

Let Us Be Thankful BY E. H. ROY

Assignment: Washington

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

■ The United States Congress, in a little-publicized action, this year reaf-firmed this country's belief in religious freedom.

The declaration came in a resolution approved by both the U.S. Senate and U.S. House of Representatives condemning religious persecution in Russia and calling on the Soviets and governments of other Eastern European countries "to cease such persecution and to permit full and free exercise of religion."

The resolution is prefaced by the statement "Whereas the Congress of the United States deeply believes in freedom of religion for all people . . ."

■ Government employees would get paid while they worship if a bill introduced by several members of Congress is enacted. The title of the bill is "A bill to provide time off duty for Government employees to comply with religious obligations prescribed by religious denominations of which such employees are bona fide members."

Heads of Government agencies would be authorized to release employees, without charge to any leave time and without loss of compensation, who leave their jobs to fulfill religious obligations. The employee will be required to make up the time loss on another occasion. The proposal has bipartisan sponsorship that includes Representative John Lindsay (R) and Representative Leonard Farbstein (D), both of New York, Representative Paul J. Krebs (D), of New Jersey, and Representative Carlton Sickles (D), of Maryland.

Members of the Amish faith have been divorced from the Social Security system by Congress and with their victory for separation of church and state they will receive a windfall. Without naming the Amish, Congress has exempted "members of certain religious faiths" whose tenets or teachings are conscientiously opposed to public or private insurance benefits. The Amish have been harassed by Government agents for many years, and in some instances their property has been seized for payment of Social Security taxes.

The bill also provides that members of religious groups in this category will receive a refund of all the money they have paid into the Social Security fund since December 31, 1950.

To obtain the exemption such objectors must file an application establishing their adherence to the tenets of their faith in this area and also sign a waiver of future benefits.

The Post Office Department continues to try to remain on neutral ground with its 1965 Christmas stamp, trying to please Representative Melvin Laird, of Wisconsin, with what some might call a religious theme and at the same time avoid a clash over the church-state question. Congressman Laird protested last year the lack of a religious theme in the four Christmas stamps issued. The Post Office Department, during the past several administrations, has tried to avoid this issue in both regular and commemorative stamps.

The 1965 Christmas stamp will bear a winged figure blowing a trumpet. The wording does not identify it. At the top of the stamp are the words "5c Postage" and at the bottom "Christmas."

Through the eyes of the Post Office Department the stamp is a reproduction of a water-color painting of a "quaint American" weather vane found in New England about 1840. To the separationist it is a picture of the angel Gabriel blowing the trumpet. A Post Office Department press release on the stamp reminds that "the archangel Gabriel appears in the literature of Moslems, Jews, and Christians."

VOL. 60, NO. 6 NOVEMBER-DECEMBER, 1965

FDITOR Roland R. Hegstad

ASSOCIATE EDITORS Marvin E. Loewen W. Melvin Adams

> ART EDITOR Terence K. Martin

CIRCULATION MANAGER Roy G. Campbell

CONSULTING EDITORS W. P. Bradley, Neal C. Wilson, M. V. Campbell, R. L. Odom, Cyril Miller, Theodore Carcich

> CONTRIBUTING EDITORS Dr. Jean Nussbaum W. L. Emmerson Kenneth Holland

> > LEGAL ADVISER Boardman Noland

EDITORIAL SECRETARY Thelma Wellman

> LAYOUT ARTIST Gert Busch

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

We believe in religious liberty, and hold that this Gad-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 re-spectful 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 prac-tice, 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. this right he s rights of others.

We believe that all legislation and other gov-ernmental acts which unite church and state are subversive of human rights, potentially per-secuting 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 per-form 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.



LIBERTY: A Magazine of Religious Freedom is published bimonthly for the Religious Liberty Association of America by the Review and Herald Publishing Association, Washington, D.C. 20012. Second-class postage paid at Washington, D.C. Address editorial correspondence to 6840 Eastern Avenue NW., Washington, D.C. 20012. LIBERTY is a member of the Associated Church Press.

ARTICLES

- 7 **Rome Speaks on Religious Liberty** W. L. Emmerson
- 11 Will Calendar Reform Go Through This Time? Hector Pereyra-Suarez
- 14 How Absolute Are Your Freedoms? James T. Perona
- 16 Let Us Give Thanks E. H. Roy
- 18 Fredericksburg's Monument to Freedom Leonard S. Barnes
- 20 **Compulsory Unionism v. Religious** Conscience W. Melvin Adams
- 22 **Discrimination in Sunday Law** Enforcement? Marvin E. Loewen
- 23 Alleged Sunday Law Violators Take Gordon F. Dalrymple Fifth
- 24 Sweden's Struggle for Religious Freedom (Conclusion) H. O. Olson

FEATURES

- 2 Assignment: Washington William H. Hackett
- 4 From the Editor's Desk
- 5 "Dear Sir"
- 21 Voices in the Ecumenical Wind: Protestants Move Toward Unity Betty D. Mayo
- Editorials: Schools for the Public . . . Religious Liberty and 28 Public Order . . . Bankrupt Churches?
- 31 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. COPYRIGHT: The entire contents of this issue are copyrighted © 1965 by the Review and Herald Publishing Association. All rights reserved. **SUBSCRIPTION RATES:** One year, \$1.25; one copy, 25 cents. Slightly higher in Canada. Subscription rates subject to change without notice. All subscriptions must be paid for in advance. Except for sample copies, papers are sent only on paid subscriptions. **CHANGE OF ADDRESS OR SUBSCRIPTION CORRESPONDENCE:** Please enclose address label from magazine or wrapper. Allow one month for address change. Write: Review and Herald Publishing Association, Washington, D.C. 20012.

NOVEMBER-DECEMBER

from the editor's desk

A CHRISTIAN NATION?

THE first editorial I wrote for LIBERTY was titled "The United States—a Christian Nation?" As I recall, my answer was qualified: Yes, from the standpoint of tradition and culture; no, from the standpoint of its Constitution (secular) and practice (twentieth-century pagan).

But that the Bible has dominated the nation's landscape, no one can with validity deny. On recent trips here and there I have noted hundreds of town names and geographical sites that reflect our nation's Biblical heritage.

Several States place commendable emphasis upon Paradise. There are a Paradise, Paradise Valley, and Paradise Mountain in California. Towns named Paradise also appear in Arizona, Texas, Oregon, Kansas, Indiana, West Virginia, Florida, and Michigan. Oklahoma has a Paradise Point, Nevada and Washington a Paradise Valley, Michigan a Paradise Lake.

California also has a Hallelujah Junction, just an echo away from Preacher's Peak.

There are a Faith, South Dakota, Hope, North Dakota, and Charity, Mississippi.

The devil dominates the Western landscape. There is a Devil's Playground, California, to the south of Hell's Gate.

The Devil's Punchbowl is a gulp and a swallow away from Jacob's Well, California.

Wyoming has a Devil's Tower and a Devil's Tower Junction. Devil's Lakes abound in Wisconsin, which has three, and are found in North Dakota, Oregon, and Michigan.

There are a Devil's Peak, Oregon; a Devil's Grave (Mountain), Oregon; a Diablo, Washington; Diablo (Mountain), Idaho (which has a He Devil Mountain near the border of Hell's Canyon); the Devil's Head (Peak) is in Colorado; and Devil's Bedstead (Peak) in Idaho; the Devil's Slide in Utah, and Satan's Pass in New Mexico.

Texas has a Devil's River just east of Hell's Half Acre-which is *not* on the Pedernales.

The eastern half of the United States is dominated

by sublimer names: Churchville, New York; Churchtown, Pennsylvania; Churchland, Virginia and North Carolina; Churchton and Church Hill, Tennessee.

Florida has a Christmastown; Minnesota a Christmas Lake; Texas, Christmas Mountains; Maine a Christmas Cove.

The New Testament tradition is carried on by Christiansburg, Virginia, and Christianburg, Utah; Christian, West Virginia; Christianitos Canyon, California; and Christian counties in Missouri, Illinois, and Kentucky.

Noah, Indiana; Arkadelphia, Arkansas; and Arkville, New York, commemorate the Flood.

Samsonville is near Phoenicia, New York.

Delilah Mountain sneers down on Samson Flat, California.

Intercession City, Florida, lies between Devil's Garden and Paradise.

Lordstown, Ohio, not Gomorrah, is near Sodom.

There is a Balm Mountain, Oregon, but no Gilead.

My favorite lake: Sabbathday Lake, Maine.

I wish Pray, Montana, were nearer Jordan, Montana, and Brimstone Corner, Maine, near Truth or Consequences, New Mexico.

I found no Purgatory between Paradise, California, and Hell, Michigan, in both of which, to accommodate suggestions made by certain LIBERTY readers, I spent a night.

There is also, dear reader, a So Help Me God! peak near Think It Over pass on the road from Yakutsk to Magadan, Russia—which ought to be worth a moral of some kind.

On your way to finding it, refresh yourself on those insights into the American heritage found in the following: "How Absolute Are Your Freedoms?" page 14; "Let Us Give Thanks," page 16; "Fredericksburg's Monument to Freedom," page 18.

Rand & He

LIBERTY, 1965

CONFRONTATION IN GENEVA

ROBERT W. BUCK, M.D. Boston, Massachusetts

The statement by Dr. Jean Nussbaum ("Confrontation in Geneva," May-June issue) that "so long as Protestants remain faithful to the Scriptures, no union with Rome will be possible" can hardly be disputed.

However, there are several hundred varieties of Protestantism, each claiming to be "faithful to the Scriptures," yet each disagreeing with all the others on one or more fundamental points. As long as these sects remain faithful to the Scriptures as they interpret them, union with one another will be as impossible as union with Rome....

I am not a Catholic, but I do have great difficulty in deciding which variety of Protestantism is valid scripturally, traditionally, rationally, or otherwise.*

It seems to me there can be only one really valid kind of Christianity. All the others must be invalid. Or, if they are all valid, why do they not unite?

In medicine, we know that when there are dozens of different theories as to how to treat a disease (for example, the common cold), none of them is much good. When the correct treatment is discovered (as in pernicious anemia), there is no longer any disagreement.

[* "To the law and to the testimony; if they speak not according to this word, there is no light in them." Isa. 8:20. —ED.]

PHILIP E. CLARKE New York, N.Y.

Re: May/June issue "Cardinal Bea versus Pastor Boegner" The title "Cardinal Bea versus Pastor Boegner" does little for better understanding for your readers. You make it sound like a recent heavyweight fight rather than an honest discussion by eminent men of God.

WALLACE PHILLIPS Ojai, California

Concerning the importance placed by Protestants and Roman Catholics on Holy Scripture as pointed out by Dr. Jean Nussbaum in "Confrontation in Geneva." I believe, on closer examination, that Dr. Nussbaum misses the spirit in which Catholics consider both Holy Scripture and tradition as *two* streams of revealed truth to man. There is no question of the validity of the Inspired Word of God. Tradition, in Catholic thought, is a continuation or explanation of God's truth, not a replacement of His Word.

[Said Christ: "In vain do they worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men. For laying aside the commandment of God, ye hold the tradition of men. . . . Ye reject the commandment of God that ye may keep your own tradition. . . Making the word of God of none effect through your tradition" (Mark 7:7-13). He added, "Every plant, which my heavenly Father hath not planted, shall be rooted up" (Matthew 15:13). Where did God plant Sundaykeeping? Indulgences? Purmeters? Lafase hearting?

Where did God plant Sundaykeeping? Indulgences? Purgatory? Infant baptism? As James Cardinal Gibbons observed: "You may read the Bible from Genesis to Revelation, and you will not find a single line authorizing the sanctification of Sunday. The Scriptures enforce the religious observance of Saturday, a day which we never sanctify."—The Faith of Our Fathers [110th ed., rev.; New York: P. J. Kennedy & Sons [1876], pp. 72, 73.—ED.].

NOVEMBER-DECEMBER



TEMPERED APPRECIATION

WILLIAM L. LOWER, Minister Parkview Church of Christ Fort Wayne, Indiana

There are some points in which I find conflict between your editorial position and the Scriptures, but have yet to find much disagreement between you and the historic position of Americanism. I deeply appreciate both your desire for keeping our country as the founding fathers intended and the high quality of your production. In these things you need not make apologies to anyone.

It is quite probable that your severest critics are in one of two categories: i.e., 1. Those who read no further after seeing you are "Adventist," or, 2. Those whose socialistic tendencies are best advanced by permitting established government to give them "cradle-to-the-grave" care, without once considering the end result of such disastrous attitudes.

UNTEMPERED APPRECIATION

T. EDGAR H. GROFF South Easton, Pennsylvania

I am in full accord with LIBERTY'S editorial policy. I would not be without your wonderful magazine.

I do not oppose closing businesses on Sunday, but I am opposed to legislating it. I believe what we need most in the United States is not the legislated conscience but the educated and dedicated conscience.

In His love for us, God gave each a mind to use. If stores keep open on Sunday, that is not saying we have to buy on Sunday. God gives us six days to buy what we need. It is not entirely the storekeeper's fault that he keeps open on Sunday; it is the people's fault. If they did not buy, he would not keep open at all.

CHRIST V. CAESAR

LEO D. ADOLPH, Counselor at Law New York City, New York

From the questions addressed to "the launching pad" in the March-April, 1965, number, it seems that some of your readers have grievances they would like to express by withholding payment of taxes, but refrain from doing so because of the admonition of Jesus, "Render . . . unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's." This advice was uttered at a time when the Roman Empire ruled almost all the world and its absolute monarch would not listen to protests. In fact, protest was suicidal. Democracy had died with the fall of Greece. In this historical context, the above words of Jesus do not apply to our country. Every United States citizen has a constitutional right to

5

apply to the Government for a redress of grievances. I would suggest to your readers that this can be done when, in making payment of taxes, they append to the tax form a legend to the following effect:

"To the extent that this tax payment will be used . . . [here state grievances], PAYMENT IS MADE UNDER PROTEST." Some of the grievances may be stated as:

a. for an undeclared, unconstitutional war in Vietnam

- b. for unconstitutional aid to religious segregated schools
- c. for purposes in violation of the First Amendment's wall of separation of church and state

d. for enforcement of unconstitutional Sunday-closing laws When the bureaucrats begin to receive hundreds of such legends, someone will take notice.

DUMB DOGS AND HERETICS

WILLIAM B. HAYES, Rector St. James Presbyterian Church Orosi, California

Although very pressed for time I simply could not let the latest issue of your magazine go unchallenged—the specific article in question, entitled "Dumb Dogs and Heretics," in which a person named Howard Weeks looks into the time of Elizabeth and claims to see a parallel between that period and our own.

His approach to history resembles the approach of some of the misguided to the Scriptures, in that both come to the subject with conclusions already drawn, and by careful selection of ideas that fit, and equally careful omission of truth that does not mesh, their assumptions are "proved."

If ever there was a period in history that differs from our age it was that of Elizabeth. The religious climate of our day is characterized by a monumental apathy . . . in Elizabeth's day faith was literally a matter of life or death.

Nothing could be further from the truth than this phrase, speaking of the Elizabethan congregation, "audiences disinterested in doctrine and eager for mere amusement or sensation." The phrase could well apply to many modern congregations, but never to the late 1600's.

John Donne did not begin to preach until the latter part of the reign of James I, and anyone who thinks that his sermons were superficial or sensational proves that he has never seriously read Donne's sermons.

[The author replies: The article suggests a partial parallelism in the *circumstances confronting the nation*. It says this: "In circumstances analogous in many ways with those confronting America today, the life of the state demanded an effort at religious unity, an end to religious controversy." Nevertheless, Mr. Hayes takes too limited a view of religious life in Elizabethan England.

Faith was indeed a matter of life and death—for those who insisted on partisan religious discussion in disregard of Elizabeth's "middle way." This fact the article makes abundantly clear. Among the great majority of people who conformed, however, there was, according to Herr, a "disheartening response of audiences [of the late 1500's, incidentally] to learned sermons," seeking rather "amusement and sensation."

Among many other witnesses to the basic truth of this generalization we may cite Bishop Jewell himself: "Be the preacher rough or gentle, learned or unlearned, let him use authority of the Scripture, of the doctors, of the councils, of decrees or decretals, of God's law, or man's law, nothing will move them, nothing will please them; because the ministry of God, and thereby God himself, is despised."

The preaching of John Donne is not labeled superficial. It is mentioned only as an example of the "witty," or Senecan style, which the article describes as emergent during Elizabeth's age. Donne's sermons represent the flowering of this style—as opposed to the "plain" style preferred by the Barrowists, Brownists, and certain Puritan groups. He began his ministry, of course, at about mid-point in the reign of James I.—HOWARD B. WEEKS.]

"WAKE UP, AMERICANS!"

VENTNOR WILLIAMS Director of Counseling Association Altadena, California

A new reader of LIBERTY, I am surprised and delighted to find a strong voice dedicated to the propositions that Americans have fought, bled, and died for.

Too many people think that the "Great White Father" is doling out the monies for the so-called Antipoverty Program from profits of his ranch and radio-TV stations. . . . They do not realize the size of the national debt; nor what it means in the taxes they are forced to pay.

The current amount of the national debt ought to be featured at the top of every issue of every newspaper (voluntarily, I mean).

As a former teacher of American history in Tarrytown, New York, High School, and elsewhere, I can see that America is fast going the way of Rome and other empires. . . . We are getting soft, flabby, selfish, and ungrateful for the great heritage handed down to us by our country's founders.

I'd like to say, "Wake up, Americans!"



Pilgrims are usually pictured as pretty grim folk, but we suspect that the children must have cracked a smile now and then. So when we had to make a choice between pictures of Thomas Dunbebin, 10, and his sister Annette, 5, either somber or smiling, we took the smiles. A happy face goes well with pumpkins and apples and Thanksgiving. It was the psalmist who sang to the Lord, "In thy presence is fulness of joy; at thy right hand there are pleasures for evermore" (Psalm 16:11). May we suggest an appreciative reading of these words before dinner Thanksgiving day?

PHOTO BY J. BYRON LOGAN



RELIGIOUS NEWS SERVICE PHOTOS

Pope Paul VI, far right, sits with princes of the church as final session of Vatican Council II alters radically the monolithic image of Roman Church. Left to right, the prelates are: Agnelo Cardinal Rossi, of Brazil; Francesco Cardinal Morano, of the Curia; Leo Josef Cardinal Suenens, of Brussels; Ildebrando Cardinal Antoniutti, of the Curia; Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski, of Warsaw; Juan Cardinal Landazuri Ricketts, of Peru; Ernest Cardinal Ruffini, of Palermo; Francis Cardinal Spellman, of New York; Gregory Cardinal Agagianian, Prefect of the Congregation for Propagation of the Faith; Achille Cardinal Leinart, of Lille; Eugene Cardinal Tisserant, dean, College of Cardinals.

Rome Speaks on

By W. L. EMMERSON

S INCE the dramatic holdup of the Declaration on Religious Liberty in the closing black week of the third session of the Vatican Council, speculation has been rife as to what would be the final conclusions of the council fathers on this vital issue in the modern world.

Concern was increased in the interval between the third and fourth sessions by news that leaked out from time to time about struggles in the committee that was redrafting the document. Predicted the London *Observer*, the schema will be "accompanied by a statement setting it within strict limits, so that it would be clearly understood that nothing in its terms trespassed on the claim of the Roman Catholic Church to be the one and only true religion."

Protestant fears were further reinforced by the repeated protests of Pope Paul VI against the overeager reformists who were taking "the opportunity offered by the problems which are being discussed at the Ecumenical Council for stirring up in themselves and in others a Religious Liberty

spirit of unrest and of radical reformism in the field of doctrine as well as in the disciplinary field, as if the Council were a welcome occasion for calling into question the dogmas and laws that the church has inscribed in the tables of its fidelity to Christ our Lord, and as if the Council justified the demolition by everybody's private judgment of the patrimony of acquisitions which the church derives from its long history and its tested experience."

As soon, therefore, as I secured a copy of the document submitted to the fathers at the beginning of the fourth session I subjected it to the keenest scrutiny to see how

NOVEMBER-DECEMBER

far the fathers were prepared to go toward common ground with the non-Roman churches on this important issue.

A Good Beginning

Contrary to the fears of many, the document begins very well. It states that the right to religious liberty is one derived from "reason" and from the "revealed Word of God." It adds that "men should be immune, or protected, from all coercion, whether by individuals or by social groups, or by any human power," that "no one should be compelled to act against his conscience, or hindered from acting according to his own conscience, within due limits," and that "this right must find recognition in the juridical ordering of society."

The document goes on to state that religious liberty is not confined merely to "internal acts," but that a man's liberty is improperly limited if he is not permitted the "free exercise of his religion in society."

"To protect and promote the inviolable rights of man," it emphasizes, "is a paramount duty of every civil power. The civil power must, therefore, through just laws, effectively undertake to protect and care for the religious liberty of all its citizens." And conversely, it is a "crime" for a state "through either force or fear, or any other unjust measures, to impose on its citizens the profession or rejection of any religion, or to hinder them from entering or leaving a religious society."

Liberty of the Family and Religious Societies

Besides "the religious liberty which pertains to individuals" the declaration insists that it "must be recognized" also "as a right of societies." "Every family, inasmuch as it is a society in its own primordial right" should be "free to order its own domestic religious life under the guidance of the parents," who should "have the right to decide on the religious instruction of their children," and the right "to choose in true freedom schools or other means of education" for their children without "unjust burdens" being placed upon them.

All voluntary religious societies should similarly be "free to assemble or establish associations for furthering religious, educational, cultural, charitable, or social ends." They should have the right to "freedom from interference in governing themselves by their own laws, in worshiping the Supreme Deity in public services, in assisting their members to live a religious life, in sustaining them by their doctrine, and in promoting those institutions in which their members may cooperate."

They should not be hindered "from selecting and educating their own ministers, from communicating with religious authorities in other parts of the world, and from acquiring and enjoying material possessions." And further, they should also not be hindered "from publicly teaching and witnessing to their faith either orally or in writing so long as the legitimate requirements of public order are not violated."

"Due Limits" of Liberty

The declaration asserts that these freedoms must be exercised "within certain due limits."

"The first of these," it states, "is the moral principle of personal and social responsibility. For in exercising their own rights individuals and social groups must take

Three foreign princes of the church discuss a point of interest. From left are: Jose Maria Cardinal Bueno y Monreal, archhishop of Seville, Spain (Liberty Declaration foe); Ruffino Cardinal Santos, archbishop of Manila; and Fernando Cardinal Quiroga y Palacios, archbishop of Santiago de Campostela, Spain.





into account both the rights of others and their duties toward others."

Second, "civil society has the right to protect itself against abuses that may be allowed to prevail under the label of religious liberty," for which reason the public authority has an obligation to limit religious liberty as may be demanded by the exigencies of "keeping the peace, proper guarding of public morality, and the peaceful settlement and effective guardianship of equal rights for all citizens."

Roots in Divine Revelation

All these freedoms, which have their immediate grounds in human reason, have, the declaration states, their "roots" deep in divine revelation and as such have been "sedulously guarded and handed down" by the church throughout the centuries, "even if there have been some among the people of God in their earthly pilgrimage who have followed other ways less conformable to the spirit of evangelical liberty."

It would have been much more honest if the composers of the declaration had freely confessed that Roman Catholic authorities in different lands and at various times have not always been true to the Biblical principles of religious freedom. Be that as it may, the document, thus far, is an exceedingly fine statement, and if it had stopped at the point of affirming the principles of religious liberty for individuals, families, and religious societies *equally and without discrimination*, it would have corresponded very closely with the seven-point declaration on religious liberty adopted by the World Council of Churches shortly before the fourth session began, which calls for:

1. All civil liberties to be guaranteed irrespective of religion.

2. Liberty to maintain belief or unbelief without outside constraint or hindrance, and liberty to change one's religion or belief without social, economic, or political disabilities.

3. Liberty to manifest one's religion or belief in worship, teaching, or observance.

NOVEMBER-DECEMBER

RELIGIOUS NEWS SERVICE PHOTOS

Richard Cardinal Cushing, archbishop of Boston (right), religious liberty advocate, and Paolo Cardinal Giobbe listen to Pope's opening address at Fourth Session, Vatican II.

Serenely authoritative, Pope Paul VI guides decisions of Fourth Session, Vatican II Council.



4. Liberty to express one's religion or belief, singly or in common, in public or in private.

5. Liberty to maintain individual and collective contact with religious communities across national frontiers.

6. An international norm or standard of religious liberty not restrictively interpreted to conform to national constitutions and laws, and

7. Religious liberty valid for all without discrimination and limited only by the interests of public order. (See editorial, page 28.)

The Fatal Flaw

Unfortunately, however, the force of all that had gone before in the Roman Catholic declaration is seriously undermined by the assertion that "this rule of religious liberty does not, in view of certain historical circumstances among certain peoples, militate against special recognition being given to one religious group in the legal constitution of the state."

In the third session there was considerable discussion about the relations of church and state in Catholic philosophy, some progressive Catholics being prepared to go all the way in separating the church from the state, while extreme conservatives, such as Cardinals Ruffini and Ottaviani, contended that such a change of position would render null and void all the concordats that were part of the historic policy of Rome toward secular governments.

Evidently this critical battle has been won, behind the scenes, by the conservatives, and the doctrine of the union of church and state is to be retained in Catholic thinking.

True the document adds that, "at the same time, the rights of all citizens and religious groups to religious freedom must be recognized and observed." But obviously if one religion is adopted officially as the religion of the state, it is bound to receive privileges denied to all others, and it furthermore will be in a position to influence the state to enact such legislation as it considers necessary to preserve its position of privilege, and which may be discriminatory against other societies not so recognized by the state.

Right to Witness Imperiled

The declaration indeed hints at this in speaking of the rights of societies to propagate their beliefs.

"In disseminating religious faith and introducing new customs," it states, "they [that is societies other than that officially recognized by the state] must avoid any kind of action that would seem to savor of either force or persuasion that is dishonest or disingenuous, especially in the case of the ignorant or the needy."

Where Roman Catholicism was the officially recognized church, it would obviously be the judge of what was "dishonest or disingenuous," and through legislation it would be in a position to curtail, limit, or stop almost any kind of religious work by a non-Roman church.

As a matter of fact, in an earlier draft of this section on the public expression of religion the phrase was included "as people do not oppose it, and as such activities do not violate the legitimate exigencies of public order." In the course of the final revision in committee the first few words, "as people do not oppose it," were omitted, but the mere suggestion reveals how far many Roman Catholics would be prepared to go to stiffe any non-Catholic witness.

When we add to this the categorical statement in the declaration that "it is the will of God that the Catholic Church is the teacher of truth" and it is her task not only to "expound the truth which is Christ in her authentic teaching" but also "at the same time . . . to endorse by her authority the principles of moral order," we can see that the way is open for the church, where dominant, to continue, by virtue of its alleged divine authorization, to inform the state as to what is necessary for "peace," "public morality," and "good order."

That we are not exaggerating this danger is evident from a recent comment on this subject in the *Tablet* which asserts: "Something will have to be said about natural morality and public order to make it clear that even in the libertarian climate of today not everything can be permitted to everybody, and where sincerely-held beliefs issue in actions that offend the moral conscience of the community they will be liable to be overridden, with the full approval of Catholic theologians. . . There are many instances, where variants of Christian beliefs issue in perverse conclusions, where the church will not say that the civil authority ought to stand lamely and helplessly by. The church has a great role to play as the center of moral authority, not afraid to tell governments how far they can rightly go, and where they must stop."

How Spanish Bishops View Religious Liberty

This is precisely the position that the Spanish bishops are taking in connection with the projected law on religious liberty in that country. Says the Archbishop of Madrid, Casimiro Morcillo Gonzalez: "It must not mean a break in Catholic unity. The state must continue to be confessionally Catholic" and non-Catholics must "abstain from proselytizing and from all attempts to evangelize Spain, which is a country already deeply evangelized."

And what is being done today in Spain could, on the same grounds, be done in other countries where, in the future, Roman Catholics find themselves a majority.

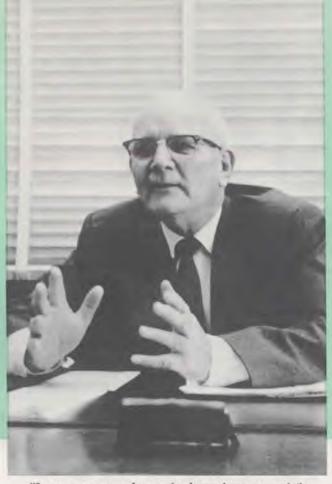
Not Liberty But Only Precarious Toleration

From all this it will be seen that the document presented to the fourth session is not a declaration of religious liberty in the Protestant or democratic sense of the term. It is no more than a declaration of religious toleration, capable of such flexibility of interpretation that it could be used to claim for the Roman Catholic Church "as much liberty of action as is necessary for her to discharge her responsibilities for the salvation of man," while at the same time permitting the church to prescribe to any state in which it is dominant the limitations it should impose on its subjects for the preservation of the Catholic faith. In other words, it could be used to secure full rights for the Roman Catholic Church in democratic America or Britain, and even in Communist countries, while leaving the church free to impose, through the state, any degree of intolerance in countries, like Spain, where it is the official religion of the state.

It thus becomes clear that, after all the discussion that has taken place, the position of the Roman Catholic Church on religious liberty has not changed basically one iota since the Vatican Council began. The document is typical of the age-old casuistry of Rome and between the lines we can still read its historic dictum, *semper eadem*.

Will Calendar Reform Go Through This Time?

The answer to the question "Will calendar reform go through this time?" is given by the well-known English writer Arthur S. Maxwell, an authority on this subject. Mr. Maxwell opposed calendar reform before the League of Nations and has delivered many lectures before audiences of businessmen and religious leaders. He has also written many articles on the subject. Mr. Maxwell's opinions were given in an interview with HECTOR PEREYRA-SUAREZ.



"I am not opposed to calendar reform as such."

Mr. Maxwell, during the past thirty years you have published fifty-two articles on calendar reform. What importance do you attach to this problem which makes you treat it again and again?

Calendar reform would affect everyone on the face of the earth—every person, every country, every organization, and especially every religion. Any change in the computation of time is bound to be of great consequence. However, I would like to state that I do not oppose calendar reform as such. I object only to the types of reform that have thus far received major support.

What do the proposed reforms have in common that would make a new calendar inconvenient?

Basically, all are alike in their endeavor to eliminate one extra day to make up for the difference between the astronomic and the civil calendar. Hence the many references to a "blank" day, which some call "World Day" and others "Peace Day" and the like. Unfortunately for all calendar reformers, no day can be made "blank" even by the most ponderous and universal edicts. Babies would still be born on that day. People would die on it. And chances are that outstanding events would be perverse enough to occur on it. And if one admits that the day exists, one destroys the calendar with a "blank" day. Such a calendar "reform" would not only adversely af-

NOVEMBER-DECEMBER

fect the future but would also distort every record of the past-everything that has ever happened.

How many reforms have been proposed?

Many plans have been suggested through the years. Hundreds of people have tried to solve this unsolvable problem of adjusting the civil calendar to the astronomic. When I addressed the League of Nations on the subject in 1931, more than five hundred such schemes had already been submitted.

In what capacity did you participate in the League of Nations discussion?

I was in London, where I lived at the time, and was asked to go to Geneva as a representative of the Seventh-day Adventist Church, of which I am a member.

Why was your church so concerned with the proposed calendar reform?

If adopted, it would have had the most serious consequences. The introduction of a "blank" day, whatever name it might be given, would have a disastrous effect upon the weekly cycle. This in turn would affect the day of rest. During the first year of the operation of such a new calendar the true seventh day would fall on Saturday, as it does now, but during the second year it would fall on Friday, in the third year on Thursday, and so on. In leap years it would drop back two days.



"I object only to the types of reform involving disruption of the weekly cycle."

"Not only the future may be affected; but it would also distort every record of the past."





"When I addressed the League of Nations in 1931, more than 500 such schemes had already been submitted."

What harm would that do?

If a day were to be dropped from the calendar, the true seventh day would wander backward forever through the new synthetic week. Moreover, the blank day would disturb not only the keepers of the seventh-day Sabbath but also those who rest on Sunday. It would be a problem to Moslems who observe Friday, and to orthodox Jews who keep the seventh day of the week. The most conscientious people would be most affected. The Seventh-day Adventist Church does not oppose this reform only because its members would be seriously affected, but also because it believes in religious freedom for all.

Have you collaborated with other religious groups on this issue?

When I first attended the League of Nations inquiry on calendar reform I met with many of the leading rabbis of the world, who went there to protest the proposed change. These contacts originated a lasting friendship with famous Jewish leaders such as Dr. Hertz, then chief rabbi of the British Empire, and Dr. Moses Hyamson of New York. I was invited to a gathering held in the family mansion of the Rothschilds, famous bankers of Europe. Later Dr. Hertz invited me to a meeting of Jewish leaders held at London University.

I heard that you also had an interesting meeting with the bishops of the Church of England. Will you tell us about it? That was an exciting experience. Somehow, word got around that I had been the only Christian who opposed Mr. Cotsworth's thirteen-month calendar reform plan at the League of Nations, and one day I was called to attend a meeting in Cambridge University to explain the inconveniences of the suggested reform. While I was climbing the steps, the man who was waiting for me said, "We are so glad you have come! Mr. Cotsworth has just finished delivering a lecture defending his proposed calendar reform. Now we want to hear from the opposition." As I entered the hall I found it crowded with bishops of the Church of England! I did not have time even to sit down, because the chairman introduced me right away as the next speaker.

Besides attending meetings by invitation, did you take the initiative in persuading other organizations to join in the opposition to calendar reform?

Yes. There was, for instance, the English organization called The Lord's Day Observance Society, devoted to the preservation of Sundaykeeping and the securing of the passage of laws to enforce its observance. I went to see H. H. Martin, secretary of the organization, and told him that if the reform went through, his entire work would be destroyed. As a result both the Lord's Day Observance Society and the Imperial Alliance for the Defense of Sunday sent vigorous protests to the League of Nations.

"It would spell denial of religious liberty to millions of people."



Have you also met with Catholics on this matter?

Yes. I went to Rome and was fortunate in being able to establish a valuable contact in the Vatican. But first let me tell you that as a result of the meeting in Geneva in October, 1931, the proposed thirteen-month calendar was turned down. Present at that meeting, however, was Elizabeth Achelis, who thought she had a better plan. After that she became very active, and in 1936 I heard that her new proposal was going to be presented at the International Labor Organization in Geneva. So I went there again and this time met a prominent Jesuit who suggested that I go to Rome for information concerning the Catholic attitude to calendar reform. He gave me a letter of introduction to the Jesuit headquarters. The man I met there later became head of the Jesuit order. He in turn gave me a letter to Dr. Stein, chief Vatican astronomer and a personal friend of Pope Pius XI. He lived in Castel Gandolfo, the pope's summer palace, and I went to see him there. A learned and friendly man, he was kind enough to give me a list of all the astronomers of Europe who opposed calendar reform.

Now the Second Vatican Council is favoring calendar reform. Do you think this may be decisive in the outcome of the project?

I returned from Rome convinced that if calendar reform is ever achieved, it will have to be with the approval of the Roman Catholic Church. One of the potentially far-reaching decisions of Vatican II was taken

NOVEMBER-DECEMBER

in 1965 during the first session, when the assembled clerics voted approval of the principle of calendar reform by 2,058 to 9. However, the delegates set certain conditions for approval. Their resolution read: "The Council is not opposed to the various initiatives for establishing a perpetual civil calendar, provided the week of seven days with its Sunday is safeguarded and provided the regular succession of weeks remains intactunless most serious reasons would, in the judgment of the Holy See, persuade otherwise." The official Vatican publication Osservatore Romano translated the action: "Of the various systems which are devised for stabilizing and introducing into civil society a perpetual calendar, to those only the Church does not object which preserve and protect the week of seven days with Sunday, with no inserted days outside the week, so that the succession of the weeks may be left intact, unless there should arise most grave reasons concerning which the Apostolic See would make the decision." What the "grave reasons" would be is not now evident. In any event, a calendar change would take a long time, because every government in the world would have to agree to it. Besides, a new calendar could come into existence only in a year that begins on Sunday.

Why is it necessary that the new calendar begin with Sunday?

Because this way everything, as I said before, would be normal in the first year. But from the second year on, all sincere Methodists, Baptists, and other conscientious Christians who want to commemorate the Lord's resurrection on Sunday on the true first day of the week; every Moslem who wants to observe Friday, the true sixth day; and every Jew or Christian who wants to be faithful to the true seventh-day Sabbath would have to use a special calendar. All of them would then be confronted by grave difficulties in employment, in school attendance, et cetera, because, as I said before, their day of rest would wander backward through the new synthetic week for all time to come.

Do you believe that a new calendar with a blank day would make for discrimination and even persecution?

Definitely so. A change of the weekly cycle would have serious religious implications. If calendar reformers achieve their goal, they will plunge the world into a religious crisis of the first order. All orthodox Jews, Seventh-day Adventists, Seventh Day Baptists, and others who observe the true seventh day as a holy day will go on doing so despite the inconvenience thrust upon them by the new calendar; and all who keep the first day "because Christ rose from the dead on that day" will find themselves in a similar predicament.

Perhaps it will have to be this way so that all will be revealed in their true colors, whether they are true to conscience and to God. "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof," says the First Amendment. But does it really mean NO law?

How ABSOLUTE Are

FOR one, enjoy the freedom from frustration that exists when it is possible to utilize an absolute standard in making decisions.

As a young boy I was employed in the grading room of a small poultry farm. One especially onerous task was that of holding each egg up to a bright light in order to detect blood spots through the semi-translucent shell. To my inexperienced eye, dozens of eggs each day forced shaky decisions in determining whether a tiny nebula within the shell was a spot of blood or a harmless globule of albumin. How pleasant, by contrast, it was to sort eggs for size merely by determining whether each egg would pass freely through the "large," "medium," or "small" hole in a gauge that served as my absolute standard.

At first blush nothing could appear more absolute than the provision of the First Amendment¹ that provides for separation of church and state. Without any allowance for exceptions, the amendment states: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion."

Consistent with my psychological make-up, I was initially prone to accept this guarantee of freedom from religious intolerance as the absolute standard it appeared to be. By so doing I would have been in the respectable company of many leading authorities on constitutional law² who assert with emphasis, "Congress shall make *no law* respecting an establishment of religion." Persons holding this view are frequently described as "absolute separationists." They do not consider to what extent a law establishes religion; rather, they limit their consideration to whether the law establishes religion to any extent at all. If so, the law is invalid as a violation of the Constitution of the United States. Let's digress here for a moment to look at the other clause of the First Amendment: "Congress shall make no law . . . prohibiting the free exercise [of religion]." Not one respectable scholar is an "absolutist" in regard to this provision of the First Amendment, which provides for individual religious freedom. However, it too is couched in seemingly absolute and unequivocal terms: "Congress shall make *no law.*"

Does the amendment really mean no law? Less than a century ago, when confronted by the Mormon practice of plural marriage, the Court held that it does not. Mormons were motivated to enter into plural marriages by a sincere moral conviction of their duty to God. Fully recognizing this fact, the Supreme Court of the United States held that a criminal statute prohibiting bigamy did not violate the First Amendment's guarantee of individual religious freedom." To this date the soundness of that decision has never been seriously questioned. On numerous occasions the Supreme Court has pointed out that an individual's freedom of religion under the First Amendment is not absolute." It is all too clear that conduct which is motivated from religious belief must be weighed and balanced against the government's own obligation to preserve and protect good social order. For example, the most militant advocate of religious liberty would not even suggest that civil government should countenance human sacrifices, though some may believe this rite to be a necessary part of religious worship.

To say that practices which may be prohibited under the law are not bona fide religious tenets is pure sophistry. The entire intent and purpose of the First Amendment would be thwarted if any court or governmental agency were given authority to determine what is and what is not rationally tenable as a religious belief.

By JAMES T. PERONA

Attorney at Law Los Angeles, California

Your Freedoms?

This is a determination that the First Amendment leaves completely within the province of the individual's conscience. A classic maxim in the field of religious liberty is, "The law knows no heresy."⁵

Faced with a wide variety of religious practices, the United States Supreme Court has interpreted the freeexercise clause of the First Amendment to provide, "Congress shall make no law unreasonably prohibiting the free exercise of religion." In determining whether a statute or ordinance is an unreasonable prohibition of religious freedom, the Supreme Court has laid down rules which allow wide latitude of toleration for an individual's practice of his personal religious beliefs. A reasonable prohibition of religious freedom exists only when the effect of the religious practice is clearly outweighed by a conflicting fundamental objective of organized society. For example, an individual's conscientious refusal to submit to compulsory smallpox vaccination is clearly outweighed by the government's obligation to protect public health and prevent an epidemic."

The process of balancing the equities between an individual's religious freedom and the conflicting demands of society is an exceedingly difficult task. In 1940 the Supreme Court of the United States was confronted with a requirement of a local board of education directing that students must salute the national flag and recite a pledge of allegiance. This presented an impossible situation to members of the group known as Jehovah's Witnesses, who conscientiously believe that the gesture of flag salute is in violation of God's law. The Supreme Court upheld the validity of the school board's requirement in spite of its infringement on religious freedom.⁷

Said the Court:

NOVEMBER-DECEMBER

"A grave responsibility confronts this Court whenever in the course of litigation it must reconcile the conflicting claims of liberty and authority. But when the liberty involved is the liberty of conscience, and the authority is authority to safeguard the nation's fellowship, judicial conscience is put to its severest test."⁸

Three years later the Supreme Court reconsidered this same problem in another case and reversed its 1940 decision by holding that a student had a right to refuse to salute the flag on the grounds of religious conviction."

The endless variety of conflicts involving religious freedom present problems as nebulous as the tiny spots under the eggshells which I found so perplexing as a boy. We need social maturity to accept, without frustration, the fact that the free-exercise clause of the First Amendment does not, in itself, provide a standard that can be relied upon with any degree of certainty. The courts likewise need a great deal of maturity, insight, and wisdom to interpret the clause properly.

Now LET'S TURN BACK to the establishment clause. Should there be a weighing and balancing between liberty and authority here also? Should the First Amendment also be interpreted so as to provide, "Congress shall make no law respecting an *unreasonable* establishment of religion"?

At the outset this question raises the preliminary question of why a government should want to establish religion to any degree. Many arguments have been advanced by the proponents of limited religious establishments. All the legitimate reasons can be summa-

Turn to page 29

The first Thanksgiving! Pumpkin, corn, and turkey, Pilgrims and Indians! They are all part of the American heritage, and a precious heritage it is.

The first year at Plymouth had been difficult. The Pilgrims had faced hardships—hunger, cold, danger, disease, and death. Half their members died that first winter. But in the spring they planted seeds, tilled the soil, and in the fall reaped an excellent harvest. And they were thankful.

It is good for us to look back on the first American Thanksgiving, and it is good for us to give thanks. The psalmist said in Psalm 50:14, "Offer unto God thanksgiving." What do we have to thank God for?

We should thank Him for our civil blessings —for freedom. When Israel crossed the Red Sea and Pharaoh's army was drowned, the Israelites became a free people. The Bible says that Moses and the whole nation burst forth into a song of thanksgiving (Exodus 15:1).

And when Israel returned from Babylonian captivity, a season of thanksgiving was held (Nehemiah 9).

Freedom is a precious possession! Many people on this earth do not have it. We in America do not know what it is to have the secret police knock on our doors in the middle of the night, and to have our loved ones taken from us to be cast into prison or to be sent into exile.

We have freedom of the press. No one can tell our papers what to print or what not to print. We can read any book, any paper, any magazine, that we desire.

We enjoy freedom of assembly and worship. We do not have to ask the Government's permission to hold a religious service. And when we meet for divine worship, no secret police are present.

In some areas of the world, worship services can be held only in private homes or in unmarked buildings. In other parts of the world there are no Bible classes as we know them in America. That would require discussion, and discussion is not allowed.

We have freedom of speech. In some lands you cannot express your thoughts to your neighbor, not even to your children. It might mean banishment or execution. But

Let Us Sive

By E. H. ROY *

in America, we can express our ideas to anyone, anywhere, anytime, without fear of reprisal. We can belong to any political party, or no political party at all as we choose.

If we do not agree with our officials, we can tell them so, and we can vote them out of office. And we can be thankful that here, when a man loses his office, he does not lose his life.

When Commodore Perry entered Japan, the Japanese sent for an American sailor who had been shipwrecked off their coast some years before and who had remained among them. They described an American officer's uniform and asked the sailor his rank. "That," he said, "is a captain." "Who is the officer above him?" they inquired. And the sailor told them it was the commodore. "Who is above him?" The reply was, "The President." This far they could understand, but the answer to their next question, they could not understand. For when they asked, "Who ranks above the President?" the reply was "The people."

The great seal of the United States, printed on all

Thanks

one dollar bills, carries the Latin inscription Novus Ordo Seclorum, meaning "the New Order of the Ages." Our forefathers brought forth here something new: a government of the people, by the people, and for the people. How thankful we ought to be for it!

We should be thankful for our material blessings. In Psalm 66:8-12 we read: "O bless our God, ye people, and make the voice of his praise to be heard.... We went through fire and through water: but thou broughtest us out into a wealthy place."

America is a wealthy place. Its people form one of the best-fed, best-clothed, best-housed nations on earth. Even in times of depression and recession, those on relief here are better off materially than many of the fully employed in some lands.

There is before me a picture of a little girl in India. She was left in a village by someone during the night. She explained the long gash in her face by saying it had been torn by the claws of a dog that had knocked her down to take the few scraps of food someone had put in her dish, a coconut shell. When asked about her

* Pastor, Huntsville, Alabama, SDA Church.

NOVEMBER-DECEMBER

mother and father, she said she never had any. All she knew about the place where she came from was that it was big. She seemed to think she had always been on the streets. She had never been in a house, she always slept on the streets alone, and her stomach always hurt.

It's no wonder that an Indian man interviewed on television some time ago said, "The great difference in my country and yours is the garbage can. In my country, we don't waste food; we eat it."

Ours is the one great nation on earth that has never known famine. In most of the world, hunger has been the lot of mankind from the dawn of history to the miracle of America. Here we must multiply our national debt to store our surplus food! And most of us eat more than we need. For the choicest morsels from around the world, daily placed on our tables, we should be thankful.

We have more automobiles than any other people. We have more and better highways, more electrical appliances, more bathtubs, more hospitals, and more schools than any other nation in the world. Our praise should rise to God for "it is he that giveth thee power to get wealth" (Deuteronomy 8:18).

Said the prophet Joel: "And ye shall eat in plenty, and be satisfied, and praise the name of the Lord your God, that hath dealt wondrously with you" (Joel 2: 26).

We should be especially thankful for our spiritual blessings. Jesus said, "Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God" (Matthew 4:4). And the Lord declares, "When thou hast eaten and art full, then thou shalt bless the Lord thy God for the good land which he hath given thee. Beware that thou forget not the Lord thy God" (Deuteronomy 8:10, 11).

It is not by our might nor by our wisdom that we have gotten these blessings. It is not to any man or organization that we owe our praise. Our praise belongs to God.

We have an open Bible. No longer is it chained to a wall where only a privileged few are permitted to look upon its pages.

We have the good gift of the Holy Spirit to guide and comfort us, the still small voice which says, "This is the way, walk ye in it."

We have the help of the holy angels-ministering spirits, sent forth to minister to them who shall be "heirs of salvation" (Hebrews 1:14).

And we have the love of Christ. All the good things we enjoy in life come to us through Him. "I am come that they might have life, and that they might have it more abundantly," He said (John 10:10).

For the more abundant life that is ours—its freedoms, its material and spiritual blessings, let us give thanks.

Fredericksburg's Monument to

A THE foot of Barton Street in Fredericksburg, Virginia, "America's most historic city," I stood before a simple nine-foot shaft. Although commonplace among the scores of historic monuments in the city, this one was singularly impressive to me, a local minister. Formed of materials from sixteen historical church buildings in the area, the Barton Street monument stands as a tribute to the men who brought religious liberty to Virginia.

While I looked at the half-dozen names etched on the granite monument, my mind drifted away from Fredericksburg to the vortex of political life in Virginia in 1776—Williamsburg.

On a blustery November morning young Thomas Jefferson mingled with his fellow legislators as they took their places on the hardwood benches in Virginia's Assembly Hall.

Only four months had passed since Congress had approved the bold Declaration of Independence, which Jefferson had drafted. Now, in his home State, Jefferson was continuing a relentless drive toward a more liberal government, a more humane legislation, and, in his own words, a "wall of separation between church and state."

Though his efforts on behalf of religious liberty had

caused him to be branded both heretic and atheist by his enemies, Jefferson stood to his feet in the Assembly room to speak out for broad legislative reform.

"It is time some medieval restrictions be removed from the statute books of Virginia," the lawyer said, glancing about him. "For example, heresy from the Established Church is punishable by death; parents go to jail if they refuse to have their children baptized; anyone who does not show up for Sunday church services can be whipped publicly, or, if he is absent too often, put to death."

"Harsh laws like these are harmful," Jefferson said. "They must be eliminated at once if 'reason and inquiry' are to flourish in the colony of Virginia."

No one doubted his earnestness. Already the fortythree-year-old lawyer had made it plain that he had given up his seat in the Continental Congress in order to liberalize Virginia's laws.

And to most of the legislators seated in Virginia's House of Assembly, Jefferson's cause seemed just. They appointed him head of a committee which would pore through the voluminous statute books, ferreting out what they deemed antiquated or unnecessarily harsh.

The task loomed large before the five men selected to carry it out. During the century and a half since Virginia had become an entity, hundreds of statutes had been added to the massive volume of legislation inherited directly from Great Britain. Difficult legal language and scores of varying interpretations further compli-



dom

By LEONARD S. BARNES*

cated the picture. The two men who were not lawyers withdrew.

The remaining members met in Fredericksburg in January of 1777 to organize. Jefferson reminded the men of their commission to bring Virginia's laws into harmony with the spirit of the Declaration of Independence. Agreed in purpose, the three men divided among them the British Statutes, the common law, and Virginia Statutes between 1619 and 1777.

Working independently, the men began the immense chore of updating the colony's network of legislation. When, after two years' work, the committee met again to send their revisions on to the General Assembly for approval, Jefferson was pleased with the progress toward true legal reform that the committee had achieved.

Among the most sweeping pieces of legislation resulting from Jefferson's work with the revision committee was the Virginia Statute for Religious Liberty, a landmark of religious freedom in the newborn country of America.

How highly Jefferson valued this accomplishment was revealed late in life when he looked back over a long and successful career as legislator, governor, diplomat, and President of the United States. Passing by all these honors, Jefferson asked to be remembered chiefly for three contributions: Drafting the Declaration of Independence, founding the University of Virginia, and writing the Virginia Statute for Religious Liberty. While I thought over these events of two centuries ago, the words on the stone monument again registered on my mind. I glanced down the list of names preserved on the shaft: Thomas Jefferson, George Mason, Edmund Pendleton, George Wythe, Thomas Ludwell Lee. A few words of tribute to the religious character of George Washington—whose boyhood town was Fredericksburg—completed the commemoration. The ring of history was there.

Back in the library of Mary Washington College in Fredericksburg, I assembled the facts surrounding the monument itself. I learned that in 1932 representatives of leading religious faiths in America met on Barton Street to commemorate the birth of Virginia's charter for religious freedom. The memorial marks the site of their meeting.

Further browsing turned up the following statement: "The people of this city [Fredericksburg] have the same right to claim that this 'second declaration' had its birth here, that the people of Philadelphia have to claim that city as the birthplace of the first."

Jefferson, the author of both documents, wrote that "all men shall be free to profess . . . their opinions in matters of religion." Echoing the sentiment, Washington once said that "all possess alike the liberty of conscience."

Reflecting on the words inscribed on Fredericksburg's monument to religious freedom, I felt a sense of deep satisfaction that this city had not forgotten. $\star\star\star$

* Pastor, Fredericksburg Seventh-day Adventist Church.



AFTER the Green amendment—which would have exempted from membership and payment of dues those individuals having conscientious convictions against joining or supporting labor unions was ruled not germane during the House debate on repeal of Taft-Hartley 14(b), the scene of conflict shifted to the Senate.

There, on August 12, Senator Wayne Morse (D.-Ore.) introduced a conscience clause during the first executive session of the Senate Subcommittee on Labor. As amended and adopted on August 19 by the full

Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, the conscience clause read as follows:

"Provided further: That no employer shall justify any discrimination against an individual for non-membership in a labor organization . . . , or (C) if he has reasonable grounds for believing (i) that such employee has been issued a certificate by the National Labor Relations Board either that he is a member of a religious sect or division thereof, the established and traditional tenets or teachings of which oppose a requirement that a member of such sect or di-

vision join or financially support any labor organization, or that, even though he is not a member of such a religious sect or division thereof, he holds conscientious objections to membership in any labor organization based upon his religious training and beliefs in relation to a Supreme Being involving duties superior to those arising from any human relation, and (ii) either that such employee has timely paid, in lieu of periodic dues and initiation fees, sums equal to such dues and initiation fees to a nonreligious charitable fund exempt from taxation under section 501 (c) (3) of the Internal Revenue Code, designated by the labor organization, or that the labor organization has failed upon request to designate such a fund, or waives such payment, or (iii) that such employee has complied with alternative arrangements mutually agreed upon by such employee and such labor organization."

This amendment differs in two respects from that introduced by Rep. Edith Green (D.-Ore.) in the House.

First, the Morse amendment makes no mention of the equivalent of dues or initiation fees being paid to the United States Government. This provision was eliminated from the Senate bill for a very practical reason: the Senate cannot constitutionally initiate revenue bills, and such a clause might have been construed to be such. The Morse alternative is that section which provides that payment shall be made to a nonreligious charitable fund designated by the labor unions.

The second difference consists in the qualifications for exemption. In the Green amendment, only those individuals belonging to a church or a division thereof, with established and traditional tenets or teachings against joining or supporting labor organizations, could qualify for exemption. The Morse amendment exempts also that individual who, though "not a member of such a religious sect or division thereof," holds "conscientious objections

to membership in any labor organization based upon his religious training and beliefs in relation to a Supreme Being involving duties superior to those arising from any human relation."

Senator Morse gave the following explanation on the Senate floor for this broader exemption:

"I am offering the amendment with cognizance of what the Supreme Court has held are constitutional rights in relation to the first amendment, which deals with religious freedom. I feel that we have a duty to respect in

legislation the determinations of that long line of U.S. Supreme Court decisions that bear on this constitutional question of conscience.

"I point out that I am using in some parts of the amendment the exact language that appears in the Seeger case, which is the latest and the most controlling case in this field."—*Congressional Record*, August 12, 1965, p. 19443.

The bill as reported out by the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare differed in two significant respects from that submitted by Senator Morse to the subcommittee. The initial version would have provided for payment of the equivalent of dues to private charitable organizations which serve only a limited number of individuals. Labor union welfare funds would have been included. Since some conscientious objectors could not, without violating their religious convictions, contribute money to a union fund, Senator Javits suggested that the equivalent of dues be paid to a "charitable fund exempt from taxation" as restricted by "section 501(c) (3) of the Internal Revenue Code." This wording took care of one problem but left another, as Senator Robert Kennedy pointed out. He was concerned with the fact that individuals might still be required to pay the equivalent of dues to a religious charitable organization. The

Compulsory Unionism v. Religious Conscience

Round 3: The Morse Amendment

By W. MELVIN ADAMS

Senator felt that this might be objectionable to a Protestant forced to contribute to a Catholic charity or to a Catholic forced to contribute to a Protestant charity. He suggested that the word "nonreligious" be added preceding "charitable fund." This suggestion was carried out. The full committee adopted the Morse amendment by unanimous vote, 16-0.

Apparently officials of the International Union of Teamsters were unhappy with the Morse amendment, for during the last days of August they circulated a memorandum among the committee members suggesting substantial changes in the amendment—changes which would have affected its application in such a way as to make it unacceptable to many conscientious objectors. As a result of this memorandum, the full committee met September 1 to re-examine the amendment. All members were present with the exception of Robert Kennedy. No vote was taken by the committee, but most of the Senators agreed that the Morse amendment should stand as voted by the full committee.

That afternoon the full committee, after having completed its executive session on the repeal bill, reported H. R. 77 to the Senate with the Morse amendment attached to it. The vote was 12 to 3. Republican Senators Jacob Javits of New York and George Murphy of California joined the ten Democrats on the committee in voting the bill out. Opposition votes were cast by the committee chairman, Democratic Senator Lister Hill of Alabama, and two Republican Senators, Peter H. Dominick of Colorado and Paul J. Fannin of Arizona. The committee report was filed September 9.

At press time the fate of Taft-Hartley 14(b) is undecided. If 14(b) is repealed, odds are we will have a conscience clause. If 14(b) is not repealed, we will yet need to seek relief for conscientious objectors.

VOICES IN THE ECUMENICAL WIND

Protestants Move Toward Unity

BETTY D. MAYO

New moves toward Protestant church union are under way in at least 10 countries.

Nigeria — Anglicans (Episcopalians), Methodists, and Presbyterians have approved a constitution and are preparing a service of union for launching the new Church of Nigeria this December.

England—Methodists and Anglicans (Church of England) have voted to negotiate for the next three years. Recognition of each other's ministry is hoped for by 1970, with organic union to follow. Disestablishment of the Church of England as a state church is one of the many thorny problems to be worked out.

Australia—Congregationalists, Methodists, and Presbyterians have a timetable for union, possibly by 1968. The process could be slowed down if Anglicans, now looking at the proposed plan, ask to enter.

Canada—Anglicans, Methodists, Congregationalists, and Presbyterians (the three latter in the United Church of Christ) after 22 years of negotiations, are moving toward organic union. Anglicans voted on a basic plan for union last August at Vancouver. The United Church of Christ members are to vote in September, 1966, at Waterloo, Ontario.

Wales and England—Presbyterians of England and Congregationalists of England and Wales recently approved a plan for union. Now both church bodies must vote. Presbyterians in Scotland, Wales, and Ireland are not being included in union plans for the time being. Scotland and England—Anglicans and Presbyterians of both countries will hold a summit meeting in January, 1966, at Edinburgh to consider further steps toward unity.

Italy—The Second Italian Evangelical Congress meeting in Rome recently voted to form statutes for a federation and act on them, possibly in 1967. Baptists, Methodists, and Waldensians—the three major Protestant groups—favor federation and an increased dialogue with the Roman Catholic Church. Pentecostals and smaller groups are less enthusiastic on both counts.

North India and Pakistan—Anglicans, Brethren, Disciples, Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians, and Congregationalists (the two latter in United Church of Christ) are now in the third edition of plans for union which were initiated in 1957.

Ghana-Anglicans, Presbyterians, and Methodists are involved in union plans first started in 1963.

England—The British Council of Churches, representing the British Protestant churches outside the Anglican communion, has a target date of Easter, 1980, for church unity among council members.

Denominational divisions separating the episcopal, presbyterial, and congregational ministries have existed since the Protestant Reformation.

> Reprinted by permission of the Christian Science Monitor.

Other stores were open, selling the same items. But Allen Bondy's hardware store continued to draw complaints. Was this a case of

Discrimination in Sunday Law Enforcement?

By MARVIN E. LOEWEN

ALLEN C. BONDY operates a hardware store in South Euclid, Ohio. On Sunday, April 28, 1963, a customer purchased a nineteen-cent paintbrush. Sixteen other stores were open in the city that same day, some of them selling the same items he was offering for sale. So he was surprised when on May 2 his nineteen-cent customer, Marvin Dronzek, filed a complaint charging him with a violation of the Sunday law.

South Euclid city officials have agreed to enforce Sunday-closing laws only when a private citizen files an affidavit charging a violation. Mr. Bondy, as his attorney pointed out before the court, was the first to be prosecuted. The court held that somebody had to be first. Mr. Bondy was found guilty and fined \$25.

The court, however, had some serious questions concerning the enforcement policy of South Euclid. Judge Jerome A. Klein noted that one could look out of the front door of Mr. Bondy's hardware store and see chain drugstores and dairy stores open for business and selling many items handled by Mr. Bondy. Just a stone's throw to the west were garden stores selling grass seeds, fertilizers, garden tools, and other items that Mr. Bondy also offered for sale. The court concluded that "commercialism is running rampant."

June 24, 1963, Mr. Bondy was again charged with violating the Sunday code. This affidavit, filed by Harvey Yoder, was dismissed when it was discovered that the affidavit and the complaint were defective.

A third complaint was filed by Mr. Yoder on October 14, 1963, alleging a violation on Sunday, October 6. Again Mr. Bondy's attorney charged the city of South Euclid with enforcing the Sunday-closing statute in a discriminatory fashion. He pointed out that approximately sixteen retail outlets—including grocery stores, dairies, hardware stores, and fruit stands—had been open each Sunday and no one else had been arrested.

The court was faced with a difficult problem. Certain rules of law were considered:

"The fact that one person is prosecuted and another is not, is a subject with which the court cannot deal." *State* v. *Haase*, 97 Ohio App., 377, 116 NE. (2d), 224, 230.

"One offender cannot excuse his conduct by showing that someone else equally guilty has not been prosecuted." *State of Vermont* v. *Corologos*, 101 Vt., 300, 143A., 284, 287, 59A.L.R., 1541.

But there is another side to the coin. Discriminatory enforcement of the law cannot be upheld:

"If the court finds that there was an intentional and purposeful discrimination, the court should quash the prosecution, not because the defendant is not guilty of the crime charged, but because the court, as an agency of government, should not lend itself to a prosecution the maintenance of which would violate the constitutional rights of the defendant." *People* v. *Utica Daw's Drug Company*, 225 N.Y.S. (2d), 128, 132.

Here is the court's decision:

"As far as enforcing Section 3773.24, Revised Code, is concerned, the City of South Euclid has sought to choose a course of least resistance-a course which lacks the courage of any conviction. The City Administration has not had the intestinal fortitude to affirm that it will enforce the Blue Laws of the State of Ohio as it is legally required to do-nor has it had the determination to state that it will not enforce these laws against South Euclid businessmen when merchants in competitive businesses in neighboring communities are free to transact business on Sunday. Because the City of South Euclid has relinquished its obligation to enforce this law to chance-or to the will and whim of disillusioned competitors, hotheads, and others-the defendant Bondy is being knocked from pillar to post because he is open a few hours on Sunday while other businesses, many much larger and much more commercial, go merrily on their way selling merchandise on the Sabbath day.

"Bondy has stated publicly that he will close his business on Sunday if others will do the same. He has pleaded his case eloquently before the mayor, law director, and other officials of South Euclid—but to no avail. Since his public plea, he has been charged twice with violating this law. It is no wonder he is bewildered and disillusioned with what can happen under our American system.

"In the opinion of this court, a city administration should not violate the principles of equal justice because of a fear that, by taking a stand on an issue, a few voters may be alienated. . . .

"City officials, just as courts, have an obligation to act courageously—to take a positive stand on an issue. They, too, have a sacred obligation to enforce the laws equally and impartially.

"Bondy has not merely been prosecuted for violating Section 3773.24, Revised Code. At this point, he is being persecuted. This is a shameful thing to be happening in our great democracy.

"For the reasons set forth above, it is the opinion of this court that the ends of justice would not be served by having Bondy pay a \$50 fine and serve five days in the County Jail.

"\$50 fine, costs, and five-day jail sentence suspended." --95 Ohio Law Abstract, 297.

Alleged Sunday Law Violators Take Fifth

By GORDON F. DALRYMPLE

AKING the fifth amendment is standard procedure for people suspected of Communist activity or association with the Mafia.

But it is a new twist to see it used by three men suspected of selling boats on Sunday.

Witnesses were subpoenaed by the attorney for a Westbury, New York, swimming-pool company, who sought to demonstrate that his client is not the only one who does business on the first day of the week. It never occurred to the defense that the fifth amendment would be pleaded.

Joseph Hellman, of Manhattan, was the attorney. He was defending the Paddock-Welding Swimming Pool Corporation, largest swimming-pool manufacturer in the East. A Paddock employee was accused of doing business Sunday, April 4, violating a Sunday-closing ordinance.

In the Nassau District court the first witness Hellman called was Robert Vogt, of Port Washington. Hellman introduced him as one who owns a firm that sells

sailboats. Called to testify as to whether he had sold boats on Sunday, Vogt promptly pleaded the fifth amendment. He pleaded it to the extent that he would not reveal what he does for a living or whether he does indeed own the company said to be his.

Bennett Minton, Jr., of Freeport, New York, described by Hellman as a yacht broker, admitted that he does own a business at 396 Woodcleft Avenue. But when he was asked what the business was, Minton pleaded the fifth amendment, claiming that any answer he gave would tend to incriminate him.

Abraham H. Stein, partner in Porthole Marine, a marine supply business at 102 Woodcleft, Freeport, conceded that he does own a business there and that he sells marine supplies. At this point Judge Raymond L. Wilkes warned that any testimony he gave could be used against him. Stein refused to testify further, pleading the fifth amendment to each question asked him.

Lewis Kudisch, president of the Paddock-Welding Swimming Pool Corporation, pointed out on the witness stand that he and two of his men purchased products on Sunday from the three businessmen called into court by Hellman. They also purchased real estate and garden supplies from an additional five men who were subpoenaed but not called to testify.

The defense's effort in calling others before the court was to highlight the ridiculous nature of Sunday laws. Kudisch attempted to show that a law was illogical that permitted purchase of one item on Sunday and not another. Commented he on the witness stand: "I bought a \$3,000 boat last Sunday. There is no difference between buying a boat—or a rake and shovel or a wheelbarrow—on Sunday and buying a swimming pool. Our business has been terrible since we've had to stay closed on Sundays."

Kudisch contended that swimming pools are in the same category as marine and garden equipment; but Assistant District Attorney William Turner claimed they were not. In the course of the trial Turner claimed that the State law permits nurseries, real-estate agents, and bait and tackle places to open Sundays.

After several weeks of deliberation Judge Wilkes decided the case in favor of the defendant. His decision was based on:

1. The illogic in discriminating between businesses and Sunday closing.

2. The intent of Sunday laws. He contended they were designed for worship on the first day, and as such could not logically discriminate against one business as compared with another.

3. The realities of commercial life today.

Wilkes voiced his concern over laws that restrict personal freedom, particularly in minor aspects of life that include buying and selling on a given day of the week.

NOVEMBER-DECEMBER

Sweden's Struggle for Religious Freedom »,

By H. O. OLSON

THE gradual emergence of religious liberty in Sweden, which we have traced through three centuries, has continued into the twentieth. Today Sweden grants religious liberty equal to that of the most liberal countries where there is a state church.

The close connection between the Swedish state and church is expressed in the words of Gustavus Adolphus: "The majesty of the Swedish kingdom and the Church of God which rests therein." The king must still profess the pure evangelical creed. The government department charged with matters ecclesiastical is the Ministry of Public Worship and Education, which also controls public education.

Public registration of births and deaths is in the hands of the state church, and certificates of altered residence are issued by the parish clergyman. Legalized free churches also attend to some registration.

Civil marriage was provided for in 1908, and after forty years of agitation, a law that became effective January 1, 1952, permits marriage both by free church ministers and Catholic priests. This law also permits the establishment of cloisters but only on the sanction of the king and on conditions prescribed by him. No one may be admitted as a member of a cloister until he is twenty-one years old.

Until recently only state church clergy could bury the dead. Other ministers could preach the funeral sermon and then the parish clergyman took over. Now the ministers of other than the state church can officiate fully at funerals.

Until about the time of the second world war the yearbooks of Sweden gave the membership of the Roman Catholic Church as 3,500. In recent years membership has increased to about 20,000, mainly because of the immigration of foreign workers from Southern European countries. The total number in all the free churches, including the number in the Sunday schools, is over a half million. Renunciation of Lutheranism was formerly permitted only to those who joined another church, but now this is not required of those who leave.

By the law of October 26, 1951, children, though registered by the state church, are not registered as members of it if the parents wish otherwise.

According to a law adopted October 11, 1963, if a member of the state church no longer desires to retain membership, he personally reports this to the pastor of the church where he is registered, and requests that his membership be dropped, or he makes this request by a personally signed letter, which must be signed by two witnesses. Those who withdraw from the state church are released from payment of 40 per cent of the taxes that go for support of the church.

Jews and others who keep the seventh day sacred may not open their places of business on Sunday. Stores where milk and certain other commodities are sold may be open at certain hours.

Jews and Sabbathkeeping Christians are at liberty to keep their children out of school on Saturday. They may also operate their own schools, but the teachers must obtain state certification. Non-Protestants may be excused from classes in religion by application to the school board on condition that the parents certify that the children are provided with instruction in religion.

Freedom of expression is quite liberal. Denial of religion—blasphemy—may be considered a crime, yet there is no record in recent years of an indictment being brought against anyone because of this. Liberty to believe or not to believe is a reality.¹

Revival Brings Persecution

As we noted in the last issue, liberty was a long time coming. To some dissenters of the 1849's and 1850's all the progress made from 1527 on seemed lost when fierce persecution drove them into exile and imprisonment.

The trouble began with a religious revival, the pietistic movement. As large numbers of the laity left their vocations and, without joining any denomination,



Interior Sta. Maria church at Sigtuna.

Recent advances have brought Sweden into the community of nations espousing religious freedom.

went out as itinerant missionaries, the wrath of the clergy was aroused. All the laws against nonconformists were utilized in order to crush the movement.

Persecution was fiercest in the province of Dalecarlia. Whole congregations were sued and summoned before district courts. The most common forms of punishment were heavy fines or imprisonment on a bread and water diet. Those who, after paying the penalty, refused to perform the penance ordered by the church, were in many instances thrust into prison. So many were jailed for administering the sacraments, assembling for prayer and song service, et cetera, that the Falun prison could hold only half of them.²

It is said that King Oscar I once asked Bishop Thomander if he did not think it practicable to banish all pietists from Sweden. The bishop is reputed to have answered, "Your majesty's fleet is too small for such a shipment."

But shipments there were. In 1846, after repeated imprisonments, Eric Janson, founder and leader of the Jansonite Movement, similar to the Methodists, escaped over the mountains with some of his followers into Norway. From there he fled to Copenhagen, and finally, to Victoria, Illinois, in the United States.

Because of fines and imprisonment suffered by his adherents, eleven hundred prepared to follow their leader. The aggregate of their means was made a common fund and put into the hands of trustees. The hardships of the voyage were tremendous. The only Swedish ships trading with America were old hulks. In several such vessels temporarily fitted up to convey immigrants, the first parties left in the spring and summer of 1846. One of the vessels with fifty passengers was never heard of again; another was wrecked off Newfoundland but her passengers were saved; a third was five months on the way. The immigrants suffered greatly from sickness and famine.

By the end of 1846 about four hundred had joined their leader in Victoria. Janson had purchased several

NOVEMBER-DECEMBER

pieces of land. The one selected for a town site was named Bishopshill, which was a literal translation of his native place in Sweden. Several more additions from Sweden and Norway were made. A place of worship and a school were erected. Service was held three times on Sunday and twice on other days.

Embarrassment Grows

Meanwhile, in Sweden, embarrassment was growing because of the image of intolerance being projected. Other nations and religious groups were making themselves heard. In the fall of 1851 a meeting of the Evangelical Alliance was held in London. Representatives from nearly all Protestant denominations were present. Persecution of dissenters in Sweden was made a subject of prayer at the conference.

Lord Palmerston, the foreign minister of England, sent a communication to the Swedish Government urging that intolerant laws be modified. Simultaneously a similar communication was sent from France.

At a synod of the Reformed Church in France, held in Paris in 1852, it was decided to send a request to the Protestant Church of Sweden, asking that intolerant laws be repealed.

On September 27, 1852, a meeting to discuss religious liberty was called in Stockholm by friends of the cause of freedom of conscience. Three questions were considered: 1. "Is it consistent with the essence of Christianity to use civil force in order to spread and establish it?" 2. "Is there judicially and in fact religious liberty in Sweden, and can one seriously speak of freedom of confession?" 3. "Is the degree of education of the Swedish people lower now than that of the Norwegian people seven years ago, when their Storthing, by the passage of the now-existing dissenters' law, abolished constraint in religious matters, and their king (who is also our king) declared that religious liberty for every denomination and for every individual was in perfect accord with the spirit of Norway's policy, with the present-day conception of tolerance, and with the present state of affairs in the land?"

The conclusions: To question no. 1, the gathering replied that when the church resorted to the civil sword, it was an indication that she no longer sought her strength and safety from God, but had separated herself from Him. In regard to the first part of the second question, it was agreed that paragraph 16 of the fundamental law of Sweden guaranteed religious liberty, but that this liberty was, in practice, lacking.

The second part of the question was answered by a unanimous No.

The third question gave occasion to an expression of regret that the "noble and benevolent king" should in one kingdom be obliged, according to paragraphs of the old Vandal law, to banish citizens, who in the other kingdom enjoyed all political and civil rights. It was



Royal Swedish Church-State Committee, appointed by King's Cabinet 1958, will give final report on advantages or disadvantages of establishment in 1967, after having visited Norway, Finland, West Germany, England, Scotland, and the United States. Members are (left to right) Olle Engström, Theological Seminary, Congregational Church; Erik Tammelin, Supreme Court Justice; Åke Zetterberg, Parliament member; Bishop Ruben Josefson; K. G. Lindelöw, Judge, Court of Appeal, pictured with W. Melvin Adams, of *Liberty*.

called "humiliating" for the people of Sweden to occupy this unique position with respect to religious liberty, seeing that their neighbors enjoyed full liberty of conscience.^{*}

In June of 1853, more than a hundred clergymen met in Stockholm and agreed that the "conventicle placard," which prohibited private gatherings for Bible study and worship, should be abrogated.

Other voices continued to be heard during 1853 and 1854. They argued that history served to show that governments had never profited by intolerance in religious matters. It was not because of religious liberty, but because of religious intolerance that ancient Rome saw its glory vanish. It cast out, not criminals—they enjoyed religious liberty—but several hundred thousand of its most noble citizens. Religious persecutions in France also bore witness to the same fact. If in like manner the truth-loving people should be plucked away in Sweden, then its last hour would soon be struck.⁴

In 1855, further remonstrances from England and Scotland were sent to the king, Oscar I. One came from the Synod of the English Presbyterian Church, held in London during April, beseeching him to repeal or alter the intolerant laws.

The Free Church of Scotland sent a similar memorial, which called the king to remember the close relationship between the Swedes and the Scotch, and the close alliance and brotherhood that existed between them, when, under the great Gustavus Adolphus, they fought honorable battles for the cause of freedom.

The free churchmen expressed their deepest regret

that a people to whom Protestantism and the cause of religious liberty in Northern Europe owed such an inexpressibly deep debt, should deny its own citizens what they had helped to gain for others.5

In the address with which the king opened the Riksdag of 1856-1858, he spoke of the spirit of forbearance that belongs to the very essence of the Protestant religion and befits the people whose heroic king, Gustavus Adolphus, with brilliant victories and the sacrifice of his life, laid the foundation of liberty of thought in Middle Europe. He further stated that those sections of the law which circumscribe the religious freedom of the people and hinder the conduct of devotional exercises ought to disappear. He promised that resolutions dealing with this matter, as well as the abolition of banishment as a form of punishment, would be submitted to the Estates.

The resolution, when it appeared, called for full liberty to be granted to hold religious meetings, provided that they were not, without special permission, held at the time for the regular service in the State church."

The royal resolution, however, received a majority of votes only in the Commonalty, one of the four branches of the Riksdag. The cause of liberty had apparently suffered defeat." After a further hearing before the judiciary committee, the paragraph relating to the repeal of the "conventicle placard" was passed by the Riksdag and sent to the king for confirmation. It was ratified by the issuance of a royal ordinance on October 26, 1858.8

As a result of the general demand for liberty, two royal ordinances were issued on October 23, 1860. The first concerned "a change in regulations then in force concerning the responsibility of one who accepts and diffuses false doctrines," and the other, "nonconformists and their exercise of religion." By the first, banishment as a form of punishment for dissenters, was abolished; fine or imprisonment, however, was still to be the lot of one who spread "false doctrines." By the second, Swedish citizens who confessed another faith than the Lutheran were privileged to petition the king for the right of organizing separate churches. It further provided that anyone over eighteen years of age who apostatized from the Lutheran faith, and after due counsel and exhortation persisted in his course, should be permitted to leave the state church and join any other denomination countenanced within the kingdom. A royal ordinance of October 31, 1873, made it still easier to sever connection with the state church, and provided, under certain conditions, for civil marriage.

On November 28, 1870, a royal resolution prohibited anyone from severing his connection with the state church unless he would either state his intention to join a denomination already permitted in the kingdom,

NOVEMBER-DECEMBER

or, together with others of like faith, to found a new church.

On November 7, 1884, an amendment provided that "he who announces his resignation of membership in the State Church does not need actually to join any other denomination recognized by the State."

Of the Methodists a large number have seceded from the state church. Other dissenters have not, as a rule, availed themselves of this privilege. In 1868 the Baptist Church at Vamhus sought the royal sanction for such a severance, but in 1891 they reorganized on their own initiative, and the members now hold membership in both the state church and the Baptist Church, as do a large majority of nonconformists. This situation is deplored by many of the leading men both in the state church and among all other denominations.¹⁰

During the years 1865-1866 the Riksdag was reorganized into a lower and upper chamber. Representation was no longer based on class distinction. With the abolishment of the four Estates the clergy lost their time-honored political influence. Here was a significant step toward practical separation of church and state.

The Riksdag of 1870 so changed the fundamental law that, with the exception of members of the cabinet who, like the king, must profess the Lutheran faith, members of all Christian denominations and also the Jews may be appointed to all official positions other than clerical and those of instructors in theology and Christianity."

As has been noted, further advances have brought Sweden into the community of nations espousing religious freedom. The trend today seems to be toward the secular in all branches of the government and public educational institutions.

REFERENCES

<text><text><text><text><text><text><text><text><text><text><text>

as the editors see it



SCHOOLS FOR THE PUBLIC

HE United States has long neglected its public school system, allowing this cornerstone of democracy to fall into serious deterioration and decay. A great national effort to strengthen the public schools is now long overdue.

But let it be remembered that the Federal Government's concern is with *public* schools. Private schools have a valuable contribution to make to American education. They can experiment and innovate in ways that may be impermissible for public schools; they can give religious instruction for those who desire it; they can provide tutorial techniques and seminar courses too costly for public schools; they can offer all sorts of specialized programs for exceptional children. For all these reasons they should be kept jealously free from governmental control and should be supported by private resources.

Because some supporters of private schools seem disposed to demand public funds for their own institutions as the price for supporting public aid to public schools, there is a danger that the vital distinction between the two will be blurred. Indeed, it has been blurred already under the provisions of the National Defense Education Act passed by the last session of Congress. These provisions permit loans to private schools for the construction and equipment of scientific facilities and give scholarship loans to private school teachers for graduate studies in teaching; of the \$3.6 million in loans made under Title III to strengthen instruction, nearly all went to Catholic parochial schools.

The distinction between loans and grants in this context is a distinction without a difference in essential principle. An advantageous loan of public money is a subsidy, a form of support; when it is made to a religious school, for whatever purpose, it gives that school a measure of Federal aid which erodes the wall supposed to separate church and state in this free land.

A tragic train of evils can come from the erosion of this wall, including, as has happened in other countries where public and private schools are indiscriminately supported by the government, a perennially bitter conflict over division of the available public funds. The end result is bound to be the fracturing and eventual destruction of the public school system as every religious denomination seeks to build a private school system of its own in order to indoctrinate the children of its parishioners with its own particular religious ideology. The separation of church and state in education has been one of the great blessings of American life. Let the churches teach religion. Let the public schools teach secular subjects. Let those who do not wish to observe this separation send children to schools of their own choosing—and of their own construction and maintenance. But for the sake of the great society envisioned for America, let the public support public schools open without discrimination to all the public.—Washington *Post*, Sunday, November 29, 1964. Used with permission.

RELIGIOUS LIBERTY AND PUBLIC ORDER

B OTH the religious liberty schema submitted to the Second Vatican Council and the international standard of religious liberty espoused by the executive committee of the World Council of Churches Commission on International Affairs contain a loophole big enough to "drive the Spanish Inquisition through" —public order as determined by law.

For the expressive imagery defining the dimensions of the loophole, we are indebted to the *Christian Century*, which coined it to describe their concern at the seventh of seven essentials set forth by the WCC commission: "The exercise of religious freedom as well as that of other civil rights may be subject to such limitations as are determined by law solely in the interest of public order."

We would apply this imagery also to the more recently released religious liberty schema submitted to the Vatican Council, which recognizes the limits to religious liberty "demanded by the exigencies of public order." A multitude of martyrs from under the altar testify to the Godgiven rights of conscience that have been proscribed and are yet being proscribed—under the headings of "interests" and "exigencies" of "public order." As the *Christian Century* observed:

"The Spanish government and the Spanish church today use 'public order' as an excuse for repression of Protestants. The Burmese government cites 'public order' as an excuse for the exclusion of Christian missionaries. And in the United States 'public order' is used periodically as an excuse for attacks on the eccentric practices of religious sects. Theoretically and practically there is always a tension between religious freedom and public order. The issue is too complex to be covered with a phrase—certainly not with the simple assertion that public order should always have priority over religious freedom."—Aug. 18, 1965, p. 1004. Well said. We must admit to concern also over the phrase "due limits," which repeatedly limits finesounding declarations in the council schema. In its defense of the clerical state and the preferred position of the Roman Catholic Church before the judiciary of the state, the declaration is revealed to be not so much a declaration of religious liberty as a declaration of religious toleration—which, at the risk of mixing metaphors, is a horse of a different color.

Not that we expect to see the Spanish Inquisition reincarnated come roaring through the loophole left by both the WCC commission and the Vatican Council. Not tomorrow anyway. Rather that prudent men discern the danger in the principle. And remember that there remains always the day after tomorrow . . .

R. R. H.

BANKRUPT CHURCHES?

A LMOST all religious groups, as Rabbi Arthur Gilbert has observed, when they have achieved power, have accepted the largess of the state. Rabbi Gilbert, who is staff consultant of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, believes that religion in America has become a force of profound significance in a large measure because we have had to support the church ourselves. We concur in this judgment, which he expressed at a recent meeting of the Catholic Press. The independence of the church in the United States has ensured growth and vitality. Where church and state have leaned on each other for assistance, neither has prospered.

To establish a relationship with God is a highly personal matter. Only men bemused with the thirst for power and authority would imagine that government could help the soul in this quest. Indeed, it is only when the personal nature of this relationship is forgotten that man will accept governmental interference in his communion with the Divine.

To some degree the very success of the church in a free society, when that success is measured by growth and power, is dangerous. To trust in flesh and blood, in material resources, means to forget the spiritual dimensions of our commitment. Worship becomes form; the objectives of the church become "of the earth, earthy" (1 Cor. 15:47), as Paul said. Its leaders begin to feel that numbers bring special privilege; majority rights rather than minority rights are spoken of more and more frequently; the largess of the state becomes increasingly tempting.

The churches are now well-nigh enamored with a number of Federal programs under which funds are channeled to institutions of the church. It is time for them to weigh the allurement of cash against the virtue of independence. To accept financial assistance can

NOVEMBER-DECEMBER

cost the church something more precious than money. Rabbi Gilbert referred to the experience of the church in Germany: "When the church becomes too closely identified with the political order of the society, when it becomes dependent financially on that society, it is bankrupt. It is silent when it should be prophetic."

The churches have an influence on society precisely because they have fought their own battles and paid their own way, and are obligated to no man. How tragic it would be should our churches go bankrupt bartering their rich heritage of spiritual power for a materialistic mess of pottage! M. E. L.

How Absolute Are Your Freedoms?

From page 15

rized thus: Religion is a basic part of our heritage: it is one of the most effective weapons that can be utilized to combat the moral breakdown and decay of society; to deny its limited establishment will inevitably result in the establishment of secularism as a religion, which is also contrary to the intent and letter of the First Amendment.

At the same time, one of the most precious fundamentals of this society, which we are seeking to preserve, is the individual's freedom to think, to express himself, and to believe or to disbelieve. This freedom is diminished to the same extent that any method of persuasion is utilized by the government. Any establishment of religion, however limited, has some persuasive force in favor of religion. If this were not so there would be no desire for the establishment. Stated simply, the conflict under the establishment clause is between the government's interest in preserving and strengthening the moral fiber of society, on one hand, and the individual's right to be free from even slight brainwashing, on the other hand.

Another reason why a government will endeavor to establish religion is seldom, if ever, advanced as justification for even a limited establishment of religion, since it flies directly in the face of the philosophy that is implicit in the First Amendment's guarantee of freedom from religious intolerance. I refer to the desire for uniformity. The human mind is curious; it seeks to ascertain causes and the reasons why. At the same time, the human mind soon becomes impatient with this quest for answers and becomes frustrated if it appears that there is no answer which is clearly ascertainable.

For the sake of sanity, this frustration is often resolved by the individual's acceptance with finality of some explanation as "the truth." Any other person or group who would assert, or even suggest, that this accepted explanation is not true is making a direct attack against the comfortable freedom from anxiety which the individual has achieved. Thus, human nature desires religious uniformity, not because it is right but because it is comfortable. It is only to be expected that a government, directed by men who are very human, will attempt to establish to some extent the accepted beliefs of the majority.

WHETHER REASONABLE establishments of religion are compatible with the requirements of the First Amendment is a question which will be before the courts of this nation with increasing frequency during the next few years. There was considerable public reaction to the Supreme Court's 1962 decision holding that a nonsectarian prayer which was composed for use in public schools was unconstitutional.10 This was followed in 1963 by a decision declaring that Bible reading and recitation of the Lord's Prayer in public schools were illegal establishments of religion." In 1964 the Court ruled, in effect, that the phrase "under God," which was added to the National Pledge of Allegiance in 1954, is not in violation of the First Amendment.12

In weighing and balancing conflicting claims of freedom and governmental authority under the establishment clause of the First Amendment, courts must be limited to those cases where there is, in fact, some interest which is properly within the province of governmental authority. Otherwise, nothing legitimate exists which may be weighed and balanced against the claims of freedom from religious establishments.

Further, unless the courts are willing to look for the motivational factors behind the enactments respecting religious establishments, violence will be done to the great American spirit of tolerance which is the essence of the First Amendment. Laws motivated by a desire to encourage uniformity in favor of the accepted beliefs of the dominant religious groups are precisely what the First Amendment is intended to prohibit. Such motives can be distinguished from a bona fide intent merely to preserve reverence and respect for religion in general as a part of our heritage.

In the past the courts have given little, if any, heed to the motives behind legislation which tends to establish religion. As a result, laws which are obviously intended to further sectarian interest and promote religious uniformity have on occasion been upheld when indirect methods have been utilized. For example, it is clear under the law that the Government cannot grant financial assistance to religious groups, but the expenditure of public funds for textbooks and school bus rides has been justified on the theory that children, not religious organizations, are the recipients of these benefits.¹³

HE desire of sectarian groups to give religious training to public school students during school hours

has also been accomplished because the courts have been willing to ignore motives. After having held that religious training during school hours on school property was unconstitutional," the Supreme Court of the United States upheld a so-called "released time" program wherein students were allowed to leave the school property during school hours in order to receive religious training elsewhere.15 Students who did not desire the religious training were free to stay on campus for a supervised study hour.

Why were the sectarian groups so insistent that the religious training be during school hours? The answer is obvious. A child who may prefer an hour of religious training to an hour of study might be otherwise inclined if the alternative were an hour of play during his own free time. Clearly the motive was to take advantage of the coercive effect of school attendance laws. By disregarding this motive, the Court approved a system which in effect told school children they could either spend an hour in church or an hour in jail.

The most flagrant example of allowing dominant religious groups to accomplish indirectly that which they were prohibited from doing directly is the 1961 decision of the United States Supreme Court which upheld Sunday-closing legislation.14 The Court concluded that modern laws which prohibit certain commercial activities on Sunday are secular in their nature and are not enacted with the purpose of using the Government's coercive powers to aid religion. This conclusion seems to ignore the obvious motives of the religious organizations which are primarily responsible for the enactment and enforcement of Sunday laws as well as the defeat of liberalizing amendments which would merely provide for a one-day-in-seven work stoppage." Thus, the dominant religious organizations in their extensive promotional campaign to encourage the American public to "worship with their families in the church of their choice next Sunday," now have the assistance of the police force to help them in accomplishing this goal.

REFERENCES

- ¹ Constitution of the United States of America, Amendment I. ² See e.g., Concurring opinion of Mr. Justice Douglas in School Dist. of Abington Township v. Schempp and Murray v. Curlett, 83 S. Ct. 1574
- (1963).
- (1965).
 ^a Reynolds v. United States, 98 U.S. 145 (1875).
 ^a See e.g., Cantwell v. Connecticut, 310 U.S. 296, 303, 304 (1940).
 ^b Watson v. Jones, 13 Wall, 679, 728 (1872); United States v. Ballard, 322 U.S. 78, 86 (1944).
 - ⁶ See Jacobson v. Massachusetts, 197 U.S. 11 (1905). ⁷ Minersville School Dist. v. Gobitis, 310 U.S. 586 (1940).
- ^a Minersville School Dist. v. Gobitis, 310 U.S. 586 (1940).
 ^b Ibid., p. 591.
 ^b West Va. State Bd. of Education v. Barnette, 319 U.S. 624 (1943).
 ¹⁰ Engel v. Vitale, 370 U.S. 421 (1962).
 ¹¹ School District of Abington Township v. Schempp and Murray v.
 ¹² Carlot District of Abington of City of Los Angeles, I.A. County Superior Court, Case No. 820, 488 (filed June, 1963).
 ¹³ Cochran v. Louisiana State Bd. of Education, 281 U.S. 370 (1930);
 ¹⁴ Decollam v. Bd. of Education, 330 U.S. 1 (1947).
 ¹⁵ McGollam v. Bd. of Education, 336 (1952).
 ¹⁶ McGowan v. Maryland, 366 U.S. 420; Gallagher v. Crown Kosher Super Market, 366 U.S. 617; Two Guys From Harrison-Allentown v. McGinley, 366 U.S. 582; Branneld v. Brown, 366 U.S. 599 (1961).
 ¹⁵ See Leo Pfeffer, Creeds in Competition, pp. 109-111.

world news

UNITED STATES

R.I. Governor Vetoes Anti-Obscenity Bill

Providence, *R.I.*—Gov. John H. Chafee has vetoed controversial legislation offered to curb obscenity in motion pictures and stage shows.

He said that the bill, in effect, would create "30 separate boards of censorship" in the State. Holding that it was unconstitutional, he dismissed the measure as "hastily contrived."

As passed by the State's legislature, the bill would have permitted city and town licensing officials to delay the opening of any movie or show for 48 hours on grounds of obscenity.

After 48 hours a license would be issued unless the licensing authority had obtained a restraining order in Superior Court that would bar the performance.

The bill was endorsed by the Rhode Island Knights of Columbus. Opposition was led by theater owners and the Rhode Island affiliate of the American Civil Liberties Union.

The bill, said the governor, "while seeking a commendable goal, namely, the suppression of obscene films, trespasses into the area of free speech without setting up the necessary safeguards required by the highest authority in the nation." This was a reference to past United States Supreme Court rulings in censorship cases involving obscenity charges.

Small Colleges Advised to Compromise on Financial Policy

New York.—Small colleges of the nation—a large percentage of them church related—very likely will look increasingly toward tax sources for support in spite of an inherent desire to be self-sufficient, according to the president of one such institution.

"Ten years ago," said Roger J. Voskuyl, president of Westmont College at Santa Barbara, California, "I would have been very much opposed to Federal aid."

But today, he added, with more and more Federal funds available—primarily for construction and plant improvement—it is being increasingly recognized that

NOVEMBER-DECEMBER

such aid can be accepted without infringement on institutional independence.

"We would like to be entirely independent," Mr. Voskuyl said, "but support from private sources too often has been inadequate."

Mr. Voskuyl, in addition to heading the Christian evangelical school in California, is a past president and continuing active board member on the Council for the Advancement of Small Colleges (CASC).

Maine's Governor Signs "Sunday Liquor" Bill

Augusta, Maine.—Gov. John H. Reed has signed a controversial bill that will allow Sunday sale of liquor in restaurants, hotels, clubs, and take-out sales of malt beverages from stores.

The new law, observers said, makes Maine "wetter" on Sundays than 29 other States and three nearby provinces of Canada.

Governor Reed declared that "it is the will of a majority of the people of this State for this act to become law."

The bill allowing liquor sales between noon and 9:00 P.M. was promoted to make Maine "more attractive" to those tourists accustomed to the purchase of liquor on Sundays.

It cannot take effect until 90 days after the legislature completes its session, and during that period the Christian Civic League has vowed to circulate petitions that would force the proposal into a State-wide referendum.

AUSTRALIA

Sydney, Australia.—Dr. Hugh R. Gough, Anglican Archbishop of Sydney and Primate of Australia, said here that "something in the nature of a revolution" is happening in the Anglican Church.

Writing in the Southern Cross, the diocesan magazine, he said, "such a stirring must be welcomed." . . .

Renewing his earlier call to give the church a modern image, Dr. Gough charged that it "tends to live as if this was the sixteenth or seventeenth century instead of the twentieth." "Perhaps the greatest need of the church of Christ today," he said, "is to relate its doctrines, its worship, and its customs to the problems of the twentieth century and to show their relevance to the modern world."

ENGLAND

Anglican Assembly Would Lift Some Sunday Bans

London.—Delegates to the Assembly of the Church of England gave overwhelming approval to a report calling for liberalization of Sunday "blue laws."

The church's board for social responsibility presented a report recommending that theaters, variety shows, dances, amusement park activities, and amateur sporting events be permitted on Sundays. All of these activities are banned at the present time, with the exception of dances held as membership club events. Movies are permitted on Sunday evenings.

The report held that the present Sunday ban should continue on professional football and cricket matches and on horse and dog races, and that most shops—except those that deal predominantly in food—should be closed on Sundays.

Stipulation was made in the report that no entertainment or sport should begin before 2:00 P.M. Legal protection was also asked for shop workers who might not want to work every Sunday.

Coffee Club Will Spread the Gospel

London.-Night clubs as a media for spreading the gospel among youth are catching on in Britain.

Following the Salvation Army's recent decision to open a night club for beat-minded teen-agers in the cosmopolitan Soho quarter of London's West End, it has now been reported that Manchester is to have a full-time, late-night Christian coffee club.

The club, known as The Catacombs, already exists on a weekend basis, drawing many hundreds of youngsters.

Now it is taking on a local part-time disk jockey, Dave Eastwood, as a full-time resident manager, and will open in converted cellars beneath a city center warehouse in direct competition with many late-night commercial clubs.

The Catacombs was started on a trial basis last December on the initiative of an Anglican lay leader, Val Grieve. It is backed by the North of England Evangelical Trust, which consists mainly of members of the former Manchester Billy Graham Committee, an interdenominational group. Mr. Eastwood is a 26-year-old Methodist preacher. Club visitors will be entertained by such amateur gospel rhythm groups as the Witnesses, the Crossbeats, and the Gospel Four. Mr. Eastwood recognizes, however, that popular music by itself will not start a revival, and thus believes the club has got to give its clients some straightforward religious talk. He envisages religious talks on three nights a week. As he says, he wants Jesus to be discussed as freely as the Beatles.

INDIA

Priest Raps Prelate's Views on Birth Control

Bombay, India.—Archbishop Thomas Roberts, S.J., of London, former Archbishop of Bombay, has been criticized by a fellow Jesuit for stating in a secular newspaper that the laws against contraception are causing may Catholics to leave the church.

Observers said it was the first instance in India of a priest and a prelate of the same order engaging in an open controversy in the columns of a secular daily.

The archbishop's critic was Father Anthony D'Costa, S.J., who declared in a letter to Indian *Express* that the prelate's conclusion was "perhaps too hasty."

Wrote the priest: "There is no way of testing the accuracy of Archbishop Roberts' view. . . . For there have always been Catholics who attended church less frequently than others; and others who stopped attending for some time and then resumed their duties; while still others gave up completely. . . .

"At the very origin of Christianity we read that some found its teaching hard and dissociated themselves from the Church. If the same happens today, there is nothing sensational about it."

Father D'Costa's letter replied to an interview in the same newspaper in which Archbishop Roberts said; "The matter of contraception is not an absolutely closed question and something must be left to the conscience of the individual."

LEBANON

Islam-Christianity Study Center Proposed in Beirut

Beirut.—Establishment of an institute for the study of Christianity and Islam—designed to improve relations between the two religions—was proposed at a conference in Beirut.

In urging the institute, delegates stressed the preservation of common spiritual and moral principles to safeguard the dignity of the human person.

Meeting to discuss relationships between Christianity and Islam were representatives from various Protestant, Catholic, and Moslem groups.

Index to Volume 60

January through December, 1965

American Heritage: Do We Want Another Bible War? Morris K. Udall	2-12	Labor Unions vs. Religious Conviction R. R. F. Religious Liberty Requirements
For Export: Our National Genius Dell Murphy How Absolute Are Your Freedoms? James T. Perona	3- 7 6-14	Constitution:
Let Us Give Thanks E. H. Roy	6-16	How Absolute Are Your Freedoms? James T. Peror
Pointless Monuments? Curtis Quackenbush Rich Faith of George Washington Donald B. Haynes	3-31 1-17	Court Decisions (See Legal Decisions)
This Liberty Will Look Easy	1-18	Ecumenism:
This Liberty Will Look Easy We the People James D. Corriell	4-7	Confrontation in Geneva Jean Nussbau Council Battleground W. L. Emmerso
Bible: (See Schools, Religious Practices in) The Bible Pornographic? R. R. H.	1-30	Greek Orthodox Prelate Foresees Union With Rom Islam-Christianity Study Center Protestants Move Toward Unity
Bigotry (See Tolerance)		United Australian Church in 1970
Bill of Rights (See Constitution)		United Church Plan in Canada
Biography:		Voices in the Ecumenical Wind 3-17; 4-11; 5-2
Rich Faith of George Washington Donald B. Haynes	1-17	Education: Aid to Small Private Colleges
Birth Control:		Biology Textbooks Opposed
Birth Control in the News	3-21	Biology Textbooks Opposed Education Bill R. R. H Indian Students Receive Religious Instruction in Schoo
Blue Laws (See Sunday Laws)		Local Option on Evolution Textbooks
Calendar Reform:		Philippines: Should Public School Teachers Instru Their Students in Religion? P. C. Bana
Will Calendar Reform Go Through This Time? Hector Pereyra-Suarez	6-11	Religious Education Syllabus in Australasian Schoo
Cassoship:		Schools for the Public Sectarian School Expansion R. R. H
Showing The Deputy Prohibited	4-31	Shall we Do Away with Private Schools?
Updating Pennsylvania's Anti-Obscenity Laws	4-31	Warries Barrie Hodge
Church Unity (See Ecumenism)		Warning Beacon R. R. H Weekday Religious Education Dean M. Kell
Church-State Relations:	100	
Bankrupt Churches? Behind the Confessional Curtain (Spain)	6-29	Federal Aid (See Schools, Parochial, Aid to)
Herbert S Southgate	2-23	Freedom, General: Confidences Between Clergy and Communicants Pr
Belief in God a Citizenship Test in Canada	1-32	tected
Catholicism and Liberty B. B. Beach "Church in Thy House" Frederick Brown Harris	2- 7	Dumb Dogs and Heretics Howard B. Wee For Export: Our National Genius Dell Murph
Church Properties Should Not Be Taxed		Fredericksburg's Monument to Freedom
Church That Love Built Dorothy Aitken	3-29	Leonard S. Barn
Church-State Relations Studied by Anglicans	2-31	Journey Through Fear Our Most Precious Import: New Citizens
Dumb Dogs and Heretics	4-16	C. J. Ritch Pointless Monuments? Curtis Quackenbu
East Germany Recognizes Conscientious Objectors MacArthur's Contribution R. R. H.	3-31	Pointless Monuments? Curtis Quackenbu
MacArthur's Contribution R. R. H. New Breed of Churchman R. R. H.	2-28	Religious Liberty and Public Order R. R. I Spanish Catholics Polled on Religious Freedom
Philippines: Should Public School Teachers Instruct		Sweden's Struggle for Religious Freedom (2 part
Their Students in Religion? P. C. Banaag Rome Speaks on Religious Liberty	6-7	H. O. Olson 5-1
Rome Speaks on Religious Liberty Shun Proselytism in Israel	1-32	Freedom, Personal: How Absolute Are Your Freedoms? James T. Peron
Sweden's Struggle for Religious Freedom (2 parts) H. O. Olson 5-18;	6-24	Is There Room for Religious Conviction in the Gre
What Is the Christian's Political Responsibility?		Society? W. Melvin Adar One-Day Criminal Henry A. Buchan
(2 parts) Charles E. B. Cranfield 4-22; You, the Church, and Tax-Exempt Wealth	5-26	One-Day Criminal Henry A. Buchan Spanish Catholics Polled on Religious Freedom
You, the Church, and Tax-Exempt weath Martin A. Larson	5-7	Right to Be Wrong
Yugoslav Worship Ban Dropped	2-31	Whites of Their Eyes James L. Join
Columns:		History:
Assignment: Washington W. H. Hackett 1-2; 2-2; 3-2; 4-2; 5-2;	6.2	Dumb Dogs and Heretics Howard B. Wee Whites of Their Eyes James L. Join
Launching Pad		Human Rights:
C. Mervyn Maxwell 1-35; 2-35; 3-35; 4-35; 5-35;	6-35	How Absolute Are Your Freedoms? James T. Pero
Conformity:	-	Is There Room for Religious Conviction in the Gre
Whites of Their Eyes James L. Joiner	2-18	Society?
Conscience, Individual:		Intolerance (See Tolerance)
Compulsory Unionism and Individual Conscience	4-12	Labor Unions:
Green Amendment W. Melvin Adams R. R. H.	5-30	Compulsory Unionism and Individual Conscience

Constitution:	
How Absolute Are Your Freedoms? James T. Perona	6-14
Court Decisions (See Legal Decisions)	
Ecumenism:	
Confrontation in Geneva Jean Nussbaum Council Battleground W. L. Emmerson	3-19
Council Battleground	2-20
Greek Orthodox Prelate Foresees Union With Rome	3-32
Islam-Christianity Study Center Protestants Move Toward Unity	6-32
Protestants Move Toward Unity	6-21
United Australian Church in 1970	3-32
United Church Plan in Canada	2-31
Voices in the Ecumenical Wind 3-17; 4-11; 5-22	6-21
Education:	
Aid to Small Private Colleges	6-31
Biology Textbooks Opposed R. R. H.	1-31
Education Bill R. H.	4-29
Indian Students Receive Keligious Instruction in Schools	4-30
Local Option on Evolution Textbooks	2-30
Philippines: Should Public School Teachers Instruct	1.1
Their Students in Religion? P. C. Banaag	4-14
Religious Education Syllabus in Australasian Schools	
Schools for the Public	6-28
Schools for the Public Sectarian School Expansion R. R. H. Shall We Do Away With Private Schools?	5-30
Maurice Hodgen	3-27
Warning Beacon R R H	2-29
Maurice Hodgen Warning Beacon R. R. H. Weekday Religious Education Dean M. Kelley	4-27
Federal Aid (See Schools, Parochial, Aid to)	
Freedom, General: Confidences Between Clergy and Communicants Pro-	
tected	4-31
Dumb Dogs and Heretics Howard B Washs	4-16
Dumb Dogs and Heretics Howard B. Weeks For Export: Our National Genius Dell Murphy	3-7
Fredericksburg's Monument to Freedom Leonard S. Barnes Journey Through Fear Our Most Precious Import: New Citizens	6-18
Journey Through Fear	4-8
Our should a recorded anaporer a terr dreaders	
C. J. Ritchie Pointless Monuments? Curtis Quackenbush Religious Liberty and Public Order R. R. H.	3-9
Pointless Monuments? Curtis Quackenbush	3-31
Religious Liberty and Public Order R. R. H.	6-28
Spanish Catholics Polled on Religious Freedom	4-32
Sweden's Struggle for Religious Freedom (2 parts)	
H. O. Olson 5-18;	6-24
Freedom, Personal:	
How Absolute Are Your Freedoms? James T. Perona	6-14
Is There Room for Religious Conviction in the Great	0-1-1
is there domi for dengious conviction in the Great	5 10
Society? W. Melvin Adams One-Day Criminal Henry A. Buchanan	5-12
One-Day Criminal Henry A. Buchanan	2-25
Spanish Catholics Polled on Religious Freedom	4-32
Right to Be Wrong	4-36
Right to Be Wrong James L. Joiner	2-18
History:	
Dumb Dogs and Heretics	4-16
Whites of Their Eyes James L. Joiner	2-18
Human Rights:	
How Absolute Are Your Freedoms? James T. Perona	6-14
Is There Room for Religious Conviction in the Great	
Society? W. Melvin Adams	5-12
Intolerance (See Tolerance)	

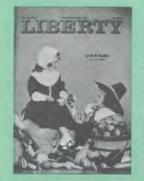
Labor Unions vs. Religious Conviction _____ R. R. H. 4-29 Religious Liberty Requirements _____ 5-11

NOVEMBER-DECEMBER

33

W. Melvin Adams	4-12
Compulsory Unionism v. Religious Conscience W. Melvin Adams Green Amendment Labor Unions vs. Religious Conviction R. R. H.	6-20 5-30
Green Amendment R. R. H. Labor Unions vs. Religious Conviction R. R. H. Strange Case of the Missing Qualifications	4-29
Roland R. Hegstad	5-16
Legal Decisions: Abington School District v. Schempp, 374 U.S. 203,	2-12
June 1963 Braunfeld v. Brown, et al., 366 U.S. 599, 1961	1-12
Dartmouth College v. Woodward, 4 Wheaton U.S. 518	3-28
Engle v. Vitale, 370 U.S. 421, June 25, 1962 1-11; Frothingham v. Mellon, 1923	2-12 3-12
Horace Mann League of the United States v. Millard J. Tawes, et al., U.S.	3-13
McCollum v. Board of Education, 333 U.S. 203, 1947 McGowan v. Maryland, 366 U.S. 420, 563, May 29, 1961 1-11,	3-29
Meyer v. State of Nebraska, 262 U.S. 601 (1923)	3-28
Murdoch, et al., v. Pennsylvania, 319 U.S. 105 Pierce v. Society of Sisters, 268 U.S. 510, 68 Led, 1138,	3-30
47 SCt 5711, 39 ALR 468	3-28
Letters to the Editor: "Dear Sir" 1-5; 2-5; 3-5; 4-5; 5-5;	6-5
Minority Rights: Compulsory Unionism and Individual Conscience	4.10
Green Amendment R. R. H. Labor Unions vs. Beligious Conviction R. B. H.	4-12 5-30
Labor Omona va. Actigious Conviction	4-29
Compulsory Unionism v. Religious Conscience W. Melvin Adams	6-20
Papal Encyclicals: Summit Peace Conference Roland R. Hegstad	3-21
Mater et Magistra 2-24;	3-26 3-21
Persecution:	5-21
Behind the Confessional Curtain	2.22
Church That Love Built Dorothy Aitken Dumb Dogs and Heretics Howard B. Weeks	2-23
Dumb Dogs and Heretics Howard B. Weeks	4-16
Journey Through Fear R. R. H. New U.SU.S.S.R. Exchange Proposal R. R. H.	4-8
Poetry:	
For a Peaceful World Esther Baldwin York	3-8
Politics: What Is the Christian's Political Responsibility? (2 parts)	5-26
Prayer Amendment:	
Do We Want Another Bible War? Morris K. Udall	2-12
Prayer Poll Ballot Roland R. Hegstad	2-16
Religious Liberty Association: Freedom, New Religious Liberty Magazine, Philippines	4-4
Religious Liberty, General:	
Amish Charge Dismissed in Michigan Ban on Sunday Fishing Contested	1-32
Behind the Confessional Curtain	
Herbert S. Southgate	2-23
Council Battleground W. L. Emmerson Pointless Monuments? Curtis Quackenbush	2-20
Religious Liberty and Public Order R R H	5-21
Religious Liberty and Public Order R. R. H. Rome Speaks on Religious Liberty W. L. Emmerson	6-7
World Body Lists Religious Liberty Requirements	5-11
Schema on Religious Liberty:	5 22
Council Battleground W L Emmerson	5-20
Catholicism and Liberty B. B. Beach Council Battleground W. L. Emmerson Religious Liberty and Public Order	6-28
Rome Speaks on Religious Liberty	6-7
Schools: (Parochial, Aid to) Aid to Small Private Colleges	6.31
Bankrupt Churches?	6-29
Education Bill R. R. H.	4-29
Let's Not Seek Aid for Catholic Schools Joseph M. Plevyak	3-14
Schools for the Public	6-28
Sectarian School Expansion R R H	3-50

Shall We Do Away With Private Schools?	2.07
Maurice Hodgen	3-27
Warning Beacon Maurice Hodgen R. R. H. Your Freedom and Pocketbook at Stake in Annapolis	2-29
Your Freedom and Pocketbook at Stake in Annapolis	
Franklin C. Salisbury	3-11
Schools: (Religious Practices in)	
Do We Want Another Bible War? Morris K. Udall	2-12
Philippines: Should Public School Teachers Instruct	
Their Students in Religion? P. C. Banaag	4-14
Prayer Poll Ballot Roland R. Hegstad	2-16
Weekday Religious Education Dean M. Kelley	4-27
Their Students in Religion? — P. C. Banaag Prayer Poll Ballot Roland R. Hegstad Weekday Religious Education Dean M. Kelley Worcester's Bible-reading Plan Don A. Roth	2-8
Sunday Laws:	
Alleged Sunday Law Violators Take Fifth	
Gordon F. Dalrymple	6-23
Anglican Assembly Would Lift Some Sunday Bans	6-31
Britain's Sunday V. Norskov Olsen	4-25
Gordon F. Dalrymple Anglican Assembly Would Lift Some Sunday Bans Britain's Sunday V. Norskov Olsen Crisis in Riverside Lewis R. Walton	1-14
Liscrimination in Sunday Law Enforcement?	
Free Enterprise Dead Tony Pinotti "I Do Not Oppose Closing Stores on Sunday"	6-22
Free Enterprise Dead Tony Pinotti	1-13
"I Do Not Oppose Closing Stores on Sunday"	
Genn F Patterson	1.7
Lord's Day Observance Society Michigan's Saturday-Sunday Law _ Roland R, Hegstad	4-26
Michigan's Saturday-Sunday Law _ Roland R. Hegstad	2-26
One-Day Criminal Henry A. Buchanan Public Officials, Clergymen, and Churches Tell Why	2-25
Public Officials, Clergymen, and Churches Tell Why	
They Dislike Blue Laws	1-21
Questions and Answers on Sunday Laws	1-11
Sad State of Affairs Varner J. Johns	1-2/
They Dislike Blue Laws Questions and Answers on Sunday Laws Sad State of Affairs Save Our Sunday v, Save Our Freedom	
Roland R. Hegstad	1-4
Sunday—a Day Apart M. E. L. Sunday Fairs Law, 1448, in Great Britain	1-29
Sunday Law Man Noel C. Stevenson	4-21
Sunday Law Man	1-24
Taxes:	
Church Properties Should Not Be Taxed	
Boardman Noland	3.20
Church Properties Should Not Be Taxed Boardman Noland Solving the Tax Problem You, the Church, and Tax-Exempt Wealth	3-12
Solving the Tax Problem You, the Church, and Tax-Exempt Wealth Martin A. Larson	
Martin A. Larson	5-7
	~ '
Tolerance: Catholicism and Liberty B. B. Beach	e
Right to Be Wrong	
Right to be wrong	4-36
Vatican Council II:	
Catholics and Liberty B. B. Beach Council Battleground W. L. Emmerson	5.22
Council Battleground W I Emmerson	2.20
Pope Paul P P H	2.28
Religious Liberty and Public Order R R H	6-28
Pope Paul R. R. H. Religious Liberty and Public Order R. R. H. Rome Speaks on Religious Liberty W. L. Emmerson	6-7
The set and and an and and an	- I



LIBERTY

Liberty is a necessity for all men. But liberty will not maintain itself. Men must join their interests to preserve it. Make LIBERTY: A MAGAZINE OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM your agent in fighting for freedom.

Subscription rate: \$1.25 a year. Slightly higher in Canada. Check
Money order
Currency

Send your order to the

Religious Liberty Association of America 6840 Eastern Avenue, Washington, D.C. 20012.

the launching pad



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

Q. The Great Society is proposing a national police force to control crime within cities. How soon . . . the police state?

A. In a true "police state," government agents do not confine themselves to suppressing statutory crime but meddle as well in a wide variety of ideologies, in national politics, and in religion. Nothing approaching such a prospect is being proposed.

But even the "beefed-up" FBI that may appear will not cure the crime cancer in the Great Society. More ministers and Sunday school teachers must first assert the claims of God's law and revive the old morality of Jesus, who said, "If ye love me, keep my commandments" (John 14:15). More mothers and dads must first learn to find in God the grace they need to teach their children to obey constituted authority and to "honour thy father and thy mother" (Ex. 20:12 and Eph. 6:2).

Q. As for this Saturday-Sunday business, don't you realize that the day of the week on which one rests isn't important? All that matters according to the Bible is that a person work six days and rest on the seventh.

A. The Bible doesn't say, "Remember the seventh day to keep it holy"; it says, "Remember the sabbath day, to keep it holy." It dosn't say, "The Lord blessed the seventh day"; it says, "The Lord blessed the sabbath day." The Bible doesn't tell us to keep the seventh day of some contemporary work week; it tells us to keep "the sabbath of the Lord thy God" (Ex. 20:8-11).

As I see it, the principle underlying the keeping of the Sabbath is not whether it is to be on one day of every week or even one day for church every week. The basic principle is the keeping of God's day holy, in spiritual fellowship with the Creator, who for reasons of His own has chosen to set the Sabbath aside for special fellowship with humanity.

Q. Why are you against Federal support for parochial schools? Haven't you heard about "double taxation"?

A. I have indeed heard about "double taxation," and—to be perfectly frank with you—I think it is sheer myth!

Has anyone ever actually seen a special "doubletax" form for parochial-school parents?

Parochial-school parents do not pay double taxes. They pay only one tax. What they pay to their parochial school is not a second tax but a voluntary payment made of their own free will. [See *Liberty*, May-June, 1965.]

Parochial-school parents don't pay a penny more in school taxes than do public-school parents. Indeed, in many school districts where most of the children attend a parochial school and the public school is, in consequence, quite small, they pay far *lower* school taxes than do public-school parents in districts where most of the children attend public school.

In the name of fair play and clear thinking, please let us not talk about a "double taxation" that simply doesn't exist.

Q. Isn't it a bit naive to try to defend a man's "religious freedom" when behavioral scientists have proved that we are all creatures of our environment? "Free choice" is a battle cry of the uninformed.

A. I summon to my aid every salesman who has spent an hour trying in vain to sell a water softener, and every precinct captain in 1964 who had a Republican vote Democratic, and every husband who has gone shopping for a new dress with his wife.

That a person has no real choice is a view once held by certain pagan Greeks and Romans and revived in modern garb among those in the determinist school. But there are many schools of psychology, not to speak of a host of scholars who doubt that psychologists have learned very much at all as yet. If behaviorists treat man as a reacting machine, some Gestaltists insist that a man has power to reflect on a stimulus before reacting to it, and may choose to defy it; and so on.

While the theoreticians haggle, let us recall the thinking man's text, "Choose you this day whom you will serve" (Joshua 24:15, R.S.V.)—an appeal that is nonsense if a man has no power to choose.

By the way: If men really have no power of choice, why do determinists try so hard to persuade people to choose to believe that they cannot choose?

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

TRUTH IN BONDAGE

"Truth is great and will prevail if left to herself; ... she is the proper and sufficient antagonist to error, and has nothing to fear from the conflict unless by human interposition disarmed of her natural weapons, free argument and debate."—Thomas Jefferson, in his Preamble to Act for Establishing Religious Freedom in Virginia, 1786.

YRON LOGAN