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# LIBERTY

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A MAGAZINE OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM







# DECLARATION of Principles

## RELIGIOUS LIBERTY ASSOCIATION

**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.

**WE BELIEVE** that the Ten Commandments are the law of God, and that they comprehend man's whole duty to God and man.

**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.

**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.

**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.

**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.

**WE BELIEVE**, therefore, that it is not within the province of civil government to legislate on religious questions.

**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.

**WE BELIEVE** in the inalienable and constitutional right of free speech, free press, peaceable assembly, and petition.

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

*Religious Liberty Association, 6840 Eastern Avenue,  
Takoma Park, Washington 12, D.C.*

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Photo taken in color by S. M. Harlan

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## This Quarter's Cover

George Washington first saw life in the simple countryside of Tidewater, Virginia, in 1732. The home in which he was born was accidentally destroyed by fire during the Revolutionary War, and the house was not rebuilt. About a hundred years later the Federal Government, by donation and by purchase, secured a small holding at this site.

Interest in the unselfish devotion and wise leadership of the man who was born here led eventually to the acquiring of the present large area of nearly four hundred acres. These holdings were turned over to the National Government in 1931 by the Wakefield National Memorial Association and Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr.

Reliable information concerning the appearance of the original house was not found, so the new Memorial Mansion was erected to represent a Virginia plantation house of the first half of the eighteenth century. Near the building will be found a quiet old-fashioned garden, and about a mile away is the old Washington family burial ground.

This Memorial Mansion and the surrounding grounds are administered by the National Park Service of the United States Department of the Interior.

Our cover shows the superintendent, Mr. Philip R. Hough, with his two children, who are saluting the flag of the nation whose first President was "first in the hearts of his countrymen."

We trust this photograph, taken by our photographer, will be of interest to our readers. The Memorial Mansion is well worthy of a visit by all who respect and revere the memory of Washington.

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PHOTO FROM EWING GALLOWAY



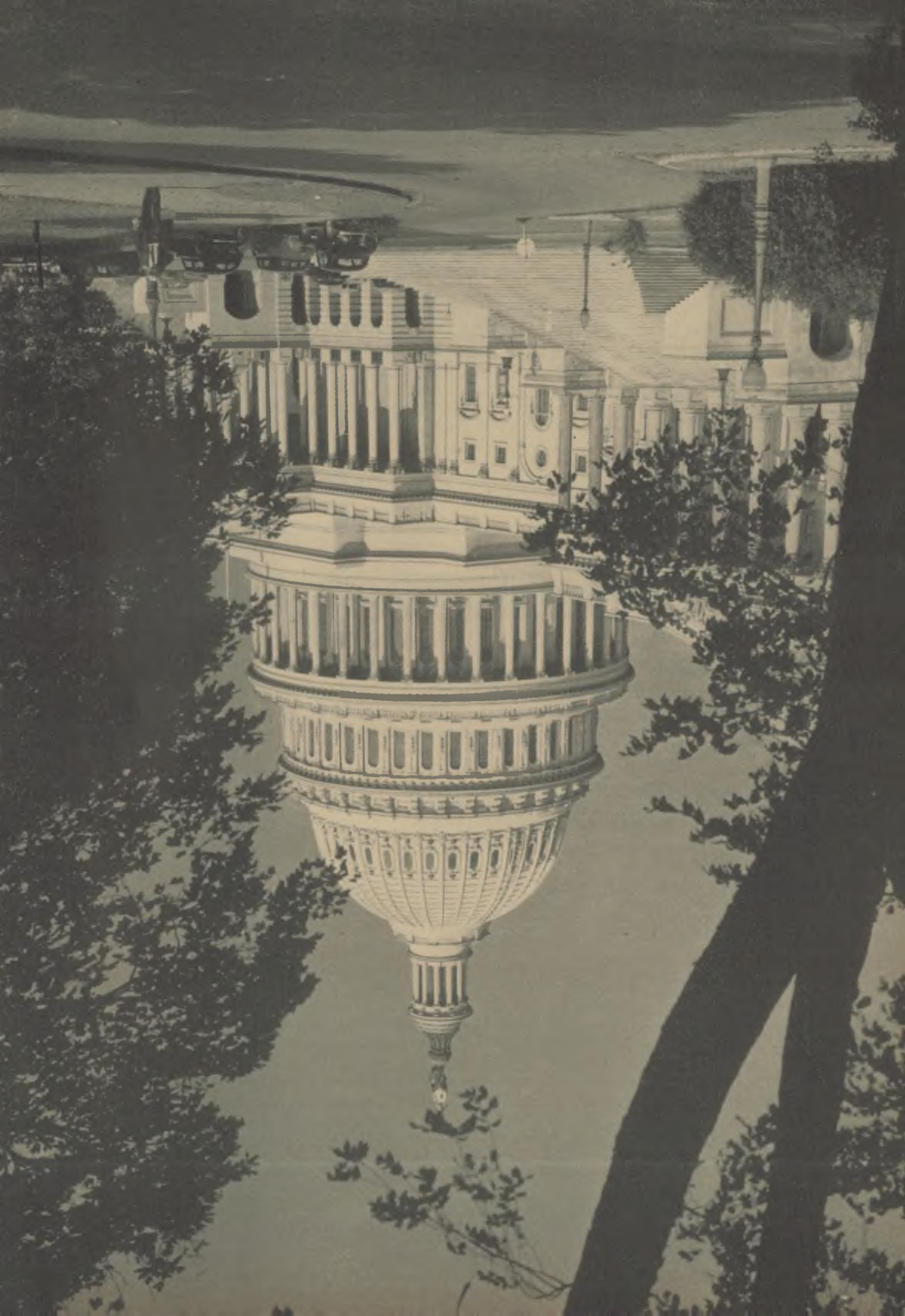






PHOTO FROM FREDERIC LEWIS

Our Task Is to Maintain and Preserve That Heritage of Religious Freedom Left Us by Our Founding Fathers

# The Task Which Lies Ahead

By **THE REVEREND W. NORMAN PITTENGER**

**A**MERICANS SOMETIMES HAVE a tendency to rest upon their laurels, or at any rate to assume that a job once done has been done for good and all. In no area of life is such a notion so insidious as in the realm of religious freedom. "Of course we have religious freedom in America," we are told. "The Constitution and the Bill of Rights both guarantee it. The courts have stood out for it. Everybody is be-

hind it. Why should you be concerned about a question settled long ago?" But it is precisely here that the wise saying of an older generation, that the price of liberty is eternal vigilance, has its aptness. For freedom is one of those things which one is likely, indeed, almost certain, to lose, unless one keeps a careful watch for any and every infraction of the right. We ought to know this simply by having seen what happened in Germany. Yet we assume, a little too easily, that "it can't happen here."

Now that the war is over, many of the restrictions which marked our national life have been removed. For this we are very grateful. But there are still some blots on our record—blots which date not from the time of the war but from a far earlier period. What about the religious rights of certain groups in America who hold beliefs that are different from

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DAVID W. CORSON, FROM A. DEVANEY, INC., N.Y.

In This Stately Capitol Building at Washington, Our National Legislators, Under the Rules and Principles of Our Constitution and Bill of Rights, Enact the Laws for Our Federal Well-Being

"Some Religionists All Too Often Have Been Prepared to Interfere, on Their Own Behalf, in the Affairs of the Local Government, the State Government, and Even the National Government. If Government Is Not to Interrupt or Prevent the Free Exercise of Religion by Any American Citizen or Any Group of Citizens, Neither Can Any Religious Denomination So Act as to Interrupt or Prevent the Freedom of Action Which Rightly Belongs to the Citizenry as a Whole"

SECOND QUARTER





founded on charity, based on the natural law planted by God in men's hearts, and he insists—rightly—that it is entirely possible for a believer to hold firmly and unswervingly to his own faith while at the same time he defends to the uttermost the right of another man to a different one. There are not *many* truths, Maritain insists; there is only *one* truth. But no man must be forced into that one truth; he must come to it in his own way, as God leads him to see it and know it. It is, of course, obvious where M. Maritain

would see that one truth supremely present: it would be in the Roman church. For most of us, this is not the case at all. But the *principle* which he has enunciated stands firm; it is eternally true. And it is the principle with which we are concerned here. Conviction with tolerance, maintained in charity—there is the secret of religious liberty as America has conceived it. To secure the widest acceptance of that principle among our fellow countrymen is the task that lies ahead of us.

## Will Federation Bring Freedom?

By A. E. LICKEY

**F**EDERATION, UNITY, ONE WORLD! Unite, or perish! Federate, or disintegrate! Yoke up, or blow up!

These urgent, compelling ideas are preached and penned as touching the physical, economic, social, and religious life of the whole world. We have the atomic bomb, which we fear may blow us up, and we are getting some atomic ideas which may blow the lamp of freedom clean out, particularly religious freedom.

Old Milt Collins used to come down to my father's sawmill in Missouri to watch and to talk. He was an old sawyer himself. One time he brought a saw with him.

Milt said to me, "Art, I was just up town, and we were having a discussion about which was right to say: '7 plus 5 *are* 13, or 7 plus 5 *is* 13.' Since you are a right smart boy at school, I knew you could straighten us out on our grammar. Which is the right way to put it?"

Quick as anything I answered, "Why, Milt, '7 plus 5 *are* 13.' That is the right way to say it."

Old Milt's eyes twinkled. He took off his hat and sat down on a log so he could enjoy it better; then he laughed and guffawed to the full limit as only a Missourian or a Texan can do.

"No, Art," he said, "you're wrong this time, because 7 plus 5 ain't 13 at all. My arithmetic says 7 plus 5 is 12." Then he laughed the more.

At first I felt like mauling Milt, but he was too old and I was too young, and anyway it would not change the arithmetic. Then I felt like mauling

myself, which I did, for several days, as I remember, interspersing some lectures on this wise, "Son, don't let one factor of a problem be so emphasized as to overshadow consideration of the others. If you do, you'll likely as not get the wrong answer."

You see, in my concern over the grammatical construction of a simple equation of addition I had missed the answer.

### One of Our Religious Problems Today

In our world today we are talking, preaching, and writing much about the problem of religious unity



H. M. LAMBERT

"Don't Let One Factor of a Problem Be So Emphasized as to Overshadow Consideration of the Others. If You Do, You'll Likely as Not Get the Wrong Answer"



H. M. LAMBERT

or religious federation. We are anxious to construct a framework of federation which will do great things in a great time. My comments here are in the direction of getting the right answer by emphasizing the greatest factor in the problem, lest it be overlooked for those of great, though lesser, importance.

Here is a popular modern religious-freedom equation: "*Freedom of personal religious belief PLUS freedom from criticism by, or of, other religious beliefs or organizations EQUALS religious freedom.*" In short, every man may believe as he pleases, will pick on no one else, and will be protected from being picked on.

Millions of modern people—from the janitor to the chairman of the board, from the cook to the mistress, voter and politician, layman and preacher—think of this pleasant, supple religious situation as being religious freedom.

Yet the fact is almost glaringly apparent that the above equation is not true.

Mere freedom of personal belief is not religious freedom. No power can keep one from believing what he will, and no power can keep anyone from believing truth except by cutting him off from sources of information. Freedom from criticism of one's religion by others is not religious freedom. Promise

**When All the Rights and Freedoms of Mankind Are Protected by the Fundamental Law of a Nation, Then Its Homes Are Truly Free and Peace and Contentment Reign**

on my part to refrain from saying anything which might be construed as prejudicial to my neighbor's belief is not religious freedom for him. The agreement of all religionists to speak, write, or do nothing which would reflect upon or challenge the beliefs and practices of other religionists is not religious freedom.

### **Two Facts in the Matter**

1. Religious freedom is the right of each and every man to believe, practice, and teach the truth as he sees it, as long as in so doing he does not invade the just and equal rights of others. This freedom includes the right to point out what he believes to be error or danger in the teachings and practices of other religions. And this freedom is not based upon, nor is it proportionate to, numbers. It is the sacred and inherent right of the minority as well as the majority. Anything short of this is not religious liberty, pleasant as it would be if all men believed the same thing and dwelt together in unity.

A man or a sect may be judicious or injudicious in expressing religious views, but this does not alter the right to express those views.



When Paul the Christian spoke in Athens to the philosophical Greeks, some of them called him a bab-  
bler. Paul did not call for protection of law so that  
men would not call him a babbler, neither did the  
Greeks try to stop his so-called babbling. Others  
said he seemed to be a "setter forth of strange gods."  
Paul and the Greeks did not agree, and the latter  
were probably cynical enough, but he it said to the  
everlasting glory of the Greeks that they permitted  
Paul to have his say without let or hindrance or  
penalty. They were further ahead 1900 years ago  
than those who today would sacrifice freedom of con-  
science for the framework of federation.

No Christian should deny the Jew his right to dis-  
believe that Jesus is the Messiah, and to state his  
belief.

No Protestant should deny the Catholic his right  
to preach that purgatory is real, and that the pope  
is Christ's vicegerent on earth.

No Catholic should force his views on others or  
deny others the right to challenge his belief and prac-  
tices.

It is not intolerant for a Catholic to protest Prot-  
estant gag rule, or the effort to keep Catholic mission-  
aries out of certain lands. And as Bishop Oxnam,  
president of the Federal Council of Churches of  
Christ in America, has recently said, "It is not intol-  
erance to protest against Roman Catholic activities  
that seek through boycott to threaten newspapers. . . .  
It is not intolerance to protest against actions of cer-  
tain Roman Catholic leaders to deny Protestant min-  
isters access to the radio by threatening station own-  
ers with the loss of consumer support of products  
advertised. . . . It is not intolerance to refuse to accept  
the dictates that would deny Protestant churches the  
right to engage in missionary work in other lands, at  
the very moment the Roman Catholic Church affirms  
its right to carry on missionary work in all lands."

With all this we heartily agree. And we hasten  
to add that it is not intolerance for *any* church to  
protest any discrimination shown against it by fed-  
erated Protestantism as represented in the national  
organization or by local ministerial associations.  
Pressure on newspapers and radio stations with re-  
spect to particular religious groups is just as repre-  
hensible in Protestant federations or individual strong  
groups as is Catholic pressure. If anything, it is  
more to be regretted because of Protestantism's pro-  
fession of full religious liberty. Historic Catholi-  
cism has never championed the cause of religious free-  
dom as it is championed in the American Constitu-  
tion.

Therefore, when Protestants think of plans to deny  
to some religious groups what Catholicism would deny  
them in missionary work in any land, or deny other  
liberties in connection with radio and freedom of the

press and use of the mails, etc., it is time for us to be  
vigilant in investigating our own motives and meth-  
ods. Much is heard today about the danger of Catholic  
domination in America. With such domination no  
freedom-loving American can agree. But let feder-  
ated Protestantism beware lest the power which ac-  
companies vast machinery be used in doing what is  
condemned in Catholicism. There can never be any  
virtue in hypocrisy, or any freedom in power-religion  
tactics.

2. That religionist is intolerant who will not freely  
tolerate expressed objection to his religious views  
and practices. If he wishes his views protected from  
criticism by law, he does not understand religious  
freedom. If in his heart he cannot endure any  
question about his religious beliefs, he needs a new  
kind of religion.

The extent to which federated religion may nur-  
ture the idea that a state of religious freedom is one  
in which no one should use the press, radio, or pulpit  
to express views contrary to the federated group or  
any other group—to that extent it ministers to a  
misunderstanding of true freedom. The extent to  
which federated religion does control the use of press,  
radio, and public utterance to restrict the freedom of  
others in their use of the same—to that extent fed-  
erated religion, national or local, is inimical to re-  
ligious freedom. We drift almost imperceptibly in  
such directions. We condemn others whose violation  
is flagrant while we follow at no mean distance be-  
hind them.

In this our present world it is better to have di-  
versity of belief and organization with unity on re-  
ligious freedom, than to have unity of organization  
and loss of religious freedom.

Better a thousand lights burning in search of truth,  
with freedom to live and learn, than one light with  
freedom gone.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

**Every right has its responsibili-  
ties. Like the right itself, these re-  
sponsibilities stem from no man-  
made law, but from the very nature  
of man and society. The security,  
progress, and welfare of one group  
is measured finally in the security,  
progress, and welfare of all man-  
kind.—The Hon. Lewis Schwellen-  
bach, Secretary of Labor.**

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★





A Picturesque and Pleasing View of the Dome of St. Peter's in Rome

T. K. MARTIN, ARTIST

# The Closing of the American Legation in Rome in 1867

By RUFUS W. WEAVER, LL.D.

[All our readers are aware that there was considerable discussion over the appointment of Mr. Myron C. Taylor as the personal representative of President Roosevelt to the Vatican at the time the appointment was made. Since President Truman has apparently decided to continue the appointment, we believe our readers will be interested in the brief historical sketch of our Government's former relationship to the Vatican, which we present from the pen of Dr. Rufus W. Weaver.—EDITORS.]

A LAUDATORY ARTICLE ON Cardinal-Designate Spellman appeared in *Life* magazine, January 28, 1946. An intimate friend of Eugenio Cardinal Pacelli, now Pope Pius XII, a trusted adviser of the late President Roosevelt, and "the Military Vicar of the Armed Forces of the United States," Archbishop Spellman has played a more important role in American political and military life than any other prelate of this generation. He, as the spokesman of Pope Pius XII, advised President Roosevelt that Myron

C. Taylor would be very acceptable as the President's personal representative at the Vatican.

The article in *Life* states that "during and before the Civil War the United States had maintained a minister at the papal court. But in 1870 all papal territory was seized by Victor Emmanuel II to complete the unification of modern Italy." The reader naturally infers that the loss of the temporal power of the Pope had something to do with the termination of our diplomatic relations with the Papacy.

Now to the facts. American history offers no parallel, of which we know, to the abrupt severing of diplomatic relations with the Pope of Rome in 1867. Less than two months after Rev. James Lewis, a Presbyterian missionary from Scotland, then residing in Rome, had been officially notified that he had been placed in "the power of the Inquisition, both for arrest and imprisonment," the Thirty-Ninth Congress of the United States enacted a law containing



the following: "And no money hereby or otherwise appropriated shall be paid for the support of an American legation at Rome from and after the thirtieth day of June, eighteen hundred sixty-seven."<sup>1</sup> The American Legation at Rome went out of the window.

The reasons for the establishment of diplomatic relations with the Papal States and the facts that led to the sudden severance of these relations need to be studied.

American consuls had served in Rome from 1797. President James K. Polk, in 1847, on the basis of "our commercial interests," declared in his message to the Congress that it was "highly expedient" for our Government to have a diplomatic representative at the papal court. The Pope then was the temporal sovereign of the Papal States, embracing a considerable part of Italy. Trade between the United States and the Papal States was growing. The first step was the appointment of Jacob L. Martin in 1848 as *chargé d'affaires*. A month later Mr. Martin died and Lewis Cass, Jr., became his successor. His rank was raised in 1854 to that of minister resident. He was followed by John P. Stockton, Rufus King, Alexander W. Randall, Richard M. Blatchford, and Rufus King, who was given his second appointment in 1863.

The instructions given by James Buchanan, then Secretary of State, to Jacob L. Martin, were clear, definite, and emphatic: "There is one consideration which you ought always to keep in view in your intercourse with the papal authorities. Most, if not all the governments which have diplomatic representatives, are connected with the Pope as the head of the Catholic Church. In this respect the United States occupies an entirely different position. . . . Our direct relations with the Papal States can only be of a commercial character."<sup>2</sup>

An established principle of international law gives to a minister resident in a foreign country "the privilege of religious worship in his own private chapel, according to the peculiar forms of his national faith, although it may not be generally tolerated by the laws of the State where he resides."<sup>3</sup> The American minister arranged for Protestant services to be held in his residence. In 1859 our minister, Mr. Stockton, approved of the organization of the Grace Church, which used the liturgy of the Protestant Episcopal Church and which was placed under the jurisdiction of the presiding bishop of this church in the United States. The owner of the Salviati Palace refused to renew the lease of our American minister unless Protestant services were discontinued. The American

church was thus compelled to move to new quarters, outside the walls of Rome. This incident does not account fully for the drastic action taken by the Congress, February 27, 1867.

There had been strong opposition to the American Legation at Rome in both Houses of the Congress. In 1860 the House refused to make an appropriation, but the Senate dissented. In 1865 Horace Greeley wrote a strong editorial against its continuance. The climax came January 29, 1867, when a bill, H.R. 904, appropriating funds for the diplomatic and consular services, came up for consideration.

Thaddeus Stevens introduced the following amendment: "Whereas it is beneath the dignity and contrary to justice that this nation should be represented at any Court or Government which prohibits free worship by American citizens within its jurisdiction of the Christian religion; and whereas the Roman Government has lately ordered the American churches to be removed outside of the city and prohibited the free exercise by them of the Christian religion therein: Therefore, no money hereby appropriated shall be paid for the support of the United States legation at Rome or for the future expenses of such legation."<sup>4</sup>

Heated debate followed. Representatives with large Roman Catholic supporters vigorously attacked the preamble of the amendment. One of them said: "If the amendment of the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Stevens] means anything, it is a direct expression of Protestant resentment against the Papal Government of Rome. . . . It is an established principle of the Roman hierarchy that the ritual of its establishment must be exclusive, and though myself a Protestant, I cannot as a member of this Government, representing a Catholic constituency, under the tolerant principle of our Constitution, consent to this bold attack, upon an established religion, equally Christian with our own."<sup>5</sup>

The following day Representative William E. Dodge requested the reading of a letter he had just received from Rev. Dr. Prime, a nationally-known Presbyterian minister, who was visiting in Rome. The clerk read:

"ROME, JANUARY 4, 1867

"For six years and more the Scotch Presbyterians have had a station here. Indeed they have two: one the Free Church, the other the Church of Scotland. The chaplains have held service every Sabbath in their own apartments with a few of their countrymen, rarely more than thirty or forty being present: No sign or notice is allowed to be put up on the house

<sup>1</sup> Congressional Globe, vol. 78, Appendix, p. 192.

<sup>2</sup> Department of State, Instruction, April 5, 1848.

<sup>3</sup> Wheaton's Elements of International Law, p. 304.

<sup>4</sup> Congressional Globe, vol. 77, p. 850.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.



to designate it as the place of worship. The stranger finds it advertised at his hotel, and coming to the number, prowls up the dark, stone stairways to some very upper chamber; and there, as secretly as the early Christians in the catacombs of Rome or in the dens and caves of the earth, he finds a few like-minded who pray and hear the Word. These services disturb no one and the authorities do not notice them. They affect to ignore their existence altogether. On Saturday, December 29th, 1866, the chaplains of these two missions were served with the following warning . . . :

“BRITISH CONSULATE AT ROME

“Dec. 29, 1866

“Sir:

“It is my official duty to inform you that Monsignore Randi, Governor of Rome, has just communicated to me that you are holding illegal religious meetings in your house, which you must know are prohibited by the Roman law, and that you have thus placed yourself in the power of the Inquisition, both for arrest and imprisonment. But as the Monsignore permits me to give you this notice I would seriously advise that you at once put an end to these innovations, and that you visit Monsignore Randi at Monte Citorio and assure him that you will never again repeat these illegal acts. I hope in this way you may possibly suspend your exile which is now hanging over you.

“I am, sir, your most obedient servant.

“JOSEPH SEVERN, British Consul.’

“TO REV. JAMES LEWIS.’”<sup>6</sup>

It was this letter from Dr. Prime that swayed the members of the House of Representatives. No official information was then available from the State Department, throwing light upon the status of the congregation which for years had worshiped in the private chapel of the American Minister. Therefore, the preamble to Mr. Stevens’ amendment was voted down, and the following clause was inserted in the bill: “No money hereby or otherwise appropriated shall be paid for the support of the American legation at Rome from and after the thirtieth day of June, eighteen hundred sixty seven.” The vote was 82 for, 18 against. This denial of government funds was approved by the Senate without debate, and on February 28, 1867, less than two months after the governor of Rome had commissioned the British Consul to notify the Scotch Presbyterian missionary that he was “in the power of the Inquisition both for arrest and imprisonment,” a law had been enacted by the Congress of the United States that closed the American Legation in Rome.

This action, louder than words, declared that if nationals, whether they were English, Scotch, or Americans, sojourning in Rome were molested by papal authorities on account of their beliefs, and deprived of the enjoyment of the modes of worship their consciences dictated, the Government of the United States would and did condemn such a course by the legislative act that terminated diplomatic relations with the Papal States.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., p. 883.



INTERNATIONAL

Section of Vatican City as Viewed From the Air



# The Religious Question in Latin America

By **GEORGE P. HOWARD**

**I**N PROTESTANT TERMINOLOGY "the religious question" is the problem of a man's personal relation to religion. Among Latins, however, it has a different acceptation. In Roman Catholic countries *la cuestión religiosa* is the problem of the relation of the church to the state. It is a problem because that church claims temporal prerogatives and aspires to political privilege. Latin countries have always had to face the "question," or problem, of keeping a hierarchy which sometimes has great power politically from interfering with the efforts of government. In defending the Lateran Treaty, by which the Vatican was recognized as a state and was granted certain territorial rights, Mussolini pointed out that the Roman question had been a thorn in the side of Italy for decades. One wonders, if Mussolini had come out triumphantly from the recent war, whether the Pope would have dared to organize the College of Cardinals as he has just done, with a majority of foreign cardinals. Italy's Fascist leader might have found a greater "foreign thorn" in the Italian thigh!

Latin-American history cannot be understood unless we take account of the lamentable fact that religion was frequently found to be a thorn in the flesh by the founders of these young republics. They found themselves faced by the inertia of the church, the tendency to clerical political activity, and the often reactionary social outlook of the hierarchy. These leaders were not atheistic or antireligious. Theirs was the painful experience of discovering that the only religion they knew was opposed to freedom and progress as they understood these values.

All through Spanish-American history devoted priests are to be found who really tried to make the perfunctory "conversion" of the Indians mean something. Others there were who strove for educational or social advance. The first schools and colleges were founded by the church. But they were schools for the privileged few. The aristocratic principle is so embedded in Latin-American traditions and habits that the idea of a public school system open to all has still to fight for its existence in some quarters. The Argentine patriot Manuel Moreno, in a book published in 1811, complained of the imported Spanish Roman Catholic school system, saying of the pupils: "Their training is that of monks and clerics, not that of citi-

The Latin Countries of Central and South America Were Originally Colonies of Latin Europe. One by One, However, These Lands Obtained Their Independence. Here, as in Other Parts of the World, the Struggle for Full Freedom, Both Civil and Religious, Still Requires Unrelenting Vigilance



RUSSELL HARLAN, ARTIST

zens. At five in the morning they are awakened for the purpose of attending chapel, praying, and hearing mass. . . . They eat at a common table while listening to the tedious reading of a devotional book." Education was decidedly in the hands of the clergy, but, as Echeverría, another great and good man in Argentine history, laments, the result was that "religious affairs generally interest our thinkers very little and, at the most, elicit from them an ironical smile." In Latin America religion all too often has been a burden and not a bridge.

An interesting example of how the facts of history are sometimes twisted to suit some particular theory was furnished by the official Roman Catholic Buenos Aires daily *El Pueblo*, of November 11, 1945, which carried an article pretending to support Roman Catholic teaching in the public schools by quotations from one of the outstanding early leaders of Argentine independence, Esteban Echeverría. "In this disquieting hour," says the author of this article, "when we are reaping the grave consequences of sixty years of a public school system without religion, the voice of Echeverría sounds a warning." Then he quotes from this great liberal as follows: "Philosophers may be able to get on with nothing but a philosophy, but if you take religion away from the common people, what do you leave them? Animal appetites, uncontrolled passion . . . ; you will have rejected the most powerful motive in the education of the masses. . . ."

If this Roman Catholic writer had not stopped there with his quotations, he would have faced the embarrassment of expressing these further convictions of Echeverría:

"The state, as a body politic, cannot profess a religion, because, since it is not an individual person, it does not possess a conscience of its own. The dogma of a dominant religion is, furthermore, unjust and contrary to the principle of equality. It pronounces social excommunication against those who do not pro-





BURTON HOLMES. FROM EWING GALLOWAY

This Well-known Monument Stands on the Boundary Between the Countries of Argentina and Chili

fess its beliefs, and it deprives them of their natural rights while at the same time not relieving them of their social burdens and obligations. The principle of the freedom of conscience can never be reconciled with the dogma of a state religion. If freedom of conscience is the individual's right, freedom of worship is a right which belongs to all religious communities."

In another of his books, *Ojeada Retrospectiva*, this early Christian Argentine liberal says:

"Seeking to be logical, we rejected the political pleonism of a state religion. . . . We wanted the independence of the religious society and consequently of the church, for we saw in her the docile instrument of tyranny and barbarism."

In spite of these frequent statements which reveal the religious liberal but certainly not the devout Catholic, the author of the article to which we refer has the temerity to say of Echeverría: "He understood the sublime greatness of the religious ideal, which was none other than Catholicism, and thus he arrives at the conviction that it is necessary to establish it as the indispensable basis for the unity and

greatness of our country." To which it is possible to reply that Echeverría frequently used the terms "gospel," "Christianity," "religion," but never the word "Catholicism," except to condemn or criticize the church. He was so far from holding a brief for Romanism that he said, in an address delivered in 1837, referring to the plans and aspirations of the May Patriotic Association (May being the month in which Argentine independence was achieved):

"Are we still living in times when no one dares to doubt the infallibility of Aristotle or of the Pope? . . . The commission, gentlemen, would consider it a sign of valuable progress in our society if we secured the dissemination of the principle of freedom of conscience and worship, and the separation and independence of the religious society from the civil society. If by refusing to recognize the right of anyone to interpose himself between God and the human conscience, and thus open the field for a frontal attack on the idea of the infallible authority of the church and the Pope in matters of interpretation and the propagation of religious doctrine; if by establishing through our laws equal protection for all religious



cults and refusing to patronize none exclusively; if by defining the duties of the clergy and indicating what its mission is; if by accomplishing all this we were able finally to behold Christianity reigning in all its purity, with superstition rooted out, . . . we would consider it a significant forward step. But we shall not in our day see it. A struggle of three centuries in Europe has not been sufficient to destroy the influence of that colossal power which has its seat in the Vatican."

These are the words not of a blatant atheist but of one of Argentina's outstanding leaders, who, according to the peculiar reasoning of the Roman Catholic daily *El Pueblo*, was an advocate of Roman Catholic teaching in the public schools!

The Patriotic Association of the Month of May was realistic in its approach to *la cuestión religiosa*. "Since the Christian religion," so reads one of their manifestos, "under the form of Catholicism was the religion of the masses of our people, it was our duty to respect it so as to avoid stirring up aversions against us which might in the future block our political objectives; we are not the apostles of a new religion. . . . An adulterated, corrupt, and contaminated Christian religion, with all the impurities of Catholicism, is, nevertheless, the only religion which the majority of our population knows, and it would be insensate to destroy that faith at one blow, since we cannot offer them a better. All we can do is to exert ourselves to restore to that faith its ancient splendor, proclaiming the fundamental truths which constitute its holy doctrines." There can be no doubt that these early leaders made a clear distinction between pure Christianity and some of the things which were found in the state religion.

What Echeverría, Rivadavia, Moreno, and the majority of the leaders in the struggle for independence in Latin America were doing was to echo the voice of Simon Bolivar, who thus argued in the Assembly of Bolivia in 1825, defending the draft of a constitution with no provision for a state-supported church:

"In a constitution there can be no place for the prescription of a particular religious faith, because the laws must be a guarantee only of political and civil rights. . . . Religion governs man in his home, in his office, within himself; it alone has the right to examine his ultimate conscience. Laws, on the contrary, look on the surface of things; they do not govern except outside the house of the citizen. Applying these considerations, can a state govern the consciences of its subjects, watch over the fulfillment of religious laws, and reward or punish when the tribunals are in Heaven and when God is the Judge? The Inquisition alone would be capable of replacing such courts in this world. Shall the Inquisition re-

SECOND QUARTER

turn with its fiery torches? Religion is the law of the conscience. All law over it annuls it, for by imposing necessity for duty there is destroyed the merit of faith, which is the basis of religion."

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KEYSTONE

## VETERAN SPEAKS

By Nathaniel Krum

Thank God I've lived to see this day!  
 "This is my own, my native land."  
 For three long years I've been away—  
 I kiss the ground on which I stand!

Freedom to think, to speak, to act—  
 These were so common to me then,  
 I did not comprehend their worth  
 To democratic-minded men.

And then there came the call to fight,  
 To guard our threatened liberties—  
 I stormed the beach while thousands fell—  
 I crouched in foxholes on my knees.

I struggled through the bitter years  
 Amid a rain of shot and shell,  
 Or, bleeding, lay for sickening hours  
 Within the ghastly lap of hell!

I saw humanity enslaved  
 By godless tyrants on the throne,  
 Submerged by floods of circumstance  
 They moved toward the dread unknown!

O Liberty! O Liberty!  
 Shall time your precious treasure yield?  
 I trailed you from my native land—  
 I found you on the battlefield!

I clutch you in my weary arms  
 And pledge anew this happy day  
 To live, to work, to fight, to die,  
 For Liberty and U.S.A.!

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★







# Bible Authority for Soul Liberty

By RALPH B. HILL

**T**HE DOCTRINE of soul liberty, or the freedom of the individual to his belief in matters spiritual and religious, is considered by many to have originated in America. However, this great freedom, the freedom of mind and soul from the jurisdiction of any earthly power, is a principle to which no one land may lay exclusive claim. While the plant of religious liberty has grown in America, the soil was prepared and the planting done by Christ in the land of Palestine. Said He, "If any man hear My words, and believe not, I judge him not." John 12:47. Such a declaration was the exact opposite of the teachings and philosophy and practices of that time.

In a time of intolerance Jesus protested against the shackling of the conscience when He proclaimed the gospel of soul liberty. Even as this truth was unpopular in His day, so today it is unpopular with a large portion of Christendom. Because of a religious belief and practice different from that of Judaism, a cross was planted on Calvary, and the Author of liberty was crucified thereon. Sown in unfriendly soil and watered by the blood of Him who planted it and by the blood and tears of His followers, the seed has proved to be indestructible, withstanding the storms of persecution for nearly two thousand years, and its indestructibility testifies to its divine origin.

"It is impossible but that offences will come," said the Master; "but woe unto him, through whom they come! It were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and he cast into the sea, than that he should offend one of these little ones." Luke 17:1, 2. Such was the strong condemnation pronounced by Christ upon the individual or power that inflicts hardship upon men because of their religious convictions. Again He warned, "The hour cometh, that whosoever killeth you shall think that he offereth service unto God." John 16:2, R.V. But Jesus repudiated such service: "These things will they do unto you, because they have not known the Father, nor Me." John 16:3. A serious indictment, indeed, to bring against those who, though professing to follow Christ, attempt to oppress the conscience.

Hardships befell the disciples as they went out to proclaim the gospel, and they no doubt remembered Christ's words that persecutions would come. (Matt. 5:11, 12.) Because Peter and John preached Christ and the resurrection, they were cast into prison. After subjecting them to questioning, the council threatened them that they teach no more in the name of Jesus. The apostles' reply presents the principle of soul liberty: "But Peter and John answered and said unto them, 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." Acts 4:19, 20. Again they were apprehended and put into prison because of their preaching and healing, but deliverance came from God. The angel of the Lord opened the prison doors and commanded, "Go, stand and speak in the temple to the people all the words of this life." Acts 5:20. When seized and asked by the high priest why they continued their teaching, they replied, "We ought to obey God rather than men." Acts 5:29.

When the first Christian martyr, Stephen, was adjudged worthy of death because of his belief and teaching, there was one who consented unto his death and who held the clothes of those who stoned him. Of the work being carried on by Saul the record says he was "breathing out threatenings and slaughter against the disciples of the Lord," and he desired authority to bring Christians bound to Jerusalem. Speaking of this experience as he stood before King Agrippa, Paul said, "I verily thought with myself, that I ought to do many things contrary to the name of Jesus of Nazareth." Acts 26:9. On the road to Damascus he learned that in persecuting others because their belief differed from the accepted belief of the day, he was really persecuting Christ and doing things contrary to God's will.

From the record of Lucifer and his followers in heaven we see that the angels were free to choose whether they would live in harmony with God's will or join a rebellion. Lucifer chose to lift up his heart because of his beauty. He chose to corrupt his wisdom. God would have destroyed Lucifer and his followers, but He chose instead to reveal to the universe His true character of love, that the universe might see the falsity of the charges against Him. In our earth the conflict between right and wrong has been going on from the days of our first parents. Adam and Eve were not made automatons but were given the power of choice; and the Bible proclaims the

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— DRAWN BY KREIGH COLLINS

Moses, That Great Leader of Ancient Israel, and Author of the First Five Books of the Bible, Was Once a Prince in the Egyptian Court. He Chose, However, to Suffer With the People of God, Rather Than Partake of the Sins of Egypt. He Forsook Egypt, Not Fearing the Wrath of the King. "He Had Respect Unto the Recompense of the Reward"





BAUER-COTTERELL

Of All the Freedoms Which We in America Enjoy as Our Heritage, None Is Greater Than the Right of Worshiping as Our Hearts Dictate

truth that God's plan of salvation is based upon the fact that men are free moral agents. They can choose to serve God, or they can reject that service. The Scriptures call us to obey God and to accept of our own free will His offer of mercy. Moses once declared, "I call heaven and earth to record this day against you, that I have set before you life and death, blessing and cursing: therefore choose life, that both thou and thy seed may live." Deuteronomy 30:19. After being in Pharaoh's court forty years Moses had to decide for himself whether he would remain in wealth and luxury or renounce worldly pomp and cast his lot with a despised people. The Scriptures record his wonderful choice in Hebrews 11:26.

Joshua, realizing that he would soon pass off the stage of action, called the tribes and leaders before him, and reviewed the evidences of God's leadership. He urged the people to honor God and to serve Him in sincerity and truth. But, he stated, "if it seem evil unto you to serve the Lord, choose you this day whom ye will serve; whether the gods which your fathers served that were on the other side of the flood, or the gods of the Amorites, in whose land ye dwell: but as for me and my house, we will serve the Lord." Joshua 24:15. We recall the thrilling challenge issued by Elijah to the people as they hesitated in deciding which worship they would follow: "How long halt ye between two opinions? if the Lord be God,

follow Him: but if Baal, then follow him." 1 Kings 18:21.

Never has the Lord forced anyone to serve Him, and never has God committed the soul of any man to the dominant rule of another. God made the soul of man free, and He accepts only a voluntary submission as the response of love. Man may choose to destroy himself, but it is the desire of God that the wicked shall turn from his evil ways. This is shown clearly in these words: "As I live, saith the Lord God, I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked; but that the wicked turn from his way and live: turn ye, turn ye from your evil ways; for why will ye die, O house of Israel?" Ezekiel 33:11. Man's destiny depends upon his choice. The Spirit of God plainly calls, "Whosoever will, let him take the water of life freely." Revelation 22:17.

But did Jesus not say, "Compel them to come in"? Luke 14:23. That compelling force was referred to by Paul when he said, "The love of Christ constraineth us." 2 Corinthians 5:14. The compelling power was declared by Jesus to be Himself. "I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto Me." John 12:32. Again, "No man can come to Me, except the Father which hath sent Me draw him." John 6:44. The Pharisees anciently tried to reform man's conduct through law, and they attached more than four hundred and fifty laws of their own to the fourth commandment of the Decalogue alone. Christ swept away human restrictions and traditions, and showed that the true observance of His law is embodied in our ministry of love to God and humanity. Christ's kingdom is based on love rather than law.

One author has aptly said, "Jesus Christ made His kingdom a kingdom of choice and not of coercion. Jesus Christ sought to write His statutes in the hearts of men by the Spirit of God, instead of in the statutes of the state with the pen of the legislator. Jesus Christ was a lover and not a legislator. He was an intercessor and not an accuser. He was a benefactor of the race and not a bigot." If all men were willing to recognize and practice the Biblical teaching of soul liberty, the intolerance spoken of in the following verses would not be continued:

"Across the way my neighbor's windows shine,  
His roof-tree shields him from the storms that frown;  
He toiled and saved to build it, staunch and brown,  
And though my neighbor's house is not like mine,  
I would not pull it down!

"With patient care my neighbor, too, had built  
A house of faith, wherein his soul might stay,  
A haven from the winds that sweep life's way.  
It differed from my own—I felt no guilt—  
I burned it yesterday!"

—"Intolerance," by MOLLEY ANDERSON HALEY, in *Heritage and Other Poems* (Dorrance). Used by permission.



Pointedly Jesus expressed the freedom of the soul when replying to those who would entrap Him, "Render therefore unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's; and unto God the things that are God's." Matthew 22:21. Thus He stripped from the rulers of the state any attributes of divinity which they might claim, and declared the supremacy of the individual conscience, leaving it to decide what things pertain to God.

It is true that Paul says, "Wherefore ye must needs be subject, not only for wrath, but also for conscience sake." Romans 13:5. The Christian will respect the place and authority of the state, but only in the realm of the state, and he cannot do so when the state leaves its own proper jurisdiction and enters the sphere of religion.

Man's relation to God and the duty he owes his Creator can never be delegated. "So then every one of us shall give account of himself to God." Romans 14:12. "Hast thou faith? have it to thyself before God." Romans 14:22. "For we must all appear before the judgment seat of Christ." 2 Corinthians 5:10.

While the three Hebrew worthies had been made subject to the king of Babylon by God Himself, in answer to the threat that unless they would bow down to the image on the plain of Dura or be cast into a fiery furnace, the young men replied, "O Nebuchad-

nezzar, we are not careful to answer thee in this matter. If it be so, our God whom we serve is able to deliver us from the burning fiery furnace, and He will deliver us out of thine hand, O king. But if not, be it known unto thee, O king, that we will not serve thy gods, nor worship the golden image which thou hast set up." Daniel 3:16-18. The power of Babylon was used improperly in the field of religion, and God, by a miracle, defended His people from that power. The life of Daniel was also preserved because God found no fault in him, even though he had broken a state law which was an infringement upon the religious rights of the individual.

Through all the ages of cruel persecutions men and women have exercised their God-given right to worship according to the dictates of their consciences. The real instigator of all intolerance is exposed in this statement of Jesus to His disciples: "Fear none of those things which thou shalt suffer: behold, the devil shall cast some of you into prison, that ye may be tried." Revelation 2:10.

It has cost much to obtain the religious freedom which we in America have as our heritage. All of us are bound by a sacred responsibility to preserve this for our own day and to pass it on unsullied to our children. No other freedom can compare with religious freedom. Without it there can be no real liberty of any kind.

## An "Establishment" of Religion

### ***Does the United States Constitution Permit It in the Public Schools?***

**By R. JACK CHRISTY**

*Managing Editor, "Daily Headlight-Journal," Sayre, Oklahoma*

**H**AVING BEEN DECLARED CRAZY, having been ridiculed by friends and kin, and having gone hungry on a number of occasions rather than surrender old-fashioned, orthodox views of the Bible and religion, I think I should be able to speak against the teaching of religion in the public schools without being accused of a nonreligious or irreligious attitude.

I note with much alarm the opinion of a circuit court in Illinois in which the judges ruled that it was no violation for school authorities of the city of Champaign, Illinois, to allow the conduct of voluntary classes of religion in the public schools.

The court refused the petition of Mrs. Vashti McCollum, thirty-two, self-styled atheist, and wife of a University of Illinois professor, for writ of man-

damus to compel the Champaign school board to abandon its three-year-old system of religious instruction on the grounds that her son, Terry, ten, a fifth-grade student, had been ridiculed, embarrassed, or ostracised because of nonparticipation in religious classes.

The judges ruled that the religious classes do not violate either the Illinois or the United States constitution. I know not a single clause of the Illinois constitution, but I do know that the United States Constitution guarantees a separation of church and state in the words of the First Amendment to the Constitution (Article I), which begins as follows: "Congress shall make no law respecting *an establishment of religion*, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." (Italics mine.)



I cannot in any way sympathize with the professed atheistic views of the complainant in this case, but one can sympathize with her contention that school authorities are guilty of transgressing this constitutional prohibition against the "establishment of religion" when they permit the "*establishment*" of religious classes in a public institution.

If Congress, according to the Constitution, should never have the privilege of *making a law* "respecting an establishment of religion," then how can the eminent judges of the circuit court of Illinois read into this clause permission for "an establishment of religion" *without law*! For surely they do not claim that Congress has yet *passed a law* permitting an establishment of religion, such as a religious class in any public, tax-supported institution in any State of the Union!

Teaching of religion to children is one of the finest and noblest works carried on in this world. But let it be borne in mind, please, that the issue in this case was not over the *teaching of religion to children*, but rather the *teaching of religion in the schools*. And there is a vast difference between the two.

There seems to be a growing trend in this country in the direction of religious instruction in the public schools. I note the development of the plan in a neighboring town during the past six years, and have been amazed at the open sympathy of citizens who, because of their background in the history of government, rather should be in a state of alarm.

The seemingly apparent innocence of this matter is what deceives the people, I think, and closes their minds against the cries of those who see the danger. Added to this is the tendency of many, as set forth above, to confuse the issue, seeing in the opposition of others an attack upon the teaching of religion rather than an attack upon teaching religion in state or public institutions.

Mrs. McCollum has announced her intention to appeal the adverse decision to the Illinois Supreme Court and the United States Supreme Court. Let us hope that one of these august bodies, with minds unfogged by sympathy with popular error, will be



EVANSTON

The Teaching of Religion and Bible Truth to Children Certainly Should Begin in the Home

able to see the evil lurking in the shadows of the situation, and will return a decision in favor of religious and civil liberty, and a continued separation of church and state.

Teaching of religion in the public schools is a definite step toward union of church and state, and let us not forget it. The only legitimate places to teach religion are the home and the church. And in the interest of a sounder citizenship and a greater and more prosperous nation, may there be no letdown, but rather an increase, of such teaching here!

Our great American ideal of liberty and freedom in things civil and religious sprang from the crucible of suffering through which our foreparents passed before they came to this country from the Old World. There they felt in their own bodies the rigors and horrors arising from a union of church and state, and resolved that they would have none of the same here. Let us cling to the heritage they left us.

## Teaching Religion in Tax-supported Schools

*A Letter Written by James Madison to Edward Everett*

MONTPELIER, MARCH 19, 1823

Dear Sir: . . . A University with sectarian professorships becomes, of course, a Sectarian Monopoly: with professorships of rival sects, it would be an Arena of Theological Gladiators. Without any such professorships, it may incur for a time at least, the

imputation of irreligious tendencies, if not designs. The last difficulty was thought more manageable than either of the others. On this view of the subject, there seems to be no alternative but between a public University without a theological professorship, and sectarian Seminaries without a University.



I recollect to have seen, many years ago, a project of a prayer, by Governor Livingston, father of the present Judge, intended to comprehend and conciliate College Students of every Christian denomination, by a Form composed wholly of texts and phrases of Scripture. If a trial of the expedient was ever made, it must have failed, notwithstanding its winning aspect from the single cause that many sects reject all set forms of Worship.

The difficulty of reconciling the Christian mind to the absence of a religious tuition from a University established by law, and at the common expense, is probably less with us than with you. 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 insure 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 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; and finally that these opinions are supported by experience, which has shewn that every relaxation of the alliance between Law and re-

ligion, from the partial example of Holland, to its consummation in Pennsylvania Delaware N.J., has been found as safe in practice as it is sound in theory. Prior to the Revolution, the Episcopal Church was established by law in this State. On the Declaration of independence it was left with all other sects, to a self-support. And no doubt exists that there is much more of religion among us now than there ever was before the change; and particularly in the Sect which enjoyed the legal patronage. This proves rather more than, that the *law is not necessary to the support of religion*.

With such a public opinion, it may be expected that a University, with the feature peculiar to ours, will succeed here if anywhere. Some of the Clergy did not fail to arraign the peculiarity; but it is not improbable that they had an eye to the chance of introducing their own creed into the professor's chair.

A late resolution for establishing an Episcopal school within the College of William and Mary, tho' in a very guarded manner, drew immediate animadversions from the press, which if they have not put an end to the project, are a proof of what would follow such an experiment in the University of the State, endowed and supported as this will be, altogether by the public authority and at the common expense.—*Writings of James Madison* (Hunt ed.), vol. 9, pp. 126-128.

## Righteousness by Law Impossible

By C. S. LONGACRE

**T**HERE ARE MANY Christians, and Jews as well, who are still laboring under the false conception that it is possible to make people good and righteous by law. They forget that the apostle Paul tells us that we do not obtain "righteousness . . . by the law," "not by works," "nay: but by the law of faith," that salvation "might be by grace" as a "free gift." Religion is a personal matter between the individual and God. It is purely a matter of the heart and of the Spirit. The state, which operates on the principle of force, can by right have nothing to do with the regulation of purely religious obligations, nor can it punish individuals for offenses against God and religion.

God operates in His kingdom upon the principle of love, and all He does is motivated by the power of love. The state uses the sword of steel, but God uses "the sword of the Spirit." The state punishes the criminal for his crimes even when he is repentant

for his misdeeds, but God forgives the poor sinner if he confesses his sins with a penitent spirit. A repentant sinner does not have to suffer the penalty for his deeds, because Christ suffered the penalty for him. The way God deals with sinners is so unlike man's way that we must never attempt to act for God in man's way. That is the reason why politics and religion should never mix or be joined together in alliances.

God's way is as much higher than man's way as heaven is higher than the earth. The means and methods that God employs to win sinners and to get them to forsake their sins are all based on His love for the sinner and the sinner's free choice to serve God and His cause on a purely voluntary basis. It is exceedingly difficult for us to understand why God should so love us, who are vile, corrupt, rebellious, and sinful, as to be willing to forgive us all our sins, no matter how far we have wandered from Him. No





H. M. LAMBERT

What Is More Pleasing Than the Pealing Tones of a Church Bell as They Echo Through the Hills on a Sabbath Morning?

person can drift so far away from God or go so far into the miasma of sin that the grace of God cannot reach him if he desires to come back. No person can become so vile that the grace of God cannot transform him if he wants to be transformed.

You ask, Why does God love us who are so unworthy of His love? The best answer is, Why does the sun shine? It shines all the time, whether you see it shine or not. It shines behind the dark clouds; it shines somewhere all night, whether we see it or not. It will continue shining unless you blot it out of existence, because it is its nature to shine. Just so God loves because it is His nature to love. "God is love." That is His nature, and there is not a man or woman in all this world, no matter how sinful, whom He does not love. His love is unchanging, unfailing, and everlasting. The prophet Jeremiah says, "The Lord hath appeared of old unto me, saying, Yea, I have loved thee with an everlasting love: therefore with lovingkindness have I drawn thee." Jeremiah 31:3.

God makes a distinction between the sinner and his sins. While God loves the sinner, He hates his sins and desires to separate the sinner from them. He knows that sin mars happiness and destroys joy and peace. God is at war with sin but not with the sinner. Only the sinner who cherishes sin in his life and is not willing to be separated from his sins, is finally going to be destroyed. "Say unto them, As I live, saith the Lord God, I have no pleasure in the

death of the wicked; but that the wicked turn from his way and live." Ezekiel 33:11. The sinner who finally perishes does so because he is unwilling to turn from his sins, and his own sins destroy him.

Every man is a free moral agent to choose good or to choose evil. Every person decides his own destiny by the choice he makes for good or for evil, for weal or for woe, for time and for eternity. God merely ratifies the choice. God made the conscience free, and He never intended that any man should enslave it or make his conscience the criterion for another man's conscience. God never formulated any church creed that substitutes the policeman's club for the cross of Christ to win sinners. No Christian is bound to follow any church creed that substitutes force for the power of love.

Christ made Christianity inspirational instead of legalistic, and He wants His followers to make Christianity attractive instead of repulsive, and cheerful instead of gloomy. He wants His ambassadors to hold out hope to the sinner instead of condemnation, to draw him into the kingdom instead of driving him in by force. Christ said, "If any man hear My words, and believe not, I judge him not: for I came not to condemn the world, but to save the world." If the professed church and followers of Jesus Christ had always assumed the same attitude as Christ did toward the unbelievers the persecution of so-called heretics would have been impossible. But the political church has stained its hands "with the blood of



the saints, and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus" "that were beheaded for the witness of Jesus, and for the word of God." Revelation 17:6; 20:4.

When the political church, whether Catholic or Protestant, formed alliances with the state, religious persecution was the inevitable result. All such alliances, often called "holy alliances," were most unholy and unchristian, and stained the soil with the blood of martyrs.

God rules by love and not by force. The only service that God accepts is free-will, voluntary service that emanates from the heart. The kingdom of God will never be ushered into this world through the gateway of politics, or by social, humanitarian, economic, or religious legislation. Man cannot reform himself or his neighbor by the process of reform legislation. Man cannot lift himself by pulling at his own bootstraps. Nor can he impart or impute righteousness by any legal or evolutionary process.

By a "look" Christ saved Peter from his sins after he had denied his Lord thrice and swore he never knew the Man at trial before Pilate. The Divine Record says, "The Lord turned, and looked upon Peter. . . . And Peter went out, and wept bitterly." There was so much love in that look that it broke Peter's heart. He thought he had sinned away his chance of ever being saved. He thought that God would shut him out of heaven. He felt discouraged and was certain, even if Christ should rise from the dead as He had promised He would do, that He would never receive him back into favor again. He thought his case was hopeless, and he was in great despair.

But what did Jesus do immediately after His resurrection, when Mary Magdalene met Him at the tomb? Jesus knew just how Peter felt at that time—that he was without hope in the world and sure that Christ would never own him again as one of His disciples—so the first message that Jesus gave to Mary was that she tell His disciples, *and Peter also*, to meet Him in Galilee as He had appointed. Why was Peter singled out by name? Was it, as some think, to give him pre-eminence over the rest of the disciples? Nay, it was to encourage Peter that the Lord was willing to take him back. Jesus knew that Peter thought there was no hope of his ever getting back into favor again with Christ. So Jesus gave him a personal invitation to come back. When you and I become special sinners before God and men, the Lord sends us a special invitation to come back. That is the Lord's way of dealing with us poor sinners.

What marvelous love! So unlike our love for sinners. Why, the Saviour asked forgiveness for the very men who spat in His face in Pilate's judgment hall,

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who smote Him after they had blindfolded Him, who laid forty stripes on His bare back, cutting through the skin and flesh to the very bone, who nailed Him upon the cross, who derided and mocked Him, and who challenged Him to come down from the cross if He was the Son of God. If Christ was willing to forgive those men who tortured and reviled Him while He hung on the cross, do not tell me that you and I have no chance to be saved if we repent of our sins and place our trust and faith in Him. He is not looking for some excuse to cast us off, for some little flaw in our lives to condemn us; He is looking for some acknowledgment on our part of His love toward us. If He finds a smoking flax He will not quench it, but He says for our encouragement that He will take His fan in His hand and fan the smoking flax into a flame. If He finds a bruised reed, He will not break it. Instead, He will bind it up and heal it. That is God's and Christ's way of saving sinners, by the power of divine love. God forbid that we should attempt to use any means but the power of love to save sinners and to bring them into the kingdom. God never intended that any power other than divine love should ever dominate the human heart in the realm of religion.

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OFFENSES against God and religion are not punishable by civil authority.

EQUITY and essential justice are paramount to all law and orderly government.

RELIGIOUS convictions must be voluntary manifestations free from all external coercion to have any value.

THE creed of tyranny requires the worship of the state as supreme and reduces the people to the level of slaves.

THE church of Christianity made its greatest gains when it devoted its efforts to making better men instead of better laws.

CHRIST did not seek political alliances with earthly governments but sought to develop strength of character in the individual.

AN absolute ruler in civil affairs brands every opposer to his tyrannical power as a traitor, and an absolutely infallible ecclesiastic condemns every dissenter as a heretic.

WHEN a mere mortal presumes to speak and act for God, heresy, in his judgment, becomes the supreme sin, and "heretic" a justifiable epithet to hurl at all nonconformists.



# . . . EDITORIALS . . .

## A Pledge to Religious Liberty

IT IS SIXTY YEARS since *The American Sentinel*, the predecessor of *LIBERTY*, began publication. In these six decades there has been a steady growth of interest in the things for which *LIBERTY* stands. Our circulation at present is larger than it has ever been before. The words of commendation which we receive are numerous and encouraging.

We pledge to our readers our best efforts to help preserve those vital, fundamental things that have made our nation different from any other that preceded it and the hope of oppressed people in all the world. Those who have suffered in other lands because of their belief in individual rights, both civil and religious, have found under the Stars and Stripes a home and an opportunity for advancement.

There have been occurrences that have made us ashamed at times. But basically, there has been no recession from the things for which the founders of the nation gave their all. When we read occasionally of charges of election frauds, we need to remember that there are still those who appreciate so much what this nation gives that they go into the ballot booth with their heads bared.

We do not make a fetish of political forms. We do not attempt to say that no worth-while freedom can be enjoyed in any other land besides ours. But we are glad to think that in the providence of God our nation came into being to fulfill a high destiny. We repeat, *LIBERTY* is committed wholeheartedly and unreservedly to the task of seeking to preserve the things we have as a precious heritage.

H. H. V.

## True Liberty a Natural Right

THE *Buenos Aires Herald* of Sunday, February 4, 1945, carried a statement by "The Confederation of Evangelical Churches of the River Plate," which has two paragraphs concerning religious liberty that are worth quoting:

"Liberty is not a favor graciously granted by some power either civil or ecclesiastic; it is a gift from the love of God to all humanity. Liberty is the indispensable condition for the development of fruitifying of life. It is the duty of the established authorities to see that this natural right which belongs to men, is in no way violated or curtailed.

"But to us liberty does not mean simply the right to worship God according to one's conscience but also

the right to share one's ideas and experiences with others; the right to tell publicly and privately, by word of mouth or written page, what God has done in the human heart. 'We cannot but tell what we have seen and heard,' declared the apostle Peter. 'Woe is me,' exclaimed St. Paul, 'if I do not preach the gospel.'"

If the dispatches from Argentina that have appeared in various papers in our country are true, the above principles need to be often repeated. Evidently there has been an attempt to bring about a close union between church and state in Argentina in recent months.

H. H. V.

## Denominational Orphans' Home Returns Public Funds

NEAR THE CLOSE OF 1945 the city commissioners of Lakeland, Florida, appropriated \$25,000 to a Baptist institution. Some of the leading Baptists of the community secured the services of a Baptist attorney, Elvy E. Callaway, Esq., who, because he believed a great American principle was being violated, undertook to serve in this case without accepting a fee, and instituted a suit in equity for the return of this money to the public treasury.

The complaint of the taxpayers showed that the institution which had received the money is "wholly and completely under the supervision, control, management, and direction of denominational and or religious peoples known as 'Baptists.' Its governing body, board of control, and or trustees are elected by Baptists, and not otherwise. Only Baptists can vote or have any voice whatever in the election or selection of said trustees."

It was charged that the giving of funds to this religious institution "was and is illegal and void, and a direct violation of the First Amendment to the Bill of Rights of our Federal Constitution, as well as a violation of Section Six (6) Declaration of Rights of our Florida State Constitution."

The filing of this suit led to the return of the money to the city treasury.

It is a fine thing that some outside group did not file this suit. It is better for a denomination to clean up its own mistakes than to be forced to do so by someone else. Those who objected to their own church folk receiving public funds were better disciples of that great Baptist Roger Williams than were those who were willing to receive the money.

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Frequently people who are carrying on religious work find themselves handicapped by a shortage of funds, and apparently it is a strong temptation that assails such when they find they can secure public monies to aid them in a work they are sure is a good one. The work of God, we think, is more likely to prosper when sound principles are followed than when questionable methods are adopted, even though the latter seem to offer immediate advantages.

We wish that taxpayers everywhere would be as alert to prevent the use of public funds for purely sectarian purposes. It is not only their right but their duty. Only such vigilance will prevent the growth in this country of these evils which have cursed the Old World for centuries. H. H. V.

## Sunday School Delinquents— The Remedy

IT IS REPORTED by the Reverend Philip M. Widenhouse, chief of the Washington Federation of Churches Department of Research and Church Planning, that there has been a tremendous falling off in Sunday school attendance in metropolitan areas during the past few years. He makes the prediction that if this loss continues, the Sunday school will have to close its doors within the next thirty years. The report states that "the situation is critical. It must be met by the churches if they are to retain their power and vitality and have a voice in shaping the character of the society that is to be."—*Pathfinder*, Jan. 15, 1945.

A survey shows that the parents of the majority of children who ceased to come to Sunday school stayed in bed Sunday morning till after ten o'clock and that the children had to either get their own breakfast or go without it on Sunday mornings. The survey also showed that the parents took their children to the movies on Saturday night and frequently did not return home till after midnight with their children.

One of the remedies proposed by would-be religious reformers is for Congress and our State legislatures to enact compulsory Sunday observance laws and forbid amusements, diversions, recreation, and commercialized sports from midnight Saturday night to midnight Sunday. They claim that if all the doors and gates to amusement centers were closed on Sundays, then the Sunday schools and churches would be filled with worshipers. Such a legislative program is proposed by the Lord's Day Alliance and the National Reform Association.

But the real remedy for a lack of Sunday school and church attendance is not legislative restrictions but better-qualified Sunday school teachers and more

spiritual preachers in the pulpit. The remedy is not more force but more love, not more legislative yokes of bondage placed upon the necks of the people but a gospel of regeneration of the heart. People are not attracted to a church creed that substitutes force for the power of love.

C. S. L.

## California Blue Law Discovered

THE ENTIRE COASTAL fishing industry was startled this week by revelation of fines levied in San Francisco courts against four commercial fishermen who delivered their catches to bay city dealers on Sunday, January 6.

"Arrested by wardens of the Division of Fish and Game, the men, whose names were unavailable here, were fined \$100 each.

"Outraged members of the industry checked, discovered an antiquated 'blue law' passed by the California State Legislature approximately twenty-five years ago making illegal any Sunday delivery.

"Reportedly never before enforced in this State, and unknown to virtually every member of the industry, the sudden revival of the statute remained a mystery among fishermen here, and apparently in San Francisco where the unprecedented action took place."—*Humboldt Times* (Eureka, California), Jan. 20, 1946.

The editors of this journal are as much surprised as the fishermen were. We had been told repeatedly by residents of California that their State had no Sunday laws. Further, some seven or eight years ago we made a careful search of the revised statutes of California and found, according to Chase California Codes, only one section that could be called a Sunday law. This made boxing exhibitions on Memorial Day, May 30, or on Sundays illegal and subject to a fine or a jail sentence or both.

We hold the suspicion that many people who think that all blue laws are dead are due for a surprise. The proponents of enforcement of Sunday laws by civil officers are crying that many things which were permitted because of war conditions must now be stopped.

We have said, so often that we are almost tired of hearing it ourselves, that all religious laws on civil statute books furnish ready-forged weapons in the hands of bigots and zealots. The case reported from California is an illustration of what we mean. A law that no one knew about has been invoked and \$100 in fine imposed. It was even asserted by some of the fishermen arrested in California that the wardens themselves who did the arresting admitted they had been unaware of the statute until a short time before the arrests.



There is only one way to make sure that these civil laws which attempt to enforce a religious ordinance will not be used for persecution, and that is to repeal them.

H. H. V.

## Sunday Movies in Tennessee

DYERSBURG, TENNESSEE, a city of about ten thousand inhabitants, was stirred last winter over the question of Sunday movies. Both sides carried large advertisements in the daily paper—some full page—urging people to be sure to vote in the referendum which was to decide whether or not Dyersburg would have motion pictures on Sunday.

Those who opposed opening the movies made a religious issue of the matter. Those who favored opening the shows charged that there was an attempt being made to limit their liberties. It appears that during the war the movies had been opened on the ground that the soldiers needed some innocent recreation. Church folk had consented to this, but evidently with the feeling that some sacrifice of principle was being made. With the close of the war they felt that such secular things must be stopped.

As we have said, the issue was a clear-cut religious one. There was no hiding behind a so-called health measure. More than one advertisement began thus: "The Word of God says, 'Remember the Sabbath day, to keep it holy.'" Others had this: "Vote for the Lord's Day observance." Letters from citizens on both sides of the question appeared. Evidently this little city was thoroughly aroused. Sermons on the theme "The Christian Position on the Sunday Movie" were preached in ten different churches on one Sunday morning shortly before the election was held.

The Dyersburg *State Gazette*, in its issue of February 7, the day the referendum was held, in reporting the result of the election, said:

"Pulpits, handbills, newspaper advertising, and public-opinion letters to the *STATE GAZETTE* have been used by organized workers and individuals in an effort to convince voters both ways.

"Everything except name-calling has been resorted to, with the result that interest over the issue has been built to a keen pitch among the residents of the city."

On the 8th, the same paper gave the results of the election as follows:

"Residents of Dyersburg approved Sunday motion-picture shows yesterday by a majority of 239 votes in a city referendum that waxed warm before and during the voting.

"One thousand and seventy-four votes were cast for the Sunday movies. Eight hundred and thirty-

five were polled against opening the shows on Sunday. . . .

"The vote was much smaller than had been anticipated, and was considerably below the city's voting strength in an election without poll-tax and registration requirements."

We have no interest in motion pictures *per se*. We certainly want everybody who desires to observe Sunday carefully and strictly to be fully protected in doing so, but without having any power to prohibit other folk from following any innocent diversion that they may seek. We have the feeling, however, that when religio-political laws are left for the people to pass upon, they generally fail of enactment. In sections of the country where Sunday sentiment is strongest, elections often prove surprising to those who think that people will attempt to force its observance by civil statute. Many of the most devout Sunday observers recognize that all they can rightfully ask from the government is that they be permitted to worship in peace and quietness. They do not want to attempt to deny other means of passing the day to those who are not inspired by the religious motive to observe it. We think that the state has no right to attempt to force matters of conscience through civil penalties.

H. H. V.

## Illinois Court Favors Religion in Public Schools

IN OUR LAST ISSUE we referred to a case brought by a patron of an Illinois school to prevent the teaching of religion on school time. The plaintiff in the case was Mrs. Vashti McCollum.

According to an Associated Press dispatch of January 26, 1946, from Urbana, Illinois, "a three-judge Circuit Court ruled 'no constitutional or statutory rights' had been violated by the classes." Mrs. McCollum, according to the same dispatch, said that the ruling caused "a blow to the guarantee of personal liberty of which we have all been proud," and added, "We shall certainly make an appeal."

Commenting on this decision, the *Chicago Tribune* of January 29 said editorially:

"A three-judge court at Urbana has dismissed a suit seeking to stop the operation of a voluntary plan of religious education by the public schools of Champaign. . . .

"Under the Champaign plan religious instruction is not compulsory. Children who bring the written consent of their parents are excused from the regular classes to attend a weekly session of religious education, which various sects in the community co-operated in providing. Those whose parents do not consent spend the hour in study.



"One very sound objection to such a program is that it is unlikely to accomplish, to any large extent, the good things expected of it. Religious education is peculiarly a private thing, the function of the home and the church. If parents and ministers, priests and rabbis, can't carry out that function successfully, it is hardly likely that better results will be accomplished by shifting the burden to the public school system. The schools already are being asked to do too many things that ought to be done in the home.

"The doctrine of the separation of church and state, like the guarantee of religious freedom, was incorporated in our Constitution partly to protect the church against encroachment by the state. Time has demonstrated the wisdom of the Constitution's precautions. In a time when government is seeking more and more to encroach on every aspect of the citizen's life, religious congregations of whatever denomination should take warning.

"If they start yielding to governmental institutions—even local institutions over which they have the most effective control—the functions which traditionally have been performed by the churches and by their members in their homes, they are yielding to just that extent a part of their religious freedom. And religious freedom is not easily divisible. Religion is either free or not free, and if government has a finger in it, it's not free."

H. H. V.

## Religious Freedom on Semiprivate Property

TWO INTERESTING OPINIONS were given on the same day, January 7, 1946, by the Supreme Court of the United States. In one, *Grace Marsh, Appellant, v. The State of Alabama*, the Court held that a "company-owned town" (Chickasaw) could not "impose criminal punishment on a person who undertakes to distribute religious literature on the premises" of such a town. After referring to previous decisions involving somewhat similar principles the Court said:

"We have recognized that the preservation of a free society is so far dependent upon the right of each individual citizen to receive such literature as he himself might desire that a municipality could not without jeopardizing that vital individual freedom, prohibit door-to-door distribution of literature. . . . Our question then narrows down to this: Can those people who live in or come to Chickasaw be denied freedom of press and religion simply because a single company has legal title to all the town? . . .

"We do not agree that the corporation's property interests settle the question. The State urges in effect that the corporation's right to control the inhabitants of Chickasaw is coextensive with the right

of a homeowner to regulate the conduct of his guests. We cannot accept that contention. Ownership does not always mean absolute dominion. The more an owner, for his advantage, opens up his property for use by the public in general, the more do his rights become circumscribed by the statutory and constitutional rights of those who use it. . . .

"The managers appointed by the corporation cannot curtail the liberty of press and religion of these people consistently with the purposes of the Constitutional guarantees, and a State statute, as the one here involved, which enforces such action by criminally punishing those who attempt to distribute religious literature clearly violates the First and Fourteenth Amendments to the Constitution.

"Many people in the United States live in company-owned towns. These people, just as residents of municipalities, are free citizens of their State and country."

In the case of *A. R. Tucker, Appellant, v. The State of Texas*, the question involved had to do with the circulation of religious literature in the Hondo Navigation Village, which village "is owned by the United States under a Congressional program which was designed to provide housing for persons engaged in National Defense activities."

It was held that "the only difference between this case and *Marsh v. Alabama* is that here instead of a private corporation, the Federal Government owns and operates the village. This difference does not affect the result. Certainly neither Congress nor Federal agencies acting pursuant to Congressional authorization may abridge the freedom of press and religion safeguarded by the First Amendment."

Thus again the majority of our highest tribunal show their great anxiety to preserve for everybody in our country the fundamental freedoms of press and religion.

H. H. V.

## Admirable Christian Independence

SOME TIME AGO what has been called a "Christian deputation" went to Japan to establish contact with the Japanese Christians and to ascertain what the Christian churches of America might do to relieve the suffering of their Japanese brethren and sisters, and help to re-establish Christianity in Japan.

Dr. Walter W. Van Kirk, in the first paragraph of his report, which was given in a series of articles in *The Christian Century*, made a significant statement or two that ought to rejoice the heart of everyone who believes in the complete separation of church and state. He said:

"The President approved our going, as did the



State Department and General MacArthur. The visitation was endorsed by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America and the Foreign Missions Conference of North America. We traveled to and from Japan in planes of the Army Transport Command. *But we paid for our transportation and, wherever possible, for our billeting. This was a church deputation, not an ecclesiastical front for the army of occupation.*"—*The Christian Century*, Jan. 30, 1946. (Italics ours.)

We say, Bravo! We wish that we had the power to express all we feel about the caution exercised by these gentlemen. All churchmen are exceedingly anxious to make sure that the state does not invade the realm of the church. They ought to be as careful to avoid anything that would appear to be an interference by the church with matters that belong solely to the state. Since these men went to Japan to look after the interests of Christian churches, it was eminently proper for them to pay for their transportation.

A conviction strong enough to refuse favors or privileges that might be had, and might even go unquestioned by a majority of folk, is rare enough these days to deserve comment and approbation, since churchmen in many places are not only seeking but receiving special favors at the hands of civil government, apparently blind to the principle involved. The action of the Christian deputation referred to tends to restore our faith in a place where it had been badly shaken.

Many a government has benefited indirectly by Christian mission work, and the bulk of the benefit has come because the cost of operation has been made by the sacrifices of Christian men and women—those who, because of their devotion to their Lord and Master, have sought to share with others less fortunate the blessings that their religion has brought to them. If missions had been sponsored by civil powers, they would always have been suspect in the countries where the work was carried on.

H. H. V.

## Sectarian Schools and Tax Money Again

AN ASSOCIATED PRESS DISPATCH from Lansing, Michigan, reports:

"Members of the Senate Finance Committee said they had received letters from President Roy W. Hamilton of Alma College, president of the Michigan Association of Church-Related Colleges, that their 'emergency' needs be considered by the special session of the Legislature. Hamilton wrote that the parochial colleges normally were opposed to spending State tax monies for the 'support of private educa-

tion,' but that they believed 'in this emergency the State ought to make appropriations to us to cover the added costs involved in veterans' education.'"

Even aid for veterans is not sufficient reason for breaking down the fundamental principles that have undergirded this nation. If we are correctly informed, Alma College, of which Mr. Hamilton is president, is under Presbyterian control. Sometimes our Catholic friends do not like it because we object to their getting public funds for their church schools. We oppose Presbyterians' getting it just as much, or Methodists or Baptists or any other denomination.

Many an evil has fastened itself upon nations by being tolerated because it seemed a small evil in its beginning. "Emergencies" have a way of continuing. Bad things once begun have a way of growing, and generally it takes a revolution to get rid of them.

We hope the Michigan Legislature refuses Dr. Hamilton's request.

H. H. V.

## Federal Aid to Education Refused

THE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION of the House of Representatives on December 12, 1945, rejected H. R. 1296 (same as S. 181), commonly known as the Ramspeck Bill, which would provide \$300,000,000 in Federal aid to education. Congressman George A. Dondero of Michigan, who is a member of the Committee on Education, gave some very pertinent reasons why the majority of the committee refused to give aid to the public school system now under the control of the States. He says:

"A majority of the committee believed that education is and always has been a State and local matter and that Federal aid to education means centralized Federal control and guidance. To adopt a policy of centralized control of education and the direction of American youth would set up in this country a counterpart of the educational propaganda organizations abroad and create more evils than it would cure.

"A powerful lobby was set up in Washington to pressure the bill through Congress, and yet only three States requested its adoption. To adopt the principle of Federal control over so important a subject as education would open the floodgate to Federal interference and domination, regardless of how plausible the pretext, and it would betray one of the guardians of our liberty—our public school. . . .

"I am unwilling to take away the control of our public schools from the States and from local school boards, and hand it over to a centralized government in Washington."—THE HON. GEORGE A. DONDERO, M.C., in *Bulletin—Friends of the Public Schools*, January, 1946, p. 1.



Another bill, S. 717, on giving Federal aid to education, is pending in the Senate, upon which extended hearings have been held. This bill is similar to S. 181 and H. R. 1296, but it specifically aims to give a large portion of the amount of the proposed appropriation of \$550,000,000 to sectarian and nonpublic schools.

This bill was introduced and framed originally by the American Federation of Teachers, which is affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. As originally framed, the bill contained no provision to appropriate Federal money for the support of sectarian and nonpublic schools. In fact, the majority of the Commission of the American Federation of Teachers were decidedly opposed to such a provision in the bill. Some organization or some influential leader of some organization evidently secured the insertion of the provision that sectarian and nonpublic schools should receive a goodly part of the \$550,000,000. In the States where constitutional restrictions do not allow public tax funds to be paid out for the support of sectarian and nonpublic schools, that bill provides that a trustee be appointed by the Federal Government to administer and allocate the public funds to these sectarian and nonpublic schools.

Senator Forrest C. Donnell of Missouri, a member of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor, before which the hearings were conducted, did his best to ascertain, from the various witnesses who testified, who was responsible for the insertion of this provision in the bill, but utterly failed to discover the responsible party. The promoters of these sectarian provisions are still not identified, but it is significant that certain periodicals and organizations, we think, went out of their way to abuse the Senator from Missouri for his inquisitiveness concerning this matter.

But be it said to the credit of *The Pittsburgh Catholic*, official organ of the Pittsburgh diocese, that it counsels the Catholic schools not to accept financial aid from the state. An editorial from this magazine thus warns Catholics:

"There are weighty reasons why Catholics should not seek the state contributions for the education furnished by their schools, to which, in all justice, they are entitled. These reasons have been repeatedly set forth by leaders of the church in this country; they have dictated the position taken by Catholics thus far, and their importance is strongly confirmed by recent developments. When state funds are accepted, some measure of state interference and control must also be accepted. State money for Catholic schools means close dealings with public officials; it means political connections; it means dictation regarding the manner in which the schools are to be conducted. . . .

"Under favorable conditions, assistance from the public treasury is a handicap and a difficulty; under unfavorable circumstances it can become a catastrophe.

"The entire history of the church, emphasized by recent events, shows that public funds come at too dear a price. Mexico had state aid, and so had Spain and Germany and Italy and France. And it proved a weakening, demoralizing connection. Better the sacrifice and the limitations which independence requires than the unsound edifice built on the deceptive, treacherous basis of state aid."—*The Pittsburgh Catholic*, March 17, 1938.

Every religious organization which is now free to conduct its own schools needs to take alarm at a financial alliance with the state. Financial alliances in the end are the most costly, the most dangerous, and the most vicious of all alliances between the church and the state, because the appropriation of money gives the government a degree of control over the internal affairs of church organizations.

The government would be greatly remiss in its duties if it did not control and supervise the funds which it appropriates. Wherever financial responsibility rests, there also resides administrative responsibility. Even though a government promises not to interfere when it appropriates money, control is certain to come ultimately. It always has and it always will.

The quickest way for a church organization to lose its freedom and independence of action is for it to accept subsidies from the government. A tiny break in a dyke, unless mended, will widen and finally deluge the land.

C. S. L.

## **A Bill Packed With Dynamite**

A BILL IS PENDING in Congress which aims to stop the circulation, through the United States mails, of literature which might in any way reflect disparagingly upon any religious creed and cause people to hate or heap contempt upon some church or religious denomination. The Postmaster General of the U. S. Government is to act as a censor of all religious literature, and if in his judgment any literature criticizes any church creed or religious organization and might adversely affect the public mind, he is authorized to deny it passage through the mails of the United States. However, the accused or aggrieved party has the right to appeal to the courts for redress of grievances.

Let us suppose that this un-American bill became a law, and an appeal was made from the Postmaster General's decision in case he exercised his right of censorship under the proposed law. How would a jury be selected to determine the verdict of the court?



If a Catholic should accuse a Protestant of circulating literature detrimental to the creed of the Catholic religion, who would act as a jury? The Protestant would object to a Catholic's sitting on the jury. If the judge of the court was a Protestant he undoubtedly would rule that the Protestant's objection was equitable. If the judge was a Catholic he would undoubtedly be barred from sitting in judgment for the same reason that a judge is barred in other cases in which he has a special interest at stake or has made previous commitments in judgment. And for the same reason, if a Catholic was accused by a Protestant, and was summoned into court, the Catholic would have a right to object to having a Protestant judge or jury decide this controversial religious issue in his case. Only infidels or unbelievers could qualify to sit in judgment to decide these religious controversies impartially. Would Catholics, Protestants, or Jews be willing to have infidels and non-religious people decide a religious controversy for them? We doubt the practical workability of such a plan.

If Congress wants to open a Pandora Box filled with religious and political dynamite and governmental ills and troubles to plague its citizens and government officials, let them enact this proposal or similar legislation into law. No wonder some of the committee members, at the conclusion of a hearing upon this proposed bill pending before the Post Office and Post Roads Committee, said, "That is too hot a potato for us to handle. There is too much political dynamite in it."

C. S. L.

## Contention Over Religion in Canadian Public Schools

THE *Christian Century* of January 30, 1946, publishes the following from its Toronto correspondent:

"A Protestant interchurch committee on Catholic-Protestant relations has presented a brief to the Ontario commission on education, protesting against the increase of practices favorable to the separate (parochial) schools of the province. The brief states that the regulation forbidding display of emblems of a denominational character in public, continuation, and high schools has been violated through the use of nuns as teachers and the display of Roman Catholic emblems in certain public and continuation schools. It declares that Roman Catholic separate school inspectors are not enforcing the rule that English be adequately taught in predominantly French schools. It advocates, instead of three sets of inspectors (one for public schools, one for English-speaking separate schools, and one for French-speaking

schools), that there should be two inspectors for all schools and that one should be a Protestant. It advocates the setting up of an advisory council of educational experts to assist the minister of education, whatever government be in power, to avert 'the political pressure that has caused illegal practices to be winked at, and school legislation to be passed to which five sixths of the population is opposed.'"

We offer this as a warning of what is sure to arise in our country if our Government once begins to look with favor upon the teaching of religion in the public schools. If religion is to be taught, somebody has to decide which religion. We can see only confusion worse confounded if we yield to the clamor of those who are trying to place upon the public school teacher a responsibility which properly rests on the home and the church. All the agitation for religious teaching in our public schools or on school time really charges that those agencies have failed.

H. H. V.

## Public Education and Religion in India

IT IS REPORTED that in Travancore, one of the provinces of India, the government "has recently decided to make primary education free and compulsory and to make the state solely responsible for the education of its children."

In the past, recognition has been given to some church schools, and in the future, credit will be allowed for the work done in church schools which meet the prescribed standard, and it will be possible to give instruction in religion in these schools outside school hours if the parents of any child ask that this be done. But there will be no grant-in-aid to any school operated by a church body.

The Roman Catholics have had a strong school system in Travancore. Naturally they do not like the change. The bishop of Changanacherry refers to the new order as an act of repression of Catholics, insisting that his church has "the right to a provision for the proper religious education of our children in state schools and to provide it ourselves in our own private schools."

India is a land of many shades of religious opinion. The province of Travancore has a relatively large number of Christians. But it also has more Hindus and some Mohammedans, and probably some representatives of the various numerous religious bodies found all over India.

We think it is not the state's business to attempt to force religious instruction in its schools. We think what is good doctrine for America is good doctrine for India. Of course, we have no way of knowing, but it is our belief that all the missionary



schools which have had governmental support, not only in India, but in other lands, will eventually have this aid withdrawn. We think the Christian churches had better prepare to take care of their own mission enterprises.

H. H. V.

## A Confusion of Terms

ON THE FIFTY-SEVENTH ANNIVERSARY of the Lord's Day Alliance, the Rev. Ira W. Langston, B.D., pastor of the Park Avenue Christian Church, New York City, preached the anniversary sermon. Mr. Langston said, among other things: "Sunday is not the Sabbath. The Sabbath of which we read in the Bible was the seventh day of the week. Sunday is the Lord's Day, and it is such because Jesus Christ our Lord was raised from the dead on the first day of the week."—*Lord's Day Leader*, January-March, 1946, pp. 7, 8.

There will be those aplenty who would deny that the Lord's resurrection on the first day of the week sets it apart as a time of weekly rest, or that there is any Scriptural authority for so doing. But this matter is not under our consideration at this time. As Mr. Langston proceeds he makes some observations that are worthy of our thought, and they are offered here because the statements are made by a man who presumably is in favor of Sunday legislation for the protection of the first day of the week as holy time.

This journal has consistently argued that mere cessation of labor does not necessarily make for morality. We do not believe in grinding, unending toil. We think that man, made in the image of God, ought to have a time for proper rest and relaxation. We believe, however, all of that can be obtained without regard to which day of the week a man may rest. We also believe that the state has no right to try to force on any man the observance of a religious day. In such matters the individual conscience must be supreme.

Mr. Langston, evidently aroused by conditions, declares: "If we are not going to use Sunday for the kind of uplifting purposes for which it was made available, then under heaven it would be better for us to work at our jobs straight through the week. The old adage, 'The idle mind is the devil's workshop,' is no less valid today than when it was first recited."—*Ibid.*, p. 9. Evidently the good preacher wants people to go either to church or to work.

In the same issue of the *Lord's Day Leader* from which we have taken the quotations from Mr. Langston's address, we find the annual report of the alliance's general secretary. We would recommend to these gentlemen that they get together, for the secre-

tary of the alliance, under a subdivision of his report entitled "Church and State Responsibility," says:

"See to what lengths we have come. Granted that the church has not taken care of the Day with the same zeal it has had for the foreign missionary enterprise, that it has been exceedingly lax in efforts to maintain the whole day for its highest and its holy purpose, the Day remains holy unto the Lord, and the civil authorities have a responsibility for releasing so far as possible the sons of toil for the day of rest, the national weekly rest day, Sunday. It therefore follows that both the religious and the civil authorities are vastly at fault for present-day conditions. Remember the Sabbath Day to keep it holy, is the *keystone of the ten commandments*."—*Ibid.*, p. 12. (Italics ours.)

Mr. Langston has said Sunday is not the Sabbath. Dr. Bowlby declares that the Sabbath commandment is the keystone of the ten. It is true he gets mixed up terribly, because a sentence or two before he has spoken of the "national weekly rest day, Sunday."

In another part of his report the secretary said, "We wish you could hear for yourselves the praise that is heaped upon the Alliance by postal employees, policemen and firemen, civic leaders, pastors and public officials, for the assistance given them and the victories we have helped them win." And he adds this from one group: "Your organization is the only one doing this great work." Then Dr. Bowlby says, "Thousands of businessmen are grateful to the Alliance which saved the Sabbath for them."—*Ibid.*, p. 14.

He boasts loud and long about the success of his efforts in freeing men from Sunday work. He says he does this for the preservation of the Sabbath. Mr. Langston says Sunday is not the Sabbath. A careful definition of terms and a sincere adherence to right names might help clear matters up a bit. But whether Saturday or Sunday, one thing remains clear: the state has no right to enact civil statutes for the preservation or the extension of any religious creed. The state may demand a day of rest—one day of every seven—for those who toil. The state has no business to attempt to decide religious matters by civil law.

H. H. V.

## Patrick Henry's Contribution to Freedom

PATRICK HENRY was elected the first governor of a free sovereign State in America, June 29, 1776. A Convention was convened May 6, 1776, and continued for two months in Williamsburg, Virginia, where a Declaration of Rights was adopted and a Constitution for the State of Virginia was



framed. Patrick Henry wrote the famous Sixteenth Article, which reads as follows:

"That 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; and therefore all men are equally entitled to the free exercise of religion, according to the dictates of conscience; and that it is the mutual duty of all to practice Christian forbearance, love, and charity, towards each other."

A petition was presented to the Constitutional Convention by the Baptists of Virginia, imploring the convention that Baptists be allowed to worship God in their own way, without interference from the civil authorities, and that they be permitted to maintain their own ministers and none others; that they might be married, buried, and perform their own religious functions without having to obtain permission and without having to pay the clergy of other denominations, and that they be allowed to assemble and "to unite with their brethren, and to the utmost ability promote the common cause" of political freedom in America.

Patrick Henry championed the cause of the Baptists, and so did Madison, Jefferson, and George Mason. It was Henry, as chairman of the Committee on the Constitution of Virginia, who wrote that marvelous Sixteenth Article, guaranteeing religious equality and freedom to the members of every religious denomination; and, as William Wirt so aptly says, "if it had been the only act of his [Henry's] public life, it was sufficient to have enrolled him among the greatest benefactors of the race."

C. S. L.

## Religion in Education

A LITTLE WHILE AGO *The American Lutheran* carried on its front cover page a short article entitled "The Fourth 'R' in Education," which we quote:

"Religion is the fourth 'R' in education. And it is by far the most important one. We write that without wishing in any way to minimize the need for thorough training in secular subjects. Our advice always is: Learn as much as you possibly can. But the fact remains that intellectual attainments belong to the class of things seen and temporal. Whether they will be worth anything in eternity, we do not know. We do know that saving knowledge of Jesus Christ guarantees a glorious eternity. Many a saint . . . could not write even his own name. But he did know Jesus Christ to be his Saviour. And that is what the fourth 'R' in education tries to drive home.

"The best way of teaching the fourth 'R' is by ty-

ing it up directly with the entire educational program. The Christian day school does that. We have repeatedly urged parents to avail themselves of this opportunity, if they have a chance to do so. In the Christian day school religion is not merely taught as a separate subject: it undergirds and permeates all instruction.

"The Church has other ways of teaching the fourth 'R.' We call attention to the Sunday School and to catechetical instruction prior to confirmation. These are provisions which parents, intent upon having their children learn 'the One Thing Needful,' will faithfully use.

"But what the Church does and tries to do is not as important as what the parents do in the home. There, first of all and unceasingly, the fourth 'R' must be taught. Parents cannot escape this responsibility by letting the Church do everything. The Church simply cannot do that. At home there must be teaching of religion by precept and by example. So a foundation is laid on which the Church can build more securely and substantially.

"Fathers and mothers, teaching religion to your children is your job."

To the idea that teaching religion belongs to the church and the home we can give wholehearted assent. If we have understood *The American Lutheran* correctly, there is no thought of teaching religion in the public schools supported by the taxation of all the people. There is only talk of what the church can do; and it must do its teaching in a church school.

Some of our readers have misunderstood what we have said in opposition to teaching religion in the public schools or even releasing children for instruction away from the school building but on school time. Some have even charged us with being against religion. We utterly fail to see how anyone who reads all we have said could conclude that we do not believe in religious teaching. We do not believe that any reasonable construction of anything we have said can be given such a meaning. But we are unalterably opposed to the idea that children forced to go to school should be forced to have religious instruction on school time, or be considered queer because they do not accept it.

The teaching of religion belongs to the home and to the church, and the author of the article in *The American Lutheran* is perfectly right when he says that "what the church does and tries to do is not as important as what the parents do in the home. There, first of all and unceasingly, the fourth 'R' must be taught. Parents cannot escape this responsibility by letting the Church do everything." With parenthood comes a grave responsibility. There are certain things that cannot be delegated to anyone else.



If those reformers who are spending so much time and effort in endeavoring to correct the ills of the world by demanding religious teaching in our public school system gave half as much time to work for parents, we could hope to see religion making real growth. With changes in the home the children could receive the religious instruction they need.

H. H. V.

## Court Comments in "Esquire" Case

IN PREVIOUS ISSUES we have made reference to the suit brought by *Esquire* against the Postmaster General of the United States for refusing second-class mail privileges to that journal. On February 4, 1946, the Supreme Court, by a unanimous decision of the eight judges sitting in the case, held that the Postmaster General had exceeded his powers. After referring to the conditions that have been laid down by Congress for granting these second-class mailing privileges, the court said:

"It is plain, as we have said, that the favorable second-class rates were granted periodicals meeting the requirements . . . so that the public good might be served through a dissemination of the class of periodicals described. But that is a far cry from assuming that Congress had any idea that each applicant for the second-class rate must convince the Postmaster General that his publication positively contributes to the public good or public welfare. Under our system of government there is an accommodation for the widest varieties of tastes and ideas. What is good literature, what has educational value, what is refined public information, what is good art, varies with individuals as it does from one generation to another. . . . But a requirement that literature or art conform to some norm prescribed by an official smacks of an ideology foreign to our system. The basic values implicit in the requirements . . . can be served only by uncensored distribution of literature. From the multitude of competing offerings the public will pick and choose. What seems to one to be trash may have for others fleeting or even enduring values. But to withdraw the second-class rate from this publication today because its contents seemed to one official not good for the public would sanction withdrawal of the second-class rate tomorrow from another periodical whose social or economic views seemed harmful to another official. The validity of the obscenity laws is recognition that the mails may not be used to satisfy all tastes, no matter how perverted. But Congress has left the Postmaster General with no power to prescribe standards for the literature or the art which a mailable periodical disseminates."

H. H. V.

## NEWS and COMMENT

### Graduation Credits for Religious Classes

THE MAGAZINE *America* is authority for the statement that the "Assistant Commissioner of Education for the State of New York made a sound and heartening decision when he stated that the granting of graduation credits in public schools for courses in religious education was 'not only legal but proper and desirable.'"

Such decisions by officials and such approval by churchmen strengthen our conviction that teaching religion on school time is dangerous, and that those who press for such instruction really hold the idea that released time is just paving the way for the full teaching of religion in the public schools.

### California Religious Instruction Law Declared Constitutional

THE LOS ANGELES *Times* of December 5, 1945, reports that Superior Judge Charles S. Burnell ruled the day before that a California State law of 1943 "permitting schools to release students from classes for one hour each week for religious instruction is constitutional."

### Civilian Supremacy

IN AN EDITORIAL discussing the proposal for uniting the military forces of the country, the *Washington Post* of December 22, 1945, after questioning the legality of some things done on both sides of the argument by public officials, has this to say:

"It has been a spectacle which should give the American people pause. But for the immense powers vested in the military in wartime, it could not have been possible. The fighting is over, but the military appears not to realize that the civilian again is king. What we have witnessed of late underlines the grave reminder in the presidential message *that civilian supremacy is next to equality before the law among the pillars of our American institutions.*" (Italics ours.)

### Disestablishment

IN OUR LAST ISSUE we told of the desire of the Anglican Archbishop of York for fuller self-government for his church. He wants the heavy hand of parliament lifted and more freedom given to the church to control its own affairs.

Perhaps no man in Norway stood more firmly against the attempts of the Nazis to interfere with the proper functions of the church than Bishop Eyvind Berggrav. The press reports that now that Norway is free, Bishop Berggrav has revealed plans for providing for a greater separation between church and state in his country.

This is another evidence that the idea of separation of church and state is making headway. What a blessing it would be to Christianity everywhere if the ties that bind it to civil government could be broken!

## Sunday Ban Voted Down

**A** PROPOSED ORDINANCE, which would have banned real estate transactions on Sunday, was defeated by Common Council. All seven councilmen present voted against it.

"Groups favoring the proposal, composed chiefly of salesmen, had pleaded for the Sunday ban to allow them to spend one day a week with their families.

"Opponents argued that Sunday was the only day the average man has to look for a place to live and that nothing should be done to curb real estate dealings during the housing shortage."—*Detroit Free Press*, Dec. 27, 1945.

## Argentine Catholics Oppose Separation of Church and State

**I**N *The Christian Century* of January 9, 1946, the paper's correspondent in Argentina reports from Buenos Aires that a "recent pastoral letter of the Roman Catholic bishops of Argentina . . . urges Catholics to vote only for parties or candidates who do not advocate separation of church and state." He further reports that the priest in charge of one of the city's aristocratic parishes interpreted this pastoral letter to be "a definite endorsement of Perón's new party."

Among those attending the mass were thirty women of democratic tendencies who "left the church as a protest against such propaganda from the pulpit."

## Public High School Bible Department

**T**HE *Religious Digest* for February, 1946, reports that "Bible instruction, introduced in the public schools in Roxboro, North Carolina, a year or so ago, has proved so popular, that plans now are being made . . . to add to the curriculum next year a course in 'hymnology and religious music.' . . . In addition

to the operation of a regular Bible Department at Roxboro High School, Bible story books have been provided each grade, from the first through the 12th, in every school in the country [county?]."

It has been our feeling right along that released time has too often been intended to be the first step toward a direct teaching of religion in the public schools.

## Oppose State Aid for Religious Schools

**S**OME DISPATCHES taken from the Religious News Service contain very interesting information:

**LONDON** (By Wireless).—The World Youth Conference here, attended by 400 delegates from 63 countries, went on record against a proposal for state aid to denominational schools. The proposal, advanced by the British delegation, was rejected largely on the ground that it might become the opening wedge for state interference.

The conference adopted an amendment sponsored by the French delegation, which declared that freedom of worship implies the right to act according to individual belief.

**BATON ROUGE, La.**—Legislative grants to private and parochial schools were opposed by the Louisiana Annual Conference of the Methodist Church here. Similar action was recently taken by Presbyterian and Baptist State groups.

The Rev. W. E. Trice, Methodist student director at Louisiana State University, said his resolution was motivated by reports that the Roman Catholic Church would seek state funds for its schools from the 1946 legislature.

Asserting that no bigotry was involved, he said the matter would be handled by the Louisiana Protestant churches "in a firm but friendly manner."

Dr. Lewis Stuckey, of First Methodist church in Baton Rouge, declared that "there should be no encroachment on our way of thinking. Our forefathers founded this nation for the separation of the church and the state, and we intend to keep it that way."

## Baptist Church School

**T**HE MEMBERS OF ONE of the Baptist churches in San Antonio, Texas, are following the right plan in providing religious instruction for their children, as shown by this recent dispatch:

"Believed to be the first church in the Southern Baptist Convention to establish a denominational day school, Lakeview Baptist church here has begun construction of such a school adjoining the church.



"Classes in the four-room stone building will begin next fall, offering the same courses as are prescribed for public schools, plus instruction in Bible and Baptist doctrine. Grades through the sixth—perhaps the eighth—will be included."

Instead of asking the state to provide for religious instruction, and instead of asking the public school teachers to teach religion, these good folk are assuming their proper responsibility and paying their own proper bills.

## Sentenced to Sunday School

FOR FIVE YEARS Mayor Couch of Guntersville, Alabama, has been sending minor offenders of all ages to Sunday school instead of to jail. He says he wants them to be thrown in with the best citizens, rather than the worst. But he did it secretly; no one knew that the offenders were being forced to go to Sunday school, and so they were not embarrassed. It was found that not one of more than one hundred so sentenced has reappeared before Mayor Couch charged with any crime. About half of the culprits became regular attendants at Sunday school after their sentences expired, whereas most of them, before their sentences, had never been to Sunday school."—*The Pentecostal Evangel*, quoted in *The Congregational Beacon*, December, 1945.

What do you think?

## Government May Not Define Truth

IN THE CASE OF *Thomas v. Collins* decided by the Supreme Court of the United States, January 8, 1945, Mr. Justice Jackson, concurring in the Court's opinion, made some significant statements that are worth repeating and remembering. They touch upon the broad principles of freedom, and apply not only in the case immediately before the Court but wherever fundamental rights are challenged. We commend them to our readers' careful attention:

"It cannot be the duty, because it is not the right, of the state to protect the public against false doctrine. The very purpose of the First Amendment is to foreclose public authority from assuming a guardianship of the public mind through regulating the press, speech, and religion. In this field every person must be his own watchman for truth, because the forefathers did not trust any government to separate the true from the false for us.\* Nor would I. Very many are the interests which the state may protect

against the practice of an occupation, very few are those it may assume to protect against the practice of propagandizing by speech or press. These are thereby left great range of freedom.

"This liberty was not protected because the forefathers expected its use would always be agreeable to those in authority or that its exercise always would be wise, temperate, or useful to society. As I read their intentions, this liberty was protected because they knew of no other way by which free men could conduct representative democracy."

And up to the present no one has found a way to preserve democracy and deny this liberty.

## Senator Capper and the Lord's Day Alliance

IN OUR ISSUE for the third quarter, 1945, we referred to the claim of the secretary of the Lord's Day Alliance that Senator Capper sends to him the mail that comes to the Senator's office in opposition to his bill to provide for making dies with the words "Observe Sunday" to be used on the mail of the United States.

A friend came into our office the other day and showed us two interesting letters. One was a copy of a letter he had addressed to Senator Capper, protesting the use of public funds for a religious purpose, and the answer that he got—no, not from the Senator, but from the secretary of the Lord's Day Alliance!

We think things have come to a pretty pass when a native son of Kansas addresses one of the Senators from his home State and gets an answer from an ardent proponent of the enactment of civil statutes to protect Sunday. If we were natives or citizens of Kansas, we would have to protest energetically such representation in Congress.

Since the foregoing was written, the friend to whom we have referred sent to our office a letter he had received from Senator Capper. We quote from this:

"The Lord's Day Alliance, of which Dr. Harry L. Bowlby is the Executive Director, is the moving spirit behind my S. J. Res. 46"

Does any reader think we need to comment?

## SPARKS

A DIVINE obligation has no other judge than God.

THE clergy cannot punish heresy, and the state has no right to do it.

LIBERTY is not the slave but the sovereign of the individual and his passions.

\* *West Virginia State Board of Education v. Barnette*, 319 U.S. 624, 63 S. Ct. 1178, 87 L. Ed. 1628.



TRING GALLOWAY

A Bit of Picturesque America, the Redwood Trees of California