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25 CENTS

# LIBERTY

A MAGAZINE OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

PASS AND STOW  
PHILADELPHIA  
MDCCLIII

## LIBERTY BELL

When Independence was declared in 1776, the Liberty Bell was rung in the State House where the Continental Congress was then sitting. It was the symbol of the new nation, and it was the symbol of the new nation's freedom. The Liberty Bell was the symbol of the new nation's freedom. The Liberty Bell was the symbol of the new nation's freedom.



# Assignment: Washington

*An interpretative report of church, state, and politics on Capitol Hill.*

■ Almost three months to the day after President Lyndon B. Johnson sent his message to Congress on Federal aid to education he had affixed his signature to the legislation, making it the law of the land. Veteran Congressional observers said that rarely before had a peacetime proposal moved so swiftly to enactment.

Opponents of the bill who attempted to argue against its parochial-aid features were caught in the undertow. There was also speculation as to how well the bill pleased the parochial school interests. For many years the principal stumbling block to Federal aid to education has been aid to parochial schools. Strategists for the Johnson administration carefully skirted the issue and provided aid for the parochial school child instead of for the parochial system.

There is nothing in the law authorizing any grant for providing any service to a private institution. However, it does contemplate some broadening of public educational programs and services in which elementary and secondary school pupils who are not enrolled in public schools may participate. Sponsors of the bill admitted that they anticipated that public school teachers will be made available to other than public school facilities to provide such specialized assistance as therapeutic, remedial, or welfare services.

A Senate minority report signed by Senators Jacob K. Javits, Winston L. Prouty, Peter H. Dominick, George Murphy, and Paul Fannin said "the pending measure left unclear for many citizens nettling questions in the area of church-state relationships. Maximum clarification will be needed to avert troublesome disputes in the future."

During the Senate debate Sen. Samuel J. Ervin (N.C.) declared that the First Amendment to the Constitution "does not merely prohibit Federal support of reli-

gious activities of religious educational institutions. It prohibits aid to their secular activities as well. Consequently Congress cannot divorce religious activities and support the latter." He was speaking in support of an amendment providing machinery whereby a taxpayer might file suit in Federal court to halt the disbursement of funds inconsistent with the First Amendment. The amendment lost, as did all others.

■ Stamp collectors of the country are not anticipating approval of legislation calling for a commemorative stamp on the birth of Jesus Christ. Such a proposal was tossed into the legislative hopper earlier in the session by Rep. Melvin R. Laird (Wis.) who branded the 1964 Christmas stamp "a highly commercialized stamp which in no way symbolized the true meaning of Christmas." Among the backers of the bill is the "Christ in Christmas Association" founded in North Carolina last year and which has, among other things, urged the Postmaster General to publish a Christmas stamp this year with a Christian symbol.

The department in the past has turned a cold shoulder to proposals for a stamp issued with a religious motif.

■ Opposition to Sen. Everett Dirksen's bill (S. 1211) providing that national elections be held on the first Sunday in November was not long in developing. The Christian Amendment movement president, T. C. McKnight, wrote the Senator a strong letter of protest, and the movement's journal, The Christian Patriot, called the bill an "inroad on the Sabbath" and urged its readers to send Senators letters of protest. Elections are held on Sunday in a number of other countries, and this legislation was proposed in hopes of attracting greater public interest in the ballot box.

Letters of opposition are flowing in to the offices of members of the House as well as the Senate.



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**RELIGIOUS LIBERTY  
ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA  
Declaration of Principles**

We believe in religious liberty, and hold that this God-given right is exercised at its best when there is separation between church and state.

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 and willing obedience of all.

We believe in the individual's natural and inalienable right to freedom of conscience: to worship or not to worship; to profess, to practice, and to promulgate his religious beliefs, or to change them according to his conscience or opinions, holding that these are the essence of religious liberty; but that in the exercise of this right he should respect the equivalent rights of others.

We believe that all legislation and other governmental acts which unite church and state are subversive of human rights, potentially persecuting in character, and opposed to the best interests of church and state; and therefore, that it is not within the province of human government to enact such legislation or perform such acts.

We believe it is our duty to use every lawful and honorable means to prevent the enactment of legislation which tends to unite church and state, and to oppose every movement toward such union, that all may enjoy the inestimable blessings of religious liberty.

We believe that these liberties are embraced in the golden rule, which teaches that a man should do to others as he would have others do to him.

25 cents  
a copy

# LIBERTY

Washington  
D.C.

A MAGAZINE OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

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**ARTICLES**

- 7** "We the People"—Greatest Dynamo  
on Earth *James D. Corriell*
- 8** Journey Through Fear
- 12** Compulsory Unionism and Individual  
Conscience *W. Melvin Adams*
- 14** The Philippines *P. C. Banaag*
- 16** Dumb Dogs and Heretics *Howard B. Weeks*
- 18** Symposium of American Presidents
- 22** What Is the Christian's Political  
Responsibility? *Charles E. B. Cranfield*
- 25** Britain's Sunday *V. Norskov Olsen*
- 27** Released Time *Dean M. Kelley*

**FEATURES**

- 2** Assignment: Washington *William H. Hackett*
- 4** From the Editor's Desk
- 5** "Dear Sir"
- 11** Voices in the Ecumenical Wind
- 29** Editorials: The Education Bill . . . Labor Unions vs.  
Religious Conviction
- 30** World News
- 35** The Launching Pad *C. Mervyn Maxwell*

THE RELIGIOUS LIBERTY ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA was organized in 1889 by the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists. Dedicated to the preservation of religious freedom, the association advocates no political or economic theories. General secretary, Marvin E. Loewen; associate secretaries, W. Melvin Adams, Roland R. Hegstad.

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## from the editor's desk



*Freedom* editor, P. C. Banaag, and Chief Justice Earl Warren compare a copy of *LIBERTY* with the dummy of volume I of *Freedom*. The Chief Justice was in the Philippines to address the annual meeting of the Philippine Constitution Association.

**O**FF the press is the first issue of *Freedom: a Magazine of Religious Liberty*, the publication of the Religious Liberty Association of the Philippines. That the title sounds like a mirror twin of *Liberty: a Magazine of Religious Freedom* is purely intentional; our new sister journal carries the same basic message as *Liberty* and the same Declaration of Principles.

"Our objective in publishing *Freedom*," says P. C. Banaag, editor, "is to provide a voice for the Religious Liberty Association of the Philippines, a voluntary association in which lovers of religious freedom everywhere can fellowship without discrimination for the mutual defense of their equal and inalienable rights. The RLAP endeavors to mold public opinion in harmony with the freedoms set forth in such historic documents as the Philippine Bill of Rights and the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights."

In the initial issue of *Freedom* appears a message from Diosdado Macapagal, President of the Philippines:

"I am pleased with this opportunity to greet the officials and members of this unique association of lovers of religious liberty through this initial issue of its quarterly magazine *Freedom*.

"Man's eternal quest for spiritual sustenance is a strong motive force for good. This quest naturally assumes various means, but whatever form it takes, whatever name is given to it, religion has sustained man and given him solace in a world which seems forever in conflict.

"Religious freedom is guaranteed in the fundamental law of the land. It is good to note that in this country there are men who have seen the need for vigilance against the encroachment to their individual freedom of worship. The Religious Liberty Association, composed of men who worship God according to the various and differing dictates of their hearts, strikes me as a unique experiment in religious tolerance which I am certain will ultimately prove its worth in the social life of the community.

"I here express the hope that your association will prosper and that *Freedom*, which is its mouthpiece, will prove an effective means of propagating this concept of tolerance and good will."

Featured on the cover of *Freedom*, volume I, No. 1, is Julian C. Karsten's painting of former Philippine President Manuel Luis Quezon y Molina, fearless



champion of separation of church and state. In the background is the Rizal Monument, a landmark that has become symbolic of the Filipino people's struggle for freedom.

On page 14 Mr. Banaag reports on an election-year controversy that has Philippine politicians walking a tightrope.

*Rand R. Hegstad*



## PRAYER POLL

JIM DULLENTY

*Missoula, Montana*

Your magazine, contrary to your masthead, is neither very "religious" nor dedicated to freedom as I understand it.

Your article on Dr. Poling and the *Christian Herald* was "the straw that broke the camel's back." I have noticed a general left-wing liberal slant to your magazine (which disappoints me, because I had thought the Seventh-day Adventists quite conservative), and that article confirms it.

Your "LIBERTY Prayer Poll" is a joke. Naturally, almost everyone who receives it will answer No (the way you want) because of the wording. I think Dr. Poling's question, "Do you favor regular prayer and Bible reading in public schools?" is far more fair and honest than your questions; but I would not care about the answers you receive.

DALE CLEVELAND

*News Director WAYE*

*Baltimore, Maryland*

Congratulations on your penetrating article on the prayer poll ballot distributed by the *Christian Herald*. It will truly be a shame if your article does not gain wire service publicity.

You are doing a good work. Though I am a "born again" Christian, I was completely fooled for some time by the concerted efforts of those who would defend school prayers vociferously, while in the background they are scheming to force their "vain repetitions" upon me . . . (Matthew 6:5-7). "Verily, they shall have their reward."

JUDITH M. NELSON

*Los Angeles, California*

It seems rather obvious to me that the "majority" that is pro-school prayer is made up of parents who think Sunday school is good for the kids, but themselves don't manage to make it to church, and in fact seldom get the kids there.

You were absolutely right; the prayer-poll replies do not actually reflect attitudes toward the court decision. . . .

Survey-taking is a science of great complexity, and a good, honest market-survey specialist could make short work of that "majority."

ALEX MC LAUGHLIN

*Glendale, California*

I was one of the many who thought the Supreme Court was out of line when it ruled against the reading of the Bible and prayers in public schools. After reading more about the decision I have changed my mind.

I am a member of the First Methodist church of Glendale, and I believe in prayer and in the Bible. I also believe that they belong in the home and in the church, not in the public school.

I vote against "regular" prayer and Bible reading in public schools. My check is enclosed for a one-year subscription to LIBERTY.

ALEX FRANZ

*Kissimmee, Florida*

Congressman A. Sydney Herlong, Jr., has sent out blanks to his constituents to be filled in and returned to him, that he may learn their opinions on eight main issues facing the Congress this year. One of the questions was: "Do you favor a constitutional amendment to permit prayer and Bible reading in the public schools on a voluntary basis?" Apparently a majority of the electors would say Yes. But let us look at it

"Dear Sir:"

this way: Is not the home the best place for the children to participate in prayer and Bible reading? Has the public school, a civil institution, any right to promote religion?

A poll on the subject no doubt would reveal that daily family worship is rather rare. And yet many people who neglect family prayers demand that their children be given this service, and that someone else be required to take on the responsibility. To be consistent they should ask their employers to provide a similar daily service for them where they are employed.

Many do not send their children to Sunday school because the children are not interested. Then why have the religious service in the public school? The answer is that the law requires attendance of the children in the school, so that is the place to "catch" them, and their teachers should be required to conduct the service!

Why do some attack the Supreme Court "for taking God out of the schools" when they are responsible for something much more regrettable—not allowing God to enter their homes?

## PRAYER FORBIDDEN?

ROBERT HAWKINS

*Santa Barbara, California*

Re W. H. Hackett's comments on the Supreme Court and prayer and Bible reading in public schools

The question before the country is: "Should any government agency specify or forbid religious observations of any kind anywhere?" The New York Board of Regents was wrong to specify prayer. The U.S. Supreme Court was wrong to specify no prayer. Congress must remind all that each and every government agency must avoid both sides of the coin. To be locked out is just as much an abrogation of freedom as to be locked in.

[The questions before the Court were: Should any government agency write a prayer and force its repetition by any group of citizens? Should any government agency force youth to participate in a religious service?

The Court's answer was No. The Court did not forbid children to pray, as several articles in LIBERTY have made plain. The Court simply said that children could not expect the aid of the state in that exercise. As to the state having no right to forbid religious exercises: Would you wish the government to permit schools in Hawaii to force all youth to repeat Buddhist prayers each morning?]

## BUNKER HILL MISFIRE

RICHARD V. MILLS, Teacher

*Beltsville, Maryland*

As a native son of Massachusetts, having been raised in the shadow of Bunker Hill Monument, I question one or two of the facts used in the article "The Whites of Their Eyes," by James Joiner. The place is Charlestown and not Charleston.



Also the battle took place on Breed's Hill. Bunker Hill is located about one-half mile or so away to the northwest and is on a higher elevation than Breed's Hill.

## MUSIC TO OUR EARS

PLINY O. CLARK  
*Portland, Oregon*

The definite expressions in behalf of religious liberty that we find in *LIBERTY* coincide with our convictions, and we gladly make them available to other interested persons. It matters not that the Clarks adhere to a religious belief expressed through membership in a Protestant church other than that of the Seventh-day Adventists, since we can be and are one in our belief in the necessity of the separation of church and state, in complete religious liberty.

## WORCESTER'S BIBLE READING PLAN

EDITH PETERSON  
*Burlingame, California*

"Worcester's Bible Reading Plan" in the March-April issue of *LIBERTY* is very interesting and timely.

But what about Bible readings for children over national hookups? Religious programs for adults come on the air every hour and half hour round the clock.

But try to find one for children. Incredible that somewhere in all this time fifteen minutes or so can't be spared to teach our children the way of life; incredible that ardent advocates of forcing prayer into our public schools overlook the possibilities wrapped up in our vast communications system for this type of ministry to our children.

What keeps us from having a Children's Church of the Air dedicated to giving practical lessons in Christianity? Such a program would have tremendous popular appeal. Adults, too, would love to listen in because of the clean-cut simplicity that seems to characterize children's programs.

Surely the spiritual needs of the future makers of America must top all else if we are to save them and to save America.

## QUIET EXPRESSION

DANNY ROSS CHANDLER  
*Chicago, Illinois*

Today I found a copy of *LIBERTY: A Magazine of Religious Freedom*, on a coffee table at Meadville Theological School of Lombard College, where I am a senior. My letter is merely a quiet expression of personal appreciation for the significant task you are performing, strengthening the cause of religious freedom. I am interested in the Religious Liberty Association of America, and I would welcome any information

you might care to send me concerning your program. Again, warmest congratulations for championing a vital cause.

## WOULDN'T GIVE A DIME . . .

WILLIAM G. MCNEEL  
Attorney and Tax Consultant  
*Odessa, Texas*

I want you to know that I have found many exceptionally interesting and challenging articles in this magazine during the several years in which I have been receiving and reading it. Not every article and idea of the magazine meets with my agreement—but I wouldn't give a dime for something with which I always agreed or which always agreed only with my own thinking. I particularly enjoy the numerous historical articles concerning people and events of our past and their application to today and today's thinking.

## PAROCHIAL SCHOOL AID

HAROLD D. SMITH  
*Los Angeles, California*

Like many others, I firmly believe that Federal aid to education should not include aid to parochial schools. . . .

Catholic leaders have brought on a dilemma through their extensive build-up of these schools (to which Catholic parents are required to send their children), and through their encouragement of large Catholic families. Now they plan to take advantage of the need for Federal aid to education, and to use it as a means of increasing the vast wealth, power, and influence of the church.

Are Congress and the President going to let them do this?

## BIBLE DISTRIBUTION IN PUEBLO

RAYMOND A. DANGEL  
*Pueblo, Colorado*

We provide a weekly "church page" on which we attempt to do more than distribute notices of church circles having tea parties, although such items are not ignored.

Your magazine is received and read at my desk with interest. . . .

The community is currently resolving a controversy over whether King James New Testaments will be distributed by the Gideon Society to public school children, with parents' written permission. Some clergy favored it; some opposed it. The school board first approved the project, then rescinded its action. More than 15,000 Bibles are reposing in a society member's carport at the moment. Some of the clergy vow this is not the end of the matter.



THE LIBERTY BELL—What's that? Say *ah*? No, young lady, the cat hasn't got my tongue—though I haven't used it since I was young. That was a bit before your time. I cracked it at a funeral. A has-been? Maybe—though I'd like to think that my silent witness of what once was still speaks pretty loudly and clearly of what should yet be. I used to shout out my joy at each anniversary of the Declaration of Independence—it was like a football game, the World Series, and the NCAA basketball finals all wrapped into one. Today men have taken up the cry and you can hear the echo still: in your free school system, at yearly elections where your parents cast their vote, at your church on Sabbath. There you'll hear the real ring of freedom. How can you be sure it rings true? Just make sure it's in harmony with this: "Proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof." How's that for perfect pitch?

PHOTO BY J. BYRON LOGAN



By JAMES D. CORRIELL



**W**E THE PEOPLE" was the key. Without that primary element the new government of the United States would have differed little from scores of others that had bloomed and withered through the ages.

But when the Founding Fathers gathered to draw up an instrument of government 178 years ago, they sought to give it a dynamic spark that would make it different from the systems that had been tried and had failed.

They had studied the many systems that had been artificially fashioned and buckled on the people like a harness so that they might be controlled and driven according to the whims of those in the driver's seat.

The framers of the Constitution sensed the possibility of unlimited power for good if people could live and labor in individual freedom and at the same time work together for the common welfare. It was on September 17, 1787—178 years ago—that they completed a document to that end.

It began: "We the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America."

And "We the People" set out on history's greatest adventure in human development. They carved homes and farms and cities out of the wilderness. They invented and built new instruments to serve one another, and the interplay of service meant profit for all as well as for the individual.

"We the People" were free to think and dream and work to convert imagination into tangible things. So they conceived new products, new conveniences for living, new services for their fellow men.

Roads and waterways, railroads and airlines were built and expanded to carry goods and people from one end of the nation to the other.

Each new idea that was translated into a product or service created a chain reaction, stimulating the creation or expansion of a host of other activities.

The farmer's surpluses had to be shipped and distributed. The metal miner's ore had to be transported and smelted to extract the metal, which in turn was

shipped to manufacturers, who created useful items, to be shipped and distributed to the consumers. The timbermen and oil drillers and coal miners set up similar chain reactions.

All of this activity demanded power, and "We the People" found ways to convert water and coal into mechanical force and to generate electricity and atomic power. And another chain reaction to create more industries and more jobs.

"We the People" tackled the age-old problem of human health, and made giant advances against disease. "We the People" sensed injustices and inequities about them and put their minds to work to make the American way of life a better way of life for everybody.

In less than two centuries Americans, under freedom and cooperation, transmuted most of the aspirations of the ages into the highest degree of human betterment ever seen on our planet.

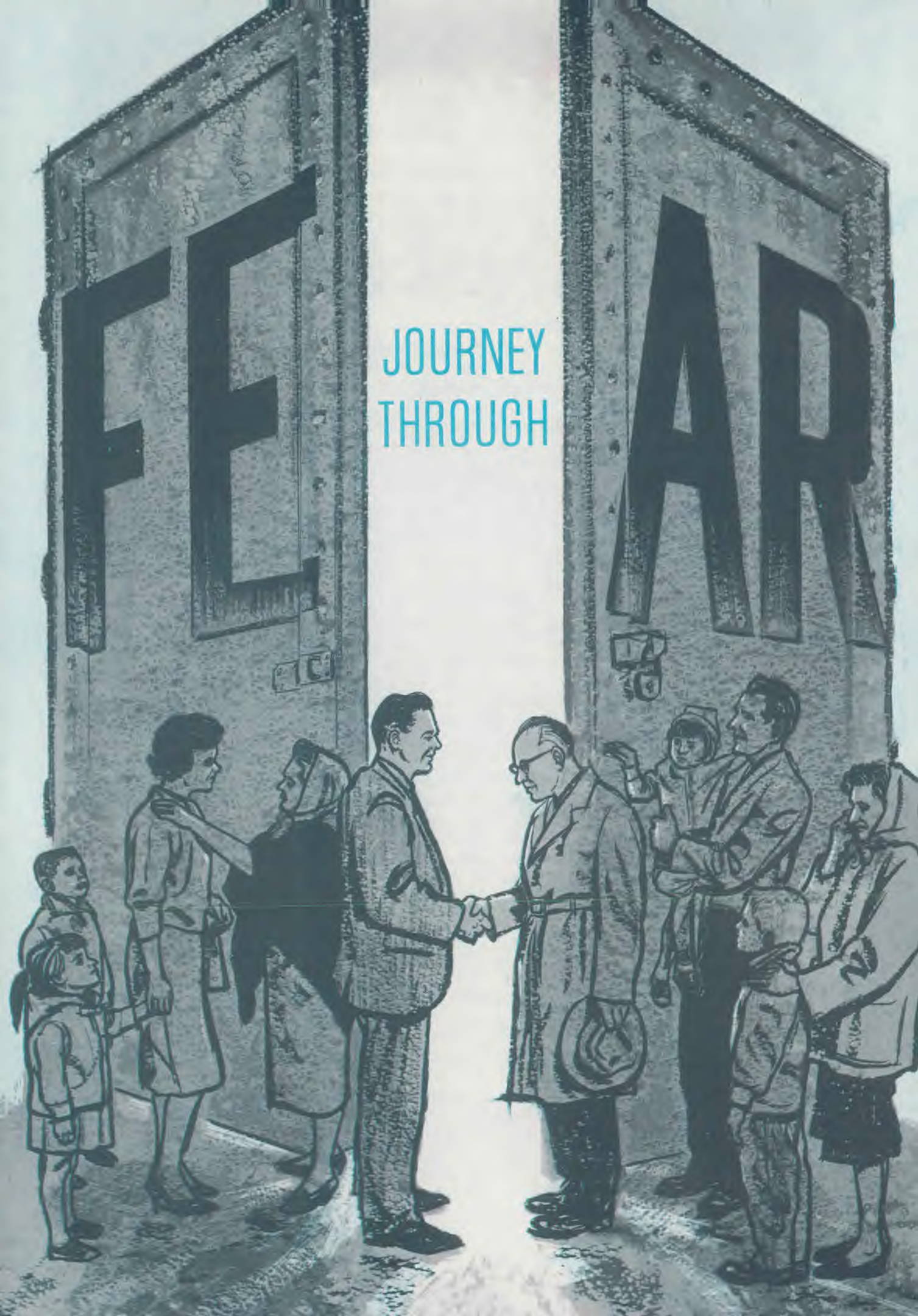
They did it because "We the People" were at liberty to think and act without being driven or restricted or regimented by authoritarian power. As far as the government was concerned, a man's freedom to act was limited only at the point where it intruded on another's liberty.

The government was the protector of the right of the citizen to work at whatever calling and at whatever place he chose. The government was the guarantor of the freedom to think, speak, write, publish, and worship as the individual chose. The government recognized the right to organize, to contract, to bargain. The government stood as a referee and mediator over disputes and provided a system of courts of justice to assure the personal rights of the people, including the right to own and use their property and their capital. The government supervised the right of free elections, in which the people chose their representatives in political power and determined the course and limits of that power.

What the Founding Fathers did 178 years ago was to set in motion the greatest dynamo on earth—"We the People." Theorists and the disciples of the various "isms" may scoff at it and appeal for its retirement, but the glaring fact remains: It is the most workable, productive, beneficent force so far contrived by man.—Editorial, Sept. 17, 1964, *Boulder Daily Camera*, winner of George Washington Honor Medal, Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge, Pa. Reprinted by permission. ★★★



JOURNEY  
THROUGH







## "IT SEEMED NATURAL TO TALK IN WHISPERS" \*

THE chains and padlocks rattled as the iron gate clanged shut behind us. Involuntarily I shivered. It was dusk and we were on the wrong side of the iron curtain.

We drove the few yards to the customs building where two men and a woman in uniform awaited us. This was the eighteenth border we had crossed in our journey through Asia and Europe, and we knew the procedure pretty well. My husband reached for the folder in which we kept our passports and visas and followed the officials inside.

The darkness deepened. My husband seemed to be extra long inside that building. I made small talk with the children, more to quiet my fears than theirs. I hadn't wanted to pass through any Communist countries on our return journey from England to India. "Nonsense," my husband had said. "It will cut hundreds of miles off our trip. It is a direct route and the road is good. We have nothing to fear."

"No," I thought as I sat there in the gathering darkness, "we have done nothing, said nothing; never dabbled in politics. We have nothing to fear; they have no reason to do anything to us. But do they have to have a reason?" I reminded myself that friends had made the trip before us. Perhaps I just had the first-time jitters.

Since that night a few years ago, tensions have relaxed; tourists from Western countries now pour into resort areas of several eastern European Communist nations. The Yankee dollar is proving quite a missionary. But that night I could console myself only with thoughts of our innocence.

At last my husband came out, and I sighed with relief. "Are you finished? Can we go on now?"

He grimaced. "It's not as easy as that. There are still a number of forms to fill in, but they said you and the children are to come inside where it's warmer. You'd better come."

I warned the children to be on their best behavior, and we all trooped into the severely furnished office. From the walls large photos of the nation's leaders frowned down upon us, but the officials themselves were friendly. The stocky woman in the uniform of a custom's official smiled at the children. We all smiled back and tried to make conversation with nods and gestures in that helpless way of people who have no common language. Despite the informality, I had the uncomfortable feeling

that other eyes were watching us, and that the very walls had ears.

We had nothing to declare except our cameras, and the customs officials made only a token search through our possessions in car and trailer. Apparently they had decided, as had previous officials, that a man who toted a wife and four children, ranging from nine years down to eighteen months, could hardly be CIA material. Quickly they stamped our papers, gave us some tourist literature, told us we must be out within three days, and politely waved us on.

It was only a short drive to the capital, where we had the address of our church. While my husband went inside, I sat in the car and watched the people walking past. They seemed just ordinary people in heavy coats and thick stockings. They linked arms; they chatted as they walked; they paused to window-shop, and some even went inside the few brightly lighted shops that I could see; but not one of them gave us a second glance, although our car and trailer were the only ones on the street.

We had driven through hundreds of European cities where all kinds of vehicles drove bumper to bumper, and always our homemade trailer had excited comments, stares, and pointing fingers. But here where a house was as scarce as a summer snowflake, no one stared or pointed, no voice hailed us to ask a dozen questions in broken English. They simply passed within inches of us as if we were not there.

My husband emerged with a young man who would guide us to the house of the secretary-treasurer of our denomination in this country. Again we drove through streets thronged only with trudging people, and again my husband went in first while I waited in the car with the now sleeping children. After half an hour he returned.

"Come in and meet them," he whispered, opening the car door. "They are very reserved and cold. Not a bit friendly. You'd think they'd be glad to meet someone from outside."

"Perhaps they are frightened," I whispered back. It seemed natural to talk in whispers even in this quiet back street. He nodded, and we slipped quietly along the dark lane and into the house.

The pastor and his wife showed us into their parlor. He spoke excellent English, she only her native tongue. Little by little they thawed out as we talked and asked

\* The author is the wife of a missionary in the Far East.



questions. The wife went out and presently reappeared with a hot drink and some factory-made cookies. After further conversation she disappeared and came back with teaspoons and saucers containing a fried egg each and a morsel of potato. There was so much to say, so much to tell on both sides. Their son came in with an offering of tiny, tart apples. Our hearts bled when the pastor said, "You are the first missionaries we have seen in fifteen years. We have no contact with our church outside. Have our leaders forgotten us? Why don't they come? We have so many needs. We try so hard to be faithful."

"Oh, brother," I burst out, my heart aching with pity for these isolated believers, "I'll write to the headquarters of our church. I'll tell them your needs. I'll tell them what is happening. Surely they will help you."

His face blanched. "Don't do that!" he cried in concern. "Don't write anything. It might be read. We have to be so careful."

The lateness of the hour made it imperative that we go. "Ah, my friends," the pastor cried and tears were in his eyes, "it is against the hospitable nature of my people to turn you out like this, but I dare not ask you to stay with us. Tomorrow you go; you are free but we must stay. Please go to a hotel and let me pay the bill; it is the only thing I can do."

We assured him that we understood, that we had our own trailer with us. His wife pressed more apples and rolls of bread upon us before we took our leave and drove off into the unfriendly darkness.

Early next morning we awoke to the sound of marching feet. People were coming from all directions, some passing quite close to our vehicles but ignoring us as they had the night before. Quickly we ate and then drove to the city square to watch the long lines of school children carrying wilting flowers and singing patriotic songs. Youth marched along shouting slogans and waving banners. Middle-aged and aged tramped side by side, carrying large photos of the nation's leaders. Gigantic posters featuring the same faces hung from the buildings and balconies. It was the national holiday, the anniversary of Communism in that country. It seemed to me as I watched the thronging multitudes that only imbeciles and the infirm would dare to be absent from such a display of loyalty.

"As you said, the roads are good," I remarked as we drove toward the next city. "One reason could be that they seem to be traveled largely by bicycles."

We had more difficulty finding our church in this city. It occupied the lower floor of a dilapidated tenement. The pastor's family lived on the top floor. When our identity was established, they were happy to meet us.

It was Friday night and the meetinghouse was packed. They assured us it was always like that. One church member who spoke excellent English became our mouthpiece.

"You must preach to us tomorrow," the pastor urged my husband.

"I don't want to get you into trouble," he demurred, and told them what the pastor in the other city had said.

"Oh, no," the pastor's eighteen-year-old daughter said with a laugh. "He is nervous, living in the capital. The authorities are not so fussy here. You must stay with us; we have not had visitors for many years."

Everyone nodded and agreed that we must sleep there; it was too cold for little children in that unheated trailer. But the church officials counseled that permission must be obtained before my husband could preach. "We have several strangers present at nearly every meeting we hold," they told us meaningfully.

While a delegation went off to seek the necessary permission, the children and I were tucked into cozy beds upstairs. Our hosts had vacated their own rooms for us, and where the family would sleep I could only guess. I was just drowsing off when my husband came in. "You look so comfortable I hate to disturb you, but we have to get out of here fast. When our church officials asked if I could preach tomorrow, the police were vague and said they would telephone the capital for permission and let them know in the morning. They flatly denied us permission to sleep here."

In tearful silence the women helped us rouse the children, wrap them warmly, and carry them to the car. We parked for the night in a turnip field.

I'll never forget the Sabbath we spent with our believers. I took my children to the small bare room where the other children met. The teacher had no visual aids, no pictures, no text cards, no lesson book, not even a Bible, only an old dog-eared mimeographed booklet. I would have offered to tell the children a story, but there was no one to interpret.

The church was packed for the worship service. My husband had not been given permission to preach, so a young man took the pulpit and preached a stirring sermon on the second coming of Christ. (The church pastor was absent on a visiting tour.) When the elders had satisfied themselves that no strangers were present, they begged my husband to give some message to the members. He arose and from his place in the congregation spoke guardedly. Invited to speak also, I asked them if they would like to see our missionary garb. When they replied enthusiastically, I slipped into an empty room and dressed in a bright Indian costume. After I had described life in a mission field, they crowded round to see our ivory ornaments and souvenirs. It was a great day for everyone. Some of the younger ones had never seen a missionary before and plied us with questions.

We in turn had many to ask them. Are these all the children you have in such a big membership? Are you allowed freedom of worship? Can you print your own literature?



"Many obstacles are placed in the way of children's attending church," we were told. "Schools operate on the Sabbath, and parents must pay heavy fines if their children are absent more than a specified number of times. Anti-Christian propaganda is aimed chiefly at the young.

"We may worship, but not evangelize," they said. "We can mimeograph our own literature if it has been approved by the government and a government man does the job. But we have had nothing new for many years." They looked at us hopefully. "Do you have any books or literature you can give us?"

We felt depressed as we remembered the children's papers and other periodicals we had jettisoned in order to lighten our load across the snowy passes. We had nothing left except our Bibles.

"We could let you have a Bible," we said, "but it wouldn't be of much use because it is in English."

"Oh, yes," they exclaimed, patting the morocco covers lovingly. "There are a dozen young men who need Bibles. If we give it to any one of them, he will immediately learn English in order to read it!"

Throwing caution to the winds, the members insisted that we eat with them at noon. Everyone contributed something to the meal, which was plain, but plentiful. They assured us there was no poverty in their country. We talked and ate and talked some more. The woman who translated grew weary, but deserting her own family for the day, she stuck to her task. Her people were hungry for news of the church outside, and they wanted

spiritual help for their problems. Gallantly she did her part.

We offered to show colored slides of our trips to many lands that night if they could obtain permission. At first they were thrilled with the prospect, but after a long discussion wisdom prevailed, and the old seriousness settled on their faces as they decided it was not worth the risk. We made ready to leave but they begged us to stay a little longer; they had something for us. Two hours later they arrived in little groups with their gifts and speeches. A jar of honey, one pomegranate, a tiny packet of biscuits, a wooden letter rack (which sits on my desk as I type this), a great chunk of strong cheese, more biscuits, and a tiny bar of chocolate. We were overcome, and I sobbed aloud as I realized the hardship these little items represented. We had previously sat in the car watching the long queues of expressionless people patiently waiting their turn to purchase some needed item at a grocery store. The burly man behind the counter neither smiled nor hurried. Why should he? He was a servant of the government, and it made no difference to him how much he sold or whether he pleased his customers.

My husband brokenly expressed our thanks, and we all wept and embraced one another, pointing heavenward and promising to meet again in a new and better world. They escorted us downstairs and we drove off into the night. The next day we crossed the border into a part of the world that still knows freedom from fear, freedom of speech, and freedom to worship. ★★★

## VOICES IN THE ECUMENICAL WIND

### Church Merger Moves Accelerated.

*Lexington, Ky.*—A new high level of consensus has been attained by the six-denomination Consultation on Church Union at the fourth of its annual discussions aimed at the eventual formation of a single merged church.

In the final statement issued at the close of the week-long sessions, the 54 delegates declared that they are "now able to imagine a united church embracing the heart of all our varying traditions and binding in visible unity companies of Christian people who for generations have been led in separate ways by conscience and our separate readings of the gospel."

The Consultation declared that for the first time it feels "able, and therefore compelled" to start realistic and practical moves toward actual merger.

A major action at the session was the formation of a special commission that was charged with preparing an outline of the proposed new church. It is to report back to the Consultation at its May 2-5, 1966, meeting in Dallas, Texas.

Now participating in the discussions are the United Presbyterian, Methodist, Episcopal, and Evangelical United Brethren churches, the Christian churches (Disciples of Christ), and the United Church of Christ.

### Inertia, Self-satisfaction Barriers to Union.

*Richmond, Va.*—Inertia and self-satisfaction on the part of denominations, not theological differences, may prove the biggest barriers to church union, according to Episcopal Bishop Robert F. Gibson, Jr., of Virginia.

Chairman of the Consultation on Church Union, Bishop Gibson said, "We've discovered that the theological barriers are not so great as we expected. But we are discovering that the nontheological barriers of culture, inertia, and self-satisfaction, are probably greater than we anticipated.

"If an organized church is really content, what will compel them to vote themselves into a union? There has got to be a discontent as we (church representatives) are discontent now."



**D**EBATE over compulsory union membership versus voluntary union membership has been raging before the House Special Committee on Labor. Testimony by union organizations and supporters favoring the closed shop was expected, as was testimony favoring right-to-work laws by the United States Chamber of Commerce, the National Association of Manufacturers, and other business and farm organizations. Not anticipated was the furor over religious conviction by and on behalf of a number of minority religious groups whose members, in the main, eschew union membership.

At issue in the present controversy are right-to-work laws in nineteen States, laws that will be knocked out if Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act is repealed. Virginia's law is typical. It simply says: "The right of persons to work shall not be denied or abridged on account of membership or nonmembership in any labor union or labor organization."

These laws mean bread and butter to members of a number of religious bodies opposed to membership in labor organizations.

The Act around which the controversy swirls reads:

"Nothing in this Act shall be construed as authorizing the execution or application of agreements requiring membership in a labor organization as a condition of employment in any State or Territory in which such execution or application is prohibited by State or Territorial law."

Last November the executive council of the AFL-CIO made their number-one legislative objective for 1965 repeal of this clause. In his State of the Union message in January, President Johnson called for Congress to make "changes in the Taft-Hartley Act, including Section 14(b)." The Democratic Party Platform of 1964 was more candid. It called for repeal of right-to-work laws in order "to strengthen the security of American trade unions." The present controversy grows out of the administration's opposition to right-to-work laws.

Labor unions see right-to-work laws as a threat to their security. "Most workers know that 'right-to-work' laws are intended to weaken strong unions, destroy weak unions, and make it harder for unorganized workers to form a union and bargain successfully," says an editorial in the April, 1965, *Federationist*, official magazine of the AFL-CIO.

The idea of a State law protecting the "free rider" when the union has spent large sums of money and effort to secure worker benefits is anathema to union leaders.

To put union principles into operation and work them successfully, they contend that they must have all the working force bound by compulsory membership.

Though admitting that this involves a measure of "compulsion," Andrew J. Biemiller, director of the AFL-CIO Department of Legislation, calls repeal of 14(b) "overwhelmingly in the public interest" and "an essential step in the construction of the Great Society."

Supporters of right-to-work legislation disagree. The

# COMPULSORY UNIONISM

AND

# INDIVIDUAL CONSCIENCE

By **W. MELVIN ADAMS**  
*Associate Editor, LIBERTY*

National Right to Work Committee cites figures from the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics to prove that union membership has not suffered in States with right-to-work laws. "Other records indicate that the growth in wage rates, personal income, capital investment, and personal savings is proportionately higher in these 19 States, as a group, than in the other 31 States," says James J. Kilpatrick in *Newsday*.

Unions are private organizations; they should not be clothed with the compulsory power of government. Voluntary unionism is as vital to the preservation of individual liberty as are the rights of equal opportunities for employment and voting, say other spokesmen. Advocates of voluntary unionism would, in the main, stoutly defend the right of workers to join unions, to organize and to bargain collectively if they so choose. But they see little difference in principle between the Yellow Dog contracts outlawed in 1932, which required a worker not to join a union as a condition of employment, and today's insistence by labor that a worker must join a union as a condition for employment.

What do most Americans think? A recent nationwide survey of public opinion shows that 67 per cent believe that no citizen should be forced to belong to a union in order to hold his job. As is shown by a comparison with previous polls, this figure has grown from 48 per cent in 1946 and from 62 per cent in 1962.

These and many more arguments weighed by the House Special Committee on Labor must ultimately be faced by Congress. Also confronting the legislators will be the thorny question of religious conviction raised by some forty-five church organizations, which represent a membership of nearly four million. Mostly small in numbers, these include the Amish, Old German Baptist Brethren, Mennonites, Plymouth Brethren, Seventh-day Adventists, and bodies affiliated with the National Association of Evangelicals.



Typical of their positions is that of the Seventh-day Adventists, largest of the bodies, with a world membership of one and a half million. A statement issued by their General Conference Committee in 1940 said:

"Seventh-day Adventists are united in believing that proper provision should be made whereby satisfactory working conditions shall be provided for all laboring men and women, holding that each should receive a just wage, be employed for proper hours, and in so far as possible under conditions that are conducive to health and reasonable comfort and happiness.

"In seeking to follow the life and teachings of Jesus Christ, who exhorted His followers to love their enemies, [Seventh-day Adventists] cannot organically or functionally join any organization whose objectives and methods and means of procedure may lead its members to seek retaliation and resort to the exercise of violence against their fellow men, however worthy the cause may appear to be.

"Seventh-day Adventists believe they are, according to the Scriptures, called to proclaim the message of Christ's soon return to all men, of whatever class or race, respecting and helping all alike. This view precludes their taking sides with any organization that employs measures in any way contrary or prejudicial to the interests of the various classes of society, because by resorting to force Seventh-day Adventists would sacrifice their opportunity for unprejudiced and sincere efforts in behalf of both groups in a labor and capital controversy.

"Seventh-day Adventists believe their attitude to be consistent with freedom of the individual and good citizenship, upholding the proper requirements of the laborer, and yet withal not exercising force in behalf of any group or organization."

An action endorsed on April 28, 1965, by the National Association of Evangelicals at their national convention, reads, in part:

"While it is recognized that many individual workers are benefited by the efforts and achievements of labor unions, in no case should a worker be compelled to pay any part of dues to be used by the union for political or other activities not directly related to negotiations with management for wage rates or proper working conditions. Workers have a responsibility to share the costs of the services which benefit them.

"No opposition should be raised against, and no penalties or disabilities applied to those who choose not to belong to labor unions for reasons of religious convictions. . . . It should be understood that the payment of a collective bargaining fee would not make the individual a member of the union, nor should he be required to take an oath, attend union meetings, or engage in any other activity in violation of his conscience. Provision should be made for those who have such convictions to be able to appeal to an agency of the United States government such as the Fair Employment Practices Commission."

Support for the right of conscience of these minority groups has come from a number of sources:

A policy statement of the National Council of Churches, adopted by the General Board on December 2, 1959, asks "democratic safeguards" for employees, including "adequate protection for those individuals who, for reasons of religious belief, cannot participate in all conditions of membership."

*Christianity Today*, a conservative Protestant voice, said in a recent editorial:

"Not only the conscientious objector but also every lover of freedom should be concerned about this bold attempt to undermine the long American tradition that recognizes a man's right to live by his conscience without sacrificing his right to work for a living."

To have either to join the union or lose your job, says *Christianity Today*, "savors of a Russian election, not an authentic American option."

Can a way be found to protect the right of individual conscience?

"There is a way," says Boardman Noland, legal counsel for the Seventh-day Adventist Church. "The National Labor Relations Act, under the heading 'Unfair Labor Practices,' provides that 'no employer shall justify any discrimination against an employee for nonmembership in a labor organization . . . if he has reasonable grounds for believing that membership was denied or terminated for reasons other than the failure of the employee to tender the periodic dues and the initiation fees uniformly required as a condition of acquiring or retaining membership.'"

"This means that no employee can be discharged because he refuses to join a union, walk a picket line, or attend union meetings.

"The statute does not provide relief for the Christian who feels he cannot pay dues. However, in the *Allen* and the *Street* cases the Supreme Court granted a further consideration to employees who had conscientious objections to their Union's political functions. The court excused them from payment of all dues except their proportionate cost of collective bargaining.

"If an employee can be excused from paying full Union dues because the money is spent to promote political issues contrary to his convictions, certainly the court would recognize conscientious conviction based upon a man's religious beliefs, and excuse him from paying regular dues to the Union."

The fact remains that many earnest Christians are now being denied employment because they cannot, in conscience, pay dues to a union. Thousands more will be affected if Taft-Hartley 14(b) is repealed. The religious groups to which they belong seem determined to press their case for religious conviction. Most Americans, whether or not they agree with them, will support their cause. If you are one, write your Congressman that you support the right of a man *not* to join a labor union.

★★★



By P. C. BANAAG

Editor, Freedom

a Magazine of Religious Liberty



University of Philippines students demonstrate against religious teaching in public schools.

## THE PHILIPPINES:

# Should Public School Teachers Instruct Their Students in Religion?

**N**INETEEN SIXTY-FIVE is election year in the Philippines. Candidates from the two major political parties have been campaigning vigorously for several months now. Liberal party candidate for the presidency, Diosdado Macapagal, who is running for re-election, has set a goal of visiting every *barrio* (village), most of which have never been visited by any other president, before the election on the second Tuesday of November. His Nacionalista Party opponent, Ferdinand Marcos, now president of the Senate, is close on the heels of his political foe. Dogging both of them is an issue that has divided the Philippines: Should public school teachers instruct their students in religion?

The question came to a head last March with introduction in the House of a bill (House Bill No. 13043) to "allow public school teachers designated by a priest or minister to the principal to teach voluntarily religion in public schools." Ostensibly the bill, introduced by Nacionalista Party Representative Miguel Cuenco and coauthored by some eighty legislators, is intended to counteract increasing crime in the Philippines. In actuality Protestant observers see it as an attempt to strengthen the Roman Catholic grip on the public school system. Catholic legislators admit, off the record, that the bill is the forerunner of a drive to secure subsidy for Catholic schools.

The presidential candidates, both Roman Catholics, are eagerly courting the support of Catholic voters, whose church claims a solid 86 per cent of Philippine church members. But President Macapagal is generally regarded as having the support of the Philippine hierarchy. According to some sources, Senator Marcos may win support of the 4-million-member *Iglesia ni Cristo* ("Church of Christ"). This body strongly opposes the religious instruction bill.

At press time Senator Marcos has not officially expressed his opinion on the bill, but sources close to him believe he opposes it. President Macapagal was quoted in the May 3 *Manila Times* as having pledged himself to remove all obstacles to teaching religion in the public schools.

Angered by attempts to railroad the bill through the lower house last March without a public hearing, 20,000 members of the *Iglesia ni Cristo* demonstrated before the chamber. Though they did not join in the protest, leaders of Protestant churches in the Philippines were in the chamber to observe the vote on the bill.

In the days following its passage by the house, opposition to the bill hardened. When Catholic leaders de-



nounced the *Iglesia ni Cristo* for its opposition to the bill, the National Council of Churches called a meeting of all Protestant groups and other civic organizations to consolidate efforts to defeat the bill in the Upper House.

Basis for opposition of the Protestant groups is the Philippine Constitution, which provides:

"No public school teacher shall either conduct religious exercise or teach religion or act as a designated religious teacher in the school building under the foregoing authority, and no pupils shall be required by any public school teacher to attend and receive the religious instruction herein permitted" (*Sec. 928, Rev. Adm. Code*).

The Constitution also says:

"No teacher or other person engaged in any public school, whether maintained from the Insular, provincial, or municipal funds, shall teach or criticize the doctrines of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or shall attempt to influence the pupils for or against any church or religious sect. If any teacher shall intentionally violate this section, he or she shall, after due hearing, be dismissed from the public service" (*Sec. 927, Rev. Adm. Code*).

As part of their opposition to the bill, the Protestant groups agreed to: 1. Create a legal panel; 2. appoint a panel of newspaper writers; 3. ask all members to send telegrams and letters to legislators; 4. hold a mass rally and invite as guest speaker the President of the Philippine Constitution Association, the Honorable Sotero Laurel.

The legal panel wrote a substitute bill, which they

sought to have sponsored by a leading Senator. Though expressing their concern at the increasing crime rate, and in particular at the rising incidence of juvenile delinquency, the bill's sponsors maintained that the answer was not enforced religious instruction in the public schools. "Religious instruction is the antidote to criminality," said a Protestant spokesman, "but that antidote must be administered by the church and the home."

A week after the demonstration by the *Iglesia ni Cristo*, students from the University of the Philippines demonstrated against the bill. A manifesto of their opposition on the basis of unconstitutionality was published in leading newspapers. In mid-April the Philippine Constitution Association branded the House bill unconstitutional, voted to oppose the measure in the Senate and to carry its fight to the Supreme Court if necessary.

At public hearings on the bill, which began April 20, hundreds of civic and religious leaders spoke both for and against it. Speakers from the Religious Liberty Association of the Philippines voiced their opposition.

At press time, the issue is still unresolved. Because this is an election year and a majority of legislators are running for re-election, most observers believe the bill will pass the Senate. Most constitutional experts are equally certain that, if it is passed, the Supreme Court will strike it down. A few Liberal Party leaders predict privately that President Macapagal will veto the measure.

One thing seems sure: as the candidates dog each other's footsteps from one *barrio* to another, both would gladly settle for a knock-down and drag-out contest based on political, rather than religious, issues. ★★★

A. DEVANEY

## FAMOUS LAST WORDS—

A little ol' hole in the wall of separation ain't going to hurt anybody.







REVIEW PICTURES

**Queen Elizabeth holds symbols of power over church and state.**

A SMALL group of religious devotees meet furtively in the darkening forest. They speak encouragement to one another, then listen eagerly to the words of an "illegal" preacher. He has no license. His hearers wait in fear of discovery and punishment.

An interlude in the Dark Ages? Hardly. It was, rather, the age of Elizabeth, a golden age of intellectual achievement; an era in which arose a Shakespeare, a Francis Bacon; an age of Drake and of Raleigh, of exploration and discovery that changed the world.

Yet, amid this splendor of human achievement, the church and its ministers were brought into abject subjection to the state. Religion became not so much an exercise of faith as an instrument of national policy. Rather than an utterance of the Word of God, preaching itself became an exhibition for the entertainment of the multitude.

In circumstances analogous in many ways to those confronting America today, the life of the state demanded an effort at religious unity, an end to religious controversy. Thus, when Elizabeth brought the church into subservience, it was not from any malice but from these seemingly compelling needs.

When Elizabeth ascended the throne in 1558, England was at a low ebb. There were fractious disorder in domestic affairs, dangerous intrigue abroad, and religious strife was at the heart of it all. The pre-Elizabethan era had, in general, been "a time of the most exasperated religious controversy."<sup>1</sup> Now, with the death of Mary, the partisans waited for an announcement of Elizabeth's religious views—the Catholics fearfully, the Protestants hopefully, both sides eager to gain the new queen's support.

### **An Enforced Church Merger**

Elizabeth satisfied none of the waiting partisans. She moved instead to neutralize both forces and to establish a broadly based religious form that would satisfy religious impulses, yet free the public energies for application to the goals of the state.

What the contestants may not have foreseen was that the queen was much more in tune with the neutralist temperament of her people than with the contenders of either side. The people had long been trained to a turncoat policy in religious matters as monarchs took one side and then the other. The result was a growing indifference to the claims of either Protestant or Catholic disputants. Elizabeth and her counselors represented emphatically and effectively this middle-of-the-road at-



titude. They, therefore, chose a deliberate course to subordinate religious considerations to the political safety of the nation.

The new queen was consummately skilled in this delicate task of compromising religious strife and channeling national strength in new directions. A foreign diplomat (c. 1566) spoke of the "caution and incredible prudence" of Elizabeth during the early years of her reign, seemingly protecting the Catholic religion and at the same time refraining from condemning the new Reformation. She was thus able "to keep the adherents of both creeds in subjection, for the less she ruffles them at the beginning of her reign the more easily will she enthrall them later on."<sup>2</sup>

### Preaching Forbidden

The first evidence of Elizabeth's power to "enthrall" the religious partisans came quickly after her coronation. While she took preliminary measurements of the nation's religious temperament, the advocates of both sides became more and more vocal, hoping to enlist her support. In their zeal they took great liberties in sermonizing and in their appeals to the crown, sometimes becoming provocatively impertinent.

With such sharp opinions being dispensed from the pulpit, disorders were often incited, the religious images erected during other reigns were destroyed, "lewd words were bandied about"<sup>3</sup> and it soon became clear that the forces with which the government had to deal were themselves "too intolerant to enjoy freedom or to employ it intelligently."<sup>4</sup> It was feared that continued freedom would stir up anew religious strife, possibly beyond the powers of the government to control.

Two days before Christmas, 1558, Elizabeth's patience came to an end. She summarily prohibited all preaching in England. "Stay profane and vain babblings," she ordered, "for they will increase unto more ungodliness." Nothing was to be declared from the pulpit save "the gospel and the epistel of the day," and the Ten Commandments. These were to be given "without exposition or addition of any maner sense or meaning to be applyed or added."<sup>5</sup> There was to be no "reasoning" or "disputation." The clergy were not to speak "rashly and contentiously" about the Scriptures or "maintain any false doctrine or error."<sup>6</sup> There were to be no prayers or rites or ceremonies other than those presently used, until consultations could be had among the leaders "for better accord."<sup>7</sup>

*Turn to page 32*

***Under Elizabeth I, religion became  
an instrument of national policy,  
and clergymen became . . .***

# DUMB DOGS AND HERETICS

By **HOWARD B. WEEKS**  
*Vice-president  
Loma Linda University  
Loma Linda, California*



# Symposium of on Religion



Washington



J. Adams



Jefferson



Madison



Monroe



J. Q. Adams



Jackson



Van Buren



W. H. Harrison

**GEORGE WASHINGTON:** "It shall be my endeavor to manifest by overt acts, the purity of my inclinations for promoting the happiness of mankind, as well as the sincerity of my desires to contribute whatever may be in my power toward the preservation of the civil and religious liberties of the American people."—*Old South Leaflets*, No. 65, p. 3.

**JOHN ADAMS:** "I hope Congress will never meddle with religion further than to say their own prayers."—*Life and Works of John Adams*, Vol. IX, p. 402.

**THOMAS JEFFERSON:** "I consider the government of the United States as interdicted by the Constitution from intermeddling with religious institutions, their doctrines, disciplines, or exercises. . . . Certainly no power to prescribe any religious exercise or assume authority in religious discipline, has been delegated to the general government."—*Ford's Life of Jefferson*, Vol. IX, p. 174.

**JAMES MADISON:** "There is not a shadow of right in the general government to intermeddle with religion. Its least interference with it would be a most flagrant usurpation."—*Virginia Convention*.

**JAMES MONROE:** "It has been the unwearied effort of my life, in the best manner that my judgment dictated, to promote the happiness and support the liberty of my country; not the liberty which degenerates into licentiousness, which dishonors the name and ruins the cause it professes to espouse; but the correct rational liberty which emanated from our Revolution."—*Writings of James Monroe*, Vol. III, p. 376.

**JOHN QUINCY ADAMS:** "[Religious opinions] I wish to leave undisturbed by any controversy; reserving my confessions of faith for my Maker, and desirous of seeing my fellow creatures enjoy the same indulgence."—*Writings*, Vol. III, p. 125.

**ANDREW JACKSON:** "As long as our Government is administered for the good of the people, and is regulated by their will; as long as it secures to us the rights of person and of property, liberty of conscience and of the press, it will be worth defending."—*Inaugural Address*, 1829.

**MARTIN VAN BUREN:** "The privileges, civil and religious, of the humblest individual are still sacredly protected at home, and while the valor and fortitude of our people have removed far from us the slightest apprehension of foreign power, they have not yet induced us in a single instance to forget what is right."—*Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, Vol. III, p. 315.

**WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON:** "I deem the present occasion sufficiently important and solemn to justify me in expressing to my fellow citizens a profound reverence for the Christian religion and a thorough conviction that sound morals, religious liberty, and a just sense of religious responsibility are essentially connected with all true and lasting happiness."—*Inaugural Address*.



# Our Presidents and Liberty

**JOHN TYLER:** "The guaranty of religious freedom, of the freedom of the press, of the liberty of speech . . . are the great and important guaranties of the Constitution which the lovers of liberty must cherish."  
—*Fourth Annual Message*, Dec. 3, 1844.

**JAMES K. POLK:** "All are entitled to equal rights and equal protection. No union exists between church and state, and perfect freedom of opinion is guaranteed to all sects and creeds."  
—*Inaugural Address*.

**ZACHARY TAYLOR:** "With the aid of that overruling Providence which has so long and so kindly guarded our liberties and institutions, we may reasonably expect to transmit them, with their innumerable blessings, to the remotest posterity."  
—*First Annual Message*, Dec. 4, 1849.

**MILLARD FILLMORE:** "It is certain that neither by law, nor by treaty, nor by any other official proceeding is it competent for the government of the United States to establish any distinction between its citizens founded on differences in religious beliefs."  
—*Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, Vol. V, p. 99.

**FRANKLIN PIERCE:** "Recognizing the wisdom of the broad principle of absolute religious toleration proclaimed in our fundamental law, and rejoicing in the benign influence which it has exerted upon our social and political condition, I should shrink from a clear duty did I fail to express my deepest conviction that we can place no secure reliance upon any apparent progress if it be not sustained by national integrity, resting upon the great truths affirmed and illustrated by divine revelation."  
—*First Annual Message*, Dec. 5, 1853.

**JAMES BUCHANAN:** "I feel an humble confidence that the kind Providence which inspired our fathers with wisdom to frame the most perfect form of government and union ever devised by man will not suffer it to perish until it shall have been peacefully instrumental by its example in the extension of civil and religious liberty throughout the world."  
—*Inaugural Address*, March 4, 1857.

**ABRAHAM LINCOLN:** "Those who deny freedom to others deserve it not for themselves, and under a just God, cannot long retain it."  
—*Letters to H. L. Pierce, et al*, April 6, 1859.

**ANDREW JOHNSON:** "Here religion, released from political connection with the civil government, refuses to subserve the craft of statesmen, and becomes in its independence the spiritual life of the people. Here toleration is extended to every opinion, in the quiet certainty that truth needs only a fair field to secure the victory."  
—*First Annual Message*.

**ULYSSES S. GRANT:** "Let us all labor to add all needful guaranties for the more perfect security of free thought, free speech, and free press, pure morals, unfettered religious sentiments, and of equal rights and privileges to all men, irrespective of nationality, color, or religion."  
—*Words of Our Hero*, p. 31.



Tyler



Polk



Taylor



Fillmore



Pierce



Buchanan



Lincoln



A. Johnson



Grant





Hayes



Garfield



Arthur



Cleveland



B. Harrison



McKinley



T. Roosevelt



Taft



Wilson



Harding

**RUTHERFORD B. HAYES:** "We all agree that neither government nor political parties ought to interfere with religious sects. It is equally true that religious sects ought not to interfere with the government or political parties. We believe that the cause of good government and the cause of religion both suffer by all such interferences."—*Life of Rutherford B. Hayes*, p. 253.

**JAMES A. GARFIELD:** "Our fathers considered the rights of conscience, the freedom of thought, too sacred to be delegated; hence they provided that the care of religion, the freedom of speech, and the freedom of the press should never depend upon legislation, but should be left to the voluntary action of the people themselves."—*Works of James A. Garfield*, Vol. II, p. 578.

**CHESTER A. ARTHUR:** "The prevalence of health, the fullness of the harvest, the stability of peace and order, the growth of fraternal feeling, the spread of intelligence and learning, the continued enjoyment of civil and religious liberty,—all these and countless other blessings are cause for reverent rejoicing."—Thanksgiving Proclamation, Oct. 26, 1883; *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, Vol. VIII, p. 160.

**GROVER CLEVELAND:** "The United States must hold in their intercourse with every power that the status of their citizens is to be respected and equal civil privileges accorded to them without regard to their creed."—*Liberty* magazine, 3d quarter, 1929, p. 101.

**BENJAMIN HARRISON:** "Our citizens should be thankful for the preservation of those institutions of civil and religious liberty which He gave our fathers the wisdom to devise and establish and us the courage to preserve."—Thanksgiving Proclamation, Nov. 13, 1891.

**WILLIAM MC KINLEY:** "Free speech, a free press, free thought, free schools, the free and unmolested right of religious liberty and worship, and free and fair elections are dearer and more universally enjoyed today than ever before. These guaranties must be sacredly preserved and wisely strengthened."—*Inaugural Address*.

**THEODORE ROOSEVELT:** "Probably the best test of true love of liberty in any country is the way in which minorities are treated in that country. Not only should there be complete liberty in matters of religion and opinion, but complete liberty for each man to lead his life as he desires, provided only that in so doing he does not wrong his neighbor."—*African and European Addresses*, p. 61.

**WILLIAM H. TAFT:** "The government of the United States treats all churches and creeds alike. It protects them all, but favors no one against another. It is not engaged in proselyting for one church or creed, and any officer using his office for such a purpose, directly or indirectly, ought to forfeit his office."—*Annual Reports of the War Department*, 1902, Vol. I, p. 239.

**WOODROW WILSON:** "America has no reason for being unless her destiny and duty be ideal. It is her incumbent privilege to declare and stand for the rights of men. Nothing else is worth fighting for."—*The Essential American Traditions*, p. 161.

**WARREN G. HARDING:** "We cannot erect too many memorials to religious liberty, nor can we have too much religious life in America."—*At dedication of a memorial to Roger Williams, Washington, D.C.*



**CALVIN COOLIDGE:** "So long as our Constitution remains in force, no majority, no matter how large, can deprive the individual of the right of life, liberty, or property, or prohibit the free exercise of religion or the freedom of speech or of the press."—*Foundations of the Republic*, p. 95.

**HERBERT HOOVER:** "I come of Quaker stock. My ancestors were persecuted for their beliefs. Here they sought and found religious freedom. By blood and conviction I stand for religious tolerance both in act and in spirit. The glory of our American ideals is the right of every man to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience."—*Speech of Acceptance*, Aug. 11, 1928.

**FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT:** "In the United States we regard it as axiomatic that every person shall enjoy the free exercise of his religion according to the dictates of his conscience. Our flag for a century and a half has been the symbol of the principles of liberty of conscience, of religious freedom and equality before the law, and these concepts are deeply ingrained in our national character.

"It is true that other nations may, as they do, enforce contrary rules of conscience and conduct. It is true that policies that may be pursued under flags other than our own are beyond our jurisdiction. Yet in our inner individual lives we can never be indifferent, and we assert for ourselves complete freedom to embrace, to profess, and to observe the principles for which our flag has so long been the lofty symbol."—*Address delivered at San Diego, California*, Oct. 2, 1935.

**HARRY S. TRUMAN:** "At no time in the annals of mankind has there been a greater need for the spirit of tolerance. The tragic failure to realize the essential necessity for practical tolerance is one of the basic failures of our time. Only the records of history will help all of us to keep our perspective and achieve harmony and brotherhood among men."—*An Address to the Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Maryland*.

**DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER:** "If we are going to continue to be proud that we are Americans there must be no weakening of the codes by which we have lived; by the right to meet your accuser face to face, if you have one; by your right to go to church or the synagogue or even the mosque of your own choosing; by your right to speak your mind and be protected in it."—*Address*, Nov. 23, 1954.

**JOHN F. KENNEDY:** "Let the word go forth from this time and place, to friend and foe alike, that the torch has been passed to a new generation of Americans—born in this century, tempered by war, disciplined by a hard and bitter peace, proud of our ancient heritage—and unwilling to witness or permit the slow undoing of those human rights to which this Nation has always been committed, and to which we are committed today. . . .

"Let every nation know, whether it wishes us well or ill, that we shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe, in order to assure the survival and success of liberty."—*Inaugural Address*.

**LYNDON BAINES JOHNSON:** "We know that separation of state and church is a source of strength, but the conscience of our nation does not call for separation between men of state and faith in the Supreme Being. The men who have guided the destiny of the United States have found the strength for their tasks by going to their knees. This private unity of public men and their God is an enduring source of . . . reassurance for the people of America."—February 7, 1963.



Coolidge



Hoover



F. D. Roosevelt



Truman



Eisenhower



Kennedy



L. B. Johnson





*What Is the Christian's*

# Political Responsibility?

By CHARLES E. B. CRANFIELD, *Minister*  
*Durham City, England*

**The New Testament contains much more material bearing on the political responsibility of the Christian than is generally realized. With many churches taking an increasingly active role in affairs of state, the Christian finds himself confronted with a number of vital questions:**

**Does he have a political responsibility? If so, for what reasons? Just what does the Christian owe the state? Should he participate, where possible, in elections? To what degree should he keep himself informed on political issues? To what extent—if at all—should he feel free to criticize his government, its policies, and its agents?**

**Should a Christian take part in military action? Is he free to engage in armed rebellion to suppress and replace an unjust government? What guidance does the New Testament offer concerning the spirit, the frame of mind, in which the Christian ought to fulfill his political responsibility?**

**B**EFORE ATTEMPTING TO FIND New Testament answers to these questions, let us examine the range of materials which ought to be taken into account. These may be outlined as follows:

1. **Passages containing direct exhortation on the subject.** These are the passages which first come to mind when the subject is mentioned: Mark 12:13-17 (= Matthew 22:15-22 = Luke 20:20-26); Romans 13:1-7; 1 Timothy 2:1-7; Titus 3:1f; 1 Peter 2:13-17.

2. **Passages which, while not containing exhortation on the subject, have some sort of reference to the state.** This range of material may be subdivided into (a) passages which throw light on the attitude of Jesus to the state: e.g., Mark 10:42 = Matthew 20:25 = Luke 22:25 (the saying about the Gentile rulers' lording it over their subjects); Luke 13:32 (our Lord's reference to Herod as "that fox"); Mark 13:9 = Matthew 10:18 = Luke 21:12f (the reference to standing before governors and kings for Christ's sake); (b) the Passion narratives; (c) the Birth narratives; (d) passages which throw light on Paul's attitude to the state: e.g., 1 Corinthians 2:6-8 (the reference to the rulers of this world being ignorant of the divine wisdom which he teaches); 1 Corinthians 6:1-6 (the warning against taking a dispute with a fellow Christian before a heathen court); Acts 16:19-39 (the account of Paul's

imprisonment at Philippi and his insistence that the magistrates should come in person to release him); and the last chapters of Acts from 21:31 onwards; (e) Revelation 13 (the passage about the beast from the abyss).

3. **Passages which, while not referring to, yet have an important bearing upon, the state and the Christian's political responsibility.** These may be subdivided into (a) passages dealing with the rule of the exalted Christ; (b) passages concerned with eschatology; (c) passages which make clear the reality and universality of sin; (d) passages which reveal to us in our fellow man "the brother for whose sake Christ died"; (e) passages containing ethical teaching, especially those which are concerned with love to one's neighbor; and (f) passages concerning the Law.

The above survey is by no means exhaustive, but it is enough to show that there is no lack of New Testament material relevant to our subject. It should also have made it clear that while the passages mentioned under 1 are of great importance for our present purpose, it would be extremely foolish to try to build up a New Testament doctrine of the Christian's political responsibility upon them exclusively. This has sometimes been attempted in the past—with calamitous results. The passages under 1 will certainly be misinterpreted if they are interpreted in isolation from the material indicated under 2 and 3.



## I

The first thing to be noticed about the New Testament material is that all the passages mentioned under 1 in our preliminary survey agree *that the Christian has a political responsibility* which is inescapable. Thus in Mark 12:13-17, whereas the Pharisees and Herodians in their question use the simple verb "give" ("Is it lawful to give tribute unto Caesar, or not?"), Jesus in His reply uses the compound verb ἀποδιδόναι (R.V.: "render"), which means "to give or pay back something which one owes as a debt," thereby indicating that they are under an obligation to Caesar. In Romans 13:1-7 the subject of the imperative ὑποτασσέσθω ἡ πᾶσα ψυχὴ ("every soul," i.e., in this context "every Christian"). Paul is indicating emphatically that there is no one in the church who is exempted from the duty to "be in subjection to the higher powers." In 1 Timothy 2:1-7 prayers "for all men; for kings and all that are in high place" are those which the writer exhorts (παρακαλῶ—the regular word for Christian exhortation that is based on the gospel) "first of all." The same assumption is to be seen in Titus 3:1f and 1 Peter 2:13-17. Common to all these passages is the conviction that every Christian has an inescapable obligation toward the state.

## II

In the second place, we have to ask, **What reasons for a Christian's political responsibility are indicated in the New Testament either explicitly or implicitly?** Why, according to the New Testament, has the Christian a duty toward the state? A number of reasons may be distinguished:

1. Once more we begin with Mark 12:13-17. It is important here to remember the occasional nature of the teaching it contains. While the saying of Jesus which forms the climax of the section has far-reaching significance, its shape is to a considerable extent determined by the question which has been put to Him—by its limited reference (it is not a general question about the citizen's duty to the state, but one specifically concerned with the matter of the tribute) and also by the fact that it is not motivated by a sincere desire for guidance but is a deliberate attempt on the part of our Lord's enemies to trap Him. They knew that if He answered Yes to their question, His popularity with the mass of the people would be at an end, while if He said No, they could at once denounce Him to the Romans.

Jesus' response is not just a skillful evasive action; it is also, as the early church clearly realized, a piece of teaching of abiding and general significance. Jesus asks His questioners to show Him a denarius, not because He does not know what is on it, but because He wishes to show up their hypocrisy and also because the fact that they are actually using Caesar's coins is an essential element of the situation. Those who are taking advantage

of the amenities provided by Caesar's rule are under a moral obligation to make some payment in return. One reason, then, why the Christian has a duty to the state is that he is a beneficiary of it.

2. Another, and a more theological, reason is indicated in Romans 13:1b and c. Verse 1b ("for there is no power but of God"—οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἐξουσία εἰ μὴ ὑπὸ Θεοῦ) expresses a truth already familiar to the Jews (cf. Jer. 27:5f; Dan. 2:21, 37f; 4:17 [cf. 4:25, 32; 5:21]; Wisdom 6:3; 1 Enoch 46:5), namely, that it is God who sets up (and overthrows) rulers, and that no one actually exercises ruling authority unless God has set him up. Verse 1c ("and the powers that be are ordained of God"—αἱ δὲ οὖσαι ὑπὸ Θεοῦ τεταγμέναι εἰσίν), whether it is a general statement or, as is perhaps more likely, a particular statement about the actual authorities with which both Paul and the church in Rome had to do, namely, the Roman Emperor and his representatives, is a corollary of verse 1b. Verse 2 draws out the implications of verse 1b: resistance (ἀντιτάσσεσθαι) to the authority is rebellion against God's ordinance, and, as such, will not go unpunished by God.

3. A third reason is indicated in Romans 13:3f ("For rulers are not a terror to the good work, but to the evil. And wouldest thou have no fear of the power? do that which is good, and thou shalt have praise from the same: for he is a minister of God to thee for good. But if thou do that which is evil, be afraid; for he beareth not the sword in vain: for he is a minister of God, an avenger for wrath to him that doeth evil").

Paul in these verses is neither just thinking of his own good experiences at the hands of the imperial government nor just speaking ideally. He means that, consciously or unconsciously, willingly or unwillingly, the authority will surely praise the good work and punish the evil, because it is, whether it knows it or not, whether willingly or unwillingly, God's servant appointed by God for the very purpose of helping Christians toward salvation and punishing those who do evil.

4. 1 Timothy 2:1-7 indicates a reason which to some extent overlaps, but is not identical with, that given in Romans 13:3f which we have just considered. The Christian is to pray for those in authority, in order "that we may lead a tranquil and quiet life in all godliness and gravity. This," the passage continues, "is good and acceptable in the sight of God our Saviour; who willeth that all men should be saved, and come to the knowledge of the truth. For there is one God, one mediator also between God and men, himself man, Christ Jesus, who gave himself a ransom for all."

It is here implied that God wills the state as a means to promoting peace and quiet among men, and that God desires such peace and quiet because they are in some way conducive to men's salvation. It is God's purpose that the state should, by restraining the chaotic tendencies



of men's self-assertion, maintain those outward conditions under which the gospel may be preached to all and sundry without hindrance. Thus the state is a provision of God's patience, which desires to give to all men the opportunity to repent and be saved; and we have to serve the state for the sake of men's eternal salvation. Our fulfillment of our political responsibility is therefore a necessary part of our fulfillment of our evangelistic responsibility.

5. A fifth reason may be inferred from the fact that Romans 13:1-7 is part of the exhortation which begins at 12:1. The Roman Christians' subjection to the powers that be is part of the "reasonable service" or "understanding worship" (λογική λατρεία) which they are to offer to God in gratitude for all that He has done, is doing, and will do for them in Jesus Christ.

6. The context of Romans 13:1-7 suggests a further reason. This passage is both preceded and followed by exhortations to love (12:9ff and 13:8-10), and it is no erratic boulder in its context. Since the state serves both the ordinary temporal good of our fellow men and also their eternal salvation, the right service of the state is an integral part of our debt of love to our neighbors.

7. Finally, the fact that not only authority over the church but "all authority . . . in heaven and on earth" has been given to the exalted Christ (Matt. 28:18) and that He is "the ruler of the kings of the earth" (Rev. 1:5), the "Lord of lords, and King of kings" (Rev. 17:14; cf. chap. 19:16), is a compelling reason why the Christian should view the state and his responsibility to and for it with the greatest seriousness. He knows that it is an instrument of Christ's kingly rule.

### III

In the third place, we have to ask about the content of the Christian's political responsibility. What, according to the New Testament, does the Christian owe the state? What is the content of the subjection enjoined in Romans 13:1, Titus 3:1, 1 Peter 2:13f?

It is often assumed that ὑποτάσσεσθαι in these passages simply means "obey." Thus Sanday and Headlam entitled the section Romans 13:1-7 "On Obedience to Rulers" and stated in their introductory summary to it: "The civil power . . . must be obeyed. Obedience to it is a Christian duty."<sup>2</sup> More recently, Professor Barrett in his commentary has used the phrase "obedience to magistrates."<sup>3</sup> But ὑποτάσσεσθαι does not always mean "obey." This meaning is excluded in Ephesians 5:21, for here the word is used of a reciprocal obligation ("submitting yourselves one to another in the fear of Christ"), and obedience cannot be reciprocal. Here it would seem to denote the recognition that one's fellow Christian has, as Christ's representative, an infinitely greater claim on one than one has on oneself, and the behavior that flows from such a recognition. We may compare the expressions "in

honour preferring one another" in Romans 12:10 and "each counting other better than (or "superior to") himself" in Philippians 2:3. It is therefore not unreasonable to maintain that in Romans 13:1, Titus 3:1, 1 Peter 2:13f, the word ὑποτάσσεσθαι denotes not uncritical obedience to the authority's every command but the recognition that one has been placed below the authority by God, and that as God's servant and the instrument of Christ's kingly rule, the authority has a greater claim on one than one has on oneself. The Christian, then, owes authority such responsible conduct as results from such a recognition.

The New Testament contains a considerable amount of material which clearly implies that a Christian does not owe the civil government unquestioning obedience. We may think of Mark 12:17, where Jesus' words "and unto God the things that are God's" indicate plainly that there are limits to what is owed to Caesar. We may think also of much of the material mentioned in categories 2 and 3 in our preliminary survey. For example, our Lord's reference to Herod Antipas as "that fox" (Luke 13:32) hardly suggests that His attitude to His lawful ruler was one of unquestioning, uncritical obedience; and, according to Acts 16:35ff, Paul himself did not depart meekly at the behest of the magistrates of Philippi but rather sought to recall them to a proper sense of their own true dignity by insisting on their coming in person to release him and Silas. It is hardly necessary to mention Revelation 13 and 14, where it is certainly not implied that Christians should docilely worship the beast or receive the mark of his name. That, whenever the civil ruler's commands conflict with the commandments of God, the Christian "must obey God rather than men" (Acts 5:29) is in the New Testament everywhere presupposed. In view of the New Testament material generally we may say that the subjection to the authority which is enjoined, while it will often include obedience, is never simply obedience and nothing more, is never an uncritical, unquestioning obedience, and in some circumstances will not include obedience at all.

Having dealt with the common fallacy that St. Paul enjoined obedience to magistrates *simpliciter* (a misunderstanding which has had many exponents and often calamitous results but which would never have arisen if Christians had resisted the temptation to expound a particular passage of the New Testament independently of the rest of it), we must now attempt to discover what elements are (according to the New Testament) comprised in the subjection, or ὑποτάσσεσθαι, which the Christian owes the powers that be. ★★★

(To be concluded)

#### REFERENCES

- <sup>1</sup> A paper read to the Sheffield Theological Society on January 16, 1961.
- <sup>2</sup> William Sanday and Arthur C. Headlam, *Romans*, 5th ed., 1962.
- <sup>3</sup> C. K. Barrett, *An Epistle to the Romans*, 1958.





EWING GALLOWAY

# Britain's Sunday

**As seen by a committee appointed by the British Government "to review the law relating to Sunday entertainments, sports, pastimes and trading in England and Wales and to make recommendations."**

**By V. NORSKOV OLSEN**

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**S**HOULD THERE be any Sunday laws in today's Britain? If so, on what principles should they be based?

After a three-year study a government committee has come up with answers that seem to straddle the fence between the position of church groups demanding more "toothy" laws and religious libertarians calling for total "extraction."

Sunday laws, said the committee, were not valid on any religious basis but could be defended "on other grounds," namely that "of preserving the special characteristic of Sunday as a day that provides at least a measure of freedom from compulsory work."

On the face of it, the committee seems to have adopted the rationale for Sunday laws accepted by the United States Supreme Court in its 1961 decision: Sunday laws today have acquired civil purpose and can be justified on that basis.

Behind the final report of December, 1964, was a three-year record of thirty-three meetings, oral testimony from twenty-two organizations, and study of thousands of pages of historical documents.

The eight parliamentarians, under the chairmanship of Lord Crathorne, began their study with the Sunday Fairs Law of 1448, earliest Sunday law still on Great Britain's statute books. Undergirding this law and revisions that followed in 1625, 1627, 1677, and 1780, the committee found two strongly religious motivations: first, to encourage "church attendance and religious conformity . . . by prohibiting secular activities and restricting employment" and, second, to prohibit "entertainments and amusements [that] profaned the Lord's Day."

Among church groups that expressed their opinions on these motivations, the committee found sharp cleavage. The British Council of Churches, of which the major Protestant bodies and also the Roman Catholic Church are members, submitted that "Sunday should provide an opportunity, first, for corporate worship and, second, for rest and recreation and for family pursuits." The council spokesman held that "corporate worship on the first day of the week was fundamental to Christian



doctrine and practice and that no other day would be an acceptable substitute." Though arguing for no privileged position, the council hoped that "any revision of the law would make it easier rather than more difficult to observe Sunday according to Christian practice."

The Council of Churches of Wales emphasized that the object of the law "should be to promote the Christian observance of Sunday."

The Lord's Day Observance Society based their testimony on the principle that "Sunday should be preserved by law as a day for worship and for rest and quiet." The society opposed relaxation of the existing statutory restrictions and opted for stronger laws to prevent evasions and to improve enforcement. In their view "the law should be based on Christian principles even if the liberty of some individuals had to be curtailed for the benefit of the community."

Against those who looked upon Sunday recreation and work (apart from works of necessity) as contrary to divine law were a few groups such as the British Union of Seventh-day Adventists, which regarded all restrictions based on Sunday observance as an unjustifiable infringement on their freedom.

The committee challenged the assumption that religious laws encourage church attendance. If they did, Great Britain would have a very high percentage of church attendance every Sunday morning. Instead, they found that "regular church goers constituted only 12 to 15 per cent of the population."

To enforce observance of Sunday by limiting employment and recreation on that day would not be in harmony with principles of religious liberty, the committee also ruled. Such actions were called "contrary to the freedom of the individual."

**H**AVING THUS REJECTED the traditional arguments for Sunday laws, the perplexed parliamentarians sought to find what, if any, principles *could* be laid down to support Sunday legislation. Their conclusion:

"We cannot . . . join forces with those who wish to impose on the general public their own interpretation of keeping the Lord's day holy. We do not agree that any secular activities should be prohibited in order to encourage church attendance.

"But," the committee hedged, "we think the suggestion has merits on other grounds, namely that of preserving the special characteristic of Sunday as a day that provides at least a measure of freedom from compulsory work."

Sunday legislation founded on purely religious motives should therefore be repealed, according to the committee's recommendation.

What of members of minority religious groups who worship on another day and who thus would lose an additional day of income after resting on their Sabbath?

"If legislation was considered necessary for the pro-

tection of the leisure and recreation of workers," said the report, "provisions should be made for all those whose religions demanded observance of a day other than Sunday."

The committee, as most Britons anticipated, found it impossible to accommodate the various demands for one kind or another of Sunday observance made by religious groups that appeared before it. Several of these groups are already challenging the conclusions of the committee.

**I**T APPEARS to me that those churches arguing for the religious nature of Sunday are themselves liable to challenge.

Most of them subscribe to creeds and confessions that testify to the immutability of the law of God, including the Sabbath commandment. On what basis could they argue before the committee that the fourth commandment, which specifies that God's Sabbath is the seventh day of the week, means, instead, Sunday, the first day of the week?

When confronted with this question early in the history of British Sunday laws, a few men of note, after careful study, began to keep the seventh day of the week, Saturday. Among these were the famous court physicians, Dr. Peter Chamberlen, Edward Stennet, Francis and Thomas Bampffield, all of whom lived in England during the latter part of the seventeenth century. Their witness led to the organization of the Seventh Day Baptist churches in England. At least eleven such churches were organized before the close of the seventeenth century. In America, thirty of these seventh-day Sabbathkeeping churches were already in existence when the first of them was organized in 1671.

It seems, further, that churches which call upon the state to set aside Sunday for the sake of church attendance acknowledge the penury of their preaching, for they ask the state to do for them what Christ empowered them to do for themselves through the medium of the Holy Spirit—fill their pews. Further, they repudiate the New Testament doctrines of separation of church and state and the sanctity of individual conscience.

There is an alternative open to them that will disguise to some degree the paucity of their witness: that is to stress their commitment to freedom of conscience while calling for Sunday observance on the basis of nonreligious rationalizations—health, welfare, togetherness, tradition, et cetera.

These are the grounds, lumped together under "special characteristics of Sunday," that the committee seemingly has chosen to defend.

If Britons get exercised enough over Sunday laws to seek a Biblical basis for these special characteristics, we may once again find church attendance picking up in Britain—in churches that honor the seventh-day Sabbath. ★★★



## Should public school authorities release pupils for religious education at the request of their parents?

### Consensus

1. On the ground that public education as organized in most communities of the U.S. provides little or no opportunity for pupils to attain a religious interpretation and understanding of the "secular" subjects of general education, and yet wishing to support and utilize fully the public schools, religious bodies have cooperated to develop a method and program whereby pupils are released or dismissed once a week for a portion of the normal "school day" at the request of their parents for training in religion by their respective religious leaders.
2. This practice has been declared by the Supreme Court to be unconstitutional when carried on in school buildings (*People ex rel. McCollum v. Bd. of Ed.*, 1948), but has been declared to be constitutional when carried on in other than public school buildings (*Zorach v. Clauson*, 1958).

### Problems

1. Weekday religious education, or released-time religious education, is gradually developing a theory and praxis and support in many communities. Some pressures and injustices have been connected with this program in some communities (see Leo Pfeffer, *Church, State, and Freedom*, pp. 356-367 for affidavits attesting to abuses in New York City—pressures exerted upon pupils to participate in released time), but these are usually disavowed by denominational authorities, and efforts are made to eliminate them.
2. Released time is criticized by some Protestants, Jews, and others for some or all of the following reasons:
  - a. When pupil absences from released-time programs are reported to the public schools for action by the truancy authorities, this represents reliance by the churches upon the compulsory process of the education law to compel attendance at religious classes. (Many released time leaders, though required to report absences to the public school, prefer to contact parents themselves, rather than having the school do so.)
  - b. Released-time religious education emphasizes divisions along faith-lines in the dispersion of pupils to their respective religious training centers.
  - c. Released-time education in some communities which fail to meet standards set by denominational educators can be of poor quality or of too short duration to be effective.
  - d. Released-time religious education subtracts time from the common core curriculum of the public school—which must include many subjects demanded by modern communities.

- e. Released-time religious education creates serious problems for the pupils whose parents have not authorized their excusal if they are deprived of the constructive and meaningful use of their time in school, or if they are made to feel excluded or inferior or "different" because of their non-participation in released-time classes.
3. The success of released-time religious education depends in large part upon the concern and conscientious effort of parents and churches. Given their support, it can serve an important purpose in the total religious education of the children who participate in it. Where churches and parents are apathetic

## Weekday Religious Education

By DEAN M. KELLEY

or indifferent, released-time can easily degenerate into little more than an opportunity for pupils to "get out of school early."

### Positions

1. Released-time religious education has now been endorsed and utilized by Roman Catholic leaders for the minimal religious interpretation of common-school subjects for the more-than-half of all Roman Catholic children who are enrolled in public schools. The "White House Conference Handbook" prepared by a Roman Catholic committee to express the views of their church on issues connected with the White House Conference says:

Released Time is a practical measure which enables public school administrators to cooperate with the home and the church (and synagogue) in solving a primary problem.

The proponents of Released Time programs of religious instruction for children and youth attending public schools are convinced that the laws of the nation . . . support them in their efforts to make education synonymous with the training and development of the whole human person—soul as well as body—in the principles of morality as well as in the physical, social, and academic sciences. Estimates on the use of RT in 1957: Catholic: 2,452,595 Catholic public school children attend special classes in religious instruction.



2. Jews in some communities participate in the released-time program, but for the most part Jewish leaders are indifferent or opposed to it, in some instances through their concern that it may compete with the Hebrew schools carried on outside public-school hours. The statement adopted jointly by the Synagogue Council of America (representing all three branches of Judaism) and the National Community Relations Advisory Council (representing most Jewish community agencies) entitled "Safeguarding Religious Liberty" says:

We believe that Jewish communities are justified in objecting to released time or dismissal time programs. Inherent in dismissal time are many, though not all, of the faults of released time. Nevertheless, when confronted with the necessity of a choice, we regard dismissal time as less objectionable. Where a program of released time or dismissal time is in effect, or may be adopted, the Jewish community shall insist upon the following safeguards against possible abuses:

1. No religious instruction shall be given on public school premises.
  2. The administrative machinery of the public school system shall not be employed to record or encourage attendance at religious instruction centers. . . .
  3. There shall be no proselytizing on school premises.
  4. All children participating in such programs shall be dismissed together, and all grouping, separation, or identification by religion or by participation and non-participation in such programs shall be avoided.
  5. Children shall not be assembled on public school premises for the purpose of being led to religious instruction centers, nor shall any representative of such religious center meet the children on such premises to facilitate the operation of either program.
3. For Protestants there is a Department of Weekday Religious Education of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., which counsels with communities and denominations on matters of released-time and similar programs, and advises in the preparation of curriculum materials for the same. In February, 1960, there was adopted for this Department the following "Statement of the Unique Purpose of Weekday Religious Education":

In the knowledge that human life and human experience resist compartmentalization, and can be truly seen and evaluated only within a framework of total and ultimate meaning, we affirm our conviction that truth is whole, that persons are whole, and that neither is logically divisible.

It is our belief, furthermore, that American education is dedicated to the proposition that the education of persons must be fully comprehensive and whole.

Yet by the very nature of our tradition and our present pluralistic culture, and for reasons determined by society as a whole, our public schools have not been in a position to deal adequately with that portion of human experience commonly called religious.

We, therefore, affirm that the churches have an urgent responsibility to bear witness to the revelation of God within the totality of human experience. There is a special need to help children and young people to interpret their public education in this perspective. Bearing this witness in relation to public school education is the specific central purpose of the . . . program of weekday religious education on released, reserved, or dismissed time.

(In fulfillment of this purpose, a new and comprehensive curriculum from grades 1 through 12 is being planned for use by Protestant programs of weekday religious education.)

4. Although some persons, including a number of Protestants, are troubled by some of the objections listed under "Problems" above, any rejection of weekday religious education for this reason is not reflected in the official pronouncements of major Protestant bodies, which are uniformly favorable. Among the denominations which have issued statements endorsing this program are the following:

Congregational Christian Churches (1948)  
American Baptist Convention (1950)  
Missouri Synod Lutheran (1953)  
United Presbyterian Church in U.S.A. (1957)

The denominational boards of *religious education* of the major denominations have led their churches in support of this program. Executives of twenty-four denominational boards of education issued a joint endorsement of released-time over their facsimile signatures.

On the other hand, some social action boards of the denominations and their executives tend to be neutral or critical toward released time, emphasizing its hazards and abuses. The American Lutheran Church, at the advice of its Board for Christian Social Action, cautioned against "too ready and uncritical acceptance of the released-time program" and warned against reliance upon the compulsory-attendance powers of the public schools, but the statement did not oppose released-time and weekday teaching in essence.

(The Unitarian Church has consistently opposed released time.)

★★★





## THE EDUCATION BILL

**P**RESIDENT JOHNSON went back to Stonewall, Texas, and the one-room schoolhouse he attended as a youth to sign the nation's first general Federal-aid bill for primary and secondary education. To the three R's he was there taught he has added another—religion—that may yet rise up to haunt his, and succeeding, administrations confronted with clerics demanding an ever-bigger share of Federal funds for their sectarian institutions.

If the most alarming feature of the education bill is its linking of parochial and public interests, its most disappointing lack is a provision for judicial review. Despite Senator Wayne Morse's insistence that key features of the bill can be tested through State courts, one is left with the conviction that someone isn't anxious to see the bill examined by judicial defenders of the wall of separation.

Maurice N. Eisendrath, president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, summed up the impression left by the bill and its hasty passage in a delightfully perspicacious paragraph:

"The stage setting is clear. Construct an educational package which is highly complex and full of innovations. Surround it with a great sense of urgency because everybody knows our public schools are starved for Federal funds. . . . Give just enough aid to parochial schools to push away the veto of the Roman Catholic Church but not enough to drive away the support of the National Education Association. Allocate just enough money for shared time programs to titillate the growing Protestant interest in it, thus disarming the traditional Protestant opposition to aid to parochial schools. And then have this complicated package whizzed through the appropriate committees of both houses of Congress, with limited hearings, without any national debate . . . and get it into the Great Society before one citizen in a thousand has even the foggiest notion of what alarming experiments have been taken with traditional American liberties."

We think we can predict some of the problems that will plague those attempting to implement the bill on the community level. It seems only fair, however, to see how the bill works. Certainly some of the more objectionable features of the bill—the "consortium" concept,

for one—have been eliminated as a consequence of the hearings held by the House Judiciary Committee. Time will tell whether our fears are well founded. And what it tells will become a matter of record in LIBERTY.

—R. R. H.

## LABOR UNIONS VS. RELIGIOUS CONVICTION

**F**OR most of its history the Seventh-day Adventist Church has advised its members not to enter into labor agitation, either on the side of management or of labor. This counsel has been based on a number of scriptural principles among which are the following:

1. The servant of the Lord must not strive—that is, contest, contend, battle. (See, for example, Matt. 5:38-45; 26:51-53; John 18:36; Rom. 12:17-21; 2 Cor. 10:4; Eph. 4:31, 32; 2 Tim. 2:24; James 5:6.) Christians who carry out this principle in their dealings with their fellow men will be gentle, considerate, kind, and conscientious. They will not compel others to come to their terms or grant their rights, either by psychological pressures or physical violence. They will suffer wrong rather than engage in violence to resist wrong.

2. The servant of the Lord must not be "unequally yoked." (See 2 Cor. 6:14.) When Christians and non-Christians are united as members of an organization that binds them to certain policies and courses of action that might violate the Christian's conscience, an unequal yoke exists. No Christian can exercise freedom of conscience or religion when bound to a course he believes to be in violation of the will of God.

3. The servant of the Lord must bear witness of the love of God and of salvation to all men. "Go, teach all men," said Christ. To the degree that he allies himself with one class against another, the Christian inhibits his witness. Further, his relationship to all men is to be governed by love. One of the two great commands that sum up human obligations is "Love thy neighbour as thyself." No strikes or lockouts would curse the world if employer and employee were governed by the golden rule. Because some refuse to submit to it is no reason for the Christian to conclude that he is released from its principles.

During World War II, confronted on the one hand with the growing power of labor unions and on the

*To page 30*





## UNITED STATES

### Student Prank Puts "Index" Books on General Shelves

*Fairfield, Conn.*—Students at a Roman Catholic university in Fairfield—either through prank or protest—gave the school's librarian a thorough headache.

They removed approximately 100 volumes listed on the Index of Forbidden Books from an isolated area and placed them indiscriminately among thousands of books available for general distribution.

An anonymous letter sent by students to the *Bridgeport Post* indicated the act was one of protest against the restriction of books.

Fairfield's dean, Father James H. Coughlin, said the

100 books involved could be considered by some "to be a challenge to faith and morals" for many people. The books, he stressed, could be used by the school's 1,400 students in the interest of scholarship but "they are not for the casual reader and can be damaging—some books need control."

### Indian Students May Get Religious Instruction in School, Bureau Says

*Acoma Pueblo, N. Mex.*—Indian students in schools operated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs receive religious education in the classroom when such instruction is requested by their parents, according to a bureau spokesman.

The question of whether such religious instruction

## As the Editors See It

*From page 29*

other with the scriptural principles outlined, which in their estimation constitute a compelling argument for neutrality in labor-management controversies, the Seventh-day Adventist Church set up a Council on Industrial Relations. This commission met with union leaders and labor lawyers, some of whom cooperated with the church in formulating what was called the Basis of Agreement.

Under this plan Adventists agreed to pay into a charitable organization—in some cases the benevolent society of the union itself—a sum equivalent to the initiation fee and regular dues and assessments. The union issued the individual a card certifying him to be eligible for employment. This card was honored in lieu of a union membership card for all purposes of employment.

The Basis of Agreement was signed by one international union and by some two thousand locals in the United States and Canada. In some localities it is still in operation, but for various reasons—including changes in the unions' method of handling welfare funds, and fear, on the part of labor, of liabilities—its usefulness is about ended.

It is not our purpose to lament its passing. Rather, we would find proof in the support of some two thousand locals and the agreement of one international union that

many labor leaders look charitably upon the right of religious conviction.

Because of their current objective of eliminating right-to-work laws in nineteen States (see "Compulsory Unionism and Individual Conscience," p. 12), we would ask labor leaders and our elected representatives, who soon may be facing a vote on Taft-Hartley 14(b), to examine carefully and prayerfully the dilemma faced by men who cannot for conscience' sake join labor unions. Unions now control large segments of the labor market, and even farming is not exempt. Are thousands of Americans—Adventists, Amish, Mennonites, Old German Baptist Brethren, and members of other evangelical persuasions—to be denied their God-given right to labor, to provide food for their families, because they will not sacrifice religious conviction?

In some countries, such as New Zealand, where unionism is compulsory, a special panel of labor leaders, government officials, and clergymen interview citizens who claim that religious conviction precludes their joining labor unions. Where this claim is established, special exemptions are provided.

Can the United States, historically the haven of religious minorities, do less? Neither the Adventists nor the other groups will be found picketing union offices, or organizing a boycott of union-made commodities to achieve their rights. They ask simply for dialogue and charity—and action.—R. R. H.



would be available was raised recently when Acoma Pueblo Indians met with the Grants City Board of Education to discuss plans for a joint Indian and non-Indian public elementary school to be located on the Pueblo reservation.

The school, similar to others built in New Mexico under joint programs, would enroll both Acoma Indian children and children of ranchers and other non-Indians in the area, who come under the nearby Grants school system.

To clarify the question of religious instruction, a policy statement was sought from the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Washington, D.C., with an official spokesman responding:

"Instead of releasing pupils to leave the school for the purpose of religious instruction somewhere else, religious instructors are permitted to come into the building during free time of the pupils and teach those whose parents have requested such instruction."

Some isolated Indian reservation schools serve as centers for a variety of community activities.

#### **Bill Would Protect Confidences Between Clergy and Communicants**

*Raleigh, N.C.*—A bill that would prohibit a trial judge from forcing a clergyman to disclose confidential information received from a parishioner was introduced in the North Carolina State Legislature.

North Carolina law currently recognizes the confidential relationship between clergymen and communicants, but also provides that a presiding judge may compel a clergyman to reveal information if he believes the testimony is "necessary to the proper administration of justice."

The doctor-patient relationship is set forth in an identical statute, but lawyers are allowed complete immunity from disclosure of confidential communication with clients.

Protestant clergymen contend that privileged communication between minister and parishioner is as important as that of lawyers and clients. The current law is also held to be discriminatory in its application.

The bill has the backing of several Protestant churches.

**Briefly here and there** ● *Minneapolis*—Minnesotans are sharply divided on the question of whether free school bus transportation should be provided to children attending private and parochial schools. A state-wide survey showed 49 per cent opposed, 47 per cent in favor, 4 per cent with no opinion. Roman Catholics favored bus aid 8-1. Protestants opposed 2-1. ● *St. Paul*—Minnesota's House of Representatives has killed a bill that would have allowed limited sales of liquor on Sundays. The final roll call vote was 86-44.

● *Harrisburg, Pa.*—Eighty-eight per cent of farmers in Pennsylvania do not favor school bus aid for parochial schools, according to a survey conducted by the *Pennsylvania Farmer* magazine. Twelve per cent favored the "existing routes" busing proposal voted by the legislature. ● A study of Pennsylvania's anti-obscenity laws has been requested by five State legislators with a view to updating the laws as a factor in controlling juvenile delinquency. The measure, introduced in the House, quoted Congressman Frank M. Clark (D-Pa.) as saying, "Indecent movies, obscene literature, and filth in all forms are the major contributing factors to the alarming increase in juvenile delinquency."

## **BRAZIL**

### **Showing of Deputy Prohibited**

*Brasilia*.—Brazil's national censorship agency has banned the showing of *The Deputy* on the grounds that the controversial drama contains "offensive" comments on Roman Catholicism.

The agency also said the play "turns Jews against Catholics, provoking old hatreds now forgotten."

Written by West German playwright Rolf Hochhuth, the drama depicts Pope Pius XII as failing to speak out publicly against the Nazi slaying of some 6 million Jews.

In Uruguay presentation of *The Deputy* resulted in a mass protest demonstration by Catholic university students in Montevideo. A group of students entered the theater during a performance and caused a near riot when they threw "stink" bombs, rotten eggs, and other missiles.

## **ITALY**

### **United Europe Plan Lauded by Pope**

*Vatican City*.—Pope Paul VI, at an audience to participants in the Seventh Conference Intergovernmental European Public Administrations, pledged the Catholic Church's full support for the building of a United Europe on foundations of peace and brotherhood.

Expressing his joy over activities toward the construction of the "Europe of tomorrow," he said, "A long, arduous path lies ahead."

"However," he added, "the Holy See hopes to see the day born when a new Europe will arise, rich with the fullness of its traditions and animated by a common will to build the best possible future for the millions of inhabitants of Europe, founded on peace and brotherhood."

The Pope concluded by assuring that "our sons" will work toward reaching this European ideal.



## POLAND

### Cardinal Denounces Promotion of Atheism

*Warsaw.*—Stefan Cardinal Wyszyński, Primate of Poland, has denounced the use of government funds to promote atheism in Poland.

Preaching before 2,000 worshipers in St. Anne's church, he said that "attempts backed by public money and power" are being used to spread atheism not only in kindergartens, schools, and colleges but even in the armed services.

"It is monstrous," he said, "that we Catholics must reject God because there is a group of people with power and public funds wishing it. Where is reason? Where is democracy? In the name of law must we reject God? It is a monstrosity to demand this from the nation. We must not keep silent."

## SPAIN

### Spanish Catholics Are Polled on Religious Freedom, Birth Control

*Madrid.*—Spanish lay opinion is veering in favor of complete freedom of worship for non-Catholics—as well as birth control, provided it is practiced in a form authorized by the Roman Catholic Church, according to a sample poll taken in Madrid.

The poll was conducted last February by the Spanish Institute of Public Opinion, which questioned 860 Madrid residents of whom 98 per cent were Catholics. They were made up of an equal number of men and women.

Regarding freedom of worship for non-Catholics, 48 per cent said all religions should enjoy equal rights.

Fifteen per cent thought non-Catholics should enjoy private worship rights; 13 per cent held that only the practice of Catholic worship should be allowed; 9 per cent would permit non-Catholics the right of public worship but ban proselytizing.

Another 15 per cent replied "I don't know."

Thirty-one per cent of those polled held that birth control should be permitted so long as the methods were sanctioned by the Catholic Church.

Twenty-six per cent said that in cases of grave danger, any method of birth control should be allowed. Fifteen per cent said birth control should not be permitted at all, while 13 per cent did not reply or answered, "I don't know."

Of those interviewed, 65 per cent claimed to be aware of what had been happening at the Second Vatican Council, but the rest—predominantly men and women with only primary school education—admitted ignorance.

## Dumb Dogs and Heretics

*From page 17*

It may seem incredible to present-day Americans that even a temporary suppression of religious expression could have been effected, even as an expedient, but "the era of toleration had not yet dawned: none but a very few of the most enlightened minds had even dreamed of it." For the most part, the people were quite willing to await clarification of the queen's position. The alternatives to Elizabeth's brand of suppression—eventual domination by either the Romanists or the Protestants—seemed equally unattractive.

### A Permanent Control

Elizabeth found it comparatively easy, with time, to make permanent her "temporary" domination of the clergy and the church. In 1559 the Parliament declared her the supreme ruler in all ecclesiastical matters. A system of licensing was set up that would again permit preaching, but only by those ministers who took the Oath of Supremacy, with strict prohibitions against clerical discussion of the affairs of state or points of religious controversy.

The attitude of popular indifference had infected most of the clergy as well as the people. Although all of the Roman bishops save one refused to take the Oath and were thus deprived of office, less than 180 of the approximately 9,400 ordinary Roman clergy resisted.

Thus the ministry, for the most part, passed into the service of the new religious establishment without a murmur, joining together in a new Elizabethan fellowship that was a more or less docile amalgam of Romanists, Calvinists, Puritans, and even a few Lutherans. When preaching resumed after Easter, 1559, there was general conformity, with a now state-licensed clergy fearful to stray too far into forbidden paths of discussion. In 1561 the uniformity was made even more restrictive with the Book of Common Prayer and certain other articles incorporated into the Oath of Supremacy, without which the license to preach was withheld.

Elizabeth at this time curtailed not only the pulpit but also the press, because of "the heretical, seditious, and unseemly literature being printed." The press continued to be used for the publication of sermons, but their release was rigidly policed under the terms imposed upon the Stationers' Company through which Elizabeth and the religious hierarchy exercised press control. An example of what was considered "seditious and unseemly" was a reference to the descent of Christ into hell between the crucifixion and the resurrection—firmly excised from one sermon presented for publication as "likely to start an argument."<sup>10</sup>

The fact that Elizabeth now controlled the clergy and the church did not mean that the religious leaders could be ignored by the people. The second act of Parliament during her reign compelled attendance at di-



vine service under pain of fines or other civil penalties. There was little resistance to this order, at least of a determined nature, except among the recusants of the North whose strong predilection for the Romanist faith led to a queenly requirement that they be compelled to hear a series of fifty sermons on Protestantism! Rugged individualists found ways of avoiding this invasion of the mind. Sir Richard Shelbourne and family were said to have attended services fairly enough, but with wool stuffed effectively into their ears. Frustrated authorities wrote to London for further instructions.

### The Church a Tool of the State

Despite these random aberrations, the church was fully in Elizabeth's power. She viewed its government as her own "individual prerogative."<sup>11</sup> She did not hesitate to use "her" church, and especially the larger pulpits as direct channels for the communication of state propaganda. For example, in the case of Essex, whose execution was widely disapproved by the people, specific instructions were sent on two occasions as to what should be said from the pulpit in an attempt to shift sentiment against the fallen courtier. Obsequious ministers willingly invited the crown on occasion to give them any words that might be broadcast from their pulpits to serve the ends of the state.

While a general indictment of the clergy would be unfair, it seems certain that large numbers of them had come to be of a low sort. Of an age in which moral standards were not the highest to begin with, it can be said that the standard "was lower, rather than higher, among the clergy . . . than among other people."<sup>12</sup> Meyer records a contemporary lament that some of the clergy were "common haunters and resorters to taverns or alehouses, giving themselves to drinking, rioting, and playing at unlawful games."<sup>13</sup>

Conscientious leaders among the clergy were understandably concerned about this demoralized state of affairs. Grindal, who became Archbishop of Canterbury later in Elizabeth's reign, "was shocked at the ignorance of many of the clergy," and encouraged meetings from time to time to discuss the Scriptures. Although some rules were imposed in these discussions, the queen, "who hated liberty of speech, and did not care for overmuch preaching," asked Grindal to suppress the meetings. He boldly refused, saying plainly that he was a better judge on such matters than was the queen. Elizabeth promptly suppressed the meetings herself and confined the archbishop to his house. He lived out the rest of his days in disgrace.<sup>14</sup>

This obvious subjection of the clergy, together with an apparently widespread ignorance and misconduct, certainly did not contribute to their popular support, nor to respectful attention to their preaching. In the larger churches one might observe persons walking around during the sermons or even falling into disorderly brawling. If audiences disapproved of a sermon it

was considered appropriate to write reprimanding notes on paper and throw them into the pulpit. Ministers were annoyed by persons lying down on the floor to rest during a sermon or singing out of turn. One hapless cleric was manhandled by an unruly congregation that not only roughed him up but also pulled out his whiskers! Rude chattering often drowned out the preacher's voice, and if a congregation grew weary, individuals might call out loudly for him to stop.

Elizabeth was not willing that the establishment should fall for lack of popular support, however. While she did not view the church as an object of enthusiasm, "it was a point around which Englishmen could gather to defend and build."<sup>15</sup> Therefore, from early in her reign, legal measures were taken to ensure that the people did hear their ministers.

Laws were enacted to protect the clergy from impertinences, church wardens, for example, being enjoined to enforce proper conduct during services "that no man shall willingly let [hinder] or disturb the preacher in time of his sermon, . . . nor mock or jest at the ministers."<sup>16</sup> This measure was strengthened by co-ordinate actions compelling the ministers to undertake the preaching of sermons. Romanists were inclined to neglect preaching in favor of the liturgy. Among the Protestants, some were simply lazy. The queen's desire in this matter was perhaps not so much to further the preaching of the Word as to use the preaching service as a point of unity in religion. Many Protestants encouraged this emphasis. Impatient with all preachers who would not produce sermons, they called them "dumb dogs."<sup>17</sup>

### Frivolous Preaching

Yet, the people as a whole cared as little as did their queen for preaching as a means of communicating truth. The average parishioner, in fact, knew little of either Roman or Protestant doctrine. Even among the clergy, generally speaking, theological views were inexact. But how could they be blamed? Their sermons "alternately prohibited and enjoined, constantly subject to surveillance and criticism," the preachers never knew "what view of their preaching would next be taken."

Discussion of doctrinal matters was severely restricted and such controversy as was permitted was limited to small portions of doctrine that did not involve a threat to the state or the religious establishment. Persons of argumentative bent were thus forced to find outlets in utterly inconsequential discussions, at times degenerating to such intricate topics as: "A disproofe of D. Abbott's Counterproofe against D. Bishop's Reproofe of the defense of M. Perkins' Reformed Catholic." <sup>18</sup>

After the papal bull of May 15, 1570, in which Elizabeth was excommunicated by Pius V, the clergy did become free to fulminate against the *Roman* church, but still they dared not attack the "Catholic" church for



they knew not whether the queen still viewed herself as a Catholic or as a Protestant.

Frustrated and confined, facing audiences disinterested in doctrine and eager for mere amusement or sensation, the Elizabethan preachers, as did the orators of ancient Rome under similar conditions, turned to a use of the "artificial" style. Herr speaks of the emergence of a "witty" style of preaching as seen in Andrewes and Donne, replete with extravagant figures of speech, subtle reasoning, humor, and sensation, as well as the use of many quotations from the fathers, profane literature, and the classics. The use of this florid style with its array of rhetorical devices, its striving for elegance and obvious effect, may not have served the cause of sound doctrine but it did satisfy the Elizabethan's delight in wit.

### The Rise of Resistance

No religious life as circumscribed and seemingly as prostituted as that prevailing during the Elizabethan era, however effective a compromise it may have been, however certainly it may have contributed to the public peace, could long satisfy zealous religious spirits. Though the great majority of the people attended the services of the established church willingly enough, there were rising complaints and increasing instances of resistance. The Puritans constantly found fault with the "dumb reading" of the Scriptures without comment, the comparative lack of sermons. The Romanists objected to official views that seemed to disparage certain of the sacraments.

Ultimately forbidden to preach at all, the Romanists sometimes did, and quite openly. A Jesuit Father Campion so antagonized the authorities with his preaching that a reward was offered for his apprehension. One group of ardent Romanists in London once stayed up all night to hear a Capuchin Friar. They were haled next morning before the Bishop of London who fined some for their part in the affair and imprisoned others.

Another Jesuit, Thomas Heth, preached openly with the happy but unwitting permission of the authorities. His secret weapon was his guise as a wandering preacher "with Puritan leanings." Once, while delivering a sermon in Rochester Cathedral, papers identifying him as a Jesuit fell from his cloak and were deftly snared by a suspicious soul who scurried with them to the Bishop's headquarters. Thus exposed, Father Heth's ministry came to an untimely end. He was pilloried, his ears and nose slit, his forehead branded, and he was imprisoned for life.<sup>10</sup>

Many of the ultra-Protestants, those most interested in preaching, gravitated into sects such as the Barrowists, the Brownists, and certain Puritan groups. Though threatened, prohibited, and meeting surreptitiously under penalty of law, these unauthorized sects found solace in private homes, in fields and woods, hearing sermons of their choice, discussing religious doctrine and giving testimonies, or "prophesying." They

horrified the authorities in allowing even women to speak publicly in their meetings. The unlicensed preachers who led out in these clandestine gatherings made preaching not a display, an end in itself, but rather a simple encouragement to godly behavior. They were sometimes praised more for their prayers than for their sermons.

Such activities, for a time, were perhaps little more than an annoyance to leaders of the established church and to the crown, seemingly not of great significance to the mainstream of Elizabethan religious life. But these furtive meetings of small handfuls of the devoted, seeking a spiritual certainty rarely to be found elsewhere in their restricted society, were destined to become points of agitation against the established order. This agitation would lead eventually to the seventeenth-century Puritan revolt against the crown and an ultimate triumph of religious principles that, through our Puritan forebears, dominate our life in America today.

### Elizabeth's Goals Achieved

Through her policy of repression, of enforced unity of the churches, of their control by the state, Elizabeth achieved for a time her goals of peaceful progress. England rose to material greatness among the nations. History tells us, however, that this fulfillment was achieved only at the cost of mediocrity in religion, a transformation of the clergy into puppets of the state—"dumb dogs" in Puritan eyes, mere entertainers in the eyes of the multitude.

For Elizabeth, in tune with the emerging spirit of secularism in human affairs, such a price was cheap enough. ★★★

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# the launching pad

With C. MERVYN MAXWELL  
Department of Religion, Union College, Lincoln, Nebraska



**Q. I appreciate your stand on church and state, but if you "don't want to require anything the New Testament doesn't require" (Jan.-Feb. "Launching Pad"), why do you expect people to keep Saturday? Anyway, I believe the apostles did teach Sunday-keeping.**

A. Thank you for your broad spirit of tolerance.

The Revised Standard Version gives a good translation of the Greek of Matthew 5:17, 18, "... till heaven and earth pass away, not an iota, not a dot, will pass from the law until all is accomplished." Heaven and earth are still here, so we believe the seventh-day Sabbath of God's law is still here too.

If you can find a New Testament text that requires Sundaykeeping, I would like to see it. I know of eight texts that mention the first day of the week. Six refer to events on resurrection Sunday. The next (Acts 20:7) says that Paul preached a sermon and, perhaps, held the communion service on a first day, but the early church broke bread on any day of the week (Acts 2:46). The last text (1 Corinthians 16:2) says that the Corinthian Christians were to lay aside some cash on Sundays toward a poor-relief offering for the church in Jerusalem. Do you really think these texts require Christians to "keep Sunday"?

**Q. Do you agree with our courts that the right to believe is absolute but the right to practice belief is not?**

A. The Supreme Court gave this question classic treatment a century ago in a Latter-day Saint case. Does a man's belief in human sacrifices, it asked, give him the right to practice such sacrifices?

To ask the right question is to find the right answer. The American pledge is freedom and justice "for all." No man has a right to take away another man's rights. American liberty is a two-way street—and it is a broad street. A man should be given every possible liberty that does not conflict with the liberties of others.

Christians, incidentally, should be just as much interested in trying to preserve the liberties of others as in trying to preserve their own. Paul said, "Let each of us please his neighbor for his good, to edify him" (Rom. 15:2, R.S.V.). No Christian will claim as a personal right anything that interferes with the personal rights of others.

**Q. Would you please come out in the open and tell us what your motives are in opposing Sunday laws?**

A. Certainly; I would be glad to. My motives, and those of the editors of *Liberty* so far as I understand them, are—

1. *Partly personal.* Between 1878 and 1895 around 150 Seventh-day Adventists were arrested for working quietly on Sunday—for plowing a field with a horse half a mile back from a country road, for painting a portion of the back wall of their own church, for chopping their own firewood in their own back yards, for repairing a window, in the rain, for a widow. Several dozen were slapped into chain gangs and prisons. The health of one, Samuel Mitchell of Quitman, Georgia, was so broken by the treatment he received that he emerged from jail a permanent invalid and died soon after. Frankly, we don't like laws that put us in jail for performing honest labor.

2. *Partly universal.* The issue is broader than one denomination or doctrine. Jews and Seventh Day Baptists also suffer under Sunday laws. And so does everyone else. "Since the equal right of every citizen to the free exercise of his Religion is equal in weight to all other natural rights, acceptance of a legislative infringement of this right means that the legislature may likewise infringe the freedom of the press or abolish trial by jury. The alternatives are clear and unescapable."—James Madison.


3. *Partly patriotic.* In 1887 (long ago), a Mr. Swearingen and his son, lacking any cash to pay their fines, were sent to jail for 25 days for tilling their own farm on a Sunday. After they had completed their sentence, the sheriff came and took away their only horse, which was sold to help pay court costs. In 1950 (not so long ago), police entered a predominantly Jewish neighborhood, searched out a small store quietly offering kosher meat to a few customers on a Sunday, and arrested Sam Friedman and Sam Praska, orthodox Jews who had kept the Saturday previous as a strict holy day, and charged them with the crime—can you believe it?—of "Sabbath breaking"! And the courts convicted them and branded them criminals! We insist that this kind of skulduggery is beneath the dignity of our great country, the United States of America.

Send your questions to **THE LAUNCHING PAD**  
**LIBERTY Magazine, 6840 Eastern Ave., NW., Washington, D.C. 20012**





## THE RIGHT TO BE WRONG



"The right to be wrong in matters of religious belief must be accorded, otherwise we produce hypocrites instead of persons with an enlightened belief that is fully their own. If the truth be mighty and God all-powerful, His children need not fear that disaster will follow freedom of thought."—Francois de Fenelon, Archbishop of Cambrai.