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LIBERTY

VOL. 61, NO. 1

A MAGAZINE OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

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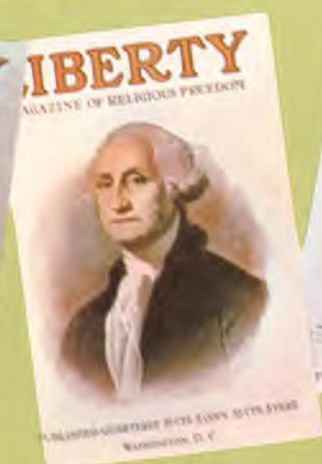
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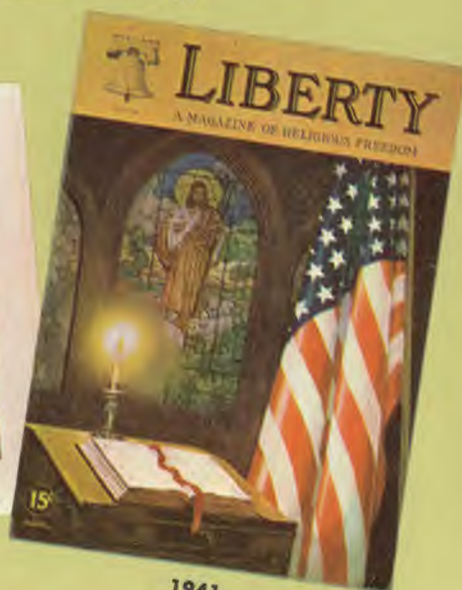
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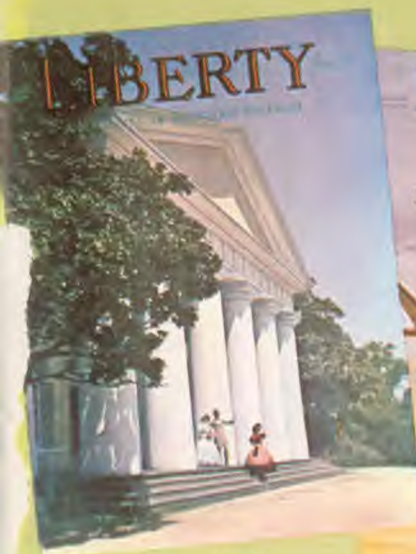
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Assignment: Washington

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

■ There was a lot of eyebrow raising among some Congressmen who have been supporting the Federal welfare programs when they learned some of the money was being siphoned off for church support. "Fantastic abuse" was the term applied by one Congressman when he read a clipping that made the rounds of the House cloakroom, revealing that a church in Pascagoula, Mississippi, received a Federal check for \$640 for use in the Head Start program under the poverty program. The fantastic part of it was that, after the pastor got himself listed as an "owner" of the church, he received, among other things, \$100 for use of the church toilet, \$10 for use of a garbage can, \$120 for use of a refrigerator, \$110 for a stove, \$92 for use of a carpet, and \$100 for use of a sink.

"There's more than one way to scale the wall of separation," the Congressman said.

United States Senator Stennis sent investigators to check on this and similar operations.

■ The now expired first session of the eighty-ninth Congress had a little-publicized religious "first" to its credit. A few years ago a prayer room was installed in the Capitol. Members of Congress go there for prayer and meditation but it is not normally used for any kind of religious service. This session, for the first time in Capitol history, Rosh Hashana morning services were held in observance of the coming of the Jewish year 5726. One United States Senator and 11 Representatives donned white skullcaps and prayer shawls. The King James Bible, usually on the pulpit, was replaced during the service by the sacred Five Books of Moses placed between two Torahs. Because of the press of legislative business Congress did not suspend consideration of important bills, as it normally does, on the Jewish holidays.

■ Supporters of Federal-aid programs who had been led to believe that in so far as education is concerned Uncle Sam will keep hands off were given a setback when Congressman Robert H. Michel (R.-Ill.) read into the House debate a questionnaire probing, among other things, the home life and private life of the family of the student. The Congressman said the United States Office of Education was in defiance of Congress, which had expressed understanding that no funds appropriated for the Office of Education would be used for such purposes. Pointing out that some educators opposed the questionnaire but feared to turn it down, Congressman Michel said, "I would hate to see the day when the intellectual community, which is always in the forefront when it comes to espousing freedom of expression, the right to dissent, and the right to protection of minorities, would be reluctant to speak out for fear of losing a Federal grant. The dangling carrot of Federal aid can be most persuasive."

■ As predicted in this column early in 1965, the so-called prayer amendments never saw the light of day during the first session of the Great Society Congress.

■ The United States House of Representatives turned its back on a proposal which would have protected the employment rights of individuals who are conscientiously opposed to union membership. The "conscience" amendment was sought by a number of religious groups when the House of Representatives voted on repeal of the right-to-work section of the Taft-Hartley labor law. Sponsors were balked by a "closed rule," which prevented consideration of the amendment. Since this right-to-work legislation is scheduled high on this session's legislative program in the Senate, another attempt will be made to present the conscience clause.

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ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA*****Declaration of Principles***

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

We believe in civil government as divinely ordained to protect men in the enjoyment of their natural rights, and to rule in civil things; and that in this realm it is entitled to the respectful and willing obedience of all.

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

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

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

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

25 cents
a copy

LIBERTY

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A MAGAZINE OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

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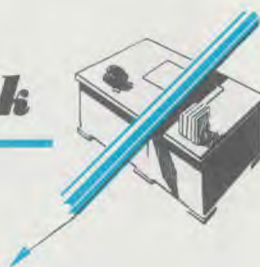
THE RELIGIOUS LIBERTY ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA was organized in 1889 by the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists. Dedicated to the preservation of religious freedom, the association advocates no political or economic theories. General secretary, Marvin E. Loewen; associate secretaries, W. Melvin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

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from the editor's desk



1906—1966

THE year was 1906. Surrey drivers were giving the horselaugh to goggled "automobilists" cranking balky engines. The first cross-country automobile trip, only three years in the past, had taken seventy days. Henry Ford was selling a small horseless carriage for \$500; larger ones with canopy tops and other luxuries went from \$1,500 to \$2,000. The Stanley Steamer (which on January 24, 1904, won a mile race in 0:32 4-5, defeating by one-eighth mile an English Napier and an Italian Fiat) had a price tag of \$5,000.

In New York the Tweed Machine and Tammany Hall were drawing charges of civic corruption and being attacked by Robert Roosevelt, Theodore's uncle. A nationwide printers' strike was being threatened by union members, who wanted an eight-hour workday, a raise in wages from \$20 to \$21, and a closed-shop agreement.

On April 18 an earthquake and fire devastated San Francisco, bringing warnings in the religious press of impending disasters soon to smite other wicked cities. Manipulations on Wall Street were setting the stage for the financial panic of 1907.

ON THE church-state front, slumbering issues were yawning to wakefulness. Encouraged by the 1892 dictum of the United States Supreme Court that the United States "is a Christian nation," the National Reform Association was pushing for a Christian Amendment to the Constitution and a National Sunday law. Vice-president of the association, Rev. E. B. Graham, had made his sentiments plain: "If the opponents of the Bible do not like our government and its Christian features, let them go to some wild, desolate land, and in the name of the devil, and for the sake of the devil, subdue it, and set up a government of their own on infidel and atheistic ideas; and then if they can stand it, stay there till they die."

On Capitol Hill, Congress in May made payment of its \$250,000 appropriation to the Jamestown Exposition conditional upon the exposition's agreeing "to close the grounds of said exposition to visitors on Sunday during the period of said exposition." On June 11 the Wadsworth District Sunday Bill (H.H. 16483) passed the House of Representatives for the second

time. Ten Sunday bills were being readied for introduction into the upcoming Sixtieth Congress. An amendment by Rep. McLaurin of Mississippi sought to stop all train and mail service on Sunday so train crews could observe the day of rest; a bill (H.R. 3022) introduced by Joseph C. Sibley of Pennsylvania would "prevent Sunday banking in postoffices in the handling of money orders and registered letters."

A FEW YEARS before, in 1886, the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists had organized the Religious Liberty Association of America, which in turn had issued the *American Sentinel*, a magazine devoted to the preservation of religious liberty. By 1904 the circulation had dwindled; with the issue of February 11 the *American Sentinel* breathed its last. Former editors of LIBERTY have advanced two versions of what happened in April of 1906. One has it that the *Sentinel* was resurrected, renamed LIBERTY, and sent back into the fray. The other maintained that LIBERTY was a new publication of the association. Whatever the case, the first edition of LIBERTY appeared in April. L. A. Smith was editor; W. A. Colcord and W. W. Prescott, associate editors. Subscription price, 25 cents a year.

Its mission was clearly stated:

"This journal will be a true exponent and advocate of liberty—not that liberty which means license, which degrades and enslaves body and mind, not the liberty which means class privilege, or which disregards the rights of the weak and defenseless,—but the liberty which is God-given, which is the right of all persons by creation,—the liberty for which the martyrs suffered, and by their suffering bequeathed to us,—the liberty which is in harmony with the laws of God and with all just statutes of men.

"It will be the mission of this journal to proclaim such liberty throughout the land."

Sixty years later, LIBERTY is a bimonthly; its subscription price, \$1.25 a year.

Its circulation is 400,000.

Its mission has not changed.

NEW SUBSCRIBER

ROBERT W. JONES, *Indiana State Senator*
Morristown, Indiana

This week I received two copies of your September-October, 1965, LIBERTY magazine. One as senator, and one as private citizen.

Well, I liked them very much. I did not know that such a magazine was being published. Enclosed is my check for a one-year trial subscription and the address stickers from both issues.

If it is at all possible I would appreciate the beginning of the article by Charles E. B. Cranfield, "The Christian and Politics." The issues I received had only the conclusion of the article in it; can you send me the preceding part?

THE CHRISTIAN AND POLITICS

ALEC C. BEASLEY
Winfield, British Columbia, Canada

As a non-Adventist who, over the years, has had a fair amount of touch with Adventist periodicals I am pleasantly surprised to find the advanced thinking that is contained in a LIBERTY article by Charles E. B. Cranfield, "The Christian and Politics."

While we are not of this world we are in it and the thesis is quite right that it is our acute responsibility to do our best by the world, by entering the political field or by other ways trying to influence public opinion.

I agree wholeheartedly with Mr. Cranfield's presentation of this case, of the need for government and constructive criticism thereof, for each of us to keep himself informed and to pursue all with an active conscience.

As for the stumbling block of the just war [Mr. Cranfield encounters], find one from the time of Christ to today.

TAX EXEMPTION AND THE CHURCHES

WILLIAM O. HOGAN
San Diego, California

I agree with Dr. Martin A. Larson that tax-exempt wealth could eventually stifle our economy. However, I'm not convinced the holdings of the churches are wealth. What is a used cathedral worth? What is the commercial value of a second-hand hospital or orphanage?

Our Soviet brethren expropriated the property of the Russian Orthodox Church on a grand scale. Their former house of worship is now a museum or a state building. Has the state gained any revenue? It seems to me there has only been a change of name.

And one can't gainsay that the church groups have accomplished much in social and welfare fields. Perhaps a study is in order to determine whether the churches contribute far more to society than the value of tax exemptions.

JOSEPH C. ECKERT, JR., C.P.A.
Wayne, Pennsylvania

As a Certified Public Accountant I was especially attracted to Dr. Martin Larson's article on the church and tax-exempt wealth appearing in your September-October issue of LIBERTY.

Out of curiosity, I compiled a few similar statistics for the City of Philadelphia—a city not only of brotherly love but also

"Dear Sir:"

of homes and churches. My sources are the *Bulletin Almanac* for 1964 and the enclosed *Bulletin* editorial on "Tax Exemptions."

Total Assessed Valuation	5.4 Billion	100%
Total Exempt Valuation	1.2 Billion	23%
Public Exempt (70% of 23%)		16%
Private Exempt (30% of 23%)		7%
Total Taxable Valuation		77%

If all private property lost its tax exemption, the tax rate could be increased 7/77 or

9%

The Philadelphia tax rate of 4.00 could be decreased \$.36

If 60% (Dr. Larson) is church property, churches would absorb (60% x .36)

.22

The average Philadelphia home owner (\$7,000 assess.)

would save (if all private property were taxed) \$25.00

If church property alone were taxed \$15.00

From the above, I have reached the following conclusions:

1. Doctor Larson's figures may not indicate a fairly accurate cross section of the nation.

2. The tax on private property would have to come eventually from the taxpayer anyway.

3. The smaller churches and religious organizations would in all probability be tremendously affected by legislation to that effect, whereas the wealthier churches against whom the legislation is directed are in a far better position to weather such a storm.

[That tax-exemptions are a problem, even in the City of Brotherly Love, is revealed by an editorial in the *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin* for Friday, September 24. Said the editorial: "The question of tax exemption of education-related facilities, such as housing and dormitories, has been pushed under the rug for years. But now City Council has brought it into the open for much-needed public discussion. . . . Councilmen say they have been receiving much 'heat' from taxpayers whose properties have been taken for education use. . . . The question is a timely one. . . . A thorough review of exemption rules and practices would be a good place to begin."—ED.]

[The author replies:

In reply to Joseph C. Eckert, Jr., C.P.A., I would say, first, that no correct analysis of tax-exempt property can be made from a *Bulletin Almanac*, for as I frequently found in my research, large segments of property were often misclassified in such summaries; for example, sometimes all schools would be placed under a single classification, although at least a third of them might be sectarian. I would say, furthermore, that if the taxable assessments total only \$4.2 billion in Philadelphia, and if the rate is only \$40 per thousand, this is the lowest I have seen in any major city; for this requires a levy of only \$84 per capita, whereas the average for Washington, Baltimore, Buffalo, and Denver, is \$142.

According to the figures cited by Mr. Eckert, only 30 per cent of the exempt property in Philadelphia is privately owned. However, in Buffalo the comparable ratio is 39 per cent; in Washington (omitting the Federal) it is 64 per cent; in Baltimore, 36 per cent; and in Denver 37 per cent. Actually, these percentages are too small, because Federal housing, which makes payments in lieu of taxes, is included with the

public-exempt. It seems incredible that Philadelphia, which has 140 Catholic churches with 670,000 members, who constitute 72 per cent of all religious communicants in the city, should have so light a rate of taxation or so small a proportion of exempt property, unless this is ridiculously under-assessed. It is my belief that more intensive research would yield quite different results.

When Mr. Eckert computes the possible tax saving if exempt property were taxed, his method is seriously in error, since he ignores the fact that all taxes, whether levied on homes or other private property, falls on *families*, not simply on residences. Using the statistics supplied by Mr. Eckert, we arrive at the following: (1) if all property were taxed, its base would increase by 29 per cent and the rate would therefore be reduced by this percentage; (2) since the present tax levy is given at \$168 million, this averages \$420 per family (allowing 5 persons to each); since 29 per cent of \$420 is \$122, this would be the saving for each family if all exempt property were taxed; 30 per cent of this would be \$36.60, which would be saved if only the private-exempt were taxed; and 60 per cent of this would be \$22—the savings for each family if church property alone were taxed. These figures compare with \$140, \$54, and \$32, which I estimated as correct for the entire nation; and it is my firm conclusion that even these are too low. For I found that the total assessable value of all exempt property in the United States is about \$130 billion, and that of private-exempt, \$54 billion. Assuming an average tax rate of \$65, this would total \$8.45 and \$3.51 billion, which, for 50 million families, would come to \$169 and \$70 each.

Mr. Eckert seems to think that changing the tax base would make no difference to taxpayers, since the same amount of money would still be collected. The fallacy of this reasoning consists in the fact that now money is collected from one group to pay for the obligations of another.—MARTIN LARSON.]

STILL ROOM

ED GRADY, *Editor*
Maquoketa Newspapers
Maquoketa, Iowa

As a Roman Catholic layman who assumes an active role in the affairs of his church, permit me to say that each issue of *LIBERTY* is read, re-read, and thoroughly digested. While I do not always find myself in accord with everything it contains, I look upon the publication as an excellent journal and respect your views simply because I am convinced they are honest and sincere.

God help us all should the day come when there is no longer room for an honest divergence of opinion—and the freedom and the right to publicly express our differences.

Thank you again—and God bless you in your work!

[We appreciate the charity of our separated brother.—ED.]

CIRCUMPLICATION

JOHN DRISKILL, *Attorney*
Cincinnati, Ohio

The scientific legality of renescent quests for the discovery of positive laws or negative principles to which consciously coalescent entities of energetic properties and powers invariably must conform must note "the complete liberty of thought" and its emotional induction by the affinity of parental and benign love to the opposite of malign hate.

True believers in "You are that" and "The kingdom of God is within you" or of the emotionally Eternal and mentally Infinite exemplification of TRUTH, exemplified by mankind's immortal Savior, must realize that mental deductions, finite mimicry, and conceptual abstractions invariably follow emotional genesis and conception and that neuropsychic human conscious-continuity is both inductively emotional and deductively mental. . . .

The precise relation of infinite mental circumferences to the induction of emotional and diametrical souls or combined consciousness cannot be equated by finite, independent, and incongruous means utilized by mathematical scientists and physicists preoccupied by sensualistic materialists.

Mental procrastination causes emotional procreation and division vainly to promote mental schisms that can only be bridged by the same emotion, simultaneously inducing similar and fully analogous thoughts by anyone and everyone infinitely and emotionally conscious of being and continuity.

Conscious earthly inhabitants of the emotional center of beginningless emotional Eternity and endless mental Infinity must understand all static concepts of matter are both chimerical and evanescent; that the chimera of material space orbits in illusory and infinite thought and time.

The Pristine Integer of ONE-GOD also is the Monistic Noumenon of genetic emotionalism and deductive mentalism that finite mimicry vainly seeks to emulate by finite vanity and greed inciting fear of the unknown and of the known motivating temporal cycles of savage and brutal exploitation in retaliation.

Creation, like pervading energetic properties and powers that are both fissionable and fusible but really indestructible, destroys nothing and, contrary to metamorphic mutations of inanimate matter, making nothing consciously impossible.

Emotional faith must intelligently be supported in an Athenaeum for intellectual freedom for scientific legality and, according to the mutual Savior of arrogantly finite ignorance and specious infinite sophistication, shall consciously to attain genuine humanism, altruistic and commonsense in the cohesive humanitarian action of a paradisaical and infinite heaven of conscious continuity.

[How's that, again?—ED.]



1906-1966—*LIBERTY* covers make quite a gallery of Americana—the Capitol (in less congested surroundings on the first-quarter 1906 cover), Mount Vernon, Supreme Court, Lincoln Memorial, Statue of Liberty, Lee's mansion. You'll encounter the first Chief Executive, Puritan father, antebellum belles cavorting with parasols pink. *LIBERTY* covers have kept pace with technology: four-color rockets and spacemen have signaled the new era. But behind the covers the same old devotion to liberty of conscience prevails. "Proclaim liberty throughout all the land to the inhabitants thereof," said that first issue. We're saying it yet.

Down the Jericho Road

By **BOB W. BROWN**

Pastor, Trinity Baptist Church, Lexington, Kentucky

In the Great Society the church has been crowded off the road; the wounded man will be cared for, not by a good Samaritan, but by an agent of the government.



1956 BY REVIEW AND HERALD

RUSSELL HARLAN, ARTIST

THOSE of us in the church in the past decade have been gripped by frustration. This does not make the churchman unique, for most Americans are afflicted with some kind of emotional disorder. The source of our frustration may be unique, for we actually want to give, but find ourselves too often offering too little too late. The day is passing us by.

The church has been discussed, and the "religious boom" since World War II has been described as one of the social phenomena of the past twenty years. Statistics of growth have been recited, the church building boom heralded, the number of clergymen announced. Churches are filled, religion is talked about, sung about, written about—and relegated to the back shelf. We are dissatisfied with this status. The church must be more than a freak that attracts attention merely because of her size. She must be more than an eight-foot ballplayer sitting on the bench, too large to be ignored but too inept to play.

Church leaders bear part of the blame for our ineffectiveness. In keeping with the attitudes prevalent in our nation, we have become monstrous computers adding constituents, baptizing babies, and creating a religious superstructure of institutionalism that rises high above the masses. We have obscured our motives by using questionable methods that are shocking in the face of our mission. No one actually blushes in shame, for a



MARVIN RICHMOND, WORCESTER, MASS.

pause to blush, or repent, might upset the delicate statistical balance we seek to maintain.

There is no time for us to stop on the Jericho road where a man lies wounded and give him aid. We have been conditioned by our Madison Avenue orientation to believe that one man between Jerusalem and Jericho is hardly worth the effort. Numbers count. There is strength and power in size, and thus we hasten to the place where the crowd gathers. This error permeates the church leaders of our country and thus affects the program of the church.

But suppose we do stop. Pennsylvania Avenue is already there. The man on the Jericho road will be investigated not by a Samaritan, but by an agent of government. He will be cared for in a hospital built with government funds. He will have his bill paid by

government medical assistance. He will receive compensation while he is out of work. If he dies, the government will help pay the funeral expense and provide for his wife and children. The charity of the church will be only incidental to the paternalistic treatment afforded by the Great Society.

This may be because the church too long abrogated her mission to the sick, the dying, the widows, the poor, the homeless. Perhaps the government came into the field that was once the exclusive province of the church by necessity. Those suffering folks needed care; they cried out in pain, and the priest and Levite passed by on the other side. If this is true, then we have no legitimate complaint.

Does Pennsylvania Avenue have a Bureau on the Jericho road at the invitation of the church? Was there tacit agreement reached sometime that caring for the wounded man would become a cooperative effort? The church is often faced with problems of limited funds, and the government apparently has unlimited resources. The two have been wedded, blending funds and personnel for the common good. This marriage at best can produce only illegitimate heirs. The announced purpose of the church is ever to bring glory to God. The purposes of welfare legislation are varied, but cannot even be imagined to be God centered.

The church invites the government in to build her hospitals, care for her poor, feed her hungry, subsidize her schools, and to "forgive her debts." The invitation has been accepted and the two good neighbors—Church and State—are now living together in the same house. This is an unhappy and confusing arrangement. Crowded into the same building, we are not sure who is to care for the sick, pay the bills, keep the house clean, or even mow the lawn.

THIS UNITY OF CONCERN about social problems has produced a hybrid church-state ecumenicity. We are becoming interdependent. The government camel put his nose in the tent and then came on in, humps and all. We are overwhelmed. The church is not on the Jericho road caring for the needy, but has been crowded off into a briar patch. Brer Rabbit may be at home in this thorny place, but churchmen would feel better kneeling beside the wounded man.

This communal scheme reduces the church's role from prophet to puppet. We are no longer able objectively to criticize the moral climate of the nation. By snuggling up to the government and taking the morsels from the Federal table we have disqualified ourselves from functioning in our characteristic role of prophetic conscience. Well fed and comfortable, the church has paid an excessive price. We can hardly "bite the hand that feeds us."

If we left the road, and political figures came because of our default, we cannot condemn them. But we must get back on the road again. Political slogans implying that the only charity available is legislated must be changed. The legislator must be taught to keep hands off certain areas that are the distinct preserve of the church. In turn the church must demonstrate again her willingness to make sacrifice and reveal compassion. As church leaders we must quit whimpering for our share of the Pennsylvania Avenue giveaway. A strong resolution of independence and of devotion to our ministry must grip us.

PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE is not the only problem we face. There is the man on Main Street, with whom we try to conform. Because of him we seem paralyzed when the wounded man cries out for our help.

The churchman on Main Street is satisfied with things as they are. He would never accept the role of revolutionist. His standard of living is good, his children go to school, his wife is in the Garden Club, and he attends a respectable church on his worship day.

It rarely occurs to him that he has a dynamic role in the racial controversy that rages in his nation. He will express his opinions about this privately to his minister, rabbi, or priest, but will insist that this kind of controversy be kept out of the church lest someone be offended. To be reminded that the idea of human dignity and the rights of all men is a religious concept only produces an indifferent shrug. If the church presumes to speak and upset the *status quo*, he is offended. He is willing to let troops, crusaders, or K.K.K. lead the revolution. A "Christian Soldier," this man on Main Street, but he carries no weapons, will not enlist, and refuses to fight. The man on Main Street doesn't want his church involved in controversy. His preoccupation with "peace at any price" keeps the church in her insignificant slot in human affairs.

Suppose the church does stop for the wounded man on the Jericho road? Will the average member demand a spot check of the clubs he belongs to? Perhaps he, too, is a thief, left there by his cohorts to die. Can the church afford to heal a thief? What color is his skin? Some would catechize him before binding his wounds, lest he not be of "our kind."

The man on Main Street has about emasculated the church of its distinct and revolutionary mission of courageous redemptive love. Dulled by conformity, the church becomes a religious fraternity, acceptable and insipid.

Because of its acceptability, a fumbling mutual admiration society exists between the church and contemporary life. The secularist, the educator, the politician, the novelist, the reporter, and even the agnostic tips his hat



**YOUTH CORPS—"Who said individual initiative is dead?
I've started my own self-help, child-welfare program."**

H. A. ROBERTS

courteously to religion. He gives no evidence that he believes what the church teaches, but he dare not criticize her. This is not respectful commitment to faith; it is predicated on the idea that only a vulgar man would mock religion. Thus we have religious books, religious songs, Biblical quotations in bitter political speeches, prayers in the most unlikely public gatherings, and nice things said about nice clergymen. No one in the public eye would dare offend the religious sensitivity of the American public. This is bad PR.

EVEN MORE INCONGRUOUS is the picture of the church adopting every modern method of gaining public approval. The seminarian learns that the way to "get along is to go along." We try to peddle our products, using the same methods that have proved successful in selling baby food, paper towels, cigarettes, and deodorant soap. The church has sought publicity, public approval, and consumer appeal. Our best foot forward has

been a toeless alligator pump. There is no Little Orphan Annie image before the public. The church is dressed up in best fashion for the sixties.

With the methodical consistency of an electric adding machine we list our assets for all to see. The Samaritan who stops to help the wounded is interviewed and canonized by the omnipresent diocesan PR man. It is not enough that God and the wounded know; the world must know! Carefully avoiding anything that would cause discord, we trumpet our minor virtues and mute our major vices. We accept the approval of the crowd as a critique for service.

The church has walked in our generation down Pennsylvania Avenue arm in arm with government, down Main Street controlled by the embrace of conformity, down Madison Avenue, smiling the sweet smile of Rotarian fellowship. But behind this façade of well-being, there is an urge to go out on the Jericho road where a wounded man cries for help. ★★★

*Has the Roman Catholic position
on liberty of conscience been reversed?*

THE LIBERTY

by W. L. EMMERSON

S. APPETITI



LIBERTY, 1966

RELIGIOUS SCHEMA

THE long battle in the Vatican Council for a declaration on religious liberty is over. On November 19 the council fathers accepted the document by a vote of 1,954 to 249. The vote marked the end of a bitter struggle between progressive and conservative elements in the Roman Church.

The struggle, which had been the bitterest in the history of the Council, with the possible exception of the debates on the "Revelation" Schema, began at the end of the Second Session in 1963 and reached its peak of intensity in the final debate at the beginning of the fourth and last session. And right up to the very last day of the debate there was doubt as to whether a vote on it would ever be taken.

When the climate began to change and it looked as if an affirmative vote might be imminent, more than one hundred conservative bishops petitioned the Pope to terminate the discussion, take the declaration away from the Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity, and give it to a new commission of theologians for rewriting.

Pressed by the weight of conservative feeling, the steering committee met and decided by a majority, some say of sixteen to twelve and others of sixteen to nine, not to have a vote.

This constrained Bishop Jan Willebrands, second in command of the Secretariat, to seek an audience with the Pope and warn him of the adverse world reaction that could not but follow the withdrawal of the document, not to mention the embarrassment it might cause him on his visit to the United Nations.

Paul VI immediately took counsel with several of his cardinals, who advised that the bishops should be asked if they wanted a text. As a result of the Pope's insistence the moderators of the council reversed their former decision and, in a motion carefully worded to secure maximum support, the Fathers were asked on Tuesday, September 21, "whether the text of religious liberty is ac-

ceptable as a basis for the definitive declaration which will come after further amendment in the light of the Catholic doctrine on the true religion and the amendments proposed by the Fathers in discussion, which will be subsequently approved according to the rules of council procedure." On this they voted 1,997 to 224 against.

Vote Receives Acclaim

Judging by the almost universal acclamation in the secular press of the world and among the non-Roman churches, the initial vote was clearly regarded as a resounding victory for the "progressive" outlook in the Council, and a turning point in the history of relations between the Roman Catholic and non-Catholic churches.

"This is a major revelation," commented the London *Economist*. "A notable landmark in the history of mankind's long struggle for freedom," declared the Sunday *Times*.

"This is perhaps the greatest day of the council," said Boston's Dr. Dana McLean Greeley, Unitarian observer at the council. "Of worldwide significance," asserted Bishop Prince A. Taylor, Methodist bishop of Princeton, New Jersey.

"A great milestone in Christian history," declared Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, chief executive officer of the United Presbyterian Church of the United States.

"Altogether magnificent," was the comment of Episcopal Bishop Cadigan, of Missouri. "I am glad to have lived to see this historic event," gratefully declared Baptist Dr. Stanley Stuber. Speaking for the Orthodox Church, Archbishop Iakovos of the Orthodox Diocese of North and South America, said:

"We find this decisive approval most gratifying, and an indication that the Roman Catholic Church is dealing forthrightly and courageously with an issue of the greatest import to every human being."

"This action," said Dr. Frederick A. Schiotz, president of the American Lutheran Church, "may well become a foundation from which impulses of good will flow out toward all churches." It will be a "step toward breaking down barriers which have regretfully prevented Christians from speaking the truth in love," commented Dr. Oliver R. Harms, president of the Lutheran-Missouri Synod. "The result," said Dr. Sterling W. Brown, president of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, "will be felt for thousands of years."

Almost alone, however, amid the chorus of praise, Dr. Visser 't Hooft, General Secretary of the World Council of Churches, was not so sure. Warning against undue elation, he pointed out that the "definitive declaration" would come only "after further amendment in the light of the Catholic doctrine on the true religion and the amendments proposed by the Fathers in dis-

"A great milestone in Christian history"?

cussion," which means that we do not yet know what the final text will be. "All that can be said at present," therefore, he said, "is that we hope that the affirmations in the present declaration will not be weakened."

Dr. Visser 't Hooft was indeed wise in sounding this note of caution, for on the eve of final voting on the schema, a new clause was inserted in the document proclaiming that all men have the "sacred duty to profess and embrace the Catholic faith insofar as they are able to know it." Protestant delegate observers at the Council characterized the addition as "rubbing salt in the wound." This was borne out when final revisions were brought to the Fathers for vote. Almost without exception they were concessions to the "conservatives," which will tilt the Declaration still further to the "right of center" by the time it is promulgated. The fact is that the bitter debate in the fourth session, more than any previous discussion, has pointed up the wide division which exists in the Roman Catholic Church on this controversial issue.

Divergent Attitudes in the Council

In the sixty-two speeches on the council floor three widely differing attitudes to religious liberty can be traced.

There are first those who are prepared to abandon the historic position of the church and advocate full religious liberty to all, whether believers or nonbelievers. They are ready to surrender any right to a privileged position in relation to the state, and to abjure the use of any but spiritual methods to advance the cause of Catholic truth.

The theological basis of this radical reinterpretation of Catholic teaching, which was advocated chiefly by the bishops of pagan and Communist countries, is that we are no longer living in days comparable with those of medieval "Christendom," in which all Christian states recognized and supported the authority of the church, but in a pluralistic society in which national states may be indifferent to the faith or have espoused non-Christian or even atheistic ideologies which are, in many cases, preventing the church from proclaiming what it believes to be the true religion. In these changed circumstances, they contend, the church can neither expect nor ask any special privileges from the state, but only for liberty to live and worship according to their faith, and freedom to witness to it. In the light of history they are even prepared to say that the church was ill-advised in the past in accepting the help of the state in suppressing error and compelling obedience to the church when it was offered, and they believe that the church today is suffering because it did so.

Cardinal Beran, Archbishop of Prague (see editorial, p. 29), put this view most dramatically when he told the Fathers:

"In my country the Catholic church at this time seems

to be suffering expiation for defects and sins committed in times gone by in her name against religious liberty, such as in the fifteenth century the burning of the priest John Hus, and during the seventeenth century the forced conversion of a great part of the Czech people to the Catholic faith on the principle of *cuius regio eius religio*.

"By such acts, the secular arm, wishing or pretending to serve the Catholic Church, in reality left a hidden wound in the hearts of the people. This trauma was an obstacle to religious progress and offered, and offers still, facile material for agitation to the enemies of the church.

"So history warns us that in this council the principle of religious liberty and liberty of conscience must be enunciated in very clear words and without any restrictions which might stem from opportunistic motives. If we do this, even in the spirit of penance for such sins of the past, the moral authority of our church will be greatly augmented for the benefit of the world," and it will enable the church to ask "all governments in the world to extend to all citizens, including those who believe in God, an effective liberty of conscience, and to refrain from any and every suppression of religious liberty."

Speaking along the same lines, Cardinal Joseph Dardijn said that "the church can no longer act as if in the Middle Ages . . . but must rest its entire confidence on the power of the Word of God, evangelical poverty, and the purity of its doctrine. The church cannot expect religious liberty when she is in the minority unless she practices it when she is in the majority." The church should not therefore demand "the utilization" of the state's apparatus of power to protect evangelization, but "leave the spreading of the Gospel to the 'force of the Spirit.'"

For these reasons, Cardinal Agnello Rossi, Archbishop of San Paolo, said it would be advisable to "omit any discussion of the situation of privilege status for a particular group." Archbishop Simon Lourdasamy, Coadjutor of Bangalore, likewise felt it "advisable to omit what is said on the recognition of a particular religion" because "in many non-Catholic countries it could be a source of danger for Catholics."

Archbishop Ignace Ziade, Maronite Archbishop of Beirut, speaking for Catholics in Moslem countries, similarly favored the omission of "any reference to a possible privileged status for any religion," because this implies that "a ruler can determine the religion of his country" and this could work against Catholics.

While this radical view was advocated chiefly by bishops of non-Christian and atheist countries, it found some support also in the democratic West.

Cardinal Charles Journet said that "the rulers of the church in the past have often had recourse to the secular arm to defend the rights of the faithful. Recent times, however, have brought a growing distinction between

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Church Mice at Play

Wherein Alice N. Wonderland, trusty looking glass attached to her handbag, accompanies a lawyer friend to an auction of surplus New York City real estate (there *is* some?), which, since 1962, had been sold exclusively to nonprofit organizations, mostly churches. When a friend's top bid is turned down and the property sold at a lesser figure to a religious organization, he takes the case to court, and Alice wonders why judges don't hire Hemingways to clarify their legal decisions.

By **FRANKLIN C. SALISBURY**
Attorney-at-law

HERE I am," I told Alice as she trotted youthfully up the broad stairs of the fancy New York hotel. We had promised to meet under the clock in the Biltmore—a nostalgic rendezvous from my college days. Alice N. Wonderland looked smart and attractive. With the exception of an oversized looking glass which she had attached to her handbag, she looked like any other brisk young businesswoman brightening the canyons of downtown New York.

"What do you have for us today?" she asked.

"This should be a good one, Alice," I replied. "We are slated to attend an auction of surplus city real estate."

"A real estate auction! What's so special about that? It sounds as dull as afternoon TV," replied Alice.

"This auction is different," I explained. "New York City is selling some of its surplus real estate and limiting the bidders to a favored few. Our friend Arnold

Tarshis is out to end this practice. Let's see how he comes out."

"Off we go," she responded cheerfully.

We arrived at a small room in the Statler-Hilton, where New York City's Department of Real Estate was busy setting up to sell numerous parcels of land, including a small piece of Staten Island surplus property. We took a seat in the back and shook hands with Arnold. A young Staten Islander, he owns several pieces of property close to the lots which the city proposed to auction. Arnold needed part of a lot up for auction to be able to build in accordance with the city's building and zoning code. He showed us an attractive brochure which announced the terms of the sale.

Alice read a bit: "This property is to be purchased only by a nonprofit corporation and shall be used solely for religious and educational purposes." She turned to Arnold and asked: "How can you qualify to bid, Arnold? You're not a nonprofit corporation, are you?"

Before Arnold could answer, I chimed in to point out that Arnold was actually championing the right of every citizen to purchase city property made available as surplus and defending the opportunity of the city to obtain the best price for the sale of its surplus real estate.

Alice interrupted, "Isn't a nonprofit corporation which uses property solely for religious and educational purposes some sort of church school?"

"That's right," Arnold said, "but there is good reason for calling things by the wrong name. Since 1962, New

York City has auctioned off surplus real estate exclusively to nonprofit organizations—mostly to churches. At the earlier auctions, representatives of nonprofit and church groups on their own did their best to persuade other buyers not to put in bids on particular pieces of property. Many of the bidding clerics turned out to be real estate speculators who would buy up property without competitive bids for as little as one tenth of its real value. To see that only legitimate churches and synagogues were able to purchase the auctioned property at the generous discounts, the rules were changed to limit the bidding to nonprofit organizations which would use the property solely for religious and educational purposes."

Said Alice, "I like the way nobody calls anything by its right name any more. They used to call the Vietnam war a police action; the Communists in China were labeled agrarian reformers. Now they are calling a church school a nonprofit corporation which uses property solely for religious and educational purposes, and . . ."

At this juncture, the bidding started. The auctioneer, after much hammering for attention asked all interested bidders to come forth and state the name and address of the corporation which they represented and to produce an exhibit evidencing the organization's nonprofit status. Rabbi Zvi H. Eisenstadt, leader of a Jewish congregation in Brooklyn, came to the rescue of "Agudath Achim Anshe Chesed," a Staten Island Jewish congregation, whose representative had forgotten his "exhibit." He bid \$8,500, the announced upset price.*

Arnold Tarshis promptly bid \$9,000. Just as promptly he was ruled out of order. The hammer fell with a thud and the pinch-hitting rabbi was declared the winner.

Arnold Tarshis could hardly contain his annoyance. It was with difficulty that we got him out of the auction room. The auctioneers left happily, sure that they had done "good" in having moved another piece of choice city property into the hands of a religious organization, oblivious to the loss in revenue to New York City; the harm done to Arnold Tarshis, who would now be unable to satisfy the city's building and zoning code; and the violation of sound church-state relations which their action represented.

At lunch, Alice asked: "With an advantage like that, won't the churches eventually own all the real estate in New York City?"

"The situation is becoming increasingly serious," Arnold replied. "What with preferential sales of government property to churches, urban renewal confiscation of private premises for church use, and tax exemption on unrelated business enterprises, the churches

can succeed better than the other businesses of the country without even trying.

"Churches today operate hotels, bakeries, textile mills, television stations, banks, baseball parks, and all sorts of manufacturing enterprises. They even own and operate bottling plants for "spirits" not associated with their sacred fathers. The Vatican today is reported to be the richest enterprise in the world, the largest shareholder in corporate wealth, and one of the most extensive landowners. Because much of this wealth is tax exempt, an even heavier tax burden falls on the straining back of the already overloaded taxpayer.

Arnold continued: "I read recently that Jewish religious property in the United States alone totals seven billion dollars, Protestant about twenty-eight billion and Catholic over forty-four billion. [See "You, the

PAROCHIAL BUS OUTCOMES: 1965 LEGISLATIVE YEAR

HAWAII: Honolulu city ordinance enacted, suit pending.

ILLINOIS: Chicago only to reimburse half of fare.

INDIANA: Adjourned, did not act.

IOWA: Passed house.

Lost in senate.

Reconsider motion filed.

Dead.

Included under "shared time" as passed.

KANSAS: Bill to require rented buses to furnish transportation defeated in senate.

MARYLAND: Pigeonholed.

Adjourned.

Dead.

MASSACHUSETTS: Bill for Lynn, Saugus, and Peabody passed by house.

Redrafted in senate.

MINNESOTA: Defeated in House Education Committee. Senate did not vote. Bill for constitutional amendment to House Rules committee. Stearns County transportation approved. Two suits pending.

MISSOURI: Killed by House Education Committee.

NEBRASKA: Constitutional amendment to permit approved to be on November, 1966, ballot.

OHIO: Passed.

PENNSYLVANIA: Passed.

Two law suits pending.

WISCONSIN: Referendum call to be approved again by 1967 legislature before going to voters.

* The lowest figure at which bidding starts.

Mice Get Crumb

Melbourne.—*The Advocate*, a Roman Catholic newspaper in Melbourne, has applauded the Victoria state government's action in granting some financial aid to church-related schools, although it sees such aid as merely "a crumb."

In an editorial, *The Advocate* stated that even if the \$56,250 for church related schools (out of an education budget of \$211,400,000) rose to \$280,000 in five years, as is contemplated, it will be "more like a crumb than the half loaf which is proverbially better than no bread."

"But it is the breakthrough in the abandonment of the principle of state secular privilege which is all-important," the newspaper declared. "Even the small sum which is to be given to subsidize interest payments on school building loans will be very welcome in view of the economic crisis which besets our Catholic education system at the present time."

Church, and Tax-Exempt Wealth" by Martin A. Larson, *Liberty*, Sept.-Oct. 1965, p. 7.] What business corporation under attack from the antitrust men in Washington can match that? Church corporations often do not give any financial reports to their constituents, nor do they reveal their income or their assets! What would the reporting-requirement sleuths at the Securities and Exchange Commission say if a private enterprise acted that way? Church financial officers don't have to file any income tax or other returns on church income. What do the tax experts at the Internal Revenue Service say when profit corporations fail to file?"

Alice looked alarmed. Taking two Seltzer tablets from her purse, she dropped them in a glass of water. "Here, Arnold, take this; you better watch your blood pressure!"

Arnold had time to calm down before we met again a year later, this time to hear the arguments before the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court of New York.

"Tell me, Arnold," Alice said, "just exactly what points did your counsel argue in the lower court?"

"We complained that the sale to a limited class of bidders of real property by New York City violated a provision of the city's charter as well as being contrary to provisions of the United States and New York State constitutions. The charter provides that while the Board of Estimate can make the rules for such sales, they can sell city real property only at the highest marketable price at public auction. We argued that obviously the highest marketable price is not obtained at a public auction where the sale is limited to a certain class of purchasers. In our case, that class is defined as nonprofit corporations who will use the property solely for religious and educational purposes."

Alice asked, "Did your counsel let the lower court know the reason for this limitation?"

"Certainly," answered Tarshis. "We pointed out that it was apparently designed to get around the New York State Constitution, which forbids New York City or other communities to use property directly or indirectly in aid of any school or institution of learning, wholly or in part, under the control or direction of any religious denomination, or in which any denominational tenet or doctrine is taught. The Constitution writers obviously did not rely on any unanimity on what a church school might be. They just tried to define one in the language of the constitutional prohibition."

"We also argued that the whole deal is contrary to the First Amendment of the Federal Constitution."

"Well, how did you come out?" asked Alice.

"Not very well," Arnold said with a frown. "The judge held that the restrictions on the class of bidders and the use of property contained in the terms and conditions of the sale did not violate the New York City charter. The judge also felt that since the purchaser paid a 'fair' value, no one could tell him he couldn't use the property for religious education without denying him his free exercise of religion. The court just couldn't see any violation of the city charter or the constitutions."

Alice looked coy. "If *you* were an elected judge wouldn't *you* try to avoid giving offense to local churches?"

Before anyone could answer, I rushed my guests to the upper court in time to hear Arnold Tarshis' lawyer, on appeal, arguing his case. In stentorian tones, he was declaiming: "Your honor will certainly agree that the prohibitions of the First Amendment to the Constitution of the United States apply to the State of New

York. That was settled in *Shapiro v. Dorin* where the court said specifically:

"It is now well settled that the prohibitions imposed upon Congress by the First Amendment have been incorporated into the Fourteenth Amendment as prohibitions against the States."

The lawyer continued: "We all know that the first clause of the First Amendment to the Federal Constitution has repeatedly been interpreted as erecting a 'wall

of separation between church and state.' I refer your honor to *Everson v. Board of Education* wherein the 'Establishment Clause' is brilliantly explained.

"The 'establishment of religion clause' of the First Amendment means at least this: Neither a State nor the Federal Government can set up a church, neither can pass laws which aid one religion, aid all religions, or prefer one religion over another . . ."

"Frank," Alice whispered, "Do you know that quotation by heart as he does?"

"I think I could get through it without missing too many commas," I replied.

"I thought so," Alice said. "I notice the *Everson* case quoted in so many articles on church-state matters. It's a kind of twenty-third psalm of legal scripture, huh?"

"Well," I said, "it *is* intended to keep the churches walking in 'pathways of righteousness.'"

The lawyer took a deep breath—he had finished the *Everson* citation looking as if he had personally climbed the wall of separation.

"We contend, Your Honor, that when the Board of Estimate limited the sale of public property to non-profit corporations for use *solely* for religious and educational purposes, its plan was to aid churches and their church schools. Limitation of the class of bidders to those with religious as well as educational purposes advanced their competitive positions so as to make this option an aid to all religions. This, it is respectfully submitted, is a clear violation of the First Amendment.

"Your Honor, the Supreme Court in *Abington School District v. Schempp* gave us a test to apply to situations where rules, enactments, and laws may or may not violate the 'Establishment Clause' of the First Amendment:

"The test may be stated as follows: What are the purpose and the primary effect of the enactment? If either is the advancing or inhibition of religion, then the enactment exceeds the scope of the legislative power as circumscribed by the Constitution. That is to say, that to withstand the strictures of the establishment clause, there must be a secular legislative purpose and a primary effect that neither advances nor inhibits religion."

Alice whispered again, "Why don't justices turn their decisions over to writers? Just think what Lewis Carroll could have done for that passage!"

"That reminds me, Alice," I replied, "did the Cheshire cat really represent Nicholas Cardinal Patrick Wiseman?"

Alice fiddled with her looking glass. "On the other hand," she said, "maybe Hemingway would have been better."

"Your Honor"—the lawyer was still at it—"we respectfully submit that the Board of Estimate was out

The Sunday-Laugh Meter

A radio program used to feature a panel of gagsters, each of whom sought to outdo the others by telling a more humorous joke. The winner was determined by a laugh meter that measured the volume of guffaws, ho-ho's, and haw-haws.

A panel of our editors submits the following three Sunday-law rulings and prospective problems for our readers' built-in laugh meters:

1. Ruling. An Attorney General ruled that Baltimore, Maryland, residents may cut their lawns with a power mower on Sundays if it is quiet and they do not have to push it much. The opinion said a magistrate would have to determine the facts in each particular case, deciding if the mower made "loud and unseemly noises" and if the pushing was hard enough to constitute "bodily labor."

Problem: A neighbor's wife who used the reality of a neglected yard to shatter her husband's dreams of a Sunday golf match wants to know whether the ruling would cover the loud and unseemly noises that came from behind the handle.

2. Ruling. A Virginia court ruled that coin-operated laundries could not legally remain open under the State's Sunday law.

Problem: Would the "works of necessity" clause of the law cover the washing of a baby's soiled diapers if his mother's washer had broken down and his last diaper was at an end?

3. Ruling. The Ontario (Canada) Court of Appeal ruled that anyone using a coin-operated machine on Sunday in that province is breaking the law.

Problem: A policeman observes a shifty-eyed character sidle up to a machine, peer furtively about, insert his coin and toddle away to mamma clutching his bubble gum. Whom should the policeman arrest?

Freedom is helpless and worthless without people who believe in it and are willing to die for it.

It is not self-perpetuating. It does not beget itself.

On the contrary, freedom is bred, begotten, perpetuated by people—freedom lovers.

Freedom is not static. It is, rather, a force. That force is enervated and activated by freedom practitioners. They go to the polls and implement it. They campaign for it, or that candidate or party, and express it. They learn in school how to evaluate and understand it; they teach others to appreciate it and respect it.

Freedom lovers do not have to indulge in freedom-riding or freedom-sitting, or legislation-demanding.

Freedom is in the heart of the patriot, in his brain, his hands and feet, and on his lips. He lives and breathes and spreads freedom everywhere.

In the exercise of freedom he keeps his government clean and efficient and strong. He says to those who are bent on world dominion, "Don't tread on me," as he readies himself to spring into action to have and to hold this priceless gift from God.

DONALD F. HAYNES

FREEDOM DOES NOT BREED FREEDOM

to aid religious education when it limited the sale of city property to those nonprofit organizations which would use the property solely for religious and educational purposes. No matter how well-motivated these fine gentlemen of the Board of Estimate may be, the greater wisdom of our founding fathers, who were nearer in time to the era of religious tyranny, erected a 'wall of separation' between church and state. Your Honor, we ask you, in this case, to preserve our religious freedom by reversing the opinion of the lower court."

When we left the Appellate Court, I promised to write Alice a letter as to their decision. And, sure enough, in July of 1965, I did.

"Dear Alice,

"Long time no see. Remember the Tarshis case? Surprise! The Appellate Court threw out the whole idea of restricting the bidding on surplus city property to nonprofit corporations of any type—much less churches! They ruled:

"In our opinion, the stated restrictive classification of acceptable bidders and the consequent rejection of

plaintiff's bid, if proved, would constitute a violation of the New York City Charter. This subdivision declares that, "except as otherwise specifically provided by law," real property of the City may be sold "only for the highest marketable price . . . at public auction." The City had no right to reduce competition in the bidding, which was the effect of its restrictions of bidders to those within the stated class, and thereafter to reject the highest bid.'

"Not the way Hemingway would have put it, but tolerably clear, you'll agree.

"The court avoided the whole problem of church-state relations and made the matter a question of improper bidding procedures.

"The opinion now affects all nonprofit organizations in New York. The church-state problem remains unanswered.

"By the way, Alice, a fascinating case on censorship is coming up before the Supreme Court soon. Would you care to go?"

"Cordially yours,

Frank"

★★★

OF MEN AND MACHINES



ROLAND R. HEGSTAD

ONCE UPON A TIME there was a big machine. It was a big, big machine. When it ran, it made a delightful noise. Lights flashed, bells clanged, gears clattered, and from the big machine came little crosses stamped out of metal. Men worshiped the little crosses.

Years went by and the big machine still ran. But the men who ran the big machine died. Other men ran the big machine. One day one of them turned a little lock screw on a shiny knob. Whether he did it on purpose or out of ignorance no one can say. Indeed, no one knows who turned the lock screw on the shiny knob.

Gradually the lock screw loosened under the vibration of the big, big machine. And the shiny knob began to turn. Now, the shiny knob controlled the adjustment for the crossbars on the little crosses. Gradually the crossbars on the little crosses began to droop. Farther and farther they drooped until they touched, and the little crosses looked like circles with a line up the middle.

But no one got very excited over the matter. Even those who thought maybe the crosses looked a little different didn't bother to compare them with the original.

By and by the shiny knob slipped some more, and the line up the middle of the little crosses got cut off. Now the shiny crosses looked like circles.

The big, big machine continued to make a delightful noise. Lights flashed, bells clanged, gears clattered—and from the machine came little circles stamped out of metal. But no one got very excited. In fact, by now no one knew what a cross looked like, or even why the big machine still ran.

One day one of the workers was worshipping his little circle when he noticed that he could see the big machine through it. Soon other men were looking at the big machine through their shiny circles.

"It makes a lovely frame for the big machine, doesn't it?" said one.

"Yes," said another. And another. And another. And another.

And that's how men came to worship the big machine.

A PARABLE FOR ECUMENICISTS





W. MELVIN ADAMS

"It was just a wisp of time, 14 hours, and no one can predict how deeply it will be etched into eternity."—*The National Observer*, Oct. 25, 1965, p. 1.

"For when they shall say, Peace and safety; then sudden destruction cometh upon them, as travail upon a woman with child; and they shall not escape" (1 Thess. 5:3).

"And the nations were angry, and thy wrath is come, and the time of the dead, that they should be judged, and that thou shouldst give reward unto thy servants the prophets, and to the saints, and them that fear thy name, small and great; and shouldst destroy them which destroy the earth" (Rev. 11:18).

The Papacy, only a few decades ago shorn of its political dominion and influence, is once again a force to reckon with in international affairs.

Pope Paul's visit to, and enthusiastic reception at, the United Nations, following his earlier pilgrimages to the Holy Land and Bombay, bring that ancient institution called the Papacy full square into the twentieth century political arena.

"No one who heard Pope Paul VI speak to the

United Nations General Assembly and who talked to delegates afterward," writes Everett C. Parker in the October 20, 1965, *Christian Century*, "can doubt that the world's diplomatic community now looks upon the pontiff as the spokesman of world Christianity on matters of war and peace and of relations between the nations."

With visits in the offing to Washington, D.C., and other capitals, hope of a *pax Romana*, if not a revived Holy Roman Empire, is sweeping medieval cobwebs from the policy books of the Vatican Secretariat of State. The adulation accorded the Pope by the so-called separated brethren and representatives of the non-Christian religious world raises hopes also that the world may be ready to accept, as one columnist phrases it, "an earthly spokesman of nearly universal authority." Already being hailed is "the end of the great split in the Western soul known as the Reformation."

The Pope himself said he spoke not only in "our own personal name and in the name of the great

The Papacy, the UN, and World Peace

By **ROLAND R. HEGSTAD**

Catholic family," but also in the name of those "Christian brethren" who "so kindly charged us explicitly to be their spokesman here."

Prior to World War II or even the decade following it, a reception such as the Pope received in New York would not, could not, have been given in this, then, Protestant-oriented land. But the bomb that fell on Hiroshima fell on America too; under the mushroom cloud what some would call prudence, others prejudice, crumbled. To explore every current tending toward peace became an imperative. Statesmen had spoken their lines before peace councils and had failed; the world awaited the voice of someone more than statesmen. It remained only for Pope John to open Vatican windows to the radiation-touched atmosphere of the Age of the Atom.

Then came Vatican Council II and the call for renewal within the church.

Then came the papal encyclical *Pacem in Terris*, "Peace on Earth," addressed not only to Roman Catholics but to "all men of good will," a document that Alex Quaison-Sackey, president of the United Nations General Assembly, called "a guiding beacon in a world anxiously searching for concord and understanding."

Then came Pope Paul's visit to the UN and his virtual "canonization," as one cardinal put it, of that organization.

Again the theme was peace.

"Listen," said the Pope, "to the lucid words of the great departed John Kennedy, who proclaimed, four years ago: 'Mankind must put an end to war, or war will put an end to mankind.' . . .

"No more war, war never again!" said the Pope solemnly.

This was the emotional peak of the papal message. It was but one paragraph removed from the practical peak—an appeal for UN actions that

would open the way for admission of Communist China to that body.

Senator Robert Kennedy, for one, got the message. Within a week of the Pope's address, he called on the United States Government to "invite the Chinese to participate in the disarmament talks at Geneva when those talks were resumed in January." His suggestion was quickly endorsed by Roman Catholic Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield. Other Catholic politicians credited the Pope's UN speech with opening political doors in the United States to discussion of Chinese membership in the United Nations.

A few years ago such faithful translation of the wishes of Rome onto the American political scene would have meant political suicide. Protestants would have raised cries of "dual allegiance." Today it is a virtual certainty that the United States Government will move toward admission of Red China into the UN and, eventually, diplomatic relations.

It was Bishop Fulton Sheen who, as the Pope's plane approached Kennedy airport, dramatically recited, "And there was a star in the east."

The Pope's visit was not that.

But it was a harbinger of things to come.

Through the many hundreds of Catholics heading and staffing agencies of the UN, through the Catholic heads of state represented in the UN, through the Pope's endorsement of that body, the Papacy exerts significant influence on the policies of that body.

As Sheen observed, with less hyperbole than above: "One does not need to throw a log into the water to determine which way the current is running. A straw will do just as well."

Whether a log or a straw, the Papal visit does show which way the current is running. The student of Bible prophecy knows also where it is going. ★★★



ABOUT one hundred forty years ago a Roman Catholic priest named McGuire and a Church of England minister named Greg met in debate in Dublin, Ireland.

Each endeavored to support the claims of his church to be the one pure holy church of apostolic origin. Each appealed to history and Bible prophecy in support of his arguments.

The Reverend Mr. Greg contended that the miry clay of Daniel 2, the little horn with eyes and a mouth of Daniel 7, and various other prophetic symbols represented the Papacy. Father McGuire, following the lead of the Spanish Jesuit Ribera, the father of modern futuristic interpretation, declared these symbols to represent an Antichrist still to come.

It must have been an interesting debate to follow, for Father McGuire was quick witted and keen and the Reverend Mr. Greg, scholarly, full of his subject, and in deadly earnest. Reading the court recorder's account, one can almost hear a hiss as Mr. Greg spits out the words "miry clay."

Today a dialog is again going on between the various branches of Christendom. But the fiery darts and verbal swords have been sheathed; the quest for togetherness has almost smothered the unreconcilable past and calmed the apprehension of former years. The statues and beasts, and various other symbolic props of Daniel and Revelation, are gathering dust backstage in the minds of men, while all eyes are focused on a common area at center stage, overshadowed by the dark clouds of atheistic Communism.

Do Daniel and Revelation Contain a Message for Today?

By **DONALD MACKINTOSH**

FRANKLIN BOOTH, ARTIST
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LIBERTY, 1966

"But thou, O Daniel, shut up the words, and seal the book, even to the time of the end" (Dan. 12:4).

"The Revelation of Jesus Christ, which God gave unto him, to shew unto his servants things which must shortly come to pass" (Rev. 1:1).

The change did not come about in a day. The stagehands of time and circumstance, guided by some irresistible force, must prepare the setting. A depression, sandwiched between two world wars, the failure of "war to end war," the absence of the expected millennium when the curtain was raised, the discoveries of modern science, together with the liberalism that marked the first half of this century, all played their part.

When their lines were spoken, the prophetic books were discarded, their messages out of date and their symbols discredited.

RECENTLY I READ THE prophetic books through again. I am convinced anew that there is something in these books vitally important for our age. Hear the heavenly messenger speak to Daniel: "But thou, O Daniel, shut up the words, and seal the book, even to the time of the end: many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased" (Dan. 12:4). Hear John introduce "the Revelation of Jesus Christ, which God gave unto him, to shew unto his servants things which must shortly come to pass" (Rev. 1:1).

A thoughtful reader cannot help being impressed that these men of God were picturing in symbolic language peoples and nations in their struggles for freedom. Both Daniel and John knew what religious persecution was, Daniel having been in the den of lions and John banished to the Isle of Patmos by the Roman emperor Diocletian.

Both men likewise knew the necessity of putting their revelations from God into symbolic language—a kind of cartoon code that would get the book by a cursory reading by intolerant government officials of their day. But in every cartoon there is a key to unlock its meaning.

I found a central theme of great meaning and relevance for our day: Certain honors, privileges, prerogatives, authority, and claims to worship and adoration belong alone to God the Creator. When man assumes the prerogatives of the "Most High," invariably opposition and persecution follow, to be followed in turn by national ruin.

In such a basic and easily understood symbolism as the great metal image of Daniel 2, with its feet of iron and miry clay, the prophet is warning us that the clay of politics should not be mixed with the iron of creed. The prophet anticipates the words of Christ Jesus: "My kingdom is not of this world" (John 18:36). "Render



therefore unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's; and unto God the things that are God's" (Matt. 22:21).

Both books hold high the right of individual conscience against state and church coercion. Pressure may come through the decrees of an ancient heathen monarch or a modern Marxist state, or a Colombia or a Spain. The lesson is the same—man cannot yield his conviction to another.

Daniel pictures this union of church and state by several symbols—miry clay and iron, a horn with eyes and a mouth "speaking great things," which would seek to change God's law; a horn that was exceedingly great but which cast the truth to the ground; a king who would "do according to his will, and . . . exalt himself, and magnify himself above every god" even the "God of gods."

John's symbolic pictures are similar. The most striking is, perhaps, the woman (the church) riding the scarlet-colored beast (the state). In every instance the church-state amalgam comes to an ignoble end. But, unfortunately, not before a great many who honor God suffer persecution and even death.

Could it be that our enlightened age of emerging brotherhood really needs the message of these prophetic books?

It was not in dark Africa of a thousand years ago but in enlightened Germany, home of Dr. Martin Luther, that some 6 million Jews met death in our generation. It was not in the ancient Roman Empire but in modern India and Pakistan that some 750,000 Hindus and Moslems died scarcely twenty years ago in a religious war set off by the partitioning of these two nations.

And it is in modern America that misguided zealots yet seek to write a religious amendment that would give state sanction to prayer, support church institutions with your dollars, pass laws that would force all businesses to close on the "Lord's Day." And this only 150 years after our forefathers meted out jail sentences and even the death penalty for children of God who dared to deviate from what the state called rectitude!

YES, TIMES MAY HAVE CHANGED since Daniel and John wrote, but human nature has not. Power still tends to corrupt. And today such power is concentrated in a few hands as in no previous age! Statesmen and church leaders alike tremble before the atom, and seek accord, seek some common ground of union, seek to tear down national barriers before nuclear disaster overtakes the race. Under this compulsion of fear the voice of dissent is being stilled, minorities imprisoned in brotherhood.

"And the dragon was wroth with the woman, and went to make war with the remnant of her seed, which keep the commandments of God, and have the testimony of Jesus Christ," wrote the apostle (Rev. 12:17).

The dragon, he says, is "that old serpent, called the Devil, and Satan" (Rev. 12:9).



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RUSSELL HARLAN, ARTIST

The woman is the church. (See, for example, Jer. 6:2; John 3:29; 2 Cor. 11:2.)

The remnant of her seed must mean the last part, that which is left at the end. Could it be that here is a warning that looks to the days just ahead?

Surely none of us wants our prayers and our sacraments regulated by law. None of us wants to be told that we must worship this way or that way. None of us wants our government or church leaders to play God for us, as do the symbolic antichrists of Daniel and Revelation. Nor do we want the judgments predicted to follow as the aftermath. Then it behooves us to be on the alert to keep the oozing miry clay of church-statism out of the widening cracks in our society.

The prophetic books can yet be of help to us. John wrote, "Blessed is he that readeth, and they that hear the words of this prophecy, and keep those things which are written therein" (Rev. 1:3).

★★★

THE Ontario, Canada, municipal board has decided that a Roman Catholic wife may lease her home from her Protestant husband and direct property taxes to the parochial rather than public schools.

The unusual case, which is expected to have repercussions all over Ontario, involves Mr. and Mrs. George F. McDonald. They have a six-year-old son who attends St. Martin's parochial school in London.

Until two years ago the McDonalds were listed as public school supporters. Then Mrs. McDonald signed a lease with her Protestant spouse that made her the tenant. It immediately became possible for her to be assessed as a separate (parochial) school supporter.

A local court of revision, which deals with tax matters, dismissed Mrs. McDonald's application to be entered on the tax rolls as a separate school supporter. Later, however, County Court Judge Frank Costello of Kitchener, Ontario, allowed the appeal, ordered the woman's name to be listed as a separate school supporter, but gave no reason for his decision.

Promptly, London's board of education appealed Judge Costello's decision to the Ontario Municipal Board. This board is a creature of the Ontario provincial (state) government and deals with most municipal squabbles on zoning, taxes, and other matters. The OMB upheld Judge Costello's decision.

In its five-page judgment the board said the facts were simple and not disputed. George F. McDonald, a Protestant, is the registered owner of the property known as 28 Base Line Road East, London, which he occupies with his wife, Florence, a Roman Catholic.

The husband-to-wife lease was for a period of one year for a consideration of \$2.00 (two dollars), with a proviso that renewal be automatic from year to year unless there is notification to the contrary.

"There is no question," said the board, "that the lease was entered into for the purpose of directing the taxes for the support of separate schools, and a child of the respondents was attending one of these schools."

The OMB said London's board of education claimed that since this was the case and that the lease would not affect the matrimonial relationship, it was without meaning and was ineffectual.

The board of education also argued that a husband and wife could not enter into such a lease because it would be legally unenforceable.

Counsel for the McDonalds argued that the intention behind a lease, or differences of opinion on whether it can be enforced, are immaterial.

The OMB found that the lease is a legally enforceable document.

In support of its decision the OMB reached back to 1904, when a wife as owner of a house entered into a

leasehold arrangement with her husband so that he could vote as occupier of the premises.

The OMB said the 1904 decision stated there was nothing to prevent a wife from standing in the position of landlord to her husband. It quoted the then Lord Chief Justice Alverstone as saying that "the rent book showed periodical payments of rent by him to her."

The Separate School Act of Ontario states that where the land is assessed against both owner and occupant, or owner and tenant, the occupant or tenant shall be deemed primarily liable for payment of school rates and for deciding whether these shall be applied to public or separate schools.

The act also says that no agreement between owner or tenant as to payment of taxes between themselves alters or affects this provision.

CANADA

Taxing Problem Decided

By R. L. LOWMAN

Special Writer, Toronto Star

Under Canada's constitution, the British North American Act, Roman Catholics are guaranteed their own tax-supported school system up to grade 10. In practice in Ontario this runs to grade 8, the last year before high school.

A Roman Catholic property owner or tenant may earmark his taxes for either the public or the separate Catholic parochial schools. Many Catholics do, in fact, send their children to the public schools on the grounds that the teachers are better paid and the standards are higher.

A Protestant owner or tenant, however, does not have a choice. By law he is required to support the public schools.

There are no Roman Catholic tax-supported high schools in Ontario, although the hierarchy and laity have been pressing the government for them for a long time.

What few high schools there are receive their financial support from private sources and not from the tax coffers. Roman Catholic parents have been complaining bitterly that they pay taxes to support public high schools and then have to contribute more money privately if they send their children to a Roman Catholic secondary school.

★★★

It Took More Than

THE spirit of '76 boiled up and over on an accumulation of grievances. They included such items as taxed tea, unspecific search warrants, arbitrary lines forbidding western settlement, a lack of parliamentary representation, and much more. As fashions in historical interpretation shift, one generation would explain Lexington and Concord in terms of New England farmers brooding over natural rights; another, with debunking in the air, would make dark surmises about Sam Adams' unpaid customs duties as a stimulant to hatred of kings.

Nearly lost sight of in the complex causes of the American Revolution, religion has usually been listed (if at all) as a minor factor in the break between the colonials and the British. Our own age is secular, despite certain well-advertised signs of religiosity, and we find it difficult to realize that a religious controversy could be of overriding importance. Obviously there must have been something people could talk about before there were major league pennant races and movie queens of dubious morals.

A recent publication by a noted authority on Colonial America, Carl Bridenbaugh, of the John Carter Brown Library in Providence, helps bring the religious question back into focus. In his *Mitre and Sceptre* he traces the heated controversy over the proposals to send Episcopal bishops to American shores and asserts that the intense feeling over this question had as much to do with armed resistance to King George as some other disputes that fit better into our twentieth century concepts of what is important. It would appear that the angry colonials would just as soon have thrown bishops as tea into any American harbor from Boston to Savannah.

Though the colonists were somewhat unchurched in comparison to their conformist descendants, they had their opinions of "power" and "place." These were the stakes for which the English state church was playing as it endeavored to force its way tardily in among those whose ancestors left home to avoid churches which serve as spiritual policemen for heavyhanded governments. To be sure, they had local established churches of their own Nonconformist (or even Anglican) persuasion in several of the colonies. (Lack of consistency did not unduly embarrass them.) While one might wish to favor a particular church in his own colony, it would be something else again to have a hierarchy of a state church established throughout British America. It would threaten both religious and political liberties. Even some Anglicans felt this way. The cry was loud and about as

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unanimous as the colonists ever got—"No bishops!"

It would have made administrative sense for the growing Episcopal congregations to be served by one or several bishops. Ordination for their clergy was expensive and dangerous, since it required a voyage to England. But Anglican bishops sat in the House of Lords, and the state was the final arbiter in the affairs of the church. Looking at the rites and ceremonies of the Anglican Episcopate, recalling the church's political and social manipulations in England, strong Protestants thought they could even detect an entering wedge for Rome in the campaigning for American bishops.²

The colonials were assigned for spiritual matters by the privy council to the Bishop of London, and no ministers or teachers were to go to America without his certificate. The notable pressure group in America was the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. Its missionaries kept agitation alive, memorializing the Crown as early as 1709 and several times thereafter.

The Anglicans claimed they sought power over their own clergy only—nothing in the way of temporal authority—just someone to ordain, to confirm, to visit. Perhaps it might have worked earlier, but by 1763, it was said such proposals caused as much excitement as the Stamp Act.

As John Adams later explained: "The objection was not merely to the office of a bishop, though even that was dreaded, but to the authority of Parliament, on which it must be founded." It could lead logically to Parliament levying taxes to support the Church of England they might establish in America "with all its creeds, articles, tests, ceremonies, and tithes, and prohibit all other churches, as conventicles and schism shops."³

The Massachusetts House of Representatives, writing to its London agent in 1768, maintained that Parliament would be well within its constitutional powers to apply revenue to support prelacy as to support soldiers.⁴ Granted, the proposal usually sounded harmless enough, but critics saw nothing to stop bishops from aiding royal governors in their contests with the citizens, or to prevent persecution from arising, as in the days of the late Archbishop Laud of unhappy memory, and

Tea



HOWARD PYLE, ARTIST

the whole buttressed by British common and statute law.⁵

Anglicans were few and scattered in the northern colonies, but even where the church was legally established, as in Virginia, opposition was vocal. The House of Burgesses in 1771 voted the thanks of the House to four clergymen "for the wise and well-timed Opposition they have made to the pernicious Project of a few mistaken Clergymen, for introducing an *American Bishop*; a Measure by which much Disturbance, great Anxiety, and Apprehension, would certainly take place among his Majesty's faithful *American Subjects*."

Spokesmen for the Dissenters called on all parties to unite against the Church of England. The more advanced among them saw the numerous sects as "a mutual balance upon one another." Since they could not destroy one another, they lived in harmony.⁷ But there was a mounting conviction that religious liberty was no longer safe under the British connection.⁸

THE AMERICAN OBJECTORS had powerful allies in the English Dissenters who lobbied tirelessly when proposals for American bishops came up. The British and colonial brethren kept one another well posted. Bridenbaugh calls it "an amazing and complicated story of transoceanic cooperation for the protection and furtherance of religious and political liberties that is without parallel in Anglo-American history."⁹ It served repeatedly to frustrate what Jonathan Mayhew denounced as "an impious bargain struck up betwixt the surplice and the sceptre for enslaving both bodies and souls of men."¹⁰

On the other side, the Church of England was served diligently but somewhat ineptly by its missionaries and devotees in America. More than once they miscalculated public opinion and urged action with unfortunate results for their cause.

In turn, the political and ecclesiastical strategy worked out in London for the missionaries did not always prove appropriate to best "compleat the face of decency and order in the colonies." Criticism mounted, pamphleteers were in action, and pulpits thundered. One anonymous assailant of the scheme suggested in 1734 that the Anglicans hoped to use the colonies as a dumping ground for disagreeable clergymen and as a place to raise revenues and fines.¹¹ An attempt was made in New York about 1748 to obtain a monopoly of performing marriage ceremonies for the Anglicans—with the attendant fees, of course. "A great clamor" ensued, and the effort failed.¹²

ANOTHER ATTEMPT to bring over the bishops failed in 1764. It suffered by being contemporary with the Stamp Act with which it was immediately associated by the bitter opposition.¹³ One Episcopalian official in South Carolina remarked sadly, "I can venture to affirm that it would be as unsafe for an American Bishop (if such should be appointed) to come hither, as it is at present for a Distributor of the Stamps."¹⁴

That the situation was understood by some Englishmen can be seen in a comment found in one of the anonymous attacks on George III and his ministers known as the Junius Letters (1769): "Divided as they are into a thousand forms of policy and religion, there is one point in which they all agree: they equally detest the pageantry of a K--g, and the supercilious hypocrisy of a Bishop."¹⁵

In 1774 the question was further heated by the Quebec Act, which was seen by the Protestant colonists as an attempt to enlarge the French-speaking and Catholic province at their expense and to establish Catholicism behind their backs.

The miniscule and suspect group of American Catholics was prey to similar apprehension. Two hundred and fifty Catholic Marylanders in the Laity Remonstrance of 1765 protested to their own church against the appointment of an apostolic vicar as being "bold and presuming" in the eyes of their fellow citizens. As Charles Carroll of Carrollton wrote Bishop Challoner on the same question:

"Yr Lordship must know, yt for many years past, attempts have been made to establish a Protestant Bishop on this continent, and yt such attempts have been as constantly opposed thro the fixed aversion ye people of America in general have to a person of such a character. If such is the aversion of Protestants to a Protestant Bishop, with wt an eye will they look upon an Apostl. Vicar?"¹⁶

As late as 1784, the Catholics considered a bishop unnecessary "to the present exigencies" of their religion in America.¹⁷ Their first bishop arrived, however, in 1789.¹⁸

When the break came, a big loser was, therefore, the Church of England.

"The Anglicans had managed their campaigns badly . . . John Adams could never overlook their 'sacerdotal impudence.' No amount of clerical doubletalk ever disabused the Dissenters of their suspicions of the motives of the Churchmen. Men of the cloth on both sides resorted to base and un-Christian conduct for good ends: intrigue, misrepresentation, outright lying, character assassination. One reads, in the sources of this seemingly endless debate, very little about the work of the Lord but much about the operation of human nature in divines and laymen alike."¹⁹

ONCE THE POLITICAL ANGLE WAS eliminated by independence, the subsidence of fear and mistrust was almost miraculous. Samuel Seabury arrived in 1785, the first Episcopalian bishop in America. Massachusetts also passed its own stamp tax at the same time, leading the *Boston Gazette* to comment: "TWO WONDERS OF THE WORLD—a Stamp Act in Boston and a Bishop in Connecticut."²⁰

An effort that could have led to a complete reordering of American society was frustrated finally by the outbreak of the Revolution. The controversy was a fundamental cause of that event. The Anglican desire to complete an episcopal organization in the colonies might have been justified, but it was the ominous combination of state and church which provoked the reaction of the Dissenters and the 85-year battle to frustrate it. "The essential ingredient of the nascent American

sense of nationality was, for better or worse . . . , the belief in an American version of religious liberty, one which bore fruit in the first series of state constitutions of 1776 to 1783."²¹ The Americans felt they were protecting a fundamental truth when they passed on to rebellion in 1775.

Few ever put feeling for religious liberty more happily than did young Ezra Stiles addressing his fellow ministers at Bristol, Rhode Island, April 23, 1760:

"The right of conscience and private judgment is unalienable; and it is truly the interest of all mankind to unite themselves into one body for the liberty, free exercise, and the unmolested enjoyment of this right, especially in religion. . . . God be thanked we are not embarrassed with subscriptions and oaths to uninspired rules for defining truth, in this land of liberty, where the SCRIPTURES are professedly our only RULE. . . . And being possessed of the precious jewel of religious liberty, a jewel of inestimable worth, let us prize it highly, and esteem it too dear to be parted with on any terms lest we be again entangled with that yoke of bondage which our fathers could not, would not, and God grant we may never submit to bear."²²

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- ²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 339.
- ²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. xiii, xiv.
- ²² *Ibid.*, p. 3.



Red's Can't Obliterate Religion

BROADCASTS and publications from the Soviet Union reveal that the Communist regime has made little headway in stamping out deeply ingrained religious practices among great numbers of the Russian people.

According to the Institute for the Study of the U.S.S.R., based in Munich, Germany, the best evidence of this fact is the continuing stream of articles in the Soviet press recounting incidents in which the regime is forced to take disciplinary action against persons in responsible positions—even party officials—for involvement in Christian activities.

Typical is the case of Valya Shurtakoya, known at

her job in Moscow, and at the institute where she studied, as an active, effective worker for the Communist Party.

But at her home just outside the city she was an open believer, an active parishioner, and the wife of a Russian Orthodox priest.

The Communist journal that "exposed" Valya's Communist-Christian life described her two roles:

"She became accustomed to her double life. At work she was esteemed. And . . . in church, respected. And she lived peacefully. In public she is a member of a brigade of Communist labor, but at home a priest's wife and an active parishioner. During the day she ac-

tively agitates for communism; in the evening she prays earnestly and sings praise to the Lord."

Komsomolskaya Zhizn, a Red journal for youth, cited the case of Nadya Berezovskaya, a Komsomol (Communist youth organization) member, and a student at the Omsk Music School, who saved the money allotted her for movies to buy icons, crosses, and candles.

The journal praised Nadya's mother, an atheist, who "wrathfully takes icons away from her very young daughter who is a Komsomol member, a future teacher, and musician. The mother is fighting for her daughter's spiritual welfare, and when she realizes that she cannot succeed by herself, she seeks the help of a Komsomol committee."

On learning from the mother of the daughter's religious "defection," Komsomol leaders expelled her and demanded that she lose her place in the music school. This action drew the editorial ire of the Komsomol journal: "Such is the usual procedure of the white-washer, the bureaucrat, the lover of form. But to convince a person, to fight for him, to work with him and prevail—this, unfortunately is dull and drawn out."

SOVIET PUBLICATIONS DEVOTE not a little space to speculation on what it is that makes otherwise solid Soviet citizens turn to religion. A long article in *Pravda* (Oct. 3, 1964) began by asking, "Where do they come from?" and conceded that the answer is not easy to find. "When the believer is a person in his declining years, it may be perhaps explained. But what if he is a 'slave of the Lord' at seventeen? A Baptist with a graduation certificate? How does this happen?"

Pravda speculated that "more than anything else morality enters into it. . . . Baptists do not smoke or drink and they care for one another as brothers." Then follows the story of Oleg Malov, a young believer who served in the armed forces.

No matter where Oleg's unit was transferred, he always found "brothers and sisters" around him, among the civilian population, in completely new and unfamiliar places, *Pravda* reported. It was only after many years of prolonged painstaking work on the part of command and political liaison personnel in his regiment that Oleg finally renounced his religious beliefs.

Pravda's interpretation of Oleg's fall from faith was that "more sincere heartfelt attention" was ultimately paid him by his Communist associates than by coreligionists.

The newspaper concluded from this example that neglect or unfair treatment provides fertile ground for the cultivation of religious feeling. "Someone was treated unjustly or offended; someone had a misfortune and was not given support in time." Then, the article continued, religious sentiments find ready acceptance.

A book, *Morality and Religion*, published in 1964 by the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, came to a similar conclusion about the genesis of religious interest—and incidentally offered an interesting commentary on the extent of Christianity in the Soviet Union.

The book found that "concrete motives for some people's conversion to religion should be sought in the practical relations between peoples in different spheres of life." It quoted a Komsomol member who noted that among "evangelicals and Baptists" one found "warmth, concern, attention, even . . . kissing of strangers. It is evident that young men and women attending meetings are seeking spiritual intercourse with one another. It must be admitted that in our businesses and schools, apparently everywhere, there are associations and active members" of Christian bodies.

SOVIET JOURNALS AND NEWSPAPERS give frequent attention to statistics on church attendance and church membership, researchers at the Institute discovered. Often such statistics are quoted to chide party faithfuls for failure to eliminate religious devotion. An article in *Komsomolskaya Zhizn* named villages in which the work of the Russian Orthodox Church, Jehovah's Witnesses, Seventh-day Adventists, and Free Christians flourished simultaneously.

The same article mentioned a "well-known" regulation which prohibits a priest or minister from beginning a service of worship if children are in the church. It also reported the visit of a government official to a church service and his dismay at finding children there, indicating that the regulation is not strictly enforced.

Another article interpreted as favorable the fact that of approximately 2,000 persons attending Eastern services in the Mironositsy Cathedral in 1963 "only" one third were young people. The article alleged that most of these came out of "curiosity."

The Soviet publication also regarded as favorable the fact that only 30 per cent of the Baptists in a given area were professional, office, and industrial workers, and that of 680 church leaders, 225 were pensioners. It was noted, however, that 144 of the pensioners were persons who in their active lives had been decorated with high state awards, orders, and medals.

Institute researchers agree that while the new Soviet leaders are "as confirmed in their atheism as their predecessors were," every change in leadership tends to weaken, if only temporarily, the power structure.

Public opinion, the researchers believe, is also an ameliorating factor and party leaders "are increasingly compelled to take it into account."

The Institute for the Study of the U.S.S.R. is a non-governmental agency, employing scholars and others who have an intimate knowledge of the Soviet Union.
—*Religious News Service*. ★★★



CONGRESS AND THE CONSCIENCE CLAUSE

WHEN the eighty-ninth Congress reconvenes this January, it is expected to act on repeal of Taft-Hartley 14(b), the section of the labor law that permits States to enact right-to-work laws. Attached to the repeal bill in the Senate will be the Morse Amendment, which would provide protection for individuals with religious convictions against joining labor unions or paying dues to them. (See "Compulsory Unionism v. Religious Conscience," *LIBERTY*, November-December, 1965, p. 20.) Congressmen in the House may be asked to vote on a conscience clause introduced by Congresswoman Edith Green, which may be offered as an amendment attached to other legislation or as a separate bill.

In one form or another, a conscience clause should receive the support of Congress. In fact, a conscience clause is needed whether or not 14(b) is repealed. If it is retained, members of some forty-five church organizations supporting a conscience clause will continue to have problems in the thirty-one States not having right-to-work laws. If it is repealed, religious conscience will become an issue in all fifty States.

Labor's offer to handle the problem of conscientious conviction on a voluntary basis did not fare well in the face of documentation before House and Senate committees, which showed, with few exceptions, a twenty-year record of labor failure to cooperate with churches seeking relief for their members having scruples against joining or supporting unions. Congresswoman Edith Green reminded the House that labor unions had promised also to secure voluntarily equal employment opportunities for all workers, regardless of color, through their locals. Was the Congress willing to trust this civil-rights issue to the promises of union officials? No, the Congress passed a law. Protection by law was needed also for those individuals concerned with a religious right, she said.

A number of churches and church organizations likewise supported legislative action to protect religious liberty. Through their social action departments, such groups as the National Council of Churches, the National Catholic Welfare Conference, and the Central Conference of American Rabbis urged the Congress to "find a formula which simultaneously guarantees the

legitimate rights of organized labor and the rights of those workers . . . whose religious beliefs make it impossible for them to join or support a labor organization."

The first session of the eighty-ninth Congress produced a formula that would do so. It remains for the second session to vote it.

W. M. A.

ON THE ROAD TO CLERICALISM

ONE of the curious results of the new Federal programs in education is the functional interlocking of church and state which they foster. This is true of the operations of the Economic Opportunity Act and also of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act.

The National Council of Churches has announced that it is setting up an agency to correlate such efforts.

The North Carolina Council of Churches drew \$270,444 in Federal funds to support its migrant ministry.

The Methodists have appointed a committee, and no doubt other denominations will follow suit.

A clergyman friend has informed us of a call by a Government official soliciting his cooperation in an antipoverty program. He was obviously flattered.

All around the country, officials of the Roman Catholic Church are seizing the reins of leadership in the Federal programs. As Dr. Maurice M. Hartmann, director of Community Service, put it, "The war on poverty coincides with the teaching of the church."

The theory seems to be that the state and the churches will correlate their efforts in an attack on poverty. It is a good theory, but more than one good theory has foundered on the rock of church-state union.

It is precisely this kind of functional intimacy between state and church which has brought the evils of clericalism to many lands. In such an association, clergymen tend to go political as they strive for more of the state's favor and patronage. There is the angry scramble for dollars and control. There is the use which the state makes of the church's influence for its own ends. There is the manipulation of the state by the church for its own aggrandizement.

The predictable result of all this is the derogation of the church and its decline in popular estimation. There is a pathos about church leaders who rush into this

association blithely sure that they are doing the Lord's work even as they undermine the strength and health of the church they serve.—Reprinted by permission of *Church and State*, July-August, 1965, p. 4.

GOOD AMERICANS

PULITZER Prize-winning reporter Marguerite Higgins believes that "history may well record that in Vietnam it was the good Americans, the idealistic Americans, the perfectionist Americans who, as in the popular novel *The Ugly American*, nearly did that lovely and tragic Southeast Asian country in."

For these were the Americans, says Miss Higgins, who opposed Ngo Dinh Diem because, "among other things, he 'repressed' street demonstrations" which were against the Vietnamese law of the land, and who also were taken in by the demonstrations and immolations of Buddhist monks, who really were not victims of Roman Catholic Diem's authoritarian ways.

Whatever the demerits of her analysis—advanced in the Jesuit publication *America* for October 3, 1964, and rebutted in the Catholic publication *Ramparts* for July, 1965—Miss Higgins does come up with a good conclusion:

"Certainly a return of the rule of law and the separation of Church and State are among the precepts on which the United States must again insist in Vietnam if it wants to have any government left to support.

"No Vietnamese leader has any chance of restoring any kind of stability until the Buddhists go back to the pagodas, the Catholics go back to the churches, the students go back to studying, and the military go back to fighting the Vietcong instead of each other."

It seems to us that this is mighty good counsel, and not only for Vietnam. Here on the home front we could use a few less "good" Americans who in the interests of social advance deny the rule of law, and in the interests of unity tear bricks from the wall of separation between church and state. For here, too, our Government ultimately must stand or fall upon these principles without which is anarchy on the one hand and oppression on the other.

Miss Higgins may not have come up with a solution to the Vietnamese conflict, but she has surely singled out elements upon which the well-being of civilization itself is dependent.

R. R. H.

Men are never so likely to settle a question rightly as when they discuss it freely. A government can interfere in discussion only by making it less free than it would otherwise be.—Macaulay.

A VOICE CRYING IN THE WILDERNESS

THE DAY before the vote on the religious liberty schema, the bishops attending the fourth session of Vatican Council II heard a most persuasive plea for freedom of conscience. The speaker was Josef Cardinal Beran, who knows what it means to suffer for religious conviction. The cardinal was held by the Nazis in the infamous concentration camp of Dachau, arrested by the Communists in 1951, hidden from sight and moved from place to place until his banishment last spring from his Archepiscopal See of Prague.

Invoking the Scriptures, the durable little man—the cardinal is five feet, two inches—thundered: "He who coerces another by physical or moral force to act against his conscience leads him to sin against God."

Referring to Czechoslovakia, he noted "among the faithful and even among the priests not only serious dangers to their faith but also grave temptations of lying, or hypocrisy and other moral vices which easily corrupt a people deprived of true freedom of conscience." The cardinal was alluding to the policy of Communist regimes of forcing some measure of ideological acceptance and cooperation as the price of keeping a job or advancing in a profession.

But he made it plain that pressure exerted in behalf of the church is equally reprehensible.

"Everywhere and always," he asserted, "the violation of freedom of conscience engenders hypocrisy among great numbers of people."

"In my country," Cardinal Beran added, "the Catholic Church seems to be expiating past faults and sins committed against freedom of conscience as happened in the fourteenth century in the burning alive of Jan Hus, a priest, and in the forced return to the church in the seventeenth century of a large part of Bohemia on the principle that the religious affiliation of the people must follow that of the ruler. This traumatic experience inhibited spiritual progress."

Cardinal Beran's expressed hope that the church would confess "past violations of religious freedom" found no echo in the draft of the religious liberty schema itself, which painted a much more charitable picture of the church's attitude toward dissenters than any credible historian would accept.

Along with the cardinal, we wish the church might have confessed at least a few centuries of intolerance, but it is, after all, human to put the best face on transgressions. We take some solace in the spectacle of an infallible teaching authority demonstrating, if not its humility, its humanity. We take most solace, however, in reporting the words of a man who through suffering has evolved a philosophy of religious liberty which we can heartily endorse.

R. R. H.



UNITED STATES

Governor Vetoes Funds for Catholic Hospital

Harrisburg, Pa.—Gov. William W. Scranton of Pennsylvania vetoed an appropriation of \$75,000 to St. Joseph's Children's and Maternity Hospital at Scranton because the State Justice Department ruled the hospital a sectarian institution.

Legislators backing the appropriation apparently were not aware of the situation when they sought State funds for the Catholic hospital, observers said.

Governor Scranton noted that the State constitution holds that "no appropriation shall be made for charitable, educational or benevolent purposes to any person or community nor to any denominational and sectarian institution, corporation or association."

He noted, however, that institutions such as St. Joseph's are benefited by a State-aided "purchase of care" program involving the placement of retarded children in a hospital.

Rule Catholic Schools Cannot Rent Public School Fields in New York

Albany, N.Y.—New York State's Department of Education has ruled that athletic fields and other facilities of public schools in the State may not be used by parochial schools.

The ruling resulted from an attempt by Catholic Mothers Clubs in Niagara Falls, N.Y., to negotiate a reduction in the \$125 rental fee the Niagara Falls School District charged each time Bishop Duffy High School used a public school football field.

The Catholic school had been renting the field since 1963. When the Catholic Council of Mothers Clubs sought a lower rate this fall, the school district reviewed the matter and decided the public school facility could not legally be rented to a church-related school.

The Mothers Clubs and Father John L. Birkenheuer, principal of the school, appealed to the State Department of Education, which upheld the decision of the Niagara Falls School District.

Deputy Education Commissioner Ewald B. Nyquist, in issuing the decision, said New York State law forbids

the use of public school facilities for functions exclusively controlled by, and with proceeds going to, "a society, association or organization of a religious sect or denomination."

Therefore, Mr. Nyquist explained, "the use of the city school district athletic field by a parochial or diocesan school, or in fact by any religious school of whatever denomination, is specifically prohibited by law."

Persecution of Witnesses Reported Continuing in Communist Countries

Minneapolis.—Nathan H. Knorr, president of the Watchtower Bible and Tract Society, reported on his return from a European tour that persecution of Jehovah's Witnesses in Communist countries is continuing.

Mr. Knorr told a press conference that most of the literature disseminated by the sect in Iron Curtain countries was printed on clandestine presses by Witnesses there.

While he anticipated no improvement of conditions in Communist countries, Mr. Knorr said there might be an easing of restrictions against Jehovah's Witnesses in Spain and Portugal.

SPAIN

Spanish Protestants Pessimistic on Chance for Religious Liberty

Madrid.—The Second Congress of Protestant Churches has issued a statement expressing pessimism over the development of a "more tolerant" attitude toward non-Catholic churches in Spain despite the ecumenical movement and the Vatican Council's Declaration on Religious Liberty.

Judging from the "nature of statements on religious liberty made by Spanish bishops" at the council's current session, the congress said, "it regrets that it cannot foresee the issuance of a corresponding declaration on religious liberty in Spain, such as natural law and human dignity demand and the Vatican's declaration appears to recognize."

The congress deplored the "situation in Spain wherein legal discrimination against Protestant Churches

exists," and emphasized that religious liberty is a "gift and right which cannot be denied to anyone."

While "recognizing the importance of ecumenical relations," the congress said these "are impracticable where official religious discrimination exists."

The congress was attended by some 150 delegates from five Protestant bodies. Other topics dealt with at the sessions included the education and training of pastors and the "evangelization of the Spanish nation."

The Religious Liberty Battle

From page 12

the temporal and spiritual orders. We should fight error with the arms of light rather than the arms of force." And Cardinal Bernard Alfrinck, Archbishop of Utrecht, while not asking for the elimination of references to "a possible privileged status of religion in the state," felt that it should be expressed in conditional terms and not "without reservation."

Archbishop Paul J. Hallinan of Atlanta, Georgia, also said that the "care of religious liberty rightly pertains to the public authority, but not the care of religion itself." Indeed, he added, the state can "best foster religion where it fosters the free exercise of it."

Theological Justification for Full Liberty

In a Dutch document by Professor Jose-Maria Gonzales-Ruis, entitled "Religious Liberty in the New Testament," circulated to the Fathers in Council, the "mysterious right of the tare" until the time of harvest was set forth as a further development of the theology of this new view.

"The desire to suppress by coercion the error of a mistaken conscience or its manifestations," it is stated, "is a sin of eschatological impatience." The disciple of Christ "cannot use repressive measures to remove the tares. Both the wheat and the tares equally possess a mysterious and divine right of sanctuary until the day of the harvest. . . . The church, as God's people, has not received the mission to exercise this 'effective judgment' in the period of eschatological maturation that forms the history of salvation."

And furthermore, "a church that has compromised with the state—in order to obtain social privileges, scholastic monopolies, sociological representation—has heavily mortgaged its 'religious liberty,' its capacity for prophetic declaration."

Bitter Conservative Reaction

The advocacy of this, to all intents, "Protestant" reinterpretation of the Catholic teaching on liberty could not but arouse what the exiled Chinese missionary Bishop Velasco, O.P., called the "glorious minority," comprising mostly Spanish and Italian bishops, to fierce defense

of what they believed to be orthodox Catholic doctrine.

They argued that the schema "smacked of humanistic rationalism," to use the words of Bishop Abelio del Campo y de la Barcena of Calahorra, and "encouraged religious subjectivism" and "indifferentism."

In places, said Archbishop Domenico Modrego of Barcelona, the document "either explicitly or implicitly contradicts the magisterium of the Roman Pontiffs." It "contradicts the teaching of Leo XIII," asserted Archbishop Marcel Lefebvre, Superior General of the Congregation of the Holy Spirit, and "lacks a historical magisterial foundation." It is therefore "completely unacceptable."

These extreme conservative bishops insisted that the medieval doctrine of liberty is still authentic Catholic teaching, which cannot be reversed even in the changed conditions of the modern world. While the liberty of all who wish to go their own separate erroneous ways may have to be recognized, this does not mean that they should be given "indiscriminate liberty," to use Cardinal Siri's phrase, to seduce others into error. It would be an "insult to the Catholic Church," said Archbishop Custodio Alvim Pereira of Lourenço Marques, to give "the right of public confession of any religion" to "all men."

They argued, therefore, that while tolerance must be extended to men in error in a pluralistic society, the church cannot deny the historic Catholic "thesis" that the truly informed state has a duty to cooperate with the church in maintaining the Catholic faith and suppressing all teachings and practices contrary to it.

"The faith," declared Cardinal Michael Browne, O.P., of the Curia, "must be protected and . . . the religions not founded on the supernatural faith should be prevented from harming faith."

"In a Catholic state those in authority must safeguard the faith, because in it consists the supreme good of all citizens. The spreading of other religions in a Catholic state is a violation of public morality and harms the right which Catholics enjoy not to have their faith endangered."

"Proselytism in a Catholic state," declared Cardinal Benjamin de Arriba y Castro, Archbishop of Tarragona, "is bad and must be repressed not only by the church but by the state in countries where Catholicism is practically the only religion."

In other words, said Cardinal Ermenegildo Florit, Archbishop of Florence, the church has the right to "claim and practice liberty" even to disturb or curtail "the natural liberty enjoyed by all men."

"Nothing, therefore," declared Cardinal Ernesto Ruffino of Palermo, "should be done to change the agreements now existing with special governments."

The clause proclaiming that all men have the "sacred duty to profess and embrace the Catholic faith" undoubtedly represented a triumph for the conservative bishops.

Central Position of Declaration

Between what may be called the extreme left and the extreme rightist views in the council is the central position, which is the standpoint of the declaration itself. This recognizes, in the light of reason and revelation, the right of the individual to freedom of conscience and religious liberty in respect of belief, practice, and the manifestation of his religion. It assures to the family group freedom in the ordering of its religious life and in the education of the children, and it recognizes the rights of religious groups to profess, practice, and propagate their beliefs so far as they do not conflict with the "order" and "common good" of society.

At the same time it affirms the right of the state to recognize one religion above others as the true religion, while safeguarding the full religious liberty of other churches and groups.

This position commanded majority support in the council. "The Schema," said Cardinal Richard J. Cushing, Archbishop of Boston, "has solid foundations in the teaching of the church" and "answers the expectations of the church and the world." And certainly it has been hailed by the world as a great advance in Roman Catholic thinking and a definite step forward in ecumenical relations with non-Catholic churches.

No Real Changes

However, it would be quite wrong to describe the standpoint of the Schema as a "total reversal" of the Roman Catholic doctrine on liberty, as some non-Roman spokesmen have claimed it to be. It is nothing of the sort. It does not, in fact, mark any change of fundamental doctrine, but only a change of emphasis, without altering the church's basic position at all.

The declaration states clearly that its concept of religious liberty "leaves intact the Catholic teaching on the one true religion and the one true church of Christ."

It "does not, in particular circumstances prevent a particular religious group from receiving special recognition in a given nation, provided that at the same time the religious rights of all citizens and all religious groups are recognized and respected."

And it provides numerous loopholes for a recognized religion to limit the liberties of what it believes to be "error" by such conditional clauses as "always within due limits," provided it does not violate "a legitimate regulation of public order," or so long as it does not "disturb public peace, violate public morality, or infringe on the rights of others."

Cardinal Joseph Lefebvre, Archbishop of Bourges, was at pains to point out that "the declaration does not sanction every kind of propagation of religious truth, but demands that proper limits be observed."

Archbishop Emelio Tagle of Valparaiso was equally insistent that the text should give only "the one true

church religious liberty in the absolute sense, reserving to other faiths religious tolerance according to circumstances of time and place."

"The document," said Cardinal Heenan of Westminster, "lays down that religious liberty must not be exercised at the cost of public order."

That these provisos leave dangerously open to interpretation the circumstances in which the state may interfere with the liberty of subjects, was underlined on the council floor itself when Cardinal Enrico Dante said that the argument that "religious liberty can be restricted for considerations based on the common good and public order leaves the question at the mercy of various conceptions of the common good and public order." He was, of course, anxious about those who might construe the "common good" and "public order" adversely to the Roman Catholic Church, but in a Catholic country it could operate in favor of the Roman Church and to the detriment of the liberty of non-Roman churches. Archbishop Juan Arambara of Tucuman's suggestion that the document should specify "lawful and public peace" was intended to eliminate the former danger in pagan and Communist lands, but it would leave Rome's power to curtail non-Roman religions entirely unimpaired!

The doctrine of the declaration, therefore, is definitely not one of religious liberty, but only of toleration and expediency. It may condemn the persecution of individuals holding error, but it leaves the door open for the legal suppression of the propagation of error on the grounds of the "common good." It may repudiate the punishment of individuals for cherishing error, but it could bring punishment on them for breaking the law. And it could, by this expedient, if Rome saw fit, bring about the complete suppression of any but her church and teachings. ★★★



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



Q. Why do you feel it is wrong for the Government to enforce the observance of the Sabbath Commandment? After all, isn't every good law on the books ultimately based on the Ten Commandments?

A. The Bible says that the Ten Commandments were originally inscribed on "two tables" (or polished slabs) of stone (Ex. 32:15). Many theologians agree that the commandments on the first table deal with man's worship of God, and those on the second table, with his relationship to his fellow men.

The commandments, "Thou shalt not kill," "Thou shalt not commit adultery," "Thou shalt not steal," and so on, are found on the second table, the one that deals with human relationships.

But on the first table are found entirely different commands: "Thou shalt have no other gods before me," "Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image," "Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain," and the Sabbath commandment, "Remember the sabbath day to keep it holy." These determine the proper modes of worshiping God.

Government must enforce the commandments on the second tables, or else society could not exist; and it has every right to enforce them, because these commandments deal with human relationships.

On the other hand . . . in the midst of winter, Roger Williams was driven into the wilderness by hostile Puritans because he insisted that the state had no right to prosecute under the first table. And he was right. For when government assumes the right to tell a man what God he is to worship and in what manner and on what days he is to worship Him—that is persecution.

Q. Why do you want to keep church-owned property off the tax rolls? If a property, church-owned or not, enjoys fire and police protection, I say it ought to pay for this protection.

A. I do not know of any good reason why all church-owned property should be tax exempt. I think that bona fide secular business corporations, even when wholly owned by a denomination, ought—in most cases, at least—to bear their share of the tax load.

But should all properties pay taxes, church-

owned or not? Shall society tax a Salvation Army kitchen for serving food to society's own down-and-out? Shall a community tax a nondenominational charity orphanage for mothering the community's own waifs and strays?

What kind of country do we want to live in, anyway?

Q. I heard on the radio recently that three people have been hypnotized by watching hypnotists on TV. Some psychiatrists are now talking about offering hypnotic therapy over TV regularly. Don't you think this ought to be stopped before a lot of damage is done?

A. I am as surprised as you at this proposal. Lewis Wolberg, in *Medical Hypnosis*, observes that, historically, hypnosis enjoys "brief spurts of popularity" and then descends again to "relative oblivion." Since cresting a decade ago, the recent tide of hypnotism's popularity has ebbed. Reports at the Academy of Dermatology in Chicago last fall, for instance, gave evidence that hypnotism does not remove problems but only moves them. Prolonged use of hypnosis for chronic conditions often results, the specialists said, in deepened psychoses and even suicide.

Thus it is surprising that some psychiatrists want to greatly increase the use of hypnotism, and laymen may seriously question the good such TV therapy may achieve.

And what of the potential harm? The basic requirement for successful hypnosis, says Dr. A. M. Weitzenhoffer, in *General Techniques of Hypnotism*, is that a person "not use his critical faculties, . . . make his mind a blank, . . . [and] be completely passive." It is generally observed, furthermore, that though a person may resist the hypnotist's first attempt to hypnotize him, he becomes more readily susceptible to the suggestions on the second and successive occasions.

America needs a nation of clear-thinking citizens. We must deplore any undertaking that proposes to lead large numbers of viewers to lay aside their "critical faculties and make their minds a blank." And we must deplore it, especially if such an undertaking may have the effect of making them increasingly susceptible to the uncritical acceptance of other people's suggestions.

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

XII RESOLVES FOR THE NEW YEAR

By Harry M. Tippet

I

That since the prevailing moral erosion of our times indicates that this earth is not the kingdom of God, that our nation's capital is not the New Jerusalem, and that our legislators make no claim to sainthood, I will persevere in practicing that eternal vigilance which is the price of liberty, knowing that even good men sometimes make bad laws.

II

That as I once more renew my pledge to the flag, glorious insigne of our American liberties, I will not betray my loyalty to its republican principles by identifying myself with coercive movements that invade the rights of individuals and compromise the conscientious religious convictions of minorities.

III

That I will curb my emotional reaction to all legislative enactments until the intentions and scope of such laws are clearly apparent, ever remembering the pertinent observation of Bernard Baruch: "Every man has a right to his own opinion, but no man has a right to be wrong in his facts."

IV

That I will oppose by voice and pen and vote all subversive movements that operate under the front of patriotism or piety yet which seek by legislative amendments to weaken the two great principles of our Federal Constitution, civil and religious freedom.

V

That I will regard the Shrine of the Immaculate Conception, the Washington Cathedral, the Mohammedan Mosque, and all lesser edifices of worship in our national capital, along with their counterparts in every city, as monuments to the inviolable rights of men to worship according to the dictates of their conscience and to promulgate their faith within the four great American freedoms—of the press, of speech, of worship, of lawful assembly.

VI

That I will plead the cause of religious freedom with forthrightness, avoiding acrimonious debate, fully recognizing that open warfare over conflicting religious convictions never determines who's right, only who's left.

VII

That I will not be victim of "the deep sleep of settled opinion" in which stupor millions have been maneuvered into the mass mania of equating majority rule with divine will, arbitrating how I should worship.

VIII

That I will shun bigotry as a plague, for like the Roman god Janus, it has two faces, despotic to all who dare disagree with its dogmatic dictums, tolerant to all who toady to its tyrannies.

IX

That I will not be deceived by torchlight processions for popular causes that in their manifestos cast eerie shadows on our national ideals of equity and dignity for every individual, under the phony claim of identification with "freedom's holy light" about which our children sing.

X

That I will continue to subscribe to the observation made by a patriot decades ago: Despotism under the assumed divine right of majorities is no less slavery than despotism under the assumed divine right of kings.

XI

I will not confuse the distinction between sin and crime: the first being disobedience to the moral law of Sinai; the second being disobedience to the civil law of the land.

XII

That since God is not necessarily on the side of the heaviest battalions, I will heed the Bible injunction not to follow a multitude to do evil (Exodus 23:2).