

Church and State

The Newsletter of the Cole Foundation for Renewing the Culture

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December, 2002

LET FREEDOM RING!

"The true answer to America's uniqueness is found in another piece of broken metal that has withstood every explosion of her many national crises. The Liberty Bell, its unchanging message still ringing loudly through the cacophony of cultural collisions and standing boldly through the deadening dust of history, represents the ancient call for worldwide liberty. Quoting the words of Holy Scripture, the Liberty Bell's message from Leviticus 25:10 says, "Proclaim Liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof."

It is our nation's belief in this message and the commitment to sharing it with a world in the chains of tyranny that have made America and Americans different. Our unswerving loy-



Cole Foundation chairman Dan Synnestevedt (R) with Providence Forum chairman Rev. Dr. Peter S. Lillback, in front of the *Spirit of Liberty*, a full sized replica of the original Liberty Bell.

alty to liberty, however, has also made our citizens and our values the objects of hate and contempt. But just as the broken Bell has not been silenced, so our wounded

nation will not be silenced in its clarion call for liberty. As the new millennium now dramatically ushers in a new chapter in the history of America, reflect upon the uniqueness of America in this milestone year of three centuries of religious liberty in America, 250 years of the life of our Liberty Bell and 225 years of our nation's independence."

Excerpted from Proclaim Liberty...a Broken Bell Rings Freedom to the World, by Dr. Peter A. Lillback, available from the Providence Forum, Box 446, Bryn Mawr, PA 19010 (\$7.50)

[The following are excerpts from talks delivered to the Bryn Athyn College student body and faculty at the Mitchell Performing Arts Center, September 17th, 2002. The full version of each talk will be available soon in a printed publication also containing remarks from Dr. Peter Lillback.]

RELIGION AND LIBERTY: THE FOUNDERS' LEGACY

Michael H. Hogan

In practical terms, religion was conceived as a set of theological beliefs that served to legitimize the specific social order of the time. While English political theorists had moved away from the Divine Right theory of kings, which was still adhered to in continental Europe, they regarded the British Constitution of their day, i.e., the sovereignty of King-in-Parliament, as having a divine warrant. The Church was meant to provide crucial moral support to the government while infusing its operations with moral principles. These institutions interpenetrated one another and were inseparable. They were joined at the very top of society in the person of the king, who was the head of both. This explains why in this society religious tol-

[continued on page three]

FREEDOM AND RESPONSIBILITY

Rev. Walter E. Orthwein

"Proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof." (Lev. 25.10)

It is most appropriate that this verse from Leviticus should be inscribed on the Liberty Bell, for as the Lord says in the Gospel of John, it is His Word that makes people free. He did not just say "[T]he truth shall make you free," but "[I]f you abide in My Word...you shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free." (John 8.31-32)

Because the Lord created us to be free, the desire for freedom is built into human nature. The very word "human" implies "free." The two faculties which make us human are

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EDITORIAL

As the anniversary of the terror attacks of September 11 approached, our focus fell on the importance of religious freedom, presumably the thing the terrorists hate most about America. Looking for a way of symbolizing this freedom, we approached the Providence Forum to see if we could bring their lifesized copy of the Liberty Bell, the *Spirit of Liberty*, to town. Having secured this, along with Providence Forum's well-spoken Director, Peter A. Lillback, to talk about the bell -- its history and meaning -- we then planned a series of events that would provide opportunities for various audiences. An assembly was planned for the College, class visits for the elementary school, and an evening program for the community.

Our Chaplain, Walter Orthwein, agreed to give a chapel address to the College Assembly, focusing on the quote that appears on the bell, "**Proclaim Liberty throughout the land to all the inhabitants thereof**" [Isaiah 25:10] It was a powerful statement of the connection between the Lord's desire for our free acceptance and practice of His Word and the need for political freedom on Earth.

Michael Hogan, who has taught at a number of colleges including Bryn Athyn College, was asked to develop a paper for the Assembly, giving the historical and philosophical background to the freedom movement in early America. Mike's paper, a part of which also appears in this issue, explains with clarity and eloquence just how revolutionary was the clarion call of the Founding Fathers. Portions of these two presentations appear in this issue, and will be published together in their entirety, as well as be available on a website; stay tuned.

We hope to include with these two fine talks material from Peter A. Lillback's address to the community Tuesday night at the Mitchell Performing Arts Center. An engaging speaker, and with a fascinating arsenal of historical detail and an eye for the workings of the Divine Providence in our nation's history, Dr. Lillback -- unfortunately for us -- delivered his remarkable talk without notes! We expect, however, to obtain from his other writings many of the ideas he presented to us, and publish these as well.

Capping it all off was the series of talks given by Carl Gunther to elementary school classes. As the children came to see, touch and ring the bell, Carl drew on his many years as a teacher and his love of civic education to help implant in the youngsters the affections and thoughts that will contain important ideas about religious liberty in the years to come.

C WORDS THAT RING TRUE C

"He that would make his own liberty secure, must guard even his enemy from oppression; for if he violates this duty, he establishes a precedent that will reach to himself."

Thomas Paine, Dissertation on First Principles of Government, December 23, 1791

"A little government and a little luck are necessary in life, but only a fool trusts either of them"

P.J. O'Rourke

"I hope we have once again reminded people that man is not free unless government is limited. There's a clear cause and effect here that is as neat and predictable as a law of physics: as government expands, liberty contracts."

President Ronald Reagan

"[The] differentiation [between church and state] even today, is thought of as a total separation of the sacred and the secular rather than as ordered degrees of uses ... for the sake of a kingdom of heaven on earth."

William Whitehead, in a talk entitled Caesar's Tribute

"It is not an accident that freedom of religion is one of the central freedoms in our Bill of Rights. It is the first freedom of the human soul: the right to speak the words that God places in our mouths. We must stand for that freedom in our country. We must speak for that freedom in the world."

President George W. Bush, in a speech, May 7, 2001

"The free market is ugly and stupid, like going to the mall; the unfree market is just as ugly and stupid, except there is nothing in the mall and if you don't go there they shoot you."

P.J. O'Rourke

"The moment the idea is admitted into society that property is not as sacred as the laws of God, and that there is not a force of law and public justice to protect it, anarchy and tyranny commence. If 'Thou shalt not covet' and 'Thou shalt not steal' were not commandments of Heaven, they must be made inviolable precepts in every society before it can be civilized or made free."

John Adams, A Defense of the Constitutions of Government of the United States of America, 1787

[Hogan, Founders' Legacy, cont'd from first page]

eration could be a state policy, while religious freedom could not. Religions that challenged major aspects of the established religion's legitimacy, and thereby undermined its cultural support of the political order, could not be allowed to participate in the political life of the kingdom. In fact, there were times when they were actually persecuted.

The working definition of liberty that operated at that time was somewhat complex, yet we can see its primacy meaning quite clearly. While it is true that many at that time viewed liberty from a common law perspective, i.e., trial by jury of peers, freedom from unreasonable search and seizure, and so forth, there was another more important understanding of liberty dominant in the eighteenth century. This was the concept of liberty as "freedom from necessity." This situation was assumed to permit a dispassionate and broad view of the needs of society. This "liberty" was essentially the characteristic of gentlemen whose access to proprietary wealth insulated them from the pressures of vulgar self-interest. It was the station and calling of gentlemen in general and the Aristocracy in particular to lead society because Providence had made them "at liberty" to do so.

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"It will come as a surprise to many Americans today that the Congress based its argument for human rights on religious belief -- specifically, that these rights derive from the nature of the relationship between God and man. All human beings had rights that were endowed in their very humanity by God. Since these were inalienable, they could never be taken away."

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Thus did these two notions of religion and liberty combine to provide an extremely powerful support to the political institutions which governed the British Empire in the decades immediately prior to the American Revolution. As indicated earlier, we will not closely examine the mounting hostility and conflict that affected relations between the colonies and England during the 1760s and early 1770s. This conflict has been the subject of much scholarship. What needs to be examined here are the conceptions of religion and liberty that the colonists made explicit after it became apparent to many of them that a break with England was necessary. It is also important to make it completely clear how interdependent these ideas were for the Americans and how radical their theory of government was at the time.

The Founders Challenge

The profound changes involved in the Revolution were clear to its leading advocates. They knew what they were doing. As the leading historian of the colonial period, Gordon S. Wood, has recently pointed out, "The American Revolution was one of the greatest revolutions the world has known, a momentous upheaval that not only fundamentally altered

the character of American society but decisively affected the course of subsequent history."¹ By destroying monarchy in America and establishing a republic, they were changing their society as well as their government. Sometimes we are prone to focus on inequities that the Revolution did not address or did not address sufficiently, but it must not be forgotten that the Revolution established the moral framework for all the subsequent reform movements that have filled our history.

In presenting the revolutionaries' radical conceptions of religion and liberty, it is extremely useful to compare their conceptions with those that dominated political discourse in colonial British America. The comparison should be borne in mind as we continue this discussion.

What then was their revolutionary conception and how did it differ from the prevailing view? In presenting their positions, I will try to use their own statements as much as possible. The Founders gave a great deal of thought to these formulations and we need to make the effort to grasp their true meaning.

No single statement better captures the essence of the Founders' vision of the nature of political society than the first sentence of the second paragraph of the Declaration of Independence. The context is the revolutionaries' explanation to the world of the reasons for the break with England and a clear statement of their guiding principles. Thomas Jefferson was the author and it was approved by the Continental Congress in July, 1776. It reads as follows:

*We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men are created equal and are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it.*²

No statement of political principle could have been more revolutionary at this time than this statement in the Declaration. In it the Congress repudiated the ideological basis for the Monarchy, the Aristocracy, and the Established Church, as well as the whole vertically oriented structure of the colonial relationship. It challenged the entire structure of Crown patronage, as well as the legitimacy of any inherited right to government power. From the British government's point of

¹Gordon S. Wood, *The Radicalism of the American Revolution* (Vintage, 1993) p. 5.

²Thomas Jefferson, in James Q. Wilson and John Di Iulio, Jr., *American Government* (8th ed., Houghton Mifflin, 2001) p. A.1.

[continued on page five]

WHAT'S SO GOOD ABOUT AMERICA

Dinesh D'Souza

This book begins with a frank, very insightful analysis of what is wrong with America, and then goes on to show what is right about it. D'Souza is an immigrant from India, and is thus able to view this country with a special degree of objectivity. He draws upon his own experience in comparing life in the United States with India. There are advantages to life in India, but the opportunities in America outweigh them -- and he is not speaking just of economic prosperity, but of freedom and self-fulfillment. We need to wake up to the faults in our society, and also, even more, wake up to the unique goodness which is embodied in America.

-- Walter Orthwein

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[Orthwein, Freedom and Responsibility, cont'd from p.1]
 liberty and rationality. This is why freedom is a right.

That word "right" is used very loosely today; people say they have a right to all kinds of things — education, a job, medical care — but the right to be free is an essential and absolute right because it stems from what we actually are, by design, by Divine decree.

This is why in the Declaration of Independence, that right is said to be "unalienable," a right with which people are "endowed by their Creator." It is not a right granted by any government or human agency, but comes from God.

Similarly, the Constitution of the United States is not a document delineating rights granted to the people by the government; just the opposite. It describes the powers granted to the government by the people, and places strict limits on those powers, lest the government infringe upon the people's freedom.

These documents — the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution — out of which the American form of government grew and upon which it rests, are echoes of that ancient Levitical proclamation of liberty.

* * * * *

Genuine liberty can only exist with genuine rationality — that is, where there is an understanding of spiritual truth, and an acceptance of those principles and virtues which define the order of heaven. In other words, *genuine liberty cannot exist apart from the acknowledgment of God, and a willingness to live by His Word.*

This is true of an individual's liberty, and of the civil liberty of a nation. The founders of the United States were very clear about the fact that the kind of government they were establishing assumed a virtuous citizenry. They were quite explicit about this. Government by the people would only work if the people were a virtuous people.

Because they were aware of how corrupt human nature is, it is possible to detect a note of skepticism in their writings

that the government they were establishing would endure. On the other hand, because they trusted in Providence, they were hopeful, too.

The very word "virtue" has an old-fashioned ring to it these days. We're more comfortable talking about "values" now — a much more malleable, less demanding concept. To our sophisticated ears, the very names of the traditional human virtues sound quaint, if not downright corny. Piety. Humility. Courage. Chastity. Honesty. Patriotism. Patience. Industry. Thrift. Self-reliance, and also a willingness to cooperate with others for the benefit of the whole community.

But if we would remain free, such virtues are essential. Heavenly ideals are not brought down to earth easily, or without conflict. Their implementation will not be perfect, because human beings are not perfect and this world is not perfect.

With this in mind, the crack in the Liberty Bell seems only to make it an even better symbol of American liberty.

America is a work in progress. It always has been and always will be. Its great ideals may be only imperfectly realized, but the country's striving to realize them more perfectly never stops. May it be so with each of us. Who among us can say we fully live up to the ideals we profess? Yet we must keep trying. And in this far-from-perfect world, the American experiment in free government still shines as a beacon to the world.

It is a common saying that "peace begins with me." Or "charity begins with me." It is the same with freedom. We have a responsibility to examine ourselves and strive to be worthy of the civil liberty we enjoy.

The Lord said we should not hide our light under a bushel, but let it shine so others can see it. This is true of the light of freedom, and also the sound of freedom. If we value it, and understand the nature of it, and work to make ourselves worthy of exercising it, then the Lord's command will be obeyed, and the joyful sound of freedom will ring ever louder throughout all the land, to all the inhabitants thereof.

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*"These documents
 — the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution — out of which the American form of government grew and upon which it rests, are echoes of that ancient Levitical proclamation of liberty."*



Rev. Dr. Peter A. Lillback, speaking on the *Spirit of Liberty*



Community members test the *Spirit of Liberty's* "metal"

U P C O M I N G

SYMPOSIUM ON THE LAW

APRIL 12, 2003

Plans are proceeding for a one day symposium on law, co-sponsored by the Cole Foundation and Bryn Athyn College. While the symposium is designed to allow attorneys and students of the law an opportunity to meet and discuss their profession in the context of the teachings of the New Church, at least one session will be open to the public. Potential participants have been contacted, and a mailing with preliminary registration will be mailed shortly. If there are those with careers in law who have not been contacted, we urge them to notify us so that we can put them on the list. For further information, please contact the editor, or Dr. Dan A. Synnestvedt, PO Box 717, Bryn Athyn, PA 19009, email: dasyntes@newchurch.edu.

PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION SERIES BEGINNING FEB 22, 2003

A monthly program of presentations on various topics is currently being set up for 2003. The first is scheduled for Washington's Birthday, February 22. Notice of speaker, topic, time and location will be sent out to the full mailing list. All are invited.

A FEW FACTS ABOUT THE LIBERTY BELL

WHERE WAS THE BELL
MANUFACTURED?

IT WAS MADE IN ENGLAND, BUT AFTER IT CRACKED IN 1753, IT WAS RECAST BY PASS AND STOW OF PHILADELPHIA

WHAT IS THE LIBERTY BELL
MADE OUT OF?

IT IS MADE OF VARIOUS METALS: TIN, LEAD, ZINC, SILVER, BUT PRIMARILY COPPER (70%)

HOW DID IT GET THE NAME THE
LIBERTY BELL?

ORIGINALLY CALLED THE STATE HOUSE BELL, IT WAS ADOPTED BY THE ABOLITIONISTS IN 1839 AS A SYMBOL OF THEIR CAUSE.

WHEN WAS THE LIBERTY BELL
LAST RUNG?

ON FEBRUARY 22, 1846 THE BELL WAS RUNG TO CELEBRATE GEORGE WASHINGTON'S BIRTHDAY. IT CRACKED SO BADLY THAT DAY THAT IT HAS NOT BEEN USED SINCE THEN.

[Hogan, Founders' Legacy, cont'd from p.2]

view, this really was "the world turned upside down."

It is vital for our purpose to examine the fundamental principle behind the Declaration. Many European political philosophers and theologians had postulated that since all human beings (at least Christians) could be saved, that this meant all were, in the abstract, equal in the sight of God. This view had many adherents among English thinkers in the eighteenth century, particularly John Locke. However, what was truly radical about the Founders' view was that they rigorously drew out the political consequences from the reality of "spiritual equality." It was not an abstraction to them. They based their concept of liberty itself in the Divine origin of the human race. They therefore made religious liberty one of the cornerstones of the political structure that they intended to erect.

It is important to examine the reasons that they gave for assigning such a fundamental role to religious liberty. They offered four basic arguments for their position. These will be listed in their order of importance and then brief comments of the Founders will be presented as they relate to each one.

First, religious freedom is good because it is based on the truth. There is a God, He created humanity and worshipping Him is the highest obligation we have in life. Second, religious freedom is good because politically empowered and established religion is dangerous. Third, religious freedom is the foundation of social morality. Fourth, religious freedom is the foundation of political liberty.

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POLITICS AND CONSCIENCE

This November, a group of 10 representatives from the Cole Foundation, about half of them students from Bryn Athyn College, attended a program on politics and conscience at the Union League of Philadelphia. Entitled *A Conversation on Politics and Conscience*, the program was sponsored by the Providence Forum, and consisted of a panel discussion moderated by the Forum's director, Dr. Peter A. Lillback.

On the panel were three scholars: Dr. John DiIulio, Professor of Politics and Civil Society at the University of Pennsylvania, and first Director of the Office on Faith-Based and Community Initiatives at the Bush White House; Dr. Robert George, Cyrus Hall McCormick Professor of Jurisprudence, Princeton University, and Director of the James Madison Program in American Ideals and Institutions; Dr. J. Budziszewski, Professor of Government and Philosophy, University of Texas, and author of the recently published *The Revenge of Conscience: Politics and the Fall of Man*.

Attendees came from a variety of organizations and colleges, and were encouraged to mix. They were also challenged to think by a quiz distributed at the outset. Events like this are one more way the Foundation hopes to learn about other organizations, and to develop a network for the learning and disseminating of ideas.

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Religion alone renews and regenerates man.
(True Christian Religion 601)