

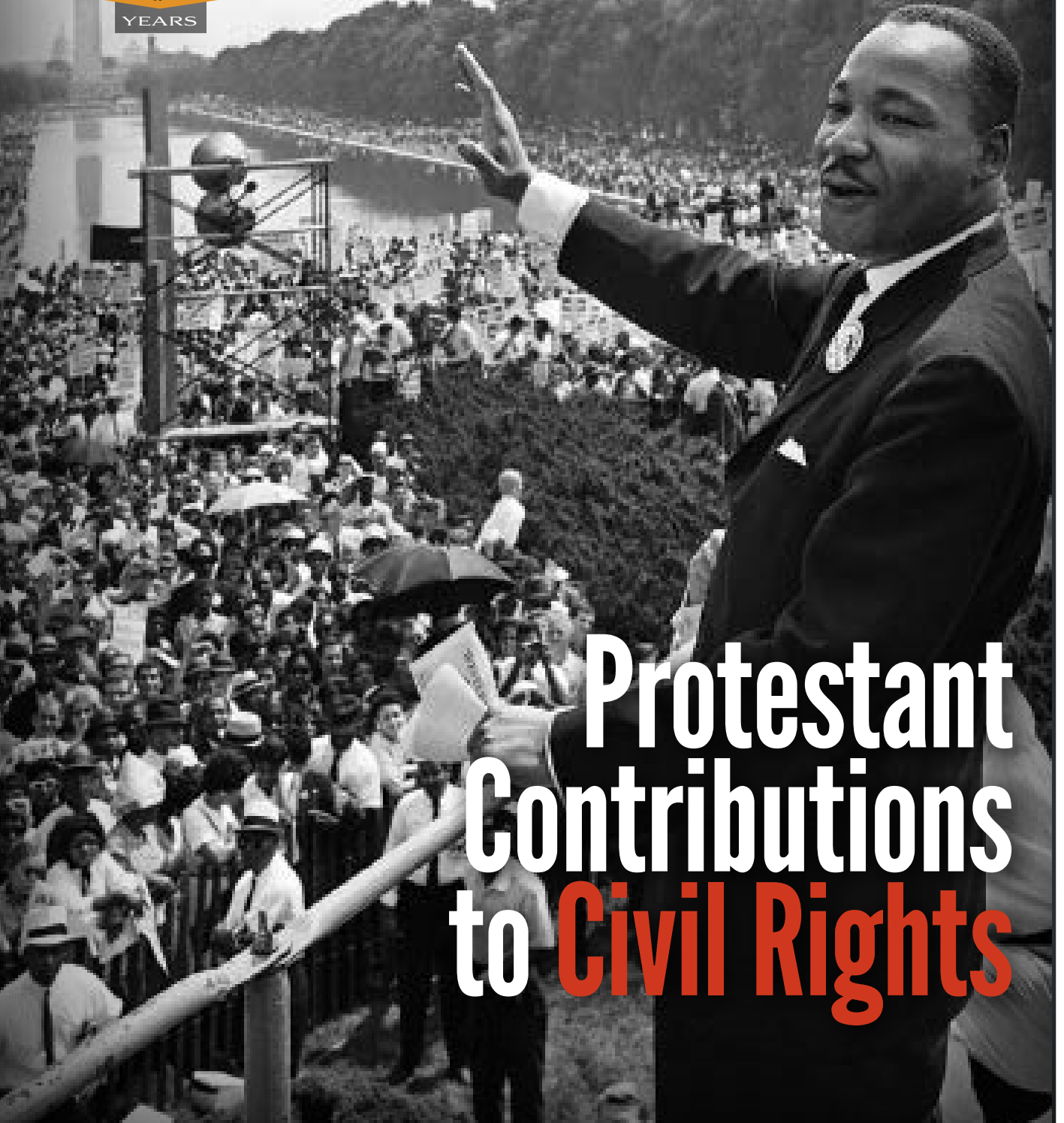
A MAGAZINE OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

WISDOM, LEADERSHIP, AND POLITICAL CORRECTNESS | ONE NATION UNDER GOD



# LIBERTY

MARCH/APRIL 2017



## Protestant Contributions to **Civil Rights**



EDITORIAL



CAUSE AND EFFECT

And there shall be wailing and lamentation in the land" might sound biblical or like something out of the faux reality conjured up in *The Lord of the Rings* and its ilk. Unfortunately, my adaptive quote was in many ways an apt descriptor for the attitude of many as 2017 got under way. A watershed presidential election is over, and, wonder of wonders, the new administration rapidly begins to fulfill its election promises. That in itself is almost a political oddity, as we have become so used to empty political rhetoric that most people expect the promised winds of change to blow over once the polls close.

I know that the sackcloth-and-ashes metaphor applies only to the losers, and that for those who voted us here, this is a great moment. And greatness is always possible, even from turbulent beginnings (as any insightful look back at the American Revolutionary experience might reveal).

This magazine has never been invested in any particular political viewpoint, let alone captive to a political party. Our position has not changed: we defend religious liberty from a constitutional, legal, historic and biblical presumption. But those once-clear markers have been obscured of late.

Shortly after his confirmation as attorney general, once-senator Jeff Sessions announced that he did not support a separation of church and state. For some this came as a real surprise. For anyone watching the evolution of church-state discussion among Evangelicals, this is where they have been for some time. Seemingly unaware of the irony that an unwillingness to allow church-state separation has proved to be the

singular motivator of radical Islam, a critical mass of Christian leaders in the United States thinks the answer to moral and political malaise lies in a Christian political agenda. Again this magazine has cautioned against this for decades. While we share all of the concerns of this group, we are jealous to protect the state from religious intrusion—and vice versa—and have always proclaimed the need for a broad-based spiritual renewal.

Proof of the direction this dismissal of Jefferson's take on the First Amendment through his comments on the Virginia Statute, which was its model, is found in the eager embrace

church politicians that overt church politics will invite punishment. Unfortunately, 1954 was also the year of the Supreme Court ruling in *Brown v. Board of Education*, which was a major salvo in the opening of the civil rights movement. Unfortunately, I think it arguable that part of the reasoning in the Johnson Amendment was to restrict Black churches and empower White Southern Protestants who opposed the whole movement. Johnson himself later rose above it all and carried through civil rights and Great Society legislation. Removal of the Johnson Amendment will likely result in competing religio-political



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of an administration intent to undo the Johnson Amendment of 1954. That legislation was a reflex attack by Johnson on the churches who supported his political opponent. That alone should warn would-be

agendas and will tempt the powers that be to restrict those that they find offensive. It is far better to have all religious powers nonpartisan but vocal moral forces.

The so-called Muslim ban of course generated massive reaction

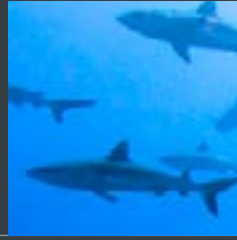
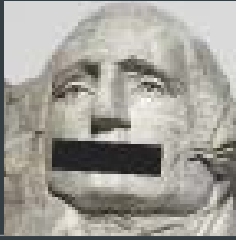
People of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do hereby declare in Congress assembled, and these words of the Constitution of the United States of America.

IN THIS ISSUE

500  
REFORMATION  
YEARS

No matter who “solemnly swears” in Washington, our heavenly Father is standing by, eager to help us fix our misjudgments or bask in the glow of our wise choices. Living out of control is only one option. The choice is ours.

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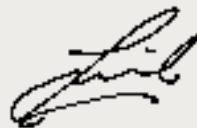
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both within the United States and internationally. More than concrete, it showed the wall going up and the symbolic fading of Emma Lazarus' fine words under the Statue of Liberty. There is no question the rushed-through order gave the appearance of religious prejudice. And a number of public statements by principals might easily confirm that they hold a certain prejudice. But in spite of the Ninth Circuit stay invoking the establishment clause, the order was not worded against faith identity and had a certain national security logic to it that many are still ignoring. My worry is that by invoking the First Amendment so easily, the argument may weaken against later more overt religious exclusion sure to come as the Johnson Amendment fades into history and certain religious viewpoints take up a privileged place in public policy.

This is a time of rough and tumble for the United States generally. The election of 2016 may have shocked both winners and losers by its tone and radical transformation, but it was not as random as might appear.

Unacknowledged inflation and job stagnation since 2008 have demoralized millions who remain unconvinced that the good times are back. Very public political obstructionism has long angered many voters. Crime and domestic terrorism, played on endless loop news, have created a deep angst in many. Distant and continuous war may not much bother a citizenry represented by a volunteer military, but the daily exultation of the military nomenclatura has created a new readiness to order a world that is resisting our goodness. In toto, these and other unenumerated frustrations have destabilized the social order and, I would posit, even threaten the social contract.

This is the perfect moment to whisper our prayers for divine guidance and to demand that we all—leaders and we the people who empower them—reread our history, reexamine our principles, and, for God's sake, take the time to reread the Constitution.



Lincoln E. Steed, Editor

Liberty magazine

Please address letters to the editor to  
Lincoln.Steed@nad.adventist.org

DECLARATION  
of Principles

The God-given right of religious liberty is best exercised when church and state are separate.

Government is God's agency to protect individual rights and to conduct civil affairs; in exercising these responsibilities, officials are entitled to respect and cooperation.

Religious liberty entails freedom of conscience: to worship or not to worship; to profess, practice, and promulgate religious beliefs, or to change them. In exercising these rights, however, one must respect the equivalent rights of all others.

Attempts to unite church and state are opposed to the interests of each, subversive of human rights, and potentially persecuting in character; to oppose union, lawfully and honorably, is not only the citizen's duty but the essence of the golden rule—to treat others as one wishes to be treated.

The first in a series. . .

# HUMAN

# DIGNITY

## 500 Years of Protestant Contributions to Civil Rights

BY NICHOLAS MILLER

**W**hen Martin Luther King, Jr., marched on Selma, wrote a defense of civil disobedience from a jail in Birmingham, and proclaimed his dream of racial equality on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial, was he acting in any meaningful way in the tradition of his namesake, the sixteenth-century Protestant Reformer Martin Luther? Or were the connections to the unfolding stream of Protestant history merely historical accident or coincidence? Were their protests connected to each other by more than simply the universal human resolve to stand for conviction and truth?

To ask the question more broadly, did the Protestant Reformation play any positive role in the development of human rights in the West? Or did systems of human rights develop apart from, and perhaps even, as some would argue, in opposition to, the influences of Protestantism? The 500th anniversary of the publication of Martin Luther's 95 theses in 1517 is an opportune time to reflect on these questions.





**“I must be true  
to my conviction  
that I share  
with all men  
the calling to  
be a son of the  
living God.”**

Perhaps the clearest modern point to start at to make the comparison between the two men is not the events at Selma, Birmingham, or the Washington Mall, as important as these events were. Rather, the principled connection between the two men may be best seen in a speech given by King, Jr., at Riverside Church in New York City on April 4, 1967. Fittingly, that was the year of the 450th anniversary of Martin Luther’s 95 theses, and it was then that MLK gave his controversial speech against the war in Vietnam. The speech was a turning point in MLK’s progression as an activist, as it signaled a shift to applying principles of justice, equality, and brotherhood beyond the Black community to problems faced by other people groups. In the following year, the last one before he was killed, MLK moved into working for economic justice, speaking on behalf of multiracial coalitions of the poor and disenfranchised.

The Riverside Church speech, with his foray into commentary on international politics and his criticism of the Johnson administration, caused him to lose some support in the White community, the media, and the press. But it revealed that the principles he espoused truly were universal principles, not just tools and justifications for the advancement of his own cause and people. The speech is notable for its reliance on arguments about the universal brotherhood of humanity. As he said in its opening paragraphs, the road that led from Montgomery to this speech could be explained simply that “I must be true to my conviction that I share with all men the calling to be a son of the living God. Beyond the calling of race or nation or creed is this vocation of sonship and brotherhood, and because I believe that the Father is deeply concerned especially for His suffering and helpless and outcast children, I come tonight to speak for them.”<sup>1</sup>

This appeal to the universal brotherhood of humanity was a theme that he returned to throughout the speech, and again with special force at the end. He mixed this theme with a more negative critique of Western capitalism that, unrestrained, caused those in the West to value money and things more highly than people. He noted that the wars in Southeast Asia originated from the economic goals of colonialism, and that America was stepping into the shoes of the French, who had been the original exploiters of Vietnam.

America, he argued, was also stepping into the colonizers’ role of using force to protect overseas investments. He called for a “radical revolution of values,” where we “must rapidly begin the shift from a ‘thing-oriented’ society to a

‘person-oriented’ society. When machines and computers, profit motives and property rights, are considered more important than people, the giant triplets of racism, materialism, and militarism are incapable of being conquered.”<sup>2</sup>

He then brought the speech to a climax by calling again for the recognition of the universal brotherhood of humanity, based on the principle—not sentiment—of love. “This call for a worldwide fellowship that lifts neighborly concern beyond one’s tribe, race, class and nation is in reality a call for an all-embracing and unconditional love for all men. . . . This is the calling of the sons of God, and our brothers wait eagerly for our response.”<sup>3</sup>

This dual concern of MLK, the brotherhood of humanity, and the corrosive effects of materialism on that brotherhood, provides an interesting parallel with Luther’s efforts in 1517 and the following years. We most often think about Martin Luther in connection with justification by faith, the authority of Scripture, and the centrality of grace. But we probably would not have heard of these concepts in connection with him if he had not wrapped them up in an attack on what he viewed as the corrosive effects of materialism on the spirituality of his age. Historians agree that Luther’s insights into these theological matters were not original with him, but had been seen and written about by other religious thinkers. But it was Luther’s attack on a corrupt system of finance, power, and spirituality that brought these other issues front and center.

The 95 theses themselves do not say much about justification, faith, or Scripture. But they do talk a great deal about the corrupting effect of the sale of indulgences on a true understanding of repentance and salvation. “They preach only human doctrines,” he writes in thesis 27, “who say that as soon as the money clinks into the money chest, the soul flies out of purgatory.” Also: “It is certain that when money clinks in the money chest, greed and avarice can be increased” (thesis 28). Says thesis 36: “Any truly repentant Christian has a right to full remission of penalty and guilt, even without indulgence letters.” As far as those who sell the indulgences, and confuse the faithful about the path of salvation, thesis 72 urged: “But let him who guards against the lust and license of the indulgence preachers be blessed.”<sup>4</sup>

MLK accused the American government of allowing materialism and avarice to interfere with and “poison” the American soul in its relation to universal love for humanity; so Luther criticizes the power structure of his day for allowing the materialism of the system of

indulgences to blind church members to the true pathway to God of repentance and grace.

But MLK's call to universal brotherhood is perhaps where the greatest parallel between the two men lies. Though only implied in the 95 theses, Martin Luther was developing a powerful idea about the equality of persons before God that is termed the priesthood of all believers. Every person, Luther believed, had the right and duty to approach God directly for repentance, justification, and salvation. As these truths were revealed in the Word of God, everybody had the equal right and duty to study that Word for themselves. As both praying and studying became personal duties, there was no need for the mediating role that the priests and the church hierarchy would play between the believers and God. The notion of an elite "spiritual" class and authority was set aside for a view of fundamental spiritual equality of all believers, and eventually all humanity.<sup>5</sup>

MLK's views extended the boundaries from all "believers" to all "humans," but it was based on the same fundamental notion that as all are the children of God, then all are responsible to Him, and have a dignity that should be respected by all. The foundations of MLK's thought regarding human dignity lie in the universal truth of the image of God in humanity.

As one MLK scholar summarized it, King built this idea of human dignity on four related points: 1. All persons are children of God and have equal value and dignity. 2. This equal worth becomes the basis of "just and fair treatment." 3. This dignity, brings with it a moral capacity that gives people the ability to make socially good choices. 4. This shared image of God provides the "existential common ground" for genuine community building across races, cultures, and ethnicities, making the "beloved community . . . a distinct historical possibility."<sup>6</sup>

MLK used this shared dignity as the children of God as a platform to argue not just for the rights of Black people, but all people around the world. He challenged social institutions and norms, especially collections of financial interests and power, to treat people with the dignity they deserved. In doing so, he echoed the concerns of Martin Luther's 95 theses, the development of the priesthood of believers teaching, and his protest at the Diet of Worms a few years later.

But it is one thing to show historical parallels; it is another entirely to show actual historical, genetic, connections. Can one trace the development of Martin Luther's ideas in the West in a way that ultimately connects them

with MLK and the larger movement for international human rights in the twentieth century? Such a project in fullness would be too ambitious for a mere article or two. But the broad outlines of such a story can indeed be traced, I believe, in a manner that would be helpful to our contemporary understandings



of the idea and ideal of human dignity, and its connection with human rights. Such a historic overview gives context to the present struggle for international religious freedom and human rights.

Nicholas Miller is a lawyer and a professor of church history and religious freedom at Andrews University, Berrien Springs, Michigan.

<sup>1</sup> Martin Luther King, Jr., "Beyond Vietnam: A Time to Break Silence" speech delivered on April 4, 1967, at Riverside Church in New York City (viewed on October 3, 2016, at [www.commondreams.org/views04/0115-13.htm](http://www.commondreams.org/views04/0115-13.htm)).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

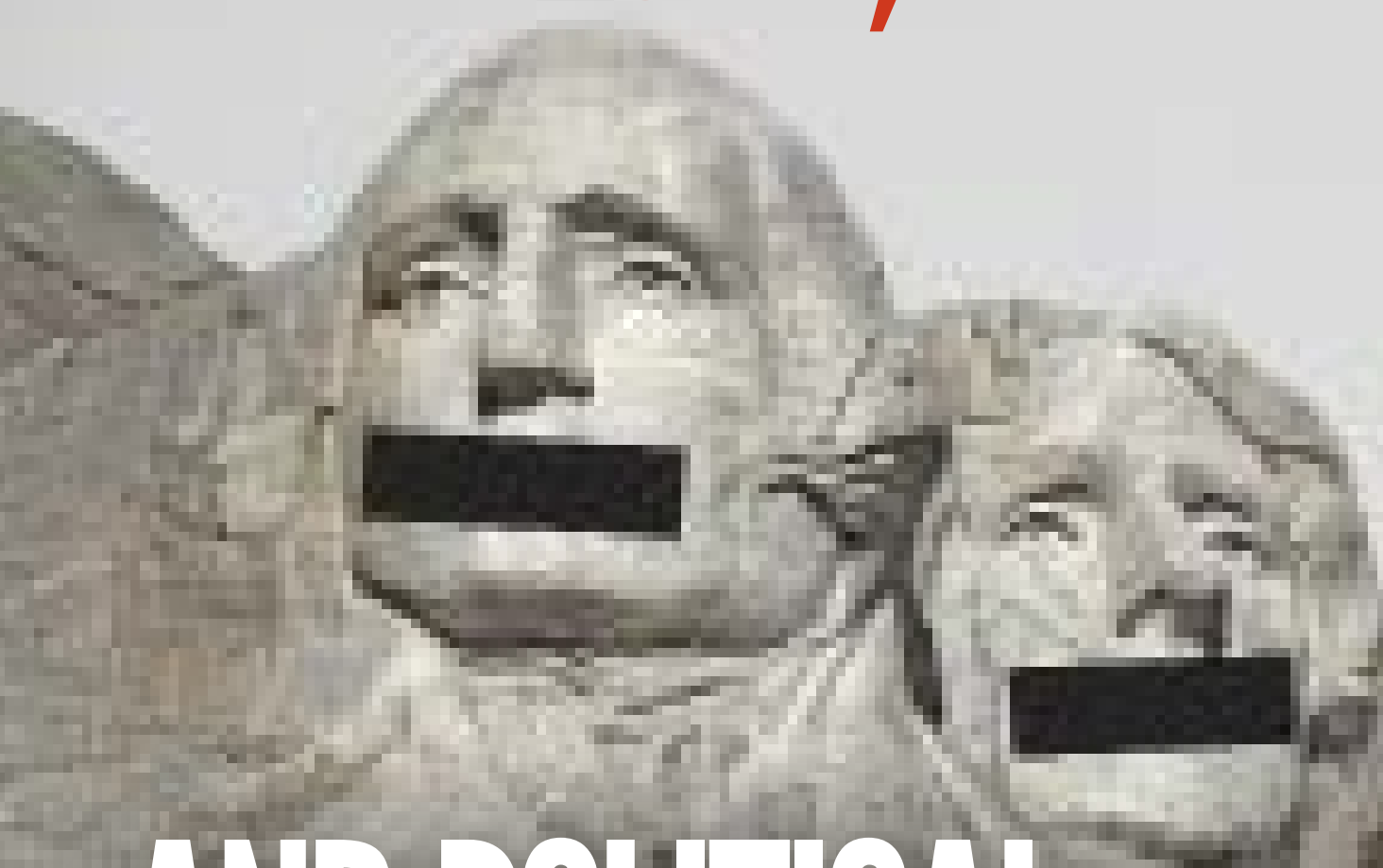
<sup>4</sup> Martin Luther, *The 95 Theses* (originally published October 31, 1517; viewed on October 3, 2016, at [www.luther.de/en/95thesen.html](http://www.luther.de/en/95thesen.html)).

<sup>5</sup> See Nicholas Miller, *The Religious Roots of the First Amendment* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 15-30.

<sup>6</sup> Richard W. Wills, Sr., *Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Image of God* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 113-115.

An opinion piece . . .

# WISDOM, LEADERSHIP,



# AND POLITICAL CORRECTNESS



BY ALVIN. E. HOLLIMAN

**T**umultuous events have certainly characterized the recent past. Through it all a common thread is remarkable: obfuscation of facts and reason in favor of political correctness (PC). As Margaret Heffernan said (August 6, 2012), the pursuit of truth requires conflict. To achieve truth, honest exchanges in the spirit of collaboration are essential, and this means that viewpoints from multiple perspectives must be permitted and considered. Great leadership combined with wisdom embraces this concept. Arrogance, pride, and unyielding agendas often defy it.

As widely reported after the terror of the now-infamous jihadist attack in San Bernardino, California, on December 2, 2015, the next-door neighbor of the attackers told reporters she had observed very unusual behavior for at least two weeks prior to the assault. She seriously thought

about and wanted to report this suspicious activity to authorities, but did not “out of fear of being labeled as a racial profiler.” What is especially troubling is this fear of PC and being accused of being a hater. This time there were real physical victims—much worse than offering people with disabilities assistance if they have not asked for it (one of the University of Arizona’s examples of microaggression, a new higher education PC phenomenon).

For many, political correctness (PC) is an elusive concept whose origins are not clear. It appears to be a concept that has morphed into de facto policies, which attempt to control speech, and behaviors that could theoretically be offensive to non-Anglos and non-Christians. William Lind’s “The Roots of Political Correctness” contends that “political correctness is cultural Marxism, Marxism translated from economic into cultural terms.” Its history





**WHEN THE U.S. SUPREME COURT VOTED TO LEGALIZE GAY MARRIAGE, MANY THOUGHT THIS WAS ONE OF THE MOST SIGNIFICANT AND LAWLESS RULINGS IN U.S. HISTORY, SINCE IT WAS NOT A CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUE AND CHANGED THE SOCIAL ORDER.**

goes back to two Marxist theorists, Antonio Gramsci in Italy and Georg Lukacs in Hungary. They believed Christian religion and Western culture had paralyzed the working class into a one-track mind-set and way of behaving, thus thwarting Communism as an acceptable political and governance framework.

Stephanie Suhr and Sally Johnson wrote a comprehensive article in 2003 that discussed the origins and use of political correctness, and their findings seem to support some of the history as noted by Lind; they stated that leftists were beginning to argue that schools should teach “correct” opinions versus debate. In addition, Frank Ellis states that political correctness can be traced to the period of 1895-1921, when Lenin was attempting to secure support from his peers, and then after 1917, when he used PC to control policies and actions of the Communist Party.

In the spirit of fairness to those on the left who have imposed PC as both formal and informal policy, an op-ed by Obama’s former information tsar, Cass Sunstein, in the *Bloomberg View* on December 30, 2015, attacks Republicans for having their own brand of PC. He cites examples of uniform right-wing opposition to gun control, the Affordable Health Care Act, climate change, affirmative action, and the minimum wage. All of the examples he cites have well-researched flaws that are highly susceptible to debate. The PC mantra of the left not only “hates” opposition but also attempts to kill it through legislation and labeling of a

highly detrimental nature by media and academic elitists.

When the U.S. Supreme Court voted to legalize gay marriage, many thought this was one of the most significant and lawless rulings in U.S. history, since it was not a constitutional issue and changed the social order. Furthermore, in the written opinions of those voting in favor of same-sex marriage, the struggle of Black equality was likened to the struggle of gay equality. A person, of course, is born into a race and ethnicity with no choice whatsoever. While some argue, like the brilliant political analyst Lady Gaga, that gays are “born that way,” many psychologists, anthropologists, and sociologists contend it is a perplexing issue, because in some cases folks do indeed choose to be gay, while others may feel same-sex attraction from early childhood. What does appear certain is not all gays are born that way. Here the analogy falls down, for the reality is that Blacks *are* born that way.

Conventional wisdom regarding positive leadership traits says the ability to “reach across the aisle” and engage divergent points of view is essential. Then-president Obama was obviously joyous over the High Court decision and lit up the White House in rainbow colors. This act spat directly into the face of evangelical Christians and Catholics, at a minimum. It mocked not just Black Christians, but de facto the entire Black race as well, since he was celebrating a decision that was partially justified by equating Blacks to gays. He seems to have assumed Blacks would support him no matter what.

Why is use of the rainbow as the gay logo offensive to Christians and Jews? God gave the sign of the rainbow to Noah after the great flood as a symbol of His commitment never to destroy the earth again. In His creation of humanity, and even in evolutionary theory, male and female sex and procreation is the manner in which life is perpetuated. It is the ultimate example of creative excellence and God’s proudest and most sacred production. Gay sex is arguably the antithesis of this process. Adoption of the rainbow as the gay universal symbol and lighting the White House in it would have to be a major affront to God as He presents Himself in the Bible.

Did the situation exhibit impartiality and good judgment? I would have to say no, as it alienated conservatives (in both parties) with celebratory one-deed behavior. Was this lighting unifying and beneficial for the good of society? Administration actions were more likely divisive rather than inclusive, and tradi-

tional society was disrupted like no other time in U.S. history—redefining marriage. There was little display of humility. The signal was of arrogance in violating many citizens’ notions of divine inspiration.

But were these actions politically correct? Most certainly, they encouraged the breakdown of the traditional family structure and violated long-standing Christian principles. Essentially they displayed strong devotion to PC philosophy and practice and disregarded principles of wisdom and leadership.

### **Removal of the Confederate Flag in South Carolina**

Governor Nikki Haley, to give a contrary example, showed an understanding of good strong leadership and knowing what it means to represent all of the people. Her speech, which established the process for removing the Confederate flag from public grounds in South Carolina, is remarkable evidence of what a good leader can do in the face of adversity and controversy. Her passion was ignited by the tragic murders of nine parishioners at the Emanuel AME Church in Charleston. Was this decision pandering to those who put her in office? Probably not: Governor Haley was backed by the Tea Party and many others who firmly believe in states’ rights. Contrary to the popular view, the Confederate flag does not represent slavery and oppression for all states’-rights advocates. Rather, they see it as a symbol of tradition, history, and the Southern way of life. However, Governor Haley knows it is clearly also a symbol of hatred, bigotry, and slavery to enough folks that action had to be taken some 150 years after the end of the Civil War. She surely agonized over the decision, as many who historically supported her were not happy with this course of action. Her speech on June 22, 2015, was eloquent, compassionate, and brilliant in the manner she acknowledged the pain of removal for some while iterating the pain of its existence for others, reaching far across the aisles and into the hearts of many across the nation. She gave evidence of strong leadership. Furthermore, she demonstrated wisdom by her sound judgment, compassion, impartiality, and reverence to God by mentioning prayer and forgiveness. It was not about “her”—rather, it was about doing the right thing at the right moment. However, accolades from the left were conspicuously absent, because Governor Haley was not regarded as a politically correct leader, despite her gallant effort to take down the long-hated symbol that liberals have historically despised. Perhaps some felt that any positive

**America  
desperately  
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government and  
universities.**

attention would contradict the negative paradigm of traditionalists that is part of the PC dogma that classifies them as Fascists.

### **University of Missouri Controversy**

Jonathan Butler, the Black adult male who started the infamous hunger strike at the University of Missouri, has a father who made \$8 million in 2014. His allegation that the university president's car hit him during the homecoming parade seemed well orchestrated, as a YouTube posted "reality" revealed. The car was crawling in reverse away from the protestors when Butler pushed his way to the front of the activists and lightly pushed his thighs against the car's grill.

The student body president, Payton Head, who is Black, openly gay, and from a prominent family in Cook County, Illinois, was involved in at least two of the situations that garnered news coverage. Near the time of the homecoming parade charade, he alleged that someone drove by him on the perimeter of campus and yelled a racial slur. He asserts that he reported this to President Tim Wolfe but that Wolfe did nothing about it. There was no license plate given, no description of the driver, and no witnesses. There was nothing concrete Wolfe could do. As the protests morphed into November, Mr. Head then told a story about the KKK being on campus, and issued a warning to students via his Facebook page. Soon after, he admitted he lied, and that there was no threat from the KKK.

Accusations of a swastika sign made with feces on a bathroom wall were allegedly reported to President Wolfe and nothing supposedly was done. Again, what could he do? Any male who has ever been in a public restroom knows the variety of heinous signs and slogans on bathroom walls, and most would never consider them a matter for police intervention and news.

Finally, one other incident showed the true colors of the situation. A communication professor, Melissa Click (who also had a courtesy appointment in the journalism department), openly on camera harassed and assaulted students and other journalists who were attempting to film and interview the protestors in their "safe place." She clearly violated their First Amendment rights, and resigned from her courtesy journalism position but not her communications faculty position. Again as a result of microaggression brainwashing, students have somehow come to believe they can declare "safe places" on public campuses that only they can occupy.

As the protests progressed, based on lies

and unprovable accusations, the football players, coaches, and some faculty members joined the ranks of the activists. Practices were boycotted along with threats of boycotting the upcoming game against Brigham Young University. Perhaps the most telling example of the activists' character was their complaint that the media were intentionally focusing on the Paris ISIS attacks in an attempt to draw attention away from "their" cause. In effect, they were mad over their sudden lack of attention in light of one of the worst attacks on human life since September 11, 2001. Possibly, their anger was also fueled by the sudden loss of publicity for an effort that was well organized and orchestrated by professional activists such as DeRay McKesson (active in protests in Ferguson, Baltimore, and Charleston, South Carolina) and Johnetta Elzie. By the way, the student body had previously shown a remarkable lack of "bigotry" in electing a gay Black male as its president, and along with UM administration, rallying behind Michael Sam, the first openly gay college football player to be drafted by the NFL?

What can the UM debacle tell us about leadership and wisdom and how those attributes are trumped by PC? To begin, the UM Board of Curators were terrified by PC and this anti-microaggression panacea. They offered little support to administrators Tim Wolfe and R. Bowen Loftin; both were convicted without trial by mob demand and as a result of real physical aggression. The curators' actions did not display key aspects of wisdom such as impartiality, good judgment, and true concern for all, but pandered to a vocal minority out of fear—financial fear and publicity fear. Wolfe repeatedly tried to meet with Concerned Students 1950, but was shouted down, and no discussions, let alone resolutions, could take place.

The absurdity of left-wing PC agendas, and the lunacy of higher education elitism, was rampant in 2015 and continued right through the "my gender for a day" bathroom debacle that preceded the mother of all divisive presidential campaigns. America desperately needs reasoned leadership in all sectors, but particularly in government and universities. What every American must start doing is speaking about how they really feel and think, and discussing those views in open dialogue with the courage to take opposition. Going back to Margaret Heffernan, she also says, "to remain silent is cruelty." Just ask the families and friends of the San Bernardino victims.

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Alvin E. Holliman is assistant professor of management at Lyon College, Batesville, Arkansas.

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# One Nation Under God?

An Interview with Kevin M. Kruse, the author of  
*One Nation Under God: How Corporate America Invented Christian America.*

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Kevin M. Kruse is a professor of history at Princeton University. He specializes in the political, social, and urban/suburban history of twentieth-century America, with a particular interest in conflicts over race, rights and religion, and the making of modern conservatism. He is the author of *White Flight: Atlanta and the Making of Modern Conservatism* (2005), as well as coeditor of three collections: *The New Suburban History* (2006), with Thomas Sugrue; *Spaces of the Modern City* (2008), with Gyan Prakash; and *Fog of War: The Second World War and the Civil Rights Movement* (2012), with Stephen Tuck. His newest work is *One Nation Under God: How Corporate America Invented Christian America* (2015), a study of the rise of American religious nationalism in the mid-twentieth century.

BY TOM  
DOMBROWSKI

**Your latest book is titled *One Nation Under God: How Corporate America Invented Christian America*. Why do you believe this subject needed to be researched and published?**

In truth, I didn't set out to research this subject; I stumbled into it. My original plan was to study the grassroots origins of the Religious Right as local communities of religious conservatives across the country mobilized on such matters as school prayer and sexuality in the 1960s and 1970s. But when I dug into the archives on those topics, I was struck by how often ordinary Americans and political leaders alike invoked such phrases as "one nation under God" and "in God we trust" in making their arguments. Scholars and pundits have long dismissed such phrases as essentially meaningless—they were simply "ceremonial," legal scholars and courts have long claimed—but in this research I discovered that they held *incredible* meaning for many Americans. That surprised me, so I decided to dig into it more.

**Your research points to big business partnering with conservative Christian leaders, specifically pastors in the 1930s and 1940s, as a reaction to Roosevelt's New Deal. How did big business benefit from its partnership with the church, and what was the benefit to the churches?**

From the start of the New Deal, big business worked tirelessly to push back against the eco-

nomical liberalism of the Roosevelt administration, pouring massive amounts of money into public relations campaigns that promoted unfettered free enterprise. Of course, most Americans believed that that was precisely what had brought about the Great Depression in the first place, so they weren't inclined to listen to the self-serving arguments of businessmen. But once ministers—the most trusted members of society in the 1930s—started making the case for free enterprise, big business finally succeeded in advancing its arguments.

Individual churches and ministers who enlisted in this campaign to promote free enterprise benefited in a number of ways, but primarily it was in terms of financial support and notoriety. Several of them—James Fifiield, Abraham Vereide, Norman Vincent Peale, and even Billy Graham in his early years—made their fame and fortune by promoting this argument for the powerful.

**How does the Spiritual Mobilization of James Fifiield differ from what Jerry Falwell did in the 1980s with the Moral Majority, and in what ways was it similar?**

Both represent efforts to frame political conservatism in religious arguments, but the issues on which they were focused were quite different. Fifiield and Spiritual Mobilization were concerned mainly with promoting a brand

of *economic* conservatism that targeted government regulation of business in the New Deal state; Falwell and the Moral Majority were, in contrast, focused more on *social* conservatism that pushed back against the social liberalism of the Great Society era of the 1960s.

**Are there movements afoot today that follow a similar pattern of big business partnering with churches to promote an opposition to what they believe as big government?**

Nothing as dramatic as the story I tell in mid-twentieth century, though there are elements of it today. The *Hobby Lobby* decision, for instance, is essentially an extension of the claims that Christian libertarians made in the 1930s and 1940s—arguing that a corporation can not only have sincerely held religious beliefs, but that such beliefs should shield the business from the regulatory power of the government.

But Hobby Lobby might be the exception to the general trend. As we've seen in recent

years, many big businesses have broken with the social conservatives of the Religious Right, especially when it comes to LGBT issues. Even Walmart, a company whose founders had long sought to put their own evangelical faith into practice, recently broke with the Religious Right, coming out against the religious liberty laws proposed in Arkansas in 2015.

**You've traced the origins of the concept of America as a Christian nation back to the 1930s and 1940s, with its further development taking place during the Eisenhower administration in the 1950s. The latter time of this era coincides with the coming of age of the baby boomer generation, who've had the longest exposure to this idea. Are they the primary generation anchored to this belief, or is it cross-generational?**

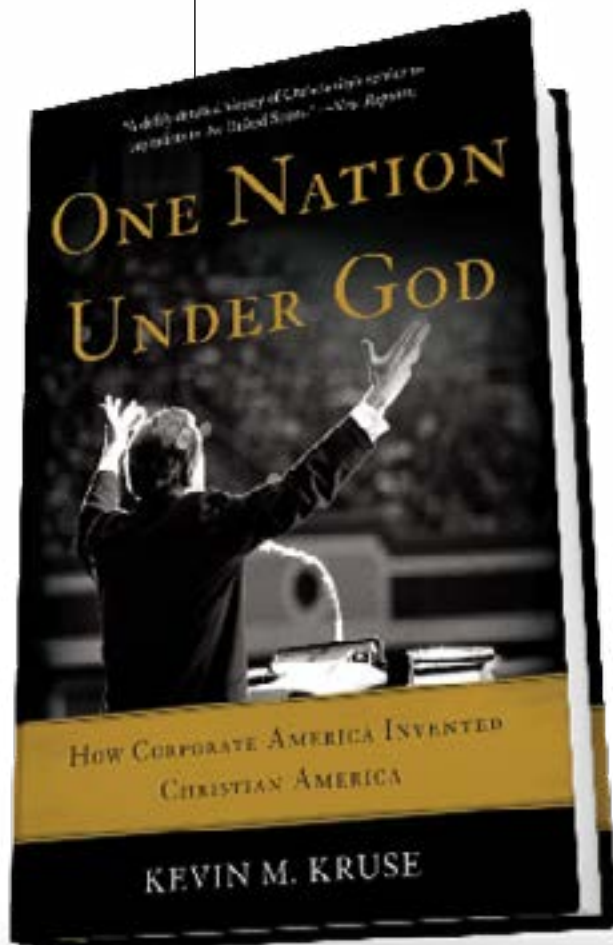
That's a great question. I'd say it's cross-generational. In fact, the baby boomers are in some ways a little resistant to the change, because many of them remember its implementation. When I give interviews and lectures on the book, I often hear from baby boomers who tell me, for instance, how they were in elementary school when "under God" was added to the Pledge of Allegiance in 1954 and how much trouble they had learning the new version, or how they remember their school's changes on prayer or Bible reading in the early 1960s. So boomers often have a personal memory of how recent these changes were, and how controversial, too.

The generations that came after them, however, were raised in a nation that had already been changed, and they've taken that as a given.

**You conclude that the belief that America is a Christian nation was initially promoted by Protestants in the 1940s and 1950s, a pre-Vatican II era in which Protestants and Catholics were worlds apart. However, there were individuals from these two camps who were able to find enough common ground to lobby and get legislation passed that became part of the foundation for this belief. What made that possible?**

In many ways that tension between Protestants and Catholics helped propel this new politics of piety and patriotism. Earlier proponents of the idea that America was a "Christian nation"—and, to be sure, such arguments were made from the founding on—had generally framed such claims in an exclusively Protestant way.

But with the advent of World War II, that



all changed. As the country prepared itself for the conflict, America's leaders worried about the likely ethnic divisions in the population—Irish-Americans wouldn't want to save England, or German-Americans wouldn't wage war against the Nazis, etc. To paper over these ethnic tensions, wartime propaganda increasingly stressed the *religious* common ground that all Americans shared. Protestantism, Catholicism, and Judaism were bound together, in the language of the time, as the “three faiths of democracy.”

This belief that America had been founded on what proponents now began to call a “Judeo-Christian tradition” carried over into the post-war world. Protestants still worried about “the Roman menace” of Catholicism and stood on guard against any effort by Catholics to secure public money for parochial schools. (Notably, the leading organization concerned with religion in politics was then still called Protestants and Other Americans United for the Separation of Church and State.)

Catholics realized that joining this earlier Protestant crusade served as an easy way to prove their patriotism and piety, and thus worked hard to make these changes happen. The addition of “under God” to the Pledge of Allegiance, for instance, was promoted heavily by the Knights of Columbus, and the first bill to make the change was introduced by a Catholic congressman.

**In reaction to the Supreme Court striking down prayer in public school in 1962, you write there was significant momentum in the 1960s to pass a constitutional prayer amendment, yet it failed. What do you think were the factors that led to its failure?**

Originally the constitutional prayer amendment seemed a sure bet. In the wake of the Supreme Court's rulings against state-mandated school prayer, the public was incredibly enthusiastic about amending the Constitution. By one estimate, more than half of all the mail sent to Congress during the 1963-1964 term was about school prayer, and the letters were overwhelmingly in favor of the amendment.

But to many people's surprise, the leaders of major religious organizations—especially in the most prominent Protestant traditions—came out against the amendment during the congressional hearings. Though Congress had assumed clergy would all be in favor of the school prayer amendment, they lined up against it. Religious leaders resented what they

saw as “government meddling” in religious affairs, rejecting the one-size-fits-all religion promoted by the state and resolving that individual churches, and not the public school system, should be the ones promoting religious education. Moreover, many worried that the school prayer amendment would effectively replace the First Amendment and with it the protections that churches had always enjoyed. “An American ideal would be shattered,” argued Theodore Carcich of the Seventh-day Adventists.

**Your book dispels the idea that America is a Christian nation, but the claim of this idea is not new. For example, this concept was promoted in the 1880s when the Blair Sunday Law amendment was being pushed through Congress. Why does this belief keep flaring up every few generations?**

There's something of a cyclical nature to this, stretching back even before the nation's founding to the first Great Awakening, if not before. In times of political chaos or social change, there have inevitably been calls for repentance and revival—not just for individuals or communities, but the entire nation as a whole. And just as inevitably, there's usually an equal and opposite reaction to that action, and the spirit of revival fades—only for the cycle to pick back up once more.

**While Christianity certainly had an impact on our nation's history, the First Amendment very clearly outlines a separation of church and state to prevent religious favoritism, yet many Americans continue to embrace the idea of America being founded as a Christian nation. Why is that?**

As I argue in the book, I think the changes made in the mid-twentieth century really helped popularize this idea and, more important, made it seem timeless. Ceremonies that were created in the 1950s, such as the National Prayer Breakfast, now seem like time-honored traditions. And religious phrases and mottoes that originated then are ubiquitous now. They're in the Pledge of Allegiance our kids say each morning, they're on the money in our wallets, they're literally etched into the walls of Congress and the courts. Because they're everywhere now, many Americans can't imagine the country without them and assume they've always been here.

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Tom Dombrowski, a minister of religion, writes from Coventry, Connecticut.

**In times of political chaos or social change, there have inevitably been calls for repentance and revival—not just for individuals or communities, but the entire nation as a whole.**

The United States has just sworn in a new president. Looking back on the campaign, I find myself paraphrasing Winston Churchill: Never before have so few been so disliked by so many. But the choice has been made, and, as usual, we'll soon discover just how right—or wrong—we were.

There are many among us who don't seem concerned about the election outcome. "Why worry?" they post on social media or announce by the water cooler. "Everything will turn out fine. God is in control."

Really?

We human beings love to shift the burden of responsibility for our personal or corporate actions to someone or *something* we perceive to possess broader shoulders. Most religions of the world proudly support this concept. "God is in control," cries the Christian. "Inshallah [if it's God's will]," intones the Muslim. Hindu worshippers insist they can count on at least one of their many deities to step in when needed. Jews recite endless examples from their Torah, where God overruled His followers' foibles and made things right in spite of them.

Not being a Muslim, Hindu, or a full-blooded son of Abraham, I must try to reconcile my beliefs using Christian principles. Is God in control in Washington, D.C., these days? Is He working out some complex plan of action that absolutely requires the services of someone for whom I did or did not vote?

There's a Bible text that seems to support this idea. "He [God] changes times and seasons; he deposes kings and raises up others. He gives wisdom to the wise and knowledge to the discerning" (Daniel 2:21, NIV). \*

Wait, there's more. The God of my Bible seems to be telling me that no matter who's in charge, I must follow his or her lead. The apostle Paul, writing to the early Christian church in Rome, advised, "Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers. For there is no power but of God; the powers that be are ordained of God" (Romans 13:1). Then he tightens the screws. "Whosoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God: and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation" (verse 2).

He goes on to say that rulers are not a "terror to good works, but to the evil" (verse 3) and that we should render "tribute to whom tribute is due; custom to whom custom; fear to whom fear; honour to whom honour" (verse 7). Is it any wonder why Adolf Hitler regarded Romans 13 as his favorite Bible passage? He used it very effectively as a propaganda tool to secure the support of the "conservative right" of his day—the Lutheran and, reluctantly, the Catholic churches—as well as the liberals who helped establish the Weimar Republic, the democratic government founded in Germany after Kaiser Wilhelm II's abdication near the end of War World I. They, like countless others, got on board the Nazi express in order to survive another day. These factions, many motivated by Paul's words, helped catapult a madman into power. But don't worry. God is in control!

# OUT OF CONTROL





A PERSON OF  
FAITH—OR PERSON  
WITH NO FAITH—  
WILL DROP TO THE  
BOTTOM OF A  
CLIFF IF HE OR  
SHE JUMPS.

So we should sit back and wait for a new occupant of the White House to guide us down the pathway of God's design, right?

"Not so fast," Old Testament prophet Hosea seems to be saying as he conveys words given to him by God Himself. Addressing the self-possessed actions of the Israelites, God's chosen people, who, after generations of wandering in the desert, were now tucked away safe and sound in the Promised Land, he wrote: "They set up kings without my consent; they choose princes without my approval. With their silver and gold they make idols for themselves to their own destruction" (Hosea 8:4, NIV).

Is it possible for humankind to operate fully and consistently *outside* of the control of God? Can rulers be something other than "ordained" by Him? Are there times we, faithful citizens, should *not* be subject unto their powers?

No one in his or her right mind would insist that God was in control when the Holocaust snuffed out the lives of millions. The Crusades, the Dark Ages, the endless persecution administered by those calling themselves "Christian," can hardly be labeled as acts of God. King Solomon, a man known for his great wisdom, offers this warning: "There is a way that seemeth right unto a man, but the end thereof are the ways of death" (Proverbs 16:25).

### Garden Kingdom

There was a time that God was totally and unquestionably in control of humanity. The human population was quite small then; two people, in a garden, with fruit trees.

The Genesis account makes it clear exactly who was calling the shots: "So God created mankind in his own image, in the image of God he created them; male and female he created them. God blessed them and said to them, 'Be fruitful and increase in number; fill the earth and subdue it. Rule over the fish of the sea and the birds in the sky and over every living creature that moves on the ground'" (Genesis 1:27, 28, NIV). Humanity's marching orders came directly from the Creator. "Inshallah" was a given. *Everything* aligned perfectly with God's will.

Then God set one more jewel in the crown of Adam and Eve's perfect lives: the freedom to choose. "And the Lord God commanded the man, 'You are free to eat from any tree in the garden; but you must not eat from the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, for when you eat from it you will certainly die'" (Genesis 2:16, 17, NIV).

The line in the sand was drawn. On one side stood God and His loving, sustaining control. On the other side stood a man and a woman doing what was right in their own eyes.

Any Bible student knows what happened next. Adam and Eve nibbled their way out from under God's control and right out of the Garden of Eden. They chose to follow another power, another force, another leader, who promised they could have their apple and eat it too.

History proves beyond a doubt that living apart from God isn't optimal to anyone's health and well being. Thankfully, humankind's heavenly Father didn't fly off to some remote galaxy to sulk. He did (and continues to do) His level best to reinsert Himself back into all aspects of life on earth. He seems to have decided that if He couldn't be in control, He could at least act as a buffer between human beings and the evil forces bent on destroying them.

To this end, He set up rules and principles to act as guardrails along the road of life. "Don't kill, don't commit adultery, honor your parents, be honest, love one another, be kind, feed the poor, nurture nature, treat all people with the same love and respect you shower on yourself, allow others to choose the spiritual framework of their own lives, and if you're feeling overwhelmed, talk to Me."

When people groups followed His rules and principles, amazing things happened. God was able to put in place leaders who would support everyone's humanitarian and spiritual efforts, not undermine them. He routed enemies without shots being fired. Peace and harmony settled over the landscape like a comforting blanket on a chilly night.

However, when people and nations turned their backs on God, outcomes changed dramatically. Wars, famines, corruption in high places, dangerous, life-threatening religions, and even entire nations being carried off into captivity followed with sickening regularity. These weren't *acts* of God. This was what happened in the *absence* of God.

## Human History

That line in the sand has scratched its way through human history and remains to this day. When human beings are standing firm to the guidelines that the Creator God set in place and doing their level best to live according to His laws and principles, Daniel 2:21 happens. But when they cross that line and align themselves with forces other than divine, Hosea 8:4 raises its frightening head.

All of this takes place regardless of religious affiliation or whatever faith community has sprung up around random collections of God's principles. His laws, like gravity, remain in full effect no matter if a person or nation considers itself Christian, Muslim, Hindu,

Jewish, agnostic, or downright atheist. A person of faith—or person with *no* faith—will drop to the bottom of a cliff if he or she jumps.

Thankfully, even at this level of freedom, God maintains a very unhumanlike propensity to love everyone, even those who don't love Him in return. Speaking of His Father, Christ revealed, "He causes his sun to rise on the evil and the good, and sends rain on the righteous and the unrighteous" (Matthew 5:45, NIV).

Which brings us back to Washington, D.C., and what's happening on the steps of the Capitol building. Did heavenly powers bring our new president to that podium? Is God in control?

## Freewill Choice

I put this question to Greg Hamilton, president of the Northwest Religious Liberty Association, during an interview for *Liberty* magazine's flagship radio program *LifeQuest Liberty*. Here's what he said: "God does not interfere with our freewill choice at all. He never has. God is a God of choice. He does not arbitrarily intervene against our worst interests or even in our best interests. He guides and counsels, but then it's really up to us to determine what we want to do. When we proactively seek to better our nation, whether it be for social justice reasons, whether it be for law and order reasons, God understands the motive, God understands the heart."

In light of this, I believe that the question we should be asking is: "Are *we* in control? Are we living *and voting* from our hearts? Have we selected a president based on our belief that God's principles need to be part of the political formula that forms decisions and establishes laws? Did our candidate of choice reflect and live those principles? Or have we allowed anger, dissatisfaction, or long-held prejudices to drive our choices? If history is any indication, this will determine whether the next four years is a Daniel thing or a Hosea thing.

Even if we've chosen to stand on the dangerous side of the line in the sand, there's still hope. God doesn't give up. When it comes to humankind, He's one persistent power.

Our leaders may "solemnly swear" in Washington, but it is our heavenly Father who is standing by, eager to help us fix our misjudgments or bask in the glow of our wise choices. Living out of control is only one option. The choice is ours.

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Charles Mills, a media producer (he does the weekly *Liberty Insider* radio program) and author, writes from Berkeley Springs, West Virginia.

**Preacher for lunch, or...**

**FEEDING  
FRENZY**

The text 'FEEDING FRENZY' is rendered in a large, bold, blue, sans-serif font. The letters are filled with a vibrant blue color and feature a subtle, repeating pattern of white birds in flight against a lighter blue sky. The text is arranged in two lines: 'FEEDING' on the top line and 'FRENZY' on the bottom line. The background of the entire page is a solid, bright orange color.

It is usually considered a great honor to be asked to speak at any college commencement ceremony. It rarely gets any better than to be asked to address the large graduating class at the 26,000-student Pasadena City College.

When Dr. Eric Walsh accepted the invitation, he had no idea that he was entering a minefield that was already exploding—one that would severely affect his professional life as a public health director and his private life as a lay minister; and that what he said in the pulpit at his local church would become a pretext for the destruction of his governmental career.

In March 2014 student trustee Simon Fraser sent an e-mail to film director Dustin Lance Black on behalf of Heba Griffiths, the interim associate dean of student life, formally inviting him to conduct the commencement address in celebration of the theme “Proud Past, Global Future.”<sup>1</sup>

Black, a 1994 graduate of the college and Oscar-winning screenwriter of the film *Milk* and an LGBT rights advocate, promptly accepted the invitation. Griffiths later said that she had not asked Fraser to send Black the letter, since he was one of eight potential candidates, but Fraser said that Griffiths had asked him to send the invitation using a template that Griffiths had provided, and that the commencement committee had voted in favor of sending invitations to the entire list, and “whoever accepted first would be our speaker.”<sup>2</sup>

Around this time, college administrators became aware of sexually explicit photos of Black and his ex-boyfriend that had surfaced on the Internet in 2009 after being acquired and posted by an online gossip site without Black’s consent. The college had recently been through several scandals, including a gender studies professor who had resigned earlier that academic year after admitting on his Web site that he had slept with students.<sup>3</sup> The college had also been sued by a student who claimed that a journalism professor had shown him a nude photo and retaliated by giving a bad grade on an assignment.<sup>4</sup> In March 2013 PCC president Mark Rocha had been given a vote of no confidence by both students and faculty after backing an unpopular decision to cancel the college’s winter quarter, which violated faculty contracts and made it difficult for students to graduate on time.<sup>5</sup>

In an effort to avoid yet another scandal, Robert Bell, the college’s senior vice president

for academic and student affairs, tried to back out of the situation by claiming that a major miscommunication had occurred, and he sent Black’s assistant a message that reversed the purportedly inadvertent invitation. “I wish to inform you that Mr. Black will not need to rearrange his busy schedule to appear as commencement speaker.”<sup>6</sup>

In contrast to Bell’s diplomacy, PCC Board



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of Trustees president Anthony Fellow did not mince words when he told the student newspaper, the *Pasadena City College Courier* that “with the porno professor and the sex scandals we’ve had on campus this last year, it just didn’t seem like the right time for Mr. Black to be the speaker. We’ll be on the radio and on the television. We just don’t want to give PCC a bad name.”<sup>7</sup>

Given Fellow’s blatant candor, Black blasted the college, saying that “the offer was made. I accepted the offer, booked flights, canceled work to make room for the honor. It is heartbreaking, hurtful, and wrong-headed.”<sup>8</sup>

He then issued a call for social justice: “As PCC administrators attempt to shame me, they are casting a shadow over all LGBT students at PCC. We will never be worthy of PCC’s praise.”<sup>9</sup>

Given the fact that an online investigation had led the college to cancel Black, it meant that whoever had the unfortunate “honor” of taking Black’s place was going to be in for the fight of a lifetime.

Next up: City of Pasadena director of public health Dr. Eric Walsh, who readily accepted. Rocha wrote in a press release that Walsh “is a preeminent leader in the Pasadena community,”

Dr. Eric Walsh speaks during a press conference in Los Angeles, California, while serving as public health director and health officer for the City of Pasadena



and that his “extraordinary community work and commitment to public service will serve as an inspiration to our students.”

Walsh’s qualifications *were* stellar—he was on the staff of Loma Linda University School of Medicine; had taught at the University of California, Irvine; served on the President’s Advisory Council on HIV/AIDS; was the immediate past president of the California Academy of Preventative Medicine; and an active committee member on the Centers for Disease Control. He had worked to develop systems to provide affordable fruits and vegetables and access to quality health care. As Pasadena medical director, he led the creation of a dental clinic to be built in the Pasadena Public Health Department and made it available for individuals living with HIV/AIDS.<sup>10</sup>

Walsh had studied the link between racial discrimination, stress, and poor health outcomes<sup>11</sup> and received congressional recognition for his leadership and contribution to the health of children and had been awarded the prestigious 100 Black Men of Orange County Award in Health and Wellness Care.

In addition to an extensive work schedule, on Saturdays Walsh could be found speaking as a locally hired lay pastor of the nearby Altadena Seventh-day Adventist Church, which identified him as an associate pastor,<sup>12</sup> and he was a popular speaker for Adventist youth events.

Walsh’s numerous YouTube videos were then subjected to an unprecedented degree of scrutiny by students who were angry at the college for disinviting Black. Members of “Students for Social Justice” scoured the Web and compiled a laundry list of statements that they attributed to

Dr. Walsh. On April 28, 2014, they posted a message on their Facebook page<sup>13</sup> striking back at the college. “In light of the recent decision to disinvite distinguished alumnus Dustin Lance Black, the choice of his replacement sheds light on what sort of speaker and role model the [Board of Trustees] and administration think is suitable for the students of Pasadena City College,” the message began.

Then the attack sharpened: “Their choice, Dr. Eric Walsh, is not only the director of public health in Pasadena; he is also an active preacher in the Seventh-day Adventist community whose many sermons are recorded and are available online to the public. We believe in a person’s right to privacy and the privacy of personal beliefs; however, unlike Dustin Lance Black’s private photographs (which were made public without his consent), Dr. Walsh’s beliefs have been expressed in a public forum with Dr. Walsh’s consent. Dr. Walsh’s sermons were recorded for the purpose of spreading his thoughts.”

The students then cited portions of a sermon Walsh had delivered entitled “Sex, Lies, and the Fight for Purity.” In his sermon, formerly posted on YouTube, Walsh said that homosexuality and premarital sex were sins and that television was “like a nuclear bomb in destroying our society.”

The students wrote, “It can be surmised that in an effort to negate the negative perception of Dustin Lance Black by the PCC Board of Trustees president Anthony Fellow as an irresponsible individual who practices unsafe sex, they chose an individual who embodies the opposite, a wholesome, respected public health official whose duties include working against the spread of HIV/AIDS.

“Unfortunately, despite Dr. Eric Walsh’s efforts in the fight against HIV/AIDS, his personal beliefs as expressed in many of his public sermons only further serve to marginalize and demonize the community to which Dustin Lance Black, and many of our students here at PCC, belong.”

By April 29 Walsh had dropped out as commencement speaker; and the students were demanding that Black be reinvited. But Eric Walsh’s professional troubles were just beginning.<sup>14</sup>

The Los Angeles *Times* and Pasadena *Star-News* and other prominent media outlets excoriated his statements, with the *Times* opining that Walsh’s teachings on creationism showed a disregard for science.<sup>15</sup>

Walsh’s denomination was also put under the media spotlight. Careful of the church being

misrepresented, the Southern California Conference of Seventh-day Adventists quickly attempted to distance themselves from Walsh and issued a press release stating that “[Walsh] does not hold ministerial credentials from the Adventist Church, does not speak on behalf of the Seventh-day Adventist denomination, and, as far we know, does not represent his views as anything other than his own.”<sup>16</sup> This of course was all true, but did not speak at all for Walsh’s rights to hold views and express them as his conscience mandates.

To be fair, Walsh’s statements made in sermons were not all that different from sermons that might be heard in any number of conservative Christian congregations, and the Adventist Church itself has previously issued an official statement that “sexual acts outside the circle of a heterosexual marriage are forbidden.”<sup>17</sup> Walsh’s sermons had also touched on the issues of Catholicism, Islam, and evolution, and soon the Catholic League for Religious and Civil Rights and the AIDS Healthcare Foundation were calling for his removal.

The City of Pasadena pressured Walsh to resign, and he accepted a severance package. Given his qualifications, the Department of Public Health of the State of Georgia soon extended an offer, but upon learning of the happenings in Pasadena, the director of human resources requested that Walsh turn over his sermons for state employees to listen to and critique.<sup>18</sup>

After reviewing his sermons, the human resources of the State of Georgia claimed that Walsh had actually violated a Pasadena requirement that he disclose outside employment as a pastor, and that because of this infraction the offer had been withdrawn.

Through the help of the nondenominational First Liberty Institute, Walsh filed suit against the State of Georgia for failing to hire based on religion. In a press release, Institute attorney Jeremy Dys said, “Religious liberty means we should be able to find sanctuary in our own sanctuary. If the government is allowed to fire someone over what he said in his sermons, then they can come after any of us for our beliefs on anything.”

In early 2008 Democrat Party candidate Barack Obama faced a similar challenge when the media revealed that his pastor, Jeremiah Wright, had made controversial sermons. Although Obama denounced the statements, Obama’s attendance at Wright’s church continued to shadow his presidency, as his opponents tried to demonstrate that Obama condoned these controversial views.

The stakes in this case were high. As this magazine went to press the case was settled in

a way that upheld Dr. Walsh. If he had lost, it could have meant that governmental or secular employers may review the religious statements of their employees and use this information in making hiring decisions. Even attending a particular church and agreeing to its doctrines could affect employability. Pastors would feel the heat as parishioners become afraid that their pastors might say something that affects them at work. Those who take their faith seriously are already open to public scrutiny, and whether they remain free to practice their beliefs and maintain public professions hinges on the results of cases like this one.

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Michael Peabody is an attorney and founder of Religious Liberty TV. He writes from Los Angeles, California.

<sup>1</sup> Raymond Bernal and Jessica Arceo, “Oscar Winner and PCC Alumnus Disinvited to Spring Commencement Ceremony,” *Pasadena City College Courier*, Apr. 19, 2014, [www.pcccourier.com/news/commencement.html](http://www.pcccourier.com/news/commencement.html).

<sup>2</sup> Raymond Bernal, “Student Trustee: ‘District Is Attempting to Scapegoat Me,’” *Pasadena City College Courier*, Apr. 19, 2014, [www.pcccourier.com/news/frasercommencement.html](http://www.pcccourier.com/news/frasercommencement.html).

<sup>3</sup> Carla Rivera, “Gender Studies Professor Resigns From Pasadena City College,” *Los Angeles Times*, Oct. 9, 2013, [www.latimes.com/local/lanow/la-me-ln-college-resign-20131009-story.html](http://www.latimes.com/local/lanow/la-me-ln-college-resign-20131009-story.html).

<sup>4</sup> Adam Poullisse, “PCC Professor Warren Swil Reinstated After Sexual Harassment Claims,” *Pasadena Star-News*, Dec. 2, 2013, [www.pasadenastarnews.com/social-affairs/20131202/pcc-professor-warren-swil-reinstated-after-sexual-harassment-claims](http://www.pasadenastarnews.com/social-affairs/20131202/pcc-professor-warren-swil-reinstated-after-sexual-harassment-claims).

<sup>5</sup> James Figueroa, “PCC President Rocha Responds to No-Confidence Votes,” *Pasadena Star-News*, Mar. 16, 2013, [www.pasadenastarnews.com/general-news/20130315/pcc-president-rocha-responds-to-no-confidence-votes](http://www.pasadenastarnews.com/general-news/20130315/pcc-president-rocha-responds-to-no-confidence-votes).

<sup>6</sup> Bernal, “Student Trustee: ‘District Is Attempting to Scapegoat Me.’”

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> Tim Isaac, “Dustin Lance Black Angry After Leaked Gay Sex Photos Get Him Disinvited From Speaking at His Old College,” Apr. 18 2014, [www.biggaypictureshow.com/bgps/2014/04/dustin-lance-black-angry-after-gay-sex-photos-allegedly-get-him-disinvited-from-a-college-speaking-engagement/](http://www.biggaypictureshow.com/bgps/2014/04/dustin-lance-black-angry-after-gay-sex-photos-allegedly-get-him-disinvited-from-a-college-speaking-engagement/).

<sup>9</sup> Lauren Gold, “Gay Rights Activist Dustin Lance Black Claims Pasadena City College Dumped Him as Commencement Speaker,” *Pasadena Star-News*, Apr. 18, 2014, [www.pasadenastarnews.com/social-affairs/20140418/gay-rights-activist-dustin-lance-black-claims-pasadena-city-college-dumped-him-as-commencement-speaker](http://www.pasadenastarnews.com/social-affairs/20140418/gay-rights-activist-dustin-lance-black-claims-pasadena-city-college-dumped-him-as-commencement-speaker).

<sup>10</sup> Valerie Wardlow, “Dr. Eric Walsh Named Pasadena City College’s 2014 Commencement Speaker,” *Pasadena News Now*, [www.pasadenanow.com/main/dr-eric-walsh-named-pasadena-city-colleges-2014-commencement-speaker](http://www.pasadenanow.com/main/dr-eric-walsh-named-pasadena-city-colleges-2014-commencement-speaker).

<sup>11</sup> Eric Walsh, “Stress and Health Disparities: A Public Health Seminar,” Apr. 12, 2010, University of California, Irvine, [http://ocw.uci.edu/lectures/stress\\_and\\_health\\_disparities.html](http://ocw.uci.edu/lectures/stress_and_health_disparities.html).

<sup>12</sup> Lauren Gold, “Seventh-day Adventist Church: Pasadena Public Health Director Dr. Eric Walsh Does Not Represent Church,” *Pasadena Star-News*, May 6, 2014, [www.pasadenastarnews.com/social-affairs/20140506/seventh-day-adventist-church-pasadena-public-health-director-dr-eric-walsh-does-not-represent-church](http://www.pasadenastarnews.com/social-affairs/20140506/seventh-day-adventist-church-pasadena-public-health-director-dr-eric-walsh-does-not-represent-church).

<sup>13</sup> Students for Social Justice, Facebook Group, <https://www.facebook.com/ssjppcc>.

<sup>14</sup> Aaron Hicklin, “College That Dropped Dustin Lance Black Embroiled in Fresh Scandal,” *Out*, Apr. 30, 2014, [www.out.com/news-opinion/2014/04/29/college-dropped-dustin-lance-black-embroiled-fresh-scandal](http://www.out.com/news-opinion/2014/04/29/college-dropped-dustin-lance-black-embroiled-fresh-scandal).

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>16</sup> Southern California Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, “Statement on Eric Walsh, M.D., M.P.H., Dr. P.H.,” May 6, 2014, <https://www.scribd.com/document/223193085/Release5-6-14>.

<sup>17</sup> “Adventist Church Statement Affirms Biblical View on Homosexuality,” *Adventist News Network*, Oct. 4, 1999, <http://news.adventist.org/en/all-news/news/go/1999-10-04/adventist-church-statement-affirms-biblical-view-on-homosexuality/>.

<sup>18</sup> Billy Hallowell, “He Claims Govt Officials Asked for ‘Copies of Sermons He Had Preached’ on Sexuality, Creationism and more. Here’s Why He’s Suing,” *The Blaze*, Apr. 20, 2016, [www.theblaze.com/stories/2016/04/20/he-claims-the-govt-asked-for-copies-of-sermons-he-had-preached-about-sexuality-creationism-and-more-heres-why-hes-suing/](http://www.theblaze.com/stories/2016/04/20/he-claims-the-govt-asked-for-copies-of-sermons-he-had-preached-about-sexuality-creationism-and-more-heres-why-hes-suing/).

**Even attending a particular church and agreeing to its doctrines could affect employability.**



"Nothing is more dreaded than  
the national government meddling  
with religion." - John Adams



# Good Fortune

**F**rom its inception in 1906, *Liberty* magazine has been vigilant in the cause of religious freedom, and it continues to be a leading voice on the topic. For more than 110 years we have sought new ways of communicating the principles of religious liberty.

While exhibiting at a recent church ministries convention in sunny Tucson, Arizona, the *Liberty* staff added something new to our regular promotional items. Visitors to our booth were given a liberty-themed cookie—basically, a fortune cookie containing a religious liberty quote. We thought it would be a fun and unique way to promote religious freedom. The cookies served as a conversation starter and were a symbol of the sweetness and good fortune that religious liberty brings. History continues to show us that in places where religious freedom is nonexistent, intolerance and persecution result.

People enjoyed reading the quotes and sharing their thoughts about them. One of the quotes was by Roger Williams—a champion of religious liberty in colonial America—who said, “Men’s consciences ought in no sort to be violated, urged, or constrained.”<sup>1</sup> After a woman read these words, she excitedly told us that she and a colleague had recently discussed the idea that a person should never be compelled to go against conscience. She stated further that her colleague planned to preach a sermon on that topic.

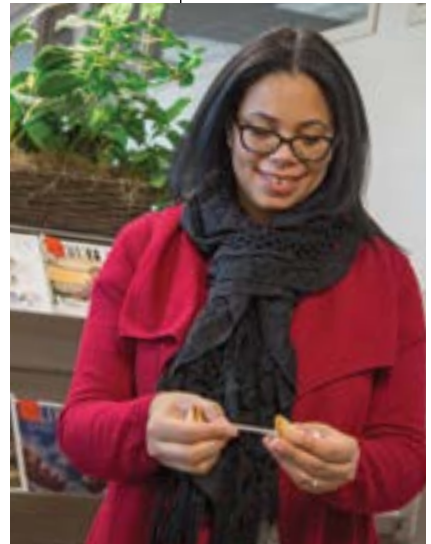
Words of wisdom from Founder John Adams: “Nothing is more dreaded than the national government meddling with religion.”<sup>2</sup> When a gentleman was asked what those words meant to him, he expressed that church and

state must be kept separate to ensure that one religion isn’t favored over another and that religious groups will not be beholden to the government.

James Madison, another Founder, gave us this gem: “Conscience is the most sacred of all property.”<sup>3</sup> A minister friend offered that “This idea strikes at a person’s gut feeling—how they’re impacted when they first hear it.” He went on to say that conscience is our moral compass and that it should never be trampled upon or ignored.

These quotes and others in the “fortune cookies” remind us that every human being has the right to religious freedom. That’s why we must promote it and fight for those around the world who have not tasted the sweetness of this treasured ideal. It’s not a matter of chance, and it certainly doesn’t come from a piece of paper in a cookie. But where religious liberty exists, people are able to worship according to the dictates of their own consciences. And that is indeed good fortune!

BY LORI BRYAN



PIETER DAMSTEGT

Lori Bryan is the administrative assistant for *Liberty* Magazine.

<sup>1</sup> <http://oll.libertyfund.org/pages/1644-williams-bloody-tenet-of-persecution-letter>.

<sup>2</sup> John Adams to Benjamin Rush, June 12, 1812 <https://www.founders.archives.gov/?q=%20Author%3A%20John%20Recipient%3A%20Benjamin%20Rush%20&s=1111311111&r=114>.

<sup>3</sup> [www.lexrex.com/enlightened/Americaldeal/honor\\_to\\_founders/not\\_just\\_material.htm](http://www.lexrex.com/enlightened/Americaldeal/honor_to_founders/not_just_material.htm).

AN EDITORIAL FROM  
*THE PROTESTANT MAGAZINE*,  
FEBRUARY 1913

## ATTEMPTING TO REVERSE HISTORY

*Was the Massacre of St. Bartholomew an  
act of defense against Protestant plotters?*

One hardly knows whether to be righteously indignant at some of the astounding attempts by Roman Catholic writers to misrepresent and pervert the facts of history, or whether to pass over these exhibitions of a misguided zeal for the reputation of the Papacy as too ridiculous to demand any serious attention. It must be remembered, however, that no matter how monstrous the falsehood, the constant repetition of it produces a prejudicial impression upon the public mind unless the truth is restated.

We do not remember that we have seen in print a more flagrant disregard of the well-established and generally admitted facts of history than was shown in a recent editorial in the *Wester Watchman* (Roman Catholic), in which an address of the German emperor upon the life of Admiral Coligny was discussed. From this editorial we take two paragraphs:

“The history of St. Bartholomew’s massacre

has never been written. Somehow we prefer the Protestant to the Catholic account. Catholics say only 30,000 were slain; Protestants put the number at 70,000. We prefer the latter figure. Catholics tell us that the massacre was the outburst of sudden and uncontrollable frenzy; Protestants say it was carefully planned. If there were 70,000 Huguenots in Paris the night of the massacre, so much the more justification for the slaughter. What were they doing there? Paris was a city in which Huguenots dare not dwell. What brought them to the capital in such number on that fatal night? They meditated the very slaughter that was meted out to themselves. The 70,000 Huguenots in Paris meant 70,000 conspirators brought thither by Coligny to destroy the peaceful Catholics of that peaceful Catholic city. They got what they had planned for others.

“We have heard ring out many a time the very bells that called the Catholics together on the fatal night. They always sounded sweetly



Preparation for the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre. Painting by Kärllis Hüns

A nineteenth-century painting by Édouard Debat-Ponsan depicts Catherine de' Medici at the gates of the Louvre following the massacre.



in our ears. They warned the Catholics of Paris that foreign cutthroats to the number of 30,000 or 70,000 were prowling the streets of the capital, waiting for an opportunity to murder them. Catholics are always slow to rise to their own defense. They have always too much confidence in the good will and honor of their non-Catholic neighbors. But this time they were alert, and they caught their enemies napping. The Lutherans of Germany were hard-drinking fanatics. The Calvinists of Switzerland were canting cutthroats. The Huguenots of France were common thugs. In their inroads on the peaceful provinces of France they burned fifty cathedrals and five hundred parish churches. They knew the Huguenots, and they drove them off the Continent. You cannot excite any pity in our souls by whining accounts of Catholic atrocities in the seventeenth century. We have never written a line in extenuation or palliation of the Inquisition. We never thought it needed a defense.” —*Western Watchman*, Nov. 21, 1912.

Such remarkable assertions as are here made show an astonishing ignorance concerning a most important historical event, or an astonishing determination to change the truth of history. The main facts concerning this attempt to exterminate Protestantism in France on St. Bartholomew’s day, August 24, 1572, an act which has been designated by Lord Acton, him-

self a Roman Catholic, as “the most monstrous of crimes,” are matters of record which cannot be set aside, even by an editor who claims to be in the closest communion with the pope. There is not sufficient foundation for the shameless assertion that the Huguenots “meditated that very slaughter that was meted out to themselves,” to give it even the appearance of plausibility. One who is not hardened by the Jesuitical system of morality would blush for shame over making a statement so devoid of any appearance of truth. We can hardly understand the mental or moral makeup of a writer pretending to an average acquaintance with history who claims that the Huguenots had gathered in Paris “to destroy the peaceful Catholics of that peaceful Catholic city,” in face of the fact that so early as the conference at Bayonne in 1564, at which both the Duke of Alva and Catherine de’ Medici were present, the suppression of heretics in France by murder was definitely under consideration. That the number actually slaughtered was far greater than the number originally suggested was merely the logical outcome of adopting the principle that the murder of heretics was justifiable.

And what moral standard does one have who declares that “our heroes are the Duke of Alva and Catherine de’ Medici”? The *Catholic Encyclopedia*, to which this same editor has awarded unstinted praise, thus describes the

conduct of the Duke of Alva, that bloodthirsty enemy of heretics, in his campaign in the Netherlands in 1557: "On August 22, Alva, accompanied by a body of select Spanish troops, made his entry into Brussels. He immediately appointed a council to condemn without trial those suspected of heresy and rebellion. . . . The 'Council of Blood' was the popular designation of Alva's tribunal."—*Vol. I, p. 371.*

It is true that Pope Pius V, in recognition of such valuable services, "bestowed on him a consecrated hat and sword, a present heretofore given only to sovereigns"; but this only shows to what depths the Papacy had fallen in its determination to throttle the Reformation.

The same Roman Catholic authority characterizes Catherine de' Medici as "dictatorial, unscrupulous, calculating, and crafty," as being "intensely superstitious," and declares that "her methods were so essentially egotistical as to border on cynicism."—*The Catholic Encyclopedia, Vol. III, p. 444.*

And these monsters of iniquity are now lauded as "heroes" by a Roman Catholic editor in America. Would the heroic extermination of heretics, carried on by the Duke of Alva, be duplicated in America if this orthodox editor were in control of affairs?

In marked contrast with the perversion of facts which we have quoted is the treatment of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew by Lord Acton, who was regius professor until his death, in 1902, in his article published in the *North British Review*, October 1869, which appears in "The History of Freedom and Other Essays," published by Macmillan and Company, 1909 (pages 101-149). Lord Acton did not permit his adherence to Roman Catholicism to close his eyes to the facts of history, and his regard for truth was not extinguished by an intemperate zeal to defend the Papacy at all hazards. The following extracts from his article show how shamelessly the editor of the *Western Watchman* perverted the facts:

"The opinion the Massacre of St. Bartholomew was a sudden and unpremeditated act cannot be maintained. . . .

"By the month of February, 1572, the plan had assumed a practical shape. . . .

"The court had determined to enforce unity of faith in France. An edict of toleration was issued for the purpose of lulling the Huguenots; but it was well known that it was only a pretense. Strict injunctions were sent into the provinces that it should not be obeyed; and Catherine said openly to the English envoy, 'My son will have exercise but of one religion in his

realm.' On the twenty-sixth [of February] the king explained his plan to Mondoucet, his agent at Brussels: 'Since it has pleased God to bring matters to the point they have now reached, I mean to use the opportunity to secure a perpetual repose in my kingdom, and to do something for the good of all Christendom. It is probable that the conflagration will spread to every town in France, and that they will follow the example of Paris, and lay hands on all the Protestants. . . . I have written to the governors to assemble forces in order to cut to pieces those who may resist.' The great object was to accomplish the extirpation of Protestantism in such a way as might leave intact the friendship with Protestant states. . . .

"Salviati had written on the afternoon of the twenty-fourth [of August]. . . . It was a fair sight to see the Catholics in the streets wearing white crosses, and cutting down heretics; and it was thought that, as fast as the news spread, the same thing would be done in all the towns of France. This letter was read before the assembled cardinals at the Venetian palace, and they thereupon attended the pope to a Te Deum in the nearest church. The guns of St. Angelo were fired in the evening, and the city was illuminated for three nights. To disregard the pope's will in this respect would have savored of heresy. Gregory XIII exclaimed that the massacre was more agreeable to him than fifty victories of Lepanto. For some weeks the news from the French provinces sustained the rapture and excitement of the court. It was hoped that other countries would follow the example of France; the emperor was informed that something of the same kind was expected of him. On the eighth of September the pope went in procession to the French church of St. Lewis, where three and thirty cardinals attended at a mass of thanksgiving. On the eleventh he proclaimed a jubilee. In the bull he said that forasmuch as God had armed the king of France to inflict vengeance on the heretics of the rebellion which had devastated his kingdom, Catholics should pray that he might have grace to pursue his auspicious enterprise to the end, and so complete what he had begun so well. . . .

"Gregory XIII appears as a pale figure between the two strongest of the modern popes, without the intense zeal of the one and ruthless volition of the other. He was not prone to large conceptions or violent resolutions. He had been converted late in life to the spirit of the Tridentine Reformation; and when he showed rigor, it was thought to be not in his character, but in the counsels of those who influenced

him. He did not instigate the crime, nor the atrocious sentiments that hailed it. In the religious struggle a frenzy had been kindled which made weakness violent, and turned good men into prodigies of ferocity; and at Rome, where every loss inflicted on Catholicism and every wound was felt, the belief that in dealing with heretics murder is better than toleration prevailed for half a century. The predecessor of Gregory had been Inquisitor-General. In his eye Protestants were worse than pagans, and Lutherans more dangerous than other Protestants. The Capuchin preacher, Pistajo, bore witness that men were hanged and quartered almost daily at Rome; and Pius declared that he would release a culprit guilty of a hun-

This theory was as follows: Confirmed heretics must be rigorously punished whenever it can be done without the probability of greater evil to religion. Where that is feared, the penalty may be suspended or delayed for a season, provided it be inflicted whenever the danger is past. Treaties made with heretics and promises given to them must not be kept, because sinful promises do not bind, and no agreement is lawful which may injure religion or ecclesiastical authority. No civil power may enter into engagements which impede the free scope of the church's law. It is part of the punishment of heretics that faith shall not be kept with them. It is even mercy to kill them that they may sin no more.

“Such were the precepts and the examples by which the French Catholics learned to confound piety and ferocity, and were made ready to immolate their countrymen.

“But the desire to defend what the pope approved survived sporadically, when the old fierceness of dogmatic hatred was extinct. A generation passed without any perceptible change in the judgment of Rome. It was a common charge against De

Thou that he had condemned the blameless act of Charles IX. The blasphemies of the Huguenots, said one of his critics, were more abominable than their retribu-

tion. His history was put on the Index; and Cardinal Barberini let him know that he was condemned because he not only favored Protestants to the detriment of Catholics, but had even disapproved the Massacre of St. Bartholomew. Eudaemon-Johannes, the friend of Bellarmine, pronounces it a pious and charitable act, which immortalized its author. Another Jesuit, Bompiani, says that it was grateful to Gregory, because it was likely to relieve the church. The well-known apology for Charles IX by Naude is based rather on political than religious grounds; but his contemporary Guyon, whose *History of Orleans* is pronounced by the censors full of sound doctrine and pious sentiment, deems it unworthy of Catholics to speak of the murder of heretics as if it were a crime, because when done under lawful authority, it is a blessed thing. . . .

“Two works were published on the medals of the popes, by a French and an Italian writer. The Frenchman awkwardly palliates the conduct of Gregory XIII; the Italian heartily defends it. In Italy it was still dangerous ground. Muratori shrinks from pronouncing on the question, while Cienfuegos, a Jesuit whom his



A medal struck by order of Pope Gregory XIII, in the first year of his papacy, to commemorate the Eve of St. Bartholomew. Gregory's portrait appears on one side and on the obverse a chastising angel, sword in hand and the legend UGONOTTORVM STRAGES ("Massacre of the Huguenots").

dred murders rather than one obstinate heretic. He seriously contemplated razing the town of Faenza because it was infested with religious error, and he recommended a similar expedient to the king of France. He adjured him to hold no intercourse with the Huguenots, to make no terms with them, and not to observe the terms he had made. He required that they should be pursued to the death, that not one should be spared under any pretense, that all prisoners should suffer death. He threatened Charles with the punishment of Saul when he forebore to exterminate the Amalekites. He told him that it was his mission to avenge the injuries of the Lord, and that nothing is more cruel than mercy to the impious. When he sanctioned the murder of Elizabeth, he proposed that it should be done in execution of his sentence against her. It became usual with those who meditated assassination or regicide on the plea of religion to look upon the representatives of Rome as their natural advisers. . . .

“The theory which was framed to justify these practices has done more than plots and massacres to cast discredit on the Catholics.

order esteemed one of the most distinguished cardinals of the day, judges that Charles IX died too soon for his fame. Tempesti, who lived under the enlightened rule of Benedict XIV, accuses Catherine of having arrested the slaughter, in order that some cause should remain to create a demand for her counsels. The German Jesuit Biner and the papal historian Piatti, just a century ago, are among the last downright apologists.

“Then there was a change. A time came when the Catholics, having long relied on force, were compelled to appeal to opinion. That which had been defiantly acknowledged and defended required to be ingeniously explained away. The same motive which had justified the murder now prompted the lie. Men shrank from the conviction that the rulers and restorers of their church had been murderers and abettors of murder, and that so much infamy had been coupled with so much zeal. They feared to say that the most monstrous of crimes had been solemnly approved at Rome, lest they should devote the Papacy to the execration of mankind. A swam of facts were invented to meet the difficulty: The victims were insignificant in number; they were slain for no reason connected with religion; the pope believed in the existence of the plot; the plot was a reality; the medal is fictitious; the massacre was a feint concerted with the Protestants themselves; the pope rejoiced only when he heard that it was over. These things were repeated so often that they have been sometimes believed; and men have fallen into this way of speaking whose sincerity was unimpeachable, and who were not shaken in their religion by the errors or the vices of popes. Möhler was preeminently such a man. In his lectures on the history of the church, which were published only last year [1868], he said that the Catholics, as such, took no part in the massacre; that no cardinal, bishop, nor priest shared in the councils that prepared it; that Charles informed the pope that a conspiracy had been discovered; and that Gregory made his thanksgiving only because the king’s life was saved. Such things will cease to be written when men perceive that truth is the only merit that gives dignity and worth to history.”

The pretense that Rome never changes, and the promulgation of the doctrine of papal infallibility, make it very embarrassing for the Roman hierarchy to face the record

of the Papacy; but absolute silence is far better than the attempt to reverse history by charging upon Protestants the crimes committed, either at the instigation of, or with the approval of, some of the popes. The history of the Papacy constitutes the severest indictment against its claim to be the depository of truth, the defender of the faith, and the protector of the people. And this history can never be reversed.

.....  
 Editor’s note: *The 500th anniversary of Luther’s pivotal role in the Protestant Reformation is not well remembered if it reverts to a warm fuzzy for something long past. The Reformation directly challenged central tenets and errors of the Western Christian church. It was resisted in a Counter-Reformation that was empowered by the still-unrepudiated Council of Trent and carried forward with often military brutishness by a Jesuit order established in 1540 with the express aim of destroying the Reformation. The Reformation led directly not just to the Thirty Years’ War, but to the establishment of the modern sovereign states we still protect, to the development of the modern concept of individual rights, religious freedom and sanctuary in the New World.*

*Much has changed since 1517, and we can take some comfort that the style (if not the claims) of the Papacy has much moderated. There is much to applaud in recent efforts to rehabilitate the Roman church and deal with a history that as late as this 1913 editorial was much obfuscated by its proponents. For example, in March 2000, under Pope John Paul II, Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger authored the official document entitled “Memory and Reconciliation: The Church and the Faults of the Past.” It attempted to apologize and cut loose the church from its less savory-past and move on to reconciliation. While this was an admirable document in many respects, it attempted to hold the “magisterium” above the sordid details of history and call for the inheritors of the Reformation to let bygones be bygones—but without revoking Trent and the claims of primacy, a dynamic that still lurks in the shadows of church-state relations. This article not only underscores the value of keeping the story true, but underlines the won-by-blood victories of the Reformation, which not coincidentally led to sunlight in the Roman church as well.*



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## The Original Principle of the Protestant Reformation

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—Bishop Hans Martensen of Denmark .  
Used in *The Protestant Magazine*.

