosperity in creating literature, art, inventions, etc., and in making use of them.

There is scarcely a limit to man's accomplishments when he is made secure in his physical and mental rights and possessions. This may be seen in the history of this nation.

Even before the Constitution was adopted, men were obtaining a vision of the value of such freedom. The Continental Congress looked forward to an era of great progress under the regime of a free press:

"The importance of this [free press] consists, besides the advancement of truth, science, morality, and arts in general, in its diffusion of liberal sentiments on the administration of government, its ready communication of thoughts between subjects, and its consequential promotion of union among them, whereby oppressive officers are shamed, or intimidated, into more honorable and just modes of conducting affairs."—*Journals of the Continental Congress, Vol. I, p. 108.*

President George Washington, in an address to both houses of Congress, emphasized the importance of circulating information on all subjects:

"Knowledge is in every country the surest basis of public happiness. In one in which the measures of government receive their impressions so immediately from the sense of the community as in ours it is proportionately essential. To the security of a free Constitution it contributes in various ways—by convincing those who are intrusted with the public administration that every valuable end of government is best answered by the enlightened confidence of the people, and by teaching the people themselves to know and to value their own rights; to discern and provide against invasions of them; to distinguish between oppression and the necessary exercise of lawful authority; between burthens proceeding from a disregard to their convenience and those resulting from the inevitable exigencies of society; to discriminate the spirit of liberty from that of licentiousness—cherishing the first, avoiding the last—and uniting a speedy but temperate vigilance against encroachments, with an inviolable respect to the laws."—*First Annual Address, "Messages and Papers of the Presidents," Vol. I, p. 66.*

After one hundred fifty years of experience we know that both the Continental Congress and President Washington were eminently justified in their enthusiasm for such freedom. It has had a large place in fulfilling the purposes of the founders of this Republic, by helping to establish justice, ensure domestic tranquillity, and secure the blessings of liberty to all.

Who can estimate the wealth of invention, research, and knowledge that has come to our nation

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through a free dissemination of thought? "All advancement in human knowledge and all progress in civilization—from alchemy to chemistry, from astrology to astronomy, from wigwags to our modern homes, from fire signaling to telephones and radios—has been achieved through fidelity to this principle of freedom of research," declared Daniel L. Marsh, president of Boston University. (Bostonia, April, 1941, p. 8.)

Speaking of the marvelous progress of this country and the reason for it, J. Howard Pew, president of the Sun Oil Company, in an address before the National Association of Manufacturers, said that "it is our freedom that has brought us to this high estate. Intellectual freedom, religious freedom, political freedom, industrial freedom, freedom to dream, to think, to imagine, to experiment, to invent. . . . It is our great American heritage."—*Chicago Tribune*, Dec. 6, 1939.

The men who framed the Constitution sincerely believed in freedom of the press. "There was not a member of the [Constitutional] Convention, I believe," wrote Washington, "who had the least objection to what was contended for by the advocates for a Bill of Rights."—*Letter to Lafayette*, April 28, 1798. Freedom of the press was placed in the First Amendment to the Constitution.

By endorsing the principle of a free press, these patriotic statesmen had to take some strong doses of their own medicine. They were viciously denounced and branded as "conspirators" and "traitors" as they unselfishly gave their time and energy to formulating a fundamental law that would help to put this country on its feet; yet they remained consistent and refused to resort to suppression or censorship.

Regarding the charges against himself and others, Washington wrote: "Nor did the outrageous disposition, which indulged in traducing and villifying the members, seem much calculated to produce concord or accommodation. . . . For myself, I expected not to be exempted from obloquy, any more than others. It is the lot of humanity."—*Letter to Charles Pettie*, Aug. 16, 1788.

Benjamin Franklin accepted abuse in his usual philosophical and humorous manner: "Some of our papers here are endeavoring to disgrace me. I take no notice. My friends defend me. I have long been accustomed to receive more blame, as well as more praise, than I deserve. It is the lot of every public man, and I leave one account to balance the other."—*Letter to Mrs. Jane Mecom*, Nov. 26, 1788.

Jefferson realized that criticism of public officials was needful, and he counseled the people to watch

them: "If once the people become inattentive to the public affairs, you and I, Congress and Assemblies, judges and governors, shall all become wolves. It seems to be a law of our general nature in spite of individual exceptions."—*Letter to Edward Carrington*, Jan. 16, 1787.

Jefferson was a strong champion of a free press, and he has an answer for those who might seek laws to curb free expression, even though what was printed might not be true:

"Since truth and reason have maintained their ground against false opinions in league with false facts, the press, confined to truth, needs no other legal restraint; the public judgment will correct false reasonings and opinions on a full hearing of all parties; and no other definite line can be drawn between the inestimable liberty of the press and its demoralizing licentiousness. If there be still improprieties which this rule would not restrain, its supplement must be sought in the censorship of public opinion."—*Second Inaugural Address*, "Messages and Papers of the Presidents," Vol. I, p. 381.

In order to preserve freedom of expression, it was provided in the First Amendment to the Constitution that "Congress shall make no law . . . abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press." Thus our national lawmaking body is absolutely restrained from interfering with the freedom of the press in any manner. And under the Fourteenth Amendment, the States are also prohibited from invading the freedom of the press.

But now, strange as it may seem, the power to interfere seriously with this right has been given to every village, town, and city in these United States. Over and over again have both State and Federal courts declared that local police powers cannot override rights secured to the people in the Constitution and Bill of Rights; yet a decision of the United States Supreme Court has permitted such authority to be exercised over the press. It permits any municipality to levy a license fee, without any ceiling, upon any person wishing to circulate publications within its limits.

By ordinances which raise the cost of a license beyond the reach of the ordinary book and magazine salesman, the circulation of publications can be

They that give up essential liberty to obtain a little temporary safety deserve neither liberty nor safety.

—Benjamin Franklin.

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seriously interfered with, or even entirely stopped.

This is an astounding opinion, conferring upon petty officials of any town or city an authority which the First Amendment denies to the Congress of the United States. By this action the Supreme Court has to all practical purposes amended the First Amendment. It has assumed the power of a legislative body instead of remaining in its jurisdiction as an interpretive tribunal. It has presumed to grant a privilege it has no right to confer. It has knocked off its hinges the door which our forefathers placed to keep out the evils of licensing and censoring.

What will now become of our other rights supposed to be guaranteed by the Constitution? If any village or town can pass ordinances superseding the Bill of Rights in this respect, what is there to restrain them from destroying freedom of speech and religion?

Back in 1889, Chief Justice Fuller of the United States Supreme Court warned of the dangers we now

face. Speaking before both houses of Congress in commemoration of the inauguration of George Washington, he declared that "when man allows his belief, his family, his property, his labors, each of his acts, to be subjected to the omnipotence of the state," intellectual, moral, and material progress must soon cease. ("Address in Commemoration of the Inauguration of George Washington," p. 36.) It appears there is danger of our coming to that condition.

The marvelous advancement made in this Republic the last one hundred and fifty years is largely the result of freedom of the press, with its attendant liberties of speech, religion, enterprise, etc. If it is to continue, these same liberties must be protected and preserved. Every infringement upon them must be met and defeated. How can we give to the world that which we do not ourselves possess? How can our claim to be fighting for essential freedoms for others be believed when we lightly give up these liberties at home?

Modernizing Some Old Disputes

Planning for Postwar Freedoms

by **GEORGE McCREADY PRICE**



[Professor George McCready Price is the author of many books dealing particularly with geology, including "The Modern Flood Theory of Geology," "Evolutionary Geology and the New Catastrophism," etc. He is a prolific and interesting writer. Since we expect to print one or two further articles from Professor Price's pen, we suggest that our readers preserve their magazines so that the connection between the first and succeeding articles will not be lost.—ED.]

PROBABLY EVERY MAN in public life today, in those few reflective periods which he can snatch from the pressures of the moment, has at some time wondered in his soul how some of the founding fathers would look at the problems now confronting Americans. Jefferson and Madison, Patrick Henry and Alexander Hamilton, struggled with the hard alternative of local rights and needs versus the larger aspects of Federal plans and Federal necessities. They

did not always see eye to eye in making their choices. Today the people of America, of Britain, and of the other allied nations are confronted with very similar alternatives, the larger grouping today being the proposed Union of the Nations, or a Federated World, or whatever we may choose to call it. Modern world problems are essentially the same in nature as those with which the citizens of the thirteen States had to struggle before the final adoption of the Constitution. The continental problems have become global, or world wide. In that former day, a unified government was formed only because of the "grinding necessities of a reluctant people." Today the same "grinding necessities" are compelling the consideration of some form of global confederation by the no less reluctant peoples who are now struggling for the rights of self-government and for a reasonable amount of freedom for the common man.

There are many similarities in the two situations.

LIBERTY 1943

Just as the individual States here in America, after winning the war of independence, had a Continental Congress, so the nations which won the first World War formed their hopeful League of Nations. But as the Congress broke up in 1781, leaving neither a Federal legislature nor president nor central authority of any kind, so the bewildered League of Nations scattered to the four winds before the onrushing Panzer divisions of Hitler, and now there is no unified authority to which a terrorized world can hopefully look for guidance.

As that Continental Congress never possessed any real authority to enforce its decisions, so the League of Nations, organized under the delusion of an approaching millennium and the Rousseau doctrine that mankind was rapidly outgrowing any need of repressive police force, never became anything more than a glorified debating society.

The causes were the same in both instances, the reluctance of the States (or nations) to give genuine power to the central or federated body. Neither the Continental Congress nor the League of Nations received the power to raise money by taxation or to exert military pressure or police power. Both could discuss national and international problems lucidly, wisely, and eternally; both could pass resolutions; but neither had the power to proceed further. The familiar wisecrack about the weather would apply as well to them: the world heard them talk a lot about these problems, but never heard of their doing anything about them.

In both instances, too, there were groups of "large states" and "small states," each group with its own self-interested ways of looking at every financial and military problem. The few large states wanted all the voting to be done on the basis of population, for they were afraid of being outvoted by the small ones which might gang up against them. The small states wanted the voting to be done on the basis of one state, one vote; for they were terribly jealous of the potential power of their big neighbors. In both instances the individual civic bodies had refused to surrender their own precious rights and liberties in amounts sufficient to ensure an effective authority and power in the central or federal body.

I am not now concerned with how this eternal conflict between individualism and collectivism is going to be solved in the coming World Convention, which we hope will someday meet after the present international "unpleasantness" has become a memory. The grinding necessity of hanging together in order to avoid the inevitableness of being hanged sepa-



PHOTO BY A. JULLIEN, GENEVA

The League of Nations Building in Geneva, Switzerland. Like the Continental Congress, the League Never Possessed Any Real Authority, and Was Not Much More Than a Debating Society

ately, will probably ensure some sort of World Federation for the postwar world.

However, there is no method, and there never will be any method, by which the individuals (citizens, states, or nations) can retain *all* their real or imaginary civil privileges and powers, and at the same time enjoy the order and peace of civilization, without some collective authority sufficiently strong to make rascals (individuals, states, or nations) let others alone. Burke's memorable words apply as well to the world as to a single state: "Society cannot exist unless a controlling power upon will and appetite be placed somewhere; and the less there is of it within, the more there must be without." Accordingly, the individual (citizen, state, or nation) must be willing to delegate some freedom that could be had if no others needed to be considered, if the central power which he wants to create is to rise above the level of just another advisory body, a big debating club. Always this conflict of interests has arisen, for one cannot eat one's cake and still have it to look at. But he is a poor citizen who is not willing to forgo some things for the good of organized society; and it is a poor state or nation which cannot give up some of its local rights for the good of a federated humanity. The difficulty arises when we attempt to be specific about what must be surrendered and what retained.

Probably we can all agree that in a world predicament like the present we can hardly hope for an absolutely perfect adjustment between our reluctance to give up our state individualism and our wish to inaugurate a better world order wherein international bandits will be obliged to observe the decencies of civilized society. Such an adjustment probably can be arrived at only by more or less give-and-take between these eternally conflicting interests of individualism and collectivism. But in the light of the long history of forming stable constitutional governments among the Anglo-Celtic peoples, since the Magna Charta was signed in the meadow of Runnymede, June 15, 1215, it would seem reasonable to hope that some working arrangement can be arrived at which will enable the individual (citizen, state,

or nation) to maintain rightful existence, and at the same time construct a new world arrangement which will be capable of securing a reasonable degree of peace and security for the world as a whole.

I cannot here follow up these interesting matters of civil liberty. What I am after is a brief study of the implications of the prospective World Federation concerning the problems of religious liberty.

Soul liberty is the prerogative of the individual man or woman. It should never be surrendered to any civic organization, whether it be that of a township, a state, a nation, or a World Federation. During the Reformation of the sixteenth century, the doctrine widely prevailed that each ruler had a right to compel all his people to follow his lead in the matter of religion; in the Catholic states all must be Catholics, while in the Reformed states all must follow the Reformed faith. The protest of the princes at Spires contained the germ of the doctrine that religion is a matter of purely individual choice.

If we hold to this principle in the present situation, we shall be obliged to say that in the very nature of things the right to religious freedom cannot be affected one iota by any union or federation of states or of nations. Those ideals of soul freedom, so vigorously contended for by Roger Williams, remained exactly as before when the new Constitution was adopted and the Federal Government organized. Nor will these rights become void in the slightest degree, if and when the various united nations after the war undertake to form something in the way of a new League of Nations, or Federation of the World, or whatever it is called. *Civil* rights and privileges are always affected by these overhead formations of governments or supergovernments; *but not religious rights*. And it will always be important that we watch to see that these rights of religious liberty are not curtailed or imperiled by any such world federation that may be formed.

A larger part of the world is, we hope, learning to admire the conception of government by laws and not by men. But, human nature being what it is, we shall never outgrow the danger that even a gov-

ernment by laws may encroach upon those inalienable rights of conscience which were first secured in their fullness here in America. Instead of curtailing these rights, the revised Constitution made them only more secure. Similarly these same rights can be retained under the larger scheme of a Federated World, but only by the unsleeping watchfulness of those who believe in their intrinsic justice and truth.

After the first World War, when the League of Nations was formed, the Papacy was not a legally recognized civil power; hence it could not take any official part in the peace conferences of that time. Today the situation is completely changed; and there is hardly the slightest doubt that the head of the Roman church-and-state government will be given a place, doubtless a very prominent place, at the coming peace table. Though I cannot here and now discuss the peril to religious liberty that this joining of church and state would bring, it should not be overlooked by anyone.

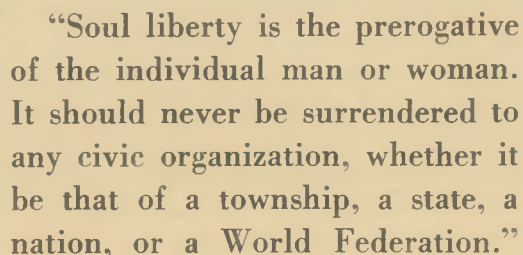
However, there are two other subtle and dangerous tendencies confronting the world today which can hardly be said to have existed in the days of Roger Williams or of the founding fathers. These dangerous tendencies are shown in (1) what may be called the social aspects of Darwinism, or the social implications of the evolution theory; and in (2) the widespread belief in a soon-coming millennium, or the visible establishment of the kingdom of God on this present earth, by the beating of swords into plowshares and the effective and final banishment of all war and strife.

The first of these doctrines in its typical form is taught by the cultured materialist or mechanist, who may regard all religion with indulgent contempt but may be willing to tolerate it for its usefulness in helping to control the canaille.

The second in its typical form is the fanaticism of the starry-eyed utopian, who may even think himself directly inspired by High Heaven to help in establishing the kingdom of God here and now through legal processes on an international scale.

Strange as it may seem, these two fanaticisms, as I regard them, are not always and necessarily antagonistic toward nor mutually exclusive of each other. Too often they are accordant and mutually collusive. They infiltrate and interlock in almost every imaginable form of blending, the danger to the future of religious liberty being due to the millions of people who hold some form of one or both these beliefs; for between them they represent what is supposed to be the "modern" or "forward-looking" views of almost the entire non-Catholic peoples of not only England and America, but also of the rest of the civilized world.

In my judgment each constitutes a threat to real religious freedom.



"Soul liberty is the prerogative of the individual man or woman. It should never be surrendered to any civic organization, whether it be that of a township, a state, a nation, or a World Federation."



PHOTO BY H. M. LAMBERT

Religious Freedom vs. Religious Freedom

or the Paradox of Religion

by **A. E. LICKY**

RELIGION is one of the strangest of all paradoxes. We probably would all agree that religion is one of the greatest forces for good, if not the greatest force, in all the world.

It is also one of the greatest forces for evil. Through the channel of religion have flowed the fairest and the foulest, the purest and the most polluted ideas and practices of mankind—everything from the purest love of the Bible God to the blackest immorality and the most atrocious cruelties of the lowest savages.

One of the finest and cleanest products of religion is religious freedom. And one of its most accursed fruits is religious bigotry, with its concomitants, intolerance and persecution.

A man will manifest the utmost willingness to die for his faith. Then, strange as it may seem, he will use his influence directly or indirectly to rob his fellow man of his religious freedom, imprison him, flog and torture him, and even to put him to death by almost any method whatsoever that the mind can conceive. The pages of history are replete with the two sides of this inhuman human story.

In America we have long lived under the impression that the battle for religious freedom has been won for everybody, everywhere, for all time. We have thought that the days when witches were burned, when a man was put in the public stocks for kissing his wife in public on Sunday, when Quakers tied

to carts were dragged through the streets and flogged, and when a man would flee from a Christian community in the dead of a winter, choosing rather to live in the wilderness with Christian savages than in civilization with savage Christians—we have thought that those days were gone forever—days when the church and religionists did the persecuting.

Since the Russian Revolution of 1917, and the rise of what was then known as Bolshevism, we have come quite unconsciously and without any particular study of the matter to think of religious persecution as something to be feared from some bearded, barbarian Bolshevik, from some self-appointed fascist Caesar and dictator of destiny, or from some fanatical tyrant of Nazism.

True, the Soviets put on an unsuccessful tirade against God. True, Mussolini went through some antics in fighting the Pope, but he was worsted in the deal, and the Pope came out with his kingship restored. Hitler is fighting Jews and Protestants, and bluffing at Catholics a little in his bloody and uneasy and withal temporary lordship.

These goings on of political leaders are for political purposes the full motive and end of which we cannot always discern. They could never be permanently successful without the conversion of the people to some new Saint Lenin, some demigod Mussolini, or some *Führer* of Infinity. We need have little fear of this, though we may observe that

some of the successes of these men and their movements are due to the semireligious color which has been mixed with their political philosophy and has caught the eye of youth.

What we do need to understand is that before the Bolshevik had blossomed, before the Fascist had selected his emblem, or the world had yet dreamed ugly, restless dreams of Nazi terrorism—before all this—there was a religious persecution in Europe in our modern day.

In Russia, before Lenin, the state religion held sway. Its priesthood system was unalterably opposed to other religions. The Baptists baptized at night, the Methodists praised God in subdued tones, and the Adventists carried their publications in stealth and taught unobtrusively in the homes of the people. Believers deemed overzealous were frequently banished with political undesirables to the frozen wastes of Siberia.

In many of the nations of Europe which have gone down under the iron heel of the Nazis, religious freedom was a thing unknown as we Americans know it. It was not freedom by the rights of man, but religious tolerance by permit of government through the minister of cults—a permit to be denied and withdrawn at almost any unannounced moment.

The state church was opposed to the teachings of other religious groups. The police officers were of state church persuasion or sympathy, or held their jobs by church sufferance.

Teachers, leaders, laymen, and workers of the so-called cults and sects of religion were for years periodically arrested, imprisoned, beaten, and flogged, in some cases to unconsciousness and subsequent loss of their minds, and were maltreated in numerous other ways. Police officers would appear to sit on the front seat at meetings. Sudden orders would be issued to close churches and publishing centers, to remove furniture or confiscate property. Books were sometimes gathered and burned in the streets by sect-hating, state-church religionists. All this is modern, and the background of it is not political, but religious, or, better to say, religio-political.

This situation, existing before the coming of the Lenins, Stalins, Mussolinis, Hitlers, and Francos, has been largely unknown to the average American citizen.

Political dictatorship is a great evil, denying to men their God-given political freedom and often their religious rights or a portion of them. Most political dictators allow a degree of religious freedom, and play with the situation as with a political football.

Religious dictatorship is a yet greater evil, definitely denying that men have personal religious rights, but contending that the church has a right to say what is good for man, and holding heresy as crim-

inal, if announced and taught to others. If the vast majority of the populace is in favor of such a dictatorship, as they usually are, the minority groups suffer, not only from the leadership, but from the hostile populace as well.

A coalition between political dictatorship and religious dictatorship, or a union of both into one, forms the most devastating force ever let loose upon our world. The lights of religious freedom are extinguished in the blackout of all blackouts.

Mighty forces are jockeying for position in the world today, and tremendous issues await mankind just beyond the turn in the road. Coalitions in religion have always led to persecution of minorities. Independent thought in religion is what forced governments to acknowledge the rights and necessities of religious freedom. The martyrs bequeathed to us freedom.

Jesus Christ drew the line between the church and state when He said, "Render therefore unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's; and unto God the things that are God's." The chief function of the church is to deliver to the world men and women who can step into the various positions of life and with unsullied character and unpurchasable integrity fulfill their obligations as their conscience, and not the church, dictates. Such character is built through free choice of right principles. To force the conscience or to deny to the mind its right to its own investigation and conclusions is to destroy character. The only religious function of the state is to guarantee a fair field and no special favor in religion, with the rights of free speech, press, and peaceable assembly of all groups.

James Madison, whose keen mind saw to it that religious freedom was vouchsafed in the Constitution of the United States, wrote, "Religion, or the duty which we owe to our Creator, and the manner of discharging it, can be directed only by reason and conviction, not by force or violence." The religion, then, of every man must be left to the conviction and conscience of every man; and it is the right of every man to exercise it as these may dictate. This right is in its nature an inalienable right. . . .

"Who does not see that the same authority which can establish Christianity, in exclusion of all other religions, may establish, with the same ease, any particular sect of Christians, in exclusion of all other sects? . . .

"Experience witnesseth that ecclesiastical establishments, instead of maintaining the purity and efficacy of religion, have had a contrary operation." In no instances have religious establishments been seen as the guardians of the liberties of the people.

Jesus Christ, the Man of Galilee, came to persuade men. Joseph Parker once said, "If you would force men to Christ, you could not force Christ to men."

• Editorials •

Planning Religion in a Postwar Period

AS WE WRITE, we have before us a leaflet published by the National Conference of Christians and Jews, entitled "Religious Groups and the Post War World."

We gladly acknowledge that every individual, Christian or Jew, has a right to do anything that he can to make the nation in which he lives a better place for all men, unbelievers as well as believers. We confess to a fear of, a dislike for, combinations of religionists that seek to operate governments.

One paragraph in this little leaflet declares that "many religious leaders in all three groups are most interested in creating some workable form of international organization to follow the war and to assure the continuation of the peace. Others concentrate on domestic, economic, and social reforms and rearrangements."

We think—but we hope we are mistaken in our opinions—that too many of these religious leaders have forgotten the power of the gospel, preached in simplicity, to change men and bring about better conditions in the world. We think those who "concentrate on domestic, economic, and social reforms and rearrangements" must have missed a part of their calling at least.

H. H. V.

Retired Ministers and Government Pensions

A LITTLE LEAFLET bearing the title of "The Million Dollar Pension Fund Campaign," published by the Ohio Conference of the Methodist Church, has come to our notice. These words particularly seem pertinent: "Retired ministers do not share in Federal old age support. Methodism, like other great Protestant denominations, still believes in separation of church and state."

We like the ring of this declaration. We believe that neither active nor retired ministers should be paid from tax funds. Let the church take care of her own. We have seen some pathetic cases of preachers of different denominations who had worked hard in their virile manhood for the truths they believed, left with hardly enough to keep soul and body together in their declining years. Such a thing is a disgrace to any church.

FIRST QUARTER

But the remedy does not lie in petitioning for Government aid. Where ministers are allowed to suffer, the shame is on their denominations. Let Christian people do their duty. Let those who have benefited by the ministrations of these men of God show their appreciation by their generosity.

We hope that not only the Methodists but every Christian body will recognize the obligation resting upon it. We believe it would be a blessing to the church as a whole to take the strong stand that Methodism is evidently taking at this time.

H. H. V.

Church and State in Norway

SELDOM HAS THERE BEEN PRONOUNCED a clearer statement of the proper places of church and state in society than was given by the church in Norway when it found itself in conflict with the Nazi invaders. Terrible as war and persecution are, we cannot count all they do as loss when they bring out such a ringing pronouncement as the brave Norwegian Christians have put forth in the words that follow:

"We testify that the faith of our church makes a clear distinction between the two orders of regimes, the worldly state and the spiritual church. It is God's will that these two kinds of authority should not be confused with each other. Each shall in its own way serve God. Each has its plain mission from God. It is a mission of the church to watch over eternal values and to let the light of God's word fill all human relations. As to the mission of the state, our faith declares that the state has nothing to do with souls, but exists to protect individuals and things of this world from open injustice, and in order to maintain such discipline among men as will safeguard civil justice. The church does not wish to rule over the state in temporal matters. That would be a violation of God's command. In the same way it is a sin against God for the state to tyrannize over souls and seek to decide what men shall believe, profess, and feel as a duty to their consciences."

Would to God that Americans, who have had so long a time of peace and freedom, might ever preserve as clear an understanding of the functions of both church and state as is sounded in the quotation just given. We hail our Christian brethren in Norway, and we pray that soon they may be free to

worship God according to the dictates of their own consciences without any attempt's being made to interfere by anyone representing the civil power.

H. H. V.

Cause of French Revolutions

SOME TIME AGO Marshal Pétain was quoted by the Associated Press as saying: "I should like to recall to the great American Republic the reasons why it has no reason to fear a decline of French ideals. Certainly our parliamentary democracy is dead. But it never had but little in common with the democracy of the United States. As for the instinct of liberty, that lives always with us—proud and strong."

In reorganizing the French government after the model of the New Order in Europe as dictated by Hitler, Marshal Pétain eliminated the members of the French Senate and the Chamber of Deputies by suppressing their pay and placing a ban on all political activities. Freedom of speech and of the press are denied not only to all Frenchmen but to all the senators and deputies.

Pétain's admission that the French republic had "little in common with the democracy of the United States," perhaps explains why the French republic has experienced so many reverses and revolutions during the past one hundred fifty years of its existence. Unless "the instinct of liberty" is permitted to assert itself in government, a democracy is bound to face turbulent seas.

We feel tempted to tell Marshal Pétain that he and his people in France might enjoy more freedom and peace and prosperity, if France revived its "parliamentary democracy," which he now says "is dead," and if it also had a little more in common with the Republic of the United States.

Liberty cannot hold up its head "proud and strong" if the instinct of liberty in the soul of man is forbidden expression in reality.

C. S. L.

"Thumbscrews or Toleration"

DR. T. DEWITT TALMAGE, the noted American divine, in preaching a sermon on "Thumbscrews or Toleration," used for his text Luke 9:55, "Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of." Among his comments the following fine statements are found:

"Christ said this to John and James, who . . . wanted the Samaritans struck with lightning because they differed on some religious matters. John and

James thought they were doing a good thing; but Christ turns their heart inside out, and says to them: 'You think you are serving Me by this intolerance against those Samaritans: you are mistaken. Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of.' . . .

"O my friends! from what I have been saying, you are persuaded that intolerance never puts anything down, but puts it up. If you find things in ecclesiastical matters that are wrong, argue against them, reason against them; but do not bring threat, or violence, or anything that can be mistaken for the thumbscrew. I am not afraid to trust the people. Put in their hand a free Bible. Give them a free pulpit, give them a free church, a free ballot, a free conscience, and a free heaven. Here we are in the evening of the nineteenth century, in a land where religious liberty is to correspond, or ought to correspond, with civil liberty. Between these two oceans in our day, or the day of our children, is to be demonstrated what a man may be if his religion is unmolested."—*"Selected Sermons," Vol. IV.*

If Doctor Talmage were living today, his voice would doubtless be heard in defense of the great American principles of civil and religious liberty which are endangered on many fronts. He would probably rebuke the great church leaders who are seeking an alliance between the church and the state. What Americans need to defend above all other things as of paramount value in the American way of life, is "a free Bible," "a free pulpit," "a free church," "a free ballot," "a free conscience," and "a free heaven," without human interference.

The right to differ is a sacred right, and it must be sacredly guarded, or our liberties are doomed.

C. S. L.

Patriotism and Religion

PATRIOTISM rests upon sentiment and religion upon belief. Neither patriotism nor religion can be instilled into people through forcible means. Whenever force is employed to inculcate patriotism or to impress religion upon the individual, the very objectives of patriotism and religion are defeated. Instead of falling in love with our religion, when it is imposed by legal authority, people turn in hate against it. If we compel them to conform to religious obligations and to accept religious doctrines contrary to their convictions, we have succeeded only in making hypocrites instead of better Christians out of them. A person who by outward conformity will sear his conscience to save his skin is not made of the stuff of martyrs. When religion is administered and enforced by the state, it makes either a

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hypocrite or a martyr out of the individual. If he submits contrary to his religious convictions, he is transformed into a cringing hypocrite; if he seals his loyalty to his convictions by his life, he is made a martyr.

Religion, if it has any value, is a thing of the heart rather than of the head. It lies so deeply embedded in the soul that force can never reach it and conquer it. Soul liberty can never be fettered or imprisoned. It asserts its freedom even when the body is shackled with chains and confined in a gloomy dungeon. You cannot burn soul freedom in the fire or drown it in the sea. It cannot be put down by tyrants, nor excommunicated by priests. No carnal weapons have yet been invented, cruel enough nor strong enough to drive the love of liberty out of the soul of man.

The Good Book tells us that there is just one way to put down a false religion and truly to conquer an enemy, and that is by making our own religion so attractive and lovely that others will desire it, and by doing acts of kindness to our enemy until he will fall in love with our religion. By showing kindness and charity toward our enemies, we heap coals of fire on their heads and make them more uncomfortable and miserable than by retaliation.

Religion must operate on the principle of winning people by the power of love instead of using forcible means. Religion can employ only spiritual means, not carnal, if it expects to succeed in its sphere of influence. Likewise patriotism is based on loyalty to one's country, and loyalty as a matter of the heart cannot be forced. If loyalty is forced, it loses its value, and we make a hypocrite of a citizen. The saluting of the flag as a symbol of loyalty cannot and should not be forced. Unless this is a voluntary act, it is meaningless as well as valueless. Patriotism must be instilled by inspirational means and not by carnal methods, or we do our country more harm than good. Both patriotism and religion can be promoted only by instilling respect and reverence for both through their own merits, and by winning the hearts of men and women instead of by forcing them.

C. S. L.

“Pestered but Patient”

AN EDITORIAL in the *Cleveland Press*, September 19, 1942, under the foregoing caption, says: “The presence of a big pacifist convention in Cleveland during wartime was bound to create some irritations. The convention now in progress is that of Jehovah’s Witnesses, a group which opposes participation in war. This nation and this city have treated conscientious objectors of all kinds with patient con-

sideration, and Jehovah’s Witnesses are receiving the same kind of treatment from nearly all Clevelanders. We wish they, for their part, were less presumptuous in thrusting their literature upon us who do not like it and do not desire to read more of it, at the moment, than we have read already. Among the civil liberties to which we all ought to be entitled is freedom from pestering at every street corner.”

We hold no brief for the Jehovah’s Witnesses, nor do we like their literature any more than does the editor of the *Cleveland Press*. We heartily disagree with many of their doctrines and disapprove of some of the methods they employ to gain access to private homes. We do not agree with them in the matter of refusing to salute our national flag.

Equally annoying to me is the broadcasting of whisky and other liquor advertisements which is blasted in my ears over the radio nearly every hour of the day and night. I wish my children and grandchildren could be spared listening to it in my very home. But the only thing I can do about it is to turn off the radio. Likewise when we pass a street corner or meet the Jehovah’s Witnesses on the street with their literature, all we need do is to refuse to receive it or refrain from reading it after receiving it. The right to distribute literature is a part of the freedom of the press which all of us enjoy and do not want to destroy.

I would rather die than accept the views of the atheist and infidel. But if our Government should propose to deny the use of the mails or the right of the atheist to disseminate his views to the public, I, for one, would be willing to lay down my life in defense of his right to preach what I don’t believe. If I deny to the infidel his right to his opinions, I undermine my own right to my opinions. No one’s rights are secure unless the rights of each and all are made secure. When we deny our dissenting brother the right to disseminate his opinions, we jeopardize our own rights. None of us are agreed on all points of faith; therefore we must tolerate the opinions of others with whom we differ, or all our rights will be ultimately destroyed when the minority becomes the majority.

If I can by the authority of law deny the Jehovah’s Witnesses the right to pester me with their obnoxious literature at the street corner, certainly I should have the right to prevent the radio broadcaster from invading the sacred precincts of my own home, of which citadel I am supposed to be the only master. Since our Government grants to every organization, no matter what its propaganda, the right to broadcast freely over the air, how can it in justice then deny the Jehovah’s Witnesses, because they are pacifists, the right to offer their literature at a public street corner or to broadcast their propaganda? The freedom of the press is absolute, the same as the free-

dom of religion. The right to dissent is a sacred right and should be sacredly guarded, or all the liberties vouchsafed to us under the Constitution will perish.

C. S. L.

Are Americans Indifferent?

WHEN THE PRESIDENT of the United States first appointed Mr. Myron C. Taylor as his personal representative to the Vatican, there were protests loud and long from many American citizens. It was rather generally felt that this was the beginning of a relationship between church and state that is entirely foreign to the American conception of government.

Of late, the papers have been referring to further visits to the papal leaders by Mr. Taylor, but we hear no further protests. We are not sure whether this silence comes from a lack of understanding of what is really involved, an indifference to it, or a mere feeling that there is no use to protest.

It is always worth while to protest against something that is wrong, and LIBERTY has to raise its voice against this politico-religious connection between our country and a church. The Pope of Rome is the head of a world-wide religious organization, but everybody knows that his temporal kingdom comprises a little over one hundred acres. Whatever influence he exerts is a religious influence. His subjects are such because of their fealty to the church, not because of their pride in the Pope's little field in Rome.

America, a Jesuit journal, in its issue of October 3, 1942, seems to gloat over the fact that Americans have ceased to protest. We quote:

"The striking feature . . . about this journey of Mr. Taylor to Rome, is the surprising silence of those who protested vigorously in 1940, when the President sent him as personal representative to the Vatican. An ear-splitting howl went up then, the old catchwords 'separation' of church and state and 'papal political domination,' shattering the welkin. There is none of that today. Perhaps it takes a war, and such a war as this, . . . to make us realize that fundamentally there never can be a separation of church and state, in the sense that they both have to uphold, and fight and die for, the essentials of Christian morality. Perhaps through the horrors of all-out war the deaf old world will be shocked back into hearing and hearkening to the voice of the Shepherd, whose most glorious title is 'the Servant of the servants of God.'"

Since it is not the business of LIBERTY to enter into theological discussions, we therefore avoid talk

of the vain papal boast of *America* in the quotation just cited, but it is our business to cry aloud against anything that smacks of a union of church and state, for such a union is always harmful to both church and state.

The editor of *America* is as far from the belief and teachings of those who made our nation what it is as one pole is from the other when he declares that "there never can be a separation of church and state, in the sense that they both have to uphold, and fight and die for, the essentials of Christian morality."

Thomas Jefferson, in commenting on the Virginia Act for Establishing Religious Freedom, says that when some attempted to insert the name of Jesus Christ into the preamble "the insertion was rejected by a great majority, in proof that they meant to comprehend within the mantle of its protection the Jew and the Gentile, the Christian and Mahometan, the Hindoo, and infidel of every denomination."

Madison, in his celebrated "Memorial and Remonstrance," had this to say:

"Who does not see that the same authority which can establish Christianity, in exclusion of all other religions, may establish, with the same ease, any particular sect of Christians, to the exclusion of all other sects?"

The business of the state is to deal with man's relationship to his fellows and not with his relationship or duty to God. When the editor of *America* goes on to intimate that perhaps the war in which we are now engaged may lead men to acknowledge the Pope of Rome as the world's supreme spiritual leader, we are prompt to say that we think every protest that was made against sending Mr. Taylor to the Vatican was justified. The apparent attitude of Americans generally over this matter seems to be well expressed in a bit of old rhyme:

"Vice is a monster of so frightful mien,
As to be hated needs but to be seen;
Yet seen too oft, familiar with her face,
We first endure, then pity, then embrace."

H. H. V.

Mr. Thad Snow Again

IN OUR LAST ISSUE we referred to one Mr. Thad Snow, who had arranged a bond for a member of the Jehovah's Witnesses who had been arrested in Charleston, Missouri, for offering literature for sale without having secured a license to do so.

We give here a part of a letter written by Mr. Snow to the *Charleston Democrat*. Possibly Mr. Snow's manner of expressing his opinions will appeal to some of our readers, though we have an idea

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that others will be inclined to disagree with him rather violently. Editorially we give approval to the substance of Snow's letter. We think it a good thing sometimes to have principles removed from the realm of abstract and brought right down to everyday things.

Under the heading, "People's Pulpit," Mr. Snow writes:

"This seems to be open season for Jehovah Witnesses. At Little Rock the patriotic sportsmen shot down two and clubbed down a great many more. At Caruthersville they did some clubbing and jailed two illegally. Here and there all over the country the Witnesses have been regarded as game in season and hunted with legal and extralegal weapons of one sort and another.

"In our town of Charleston a Witness is soon to be tried in circuit court for 'peddling without a license.' We are being altogether legal about it. No violence or anything like that. Our procedure is witch burning in its very mildest form. Very mild, but authentic, beyond a doubt.

"Unlike smaller game such as ducks and quail, the 'Witnesses' thrive, prosper, and multiply better when they are hunted than when they are let alone. So, I suppose the open season which is now on is O. K. with them. They may or may not enjoy being hunted, and it may or may not be good for them. I don't know about that. But this I do know—hunting them has regrettable effects on the huntsmen who engage in the sport. There is something unclean about even the mildest sort of witch burning, in any circumstances.

"It is, of course, not so long ago that we actually burnt folks at the stake for differing with us on politics, religion, or even as to the shape of the earth and its relation to other heavenly bodies. We don't do that any more. Fashions change, and we ought to be glad of it. But impulses remain, and we mustn't expect too much of ourselves. So, all in all, a mild persecution of the Witnesses may be a good thing. . . .

"However, this war is still young, and how are we to know if the innocent pleasure we are taking with the Witnesses now may not whet up appetites that will require larger satisfactions later on? Witch burning has been a highly contagious pestilence among us in our tolerably near past, and perhaps it ought not to be trifled with now. We like to believe we are too civilized to repeat even the half-forgotten shamefulness of the last war. What justification there is for complacency in this belief, it is difficult to see.

"Of course the trial of Witness Barnes on October 26 in our circuit court is a relatively unimportant matter. Barnes, no doubt, welcomes this small measure of persecution. Very likely he will prefer a conviction, rather than an acquittal, so he can go to jail

or to the Supreme Court, whichever the higher ups of the 'Theocracy' require him to do. There is no need for anybody to waste sympathy on Barnes.

"But a blind man ought to be able to see that it is not Witness Barnes, but the Charleston community that is going to trial. . . . The community, of course, is already convicted, so far as may be, by having bothered Barnes at all. The fact is, however, that the community isn't much involved in the affair. An overzealous, overpatriotic officer made the arrest in the first place mainly on his own hook, and of course, with the best of intentions. Fined in the justice court, the Witness appealed to circuit court. His appeal very naturally turned the case into somewhat of a sporting proposition. So the city council voted to go ahead and prosecute in the higher court. I think they felt about Barnes very much as I feel about a crippled duck. I keep on shooting at it because I certainly want to get it after I have winged it. They winged Barnes in the justice court, and most naturally, they want to go on and get him. Their action, I should like to believe, is instinctive and innocent as that.

"The councilmen themselves are good and admirable men, without exception. Individually they are hard to beat. Collectively, they infect each other with the intolerance that seeks out and afflicts a great many people in wartime.

"The same thing happened with the United States Supreme Court when that august body upheld the 'antipeddling' ordinance which Witness Barnes may have violated. In this matter the city council has moved in company of best repute. However, I read that the Supreme Court is to decide next month if it will not reconsider its first opinion. So it may happily come about, long before Barnes and the Charleston city council can make their way through our State courts, that Barnes will be held guiltless, and our council eased of its burden by a reconsidered opinion of the highest court in the land. Anybody can be wrong the first time. If the judges of our highest court can admit to error, the city council of Charleston no doubt can do the same." H. H. V.

Totalitarianism

Impossible in Future World

TOTALITARIANISM is opposed to all human and individual rights. It assumes to rule all men in all things by a few men, and frequently by one man. Nebuchadnezzar, the mighty king of ancient Babylon, ruled by decree instead of by parliaments. His will was supreme in all things, temporal and spiritual. To refuse to bow down in absolute obedience to his decrees, even when they were in conflict with

the conscience in strictly religious matters, meant to be consigned to the fiery furnace, or flayed alive.

When Darius, the mighty king who conquered ancient Babylon, was made supreme in authority, he likewise held that his decrees, when once issued, whether they pertained to civil or religious matters, could never be changed, or altered, and must be obeyed or the individual suffer the pains of death by being devoured by hungry lions.

The Caesars of the powerful Roman Empire brooked no disobedience to their decrees and burned the Christians at the stake because they held that God was above the Caesars. In Rome totalitarianism held absolute sway. The individual possessed no rights under God or under man that could not be denied for the good of the state. The state was supreme in all things both spiritual and temporal.

The conflict now raging in this world war is a titanic struggle between totalitarianism on one hand and the inalienable rights of man on the other. According to the American way of life and the ideals as conceived by the founders of the American Republic, totalitarianism—that is, one man or a few men, ruling all men in all things, both spiritual and temporal—is an impossible proposition in this modern world. It remains to be seen which of these two opposing philosophies of life and theories of government shall prevail. If totalitarianism triumphs, it will mean not only the doom of the American Republic but the doom of the world and the end of all things. The world will then be ripe for the retributive judgments of God which await its final doom.

But that contingency should not discourage the faithful children of God, since He has promised to set up for them a better world upon the ruins of the present evil world. Whatever the results may be, we are assured that totalitarianism, tyranny, and oppression are ultimately doomed, and freedom and everlasting peace are to be the final heritage of the children of faith in the Most High, who rules over all.

C. S. L.

Blue Law Hybrid

DURING THE GAY NINETIES a North Carolina Sunday law forbade the operation of freight trains on Sunday unless they carried livestock. This law was tested before the Supreme Court of the United States, and our highest court ruled that as long as the constitution of the State did not make Sunday statutes unconstitutional, this law was valid.

One railroad, in order to get around the Sunday blue law and still keep the trains running, decided to carry a mule on each freight train on Sundays.

The dictionary tells us a mule is a hybrid of the

ass and the horse. We wonder if this ridiculous Sunday law regulating freight trains running through North Carolina is not a hybrid of a church and state alliance.

C. S. L.

Is There a “Civil Sabbath”?

IT HAS OFTEN BEEN SAID that there is nothing new under the sun. To even the casual reader of history this must at times seem true. We more than half suspect that under like conditions men in different ages are apt to show the same general reactions.

The advocates of Sunday laws who are pressing for civil legislation, demanding that the first day of the week be a day of rest for all, find themselves faced with the constitutional provision prohibiting Congress from making any law respecting an establishment of religion. Many of these politico-religious leaders have therefore laid great stress upon the idea of a “civil sabbath.” Leaving the religious basis almost entirely out, they stress the need for rest for laboring men. They profess a great love for the laborer and are mightily distressed when some are asked to work seven days a week in what is called essential industry, or in some of the public utilities.

We yield to none in our belief that it is good for men to have time free from the wear and grind of everyday labor. But we are sure that as far as physical benefit is concerned, one day is as good as another. The only advantage that a particular day has as a day of rest over any other day of the week is a religious advantage, and there is no such thing as a “civil sabbath.” The word “Sabbath” means more than physical rest. It is significant, too, that those who are most active in promoting a so-called “civil sabbath” are among the most ardent opponents of legislation that provides that every laborer must have twenty-four consecutive hours of rest in every seven days. Nothing short of having the first day of the week set apart as the particular day of rest will satisfy some.

The attempt to becloud the real issue by claiming that it is not religious but civil, is not new. As long ago as the time when Roger Williams and some of his friends were being persecuted and finally banished from Massachusetts, the leaders among their persecutors denied that the persecution was because of Williams’ religious belief, and attempted to show that the defendants—not only Williams, but others—were opposed to the civil and political arrangements which prevailed in the Bay Colony. They tried to make it appear that it was not heresy but sedition that led to the exiling of these.

John Winthrop, in speaking for the religious leaders, referred to one of the men on trial, and said that if he "had kept his judgment to himself, so as the public peace had not been troubled or endangered by it, we would have left him to himself, for we do not challenge power over men's consciences, but when seditious speeches and practices discover such a corrupt conscience, it is our duty to use authority to reform both."

We hope it will not seem farfetched to our readers, but what Winthrop said in colonial days sounds to us suspiciously like the reasoning of five men on our Supreme Court bench in the opinion which they rendered on June 8 last, upholding the right of municipalities to levy license fees for the circulation of literature. Apparently failing entirely to consider the freedom of the press and freedom of religion, apparently overlooking the right of men to promulgate their ideas by the printed page, apparently not seeing that in spite of their words they were taking the real substance of liberty away by their decision, these five justices, in a carefree, almost irresponsible, manner declared: "So the mind and spirit of man remain forever free." How can the mind be free when essential, inalienable rights are taken away? How can man be free when his "actions rest subject to necessary accommodation to the competing needs of his fellows," when this is interpreted by the Court to mean not competing with others, but being prohibited from acting at all?

These Sunday-law advocates mentioned in the beginning of this article use the same line of reasoning that Winthrop and the majority of our Supreme Court have used in the references we have made. They commonly say that they do not care whether a man rests on Saturday, for instance, but he must not work on Sunday. They could agree with the Supreme Court of the land that the "mind and spirit of man remain forever free." They could agree with Winthrop that they would not do a thing to interfere with men's religious beliefs, but they want to make sure that his religious actions follow their ideas.

We, ourselves, on one occasion in a hearing before Congress, heard a valiant defender of Sunday laws declare that there are no "blue" laws. He referred to them as "red, white, and blue" laws. He was endeavoring to bind the Sunday-sabbath institution to patriotism.

We close as we began, therefore, by saying that we more than half suspect that the nature and spirit of man are the same in all ages. If we would preserve our liberties, we must be quick to note the least infringement upon them. Dangers are abroad in the land, and unless we are careful, many of our rights will be lost during the confusion that is inherent in such a struggle as ours now is.

H. H. V.

FIRST QUARTER

Free Bus Law Unconstitutional in Washington

ON July 9, 1942, Judge John M. Wilson of the Superior Court of the State of Washington for Thurston County, declared unconstitutional and void the law enacted by the legislature of that State in 1941, extending free bus transportation to children attending private and parochial schools. A taxpayer of that county had challenged the act on the ground that it violated the provisions both of the State and the Federal Constitution.

In deciding this perplexing and disturbing religious question, Judge Wilson based his opinion principally upon the provisions of the constitution of the State of Washington. He also followed two State supreme court decisions of New York and Oklahoma, as their State constitutions on this subject were similar in prohibiting the transportation of church school children at public expense.

While the church school authorities contended that the expenditure of the taxes for transportation was for the benefit of the child and not the parochial school, the court however held that in reality and in effect the money expended for this purpose aided the maintenance of the parochial school as an organization.

The parochial school authorities also contended that the law enacted to carry school children to parochial schools was in furtherance of the police power of the State, but the court challenged that theory on the grounds that the transportation of pupils to their respective public schools was in performance of an act carrying into effect the educational program contemplated by the State constitution and not fundamentally in regulation of traffic or even in promotion of the health or safety of the children of the State.

If it is the duty of the State to haul the children to the parochial schools to obtain religious training and instruction, on the basis of the public power of the State, then it is the duty of the State to give free transportation to all pupils who go to Sunday school or to church services.

Judge Wilson said that he was influenced in his opinion by the logic and reasoning of numerous decisions in similar cases of other jurisdictions and by the decisions of the Supreme Court of the State of Washington upon this controversial religious question.

It is far safer to rule in favor of a separation of church and state in financial as well as political alliances than to mix politics with religion or override constitutional prohibitions. It is better to adhere to the American way of life as conceived by the founders of the American Republic than to follow court precedents which are wrong in principle.

C. S. L.

NEWS and COMMENT

FATHER JOHN M. CRANN, pastor of St. Charles church near Youngstown, Ohio, according to the *Cleveland Press* of August 11, 1942, was suspended from his pastorate and forbidden to preach any more because he criticized the editorial staff of the *Catholic Universe Bulletin* in his sermons, charging the editors as having Fascist tendencies. Archbishop Joseph Schrembs of Cleveland placed the ban upon Reverend Crann, alleging that "it is for the good of the religion." Of course, a church has the right to suspend the credentials of any preacher for any cause it deems fit, and the civil authorities have no jurisdiction over ecclesiastical functions concerning its own internal operations. At any rate, it is quite evident that Reverend Crann is not a Fascist sympathizer. Perhaps a preacher should not express his sentiments on Fascism or Nazism in his pulpit. If not, then should the church through its periodicals have the right to do what it denies to the preacher?

THE question of saluting the flag has received a great deal of attention in the newspapers of the country. All kinds of ideas have been offered. But in the following editorial taken from the *Santa Barbara News-Press* there is advanced an argument that we have not seen before. We think it is good. We believe our readers will also approve it.

"Good Americans in Santa Barbara County, whose loyalty to their country is not and cannot be doubted, are quarreling with each other concerning a formality of patriotism. Their quarrel is an old one. It has been fought in many places many times before. It has never profited either side or this country as a whole. It is about saluting the American flag in the public schools.

"Several district school boards in Santa Barbara County are expelling children who refuse to salute the American flag. The children, of course, are simply obeying parents who belong to religious 'sects' which consider any flag a form of 'graven image' which they are forbidden to 'bow down before' (salute) by their Bible. The school boards have the legal right to expel these children.

"It is not charged that the parents of these children offer or wish to offer their support or allegiance to any other country. It is not charged that these parents order or permit their children to salute some other flag or that the children do honor any other flag. Also, the parents involved in the immediate local situation are willing for their children to sign an allegiance pledge.

"Let us remember this last point. Then let us remember that 'in the name of freedom,' in this most blessed of all nations, we, as a people, have ordered

that the Bible shall not be taught in the public schools. We, as a people, have held that no child should be excluded from the public schools of this free nation because the child or the child's parents do not worship God or Christ. We have gone farther than that. We have ordered, 'in the name of freedom,' that no child shall be excluded from our schools because the child or the child's parents worship some 'other god,' or even an idol.

"The point to be kept in mind is that children are being expelled from our public schools because they do not salute the American flag, not because they salute some other flag. Yet we admit to our schools not only those who do not worship God and Christ, but also those who worship in religions that deny the existence of God and Christ, and religions that—in other parts of the world—persecute those who do worship God and Christ.

"All this we elected to do long ago, in the name of real freedom. All this we continue to do, as a means of preserving that freedom. All that we ask—in relation to God—is that no one hinder those who would worship God. Are we justified in asking more for our flag?

"Surely, in this country, we have not come to the point where we set our flag above our God and thereby provide opportunity for the chief bearer of that flag soon to claim worship before God.

"And—if we have not come to that point—how can we expel from the schools the child who does not salute the flag and continue to give the blessing of education to the child who does not worship God and who may—without our interference—bow down before an idol?

"Unless we change our Declaration of Independence; the preamble of our Constitution; the constitution of every State in this nation; the oath of office for all our public officials; and the motto on our coinage—this nation remains founded on belief in a God that is greater than any nation and any flag.

"We do not force the worship of our country's God in our country's schools because we have a deep and abiding conviction that an enforced religion is viciously unreal and less to be desired than a wrong religion or no religion at all.

"In that conviction is the foundation for unbiased thinking about this flag that we love."

A MUCH-NEEDED word of warning is given in the leading editorial of the *Baltimore News-Post* of September 16, 1942. We quote:

"Engrossed in the manifold problems of armament, in the calculations and movements of global strategy, in the assignments of unprecedented powers or of innumerable exigent duties, and in the rising agonies of lethal conflict, we must not forget that

liberty is the most precious possession an American has, and that conquest by an invading foe is not the only way in which a free people can be deprived of liberty.

"We must remember that liberty can also be lost at home.

"In words that have been rather frequently chanted, we must not, in winning the war, lose the basic thing for which we fight.

"In fewer words still, we must not obsess ourselves into servitude.

"There is no reason why any citizen should be confused about this.

"The American people have been fortunate above all other free nations in having a firm and visible foundation for their liberty.

"Let them preserve the foundation, and their edifice of liberty cannot fall.

"And this foundation, so well known to most of us, is the noblest document of government ever contrived—the Constitution of the United States.

"If we allow the Constitution to be abrogated, if we allow it to be distorted out of its perfect form, we shall inevitably wreck our representative system of free government, and we shall inevitably cease to be free men and free women in a democratic commonwealth.

"The most vital element in the Constitution, the element that has made it the repository of liberty in our land, is in the structure of government which it devised; namely, the division of powers among the co-ordinate branches—legislative, executive, judicial.

"Those three words mean simply that Congress alone shall *make* laws, but shall not enforce them; that the President alone, and of course his lawful subordinates, shall *enforce* the laws, but shall not make them; and that the judiciary alone shall *interpret* the laws, but shall not make nor enforce them.

"In sum, under the Constitution the President may not be a legislator, and neither the President nor the Congress shall sit as judges over the people or the laws."

THE New York Times of November 1, 1942, carried an Associated Press dispatch from London giving a brief account of a message sent to a conference of the International Federation of Journalists by Brendan Bracken, minister of information for the British government.

He is credited with declaring that "an independent press, free to comment, criticize, and tell the truth without fear, 'is high on the list of things for which we are fighting.'"

We hope that this high aim will not be lost sight of by any of the Allied powers. The right to discuss principles is an inalienable one. Dictators and ty-

FIRST QUARTER

rants always seek to pollute the streams of information. They always endeavor to distort facts. They strike at unfavorable comment and foster subversion.

As long as the press remains free, there is hope for the world.

"JEFFERSON CITY, August 29 (AP).—The State supreme court ordered yesterday the release on bond of two members of Jehovah's Witnesses who have been held in Caruthersville, Missouri, since early in June.

"The court granted the pair, Mr. and Mrs. Robert J. Adair, the right to appeal their police court conviction to the circuit court for trial. They were fined \$100 each on June 9 on a charge of peddling without a license and have since been held in jail for nonpayment of the fines.

"They petitioned the Supreme Court for release on a writ of habeas corpus, contending their distribution of books and literature with a 'benevolent and charitable' activity not subject to a peddler's license and that their conviction violated rights guaranteed under the Federal and State constitutions.

"Court's Findings

"The court announced it would not rule on the constitutionality of the city ordinance, but decided to free the prisoners on bond on the basis of evidence regarding alleged violence toward members of the religious sect.

"We are of the unanimous opinion there was undoubtedly coercive denial of the right of appeal by public violence,' said Chief Justice George Robb Ellison, following a conference of the five judges participating in the hearing.

"Arrangements were made for the release of Mr. and Mrs. Adair, both of whom testified the threat of mob violence prevented them from appealing. Bonds of \$100 each were signed by Mrs. Cora Russhing of Cooter, Missouri.

"Adair served 77 days in the Caruthersville jail and Mrs. Adair 76.

"Two Tell of Beating

"Two witnesses, Monroe Wilson, of Cooter, and T. E. Maddox, of Little Rock, Arkansas, testified that after the Adairs were convicted, they went to Caruthersville to see about obtaining legal aid and were beaten by 'a mob of men' who questioned them about saluting the American flag.

"The city contended motions for appeal from a police court verdict must be filed on the same day and before court adjourns.

"Chief of Police Albert C. Walker of Caruthers-

ville and Police Judge O. E. Hooker testified they had no direct knowledge of any mob threats.

"A court official said it was the second time in ten years that witnesses had been heard in a habeas corpus proceeding."—*St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, Aug. 29, 1942.

WE commend to all good Americans who are perturbed by the overzealous activities of religionists whose beliefs seem strange to them, this excerpt from a letter written by James Madison to Edward Everett, March 19, 1823:

"The settled opinion here is that religion is essentially distinct from civil government, and exempt from its cognizance; that a connection between them is injurious to both; that there are causes in the human breast which ensure the perpetuity of religion without the aid of the law; that rival sects, with equal rights, exercise mutual censorships in favor of good morals; that if new sects arise with absurd opinions or overheated imaginations, the proper remedies lie in time, forbearance, and example; that a legal establishment of religion without a toleration could not be thought of, and with a toleration, is no security for public quiet and harmony, but rather a source itself of discord and animosity."

We wholeheartedly agree with Madison that the "proper remedies" for "absurd opinions or overheated imaginations" "lie in time, forbearance, and example." To raise to martyrdom those who may be merely misguided and not at heart vicious is to multiply their adherents and give them a sympathy that their cause hardly merits. The real test of one's character is not to be found in his words alone, but in his acts. Those who are sure of the justice and righteousness of their own beliefs and practices can well afford to allow time to demonstrate these facts and to be exceedingly tolerant toward those who differ from them.

SPARKS

A RELIGION which employs carnal means hinders its own cause.

RELIGION can expect success only as it limits its operations to spiritual means.

AUTHORITY resolves itself into tyranny when it becomes absolute in all things.

A GOVERNMENT which denies the freedom of one religion can, and ultimately may, deny the freedom of all religion.

INTOLERANCE knows no limits, pities no race, spares no religion, honors no nationality, and is amenable to no authority but its own spirit of arrogance.

WHERE equal opportunity reigns, the industrious will prevail over the idle.

WHERE collectivism reigns, the idle will prevail over the industrious.

Our Front Cover

OUR COVER ILLUSTRATION for this issue depicts the gigantic sculptural masterpiece of the late Gutzon Borglum. This massive work in the Black Hills was brought to completion by his son, Lincoln Borglum. The reproduction is from a kodachrome taken by Mrs. Lincoln Borglum.

Unequaled in boldness of conception and sheer massiveness, this great memorial to four of our leading Presidents, carved in the granite at the top of Mount Rushmore, South Dakota, has been fitly called a "Shrine of Democracy."

The whole story of this memorial is interesting, from its first dream in the mind of Mr. Borglum, its reason for being located in the middle of our continent, its particular site in the general location, its arrangement of the figures, its all but completely discouraging difficulties, to its final completion as the

The whole story of this memorial is interesting—world's unique and probably most enduring monument. Neither the ancient nor the modern world has seen anything that approaches its conception and execution.

But what it is from a physical viewpoint is not the thing that will make it enduring. Its permanence as a shrine of democracy rests upon the ideals of a free nation, whose freedom, whose heritage, and whose understanding of civil government are symbolized by Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln, and Theodore Roosevelt.

Washington really founded our nation as a soldier and as the presiding officer of the Constitutional Convention. He is rightly called the Father of His Country.

Jefferson not only wrote our Declaration of Independence, but interpreted its real meaning in language easy to be understood, and with prophetic foresight warned of dangers which have since come.

Lincoln, with the greatest heart of all the group, saved the Union by a firm adherence to right, and a spirit of love and understanding and forgiveness that turned enemies into friends.

Theodore Roosevelt could not be denied a place in this company, for when our land was threatened by prosperity—much more dangerous than adversity to both men and nations—he called the country back again to the simple, homely virtues of honesty, integrity, truthfulness, and industry. In a critical time he again set forth the worth of the individual and sought to restrain the predatory power of great wealth.

H. H. V.

If war seems awful, remember that the money we lend our Government is not used alone for the manufacture of implements of war. It is also spent for works of mercy; to heal the sick, to bind their wounds, to bring them back to us and save them for lives of future usefulness. Surely no one can talk of generosity when his money is to be repaid to him with interest.

EWING GALLOWAY

WAR BONDS

and Stamps





PHOTO BY HORTON

FREEDOM OF WORSHIP—A PRECIOUS HERITAGE

One of the Fundamental Inherent Rights of True Democracy Is the Citizen's Privilege of Worshiping His Creator as His Conscience Dictates. This Precious Heritage, Denied to So Many Millions, Is One of the Freedoms for Which the Democracies and Free Nations Are Striving. A True Concept of Allegiance to Authority Not Only Will Cause Man to Obey the Commandments of the Eternal, but Make Him Loyal and Dutiful to the Government That Protects Him.