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Religious Lobbies

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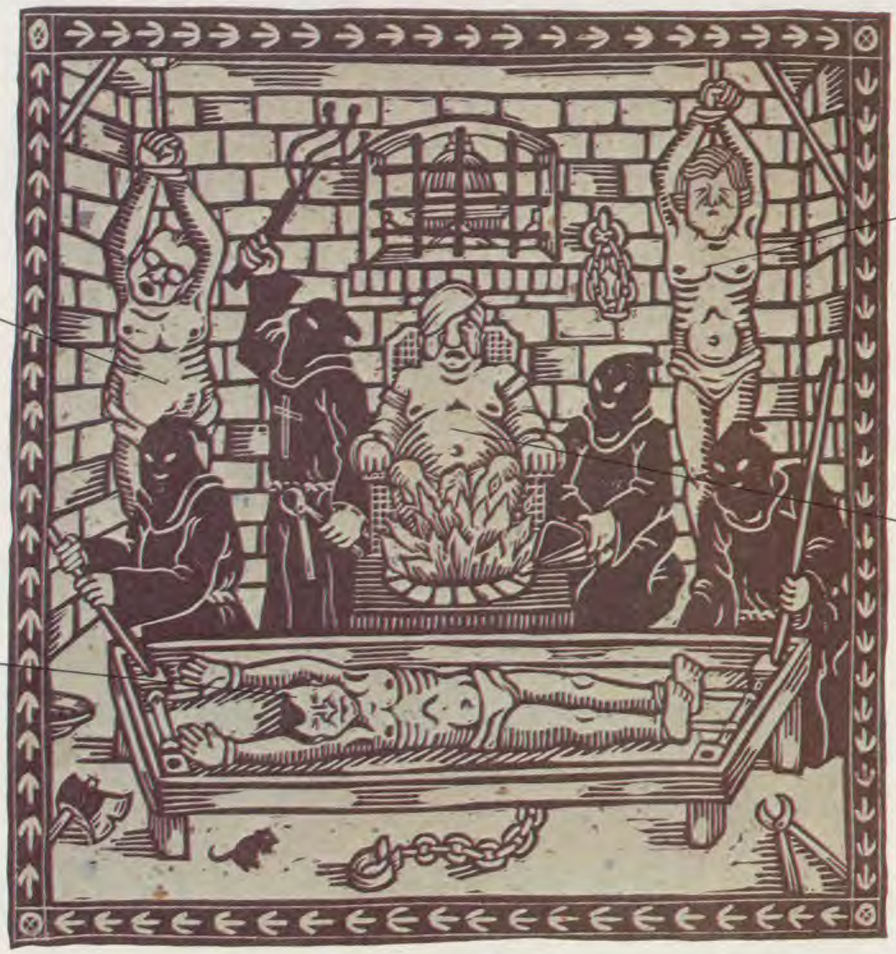

By Albert J. Menendez

Scores of religious lobbies in the nation's capital are contending to write their own versions of the "Decade of Destiny."

A growing backlash against religious conservatives is driving the nation toward a confrontation over a separation of church and state. It is a battle that promises to reach the nation's courtrooms and legislatures in 1981 and the years beyond. . . . How it comes out will have a big effect on three of the nation's most pervasive institutions—government, school, and church."

This apocalyptic assessment was not penned by a lobbyist or an advertising copywriter. Nor did it come from a greenhorn journalist. It is the opinion of the respected religion writer James Mann, of *U.S. News & World Report*, and of many others.

The noise of battle sounds most loudly from hundreds of Christian Right television and radiobroadcasts; but the smoke of battle hovers most thickly over the nation's

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ILLUSTRATION BY DAVID STREET

capital, where lobbies of the mainstream churches push their own interests and, betimes, contend with the Moral Majorities and Christian Voices of the "Righteous Right."

Unlike the Rightist lobbies, which have gained ascendency only within the past two years, lobbies representing mainstream churches have been around for more than half a century. Most reflect a well-developed social conscience, coupled with strong convictions about the role religion should play in society—and about the role government should not play.

With expansion of government's role into areas formerly considered the province of the church, religious lobbies have assumed increasing importance and scope. All but the separatist and other-worldly bodies seek to apply their understanding of moral and ethical principles to the needs of society. Though such issues as abortion and prayer in public schools get most attention in the press, church lobbyists keep a wary eye on education, public morality, religious freedom, family life, and, in some quarters, international aid programs, foreign policy (particularly as it pertains to Israel), civil liberties, and world peace.

Lobbies come in all shapes and sizes. Some denominations, such as the Quakers, have registered as lobbyists. Most do not. Some lobbies work in association, brought together by a common theology, purpose, or witness; others work alone. The Roman Catholic Church, through its national United States Catholic Conference and its state Catholic conferences, maintains the most comprehensive apparatus for influencing public policy. The Baptist Joint Committee in Washington, D.C., and Baptist groups in Southern states are considered effective lobbies. Smaller groups, such as Mennonites, the Brethren lobby in Washington, D.C., and the Christian Reformed lobby in Whatcom County, Washington, may be influential in shaping federal and state policies. The power of the Jewish lobbies is considerable, particularly in formulating foreign policy.

Though most groups take their lead from denominational policies, input from laity, even in the Episcopal-governed bodies, is a fact of life. With the Christian Right, viewpoints generally reflect not denominational policy, but the anointed political postures of a half-dozen electronic evangelists and their "congregations." On such an issue as Bible reading and prayer in public schools, twenty-seven denominations are on record in opposition; lobbies of the Christian Right, however, are vehement spokesmen in support.

Following is a description of fifty-one religious lobbies in Washington (see p. 21 for addresses). I have put them under four headings: (1) the "official" denominational Washington office; (2) the umbrella organization, which represents a number of church bodies that agree to pool resources and maintain a single Washington office; (3) the single-issue lobby; and (4) the lobbies of the Christian Right.

How effective are they? Which are the most effective in the eyes of Congress? I leave these questions to the conclusion.

1. The Official Denominational Washington Office

These lobbies have been around the longest, have well-established contacts, and are generally respected by members of Congress.

The United States Catholic Conference (USCC) represents America's largest religious body, the 50-million-member Roman Catholic community. Originally called the National Catholic Welfare Council, this influential and highly skilled lobby dates back to 1919. Reflecting the Catholic Church's multidimensional interests, USCC takes positions on numerous domestic- and foreign-policy issues. Its staff members prepare legislative testimony and seek to inform the large Catholic Congressional contingent of their church's official position.

USCC policies are determined by the general body of bishops, who meet twice annually, and by the Administrative Board, a forty-member committee that meets four times a year. The USCC lobbying division is called the Office for Government Liaison. On its annual budget of $285,000, it employs five professionals and promotes the social concerns of the bishops, which include liberal policies on social welfare, foreign policy, immigration, civil rights, and civil-liberties questions, but more conservative positions on abortion and public aid for church schools.

Not all Catholics choose to work through their official organization. Many conservatives prefer one of the New Right groups. Remnants of the Catholic Left and those of radical liberal persuasion support the Jesuit Social Ministries Office, the Maryknoll Fathers and Brothers lobby, and Network, an organization of activist nuns.

The Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs (BJC) was set up in 1945 by four major Baptist denominations, including the large Southern Baptist Convention. Its concern is preservation of church-state separation. Now representing nine Baptist bodies, the Joint Committee opposes state aid to church schools and colleges, mandated prayer and/or Bible reading in public schools, and official or semiofficial U.S. Government ties with the Vatican. The BJC's liberal orientation has prevented conservative Baptist groups from joining. (They are highly visible in the New Christian Right lobbies, however.)

The BJC's annual budget is $329,000 and it employs four professionals. It takes positions only when called upon to do so by its participating conventions.

The United Methodist Board of Church and Society (UMBCS) is the successor to the once-powerful (in the 1920s especially) Methodist Board of Temperance and Public Morals. It executes policies determined at United Methodist quadrennial conventions and by the church's New York bureaucracy. Its positions are almost an index of today's Christian political liberalism. The UMBCS takes a social position on a wide range of domestic and foreign policies.

The UMBCS budget is $1 million, but only a small portion of that goes to lobbying as such. Administration and constituency services take a larger bite.

The Lutheran Council in the U.S.A. has maintained its Office of Governmental Affairs (OGA) since 1946. It represents the Lutheran Church in America, the American Lutheran Church, and the Associated Evangelical Lutheran Churches. Technically, the Missouri Synod cooperates with the Lutheran Council but "does not participate in any social-action or political ministry," says Dr. Charles Bergstrom, the OGA executive director.

The OGA acts only when one of its three bodies requests its advocacy before Congress or the regulatory commissions. It sponsors an annual Consultation on Church and Government, a three-day seminar for Lutherans in all branches of the federal government. Its positions can be described as moderate to liberal, which is true of about all the mainline Protestant church lobbies. Its budget is $200,000 a year.

The United Presbyterian Washington Office communicates the concerns of its two member bodies to the government. Representatives of the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S. and the Presbyterian Church—U.S. share this office. Its budget is $110,000. Policies are determined by the annual General Assemblies of the two main Presbyterian bodies.

The United Church of Christ Office for Church in Society influences legislation. Strongly liberal, it is oriented toward civil rights, civil liberties, and foreign policy questions.

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The American Baptist Churches maintains a separate Washington office, though it belongs to the Baptist Joint Committee. It is a militant advocate of abortion rights.

Small lobbies are maintained by the Disciples of Christ, the Reformed Church, and the Episcopal Church (the last major denomination to establish its own Washington office). Allied with the American Ethical Union, the Unitarian Universalist Association Office for Social Concern embodies that tiny but influential group's political posture.

Three historic "peace" churches have well-established Washington offices. The Friends Committee on National Legislation has been on the national scene since 1943, fighting against conscription and large defense expenditures and for international peace-keeping activities. It was on the front lines in the civil-rights and civil-liberties battles. For years this Quaker lobby was the only religious group voluntarily registering as a lobby. (Most of the Washington religious offices do not like to be called lobbies. They prefer to be known as witness or social groups.)

The Church of the Brethren Washington Office and the Mennonite Central Committee also lobby for peace and social justice. They have been longtime promoters of conscientious objection and the United Nations.

A borderline church lobby is the Christian Science Committee on Publications (CSCP), which maintains a low profile, as does its parent, the Church of Christ, Scientist. The CSCP has fought for legislation exempting Christian Scientists from medical insurance programs, protection for their children in public schools, and for revisions in the U.S. copyright law—all internal concerns of the church. It takes no position on broad social issues, but tries to maintain a representative in each state capital.

Another borderline lobby is Church Women United, a feminist caucus. Though having no denominational connection, it receives some funding from the women's divisions of the major Protestant churches.

Several Jewish lobbies communicate American Judaism's longstanding interest in social and political questions. The Synagogue Council of America is an umbrella group of several national Jewish organizations.

The Union of American Hebrew Congregations represents the social activism and political liberalism of Reformed Judaism, while the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America represents the more conservative Orthodox Jews. (These groups frequently clash on school prayer and abortion.) B'nai B'rith, International Headquarters has a public-affairs office that occasionally testifies before Congress on such questions as quotas for minority groups in employment and education, and religious discrimination (the main reason for the group's founding in the first place). There are also Washington offices of the moderately liberal American Jewish Committee (whose best-known national spokesperson is probably Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum), the rather secularist American Jewish Congress, and the old ecumenical, human-relations lobby—the National Conference of Christians and Jews.

All Jewish lobbies are, of course, strong supporters of Israel and of a pro-Israel foreign policy. The "official" pro-Israel lobby, however, is the American Israel Public Affairs Committee. The Jewish lobbies are models of political effectiveness, so much so that critics of U.S. policy toward Israel have raised questions concerning their alleged influence and power.

2. The Umbrella Organization

The umbrella organization represents a number of church bodies that agree to pool resources and maintain a single Washington office. (There is, of course, frequent overlap with their individual denominational offices.)

The National Council of Churches (NCC), an association of thirty-two Protestant and Eastern Orthodox bodies, claims to represent 40 million church members. It has had a Washington office since 1961—the first year of Catholic Jack Kennedy's administration, when the fierce opposition to "parochiaid" impelled the NCC to set up a Capitol Hill office. Its heyday was probably the 1960s, when it supported the Great Society domestic programs of Lyndon Johnson.

Its broad range of concerns includes racial justice, arms control and disarmament, capital punishment, education, food and agricultural policy, housing and health care, and immigration. Its positions are similar to those of other religious groups, except on Israel and the Middle East, in which it seems increasingly pro-Arab. The NCC is a highly visible, articulate lobby.

Its counterpart on the conservative side is the National Association of Evangelicals (NAE), Office of Public Affairs. Set up in 1942 and headquartered in Wheaton, Illinois ("the Protestant Vatican"), NAE represents thirty-four small evangelical denominations, as well as individual congregations from another thirty denominations, that subscribe to a seven-point doctrinal statement. Also members are such Christian organizations as Campus Crusade for Christ and Youth for Christ.

The Washington office, with a staff of three professionals and a budget of $150,000, "tracks and reports" on proposed legislation and regulations of concern to its members. It informs members "rather than endeavoring to speak for them," says Floyd Robertson, its longtime publicist.

Policies are adopted by its annual convention. Broad policy statements are the rule, and if no policy exists on a fast-breaking issue, the NAE executive committee is designated as interpreter of policy.

NAE is not only an umbrella, it is also a bridge between the older, established, relatively liberal denominational lobbies and the more flamboyant New Right groups. In a sense NAE is "Old Right," but its relations with the New Right, says Robertson, are "friendly"—especially since both agree on the basic morality-family issues of the 1980s.

A third umbrella is the Washington Interreligious Staff Council (WISC) set up in the late 1960s as a clearinghouse for all religious lobbies. It has no office as such but its representatives meet twice a month in a donated office in the Methodist Building. It has a tiny budget and a honorary chairman.

WISC represents thirty-nine religious lobbies, including the NAE. No one is authorized to speak for WISC. It has nine task forces studying such issues as energy, foreign policy, civil rights, criminal justice, refugees, women's affairs, ecology, and problems concerning native Americans. When concensus is reached, WISC may issue a policy recommendation. But all groups do not have to signal agreement. Coalitions are developed on each issue, with considerable dissent on issues such as abortion and the Middle East.

If the New Christian Right lobbies continue to gain power, influence, and publicity in the 1980s, look for WISC to gear up its apparatus as an effective liberal-moderate counter.

The newest member of WISC is the Seventh-day Adventist Church's Office of Public Affairs, whose main concerns are Sunday-closing laws, labor-management relations, and strict separation of church and state.

Another group similar to WISC, but also a member of WISC, is IMPACT, which represents an interreligious network of thirteen thousand individuals and churches, to whom it provides information about pending legislation. IMPACT has eight task forces assigned to study issues such as the arms race, hunger, poverty, human rights, civil liberties, and women's concerns. Its positions are "moderate to liberal."

3. The Single-Issue Lobby

Though a number of secular lobbies promote a viewpoint on a single issue, only

a few religious lobbies can muster the kind of financial and organizational support necessary to sustain themselves. Abortion and parochiaid are the two religiopolitical issues that have induced full-time single-issue lobbies.

Four abortion lobbies have religious connections:

The Religious Coalition for Abortion Rights (RCAR) was set up in 1979 to counter antiabortion activism in the religious community. It supports not only the U.S. Supreme Court's 1973 legalization of abortion but the widest access to the procedure for all women. It favors public funding of abortion and opposes parental and/or spousal consent.

RCAR employs a professional staff of six and is primarily funded by foundation money. Two staff persons concentrate on legislation. RCAR includes twenty-six organizations with "religious identity." The catchall definition permits the American Humanist Association and the YWCA to be fellow members. The women's divisions of several Protestant and Jewish bodies comprise the bulk of membership. Policy is determined by an advisory council that includes representatives from each member group.

Catholics for a Free Choice, a small group, represents those Catholics who favor individual choice on abortion and oppose constitutional adjustment of abortion-on-demand. Their views are virtually indistinguishable from those of liberal Protestants and Jews, but they have received considerable publicity because of vocal opposition to their church's leadership.

Two religious groups lobby for passage of an amendment to the U.S. Constitution to restore legal protection to the unborn child. The National Committee for Human Life Amendment, Inc., is a Roman Catholic Church-sponsored lobby, while the Christian Action Council (CAC) is a Protestant evangelical group dedicated to stopping permissive abortion. Both cooperate with other antiabortion lobbies that, while nonsectarian, receive support from individual Christians. Not all right-to-life or antiabortion lobbies agree on the language to be incorporated in a proposed amendment or in a human life bill, but all seek to change the proabortion climate of U.S. society.

The rapidly growing Christian Action Council boasts 140 local affiliates, up from seventy in two years. "Abortion has proved to be the threshold issue for many newly involved evangelicals," says Norm Bendroth, director of communications.

The CAC Pro-Life Caucus crosses party and ideological lines. It recently gave its Legislator of the Year Award to Senator John East (R-N.C.) for his support of the proposed Human Life Bill (S. 158), which would have Congress declare that life begins at conception. East chairs the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on the Separation of Powers, which recently held hearings on the bill.

CAC owes much of its rapid growth to antiabortion articles in two prominent evangelical magazines, *Moody Monthly* on the Right and *Sojourners* on the Left. Evangelicals of all stripes are more opposed to abortion than any other segment of the religious population, a finding strikingly revealed in an ABC News-Washington *Post* survey released in May, 1981. (CAC is establishing crises pregnancy centers to counsel women contemplating abortion, a program similar to Birthright in many Catholic dioceses.)

Americans United for Separation of Church and State (AU), a First Amendment lobby, was established in 1947 to counter what was then regarded as Roman Catholic aggression against the strict separation principle. AU's most consistent position has been opposition to parochiaid, but it also lobbies against prayer amendments and antiabortion amendments. AU opposes government involvement in the internal affairs of churches.

Only a small portion of its budget, less than $50,000 a year, is devoted to influencing legislation. In recent years its activities have been geared for legal action; it frequently files friend-of-the-court briefs in cases involving the free exercise and/or no establishment clause of the First Amendment.

AU's membership tends toward the two ends of the religious spectrum, with little from the center. Baptists, Seventh-day Adventists, and Christian Scientists form the more conservative wing, while humanists support the organization from the other end. When it was founded as POAU (Protestants and Other Americans United) in 1947, it received major support from Baptists, Methodists, and Presbyterians.

To some extent AU's counterpart on the Right is Citizens for Educational Freedom (CEF). Founded in St. Louis twenty years ago by Roman Catholic supporters of aid to parochial schools, CEF has recently undergone a transformation. Its executive director is a fundamentalist Baptist from Michigan. Conservative Protestants who have soured on public education have become a vanguard of the fast-growing Christian private school movement. In so doing they now support proposals such as the tax credit legislation devised by Senators Daniel Moynihan (D-N.Y.) and Robert Packwood (R-Oreg.)

Such groups as the National Interreligious Service Board for Conscientious Objectors, the Washington Office on Africa, the Washington Office on Latin America, and the Universal Fellowship of Metropolitan Community Churches (which lobbies for prohomosexual legislation) may also be described as one-issue organizations.

4. Lobbies of the Christian Right

The newest lobbies to hit town are those of the Christian Right, and they have done so with the grace of a bull in a china shop. Representing the anger and concern of millions of evangelical and fundamentalist Christians, these groups have as their stated objective no less than the restoration of "national righteousness."

Christian Voice (CV), founded in Pasadena in 1979, is perhaps the broadest of the New Right lobbbies, since it recruits among Catholics, Mormons, and charismatics, as well as evangelicals and fundamentalists. Its budget and mailing list are growing so fast that accurate figures are hard to come by. A reasonable estimate is $3 million for its 3 divisions and a mailing list of 190,000, including 37,000 clergy.

CV is actively political, rating members of Congress on fourteen key issues in 1979. These morality ratings included the members' recorded votes on abortion, school prayer, sex education, IRS regulation of private schools, gay rights, school busing, teacher bargaining, government spending controls, and several foreign policy issues.

CV's Political Action Fund endorses and funds sympathetic candidates. One of its subsidiaries was Christians for Reagan. CV's top legislative priorities are school prayer and the Family Protection Act.

The Moral Majority (MM), also founded in 1979, is similar to CV in its concerns, priorities, and orientation, but more closely linked to fundamentalist Protestants and independent Baptists. Virginia evangelical preacher Jerry Falwell and Indiana Baptist minister Robert Billings (now holding a position in the U.S. Department of Education) are its spark plugs. It decries moral disintegration in the United States and blames government policies for decline of home and family life. It is strongly antiabortion and pro-Israel.

MM claims a mailing list of 300,000, including 70,000 clergy, and a substantial budget. MM has affiliates in almost every state. Its clout was seen in Alaska, where its supporters captured the GOP organization prior to the 1980 elections. It was influential in the election of two conservative Catholic Republican candidates to the U.S. Senate in 1980: Don Nickles, of Oklahoma, and Admiral Jeremiah Denton, of Alabama.

Continued on page 20

IS YOUR HOME REALLY YOUR CASTLE?

By Samuel E. Ericsson

Public officials say you can have a cocktail party in your home but not a Bible study! What are the facts?

IN 1980, Mayor Tom Bradley, of Los Angeles, stated that "a Bible study would not be a permissable use in a single family residential area . . . , since this would be considered a church activity." In a town near Boston, the building commissioner notified a clergyman that inviting more than four people to his home for a Bible study was a violation of the Home Occupation ordinance. In Atlanta, a zoning official stated that any kind of regular home Bible study that includes nonresidents is illegal without a special-use permit. Homeowners in Los Angeles were warned that if even one nonresident entered their home for a religious service, a cease-and-desist order could issue. Two Maryland residents were issued a citation for using their home for worship services without a use-and-occupancy permit. In Canton, Michigan, a local pastor was told by a zoning official that any regular Bible study in a home was a violation of the zoning ordinance, and the code for Canton makes no provision for a special-use permit.

All the above incidents have taken place in the past two years. The central issue in these cases is the extent to which the First Amendment offers protection for such activities.

The use of the home as a place of worship goes back to the founding of the Christian church. Even after Christianity became the officially recognized religion under Constantine, worship in the home was common. American history is replete with examples of small home meetings, such as those initiated by John Wesley and his Methodists.

The reason homes are used for Bible studies, worship, prayer meetings, and evangelism is in part economic. Many small groups no longer can afford to bankroll the purchase or construction of church facilities. Other groups simply feel that the Biblical pattern for the church is to worship in private homes; for them acquiring high-priced real estate and buildings is, at best, poor stewardship.

Zoning is a form of local public control over the private use of land and is a phenomenon of the twentieth century. It is an outgrowth of the common law of nuisance, which required landowners to use their property in a manner that would not injure the land of another.

As the United States shifted from an agricultural to an industrial economy, new cities sprang up and older cities grew rapidly. Before city planning, noisy factories might be found in the same block as single-family homes, and a mansion converted into a funeral home might be surrounded by hundreds of look-alike tenements. In response to these conditions, zoning laws became commonplace.

The confusion reflected in the efforts to regulate the use of private homes for religious purposes stems primarily from failure to distinguish between regulating the type of structure to be built in a neighborhood and regulating the content of speech in a private home. Arguably, a city or a county may have legitimate interest in the impact of building a three-hundred-seat church sanctuary with accompanying parking lot and steeple in a residential area. A far different issue is at stake in a city's effort to regulate an activity based on the content or the subject matter of speech. The Supreme Court has made it clear that the state cannot impose restrictions based upon either the content or the subject matter of the discussion.

No doubt a politician would be shocked if zoning officials refused to allow a Citizens to Elect John Doe committee to hold weekly meetings in a private residence to discuss plans to conduct a political campaign. No city would consider closing such activities so long as there were no traffic, parking, or nuisance violations. Even if there was a problem, the party would not be closed because politics was the subject matter.

Similarly, a home Bible study, prayer meeting, or evangelistic outreach cannot be restricted by zoning laws simply because religion is the subject matter of the meeting. So long as traffic, parking, and other laws are complied with, the use of private homes for religious functions has *at least* the same protection afforded by the First Amendment as a political or social activity.

The Supreme Court has defined general principles governing efforts to regulate the exercise of First Amendment rights, stressing that such laws must survive the most exacting scrutiny. First, the law is presumptively unconstitutional, and the state bears the burden of justification. Second, the law cannot be justified merely by showing *legitimate* governmental interest; the law must bear a substantial relation to a weighty or compelling governmental interest. Third, the law must be the least drastic means of protecting the governmental interest involved, and its restrictions may be no greater than necessary to the protection of that interest. Fourth, the law must be narrowly drawn.

Any effort to regulate use of private homes for religious functions must meet these strict tests. In fact, the Fourteenth Amendment guarantees "equal protection of the laws"—this means that a law should be applied in an equal way. Thus, if zoning officials refuse to allow a home Bible study consisting of fifteen people on the basis of safety, health, traffic, and parking reasons, then they must also enjoin every similar sales, bridge, wedding, or tea party for the same reason. Since zoning officials cannot impose restrictions on the basis of content or subject matter, they are relegated to treating home Bible studies the same as they would other meetings that occur in homes.

As a practical matter, disputes leading to the extremes of the examples mentioned in this article may be rare if Christians are sensitive to being good neighbors. □

Samuel E. Ericsson is a contributing editor for The Advocate, *a publication of the Christian Legal Society's Center for Law and Religious Freedom in Oak Park, Illinois.*

ILLUSTRATION BY JIM OWENS

ALBANIA:
The World's Most Atheist State

By Janice Broun

Albania has the dubious distinction of being the world's "most atheist state." In 1967 its Communist leader, Enver Hoxha, proudly closed all its 2,169 mosques and churches. Since then, nowhere has religious liberty been so totally and systematically denied.

It is ironic that this should happen in a country that was the ancient Illyria, evangelized first by the apostle Paul himself. It is a lovely, small, mountainous country on the Adriatic Sea between Yugoslavia and Greece, a country where religious beliefs are so complex that Hoxha's systematic attempts to eradicate them have been only partially successful. Nevertheless, he maintains such an isolation between Albania and the rest of the world that no one really knows how well religion is surviving.

Historically, religion in Albania has been underlaid with ancient pagan superstitions and practices. Mixed with these are Christian beliefs going back 2,000 years. Approximately 70 percent of Albanians converted to Islam, largely as a matter of convenience, during the four-hundred-year Turkish rule, which ended in 1912. Twenty percent remained Orthodox, and 10 percent, in the north, became Catholics and maintained close ties with Italy, some forty miles across the Adriatic.

From the beginning of the Communist Party takeover in 1944, Secretary Enver Hoxha showed hostility toward religion. Under his policy of wrenching Albanians from their past to put them into the mold of doctrinaire Communism, Hoxha regarded religion as a divisive factor. "The religion of Albanians," he maintained, "must be Albanianism." His first step in achieving that goal was to nationalize the churches. Moslem and Orthodox congregations put up relatively little resistance, but Catholics refused to sever links with Rome, and on them the brunt of persecution fell.

Some 120 expatriate priests were expelled, and another 120 priests and five bishops were martyred—either shot, tortured, or killed more slowly in labor camps and prisons. One young Moslem lawyer was tied to a tree and beaten to death for defending innocent Franciscans, and an Orthodox bishop was deposed and replaced by a notorious Communist militant.

By 1951, Hoxha managed, by torture or deception, to nationalize what was left of the Catholic Church, which finally cut off ties with Rome. Only one bishop was left alive.

Religious persecution slackened during the 1950s and early 1960s, though priests were still occasionally imprisoned or executed.

In 1967, Hoxha revived persecution, and all churches and mosques were closed. Many were converted to more "useful" purposes. In the Catholic center in Shkodër you can hear the sounds of baseball games and splashing in the cathedral pool. One church now contains workers' flats, a convent church the secret police headquarters, and another church a blasphemous museum of atheism.

Since the late 1960s, Hoxha has kept Albanians isolated from the rest of the world. All foreign books are rewritten before distribution. Western magazines are considered pornographic, and Bibles even more dangerous. Bible smuggling is virtually impossible. One visitor handed a gospel to a cleaning woman at her hotel, and was soon arrested and told she would die. She was only expelled from the country, but such drastic threats are effective deterrents.

Tourists are permitted, but are not particularly welcome unless they are secularists eager to admire Albania's economic progress. Tour groups are shown mountain terraces, subtropical crops grown on former malarial swamps, factories, mines, health centers, and schools. They cannot miss seeing, everywhere, slogans exhorting workers to further sacrifice for the state, and above all, the name Enver Hoxha, even carved in stone on mountainsides.

Tourists are told that religion is dead and that Albania is all-important—"Every soldier is a citizen and every citizen is a soldier," reads one slogan. Nevertheless, some visitors have seen Albanians furtively making the sign of the cross or saying the rosary.

Left: A Tosk couple from Gjinokastër in southern Albania. Lower left: A statue of Joseph Stalin in Tirana. Lower right: Tirana schoolchildren with their teacher.

Believers resort to tacit methods of protest, etching crosses or crescents inside rings, mounting internal television aerials in the form of a cross, going on disguised pilgrimages to former shrines. Prayers for the dead are furtively recited on the traditional third, ninth, and fortieth days after a death.

The use of Christian names has been forbidden since 1976, but the Albanian press complained recently that some children still revert to using their saints' names at home. The press is also prepared to admit that a strange mixture of pagan superstition exists with Moslem and Christian practice.

Some examples of mixtures in religious practice: Some Christian families keep Ramadan and refuse to eat pork. Moslems and Orthodox go happily to Catholic churches for the Feast of Our Mother, and one bishop has asked for more of the newly translated Albanian New Testaments because "Moslems are starting to read the Bible."

Where vigilance is relaxed, the press warns, religion may surface. From time to time small meeting groups are criticized for "showing an unhealthy interest in religion." In 1973 the press admitted that "priests have begun to perform religious rites; religious proclaimers are active, openly in some places, secretly in others, using new as well as old methods."

All priests work in danger. A Catholic émigré source estimates that only thirty are still free, some of whom are secretly ordained former seminary students and some elderly laymen with a good knowledge of doctrine. Many other priests are serving life sentences in the labor camps.

One 74-year-old priest, serving his second sixteen-year sentence, was shot for baptizing a fellow prisoner's baby. Another elderly priest was caught saying mass in his barracks, using simple vestments and a wooden cross made by prison believers. All

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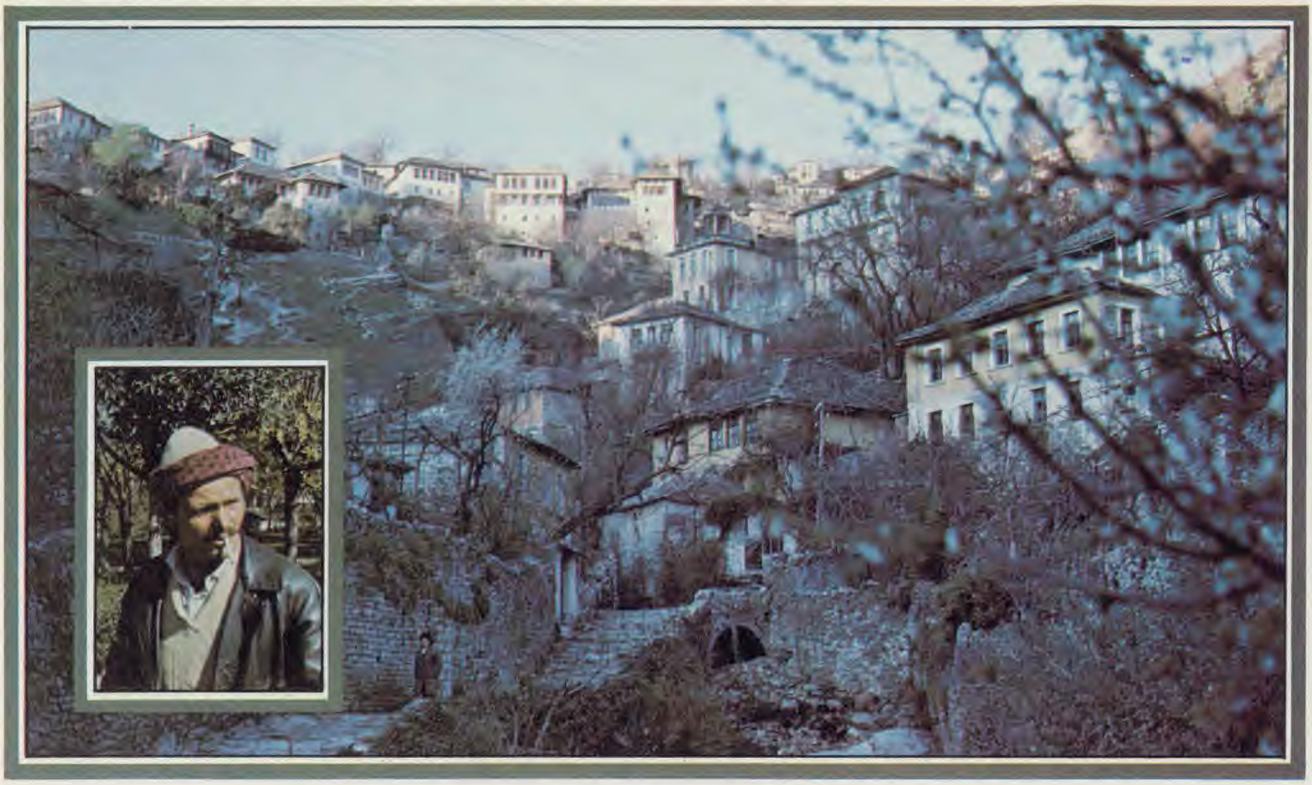


Above: A view of the town of Gjinokastër in the spring. Inset: A Gheg mountaineer from northern Albania.

participants were beaten, and the frail priest died the next day. He had been in prison since 1974.

Currently, an estimated twelve thousand "political" prisoners are being held. Anyone suspected of being "an enemy of the state" can be sent to camp without a trial, even if he's as young as 14. The young, who are "educated and ought to know better," are not immune to religion.

It is within the closed circle of the family that religion is passed on, says one Christian refugee. The press confirms this with its contention that "superstitions of the elderly" can have "very harmful effects." Baptisms are performed, weddings solemnized, and funeral prayers recited by older relatives or respected layfolk, despite the fact that children are encouraged at school to report on any "reactionary" tendencies in their parents.

In 1981 refugees reported a new wave of arrests of Christians, especially those possessing religious literature. And there seems to be no prospect of relaxation of religious persecution in the near future. Hoxha's designated successors are as inflexible as he.

Meanwhile, radiobroadcasts and prayer seem to be the most effective ways for the Western world to reach Albania. Even technicians who jam broadcasts are replaced at frequent intervals to prevent their conversions. Radio Monte Carlo is popular for its mixture of gospel teaching and inspirational music, though Radio Vatican has been criticized for concentrating too much on church news and too little on basic religious teaching. The spiritual void and confusion inside Albania today seems to be considerable, as is evidenced by reports that stress diseases and psychological disorders are replacing previously endemic tuberculosis and malaria.

It is encouraging to remember that Albania has produced one of the great Christian leaders of our century—the world's most famous nun, Agnes Genxha Bojaxhiu, better known as Mother Teresa. She has never been allowed to return to her native land, but she cannot forget it.

She has at last managed to visit Kosovo, a relatively free province annexed as part of Yugoslavia, and settled some nuns there to work among the Albanians. A Kosovo priest has just written a biography of her, the first in Albanian. Christians there hope that many copies will be smuggled over the rough mountain passes into Mother Teresa's home country, where her name is not allowed to be mentioned. □

ALBANIA: The Facts

Location: In the western Balkan Peninsula, on the Adriatic Sea, bordered by Greece and Yugoslavia

Area: 28,748 sq. km. *(11,100 sq. mi.)*

Population: 2,758,000 *(1979 estimate)*

Capital: Tirana

Ruler: Enver Hoxha, First Secretary of the Albanian *(Communist)* Party of Labor

Language: Albanian

Religion: Officially atheist; historically Moslem, Orthodox, Roman Catholic

—From *Encyclopaedia Brittanica,* 1980 Book of the Year

All in the name of God

By Mike Royko

To: God

Address: Somewhere in the Universe

Dear God:

I know how busy You must be with a whole universe to worry about.

That's why it occurred to me that You don't have time to read our papers and Your TV reception might not be good. So I thought I'd drop You a note about how things are going here.

Well, things couldn't be going any better, at least as far as Your image is concerned. You wouldn't believe how well loved You are on this planet today and how much is being done in Your name.

I hardly know where to start, there's so much going on. So I might as well start in Northern Ireland, where You've always been very big. Ah, what religious fervor can be found there.

The Irish Protestants are so devoted to You that they do everything possible to make life miserable for the Irish Catholics, because they don't think the Irish Catholics have the right approach toward worshiping You.

And the Irish Catholics do what they can to make life miserable for the Irish Protestants for essentially the same reasons.

In their great love for You, they shoot at one another, bomb one another, set one another afire, kill little children, bystanders, cops, soldiers, old ladies—and some are now committing suicide by starvation.

Then each side buries its dead, goes to church, and gives fervent thanks to You for being on its side. It is very touching.

And one thing about these people: Their devotion to You is unshakable. They've been doing this for about 400 years. So it's a good thing that You have an entire universe at Your disposal, because I don't know where else You could find room to accommodate all the people who have died there in Your name.

You're also highly regarded in a country called Lebanon, where just about everyone believes in You, although they don't agree on what You should be called. In that country, there are Moslems and Christians and they've created different sets of rules for worshiping You. Naturally, they say You have sent the rules down to them. If that's true, it would really simplify things if there were only one set of rules. It would cause less hard feelings.

But such details aside, they are expressing their devotion to You by killing each other by the hundreds. I guess they figure if one side can wipe out the other side, it will prove that their way of worshiping You is correct, and You'll be pleased with them.

So every day, they lob shells at one another and blow up the usual men, women, children, bystanders, old ladies, and stray dogs. And every day, they take a few moments out to thank You for Your support and to promise that they'll continue their efforts in Your behalf.

Now, not far from there are countries called Iraq and Iran. The Moslems in those countries basically agree on what to call You, but they disagree on some details concerning how best to worship You. So they're killing one another, too.

It's more than a little confusing, though, because in Iran there are people who call themselves Baha'is, and they, too, have their own way of showing their respect for You. Unfortunately for the Baha'is, their way doesn't include killing others who don't share their point of view. So that makes them patsies, and the Moslems in Iran, in their love for You, have been kicking the Baha'is around pretty good.

Just a short missile ride away, there's a lot of religious action going on between a country called Israel and just about everyone else in that neighborhood.

The people in Israel also have their own set of rules for worshiping You, which they say You passed on to them. And they claim that You look more favorably upon them than anyone else. This has always caused a lot of hard feelings because a lot of other groups figure that they're Your favorites. (It must be hard being a father figure.) Israel's claim that they're No. 1 has also made some people wonder this: If the Jews, after all they've been through over the centuries, are really Your chosen people, what do You do to somebody You don't like?

Anyway, the Jews and their Moslem neighbors—both of whom claim Your complete support—have been going at it for about thirty years. But I don't think they'll ever equal Ireland's record because they'll all eventually have nuclear bombs. Boy, when they start throwing those around, will You have a crowd showing up.

A final item. The man who shot the Pope apparently did it because of his devotion to You. It's not completely clear, but this fellow seems to think the Pope was in some way responsible for somebody invading the sacred mosque of his religion in a place called Mecca. That, of course, was an insult to You, so he got even in Your behalf by shooting the Pope (a very peaceful, nonviolent man, by the way, although his followers have been known to shed a few million gallons of blood when their tempers are up).

Well, I know You're busy, so that's all for now.

P.S. I never believed any of those stories going around a few years ago that "God is dead." How could You be? We don't have a single weapon that can shoot that far. □

Mike Royko is a columnist for the Chicago Sun-Times, *where this column originally appeared on May 15, 1981.*

P·R·O·F·I·L·E

Donn Moomaw
AND THE WHITE HOUSE CONNECTION

By Gary M. Ross

Towering over you, tanned and muscular, he conveys the surety and impatience of a leader.

Donn Moomaw's confidence seems justified. Pastor of the wealthy, successful Bel Air Presbyterian church in west Los Angeles since 1964, Moomaw is also a friend of the President, a relationship dating from Reagan's governorship in California.

Reagan put Moomaw "front and center" at the Inauguration, where the pastor gave both the invocation and the benediction, and the President invited his bedside ministry after the attempted assassination. These credits postdate the pastor's prominence as all-American lineman at UCLA, the Rams's first-round draft choice, and recipient of numerous other sports distinctions and awards.

Drive, energy, and action counterpoint the serenity of having arrived. Moomaw smiles, then glances at the clock. He is restive over the job before him. One aspect, though not the most important, is the challenge to handle discreetly the White House connection.

Relentlessly people inquire about the President, and Moomaw wants to answer fairly: The Reagans regularly attend church. They laugh when appropriate and cry when appropriate. They seek advice from the clergy and help from God, as when Reagan's first opportunity to commute a death sentence drove him and Moomaw to their knees.

The President uses prayer, Moomaw explains, to "condition his heart and mind so that he will be able to respond in the right way to whatever comes." He values Bible-reading similarly, and such resources heighten the Reagans' sensitivity to people and human need.

And, no, Moomaw insists, the Reagans do not receive

L. A. HERALD EXAMINER PHOTO BY CHRIS GULKER

preferential treatment when they attend the Bel Air church, though of course the logistics of such visits are complicated and disruptive. Because the parishioners come to worship God, not man, ushers may not shift people in their pews to accommodate special guests, nor is the sermon tailored to the distinguished, "as if we were a celebrity-conscious church."

Presidential logistics do not distract Moomaw from larger realities. One of these is the social ferment that pervades the nation, generated largely by followers of the New Christian Right. Moomaw himself rarely crusades, though he is not adverse to boycotting commercial companies that sponsor questionable television programs. His more typical response is to "get the church talking to itself." In successive sermons recently, he addressed five major social issues that church members had suggested. Here Moomaw shepherded and reflected his congregation at the same time—a stance he enjoys. Throughout the series he warned his constituency to "take seriously the incarnation of Jesus Christ in every area of life as it impacts on people," but also to grant "the force of ambiguity" that precludes one from identifying *the* Christian position on every issue.

Following Jesus is not tantamount, Moomaw believes, to taking particular sociopolitical positions. "I believe some Christians will be strongly Republican and some strongly Democrat, and that, I think, is salutary."

Another of the larger realities Moomaw seeks to monitor is the complicated one of separation of church and state. He is concerned over the paradox of increased government intrusion into church affairs at the very time that government, at least on the federal level, has promised to retrench. He explains the problem in terms of the abuses committed by organizations on the fringe of accepted religious practice. "With more Jonestowns," says Moomaw, "tighter controls will be imposed, and we may well see an erosion of our liberties." New forms of religious expression, he believes, will impel authorities to scrutinize even the traditional churches—ostensibly for their own safety and well-being.

Moomaw argues for "the force of ambiguity" that precludes one from identifying* the *Christian position on every issue.

Though a traditional church, Bel Air has a pastor with innovative ideas. One is the concept of pastoring "contextually." Usually the term is used to describe the mission of the church to the poor and oppressed, which hardly fits the Bel Air context of $2 million homes and a $1 million yearly budget. But Moomaw insists that affluence may be only a cover for poverty of spirit.

"People are supposed to be OK when they have food and money," he says. "But such people are here at Bel Air—and they are not OK! If you have all the money in the world, and your home is blowing up—you haven't talked to your teen-age boy in months and your wife is seeking a divorce—then what's the good of all the things you have?"

Under these circumstances, he says, people turn either to chemical releases or to talk, "and when they talk we want to be there." Thus the Bel Air church sponsors an adult-education program, utilized by one thousand or more individuals each week, and a counseling service, which recorded four thousand client hours last year.

Though pastor of the wealthy Bel Air Presbyterian church in Los Angeles, Moomaw insists that affluence may be only a cover for poverty of spirit.

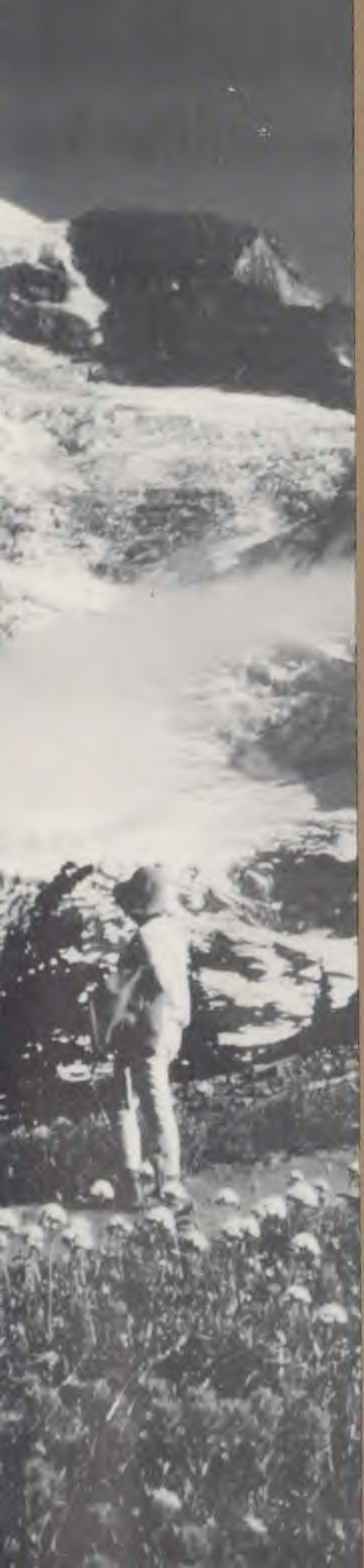
Another peculiarity of wealth is the joiner complex. People join country clubs, leagues, service groups, and manifold other organizations. They join the church, too, but this means nothing more than other memberships unless *made* to mean something more by the requirements attached to it. "Ironically, the more demanding it is to be part of the kingdom of God, the more people come to join our family," says Moomaw. He enumerates the requirements for entrance: The would-be member must commit himself to Jesus Christ (and be able to articulate what that means); he must vow to pledge financial support to the church in an acceptable amount. This is in addition to the twenty-five hours of indoctrination expected of non-Presbyterians.

Clearly, the church means much to Moomaw; it is this that explains his move from lineman to preacher. "I was raised in a home where you didn't do anything secular on Sunday," he recalls. "I don't think anyone who has committed adultery ever felt worse than I did the first time I went to a show on Sunday." Later, considering his career options and realizing that professional football would occupy his autumn Sundays, he felt, and accepted, a call to the ministry. "I wasn't trying to make a social or religious statement," Moomaw insists. "I was just trying to be obedient to what I felt was the will of God for me."

The friendship between Reagan and Moomaw is strengthened by a similar commitment on the President's part. Within hours of the attempt on Reagan's life, the two men visited and talked of the future. The President observed: "In this life of mine—purified by fire, you might say—I am going to give whatever time remains to doing God's work more resolutely than ever before."

The one-time lineman and the nation's Quarterback make quite a team. □

Gary M. Ross is an associate editor of LIBERTY *and congressional liaison for the Seventh-day Adventist Church in Washington, D.C.*



MOUNTAINTOP VIGIL

"Come...to some lonely place where you can rest quietly"—Jesus' invitation to His disciples as recorded in MARK 6:31.*

By Watford Reed

Kirk R. Smith, 30, a Portland, Oregon, paint contractor, believes he can hear God's voice better away from civilization. So he decided to seek solitude atop 14,410-foot Mount Ranier. His mountaintop experience didn't bring him much peace of mind, however; on the seventh day a helicopter disgorged National Park Service employees, who threatened to handcuff him if he didn't come quietly.

Smith, a regular churchgoer, is married and the father of two preschool children. He first tried mountaineering in the spring of 1981, when he climbed the southern side of 11,235-foot Mount Hood, forty-five miles east of Portland. "I decided that a mountaintop would be a good place to find solitude and pray," says Smith.

He started up Mount Ranier alone on June 26, taking an ice ax, crampons, a down pallet, and clothing designed for 50-below-zero weather. He would stay, he told his wife, until he felt like coming down.

The first day he reached Camp Muir, 10,000 feet above sea level. The second night he camped at 11,500 feet, near where 11 climbers had been killed by an icefall less than a week before. The next day, half a mile from the summit, he was caught in a "whiteout." He waited for it to lift and then climbed to the top, only to be hit by a blizzard. Smith crawled into his sleeping bag until the storm blew itself out.

For the next few days Smith stayed next to lava caves warmed by volcanic steam. "I melted snow for water," he says.

His solitude didn't last long. Two days after he reached the summit, two climbers from the Ranier Mountaineering School reached him and asked him to return with them. His wife was worried, they said. Smith refused.

The next day a helicopter with two Park Service employees landed near him. Smith was ordered to get into it. He refused. "I'm a free American," he told them. "I want to stay. I don't need your helicopter."

When another helicopter arrived, Smith "lay low," he said. "I was tired of being bothered."

On his seventh day on Mount Ranier, a helicopter landed five Park Service men. Either he could come quietly, they said, or they would handcuff him and take him along. Rather than be overpowered and forced off the mountain, Smith submitted. He was subsequently cited for disorderly conduct and climbing without a permit.

Smith refuses to criticize his wife for telling the Park Service that he was atop Mount Ranier. "I understand why loved ones would worry over somebody who climbed a mountain alone," he says.

But he is not so charitable toward the Park Service. "The whole thing raised the issue of religious liberty in my mind," he says. "I had a right to express my faith that way. The government stepped in and infringed upon my rights."

Was it all worthwhile?

"I didn't get what I went for," Smith confesses. "I didn't get any insight or any message from God." □

Watford Reed is religion editor at the Oregon Journal *in Portland.*

* From *The New English Bible*. © The Delegates of the Oxford University Press and the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press 1961, 1970. Reprinted by permission.

PHOTO BY H. ARMSTRONG ROBERTS

Where Have All the Children Gone?

By Barb Mraz

They were gathered in at receiving stations set up in cities throughout the United States, and brought to Shalam, a Utopian paradise in New Mexico designed especially for them. They were trained to be prophets. Where are they today?

Communal Utopias were as generously scattered over the United States in the nineteenth century as they are today. Few lasted even a generation—not long enough to raise a child to an adulthood rooted in the reality of a dream.

Shalam, the community of Faithists in New Mexico in the early twentieth century, was a visionary society designed for the spiritual nurture of babies. The commune flourished and sustained itself for a generation. Faithists followed the sacred dictates of an American bible called *Oahspe*. They believed in vegetarianism, pacifism, and Communism. Their arid desert lands were transformed into lush orchards, and their cattle and poultry earned blue-ribbon prizes. An "oasis of love" was created in this agricultural Eden, and children were trained in spiritual perfection.

Oahspe had been dictated by spirits to an Ohio farm boy, John Ballou Newbrough, who was born in Springfield, Ohio, June 5, 1828. He graduated from Cincinnati Dental College in 1848, married, and then hit the gold-dust trail. His quest led him to California and later to Australia.

Basically, his book is a rewrite of historical religious figures, a reinterpretation given to him by spirit sources. According to the new teachings, the true purpose of Jehovih's [*sic*] teachings was liberty. Although the original Shalam is now a ghost town, the Aquarian Age has reawakened the spiritual sons and daughters of *Oahspe*, and new communities are now growing and establishing themselves.

The Faithist's god inspires the building of the organic kingdom on earth. God established a parliament to deal with the matters of heaven and earth. Before recorded history, when all other humans were barbaric, this parliament remained true to the ideals of Jehovih. They were vegetarians, monogamists, and nonresistants. They were called the Organic Brotherhood, or the Sacred People. It was from them that the great prophets of history appeared, always the products of Inspired Eugenics.

According to the Faithists, the first of these was Zoroaster, who came nine thousand years ago and laid the foundation in popular knowledge for the other prophets to build upon. It was he who wrote the first bible. Abraham came to Arabia three thousand years later and Brahma to India, then Po to China and Eawahtah to North America. The people of Eawahtah left remains of their culture and are known in our history as the Mound Builders of America.

The false prophets, whose literature we are familiar with in the Koran and the Old and New Testaments, were trainees of the heavenly parliament (earth-born mortals), but concluded that the principle of nonresistance was disastrous and that evil could be destroyed only by force, and so they preached a political message.

The Zoroastrian influence is seen in the similarity of beliefs in Creation between the Faithists and the Parsees. The Faithist's god did not create the world and the living creatures on it, but a secondary Creation lord was assigned this task.

From the book of *Oahspe:*

"The most audacious of these false prophets declared himself Supreme Creator of heaven and produced records to prove it. He chose one of his Lords to be proclaimed on earth as his Son and Savior of men, thus establishing that favorite trick of his successors, and inspired such great wars and persecutions on earth that he was almost universally worshipped by the people that remained alive."

Thus, the Faithists hold on to the ideals of brotherhood and a loving god in spite of the history of organized religions. It wasn't the god of the believers who condoned the Crusades, medieval witch hunts, religious

ILLUSTRATION BY KEN KRAWCZYK

persecutions, et cetera, but one of his false prophets.

A pamphlet written in 1908 by C. L. Brewster for the active Faithist groups in America gave the followers a historical outline of the book of *Oahspe*. He refers to it as the Cosmic Bible and calls it the Uncle Tom's Cabin of the Millennial Dawn.

"When primitive man, learning by instinctive utterance the primary universal language, looked up at the sun-crowned, star-gemmed sky, he said, 'Oh!' and when his comprehending vision swept the verdant and varied landscape, he said, 'Ah!' and later on, 'Espe!' which was the sign for the spirit and spiritual things; and so we have the name OAHSPE . . . the spiritual record of the Earth and Sky."

The religion of the Faithists is visionary and evolutionary. From his address to the Faithist convention in the early 1900s, Brewster says:

"The planets are hatching places and kindergartens for angels, who graduate first into the Atmospherian heavens traveling with the planets, and then into boundless Etheria. This history (Oahspe) not only antedates, but supplements and corrects all other profane and sacred histories."

He goes on to explain that the true prophets were to inspire, as members of the Organic Brotherhood, people to want to return to the prehistoric origins of communal vegetarians, monogamial and nonresistant.

Inspired by such preaching, an evangelical movement began to preach the doctrines of vegetarianism, communism, and pacifism. Salvation would consist of abolishment of governments, the renouncing of private property and all means or efforts of personal aggrandizements. The believers were to gather themselves in communes and federate in a free theocracy, thus establishing Jehovih's Organic Kingdom on earth as it is in heaven.

In the early part of the twentieth century, large numbers of believers gathered in New York City to hold a convention of considerable size. Many groups had been holding meetings in homes, gathering strength and enthusiasm so that they could begin putting into practice the ideals they had been studying. The convention gave them a chance to organize their small groups into a well-planned, and eventually well-executed, Utopia.

John Newbrough actually began his communal experiments in Pearl River, New York, with a group of believers and a large number of foundlings and orphans. It was believed that a child raised in the spiritual teachings would become a prophet for the organic kingdom. Unappreciated by his neighbors and economically boycotted, he looked for greener pastures. Newbrough—some say led by psychic forces, others say on the advice of his brother Masons—arrived at the not-so-green pastures of New Mexico. There he founded the communistic society of Shalam, spending almost $1 million on one of the strangest adventures in communal living ever recorded.

The Land of Shalam was chartered in 1885; 1,490 acres of uncleared dry land near Dona Ana in Lessilla Valley were deeded in trust to the corporation of the Faithist Church. Applicants to the new community joined by agreeing to the Holy Covenant:

"I covenant thee, Jehovih, that since all things are thine, I will not own or possess exclusively unto myself anything under the sun which may be entrusted to me, which any person or persons may covet, desire or stand in need of."

It was agreed that no person covenanted should receive compensation for his or her services other than food, lodging, clothes, laundry, and attendance if ill, nor should any property, income, or profits accrue to any person. No meat, fish, butter, eggs, cheese, or animal food might be used, nor intoxicants of any kind, nor tobacco. No adults except invalids could have more than two meals a day. These dietary restrictions had been revealed in *Oahspe*, and Newbrough followed them vigorously, allegedly attaining a high degree of trance mediumship through this regimen.

Excluded from membership were people who worshiped any savior born of woman, those who continued to follow his or her profession or trade, and all who held national political loyalties.

The community advertised in newspapers and almanacs with allurements such as "Ah, for a home under Jehovih's plan that the wise, the good, and the learned may find a fact mightier than all the books in the world."

Soon more than one hundred members were being housed. Many converts were sincere, dedicated believers, but others were "adventurers, religious fanatics of dubious faiths, habitual new-creeders, and a few mentally deficient."

The purpose of Shalam was to raise children in a spiritual atmosphere, and so the gathering of babies began. Receiving stations were set up in cities throughout the United States. The home for foundlings in New Orleans is described in early literature about Shalam:

"From the ceiling of the long gallery, a Chinese censer containing a ruby light was suspended and so arranged that the full glow fell upon the invitation: *'Children Wanted and No Questions Asked.'* A baby crib stood significantly near. Furtive shadows crept to lay tiny forms within its softness. Some in grief knocked and entered, to weep less when they were assured that loving hearts would care for their infants, that before God all children were legitimate, and no restrictions made as to race and color."

The children were legally adopted by Shalam Community and were given a systematic, practical education that was intended to make them competent to do the work of the community and despise the "filth and luxury of the cities of Uz." Uz is the name for the cities of the world. The

Barb Mraz writes from Willoughby Hills, Ohio. She has an M.A. in history of religion and is currently working on a book about Mormon history.

children were housed in the Fraternum, built by Mexican and Faithist labor, a large building of Spanish mission design with a spacious inner court and some twenty rooms on each side for the adult Faithists. A wide veranda, library, playrooms, sleeping quarters, laundry, and some of the first bathtubs to be found in that part of the West created a comfortable nursery area for the babies.

A pamphlet written by the community described the nursery:

"Ten small bathtubs, the first ever brought to this part of the country, warmed the heart to the love of the tiny waifs splashing and gurgling as they were bathed. Cages of canaries and parrots lent cheer to the playroom, some 60 by 90 feet wide. Rocking horses and toys gladdened the little lives. A sign on the wall read 'DO NOT KISS THE BABIES.' The children's home was conceded to be the best building ever erected in the valley."

The spiritual environment was no less enchanting, as told by those who visited the community:

"Boys and girls received the same training, which began with blocks and some tools as led to modeling and drafting parts of the house and the clothing of the body. The body, food, and hygiene necessary for corporeal perfection were taught. Each child owned his own miracle garden: a small seed in the good earth and water made a vegetable which made arms and legs strong to work and to play. A dried bulb and a miracle lily. The Faithist child was taught both the botany of the growing child world and the spirituality underlying all of life. The cultivation of angel communication and the proximity of heaven to earth were early established in the child's consciousness. Spirit plays cast by the youngsters prepared the young mind to discriminate between good spirit friends and evil spirits to be avoided."

Political ideals included distrust of government—based on the position that laws diminish freedoms rather than ensuring them—and the condemnation of charity, which does not make its recipients self-supporting. To break the cycle of charity, children were taught to be self-reliant and self-supportive.

According to a leading member of the group in 1908, the government of the commune was set up in the following way:

"The different groups have a foreman, but these only hold office for a month or so at a time and rotation follows. Some groups hold office longer. The rotation prevents slavery, so observable under the Shaker elders. The director of the group holds office for a longer period, say six months to a year, and his title is chief, and the office rotates also. The same rule applies to the women. The oldest member of the home, not the oldest person, is chief; the oldest member of a group is foreman or forewoman."

Shalam became one of the most highly cultivated estates in the West. Money from Eastern visionaries financed a complicated irrigation system. The adobe buildings were equipped with ventilation and santitation in advance of the day. Grain-fed Guernseys walked sleek in the pastures, shipped to Shalam from the stock of the governor of New York. Steam powered the butter and cheese plant. Poultry experts brought in from the East supervised the elaborate chicken farm with its concrete floors and heated runs for expensive breeds. Teams of specially bred horses and steam tractors turned the soil for planting. There were vineyards, peaches, apricots, and plums, some new to the area.

But idyllic time passed and with it, in 1891, the founder of the community, John Newbrough. His friend and financial investor, Andrew Howland, was able to keep the dream alive for only a few years.

Nature, human and otherwise, began to make inroads into this desert paradise. Drought and heavy flooding destroyed many of the lush crops. A few of the communards, who had joined for other-than-idealistic reasons, began depleting the well-bred herds and poultry runs; fields and orchards were pillaged under cover of darkness. Thieves caught stealing were not prosecuted; the Faithists held to their belief in nonretaliation. Many members refused to work, and Mexican labor had to be hired. Newer members agitated for changes—opposed to Faithist beliefs—free love, freedom to work in their professions, single dwellings. There was no provision for self-criticism or economic planning reviews, and even the farm produce that was saved from floods and droughts was not marketable because of transportation problems. Soon children were sent away to the local public schools, and the dream of an oasis of love faded.

Some of the children grew to adulthood in Shalam, but little is known of them after they left. When the community was abandoned, the smaller children were placed in orphanages, and some of the older ones stayed with the Howlands. Of those children whose adult lives are known, some tell of many years of restlessly and hopelessly searching for clues to their parentage. A Los Angeles businessman continued his search for more than thirty years, never marrying because of his parentless status.

Census bureaus give little more than the children's Faithist names—Pathocides, Thour, Hayah, Thale, Ninya, Fiatsi. When Shalam was abandoned, Pathocides was placed in an orphanage. He ran away and searched for Shalam, declaring it the loveliest of places. Several young girls left the community at an early age to marry Mexican boys.

Could the Shalam experiment have succeeded, had provision been made for control of theft, division of labor, and economic planning? Given the commune's belief that law and government were designed only for the wicked, and were unnecessary in the Brotherhood, likely not. Human nature has been the bane of more than one Utopian society. □

By Haven Bradford Gow

Is America in moral decline or simply in a period of transition?

America's moral crisis consists not merely in transgression of norms of conduct but also in the attrition, to the point of irrelevance, of these norms. We have always had violation of moral standards, but until recently the standards themselves were not seriously questioned.

It is, in short, one thing to violate moral norms and standards while acknowledging their authority, but quite another, as the social philosopher Will Herberg trenchantly observed, "to lose all sense of the moral claim, to repudiate all moral authority and every moral standard." It is unfortunate but true, said Herberg, that "for the first time, at least on a mass scale, the very possibility of such standards has been thrown into question, and with it all essential distinctions between right and wrong. Today's culture comes very close to becoming a nonmoral normless culture."

As the noted essayist Clare Booth Luce points out in *Is the New Morality Destroying America?* (Washington, D.C.: Ethics and Public Policy Center, 1979), evidences of America's moral decline are pervasive:

"Campus surveys show that one-third of our college students say they would cheat if they were sure they would not be caught. Forty-five percent say that they do not think it is necessary to lead a moral life in order to be happy or successful. Sociologists note the extraordinary increase in blue- and white-collar dishonesty, such as sharp business practices, dishonest advertising, juggled books and accounts, concealment of profits, and the taking and giving of bribes. They are all practices which rip off the buying public."

Moreoever, continues Luce, "unethical practices in the professions are becoming common. Honorable members of the Bar are today appalled at the increase of shysterism in the practice of law. A recent Congressional investigation of medical practices turned up the fact that American doctors, greedy for Medicare fees, are annually performing thousands of unnecessary operations. They are dishonoring their Hippocratic oath by inflicting unnecessary pain on helpless and trusting patients for profit."

Mrs. Luce refers also to politics, "riddled with graft, kickbacks, payoffs, bribes, and under-the-table deals," and to "the staggering increase in the crime rate, especially in the rate of violent—and often utterly senseless—crime among American youth." Both crime and "the impotence of our courts" to cope with it, she says, are signs of "significant . . . moral decay."

As Mrs. Luce knows, of 100,000 felony arrests made in New York City each year, 97,000 cases are either dismissed, diverted for noncriminal disposition, or disposed of through plea bargaining. Most defendants arrested for serious crimes—including murder—go free. The criminal who *is* sentenced is generally back on the streets in a short time. Mrs. Luce observes: "A society indifferent to the pervasiveness of crime, or too weak or terrified to bring it under control, is a society in the process of moral disintegration."

Russian novelist and social critic Alexander Solzhenitsyn sees America's crisis as a failure of courage. Addressing Harvard University's graduating class in June, 1978, Solzhenitsyn declared: "A decline in courage may be the most striking feature an outsider notices in the West. . . . Such a decline in courage is particularly notable among the ruling groups and intellectual elite, causing an impression of the loss of courage by the entire society. . . . Should one point out that from most ancient times a decline in courage has been considered the beginning of the end?"

America is suffering from moral and spiritual bankruptcy, even as Rome suffered from its decadence. Those who contend that progress—both moral and material—is inevitable, and who smugly assert that "we are not in moral decline, but merely in a period of transition," themselves demonstrate the loss of essential distinctions. □

Haven Bradford Gow is a staff writer for International Life Times, *a Chicago-based newspaper that deals with current moral and ethical issues.*

Religious Lobbies

Continued from page 5

The National Christian Action Coalition is a small group espousing the same goals as MM and CV. Its director is William Billings, son of MM's Bob Billings. Its primary thrust is the defense of church-related schools.

Catholics for Christian Political Action (CCPA) gives conservative Catholics an outlet for their political energies. CCPA is primarily concerned with family and moral issues, but occasionally takes positions on other domestic and foreign matters. Less conservative than its New Right Protestant allies, it fully supports papal social encyclicals on justice and peace. Says its articulate director, Gary Potter, "I don't like the label 'conservative' because I think a lot of conservatives lack spiritual vision, and they really represent the Right Wing of liberalism."

Religious Roundtable (now usually called Roundtable), founded by Ed McAteer, of Memphis, "coordinates pro-family causes." It activates conservative Christians on abortion, school prayer, defense of church schools, and the rebuilding of a U.S. defense posture.

Library Court (LC) may be the brain center of the New Right. A gathering in of intellectual conservative Christians, it meets biweekly near the Library of Congress. The chairperson is the brainy Catholic Connie Marshner, director of the Family Policy Division of the Free Congress Foundation. LC works for profamily and proprivate-school legislation.

The Christian Embassy, associated with Bill Bright's Campus Crusade for Christ, hit town about 1976. It purchased a lavish mansion and promised to work ceaselessly for a Christian government. It has recently curtailed its activities, sold the mansion, and moved to a smaller office in Arlington. Its profile and influence are much lower than five years ago.

There is a close connection between the Christian Right and their secular counterparts (American Conservative Union, Conservative Caucus, American Legislative Exchange Council, Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress, et cetera). Christian Voice's legislative director, Gary Jarmin, was once a staff member of the American Conservative Union. Many leaders of the New Right are active members of conservative Protestant churches and of the conservative wing of Roman Catholicism—or even Judaism, in the case of Howard Phillips, of the Conservative Caucus. Paul Weyrich, of the Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress, is an Eastern-rite Catholic, as are the Baroodys, of the American Enterprise Institute. Richard Viguerie, the dynamic fund-raiser for many, if not most, conservative causes, is a Catholic who sends his children to evangelical schools, presumably because Catholic schools have become too liberal in doctrine and discipline.

How well do they work?

How effective are the religious lobbies, in the eyes of the members of Congress? According to congressional staff aids, the religious lobbies are listened to respectfully, but not supinely. Members of Congress do not regard them as particularly powerful or effective. Congressmen read the polls and surveys. They know that there are wide differences of viewpoint on all political and moral issues within each denominational family. Despite well-publicized "victories" of New Right Christian lobbies in 1978 and 1980, most Congressmen show little fear that religious interest groups can single-handedly alienate their constituents.

Most Congressmen, though holding religious affiliations, do not want to give the impression of partiality or favoritism toward their respective faith group. They feel acutely sensitive about church-state collusion, seeing it as a tangled thicket full of traps.

The Christian Right has celebrated few victories other than appointment of Rightists at the Department of Health and Human Services, and has done some visible lobbying on family-morality issues in Congress. The New Right is seeking to remove from the jurisdiction of the U.S. Supreme Court some twenty-two kinds of potential litigation, including prayer and Bible reading in public schools.

Some observers believe that the Christian Right's major impact could come in the areas of television programming, book publishing, and textbook selection. Already, national groups of librarians and publishers are up in arms at perceived threats to freedom of information.

The Reagan White House has not encouraged New Right excesses. It has concentrated on economic, rather than on social or cultural, policy. The President's top appointments have been moderates. White House politicos believe that President Reagan won a mandate from *all* segments of the electorate, not just from evangelical Christians. He won majorities among all religious groups except Jews, and his Jewish vote of 40 percent was the highest for a Republican in fifty-six years. He won 40 percent of the voters who have no religious affiliation. The President is not about to antagonize the *real* majority for the sake of a strident minority.

But he is not willing to ignore them either, for his concerns are theirs on many issues. One White House staffer, Morton Blackwell, a conservative Episcopalian, is serving on a newly formed Council for National Policy, based in Dallas and set up by prominent New Rightists. (Blackwell's membership was revealed by writers at Group Research Report, an AFL-CIO think tank that monitors Rightist activities.)

The Christian Right, which now seems to be led by the Moral Majority, will be around for a long time; the issues that have galvanized it are complex. This new political movement, which has given millions of politically dormant and inactive Christians a place to direct their energies, may outlive several administrations.

Not all evangelicals, though, see salvation through politics as a desirable goal. Robert Webber, a theology professor at Wheaton College (the "evangelical Harvard"), warns in his book *The Moral Majority: Right or Wrong?* "What the Moral Majority is calling for, perhaps unknowingly, is a restoration of civil religion, . . . which may be defined as the state's use of religion for its own political ends." Webber also questions whether public morality is enough, saying, "The establishment of morals derives from inner conviction and obedience rather than a mere outward conformity. Consequently, Falwell's alternative to the current moral decadence of America is more consistent with the morality of civil religion than the morality of the Christian faith."

The Lutheran scholar Erlings Jorstad, a professor at St. Olaf College in Northfield, Minnesota, suggests that the New Right is changing politics in a fundamental way. In his book *The Politics of Moralism* he says: "Morality can be defined as the rightness or wrongness of human actions. . . . Moralism means something else. It is not morality because it assumes the validity of one judgmental answer to every moral question."

The politics of moralism poses real dangers to the survival of democracy, Jorstad believes, because "the politics and its resulting backlash have convinced voters that traditional means for changing public policy are no longer adequate."

The voice of the New Right will be heard loud and clear throughout the coming decade, which Jerry Falwell has called "the decade of destiny." Its lobbies are challenging the legitimacy and effectiveness of the old-line lobbies. Should they triumph during the coming decade, the result may be a different America. Our culture could be reshaped and the electoral map redrawn. □

A Directory of 51 Washington Religious Lobbies

All addresses and phone numbers are for Washington, D.C. (area code 202), unless otherwise noted.

American Baptist Churches. *110 Maryland Ave., NE. 544-3400.*

American Ethical Union. *5025 Garfield St., NW. 363-6244.*

American Israel Public Affairs Committee. *444 North Capitol St., NE. 638-2256.*

American Jewish Committee. *818 18th St., NW. 298-8787.*

American Jewish Congress. *1522 K St., NW. 638-3999.*

Americans United for Separation of Church and State. *8120 Fenton St., Silver Spring, Md. (301) 589-3707.*

Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs. *200 Maryland Ave., NE. 544-4226.*

B'nai B'rith, Office of Public Affairs. *1640 Rhode Island Ave., NW. 857-6545.*

Catholics for a Free Choice. *1411 K St., NW. 638-1704.*

Catholics for Christian Political Action. *National Press Building. 347-0095.*

Christian Action Council. *National Press Building. 638-5441.*

Christian Church, Disciples of Christ. *Maintains its office at 222 South Downey Ave., Indianapolis, Ind. 46206 (317) 353-1491.*

Christian Embassy. *2009 14th St., Arlington, Va. (703) 525-1770.*

Christian Science Committee on Publication. *910 16th St., NW. 833-3848.*

Christian Voice. *418 C St., NE. 544-5202.*

Church of the Brethren Washington Office. *110 Maryland Ave., NE. 546-3202.*

Church Women United. *7720 Alaska Ave., NW. 291-3653.*

Citizens for Educational Freedom. *854 Washington Building. 638-6423.*

Friends Committee on National Legislation. *245 2d Ave., NE. 547-6000.*

IMPACT. *110 Maryland Ave., NE. 544-8636.*

Jesuit Social Ministry Office. *1717 Massachusetts Ave., NW. 462-7008.*

Library Court. *4 Library Ct., SE.*

Lutheran Council in the U.S.A., Office of Governmental Affairs. *475 L'Enfant Plaza West, SW. 484-3950.*

Maryknoll Fathers and Brothers. *1325 Otis St., NE. 526-4560.*

Mennonite Central Committee. *100 Maryland Ave., NE. 544-6564.*

Moral Majority. *499 South Capitol St., SE. 484-7511.*

National Association of Evangelicals, Office of Public Affairs. *1430 K St., NW. 628-7911.*

National Christian Action Coalition. *418 C. St., NE. 544-3541.*

National Committee for Human Life Amendment, Inc. *1707 L St., NW. 785-8061.*

National Conference of Christians and Jews, National Office. *Southern Building. 737-5353.*

National Council of Churches. *110 Maryland Avenue, NE. 544-2350.*

National Interreligious Service Board for Conscientious Objectors. *15th and New York Ave., NW. 393-4868.*

Network. *806 Rhode Island Ave., NE. 526-4070.*

Reformed Church in America. *1707 Columbia Rd. 265-2580.*

Religious Coalition for Abortion Rights. *100 Maryland Ave., NE. 543-7032.*

Religious Roundtable. *1500 Wilson Blvd., Arlington, Va. (703) 527-3795.*

Seventh-day Adventist Church, Office of Public Affairs. *6840 Eastern Ave., NW. 722-6680.*

Synagogue Council of America. *1640 Rhode Island Ave., NW. 872-1337.*

Union of American Hebrew Congregations. *1640 Rhode Island Ave., NW. 232-4342.*

Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America. *600 New Hampshire Ave., NW. 965-4308.*

Unitarian Universalist Association Office for Social Concern. *100 Maryland Ave., NE. 547-0254.*

United Church of Christ Office for Church in Society. *110 Maryland Ave., NE. 543-1517.*

United Methodist Board of Church and Society. *100 Maryland Ave., NE. 488-5600.*

United Methodist Church Woman's Division. *110 Maryland Ave., NE. 488-5661.*

United Presbyterian Washington Office. *110 Maryland Ave., NE. 543-1126.*

United States Catholic Conference, Office of Government Liaison. *1312 Massachusetts Ave., NW. 659-6606.*

Universal Fellowship of Metropolitan Community Churches. *110 Maryland Ave., NE. 543-2260.*

Washington Interreligious Staff Council. *No office. Meets twice monthly in Methodist building.*

Washington Office of the Episcopal Church. *110 Maryland Ave., NE. 547-9306.*

Washington Office on Africa. *110 Maryland Ave., NE. 546-7961.*

Washington Office on Latin America. *110 Maryland Ave., NE. 544-8045.*

AN EXPENSIVE DREAM

BY VIRGINIA M. LaCRONE

Little did the Pilgrims know the real cost of their quest for freedom in the New World.

When the Pilgrims landed in the New World in 1620, they were poor and homeless. Textbooks tell of the hunger, cold, discouragement, sickness, and death these courageous people faced. But few reveal that the Pilgrims also owed a large debt to a group of investors in London—a debt that required twenty-three years to pay.

When the Pilgrims, or Separatists, found both England and Holland inhospitable to their religious convictions, they began to think of moving to the New World, about which they had heard favorable reports. But their dream showed more idealism than realism. The New World was more than three thousand miles across the ocean, and the Pilgrims had no money, no transportation, and no supplies. Some members had sold their homes, but the capital raised was insufficient to support a venture to the New World.

When the Pilgrims' hopes became known, the Dutch New Netherlands Company offered them free transportation, stock, and supplies—if they would settle in Dutch America. The Pilgrims had nearly decided to accept this offer when Thomas Weston, an English hardware dealer, came to talk with them.

Weston was well-known to the congregation, having helped them with earlier negotiations in London. He said that he and London friends would raise the capital they needed, but that the congregation should draw up articles of agreement—not so much for him, of course, as for his friends. The Pilgrims were happy about the new offer because they preferred to reach the New World under the name of their mother country.

The agreement stated that the Pilgrims would provide the labor for the expedition and the London investors would provide financial backing. The Pilgrims agreed to work four days a week for the company over a seven-year period. The Pilgrims and the London Company were to be partners in business, with both capital and profit belonging to joint stock. At the end of the seven years, the stock company would be dissolved; each group would take half profit, and the settlers would keep the land and homes in America.

Weston returned to London and formed a joint company of seventy investors, who put up £7,000. Either Weston changed his mind about the original agreement or his colleagues persuaded him to change it. In any case, the London Company's version of the agreement was not what the Pilgrims had originally signed. Under the new version, the settlers retained no ownership of land they improved or homes they built in the New World. All was to be divided equally between settlers and investors at the end of the seven years. The investors also required the Pilgrims to work six days for the company interest, instead of four.

Black clouds moved across the settlers' blue-skied dream. They argued with the London Company for individual ownership of property and four days' labor per week, but were refused; the investors threatened to abandon the enterprise if the joint-stock arrangement was not accepted.

It was a rotten bargain, and the Pilgrims knew it. But they still wanted to sail under the English flag. They signed the agreement.

When the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth Plantation, they faced sickness, hunger, death, a cold winter, and management of a land they knew nothing about. To add to their woes, Weston and his company continued to exploit them. A year after their arrival in the New World, Weston sent, instead of help, thirty-five people without food or supplies, expecting the struggling Pilgrims to feed and clothe them. With the group Weston also sent a letter reprimanding the Pilgrims. He urged them to sign a contract they had refused earlier, to give an exact account of the money they expended, and to send a shipload of New World products back to London.

The new contract practically bound the Pilgrims to seven years' slavery to the London investors, and it carried the threat that the company would take over more of the Plymouth Plantation if the Pilgrims refused to sign.

Reluctantly the Pilgrims signed the contract, gave the accounts, and sent a ship loaded with animal pelts and clapboard, valued at almost half their debt. But in vain. French privateers overtook the *Fortune*, stole the cargo, and thus erased the Pilgrims' first effort to reduce their debt to Weston and his associates.

When William Bradford became governor of the Plantation in 1621, he was troubled by the colonists' apathy. Their setbacks seemed to have robbed them of incentive and ambition. Bradford decided to abandon the communal plan of working for the common stock and give each family its own plot of ground. To Bradford's delight the spirit and industriousness of the colonists soon revived.

But Weston wasn't happy with the experiment. He reprimanded the governor for abandoning the communal plan before the end of the seven-year period. And he continued to exploit the settlers by sending fishing crews for them to feed and house free of charge. To the Pilgrim's relief, Weston finally quit the London Company, selling out his share of the Plymouth Plantation to the other investors.

At the end of the seven-year agreement, the Pilgrims bought out the London Company, leaving the settlers with a £2,400 debt. Not until 1643 did the Pilgrims free themselves of the debt they had assumed to sail to the New World. It had taken twenty-three years and had cost them 45 percent interest. Freedom of worship hadn't come cheap. □

Virginia M. LaCrone is a high school English teacher in Grand Junction, Colorado.

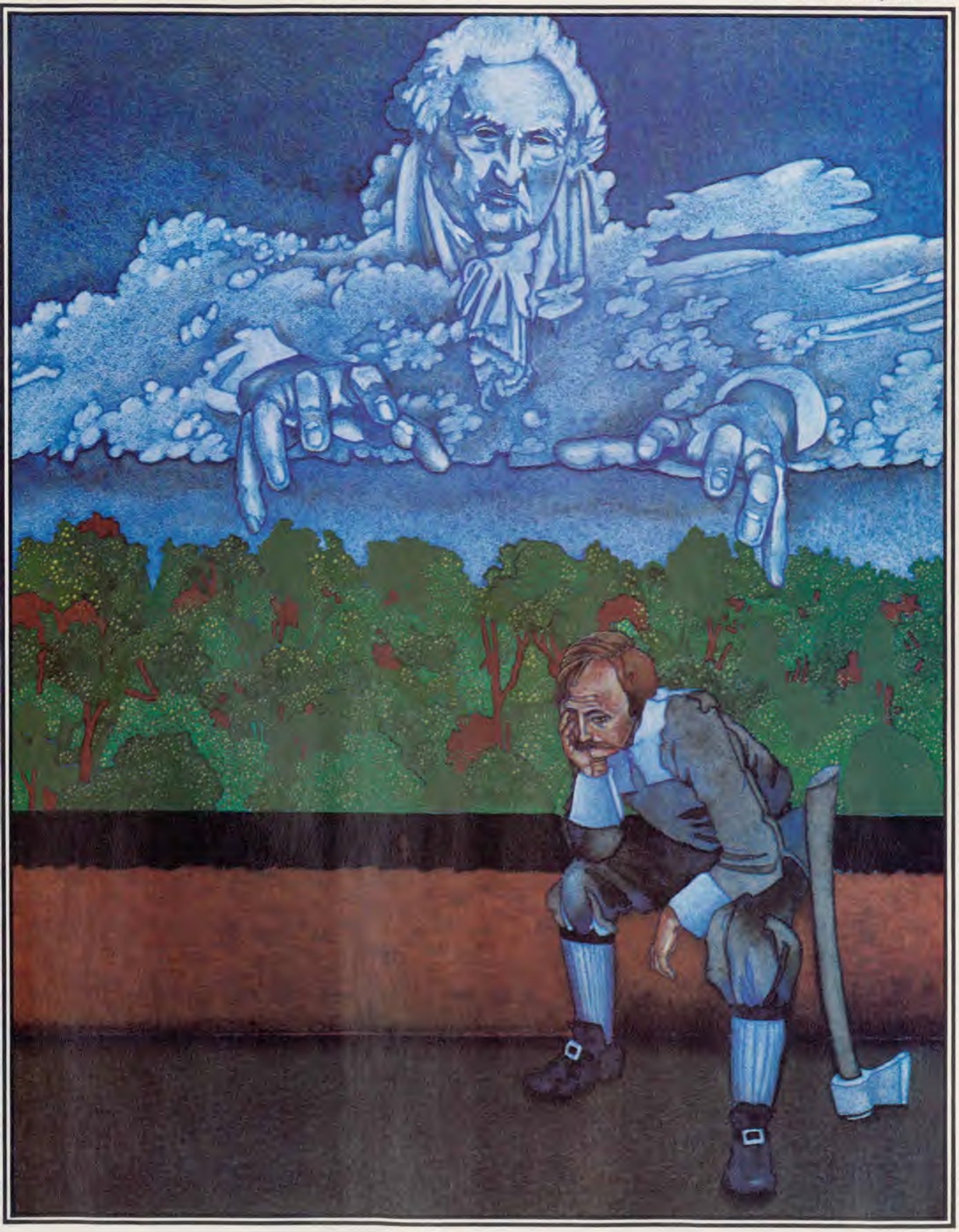


ILLUSTRATION BY BOBBI TULL

ILLUSTRATION BY MARSHA LEDERMAN

A World to Begin Again

By Franklin Folsom

This was the hope of America's first Jews, who came in search of religious freedom and remained to spark a new nation's commerce.

"Depart this town in fourteen days or give security!"

Abijah Adams, on the instructions of the selectmen of Boston, gave this order in the spring of 1762 to a visiting businessman from New York who had taken lodging in Fog Lane. The visitor was Isaac Moses, in no way different from other New York merchants—except that he was a Jew. Puritan Bostonians—and New Englanders generally—although deeply influenced by the Hebraic traditions of the Old Testament, were not usually hospitable to Jews when they appeared in the flesh.

It is not known whether Isaac Moses departed or put up the money for a good-conduct guarantee and stayed as long as his business required. There is a story, though, that a dozen years later he repaid Boston's hostility in a remarkable way. The Revolution had begun and Bostonians were in need of food. Moses, by then a prosperous shipowner, financed a cargo of corn to be delivered from Virginia to John Hancock and Samuel Adams. Isaac Moses warmly supported the Revolution, as did most of the less than three thousand Jews who lived in the thirteen colonies in 1775.

The very first Jews to reach what is now the United States came as individuals and may not have stayed long. They were traders. The first permanent group of Jewish settlers landed in 1654 in New Amsterdam—now New York. They were refugees. Dutch officials in that little trading village did not welcome them, and they would not have been able to stay but for the determination of one man who had a special talent for standing up for his rights. His full name was

Asser Levy Van Swellem, but he was generally known simply as Asser Levy. He may have been the son of a *shohet*—a ritual butcher—in Amsterdam. Certainly he had achieved full citizenship in Amsterdam, or as the Dutch said, he had obtained what they called burgher rights.

Doubtless seeking to improve his lot, Asser Levy had left Holland and settled first in the Dutch-controlled port of Recife in Brazil. Before he had been there very long, the Portuguese took over the colony, and with the new rulers came the Inquisition. A hunt for heretics was on. By church definition there were many of these to be dealt with in Recife because the town had become a haven for former Marranos. A Marrano was a Spanish or Portuguese Jew who, in order to survive, had converted to Catholicism. But many converts remained secretly loyal to Judaism, and this loyalty contiued in Marrano families for generations. A number of them had left Spain and Portugal to settle among the tolerant Dutch in Recife. Once there, they joyfully shed their Christianity and resumed the open practice of the Jewish faith. Now, under Portuguese rule, it was as apostate Christians that they were heretics in the eyes of the church. To survive they had to flee. Indeed, all Jews, whether or not they had been Marranos, left Recife. Twenty-three of them, led by Asser Levy, finally reached New Amsterdam, along with a number of Dutch Protestants.

Mishaps along the way had left the Jews without enough funds among them to buy passage for the last leg of the journey. They gave the ship's captain their IOUs, and Asser Levy arranged to have his fare paid by another passenger, Rachel Nunes. For some reason she did not keep the bargain. Within a week after he had set foot in New Amsterdam, Asser Levy went to court and sued her.

The court looked on Levy's arguments as sound, although no official in New Amsterdam looked with favor on anything else about the newly arrived immigrants. Governor Peter Stuyvesant wanted to expel them. So did the sheriff (he was called the "shout"). So did the Dutch Reformed minister, John Megapolensis. But Asser Levy could count on help from across the sea. Jews had more rights in Holland at that time than anywhere else in the world. Moreover, they were important investors in the Dutch East India Company, which had financed New Amsterdam in the first place. Soon a sailing vessel carried an appeal from Levy to stockholders in the Company, and the Company promptly sent a reprimand back across the Atlantic. Peter Stuyvesant was not to persecute the Jews.

He continued to do so, however. When he received orders to attack the nearby Swedish colony on the Delaware River, Stuyvesant called for soldiers, and at the same time he told the Jews they could not serve, but would have to pay a special tax instead.

Asser Levy refused to pay. He had as much right as a Christian had, he insisted, to stand watch and ward—to take part in military service. And he won.

Levy's battle continued. He applied for—and was finally granted—the right to be a butcher and at the same time to be excused, because of his religion, from butchering hogs. Against Stuyvesant's resistance, he applied for and won the right to trade in Fort Orange, now Albany, and he became a property owner both there and in New Amsterdam. Again, over strong objections, he made history in another way by obtaining burgher rights. He was the first Jew to become a full citizen of any colony in North America.

No man seems to have gone to court more often in New Amsterdam than Asser Levy, but almost no one seems to have brought cases against him. He was by nature a plaintiff, not a defendant. No one ever accused him of any kind of skulduggery. He simply had a keen sense of right and wrong, along with courage and persistence. Levy's Christian neighbors did not reject him because of his feisty litigious nature. Rather, they respected him and joined him in business ventures. They even borrowed money from him with which to build a Lutheran church—a church, be it noted, which Peter Stuyvesant had opposed.

Around Asser Levy grew up the first Jewish congregation in North America—Shearith Israel (Remnant of Israel)—a congregation that rented a room for a synagogue in 1682 and that still exists, in other quarters, in New York City. A century later another Asser Levy, who seems to have been his descendant, served as an officer in the Continental Army during the American Revolution.

In 1656, two years after Asser Levy landed in New Amsterdam, a physician named Jacob Lumbrozo set out from Portugal for the New World. Perhaps because he had always lived as a Marrano among Catholics and knew their ways, he settled in Maryland, the one English colony where Catholics were in control. Actually, the ruling Catholics were a minority. To protect their own rights they had granted religious freedom to people of other Christian denominations who made up the majority, but they offered no guarantee of tolerance to Jews. Nevertheless, Dr. Lumbrozo settled in Annapolis, openly declared himself a Jew, and remarried according to the rites of his faith.

All went well with Lumbrozo for a while. He prospered and was involved in only a few scrapes of the kind that lusty men of any faith can get into. Then, in his second year in Maryland, came real trouble. He ran afoul of the law against blasphemy. Led on by a certain John Hossett, Lumbrozo engaged in theological discussion. He clearly stated his position as a Jew, and Hossett had him haled into court, accused of blasphemy. In court, Lumbrozo affirmed his adherence to the Jewish faith, but insisted he "sayd not anything scoffingly or in derogation of him, Christians acknowledge for their Messias." Notwithstanding, the court ordered that Lumbrozo remain in the sheriff's custody. He was, however, never brought to trial, perhaps because he was a man of property, well liked in the community. At any rate, Dr. Lumbrozo, unrepentant, lived on in Annapolis as free as a Jew could be under the circumstances. And his life provided one of many thrusts that colonial Jews made in their effort to be allowed to be themselves.

Dr. Samuel Nunes, another refugee Jewish physician, also from Portugal, arrived in the colony of Georgia in 1733. In a curious roundabout way, he became part of an act of defiance against English anti-Semites. At that time the trustees of the British company that concerned itself with sending settlers to Georgia were trying to raise money to finance the project. For help they turned to three wealthy London Jews who, armed with credentials, set about collecting funds. But much to the discomfiture of the trustees, they also recruited impoverished Jews as settlers. The trustees demurred. They had never intended to plant Jews among the people they were sending to colonize Georgia.

For their part, the Jewish fund-raisers saw no reason to turn over the money to bigots. Instead, they used it to help finance a shipload of their own settlers, among them Dr. Nunes. The vessel left secretly, and Georgia's governor, James Edward Oglethorpe, received the immigrants it brought with a good deal less hostility than the trustees recommended. In part, this may have been because the ship arrived in Savannah just when a contagious disease had killed twenty of the town's 247 inhabitants. Dr. Nunes immediately put his medical expertise to work. Exactly what he did is not recalled, but Governor Oglethorpe reported that deaths from the epidemic stopped as soon as the doctor began ministering to the sick.

Gradually more Jews entered Savannah and other ports and took up residence in other urban centers. Many—though by no means all—engaged in commerce, a calling

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into which they had gravitated for very good reasons. For generations in many parts of Europe, Jews had been forbidden to farm. They were also excluded from most of the trades, such as candlemaking and baking, which served the Christian communities. They were, however, allowed to buy and sell merchandise, and many successful Jewish merchants grew wealthy. In that same period the Catholic Church had ordered its adherents not to lend money at interest. Since there were no such religious restrictions upon Jews, some used their wealth in banking and finance.

An unforeseen development increased the commercial clout of Jews when persecution in many places forced them to leave their homes. A man in country A might find he had relatives or friends in countries B, C, and D. It was easy for all these people who knew and trusted each other and had a common language to transact wholesale business across national borders—easier in many ways than it was for Christians whose relatives and friends all lived in the same country because they had not been driven into exile.

Thus in America many Jews became merchants who developed wholesale trade on the international seaways. Their activities differed in no way from those of the more numerous Purtian merchants—including the trafficking in slaves. Jews also turned to the expanding western frontier. Among those who engaged in fur trading and land speculation were the brothers Barnard and Michael Gratz. They operated from Pennsylvania and played an important role in introducing capitalism into the Indian lands in the Ohio Valley. Another merchant named Gomez built near Newburgh, New York, a big stone trading post, which still stands.

Some less-known Jews traveled among the Indians as retailers, carrying their wares in packs on their backs and exchanging them for furs. One of these—a man whose name will never be known—happened to lose a precious religious object in an Indian settlement near the present site of Pittsfield, Massachusetts. This object, a little case containing Bible verses in Hebrew—a phylactery—lay in the ground for an unknown number of years. Then one day it was dug up, and it sent the credulous into a spasm of conjecture that Indians were really the lost tribes of Israel. (The notion still pops up now and then, in spite of what modern archeologists say to the contrary.)

Up and down the frontier, Jews—always a small minority—probed westward, seeking new markets and new lands. In South Carolina one settler who followed the first wave of pioneers was Francis Salvador, the urbane descendant of one of the influential Jews who had defied the trustees of Georgia by helping his coreligionists to settle there. Late in 1773, Salvador became a planter on a large tract of South Carolina which his family had obtained.

As tensions developed between the colonies and England, Salvador cast his lot with the colonies. He had, after all, grown up in England, and he knew very well some of the restrictive practices of the government. Jews—even rich ones—had less reason to be loyal to the Crown than had rich Englishmen.

Salvador made his rebellious sentiments known, and his Christian neighbors, whose confidence he had won, responded in a way that made history. In 1775 they elected him to represent them in the South Carolina Provincial Congress, which was beginning to lay the basis for a breakaway from England. With this election, Francis Salvador became the first Jew in the modern world to hold an important elective office. He served to the liking of his constituents, and they reelected him to the second Provincial Congress.

It happened that in 1776 South Carolina was the scene of two separate wars for independence. One was the colonists' revolution against Britain; the other, the Cherokee Indians' fight to drive back the colonists who had appropriated their lands. Francis Salvador involved himself in both conflicts. On August 1—and before the yearned-for news of the Declaration of Independence had reached his part of South Carolina—Francis Salvador died, shot through the chest by a Cherokee bullet.

Among those actively involved in the struggle for freedom was Isaac Franks, a member of a very prominent Jewish family. He volunteered at 17 and fought at the Battle of Long Island under George Washington. Later he was captured, but after three months' imprisonment he escaped and resumed military service.

Another patriot, Haym Salomon, had experienced oppression in his native Poland. He may even have been in a prison as a rebel. Later he traveled widely in Europe, where he learned several languages. Then, on the eve of the Revolution, he came to New York. When the break with England took place, he sided with the colonists, and the English officials who occupied New York saw him for the dangerous insurrectionist he was. They jailed him as a spy, but instead of meting out dire punishment, they put him to work as an interpreter. In that capacity, Haym Salomon helped war prisoners to escape and unhappy Hessian soldiers to desert. Finally, he himself slipped out of New York and went to Philadelphia, which was in American hands. There he soon became a successful broker and before long rendered valuable aid to Robert Morris, who was trying to finance the Revolution.

Time and again Salomon lent or gave large sums of money to the Patriot cause, and in this he was not alone among Jews. Several of them also joined Christian shipowners in a daring practice called privateering. The Americans had almost no navy. In order to thwart the large British navy and merchant marine, the Continental Congress encouraged American shipowners to arm their vessels and to harass British shipping. These privately owned vessels of war—these privateers—did immense damage to the British, capturing altogether about six hundred ships with their crews and cargoes.

Among the owners of the privateers was Isaac Moses—the same man who in 1762 had been ordered to leave Boston because he was a Jew. Moses not only sent out his own ships, he also helped to finance privateers owned by others, and in this strangely specialized way he worked for independence.

Moses also served his religion. He was president of the New York synagogue in 1775. Then when he and most of the congregation fled to Philadelphia, he helped to form a synagogue there and became its first president. He may also have had some role in persuading New York to include in its 1777 constitution a guarantee of full religious liberty for Jews. But such guarantees were not universal in the newly independent states.

One of the patriot Jews in Georgia, Mordecai Sheftall, knew very well that the problems of his people were not automatically solved, even when the Revolutionary War ended in victory. Sheftall, both a soldier and a political leader, wrote when he heard the war ended: "An entire new scene will open itself and we have the world to begin again."

This mood of hope, of excitement at having "the world to begin again," was widespread among Jews who had found that life held more promise for them in America than it had in Europe. Certainly they shared the jubilation that swept through the great crowd gathered in New York on April 30, 1789, to witness the inauguration of George Washington as President of the new country. An invited guest at the ceremony, along with a dozen or so Christian ministers, was Gershom Mendez Seixas, cantor of the New York synagogue. When a shout of joy came from the throng after Washington had taken the oath of office, Seixas may well have joined in, uttering an old Hebrew toast as simple as it was full of meaning for the day: *"L'chaim!"* which in English means, "To life!" □

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Liberty & Law

University Worship Services

Cornerstone, a registered organization of evangelical Christian students at the University of Missouri at Kansas City, may use university facilities for religious meetings, according to the Supreme Court of the United States.

Writing for the 8-to-1 majority, Justice Powell said that the university had created a forum for student groups when it established a policy of accommodating the meetings of a wide spectrum of groups. "Having done so," he wrote, "the University has assumed an obligation to justify its discriminations and exclusions under applicable constitutional norms. . . . Here the University of Missouri has discriminated against student groups and speakers based on their desire to use a generally open forum to engage in religious worship and discussion. These are forms of speech and association protected by the First Amendment."

The Court rejected the university's argument that permitting campus religious services violates the Establishment Clause of the First Amendment: "We agree that the interest of the University in complying with its constitutional obligations may be characterized as compelling. It does not follow, however, that an 'equal access' policy would be incompatible with this Court's Establishment Clause cases."

The Court said that "an open-forum policy, including nondiscrimination against religious speech, would have a secular purpose and would avoid entanglement with religion" and that the primary effect of such a policy would be an incidental benefit of, not an advancement of, religion.

Added the Court: "If the Establishment Clause barred the extension of general benefits to religious groups, 'a church could not be protected by the police and fire departments, or have its public sidewalk kept in repair.' "

In footnotes, the Court noted that university students as young adults are less impressionable than younger students and should be able to appreciate the university's policy of neutrality toward religion. The Court differentiated this case from those "in which religious groups claim that the denial of facilities *not* available to other groups deprives them of their rights under the Free Exercise Clause."

As for the state's argument that it was trying to achieve greater church-state separation than ensured by the federal Constitution, the Court said that that interest "is limited by the Free Exercise Clause and in this case by the Free Speech Clause as well. In this constitutional context, we are unable to recognize the State's interest as sufficiently 'compelling' to justify content-based discrimination against respondents' religious speech."

In a concurring opinion, Justice Stevens said he thought the majority's "use of the terms 'compelling state interest' and 'public forum' . . . may needlessly undermine the academic freedom of public universities." He said universities "must routinely make decisions concerning the use of the time and space that is available for extracurricular activities. In my judgment, it is both necessary and appropriate for those decisions to evaluate the content of a proposed student activity." However, he said that in this case the university had no valid reason for refusing to allow Cornerstone to meet on campus.

Dissenting, Justice White agreed that a "State university may permit its property to be used for purely religious services without violating the First and Fourteenth Amendments. . . . The Establishment Clause, however, sets limits only on what the State may do with respect to religious organizations; it does not establish what the State is *required* to do." Characterizing the issue as free speech or free exercise and not establishment, Justice White said the state had the permissible goal of "maintaining a definitive separation between church and state." Since Cornerstone had alternative worship facilities " 'about a block and a half' from campus," Justice White believed that the State interest was sufficiently strong to justify the imposition of the minimal burden on the organization's ability to freely exercise its religious beliefs. Case: *Widmar v. Vincent,* decided Dec. 8, 1981.

Religion at the Court

Scores of petitioners will ask the Supreme Court to review other court decisions involving religion during the Court's current term.

In addition to *Widmar v. Vincent,* above, the Court has done the following:

- Heard arguments in *U.S. v. Lee.* The federal District Court for Western Pennsylvania held that an Old Order Amish employer is relieved from paying his share of unemployment compensation and social-security taxes and from withholding social-security taxes from Amish employees, since imposition of those taxes would infringe the employer's free exercise of religion.
- Struck down the Third Circuit Court of Appeals ruling in *Valley Forge Christian College v. Americans United,* which held that citizens/taxpayers alleging injury to their First Amendment right to separation of church and state have standing to challenge government's transfer of surplus property to a sectarian college.
- Noted probable jurisdiction in *Larson v. Valente.* The Eighth Circuit held in violation of the Establishment Clause a Minnesota law exempting from registration and reporting requirements religious organizations receiving more than half their contributions from members.
- Agreed to review a decision of the federal District Court for Central California that the Federal Unemployment Tax Act covers employees of parochial schools that are separately incorporated, without violating the Free Exercise Clause, but that the decision does violate the Establishment Clause. Cases: *Grace Brethren Church v. California* and *U.S. v. Grace Brethren Church.*
- Dismissed an appeal in *Marsa v. Wernick,* in which the Supreme Court of New Jersey held that beginning city-council meetings with prayer or silent meditation does not violate the Establishment Clause.
- Agreed to review two controversial decisions that pervasively sectarian schools and colleges with racially discriminatory policies do not qualify for tax-exempt status under the Internal Revenue Code. Cases: *Bob Jones University v. U.S.* and *Goldsboro Christian Schools v. U.S.*

The Court also has denied petitions for writ of certiorari in cases in which lower courts have held the following:

- A school board's refusal to permit high school students to conduct prayer meetings before school does not violate their First Amendment rights to freedom of religion, speech, and association. Case: *Brandon v. Board of Education of Guilderland School District.*
- Display of nativity scene/menorah at state capitol, invocation at city council meetings, and prayer at court of appeals do not violate the Establishment Clause. Cases: *O'Hair v. Cooke* and *O'Hair v. Clement.*
- The religious accommodation requirement of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 does not violate the Establishment Clause. Cases: *A. O. Smith v. Nottelson, Smith Steelworkers v. Nottelson,* and *United Steelworkers of America v. Tooley.*
- A home not used primarily for religious purposes is not entitled to real-property tax exemption. Case: *Basic Bible Church of America v. County of Hennepin.*

Compiled by Robert W. Nixon, a Washington, D.C., lawyer and legal advisor for LIBERTY *Magazine.*

International

Parents Win in Sex Education Dispute

LOUISVILLE, Kentucky—Compulsory sex education will be dropped in Jefferson County public schools following settlement of a lawsuit by parents who objected on religious grounds.

Under the agreement to settle the dispute, sex education will still be taught as a part of a required course on health in public schools, according to attorneys in the case. But students whose parents are offended by the subject will be permitted to study another aspect of health while the remainder of their class studies sexuality.

The case was filed last year after Earl and Frances Frederick pulled their teen-aged sons from a ninth-grade health class at Jeffersontown Junior High School. Ninth-graders are required to take health, and sex education was a required part of the health course.

Christian Yellow Pages Ordered to Cease Discrimination

LOS ANGELES—The national director of the Christian Yellow Pages (CYP), a telephone directory that limited advertisers to "born again" Christians, has been ordered by a California State Superior Court to cease this discriminatory practice in all CYP publications nationwide.

The judgment, issued last November, came as a result of a suit brought against CYP by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

Judge James P. Natoli ordered the CYP director, W. R. Tomson, and the Family of Faith Foundation, publisher of the regionalized directories, to pay damages to two Jewish businessmen who were barred from being listed in the Orange County, California, edition. He also ordered them to stop:

- requiring advertisers to swear that they are born-again Christians as a condition of advertising in CYP.
- publishing any statement that suggests "Christians only" buying to readers of the directory, or that advertisers are only of the Christian faith.
- publishing advertisements or material that requires direct or indirect identification of an advertiser's religious belief.

The Anti-Defamation League suit was brought on grounds that CYP advertising policy violated several state laws, most notably the Unruh Civil Rights Act. That law declares that "business establishments of any kind whatsoever shall not discriminate against, boycott or blacklist, refuse to buy from, sell to, or trade with any person in this state because of race, creed, religion, color . . . of such person."

Michigan Lobby Law Ruled Unconstitutional

LANSING—Michigan's landmark 1978 Lobby Reform Act is "overbroad and cannot stand," an Ingham County circuit judge said recently in ruling the law unconstitutional.

In an eight-page ruling, Judge Robert Holmes Bell discarded the law as an encroachment on citizens' rights to free speech and equal protection under the law. The law also interferes with citizens' rights to join organizations freely, Bell said in the bluntly worded opinion.

The ruling caps years of dispute over the law, fiercely contested in the legislature when passed as part of the post-Watergate reform movement.

Under the law, anyone spending more than $1,000 a year to lobby or more than $250 on a single public official would have to register with the Department of State. They also would have to keep records that could be inspected and file semiannual reports detailing their lobbying expenses.

The law was challenged by the Committee to Protect the First Amendment Right to Lobby, a coalition of 150 organizations, including powerful special interest groups, which raised $250,000 for the legal fight.

The group argued that the law was too broad and vague, and threatened First Amendment guarantees. The coalition also protested that the law demanded expensive and time-consuming record-keeping.

Bell agreed, writing that lawmakers failed to show a "compelling articulated government interest" in regulating fundamental free speech and association rights.

Study Finds Increasing Racial and Religious Slurs on Radio

MONTEREY, California—The American Jewish Committee (AJC) has called on the radio industry to look into the "growing problem" of inflammatory racial and religious remarks on call-in programs.

Testifying before a meeting of the Radio Code of the National Association of Broadcasters, Hyman Bookbinder, AJC's Washington representative, noted that AJC has recieved complaints over the years about call-in programs, and as a result had supported a pilot study to investigate the contents of such shows.

Professor Dennis T. Lowry, of the Temple University School of Communications, conducted the study, covering three popular Philadelphia shows. The study's main finding, Bookbinder reported, was that in a two-month period the three shows contained 741 negative statements about various racial, ethnic, and religious groups, as against 86 positive statements—a ratio of 8.6 to 1.

Bookbinder added that the survey found a wide disparity among the three programs: the negative-to-positive ratio on one show was 34 to 1, while on the others it was, respectively, 5 to 1 and 2 to 1.

"While there are a number of possible contributing factors to these differences," Bookbinder pointed out, "one is clearly the role of the moderator. He [or she] can, on the one hand, know how to recognize a bigot and end the segment forthwith, or the caller can be encouraged or baited to continue his diatribe in order to make for an 'exciting' show."

Accused Killers Chant "for the Glory of God"

RNS PHOTO

CAIRO, Egypt—When the Sadat murder trial opened in Cairo last November, Lt. Khaled Ahmed Shanki-al Istambuli, accused of leading the assassins in the attack on Anwar Sadat, waved a copy of the Koran from inside an iron cage set up in the courtroom. Just as the proceedings were about to start, he and the other prisoners chanted repeatedly: "We are seeking to raise our banner for the sake of God. We sacrificed ourselves for religion. We struggled on earth and we will die on earth for the glory of God."

Letters

Punts and Prayers—The Defense

I would agree with William Fagan ("A Pass, a Punt, and a—*What?*" November-December, 1981) that prayers to win may certainly be out of place, especially in gambling. However, I think Mr. Fagan is assuming a bit much when he condemns a batter for making the sign of the cross. Is that person praying to win, to get a hit, or only to ask the Lord to keep him from harm? I, for one, would say the act of contrition before facing Goose Gossage.

I too went to a parochial school and played all types of sports. We were encouraged to pray, but not for a win. We asked that there would be no injuries to us *or* to the other team. Further, and perhaps selfishly, we prayed that each one on our team would be allowed to perform to the best of his ability.

The point is that all prayers are not said in church. When a person fingers his beads at some time and place that Mr. Fagan feels is inappropriate, are we then to assume the worst?

I hope he never sees me bow my head before a meal with my family. I'm sure he would accuse me of asking the Lord to allow me to get more food than anyone else. He may be right.

L. JOHN NOWAK, ESQ.
Lapeer, Michigan

Mr. Fagan's stupidity is exceeded only by his lack of information and knowledge.

Whether you realize it or not, prayer in the South is a very important part of the daily lives of Tennesseans and Americans. Since Mr. Fagan is from California, he probably doesn't even know what patriotism is. Having been all over this country and most of the world, I would say that the South is more patriotic than any other portion of the nation—certainly more patriotic than California. I would dare say that, although ten times as many people live in California as in Tennessee, we probably have ten times more patriotic, religious individuals.

Before Mr. Fagan writes another such misguided article, I would suggest he research the matter and then make certain his mind is engaged before his mouth begins to run.

C. JORDAN, M.D.
Cookeville, Tennessee

We enjoy placing LIBERTY on our reception room table and we have had many comments from those who read it. The November-December issue will not be placed on our reception room table. We would be embarrassed to answer any questions that might be asked regarding "A Pass, a Punt, and a—*What?*"

Several years ago I attended a San Diego State University football game. The visiting coach and players had prayer before the game. San Diego beat them by a tremendous score. After the game, we noticed that the out-of-town team were gathered in a circle, with the coach having prayer—after they had lost, and lost badly.

This article "wonders whether God was laughing—or weeping." I feel that God was doing neither. He must have been pleased. If an athlete cannot take God with him to the game, what good is God?

I have not read the rest of the magazine. Perhaps it is excellent. Even if it is, I cannot place this magazine in our reception room for others to read and condemn.

BOOTS BEALS
Grossmont Optical Company
La Mesa, California

William Fagan missed the whole point regarding the football coach in Tennessee who wanted to pray with his football team.

Having recently graduated from a Christian college in Nashville, I kept up with the story as it unfolded. The parent of a graduated football player at the high school asked the attorney general for an opinion on whether or not prayers should be allowed. The attorney general's office waited as long as possible to respond, finally announcing their decision not to allow prayers before games just before the state championship play-offs. The Oak Ridge, Tennessee, coach, whose team was in the play-offs, stated that he could not go along with the decision.

Having attended a Christian college and watched the impact Christian coaches made on sports teams in pre- and post-game prayers, I'm all for it! Had the coach prayed only to win, I would agree wholeheartedly with Mr. Fagan's assessment. Since he didn't, Mr. Fagan "doesn't have a prayer to stand on" in his criticism.

KEVIN M. ULMET
Olathe, Kansas

I want to commend you for the artwork on the cover of the November-December LIBERTY. It was unfortunate, however, that the article it accompanied was so shallow and void of understanding. It is unfortunate that coaches pray only to win, if in fact that is what some are doing. So you suppose it would be more pleasing to God for these coaches to pray to lose?

Although it is not my "religious" practice to cross myself, I am convinced that it is a much better sign to make than many that I have seen on national television at sporting events.

If the coach in Tennessee is standing on prayer, he has a deeper foundation than your shallow article.

DARRELL L. ELLIOTT
Pastor
Fall City, Washington

I played on teams that prayed and now I have two sons who do also. Is it possible to pray for things other than to win? Is it improper to seek divine protection from injury or to ask strength for right attitudes? Is it wrong to pray that God would help each player to view the opponents, not as enemies, but as partners in development of body, soul, and spirit?

I'm grieved that you would so easily dump everyone into such a narrow view of prayer as held by Mr. Fagan. I'm doubly grieved that you, who surely hold a better view of prayer, would give such narrow-mindedness the position of a lead story.

DARRELL R. BUHLER
Puyallup, Washington

I know of many players and coaches who do not pray to win, but rather to play their best. I think this is often overlooked in articles against prayer by teams and politicians.

I pray regarding most concerns of the government, as commanded in the Bible (1 Timothy 2:1, 2). But I did not pray that Reagan would win and Carter would lose. I still feel that my prayer was answered, since I also did not pray for Carter to win and Reagan to lose. I prayed that enough of God's people would be sensitive to His leading to cast their votes for the right person.

PAUL B. OSBORN
Pastor
Dodge Center, Minnesota

Mr. Fagan's article is interesting. His response echoes Lincoln's sentiments about both the North and the South praying to the same God, when they should have been seeking instead to determine whether or not they were on His side.

It seems to me to be far more interesting, however, and difficult, to ponder the issue in this context: What if, instead of praying for victory, the coach and his team pray for a good contest free of injury?

RICHARD K. MASON
Altadena, California

Fields of War and Football

Reading William Fagan's poignant article reminded me of a little-known writing by Mark Twain entitled "The War Prayer." I hope you have the opportunity to reprint it. I am sure that many God-fearing football coaches would be just as comfortable on the battlefield in war.
HOWARD K. WATKINS, ESQ.
Fresno, California

[This "War Prayer," withheld from publication until after Mark Twain's death, pictures the assembling of soldiers in a church, and the prayer of the chaplain for victory. In answer to the prayer, God sends down a white-robed messenger, who voices the unspoken meaning of the prayer.

"O Lord our God, help us to tear their soldiers to bloody shreds with our shells; help us to cover their smiling fields with the pale forms of their patriot dead; help us to drown the thunder of the guns with the wounded, writhing in pain; help us to lay waste their humble homes with a hurricane of fire; help us to wring the hearts of their unoffending widows with unavailing grief; help us to turn them out roofless with their little children to wander unfriended through wastes of their desolated land in rags and hunger and thirst, sport of the sun-flames of summer and the icy winds of winter, broken in spirit, worn with travail, imploring Thee for the refuge of the grave and denied it—for our sakes, who adore Thee, Lord, blast their hopes, blight their lives, protract their bitter pilgrimage, make heavy their steps, water their way with their tears, stain the white snow with the blood of their wounded feet! We ask of one who is the Spirit of love and who is the ever-faithful refuge and friend of all that are sore beset, and seek His aid with humble and contrite hearts. Grant our prayer, O Lord, and Thine shall be the praise and honor and glory now and ever, Amen."—From Upton Sinclair, *The Cry for Justice: An Anthology of the Social Protest Literature of All Time.*]

Liberty Gets Through

LIBERTY seems only to get better and better. You really outdid yourself with the September-October, 1981, issue, though. With as many periodicals as come across my desk in a week, there aren't many (read: any) that get read as much as they should. I hate to admit it, but it's true. LIBERTY, though, has a way of getting through to me, and I literally cannot put it down until I've read it through. Thanks for the great quote from Norman Cousins on pornography. Somehow we've got to knife through both the rigid Moral Majority rhetoric and the ACLU rhetoric to reach the core of this complex First Amendment issue. The truth must be somewhere in between. Thanks to LIBERTY for boldly addressing it without apology.
JACK A. JENNINGS
Campus Pastor
Montana State University

Nudish and Prudish

Re September-October, 1981, issue:

As a magazine LIBERTY has real class,
But that last issue didn't pass.

There's enough porno on TV,
Without having it in LIBERTY.

Now, I may be too prudish,
But that last number was too nudish.
ART CALHOUN
Smithburg, West Virginia

[What? That last number too nudish?

**But not so nudish, you must agree,
As the bathing suit of your wifey;
It leaves her knees and torso, too,
To the voyeur's vagrant view.**

**On *Liberty* a hairy arm
Covers all but lady's charm;
With sultry eyes she peeks at you—
But that is all we let her do.**

**And when you turn the page within
You find no compromising sin,
But counsel true and standards high
Are all that meet the reader's eye.—Eds.]**

Error in History

Samuel Estep's excellent article ("Every Man to His Own Taste," September-October, 1981) is much needed in these days of growing intolerance. But I must point out an error on page 9. Mr. Estep puts King James II before the Puritan Revolution; he must mean James I. James I and Charles I came before Cromwell, and Charles II and James II after Cromwell. It could only have been James I who was the author of the Declaration of Sports.

Another small caveat regarding "Religion and Secular Humanism" (Perspective, September-October, 1981): The very modern usage of the word *humanism* (lower case *h)* is unwarranted and confusing. If the American Humanist Association wants to use the word, they should capitalize it. Evangelicals should not use the word until they know a lot more than they do now.

The scholars of the Renaissance were true humanists, and most of them believed in Christianity, though they dealt with the human being and his culture. A canard has been floated around that they were pagans. Such is the very opposite of the case. The great Bible translator and scholar Erasmus did not accuse his fellow scholars of paganism, except for two individuals.

Let's start one conservative movement that is much needed: the committee to defend and preserve the English language. We can start by eliminating *secular humanism* from our vocabulary.
CHARLES D. POTTER
Takoma Park, Maryland

Do You Pray?

I so much agree that "the purpose of prayer is intimate communication between an individual and God," as J. Martin Bailey said ("Pray For—Not In—the Schools," November-December, 1981). But we differ as to how many and who must be together during prayer. Each person must be alone in prayer in all respects. Here is my stock way of stating my attitude:

If someone asks, Do you pray?
And if you do, what do you say?
Answer neither Yea nor Nay,
Turn on your heel and walk away.

RUSSELL EGGLESTON
Grand Rapids, Michigan

Perspective

The Rack and the Golden Rule

OK, fellows, we didn't mean it—the cover, that is. Lobbyists really don't pour lead down throats and put congressmen on the rack. Some actually resort to prayer! And practicing the golden rule is not unknown. Persistence is likely the most practical (and successful) virtue. As a key Congressional figure in the passage of the Conscience Clause told a church lobbyist: "You just kept coming back and coming back. You didn't threaten. You didn't raise your voice. You just kept coming back." For *fifteen years*, he might have added.

In the main, lobbyists entertain few illusions. Observing government at close range doesn't encourage belief in salvation through politics. It does enhance one's desire to keep the government on its side of the wall of separation. Lobbyists do, says Author Al Menendez, "seek to apply their understanding of moral and ethical principles to the needs of society." Among prominent concerns: abortion, prayer in public schools, education, public morality, religious freedom, family life, and, in some quarters, international aid programs, foreign policy (particularly, says Menendez, as it applies to Israel), civil liberties, and world peace.

Menendez himself has worked for a lobbying group: Americans United for Separation of Church and State. In fact, a 1969 IRS decision, holding that because of AU's lobbying activities contributions were not tax-deductible, resulted in reorganization of AU into lobbying and nonlobbying entities.

For the past three years Al has free-lanced from New York State, and more recently, from Gaithersburg, Maryland. His last book was *John F. Kennedy: Catholic and Humanist*, published by Prometheus Books in 1979. He also wrote *Religion at the Polls*, published by Westminster Press in 1977.

And about the cover again: How long has it been since you've seen historical art used more imaginatively?—R. R. H.

FEATURES

DEPARTMENTS

STAFF

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What Democracy Is

"It is the line that forms on the right. It is the don't in don't shove. It is the hole in the stuffed shirt through which the sawdust slowly trickles; it is the dent in the high hat. Democracy is the recurrent suspicion that more than half of the people are right more than half of the time. It is the feeling of privacy in the voting booths, the feeling of communion in the libraries, the feeling of vitality everywhere. Democracy is a letter to the editor. Democracy is the score at the beginning of the ninth. It is an idea which hasn't been disproved yet, a song the words of which have not gone bad. It's the mustard on the hot dog and the cream in the rationed coffee. Democracy is a request from a war board, in the middle of a morning in the middle of a war, wanting to know what democracy is."

—E. B. White, 1943