

# liberty

## AMNESTY

*When Johnny  
comes marching  
home again –  
Hurrah?*



# When Johnny comes marching home again—

W U I D R A W ?

## A personal look at a Nav



KENT SWEENEY

On May 4, 1966, John Arthur Reardon walked through the gates of the Naval Air Station at Pensacola, Florida, to begin a three-day leave. He wore civilian clothes, and as soon as he reached the highway he stuck out his thumb and began hitchhiking to California. He stopped long enough near the quiet town of Paradise, Louisiana, to burn all the papers that might identify him, including his weekend pass from the Navy. That was nearly eight years ago and John hasn't stopped long in any one place since.

John Arthur Reardon isn't his real name, but it will do as well as any other. He left his own name behind in that little pile of burning paper. John is a deserter and is careful to point out that one shouldn't confuse his position with that

Photos by Jim Burnett, Burnett Studios

Kent Sweeney is director and vice-president of Laurence Sweeney Fisheries in Yarmouth, Nova Scotia.

## deserter who has become a symbol.

of the more common draft dodger. If he is ever apprehended he can look forward to three years in a military prison, but he feels that because of his antiwar work he'll be lucky if the sentence doesn't run closer to fifteen years. It is little wonder that with this constant threat as a traveling companion he has become a bit paranoid, seeing the work of the FBI and the CIA in even the most trivial events.

I first met John in the sixties. While he was traveling to Canada by boat someone struck up a conversation with him. Suddenly the man cried, "But you're not Kent Sweeney!"

It was a case of mistaken identity, but now John was so curious to see this fellow who not only looked like him but obviously shared his opinions that the first thing he did upon arriving in Canada was telephone

me and suggest that we meet.

Like me, he wore a beard and his hair was long, and we both agreed that it would be difficult to imagine the circumstances under which we would volunteer to take another human life. We got on very well together. But John was unique in that he was the sort of person who could enter a room and immediately everyone became warmer and friendlier, glad that he was there. When he laughed you knew that here was a person who appreciated and enjoyed just being alive. When he talked you realized that he was sharing part of himself and were immediately impressed by the sincerity of his beliefs.

He stayed in our town for several months and then left for Sweden, which was more receptive than Canada to American deserters. We

wrote to each other with infrequent regularity during the intervening years, and once in Paris I met someone who had known him well in Sweden. All during that time I kept fresh in my mind the image of a free soul who roamed the world and was his own man. So when I got a message that he was planning to return for a visit to Nova Scotia I looked forward to seeing him again and learning what path his life had taken and how his personal philosophy had evolved.

He looked almost exactly the same. The beard was a bit wilder, perhaps, and he tended to hunch his shoulders more when he walked. I was in the midst of thinking how very little he had changed when he told me that he had had a tooth pulled the previous day and the pain was still bothering him. He said that he

THREE

A high-contrast, black and white portrait of a man, likely a historical figure, shown in profile facing right. The image is characterized by extreme contrast, with the subject's face and features rendered in deep black shadows against a stark white background. The man has dark, wavy hair and is wearing a light-colored garment with a visible collar and a dark, patterned tie. The overall effect is graphic and dramatic, resembling a woodcut or a high-contrast photograph.

FOUR

had neglected his teeth while he was in Sweden and intimated that he hadn't had enough money to look after them properly, but during subsequent conversations I got the impression that he always had enough money for the other things that he wanted. It was disturbing, because I remember that John used to be very conscientious about taking care of himself.

John found my seashore camp sufficient for his needs and moved in. The weather remained gloomy during most of that week, and every day the damp fog drifted in from off the ocean and silently settled down over the land, adding to our sense of isolation. In the evenings John made a fire in the huge stone fireplace, and we pulled up our chairs and talked quietly of what our lives had been like during the past few years. Outside the waves crashed on the shore and the moaning wail of the foghorn drifted across the water at regular intervals, but the sound was muffled by the fog as if from a long way off.

John talked mostly of his years in Sweden and occasionally of his boyhood in Oklahoma and Alaska. He had spent three months in the Peace Corps after finishing university, but he said that he had been kicked out. He had never wanted to join the Navy, but it was either that or get drafted into the Army. He had decided from the very moment that he entered that he would desert as soon as he found opportunity. I knew that it must have

been a momentous decision and I asked him whether he had ever had any regrets. He became very intense and said No, he'd do exactly the same if he had the chance to do it over again.

In Sweden, he said, he had been a deserter longer than any of the others, and they sometimes facetiously referred to him as "Grandpa." Al-



*Robert Bilger, right, a World War II veteran from Sebring, Florida, is reunited for the first time in three years with his son, Michael, 20, a deserter from the U.S. Army. They met in a ceremony in Fort Erie, Ontario, on the Canadian side of the Peace Bridge at Buffalo, New York.*

RNS



SIX

together, he seemed to have enjoyed his years there, largely because it afforded him the chance to travel throughout Europe and become deeply involved with the ecology movement. He seemed pathetically out of touch with the changes that had taken place in the U.S., however, and his speech was full of antiquated clichés.

He talked vehemently of the "establishment," giving the word a pejorative emphasis, and yet he would have objected angrily to the generalization had someone used such a collective term to describe hippies or deserters. In the early years after his desertion his very survival depended upon dissimulation and subterfuge, but as the days passed, he continued these habits long after they had outlived their purpose. It wasn't that he avoided talking of his life so much as that he tended to present it in an increasingly more glamorous light. At the end of his stay I was never quite sure whether I was hearing the final truth, or whether the facts would change with yet another retelling.

One night I had a small party, and as John talked I could feel the guests becoming more and more tense. It was with a shock that I realized that he was not talking about ideas nor was it a give-and-take discussion, but rather that everything he said had a twist so that the conversation always returned and centered on him. Had it been a business or professional man instead of John talking of his accomplishments, one immediately would have thought of the word "vulgar" or "ostentatious."

The day after his departure I spent an hour cleaning up after him, sweeping the floor of the chips where he had cut his firewood in the

camp, and disposing of the empty food bottles and the bread that he had left to mold. It was a good time for reflecting about the change that had come over someone who had been so forthright and idealistic.

It would be far too simplistic to say that the war did it to him, and I don't for a moment believe it. In any case, he had renounced his American citizenship and had said several times that he would never return to the U.S. again, even if he could.

Everyone who came in contact with the Vietnam War was affected by it, but everyone—whether soldier or P.O.W. or deserter—now has to adjust to the world of 1973. It doesn't mean that you forget or belittle your experience; it's simply that there are other interests and causes that need our involvement. When I first met John I thought his reasons for not wanting to kill were valid, but I have learned since that while there is a time at which one must say, "I will not do this *to* other people," maturity and responsibility arrive only when one goes beyond that and says, "I will do this *for* other people." I knew and agreed with what John was fighting against, but I waited in vain to hear what he was fighting for.

When he walked off the Naval Base in Pensacola he did it out of personal conviction. He knew that if he were caught it would

be he alone who would have to suffer the consequences, and I don't think he realized the effect that it might have on the people whom he would meet during the coming years. But in Sweden at the time there was strong opposition to the Vietnam War, and among certain segments of the population the deserter became almost a cult hero. John's stories of the times are filled with understanding and sympathetic people who provided him with a place to stay and shared what they had, and he must have been under tremendous pressure to repeat the account of his desertion and subsequent wanderings. Under the circumstances, one would have had to be almost superhuman to be able to resist the temptation to embellish the events, to elicit even more admiration from his listeners. And John was very human.

Very gradually, I suppose, John the man stepped into the role of John the deserter. He had been a deserter for seven years and it had meant some bad experiences, but it had also provided him with some beautiful and lasting memories. I could see that he felt comfortable in the role. When he told them who he was, people would offer him food and sympathy, and it is very hard to give all that up. But there comes a time in one's life when one has milked the maximum amount of a

situation and one should move on to other and better things. One should continue to grow.

Instead, what began on that sunny afternoon in Florida as a personal action had, through countless retellings, become a symbolic action. And symbols have a very short lifetime these days. From our discussions of what he had done in Sweden I found it difficult to discover any concrete results, only actions of a symbolic nature. He talked of getting a thousand people together to dig a symbolic two-mile trench along the Canadian border. I never did understand what it was supposed to symbolize, even after he explained it to me, but I do remember thinking what a waste of time and energy that could have been volunteered in some hospital or nursing home or youth center. I was reminded of Einstein's stipulation in his will that his body was to be cremated and his ashes scattered in a place known only to three people. He didn't want his final resting place to become a shrine. He knew how dangerous and futile it was to become merely a symbol.

I finally finished putting the camp back in order and started to lock the door. I thought of how I had let John have the use of another camp of mine several years ago. He had not only cleaned it but cut some of the trash and dead wood surrounding it, leaving it a better place than he had found it. Back then John wouldn't

have felt it proper to accept something without in some measure returning the favor.

And as I snapped the lock shut, for the first time in years I remembered something from my youth. I used to go down to the waterfront on warm summer afternoons. There were always a few alcoholic derelicts around, wearing a medal or some remnant of a dirty uniform. For the most part they were able-bodied men, or they would have been receiving some sort of pension. The one that I particularly remember called himself Captain Basil. He would sidle up to me and in a singsong voice ask whether I could spare a dime "for old Captain Basil who was torpedoed three times in the last war." He was not dangerous and really rather pathetic, but he made the best use of his little contact with the war to wheedle a few pennies off passers-by.

It was a long time before I realized why I had thought of him at just that moment. □

SEVEN





# Amnesty: Is to Forgive Divine?

JAMES R. GALLAGHER

Amnesty. The very word is enough to set off a wrenching debate around dinner tables, on courthouse lawns, and in barber shops around the nation. Whether to extend the privilege of citizenship to those young men who evaded or deserted the service of their country during the Vietnam war is now a question nearly as divisive as was the war itself.

Or even more so. Most Americans, even those who supported the aims of the war, agree that it lasted too long. But what are we to do about the 32,000 (some say as many as 150,000) men who chose exile in Canada, Sweden, or some other neutral nation rather than fight in Southeast Asia? The question is not easy, and it tends to be forgotten

James R. Gallagher is program director for radio station WGTS-FM, Washington, D.C., and a recent graduate of Columbia University School of Journalism.

EIGHT

because the exiles are not here, and the out-of-sight-out-of-mind rule applies.

Several alternative courses of action are available to President Nixon and the Congress as they consider the issue. One is total (or blanket) amnesty. The word *amnesty* derives from the Greek *amnēstia*, from which we also get *amnesia*, meaning "to forget." Under a policy of blanket amnesty, forgetting would be complete; resisters and evaders could return to their jobs and families in America with no penalty. Many Christian publications are calling for this kind of policy, and spokesmen for the exiles have indicated that total amnesty is the only contract under which many of them would return.

A second possibility is conditional amnesty, wherein the U.S. would grant citizenship on the condition that the returning exile spend a given amount of time in alternate service. Evaders oppose this option on the ground that alternate service constitutes a form of punishment, and they do not see themselves as lawbreakers (at least not breakers of the higher moral law to which they claim adherence). On the other hand, the American Legion opposes conditional amnesty because legitimate veterans would be denied jobs in hospitals and service installations, and the morale of the service would be

dampened by the presence of men who view their work as punishment.

A third option, one President Nixon has mentioned favorably, is a case-by-case review of each exile who applies to return. Several bills introduced in Congress follow this approach; so far none has come to a vote. This plan has received vehement criticism from pro-amnesty groups, because it would place the exile's history and political and religious beliefs on the witness stand for perusal by men who most likely will be proestablishment. Conservatives on the issue, however, argue that not every man evaded the draft for the highest moral reasons, and justice will not be served by anything but individual scrutiny.

Senator Robert A. Taft, Jr. (R-Ohio), has introduced a rather harsh amnesty bill that calls for long-term alternate service at minimum pay for returned exiles. That an heir to the conservative legacy like Taft should even consider amnesty came as a shock to liberals when the Senator proposed the measure in 1972; it is given little hope of passage this term.

The final choice would be to preserve the *status quo*, wherein the exile may choose either to live out his life in his adopted land, cut off from the roots of family and friends, or to return to face court-martial and possibly prison.

The historical perspec-

tive on amnesty in this country does not serve the liberal argument well. The most oft-quoted example of some thirty-five cases of amnesty is that of Presidents Lincoln and Johnson during and after the Civil War. Lincoln extended pardon to political prisoners and others being held in military custody on February 14, 1862, but only on condition that they pledge to render no aid or comfort to the enemies of the United States (meaning the Confederacy and foreign nations aligned with it).

Two limited-amnesty proclamations were issued during 1863, one allowing deserters to return to their units without punishment, except for a forfeiture of pay, and the other restoring the rights of property to persons "heretofore engaged in said rebellion," but once again a loyalty oath to the United States Government was mandatory. And officers of the Confederate government were excluded. Various Presidential proclamations and Congressional resolutions under the Johnson administration further extended amnesty to those who sided with the South; most of these still required an oath of allegiance (except for a final Act of Congress in 1898, by which time all but a few aging veterans of the war were dead anyway).

The Spanish-American War springs to mind as the nineteenth-century twin to the Vietnam

NINE

conflict. An unpopular war, it was fought entirely on foreign soil, and whether President McKinley intended it that way or not, America took what some choose to call an imperialist role in the struggle and came out with a mini-empire. One big difference was the length—about six months—compared to eight long years of American commitment in Vietnam.

Score one for the pro-amnesty forces here. McKinley, a Republican President, allowed evaders and resisters to return with no penalties after the war. Another possible difference between the two wars is that the U.S. won the Spanish-American War, and to a nation of victors generosity may have come more easily than to a nebulous "peace with honor."

The twentieth-century offers no such example. There was no general amnesty after either World War I or II. President Truman, in 1946, established a three-man amnesty board by executive order to review individual convictions during World War II. The board held hearings on 15,805 cases, and determined that 10,000 were willful violators—men with convictions for serious crimes—and therefore did not grant any amnesty.

The remaining 5,800 included Jehovah's Witnesses who asked for ministerial status and total exemption from

service, as well as other conscientious objectors. The board granted amnesty to 1,500 of these.

After the Korean police action, Truman extended a pardon to peacetime deserters, men who had left their units between V-J Day and the outbreak of Korean hostilities, June 25, 1950.

A recent *Newsweek* poll found that 58 per cent of Americans opposed unconditional amnesty, with 28 per cent in favor, and 14 per cent undecided. By comparison, 63 per cent favored amnesty with some form of alternate service, and only 22 per cent opposed amnesty altogether. Which goes to show that Americans tend to be more conservative than liberal on the issue.

Supporters of amnesty stress the unifying effect such a move would have. They say that amnesty is the only way to wipe clean the slate of "American duplicity" and "double-dealing" during the Vietnam war and start out on a new basis of trust between the American citizen and his government. John M. Swomley, professor of social ethics and philosophy of religion at St. Paul School of Theology in Kansas City, wrote in the *Christian Century*: "Amnesty would erase the double standard of not prosecuting the various Presidents, secretaries of state and defense,

joint chiefs of staff and other top government officials for their crimes against humanity, while prosecuting those whose offense was refusal to participate in a war that millions of Americans have adjudged immoral and illegal."

These supporters contend that as long as America turns her back on the flower of her manhood, on the very men who made their decisions according to the highest moral order, we will not be one in spirit.

Alternately, detractors cite the memory of the United States dead and wounded of Vietnam, the ones who answered the call to service without flinching, who would be dishonored by the easy return of the "spineless" who chose the easy path. They also warn that if the example of amnesty is set, young men will be more likely to opt for a short stay of exile in the next war, knowing they can easily return when the next amnesty is declared.

The issue of morality and whose plane of conscience is higher is important here. Resisters say they obeyed a higher law than the Selective Service Act—namely, the commandment "Thou shalt not kill." Those on the other side,

including the President, argue that it is this disregard for the laws of the nation and adherence to a personal code of ethics that led to student violence in the 1960's, Daniel Ellsberg's theft of the Pentagon Papers, and ultimately to the Watergate affair, in which men thought they could disregard the laws against break-in, theft, and wire-tapping in order to serve the higher cause of "saving the country."

The analogy is cogent, because, in the words of an atrocious pun once leveled at *New York Times* publisher Adolph Ochs, it all depends on whose Ochs is being gored. When we no longer accept the common laws of the nation we give up the rule of laws to accept the rule of men—fallible men, men who may use that "higher plane of morality" for either noble or devious design. Who is to decide whether a young man fled to Canada because he

values the sanctity of life in the Orient or because he fears the loss of it in his own body? And are those motives even germane to the discussion? These questions have not been adequately answered.

Where does the Christian church stand? As usual, divided against itself. Theologians are busy arguing on each side of the issue, citing scriptural support for both sides. Some say that the apostle Peter wrote a blank check for conscience when he told the authorities, "We ought to obey God rather than men." Others cite Paul's admonition to live strictly under the laws of men, and his assertion that the temporal authorities are ordained of God. Paul even advises slaves to submit to the treatment of their masters, on the basis that they are storing up their good works in heaven and need not seek justice on earth.

ELEVEN

On the issue of amnesty itself, we are reminded that Christ taught His followers to forgive a man seventy times seven times for the wrong he has done. Apologists for amnesty, while not admitting any "wrong" on the part of resisters, believe forgiveness is the order of the day.

Reality would seem to point to limited amnesty, probably on a case-by-case basis. Whichever resolution finally is achieved, amnesty is likely to remain a thorn in the side of most Americans. □



# Americans United

Vilified as anti-Catholic, praised as a preserver of church-state separation, this action organization is slowly broadening its approach to Constitutional questions.

WILLIAM HOFFER

When the United Methodist Board of Missions in Washington, D.C., recently accepted \$20,000 from the Federal Government's Head Start program, a group known as Americans United for Separation of Church and State sharply criticized the action. "If the Methodists want to become socially involved, let them set up a private organization outside their denomination," said Glenn L. Archer, executive director of Americans United. "But under no circumstances should a church accept government money."

Archer's comment on the Methodists is particularly noteworthy, because he once trained to be a Methodist missionary. His actions are an indication of the broadening approach of Americans United to church-state issues. When the group was first formed it was known as Protestants and Other Americans United for Separation of Church and State. The name offended many Catholics, Jews, and atheists who also opposed any establishment of

William Hoffer is a free-lance writer from Damascus, Maryland.



*Glenn L. Archer,  
executive director of  
Americans United,  
on his morning jog.*

TWELVE

religion. In 1972 P.O.A.U. legally changed its name to Americans United.

The story of Americans United began in 1947 when a group of religious leaders including J. M. Dawson, executive director of the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs, Charles Clayton Morrison, editor of *The Christian Century*, and C. S. Longacre, a Seventh-day Adventist leader, became concerned over growing demands by church-oriented schools for government financial support. The Protestant leaders issued a manifesto of religious freedom, which became the basis for Americans United. The founders of the group were convinced that separation was the healthiest course of action for both church and state. No group, whether Catholic or Protestant, was to be spared the wrath of Americans United if it attempted to outflank the First Amendment. The manifesto made this clear:

"It is no part of our purpose to propagandize for the Protestant faith or any other, nor to criticize or oppose the internal practices of the Roman Catholic Church, or any other. We have no connection or sympathy with any movement that is tinged with religious fanaticism. Our motivation arises solely from our patriotic and religious concern for the maintenance of the separation of church and state under the American form of government."

When young Archer, then dean of the law school at Washburn University of Topeka, Kansas, came to Washington for the American Law Institute convention in 1948, he had no idea that Dr. Charl Ormond Williams, president of the National Education Association, had nominated him for the job of executive director of the new organization.

"I went through my Gethsemane for the next several weeks," Archer recalls. Trained to be a Methodist missionary, he graduated in 1929, which turned out to be a bad year for everyone. "They weren't sending out missionaries during the depression," Archer says, "so I went into business and law training. Nevertheless, I had

this lingering conviction that I had missed my calling." After weeks of introspection the promising young lawyer cast his lot with Americans United.

Archer's early efforts were directed largely at fund-raising. In 1948 he rode Greyhounds all across the country, making speeches to gain support for Americans United. Paying his own expenses, he survived for weeks on canned chili, crackers, and milk.

The organization's early confrontations came on an issue known as "captive schools." In several areas of the country the Roman Catholic Church had offered to supply teachers—nuns dressed in their traditional garb—for public school systems that were in financial straits. Americans United documented the situation in 30 New Mexico counties. "Some of the schools kept Protestant students outside in the cold while mass was held inside for the Catholic students," Archer recalls. Americans United financed a lawsuit that enforced the First Amendment in New Mexico.

Americans United moved into the national spotlight in 1951, when President Harry S. Truman nominated General Mark Clark to be U.S. ambassador to the Vatican. The appointment recognized one church to the detriment of others.

Truman found himself the bull's-eye for Archer's arrows, and for those of Author Paul Blanshard, whose book *Ameri-*

*can Freedom and Catholic Power* had attracted the attention of religious liberty proponents. Blanshard, who was to become special legal counsel to Americans United, Archer, and others held public meetings in more than 120 cities, speaking to as many as 6,000 people in a single evening. Their grass-roots efforts sparked one of the greatest letter-writing campaigns ever to swamp Washington. One senator reportedly received more than 60,000 objections to the Vatican ambassadorship.

In response, General Clark withdrew his name from contention, and President Truman announced he would not submit another name. The issue died momentarily, but not until it had raised Americans United to national prominence.

A different kind of challenge came in 1960, when Senator John F. Kennedy received the Democratic nomination for the Presidency. How should the organization respond to the Presidential candidacy of a Roman Catholic? The answer was to submit questions to Senator Kennedy composed by Paul Blanshard. They were: (1) "The Canon Law of your church (Canon 1374) directs all American Catholic parents to boycott our public schools unless they receive special permission from their bishops. Do you personally approve or disapprove of this boycott rule?"

Kennedy answered that he

THIRTEEN



*C. Stanley Lowell, editor of Church and State, and associate director of Americans United, has been with the organization since 1956.*

*Gioele Settembrini,  
assistant to the executive  
director, outlines  
strategy to the executive  
committee.*



FOURTEEN

was "against any boycott of the public schools," and noted that he himself had attended them.

(2) "The bishops of your church in an official statement in November 1948 have denounced the Supreme Court's interpretation of the religion clause of the First Amendment and have urged that the Constitution actually permits the distribution of public money on an equitable basis to sectarian schools and other sectarian institutions. . . . What is your personal attitude toward your bishops' interpretation of the Constitution, and toward the new plan for financing parochial schools?"

Kennedy replied in a *Look* magazine article, "I'm opposed to the Federal Government's extending support to sustain any church or its schools."

(3) "Many nations recognize your church as both a church and a state and send official ambassadors to the Holy See. If you become President what would be your policy concerning the appointment of an American ambassador or a personal representative to the Vatican?"

Kennedy answered, "I am flatly opposed to the appointment of an ambassador to the Vatican. Whatever advantages it might have in Rome—and I'm not convinced of these—they would be more than offset by the divisive effect here."

Some religious groups categorically opposed the idea of a Roman Catholic President, but Americans United, to the dismay of many of its own backers, expressed its satisfaction with the candidate's answers. In addition, Archer took action against a fraudulent Knights of Columbus oath that seemed to portray the Knights as successors to the Spanish Inquisition in their fanatical devotion to fighting "heresy." The oath was being widely circulated in a scare campaign to discredit Kennedy. Americans United announced that the oath was false and should be disregarded.

This campaign firmly established Americans United as an organization battling for prin-

ciple, rather than against any church. In the years since the Kennedy election many Catholics who disagree with their bishops' interpretation of the Constitution have lent their support to the religious liberty campaign. About 2,000 Catholic laymen are members of Americans United today. Some work on the staff. In addition, the National Association of [Catholic] Laity opposes parochialism.

It would be too much to expect that all Catholic organizations view Americans United activities with favor or absolve it of anti-Catholic bias. The executive director of the newly organized Catholic League for Religious and Civil Rights, Attorney Stuart D. Hubbell, calls Americans United "a thriving business" built on "anti-Catholicism."

A spokeswoman for Citizens for Educational Freedom, a Catholic-dominated organization working to secure government financing of private and parochial schools, commented tersely, "Our policy is to ignore Americans United."

"The charges of anti-Catholicism are understandable," says Americans United's associate director, Dr. C. Stanley Lowell. "In defending the American arrangement of separation of church and state we have often taken issue with the Roman Catholic Church, which has never reconciled itself to paying for its own educational programs. We have been responsible for litigation which has resulted in the loss of billions of dollars in public subsidies for Catholic institutions. But we have likewise cut off public subsidies for many other churches, while consistently defending the right of all citizens to be free of taxes for religion."

"As for ignoring Americans United, that task will be getting even more difficult. We are now moving toward a goal of 50 litigations rather than the 20 or so we currently support. And our projections show a mem-

bership of 200,000 with 100 chapters added to the 150 now in operation."

Spokesmen for other groups see Americans United as having matured from any "anti-Catholicism." Says a United Methodist observer:

"The organization has become more objective. It may oppose positions held by the Roman Catholic Church, but it doesn't seem to be against the church per se."

Dr. Leo Pfeffer, a constitutional lawyer active in church-state litigation, commented:

"Basically I am quite sympathetic to the organization. Americans United seems determined to pursue its goal of preserving church-state separation regardless of who is involved."

For most of its history Americans United was classified as a nonprofit corporation that came under Section 501 (c) 3 of the Internal Revenue Code. But in 1969 the Internal Revenue Service ruled, under the provisions of the vaguely worded statute, that the group was spending too much of its time



**Archer:** "Americans United has denied church organizations billions of dollars in tax money."



and money in political action. IRS reclassified Americans United under Section 501 (c) 4 of its code, meaning that contributions would no longer be tax deductible to the contributors.

"We lost several of our biggest contributors then," says Dr. Lowell. "But the IRS decision backfired on our opposition. Smaller contributors picked up their efforts with the result that our yearly income remains about the same. And instead of keeping a low profile on our lobbying efforts, we are now free to devote extraordinary efforts to lobbying.

"Not that we are reconciled to the ruling," he added. "What rankles is that church organizations whose lobbying activities continue on a scale we never reached remain tax exempt, a situation we are challenging in the courts." In June the Supreme Court agreed

to hear Americans United's appeal.

Asked to document recent victories for separatism, Americans United's staff usually begin with Michigan, where in 1970 the organization supported an amendment to the State constitution that spelled out tight prohibitions against tax money for parochial schools. The proposal was fought not only by the Roman Catholic Church but by a strong segment of the Christian Reformed Church, which operates its own school system.

"All the big voices in the State opposed us," recalls Dr. Archer. "They included the presidents of Ford, General Motors, and Chrysler Corporation, both candidates for governor, and both candidates for the Senate. A poll taken a week before the election gave us only 44 per cent of the vote—but we won by 250,000 votes (57 per cent)."

When Pennsylvania passed its Purchase of Services Act in 1971 designed to pay parochial schools \$30 million of State money for their secular education services, Americans United formed a coalition that took the issue to the United States Supreme Court. Together with the National Education Association, the American Civil Liberties Union, the American Jewish Congress, the U.S. Council of Churches, and 13 other interested organizations, Americans United supported prolonged litigation that resulted in a 9-0 decision against the act by the Supreme Court [*Lemon v. Kurtzman*, 403 U.S. 602 (1971)].

Other issues also challenge Americans United's vigilance. Its spokesmen have appeared in opposition to prayer amendments, which have the effect of bringing "government bu-

reaucrats into the business of religion."

On tax exemptions for churches and church-operated commercial businesses, Americans United does not stutter: "Churches should have complete free exercise of religion, but they should have no tax advantage over secular competitors in commercial business."

At one time or another, Sunday laws, labor laws, and other statutes touching religious conscience have stirred the organization.

"Religious controversy is one chief issue politicians want to avoid," Archer says. "We try to force them into open consideration of the issues."

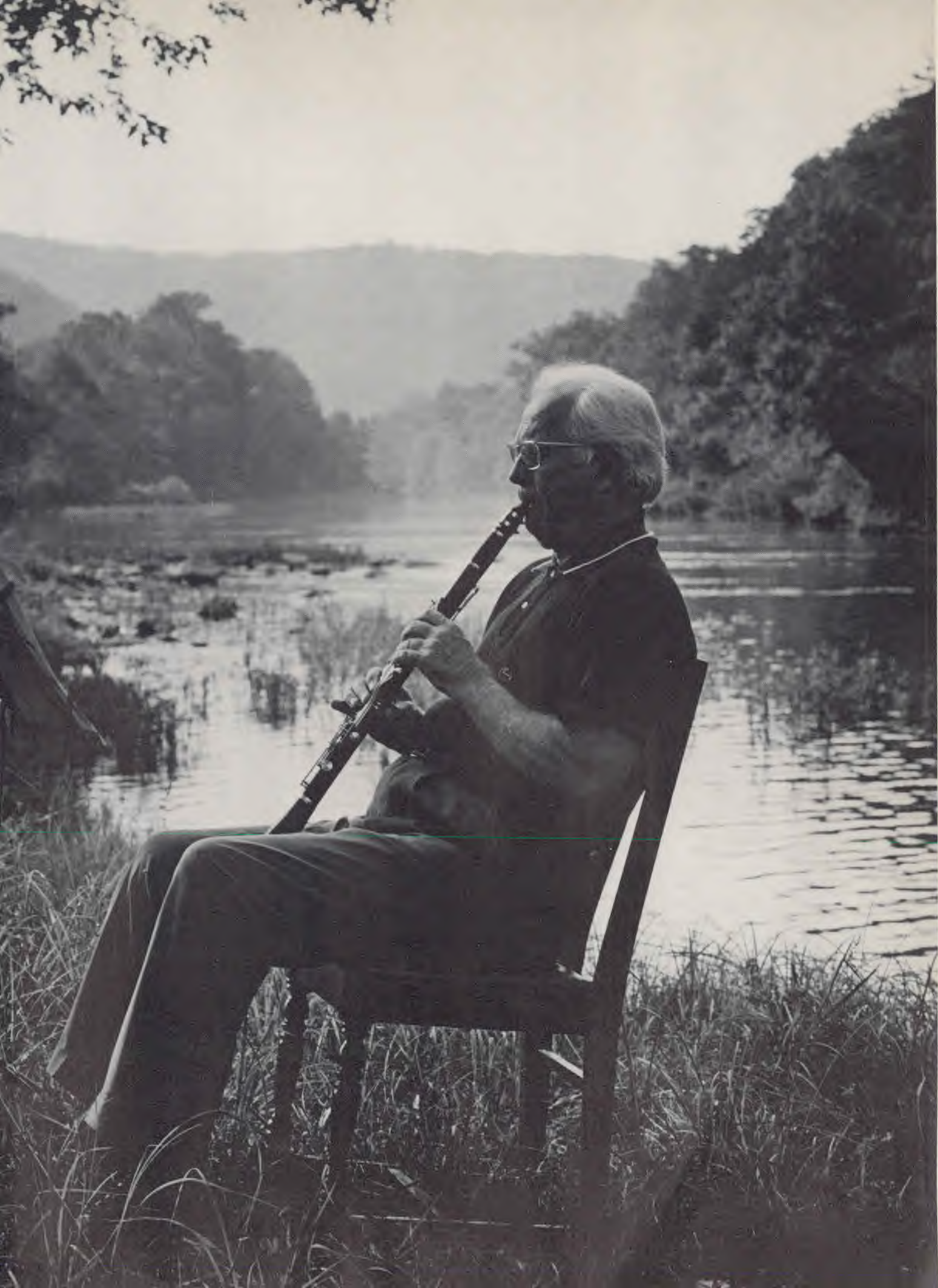
With the 200th anniversary of the nation at hand, Americans United is promoting "Exploration II," a program to put the freedoms of the past into the context of today.

Says Dr. Archer: "By re-educating our citizens to the meaning of the American heritage, we hope to head off parochial proposals before they get to the political scene. We find that when people are alerted to the issues they tend to support us."

Britain's Lord Bryce once claimed that church-state problems were one of the world's most disruptive forces. He wrote: "Half the wars of Europe, half the internal troubles that have vexed the European states . . . have arisen from the rival claims of church and state."

And the struggle has not yet ended. "We find that it's a continual battle," says Archer. "New proposals keep cropping up all the time. But we won't retreat from the conflict," the one-time candidate for Methodist missionary service adds ruefully, "even when it involves the United Methodist Board of Missions." □

*Relaxation for Archer on his West Virginia ranch means a ride on Souvenir Express and a solitary session with his clarinet. On September 20, Archer announced his intention to retire from Americans United in September, 1974.*



# Elijah Parish Lovejoy

KELVIN CARLISLE

"Fire! Fire!" a voice shouts. Three of the men within the warehouse rush out to see if they can stop the incendiary. Rifles sound, and they tumble to the ground. Two crawl toward the safety of the warehouse, but the third lies motionless. The mob is satisfied. Elijah Parish Lovejoy is dead.

Remembered by John Quincy Adams as "the first American martyr to the freedom of the press and the freedom of the slave," Elijah Lovejoy was born and raised in the antislavery stronghold of New England. He carried his antislavery sentiments with him to St. Louis in 1833, where after being ordained a Presbyterian minister, he established a Presbyterian newspaper, the *St. Louis Observer*. Lovejoy immediately made enemies by denouncing slavery and slaveholders.

For two years the broad-shouldered New Englander continued his denunciations unmoled, while in the North, abolitionists like Weld, Tappan, and Garrison were being attacked verbally and physically by proslavery mobs. As time passed, the mob sentiment of the North moved South. It was evident that Southerners would not tolerate Lovejoy's editorials much longer.

The climax came in 1835, centering around the lynching of a boatman named McIntosh. A mulatto, McIntosh had killed a white man while resisting arrest. Feeding their prejudice, a maddened mob dragged him from jail. Without having a trial for him they chained him to a tree and set him on fire.

Vehemently, Lovejoy attacked the mob's actions. Amid anonymous threats and official warnings he continued his blistering editorials against the citizens of St. Louis. Seeing that no one would be punished for the crime, he then aimed his scathing remarks at the prominent judge who had excused the mob's actions. Lovejoy had now stepped on important toes and was told to walk softly. Not heeding the advice, he continued his editorials. As a result, his press was seized and thrown into the Mississippi River.


Undaunted, Lovejoy made plans to purchase a new press. While he searched for sponsors, a group of Presbyterian clergymen invited him to move his paper to Alton, Illinois, a town twenty-five miles north of St. Louis. Realizing he would find no sponsors in St. Louis, and thinking he would have more liberty to publish his views in the free State of Illinois, Lovejoy accepted their invitation.

Financed by the clergymen, Lovejoy's new press arrived on July 24, a Sunday. Believing work should not be done on Sunday, he let it sit on the dock all day. Alton, like St. Louis, was a busy river port containing many Southerners and proslavery men who did not want Lovejoy to print his paper. Seeing their opportunity, the Southerners threw the unguarded press into the river.

Another press was bought, and on September 8, 1836, the first issue of the *Alton Observer* was published. The circulation increased slowly in the beginning. Many people were not interested in an abolitionist paper, but after several issues,

EIGHTEEN





## First American martyr to freedom of the press and freedom of the slave.

Lovejoy's editorials caused such a controversy that in the period between January and August of 1837 the circulation grew from 500 to 2,500. Disliking the editorials and the rapid growth of the paper, a proslavery mob attacked the printing office and destroyed the press. Again Lovejoy ordered a new press, but upon its arrival it too was destroyed by a mob.

Lovejoy's family, furniture, and home also met the abuse of the mobs. Several times Lovejoy barely escaped with his life when completely surrounded by proslavery mobs. For unexplainable reasons they dispersed when on the verge of killing him. Lovejoy attributed his safety to the providence of God. His belief that his mission was ordained by God and that he stood for right was expressed to his mother fourteen months before his death, when he wrote: "I may not live to see its success, I may even die (though most unworthy) its victim and its martyr—yet none of these things move me from my purpose; by the grace of God I will not, I WILL NOT forsake my principles, and I will maintain them and propagate them with all the means he puts into my hands."

When Lovejoy moved to Alton it was a booming river port. Next to Chicago, it was the second largest city in Illinois, with the hope of becoming number one. The loss of Southern trade because of Lovejoy's newspaper caused much worry among Alton's city fathers. An emergency meeting was called to determine what action should be taken concerning the *Observer*. The majority of business and civic leaders argued against a free press in favor of Alton's commercial prosperity. At the suggestion that he shut down his paper, Lovejoy objected. His dark eyes burning, he stated his rights under the Constitution and declared that there were "slaves in this country but I'm not one of them."

Those who attended the meeting were divided into four factions. Lovejoy represented the abolitionists. Winthrop Gilman, a warehouse owner, led those who were willing to defend Lovejoy though they did not agree with him in his opinions. The majority of business and civic leaders, including the mayor and the State Attorney General, belonged to the third group who claimed to be friends of law and order but let personal opinions influence their actions. The fourth segment were those who did not care about law and order except as a means to their own ends. The overwhelming numbers of the latter two groups

enabled a resolution to be passed which prohibited Lovejoy from printing his paper.

Ignoring the resolution, Lovejoy continued his plans to publish the *Observer*. His new press arrived on November 7, 1837, and approximately thirty men escorted it to Gilman's warehouse. The number of defenders at the warehouse was increased to sixty, many of whom had no abolitionist leanings but were men who believed in a free press. Uneventfully the day passed. By sunset, November 7, most of the men, believing that the crisis was over, had returned to their homes. Only a handful of men remained to guard the press.

Learning of the poorly guarded press, a mob gathered along the water front. The mob had started in the water-front bars as a small group, but as they marched toward the warehouse their size was increased by many of the "respectable" citizens, including ministers, doctors, and lawyers. As they drew nearer, a volley of rifle shots from the warehouse scattered them.

Regrouping their forces, they sought to set fire to the roof of the warehouse. But Lovejoy and two companions emerged from the warehouse to shoot at the ones seeking to set the fire. The hidden riflemen fired, killing Lovejoy and wounding the other two men. Two days later, on what would have been his thirty-fifth birthday, Elijah Parish Lovejoy was buried by his family in an unmarked grave in fear of its being desecrated by the mob.

America was shaken. European newspapers denounced the killing. English papers called American law "lynch law."

Throughout the Eastern States groups held protest meetings against mob rule. It was at such a meeting in Boston that Wendell Phillips earned his reputation as a great orator and a staunch abolitionist. Many persons now joined the abolitionist ranks who had thought little of their cause. Abraham Lincoln took a firmer position on the slavery question because of Lovejoy's death. Owen Lovejoy, when burying his brother, vowed to see slavery wiped out. Later, as a Congressman and good friend of Abraham Lincoln, he was influential in the abolition movement.

A 110-foot monument now stands in the Alton cemetery, a memorial to a man who died because his life rang out the words: "The cry of the oppressed has entered not only into my ears but into my soul, so that while I live I cannot hold my peace." □

NINETEEN

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# Voice of Dissent

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## Pornography

Readers respond to articles in the July-August *Liberty*.

I find it both amazing and disappointing that your publication is generally so good in issues relating to the First Amendment's religion clauses and so bad on that Amendment's speech and press clauses. Does your concern with individual liberty end with religious matters? From a reading of your July-August issue it seems so.

I am appalled by and opposed to those people who would censor our television, radio, magazines, newspapers, movies, and books. According to my reading of the First Amendment, no one has a right to exercise such censorship over me or anyone else.

Unlike you, I condemn the Supreme Court's obscene decision of June 21. Justices Burger, White, Rehnquist, Powell, and Blackmun should be impeached for their blatant disregard of our constitutional rights.

In your Perspective column, you admit that you can "advance little hard research to support" your belief and fall back on "Scripture" and "common sense." I stand pretty much with Mark Twain on "Scripture" and recommend his "Letters From the Earth" to you and your readers.

Otherwise, the widely unread Report of the President's Commission on Obscenity and Pornography provides a lot of hard research on these matters. This report includes the following statement: "Extensive empirical investigation, both by the Commission and by others, provides no evidence that expo-

sure to or use of explicit sexual materials plays a significant role in the causation of social or individual harms such as crime, delinquency, sexual or non-sexual deviancy or severe emotional disturbances."

Let us each live our own lives according to our own tastes and keep our noses out of our neighbor's business.

KENNETH A. STEVENS  
Jessup, Maryland

May I add my simple congratulations to your forthright and moderate views on the controversial subject of pornography.

Like many attorneys, I have been baffled by a number of the recent Supreme Court decisions, but this time I will have to concur with the majority.

What I fear are the extremists! Most of us realize that there is no such thing as "unlimited freedom" in any line of action or endeavor, with the possible exception of freedom of religion and its exercise, so long as it does not infringe upon the rights of others.

Our present concern is to defeat the extremists who seek harsh and arbitrary methods of force and suppression upon those who do not agree with their ideas!

Like most Americans who profess to be Christians, I do not desire anyone to force their beliefs on me, nor do I desire to force them to my beliefs.

Persuasion Yes, arbitrary force No.

EARLE D. GARRISON  
Attorney  
Seymour, Texas

I am saddened by your issue "Hard-core Pornography." Implicit throughout is the assumption that human bodies and human sexuality are ugly, dirty, shameful, dangerous—and that

human beings can't take responsibility for their own freedom! How very dehumanizing! No wonder drugs, no wonder violence, no wonder alienation, no wonder pornography! When humans are allowed, encouraged, nourished toward self-esteem and self-love, probably many of our social problems will disappear.

How sad you are!  
JOHN VASCONCELLOS  
State Assemblyman  
Santa Clara, California

It is almost impossible to believe that our publishing house, in our magazine, would dare print such a pornographic article as is in your July-August number. Then to call it "religious liberty" is adding insult to injury. It is neither religious nor liberty. It is license to lust. I wish I knew words strong enough to express my outrage, my anger, my disgust, at seeing this filth in this magazine. If I want pornography, I'll buy it in a bookstore.

I tore this issue in little bits and put it in the garbage, where it belongs. The second article on nakedness is all in a pattern with the first one and about as horrible. What kind of minds have you all got anyway?

It is no wonder God repented that He made man. So have I. They have become the lowest order of creation, fit only to be destroyed.

Henceforth LIBERTY magazine and I are complete strangers. Every true child of God ought to rise up in wrath and denounce you for this nefarious work.

NITA HEAD  
Columbia, Missouri

I am outraged at your July-August issue. You align yourself with the bookburners and others who would repress

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# Voice of Dissent

thought and expression. At least you have the courage to admit that there is no evidentiary support for your antilibertarian position.

I sympathize with those who have filed declarations with the Post Office against your magazine under the statute of 1967. The anti-intellectualism, the know-nothingism of your rag are far more obscene and offensive than anything found in an adult bookstore. Even the title of your magazine is an obscene joke and wholly belies its contents.

I will not have my family and friends exposed to your fascist trash any longer. Cancel my subscription.

TERRY D. OEHLER,  
Attorney  
Phoenix, Arizona

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## Your Trash Is Blowing in My Yard

I wish to express my disagreement with E. F. Wells. I have thought much, over the years, about what I call "preventative" moral legislation such as laws against dancing and pool halls "because they're a possible source of offensive action or language." Many small towns have enacted just such legislation on that basis. One could carry such "preventative" restrictions to an impossible degree, and our extreme self-styled Christians would do it if they could, for those kind of persons would make everyone else conform to their own thinking, if they could.

Granting that an argument could be made, but I believe that when one is damaged he is justified in complaining. When the trash blows over in your yard it is time to act, and there are laws for such action. But I don't believe in a person or a group concluding that be-

cause there is trash, they are justified in opposing it before it does become a problem to them—blow into their yard.

KERM POWERS  
Editor, *The Mountain Echo*  
Yellville, Arkansas

[Neither does Mr. Wells, whose article outlined the following two paragraphs:

"Fifth, do not set yourself up as a censor. Offensiveness and appeal to prurient interest are primarily questions of fact. Leave them to local judges and juries to decide. Judicial procedures may be slower than censorship, but backed by the right laws, they may be surer—and much safer. At one time or other, Homer, Mickey Mouse, Shakespeare, and even the Bible have been called pornographic. The battle against obscenity will not be helped by another Anthony Comstock. Remember that very real freedoms of speech and press may be compromised by legislation or enforcement that goes too far....

"One excess does not warrant another. It is enough to keep pornographic trash from blowing into your yard. Don't insist that your moral concepts be blown into your neighbor's."

LIBERTY has consistently opposed prior censorship as a solution to pornography.—Eds.]

I find your LIBERTY (?) magazine extremely biased and closed-minded. Your article "Your Trash Is Blowing in My Yard" seems to have heavy overtones of "long flowing locks and blue jeans" hate syndrome, oozing out of it. Couldn't you have used a little more open-mindedness? Not every long-haired freaky person is on drugs, plays rock, and generally disturbs the public as this article seems to indicate.

Your poem "Song of America" in that same magazine seems to indicate that you feel the only place one can find "freedom from fear, freedom to think, freedom of expression, and freedom of religion" is in America.

I think you should be careful to avoid becoming an "Adventist Archie Bunker."

D. R.  
Collegedale, Tennessee

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## Nakedness and the Bible

The article by E. F. Wells ("Your Trash Is Blowing in My Yard") pegged right the objectors to "porno" as idealists, and the article on "Nakedness and the Bible" aptly pegged the phenomena that some are uncomfortable seeing each other naked and, I might add, some are uncomfortable seeing others uncomfortable in sexual pleasures. That the sexual act and all the accouterments make idealists angry and make others uncomfortable is understandable; what is not understandable to me is why this is a basis to condemn sexism and to call it trash and to go so far as trying to legislate these views. The view of David N. Samuel that "our sexual self-consciousness still remains as an unacknowledged reminder of our fallenness" and "exhibitionism, license, and lewdness of the present time is simply an exercise by man, the sinner, to try to convince himself that he is still in Paradise" is a twist that might appeal to those who do not believe Jesus died for our sins.

We are moving toward a completely open society, and I think openness should be encouraged. Why force sex underground? To censure a basic part of our humanness, sex, is really stupid.

JOAN ALBANO  
Chicago, Illinois

TWENTY  
ONE



# Pilgrimage into the Past

RENE NOORBERGEN

A few  
hours ago  
I stood  
silently in a small  
room and let  
my eyes  
fondly wander over  
a yellowed  
page in Journal  
G., fol. 33, one of  
the many  
books in the city archives.  
It was great in its  
simplicity:

*"De Vliet," the sleepy  
Dutch canal from  
which the voyage of  
the Pilgrims  
began.*

Photos by Rene Noorbergen

Rene Noorbergen is a free-lance writer from Collegedale, Tennessee.

*Request by 100 persons, born in England, to be allowed to take up residence in this town.*

*To the Honourable the Bergomaster and the Court of the City of Leiden:*

*With due respect and submissiveness, Jan Robarthsens, minister of God's Holy Word, together with some hundred people, born in the Kingdom of Great Britain, to the number of some hundred people or thereabouts, men as well as women, let you know that they should like shortly to come and settle in this town, that is by May next, and to get the freedom of the town to earn their living with various of their trades, without being a burden to anyone. Therefore the petitioners apply to your Honour earnestly praying that Your Honours would grant them free and liberal consent to betake themselves as afore-said.*

*And your petitioners will ever pray.*

*signed:*

*John Robinson*

In the margin of the document was the resolution:

*The Court, making a disposition of the present request, declare that they do not refuse honest persons free and liberal entrance to come into this town, and to settle here, provided they will behave themselves honorably, and submit to all laws, and regulations of this town, and that therefore the coming of the petitioners will be welcome to them.*

*Thus done in their session at the townhall, this twelfth of February, 1609. signed:*

*J. van Hout*

And that's the way it all began. From this humble group of religious refugees, seeking refuge in the Dutch city of Leiden, came the voyage of the *Speedwell*, and the *Mayflower*. . . .

We all feel we know the story. We celebrate Thanksgiving as a commemoration of their arrival, but do we really know what they went through?

To find this out, I went on a historic fact-finding mission to Leiden, the Netherlands, as a modern Pilgrim, looking for traces of the past.

Realizing the importance of Leiden as a city of primary importance to the American heritage, the municipal authorities collected the documents dealing with the stay of the Pilgrim Fathers and put up a special exhibition in an annex of the city archives. There the modern pilgrim can see the "deed of sale" of the first house bought by the Pilgrim Fathers in Leiden. It's a house called "the Green Gate," and the signatures of John Robinson and William Bradford clearly stand out.

Another document is of a more personal nature. An entry in the city registry records "the intent to marry" of a certain William Bradford and Dorothy May. It is dated 15th of November, 1613. The actual marriage date is unknown since the ceremony probably was performed by John Robinson, whose records were never found.

The city magistrates were behind the Pilgrims' cause right from the beginning. In reply to a complaint of the British Government to the delegate states of Holland, the Leiden council replied as follows:

*We hold that the Honourable Wynwod, Ambassador of His Majesty the King of Great-Britain, is wrongly informed that we should have entered into a composition with some of the Brownists. It is true that in February last we got a request from Jan Rabarts, Minister of the Divine Word, together with some of the Christian reformed religion, born in England, in which they ask for permission to take up their abode in the town of Leiden. Thereupon we have resolved and declared that we did not refuse honest people free and liberal entrance, provided they should behave honourably and submit to the laws and regulations of this town and that the petitioner would be welcome, as may be seen from the request and accompanying resolution, of which your Honour will find copy enclosed, without anything else having been done by us. We have never known and do not know now that the petitioners should have been exiled from England or that they should belong to the Brownist sect. . . .*

TWENTY  
THREE

This document is not dated, but it is clear that it was written before the 30th of April, 1609.

How right the Leiden magistrates were in this action is shown by an entry made in the archives ten years later:

*These English people have now lived amongst us these ten years and never any complaint or accusation has been brought against any of them.*

One hour and twenty documents later, I silently closed the door of the "Pilgrim Fathers museum" and walked the 100 short yards to where three and a half centuries before, the Pilgrims boarded the *Speedwell* to join the *Mayflower* on its voyage to the New World. Soon after the ships left on the 15th of August, 1620, it became clear that the 60-ton *Speedwell* was not seaworthy. Passengers and goods were transferred to the *Mayflower* on

*The request of the one hundred religious refugees to take up residence in Leiden was approved by the sympathetic Dutch.*



September 16, 1620. The next time they set foot on land was at New Plymouth.

The 353 years that have elapsed since their departure have not changed much around "de Vliet," the narrow Dutch canal where the voyage began. A sleepy breeze rippled the water as I sauntered over the moss-covered cobblestones. Somewhere a dog barked.

Trying to fulfill my pilgrimage into the past, I wandered through the quaint old city. The city hall where the Pilgrims' request for entry was approved still stands; however, none of the houses once occupied by the Pilgrims are still standing. Two places of historic interest were pointed out to me by my guide. The first was the site where once the "house called the Green Gate" stood, and the second was the narrow street in which William Brewster operated the Pilgrim printing press. Here John Robinson and William Brewster printed their Bible commentaries and other theological works, intended for illegal distribution in England.

When the printing press was confiscated in 1619, it was found in the attic of a house occupied by Thomas Brewer, financial father of the Pilgrim Printing Press. By then, however, its influence was widespread and England began to feel its effects.

Most Americans know about the stay of the Pilgrim Fathers in Leiden, but very few of them realize the important hold Dutch politics had in the circles of the Pilgrims. From the start Dutch political thinking shaped essential objectives of the Pilgrims, and when they finally arrived safely at New Plymouth many of these "Dutch-shaped" objectives were put into force.

Albert B. Osborne, who appraised this legacy in a prewar book called *Finding the Worth While in Europe*, listed many items in this amazing heritage. Eight of the most startling are:

*A written constitution, free education, manner of organization adopted by the United States Senate, that is a fixed number of delegates for each state, regardless of population; freedom of religion, recording of title deeds, the written (later printed) ballot, the strict requirement that the chief executive may not declare war without the consent of Congress, and compulsory assignment of*



*The law-abiding ethic of the Pilgrim Fathers can be inferred from the title of this book: A Clear and Plain Interpretation of the Ten Commandments of the Lord. Right: The religious and political values of old Leiden strongly influenced the values of New Plymouth.*

*counsel to defendants unable, through poverty, to engage their own.*

All these values without exception were unknown in the England of the 1620's, but were matters of standard procedure in Holland. This fact places a much greater value on the Pilgrims' stay in Leiden than many of us realize.

Great must have been the mental agony of John Robinson, the religious spokesman and scholar of the Pilgrims during their stay in Holland, when he saw the *Speedwell* set sail. It had been agreed that William Brewster would lead the first group of Pilgrims if they formed the smaller part of the congregation, but that John Robinson was to be their leader if they formed the greater part. As a result of this arrangement, Robinson never entered the new country. He died in Leiden on March 1, 1625, and was buried in the Pieterskerk on March 4. An inscription in the church bears witness to this fact.

In later years more colonists left from Leiden to settle in New Plymouth, but many stayed and intermarried with the Dutch. After the *Mayflower*, the *Fortuna* arrived in 1621 with four Pilgrims; in 1623 the *Anna* and the *Little James* with another twenty-four, and some say eighteen arrived after that.

And thus stands the historic connection between Leiden and New Plymouth. Now the pilgrimage goes the other way. More than 300 Americans a year find their way to Leiden and reverently gaze on the old archives. Those fortunate enough to touch the original documents may go home with renewed pride in their renowned heritage, a birthright seldom fully appreciated. □



TWENTY  
FIVE

## Cardinal Says Peking Won't Change Antichurch Policy

TAIPEI, Taiwan—Cardinal Paul Yu Pin, exiled Archbishop of Nanking, has cautioned the Vatican not to expect the People's Republic of China to compromise "even for (its) propaganda purposes," its adamantly antichurch and antireligious policy.

In an interview with RNS at his private residence on the outskirts of this capital of Nationalist China, the Manchurian-born prelate said he had heard "rumors" about the Vatican's possible interest in making some contact with the Peking government.

Asserting that he does not take these reports—denied by the Vatican—very seriously, Cardinal Yu Pin said, however, that "the Catholics of China are certainly not sympathetic to this type of attitude."

Speaking in accented but fluent English, the aging but still robust churchman lashed out at a hypothesis of some future Vatican effort to achieve "dialog," or "rapprochement" with Peking.

"We want to be faithful to our order," he said, "but we are the victims of Communist repression. Under some such rapprochement, we would lose our liberty. As Chinese, we have to fight for our liberty."

"I think it's wishful thinking to hope that a dialog with Peking would help Christians on the mainland [of China]," he said, arguing that the Vatican "is getting nothing for Christians in Eastern Europe."

"If the Vatican cannot protect religion," he declared, "it does not have much reason to be in business."

Cardinal Yu Pin acknowledged that his stand on Communism, and on the Vatican's apparent attempts to reach a "modus vivendi" with it in recent years, has not made him popular with the more liberal elements in the Catholic Church.

"To liberals who attack me as a 'hawk,' I have a lot to say. They cannot tire me, but they never challenge me directly," he said, and added:

"The world today is full of appeasement. People don't like to hear speeches against communism."

Turning to the question of the physical survival of the Catholic Church in the People's Republic of China the Cardinal said flatly, "The church will survive as the early Christian survived in the Catacombs. It could mean a true Christian revival for the Chinese."

### Bill Would Recognize Right to Refuse to Join Union

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Five United States Senators have introduced a bill to protect persons whose religious beliefs forbid membership in labor organizations.

The measure would amend the National Labor Relations Act to make it an unfair labor practice to require a person to join a labor organization as a condition of employment when such a person's religious beliefs oppose labor organization membership, according to Senator Peter H. Dominick (R-Colo.), chief sponsor.

"There are people in the United States today who are inadvertently being denied their freedom of religion," Senator

Dominick said. "These are the people who belong to religious denominations which believe that membership in or support of a labor organization is wrong. Members of these denominations are forced to violate their religious conscience and join labor unions or suffer the economic consequences."

The Dominick bill would allow such persons to work without being required to join or financially support a union organization. In lieu of paying union dues, such persons would contribute a like amount to any nonreligious, charitable, tax-exempt fund.

An Episcopalian, Senator Dominick noted that while the numbers of persons affected by the bill "admittedly would be relatively small," it would be "more than many people would suppose." The number affected, he said, "is not relevant, because religious freedom should never be predicated on practical political factors of majorities or votes."

Joining Senator Dominick as cosponsors are Senators Paul J. Fannin (R-Ariz.), John Tower (R-Texas), Wallace F. Bennett (R-Utah), and Clifford P. Hansen (R-Wyoming).

### Court Rules Hospital Must Change Abortion Policy

MINNEAPOLIS—United States District Court Judge Philip Neville has ruled that the Virginia, Minnesota, Municipal Hospital must allow its facilities to be used to perform abortions.

Judge Neville said the anti-abortion policy passed by the Virginia Municipal Hospital Commission early this year is contrary to the findings of the recent Supreme Court abortion decision and "must be declared null and void." The hospital commission policy allowed no abortions "except those per-

# international

formed to save the life of the mother."

The case was brought by nine Virginia residents, who contended that even though no pregnancies were involved, the women involved could be affected later by the policy in the event they became pregnant.

Legal counsel for the Minnesota Civil Liberties Union, Michael Wetherbee, said all Minnesota public hospitals are bound by the ruling. Spokesmen for the Minnesota Citizens Concerned for Life, Inc., commented, "Other hospitals which now prohibit abortions in their facilities should not be bluffed or intimidated by this unfortunate ruling."

## Ban on Cadet Marriage Held Unconstitutional

NEW YORK—A regulation of the United States Merchant Marine Academy barring cadets from marrying has been ruled unconstitutional by a Federal judge.

In a 36-page opinion, Judge John R. Bartel said that "the conclusive presumption that all married cadets will perform poorer than single cadets cannot be accepted upon the record before the court."

"The fatal vice of the regulation is the sweeping, advance determination," he said, "that every married student, regardless of age, maturity or circumstance, cannot be accepted or if unwittingly accepted, must be expelled from the academy simply because he is married."

The decision came on a suit filed by Dennis O'Neill, 26, now an insurance adjuster in Irvington, New Jersey, who secretly married while a cadet at the Kings Point, Long Island, academy. He was to have been graduated in June 1972, but after an anonymous telephone call revealed his marriage, he was dis-

missed from the institution in November, 1971.

Judge Bartel held that the government cannot, by contract, require a cadet to surrender his constitutional right to marry and that there was no evidence to support the government's claim of "administrative inconvenience." The academy was ordered to award a diploma to Mr. O'Neill within 30 days.

If the decision by Judge Bartel is upheld by higher courts, similar regulations of the Army, Navy, Air Force, and Coast Guard academies will be affected. The earliest regulation forbidding marriage in United States service schools was posted at West Point in 1835.

## Here and There

✓ Warsaw Radio has announced that Poland's Council of Ministers has canceled overdue payments owed by churches in the country's western and northern territories. The decree also reduced taxes on the church properties and provided for state subsidies. Most

of the 4,700 churches and 2,200 other buildings in the former German area of Poland are Roman Catholic.

✓ The League of Yugoslav Communists has launched a campaign against plans by Moslems to form an Association of Moslems on grounds that such an organization would be similar to other nationalistic developments in the Croatian and Serbian republics. The League has attacked the country's Christian churches for about two years for alleged interference in politics.

✓ A government-sponsored bill in the Spanish Parliament would limit prison terms for religious conscientious objectors to four years in time of peace. Spanish men can be called for a second time for military service upon completing their initial prison terms. About 270 conscientious objectors are imprisoned, some for more than ten years. Bills recognizing conscientious objection failed to pass in 1970 and 1971.

TWENTY  
SEVEN



Delegates from the United Church of Christ join United Farm Workers' pickets during a 24-hour pilgrimage. Violence by the Teamsters Union, locked in a battle with the UFW over who would represent grape pickers, led Chavez to call for national church support.

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# liberty and the law

ELVIN L. BENTON

## **SWEAR NOT, TEACH NOT**

***Biklen v. Board of Education*, 333 F. Supp. 902 (N.D.N.Y. 1971), *aff'd. mem.*, 406 U.S. 951 (1972).**

Most bosses want their employees to be loyal to them. The State of New York places loyalty very high on its list of values, and refuses to have on its payroll a teacher who won't promise to uphold its constitution. New York means business and the Federal courts have affixed their seal of approval.

Sari Knopp Biklen, a Quaker and a schoolteacher, was accepted to teach third and fourth grades at the Martin Luther King, Jr., School in Syracuse, New York. Several months after she began teaching, it was discovered that she had not signed an oath or affirmation of intention to support the constitutions of the United States and the State of New York and faithfully to discharge her duties as a teacher. The oath (or affirmation, originally provided as an alternative for Quakers who refused to take oaths) is required by New York statute of all teachers in public schools and other schools "whose real property . . . is exempt from taxation."

Ms. Biklen's failure to sign the oath had not been accidental. She was suspended from her teaching job after she told the director of personnel of the city school district that her religious and conscientious beliefs would not let her sign. An offer that she could "pledge and declare" rather than swearing or affirming was likewise declined. Though leaning on her background as a Quaker for support in her stance, Ms. Biklen went beyond the typical Quaker non-oath-taking posture when she spurned the proffered alterna-

tives. After listening to her explanations at a public hearing, the Board of Education voted unanimously that she be fired.

Ms. Biklen filed suit in the United States District Court for the Northern District of New York, charging abridgment of the free exercise of her religion and challenging the constitutionality of the New York oath requirement. Her personal statement asserted that "loyalty oaths contradict individual freedoms of expression and belief . . ." and that they "presume that people are guilty of being disloyal unless they have signed." She sought declaratory relief from the court so that she need neither sign the oath nor lose her job.

The district court conceded that the oath requirement limited Ms. Biklen's freedom. But when her liberty was balanced against the State's "compelling interest in assuring the fitness and dedication of its teachers," her refusal to sign left her without a job. Her complaint was dismissed.

Circuit Judge William Mulligan spoke for the three-judge court, holding that Ms. Biklen "is not being denied a teaching position in the public schools *qua* Quaker, orthodox or not. She is being denied because she refused to affirm her support of the Constitutions of the United States and the State of New York or even that she will do her best as a teacher. The State has a demonstrable and compelling interest that she at least do this."

The court's clincher, though, was its reminder that the United States Constitution itself requires a loyalty oath of all national and State legislators and executive and judicial officers. Since the same Constitution forbids religious tests for officeholding, said the court, "there

is no doubt that the free exercise of religion was in the framers' minds at this point—the oath was mandated but religious tests were proscribed."

Judge Mulligan was aware that the Supreme Court had struck down a State requirement that public school students salute the flag and repeat the pledge of allegiance. But Ms. Biklen's case was different, insisted Mulligan, because criminal penalties were part of the punishment in the flag-salute case, whereas all Ms. Biklen would suffer would be the loss of her teaching job. Also, Ms. Biklen was an employee of the State, whereas the school children in the flag-salute case were not.

Ms. Biklen appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States, where the district court's judgment was affirmed without opinion. The High Court's only comment was that "Mr. Justice Douglas would note jurisdiction and reverse."

It would have been interesting to hear Justice Douglas' rationale. Few would argue that a public school teacher has some inherent right to be either disloyal to her employer (the State) or inefficient in her teaching. And the court is correct when it points out that Ms. Biklen suffered no criminal penalty for her conscientious stance. It can hardly be said, however, that a compromise with conscience is not involved. The Supreme Court decided more than a quarter century ago that an immigrant need not sign an unlimited loyalty oath to become a United States citizen. And perhaps there is a closer kinship than is apparent between a schoolboy who refused to salute the flag and a conscientious teacher who reserves the right to differ with the Constitution.

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# insight

C. MERVYN MAXWELL  
Department of Church History,  
Andrews University

## OF WATERGATES AND GARDENS

It is a curious fact of modern history that the Watergate Towne apartment complex, so much in the news these days, was built by a church.

After a vigorous struggle to change zoning laws.

In order to safeguard the beauty and dignity of Washington's famous national monuments, a zoning ordinance had limited the height of commercial and residential buildings in the area where Watergate Towne stands today. Before the \$75 million complex became a reality, the Societa General Immobiliare of Rome, which built it, exerted considerable pressure on public authorities in the District of Columbia. The Societa General is controlled by the Vatican. It was assisted in its zoning negotiations by the American Apostolic Delegate and by Prof. Luigi Moretti, of Rome, who was dispatched for the purpose by the Vatican.

I'm not saying that the Catholic Church did anything illegal in getting a zoning ordinance set aside.

I'm only wondering what "Watergate" would have been called in the news media if the zoning law had stood and Watergate Towne had never been built.

I live on the outskirts of a village. The nearest city of over 20,000 population is thirty miles away. Two doors down on the opposite side of my street lives an electronics expert whose business is installing automatic burglar alarms.

I chatted with him a few days ago while he was helping his

teen-age son repair an old car.

"Do you ever install bugs?" I asked.

"Oh, yes," he replied readily. "Often. Divorce cases. Business competition."

It seemed incongruous that a man who installs burglar alarms should also install bugs. But twenty years ago, when I was a young minister, it was a deacon (who wasn't getting along well either with himself or the other church folk) who bugged my first board meeting in that congregation.

One reason that I live in the country is that I like to raise a garden. "Bugs" are a problem there too.

My next door neighbor, a successful "organic" buff, picks his insect pests off one at a time. Or rather, he asks his wife to do it.

I personally follow a number of organic methods; but if there are no flowers to decoy friendly insects, I like to attend to my bug problems by spraying with a "systemic" treatment. It gets right into a plant's tissues and enables it to fight off bugs for weeks, even while I'm on a trip. Or writing columns.

To prevent Watergates, with their buggings, break-ins, and cover-ups, we don't need new legislation. We need a new integrity, a new sense of honor, on the inside.

In the Bible Jesus is presented as standing at the door of our hearts asking to come in. No break-and-entry burglar, Jesus says, "Behold, I stand at the door and knock" (Revelation 3:20, R.S.V.).

What will happen when we open the door? "I will come in to him and eat with him, and he with me" (verse 20).

Does He bring anything with Him? "I counsel you to buy

from me gold . . . and white garments . . . , and salve to anoint your eyes, that you may see" (verse 18).

We Americans need to respond to this appeal. We need to let Jesus Christ into our lives individually. We need more than formal attendance at church on weekends when the weather's too wet for golf. We need a continuing personal relationship with Jesus, sitting down with Him and "eating" a long, satisfying meal.

We need His gold and His white garments. That is, we need His righteousness, His uprightness, His sense of honor and integrity. And we need His eyesalve, a renewal of conscience, so we can see ourselves as the sinners we really are and see Him as the Man of truth He really is.

The Bible says of Christ, "Righteousness belongeth unto thee" (Daniel 9:7). "The Lord is righteous in all his ways" (Psalm 145:17).

If we eat with Christ, if we study and think about His teachings and accept them, with Him into our way of life, the result will be righteousness in our homes, in our businesses, in everything we do. There will be "love, joy, peace, patience, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, gentleness, self-control" (Galatians 5:22, 23, R.S.V.).

Two years after I began pastoring the church I mentioned a moment ago, we enjoyed a revival there. Many accepted Christ in a new way. You could tell the difference in their lives.

For example, the deacon who bugged the board meeting confessed what he had done and apologized that for two years he had sadly misinterpreted what he thought he had overheard.

That ended one Watergate.

TWENTY  
NINE

# perspective

## SILVER ANNIVERSARY

Americans United (see page 12) is celebrating its twenty-fifth anniversary, reason enough to make a few observations on its mission and future.

By furthering separation of church and state through litigation and education, Americans United has made a major contribution to energizing the Christian witness. A church that must lean on the state for support is a weak church. By knocking out the financial props constructed by ill-advised legislators, Americans United has contributed to that principle of voluntarism that is at the roots of vitality. It was disestablishment of the church in Connecticut in 1818, confessed Lyman Beecher, who had been of the contrary opinion, that brought "such a time of revival as never before in the State." He explained: "We were thrown on God and on ourselves, and this created that moral coercion which makes men work." A hundred more preachers on the revival circuit during the past 25 years could not have contributed what Americans United has to the vital witness of the church in America.

It is suggested that in its twenty-fifth anniversary year Americans United is "maturing," which, when probed, usually means that it is not so anti-Catholic as it once was. It is now slapping a few Protestant hands. Human beings being what human beings are, low blows from one side in the aid wars likely have been met on occasion by low blows from the other. But with the purest of motives and the most astute of procedures, it seems to us, Americans United still would have been labeled anti-Catholic, for, the truth is, when Americans United began its work, Catholic hands were the only ones in Uncle Sam's

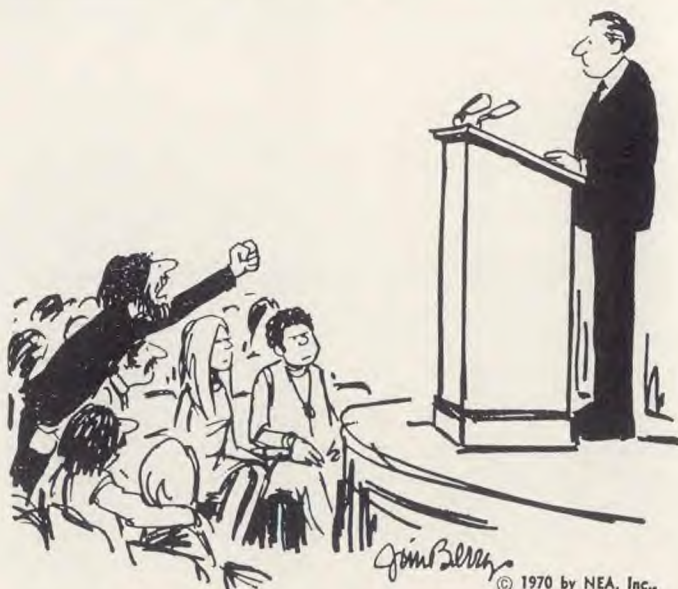
cookie jar. That Protestant hands are now being slapped is testimony not so much to the maturing of Americans United as to the regression of Protestantism, a process concurrent with, if not intrinsic in, the ecumenical overtures of the past decade. At the least, one must say that some Protestant spokesmen muted their applause for separation in the face of the Catholic Church's determination to obtain state funds for its schools. It did seem a bit impolite to invite someone to fellowship with you in a local or a national Showcase for Brotherhood and then slap disagreement over his face.

Americans United admittedly is changing—again, some would say maturing—in another way, as is indicated by its change in name from Protestants and Other Americans United for Separation of Church and State. The change, say Americans United spokesmen, is to emphasize the organization's hos-

pitality to all—Catholics, secularists, Unitarians, Jews—who would like to further the cause of separation. The question Americans United leadership will have to face is this: Will a broadened membership remain true to its founders' ideals while providing a broadened financial organization? To this point, Americans United has been financed chiefly by committed Christians of evangelical persuasion—the ecumenical movement has lessened support from mainline denominations. Evangelicals look for a "certain ring," a Biblically based theology and even vocabulary. Will they find it in the more secularly oriented organization?

Knowing the leaders of Americans United as we do, we suspect that their commitment, if not their name, will continue to reflect the pre-ecumenical [Protestant] ethic of separation. If it does, both the nation and the nation's churches can look to another 25 years of separatist vitality.—R. R. H.

THIRTY



**"You don't get it, man! Just because we ASK THE QUESTIONS doesn't mean we want to HEAR THE ANSWERS!"**

# letters

## Congratulations!

Congratulations on the Award of Merit to LIBERTY at the Associated Church Press convention. It is rightly deserved.

In my twenty years of the ministry, I have read many religious magazines but have not found one as descriptive, up to date, and concerned with the information that we all need, no matter what denomination one belongs to.

Keep up the good work, and may God continue to bless you and your staff in your endeavor for religious liberty.

THOMAS L. RULAND  
Minister  
Bronx, New York

## Amnesty

I have appreciated your publication ever since I became a regular reader, but I must take issue with your position regarding amnesty [see Letters, July-August, p. 30]. I certainly respect your right to your view, but I also must say I find it totally indefensible and without firm ground. Even your reference to "forgiveness" for those who refused to engage in that war is objectionable. Are we to "forgive" young men for merely exercising the "right" of conscience and choice? How can you suggest forgiving courage and honesty?

But even this is beside the point. It is my understanding that our nation, which I love, has always practiced a policy of amnesty. After every war—declared, I might add—that our nation has ever been in, including the Civil War, our country has had amnesty. Now, following a bitter, frustrating, and undeclared war (that was not necessarily backed by the majority of people or Congress) you appear to back the notion that somehow our young men who

"choose" not to engage in the slaughter of civilians ought to be "branded" and exiled from the country that prides itself on "freedom" of choice.

The question as to whether or not they "shortened" or elongated the war is really not the issue, is it? At least, it never was as I understand our history pertaining to amnesty.

GERALD D. BALLEIN  
Pastor, Alvarado Baptist Church  
San Diego, California

[For another look at amnesty, see "When Johnny Comes Marching Home Again—Hurrah?" and "Amnesty: Is to Forgive Divine?" in this issue.—Eds.]

## Grosse Error

It is doubtless of little significance, beyond local pride, but we spell it Grosse Pointe, with an "e" in deference to our French historical heritage (July-August, p. 18).

J. THOMAS DASEF  
Grosse Pointe Park, Michigan

[So who's purfect?—Eds.]

## Abortion: Point and Counterpoint

Your recent article in LIBERTY ("Liberty and the Law," May-June, 1973) prompts me to make the following observations about your discussion of the Supreme Court's decisions in *Roe v. Wade* and *Doe v. Bolton*.

Your summary of the Court's opinions is indeed very well done; however, your editorial comments are ill founded and misleading.

I take issue first of all with your comment that "it is easy to assert (as does the Catholic Church) that human life comes into being at the moment of conception (if indeed there is an exact moment, as distin-

guished from a longer process)." Embryologists confirm that the fertilized egg of the female *Homo sapiens* has life and has all the genetic information necessary to eventually develop into a 78-year-old, or older, man or woman, if that life is not terminated before natural death. Avid proabortion experts have admitted that the developing embryo, or fetus, is a human being in every essential respect, but they justify the destruction of that life by saying it has no value—it is expendable [*Rosen v. La. Board of Medical Examiners*, 318 F. Supp. 1217 (1970)].

I suggest that once we allow that human life can be terminated because it has not yet developed to the point of usefulness, we must ultimately allow that human life can be terminated if it is determined that it will never develop to the point of usefulness or has developed beyond that point of usefulness (i.e., the mentally retarded, the physically disabled, and the aged and senile).

For the sake of discussion I will admit that no one can prove when a human being becomes a person. However, I submit that no one can prove that a human being is not a person at the moment of conception. As long as this possibility exists, I suggest it is our duty to protect that possible human life just as it is the duty of a hunter not to shoot a moving object in the brush if there is the possibility that the object is human life and not a game animal. I reject your assertion that "the Court . . . decided to do the best it could without the information." I suggest that the Court rejected all of the best biological and medical information available to it and made an

THIRTY  
ONE

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# letters

arbitrary decision as to when life begins, its statement "We need not resolve the difficult question of when life begins" notwithstanding.

Your discussion points out a very significant fallacy in the Court's opinion. I refer to the section where you discuss the equal protection and due process clauses of the Fourteenth Amendment and the definition contained therein of citizens as persons born or naturalized. The Court used this reference to conclude that "the unborn have never been recognized in the law as persons in the whole sense." The Court conveniently fails to point out that corporations, by operation of a legal fiction, have been granted the status of "persons" under the Constitution and are therefore citizens. Is it not ironic that a professional corporation of doctors who perform abortions could conceivably have the status of person and citizen, but the unborn human being whose life they terminate by an abortion is not a person or citizen?

In your concluding paragraph you state that "to protest the Court's ruling because it allows sin is tacitly to admit that one favored the abortion prohibitions because they forbade sin."

This is simply another way of stating the abortionists' complaint that pro-life forces are attempting to impose their moral belief upon everyone. I disagree with that suggestion, no matter how it is stated.

Prohibitions against abortion are no more the imposition by some of their morals upon others than are prohibitions against murder, rape, or robbery. I do not consider it a favor that my government prohibits murder, rape, or robbery. I feel it is the duty of my government to do

so. I feel, and I think that most reasonable men will agree, that these are crimes against society, in addition to being morally wrong in the eyes of many people. I feel that most reasonable people insist upon prohibitions against murder, rape, and robbery because they do not want to be murdered, raped, or robbed. Unfortunately, many reasonable men seem content to ignore the fact that abortion is a crime against society, in addition to being morally wrong in the eyes of many. Possibly, this is because they are no longer personally in danger of being included in that class of human beings protected by prohibitions against abortion.

Furthermore, I suggest that laws are nothing more than the reflection of a society's moral standards. Even traffic laws reflect the value that society places upon life and limb. Finally, may I suggest that there are no rights without responsibilities and that there is no liberty without responsibility. America has just passed through a decade during which man's personal, social, and civil rights have been identified, defined, and established. I submit that it is now time for this country to identify, define, and establish man's personal, social, and civil duties and responsibilities.

GERALD J. MARTINEZ  
Counselor at Law  
Metairie, Louisiana

## Mr. Benton responds:

**Attorney Martinez' dissent can be characterized as stemming from an honest difference of opinion as to when human life begins and from what he considers to be the Court's misapprehension of our society's standards.**

**The analysis in LIBERTY to which he objects does not argue that the Court is right. Mr. Marti-**

**nez might be surprised to find out how many of the rest of us share some of his concerns about the validity of the Court's decision.**

There's a significant difference between a court's (or a legislature's) forbidding sin and its protecting society. Sometimes the two concepts may appear to overlap, as when both the Ten Commandments and civil statutes forbid homicide. But if the Supreme Court is to be condemned, let it be for its alleged failure to protect society from the civil crime of killing its citizens rather than for failing to stamp out ecclesiastical sin.

It is no secret that some of the most heinous tyrannies in all of history have resulted from enforcement of religious edicts by civil authorities. Hopefully Mr. Martinez will recognize that I was not trying to say that "pro-life forces" are necessarily religiously motivated and that stating their case would be to recommend a religious enactment. But certainly the hazard of such an enactment exists now, as it has in the past.

The Supreme Court might legitimately have gone the other direction in its decisions on abortion. But with all the secular and humanitarian reasoning it could have marshaled, it would have been a dangerous shame for it to have done so under a pretense of forbidding sin.

---

## Going to Church at the White House

I assume that Ron Graybill ("Going to Church at the White House") enjoyed himself at the inaugural "services" last January, but I wonder whether he would care to rewrite that same article in light of the recent happenings, that is, Watergate.

Archbishop Bernardin was prophetic in his prayer: "Ward off the pride that may come

# letters

with possession and power."

The President's appeal for us to conduct ourselves that years from now people will look to the generation of the seventies and say, "God bless America," seems to me should be changed to "God help America."

What a farce for the famous religious leaders to be called upon by the Nixon administration, after "winning" the election to the second term, to receive the blessing of the Almighty! Did they pray "forgive us our Watergates"?

Madalyn Murray O'Hair is right, that religion should be kept out of the government, and especially the White House! That way the present administration will have a couple less embarrassments!

This law-and-order administration has shown that it flaunts its own pronouncements! It says the age-old retort: do as I do, not as I say.

I don't wonder that Ron enjoyed himself at the White House that day, I'll bet it was the best musical comedy in town, or even East of Willows!

I'd like to read the rewrite.

FRANKLIN A. WESTON  
Los Angeles, California

## Incestuous Relationship?

Your imaginative and creative efforts in LIBERTY produce one of the best intellect-jiggling and eye-pleasing "slicks" around. Your July-August issue provided even a "giggle-jiggle."

The caption to the picture on page 25 seems, perhaps, to have one of the Messrs. DiQuattro marrying his sister. "Robert and James DiQuattro are the husband and brother of the victim of the alleged kidnap."

In these times of imaginative and highly creative trends in social intercourse one cannot always assume the best (or worst). Please tell me the

Messrs. DiQuattro are something less than first cousins.

A. J. PERCIVAL  
Fairfax, Virginia

**[We will, Mr. Percival. A nasty gremlin dropped the "in-law" from "brother," leaving an "out-law" relationship. The gremlin, incidentally, is the kissing cousin of the copy editor who failed to catch the error.—Eds.]**

## Sundae Law

A few days ago I was eating in an ice-cream parlor. On the table was a small paper telling of its history. One section in particular I found myself writing out—word for word. (Many people in early days thought soda water was intoxicating—thus this story is told:)

"In Evanston, Illinois, a law was passed prohibiting the sale of ice-cream sodas on Sunday. A drugstore operator got around the law by serving just the ice cream and syrups and leaving the soda water out and calling it an ice-cream 'Sunday,' later changing the spelling to sundae because the town Fathers objected to the naming of an ice-cream dish after the Sabbath Day." Taken from: *History of the Ice Cream Parlor*.

WILLARD L. SANTEE  
Pastor  
Grants Pass, Oregon

## The Flushing Thirty

Apropos your July-August issue article regarding Peter Stuyvesant and the Quakers, have you ever printed the equally dramatic story of Peter Stuyvesant and the Jews? It is also exciting, powerful, and another cornerstone for liberty. SIDNEY E. JAFFE  
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

**[Hear Ye, Hear Ye; all history buffs: \$100 awaits a 2,000 to 2,500-word account that will**

**captive LIBERTY readers.—Eds.]**

## Adventists and Government Money

Despite the editor's tortured *apologia* for the decision of Seventh-day Adventists to accept government money for the church's educational purposes [March-April], I think the sane, safe, consistent, honest, wise, unselfish, patriotic, scriptural course would be to let that which is rendered to Caesar be used exclusively for Caesar's purposes. To say that the church's interest in the education of its youth is an interest held in common with the State's legitimate interest in the education of its citizens is to place Christian education on a par with secular education, and this has a tendency to demean Christian education. Isn't it true that the work of redemption is the object of true education?

FRED B. MORGAN

Northumberland, Pennsylvania

THIRTY  
THREE

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J. R. Compton

## AMNESTY

The very word *amnesty*, as Author James Gallagher observes, "is enough to set off a wrenching debate around dinner tables, on courthouse lawns, and in barber shops around the nation." We hope it sparks at least a twitching level discussion among our readers, and in faith are reserving space in our Letters column. We gave Gallagher only one directive: Give an objective summary of the arguments on both sides of the issue, including information on what was done after previous wars. And all this within 1,500 words. We'll let our readers do the grading. A 1973 graduate of Columbia University's School of Journalism, Gallagher is program director of radio station WGTS-FM in suburban Washington, D.C.

"When Johnny Comes Marching Home Again—Hurrah?" is as subjective as Gallagher's article is objective—subjective, however, in being a faithful portrait of a Navy deserter and his metamorphosis into a symbol. Says Author Kent Sweeney, a freelance writer living in Canada, "John's moral basis of refusing to fight was based on a very high regard for life. He had studied wildlife management at a university in California, and his work there further strengthened his conviction that every form of life was of value and should be preserved."

Both Sweeney and Gallagher are making their first appearance in *LIBERTY*. We have invited them to come again.

# liberty

A MAGAZINE OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

"What started as a personal action had, through countless retellings, become a symbolic action. And symbols have a very short lifetime these days."

See page 2.



VOLUME SIXTY-EIGHT NUMBER SIX NOVEMBER-DECEMBER NINETEEN SEVENTY-THREE

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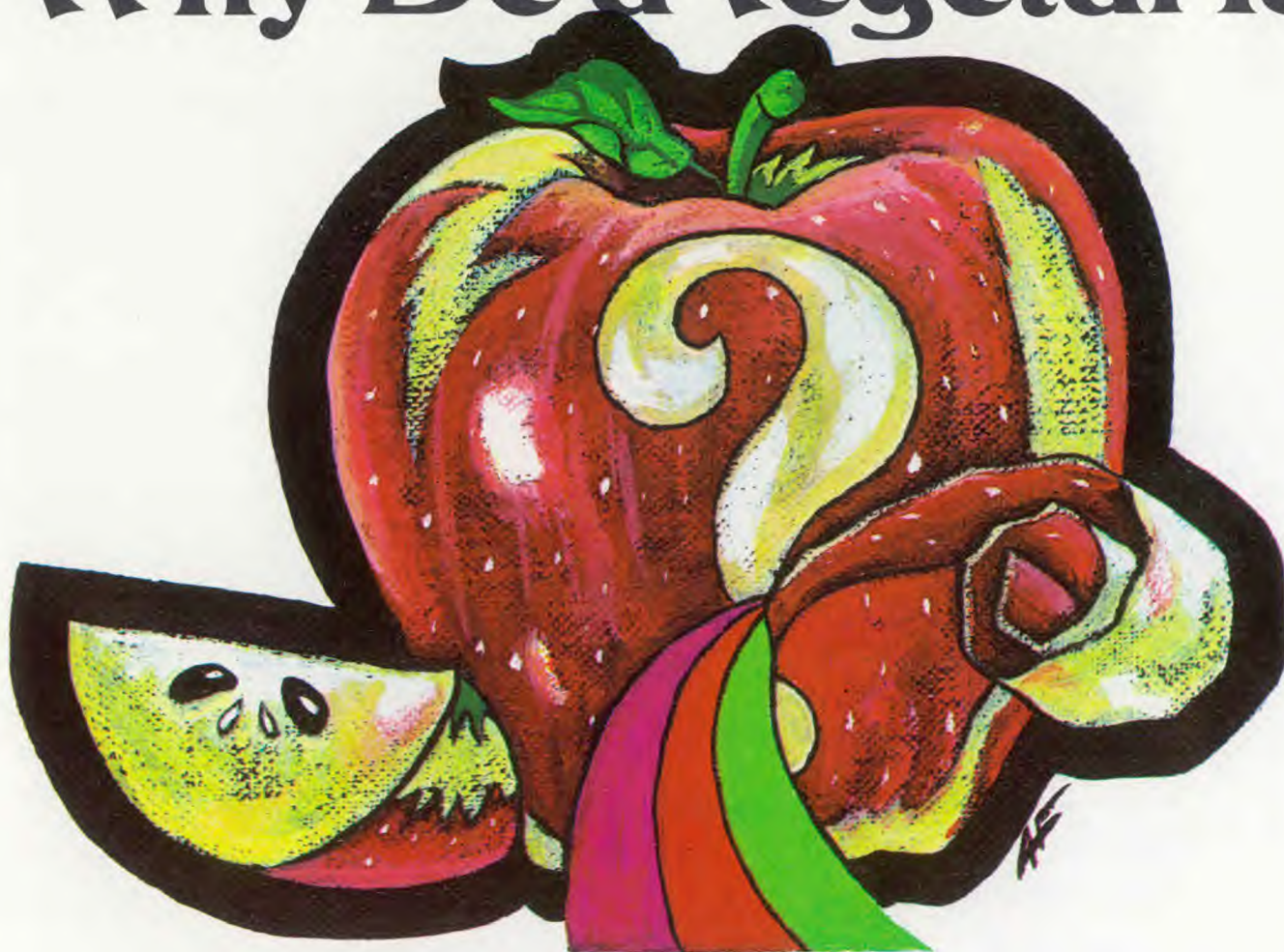
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